

A Corpus-Assisted Critical Metaphor Analysis of General Prayuth Chan-o-cha's English Subtitled Weekly Addresses on Politics and Democracy-Related Issues in Times of Political Turmoil

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Abstract

In recent years, metaphorical linguistic expression has been shown to play a significant role in representing a thought-provoking and novel way of viewing the world and assisting individuals in understanding more about the meaning of linguistic realization. As a result metaphorical analysis has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention in various fields over a wide range of textual typologies. This study aims at examining the types of conceptual metaphor used in the English subtitles of General Prayut Chan-o-cha's weekly addresses during times of political crisis in order to reveal the underlying political ideologies in relation to the politics and democracy-related issues. The present study also applied a corpus-assisted approach and the Metaphor

Identification Procedure (MIP) to identify the conceptual metaphors. The finding reveals seven categories of conceptual metaphor are used, including MACHINE AND TOOLS, JOURNEY, BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION, HUMAN, WAR, ANIMAL (BIRD), and OBJECT. Data analysis indicated that the conceptual metaphor of MACHINE AND TOOLS appeared to be the most frequently used comparing to other types. The study also suggests that Thai military government, led by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, has exploited metaphorical expressions in order to shed light on the hope of seeing the democratic-building processes becoming accepted by both the Thai populace and the international community.

Keywords: Conceptual Metaphor, Critical Metaphor Analysis, Corpus Linguistics, Political Discourse, Democracy

บทคัดย่อ

ในปัจจุบันนี้ สำนวนภาษาเชิงอุปถัมภ์นั้นมีบทบาทสำคัญที่แสดงถึงวิธีในการกระตุ้นความนิยมดีและแนวทางที่เปลี่ยนใหม่ในการมองโลก อีกทั้งยังเป็นการช่วยให้ผู้คนเข้าใจความหมายเชิงกระจ่างทางภาษาศาสตร์มากยิ่งขึ้น ผลที่ตามมาก็คือการวิเคราะห์อุปถัมภ์ซึ่งเป็นที่ดึงดูดความสนใจเพื่อการศึกษาเชิงวิชาการในหลากหลายสาขาวิชาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการศึกษารูปแบบและลักษณะเชิงทั่วทัพ งานวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาประเภทของอุปถัมภ์เชิงโน้ตศัพท์ที่ใช้ในวิชากรรมทางการเมืองในช่วงเวลาของวิกฤตการณ์ทางการเมืองในประเทศไทย เพื่อทำให้เห็นถึงอุดมการณ์ทางการเมืองที่เกี่ยวเนื่องกับประเด็นทางการเมืองและประชาธิปไตยที่ซ่อนอยู่ งานวิจัยนี้ได้มีการประยุกต์ใช้แนวทางการศึกษาโดยการช่วยจากคลังข้อมูลและกระบวนการระบุคุณอุปถัมภ์เพื่อบูรณาภูมิอุปถัมภ์เชิงโน้ตศัพท์ ผลการศึกษาพบอุปถัมภ์เชิงโน้ตศัพท์ทั้งหมด 7 ประเภท ประกอบด้วยเครื่องจักรและเครื่องมือ การเดินทาง อาคารและสิ่งก่อสร้าง มนุษย์ สงเคราะห์ สัตว์ (นก) และ สิ่งของ

จากการวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลพบว่ามีการใช้ อุปถัมภ์เชิงโน้ตศัพท์ในรูปแบบของเครื่องจักรและเครื่องมือจำนวนมากที่สุดเมื่อเปรียบเทียบกับอุปถัมภ์เชิงโน้ตศัพท์ประเภทอื่น งานวิจัยนี้ใช้ให้เห็นว่ารัฐบาลทหารไทยนำโดยพลเอกประยุทธ์ จันทร์โอชา ใช้ถ้อยคำเชิงอุปถัมภ์เพื่อให้เกิดความกระจ่างในแง่ของความหวังที่จะเห็นกระบวนการสร้างประชาธิปไตยให้เป็นที่ยอมรับทั่วชาวไทยและประเทศนานาชาติ

คำสำคัญ: อุปถัมภ์เชิงโน้ตศัพท์ การวิเคราะห์อุปถัมภ์เชิงวิพากษ์ ภาษาศาสตร์คลังข้อมูล วิชากรรมทางการเมืองประชาธิปไตย

Introduction

‘Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such actions will, of course, fit the metaphor. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies’. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 156)

It is generally acknowledged that language and discourse which appear in political speeches are utilized as the most powerful tools of persuasion. Political discourse is an important means through which politicians pass on their underlying ideologies, as well as their social and political views to citizens. Some authors argue that politicians actually ‘do politics’ through their discourse (Gadavanij, 2002, p. 1). Van Dijk (1995, 2006) asserts that a dominant ideology embedded in political discourse is a powerful instrument to control the public’s minds, beliefs, attitudes and actions. Thus, the language of politics is essentially aimed at persuading the audience to support and ultimately accept the spokesperson’s political points of view and values (Beard, 2000; Woods, 2006; Fetzer & Lauerbach, 2007).

In the digital age of contemporary society, language is commonly manipulated by the authorities through the media in order to create social change. We all consume news voraciously through different media including television, newspapers, surfing the Internet, or interacting on social networking sites. Individuals may no longer pay much attention to the information conveyed by these messages, but they tend to absorb the ideas on an osmotic basis. It is impossible to believe individuals will be unaffected by these experiences and perceptions (Gauntlett, 2002).

In order to raise the domestic and international audiences’ awareness of ideologies hidden in political speeches, this current study intends to investigate the ideological underpinnings conveyed

in the English subtitled language of General Prayut Chan-o-cha's weekly addresses, as officially published on the Thai government website. It is an attempt to reveal the way General Prayut Chan-o-cha reflects his political values and ideologies shaped by the Thai military government through the utilization of metaphors in relation to politics and democracy issues.

During times of political crisis, people are overwhelmed with disbelief, astonished by the images and reportage on television and have a sense of insecurity of their living conditions. In such political instability, it is necessary for political leaders to reassure and encourage the citizenry, as well as providing solutions for the crisis. It can be argued that not only is mass media coverage a powerful device to persuade individuals towards certain socio-cultural practices, but it is also specifically structured to grab the public's attention and lead them toward some form of action. Political speeches thus play a crucial role in providing not only information to the public but also an understanding of the government's direction and implied ideology for people.

With regards to the Thai political context, the current government of Thailand, led by General Prayuth Chan-o-cha, seized power by launching a military coup d'état on 22 May 2014. This was done in order to control episodes of political unrest which had become rooted in Thai society. This unrest had caused political divisions, and public demonstrations between the 'Yellow' and 'Red' shirt supporters. Thus, it should be noted that all metaphors we touch upon in this study are related to democracy inspired conceptions shaped by the Thai military government. The weekly addresses were launched directly after the coup by the Thai military government to an international audience, including ambassadors, foreign visitors, entrepreneurs, investors and other non-Thai workers.

Further, this present study attempts to bring together Corpus Linguistics (CL), Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), and Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) to analyze the specific-context metaphors. Methodologically, the role of corpus-assisted methodology will be utilized to generate authentic examples of selected prominent linguistic features in the form of wordlist frequencies and concordances which lead to expanded sentences and selected excerpts as supporting evidence to enhance data analysis and interpretation in the lens of the blended notion of metaphor study as Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA).

Metaphorical linguistic expressions have been investigated thoroughly in order to disclose the hidden ideologies in different formats of various genres for a better understanding of language and socio-cultural issues which are the basis of creating a positive change and a better society. Existing studies have focused on examining metaphors expressed in political speeches of leading politicians in other countries. Firstly, Kamalu and Iniworikabo (2016) investigated metaphors in selected political speeches of three Nigerian democratic presidents, adopting the tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as a grounded framework analysis of metaphoric linguistic expressions. This study aimed to shed light on how metaphors had played an increasingly pivotal role in political communication and how the spokesperson drew source domains as conflict and war, building, disease, journey, illness, games and sports, and a family in representing social, economic and political situations and conditions in Nigeria.

Secondly, one part of Trailovic's (2014) master's degree dissertation focused on investigating metaphors of political speeches of warfare by George W. Bush and Barack Obama. This study utilized the complex "fairy tale" metaphor and other conceptual metaphors such

as “war on terror”, “war is business” and “war is hard work”. The study concluded that Bush was highly focused on prolonging the war by justifying policies and actions, whilst Obama, on the other hand, is less focused on war, but more focused on America, the citizens, and occasionally on terrorism.

Thirdly, Stenbakken (2007) examined expressions of ‘Ideology’ in the Blair and Bush corpora by investigating their use of metaphors. This study focuses on conceptual metaphors as carriers of ideologies through the following examples; “the US and the UK are good” and “the enemies of the US and UK are evil”; “good is light” and “evil is dark”; “terrorists are animals”; and “terrorism is a disease”. This part of the analysis revealed that both Blair and Bush had commonalities in their belief that they were on the side of good and that terrorism and those connected to it were evil.

Studies of conceptual metaphors in political discourse are of great interest where there are comparisons between different ideologies. Johansen (2007) investigated the use of political metaphors in the UK Conservative and Labour parties. According to findings of this study, it is clear that metaphor is an undeniable fact of both speech and thought. There are also a great number of concepts in which the utilization of metaphor was similar in both parties. The overall result suggested that source domains such as objects, paths, spatial orientation and human qualities played a crucial role in people’s psychological and perceptual importance. These source domains are mapped onto the more complex and abstract target domains such as political concepts, economy, and crime. For instance, “the state as interference”; “the state as a partner”; “the economy as a growing organism”; “the economy as a building”; “the economy as an entity that must be in balance”; “the economy as a battleground”; “crime as an object”; and “drugs as a living entity” (pp. 78–79).

Further, Charteris-Black (2004) examined metaphors in British party political manifestos between Labour and Conservative parties. This study attempted to analyze each of the five most common source domains such as conflict, building, journey, plant, and religious metaphors. The findings have shown that conflict, building, and journey-based metaphorical expressions are highly productive source domains for metaphors in this particular political text type. Evidentially, metaphors of both parties appeared to be positive. Their evaluation relied on conceptual metaphors such as “worthwhile work is a building” and “society is a building”. Metaphors, as one type of figurative language, can be used in communicating between the speakers and the audience in order to portray the representations of the underlying ideologies to bring about social awareness.

Metaphors in political discourse have also been the subject of investigation in the Thai context, but very little research has been done to address this concept. Klinnamhom (2009) examines conceptual metaphors in expressions used by Thai politicians in different types of discourse. The findings of this study shed light on the conceptual metaphors which have ideological effects and represent a set of ideas. For instance, “politics is fighting” represents a violent scenario which requires the arts of war to defeat the opponent; “politics is a journey” where politicians lead people to the end; and “politics is a performance” which is about the business of taking care of people. However, the dataset of this study, elicited from various sources including political campaign speeches, the 2002, 2003, and 2004 censure debates, media interviews with politicians between January 2004 to December 2005, and ex-prime minister Thaksin’s “radio talks with the public” in 2004, were all discourses gathered during the times the Thai political system appeared to be non-problematic and stable.

It can be seen that existing research rarely investigates metaphors expressed within a Thai political context in turmoil. This study attempts to study metaphors emerged in the English subtitles of General Prayuth Chan-o-cha's weekly addresses during his tenure as the head of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO). The current study attempts to not only stimulate and raise the public's awareness in understanding the hidden political ideologies and points of view of the military junta, but to reflect the role of the current military government of Thailand, and the direction and administrative system it uses in its attempts to nurture national unity and restore democracy in context-specific situations.

It is expected that findings of this study will be beneficial in providing additional source material for language analysts who are interested in the persuasive use of metaphors in political discourse during times of political crisis. Additionally, the findings are also expected to bring about the public's social and political awareness.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are twofold. First, to identify conceptual metaphors emerging in the English subtitled version of General Prayuth Chan-o-cha's weekly addresses published on the Thai government website during his tenure as the head of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO). Secondly, to explain and interpret how those metaphors are related to democracy-related concepts shaped by the Thai military government.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

In this subsection, we elaborate on a summary of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as this theoretical framework is a central tool

for the identification and classification of metaphors, and discuss some example of conceptual metaphors which are relevant to this study.

The word ‘metaphor’ comes from Greek ‘metapherein’, which means to carry from one place to another (Miller, 1979, p. 156). Tracing back to Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*, their work has demonstrated how the conceptual system, language, and actions are tightly connected to metaphor construction. Through investigating linguistic evidence, Lakoff and Johnson found that most of our conceptual system is metaphorical in nature and that we structure how we think and what we do through metaphorical thought.

As can be noticed from Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 3), “Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of what we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature”. In a similar vein, Ritchie (2013) pointed out that “most of our abstract concepts are based on conceptual metaphors that originate in experienced correlations, directing physical experiences and the “embodied” concepts associated with them” (p. 70). In other words, linguistic metaphors constitute the visible surfaces of conceptual metaphors which allow abstract ideas to become more concrete, tangible, and comprehensible.

In order to understand conceptual metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) defined metaphors as ‘understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another’ (p. 5). This is a fundamental concept of mapping of correspondences as metaphor linguistic expressions between the source domains and the target domains. In the same vein, Neagu (2013) stated that the way in which we speak and act is largely dependent on the conceptual framing of our physical reality in terms of mappings between a source and a target domain. Conceptual metaphors are defined as “understanding one conceptual domain in terms of an alternative conceptual domain” (Kövecses, 2002, p. 4).

More obviously, Kövecses (2010) provided clear detailed explanation regarding the mapping of source to target domain in order to describe and understand the conceptual metaphors more easily. In particular, the conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood in this way is the target domain. For instance, life, arguments, love, theory, ideas, and social organizations are target domains, while journeys, war, buildings, food and plants are source domains. In summary, we conclude that the conceptual metaphor theory is a network of mappings, whose role is in the systematic mapping of source domains onto target domains.

Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA)

Charteris-Black (2004) put forward the notion of metaphor study which now has now become more generally known as Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). His work can be viewed as a meaningful enrichment to both Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and other critical forms of analysis from various genres. In other words, Critical Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) both focus on the critical study of metaphors. With regards to the analytical framework of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), Charteris-Black (2004, 2014) makes an association with Fairclough's three stages of identification, interpretation, and explanation of critical discourse based on Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics in order to deconstruct metaphors.

It should be noted that Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) consists of three stages: identification, interpretation and explanation. First, metaphor identification is concerned with determining which metaphors are present in a text, and whether they show semantic tension between a literal source domain and a metaphorical target

domain. Second, metaphor interpretation deals with determining the type of social relations that are constructed through the metaphors identified. Third, metaphor explanation is concerned with the way metaphors integrate within the context in which they occur (Charteris-Black, 2004). Thus, it can be noted that these two theoretical perspectives of critical study of metaphors are subparts of cognitive linguistics, aimed at raising critical awareness amongst language users.

Metaphors in Political Discourse

Charteris-Black (2004) points out “With the emergence of cognitive semantic approaches to metaphor and the growth of critical discourse analysis a number of studies have been undertaken into the use of metaphor in various types of political discourse” (p. 47). As was previously emphasized, the use of metaphors in political discourse is a linguistic strategy which has been widely undertaken. The use of this type of figurative language aims to conceptualize metaphors, deconstruct them and associate them with a political subject and its context. In order to attain a basic understanding of the political issue phenomenon, a reader needs to have some basic metaphorical concepts.

Johansen (2007) emphasized “When we, in addition, know that many of the concepts that are central to politics, what politics in essence is about, concepts like democracy, freedom, rights, justice, taxes, education, elections, laws, economy, nations and war, are abstract and in essence creations of the human mind and our society, it indeed seems likely that political language will be, to speak figuratively, packed with metaphors’ (p. 16). In addition, Charteris-Black (2014) asserted that metaphor is effective in public communication because it draws on the unconscious emotional associations of words and assumed values that are rooted in cultural and historical knowledge.

Further, it should be noted that anyone doing any kind of talking, philosophizing or conveying the description of any political related concept or topic would find it difficult to do without the use of metaphors (Johansen, 2007). Hence, metaphorical linguistic expressions appear to be inseparable from political discourse and understanding.

Research Methodology

Data Collection

The data of this present study is based on the English subtitled weekly addresses of General Prayuth Chan-o-cha. The data was downloaded from the official Thai government website at www.thaigov.go.th. The total number of weekly addresses during General Prayuth Chan-o-cha's tenure as the head of NCPO (30 May – 5 September 2014) was 15 with a 95,581 total word count. As we aimed to analyze how democracy-related concepts were construed through the utilization of metaphors during the political crisis, we decided to restrict analysis to the specific time period when Thailand faced continuing potential conflict between two opposing political factions leading to a perceived risk of civil war. Further, all selected weekly addresses were copied and pasted to files in the Microsoft Word Format and then the single file was transferred into Notepad Format when the procedure of generating linguistic features from corpus linguistic software was conducted. Additionally, each file was assigned a specific filename by using the number, year, month, date of which each address was officially published in the Thai government website. For instance, the first weekly address which was published in the Thai government website on 30 May 2014 would be named WA01_2014_05_30.

Corpus-Assisted Metaphor Analysis

It should be noted that Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Conceptual Metaphor Analysis (CMA) does not provide a systematic methodology that can be applied to metaphor study when compared to a corpus of naturally occurring examples of language stored on an electronic database. However, extracting the relevant data from the corpus appears to be problematic for any corpus-based metaphor study (Stefanowitsch, 2006). It is feasible to generate particular words in the corpus which results in lists of concordance lines. Alternatively Deignan (2005) argues that identifying or extracting the words conveying the metaphorical sense by manually coded procedure can be another way to determine the target metaphors. Thus, it should be noted that different methods of metaphor identification can be conducted depending on the goals of the particular study.

To determine the metaphors in this particular discourse, the study adopted a corpus-assisted approach focusing on the concept of democracy (Baker, KhosraviNik, Krzyzanowski, McEnery, & Wodak, 2008; Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2006; Deignan, 2005; Partington, 2010). The search words used were (1) Democratise; (2) Democratize; (3) Democratic; (4) Democracy; and (5) Democratization. Following the coup, it seemed the concept of democracy was a debatable issue which was taken seriously in discussion and critiqued amongst Thai and non-Thai alike. We then decided to use these five target words as the search terms for extracting metaphorical linguistic expressions. After generating the selected search terms in the corpus dataset by the concordance software AntConc, it seemed only the two words 'Democratic' and 'Democracy' were found throughout the entire text. The term 'Democratic' appeared 27 times, whereas the word 'Democracy' appeared 62 times. The target words of source domain were listed for each reference, for instance, words such as mechanisms,

system, stalled, functioning, and were categorized into the “machine and tools” metaphor.

To access the corpus, the concordance software AntConc 3.4.4 w (Windows) 2014, was employed. AntConc 3.4.4 w (Windows) 2014 is a free concordance software program, which serves as a comprehensive text analysis tool in applied linguistic related studies. Furthermore, this tool is commonly applied in corpus-based studies and critical discourse analysis (Anthony, 2005).

Word Frequency List

According to Anthony (2014), AntConc shows words that are unusually frequent (or infrequent) in the corpus in comparison with the words in a reference corpus. This allows the user to identify characteristics of words in the corpus. Sample word list for the target word of ‘democracy’ are displayed in Figure 1 below.

Concordance		Concordance Plot		File View		Clusters/N-Grams		Collocates		Word List		Keyword List	
Word Types: 6242		Word Tokens: 95581		Search Hits: 0									
Rank	Freq	Word											
214	63	term											
215	62	democracy											
216	62	find											
217	62	plans											
218	62	where											
219	61	within											
220	60	including											

Figure 1 Screenshot of AntConc for the search-target word output of ‘democracy’ in word frequency list view

Concordances

According to Anthony (2014), this tool can also show search results in a ‘KWIC’ (Key Word In Context) format. Each word-form is indexed and a reference is given to the place of its occurrence in a text (O’Keeffe & McCarthy, 2010, p. 167). The examples of ‘democracy’ concordances were generated to look at collocate and surrounding co-text which lead us to manually identify possible metaphors which are detailed in the following metaphor identification procedure. Sample concordances for collocates of ‘democracy’ are illustrated in Figure 2 below.

Concordance		Concordance Plot	File View	Clusters/N-Grams	Collocates	Word List	Keyword List
Concordance Hits 62							
Hit KWIC							
1		still protests without a true understanding of democracy and the realization that we are doing					File
2		are living in a world that values democracy. All we are asking for is to					Pre-1.txt
3		undermined. We therefore have had to safeguard democracy. We came in to make our country					Pre-1.txt
4		to move towards becoming a fully functioning democracy. The undermining structure which I me					Pre-2.txt
5		, corruption, and even the starting point of democracy itself – the election. Parliamentary dic					Pre-2.txt
6		achieve our goal of a fully functioning democracy which is accepted by all sides. In					Pre-2.txt
7		as we build our country and a democracy in which the Thai people possess discipli					Pre-2.txt
8		possess discipline and a true understanding of democracy with good governance in accordance v					Pre-2.txt
9		to symbols of the political landscape and democracy. But you should understand the curren					Pre-2.txt
10		ving the country towards sustainable reform and democracy. In the past week NCPO stressed upon					Pre-4.txt
11		. But we reached a point where our democracy has stalled. We request for time for					Pre-4.txt

Figure 2 Screenshot of AntConc for the search-target word output of ‘democracy’ in KWIC and concordance line

Metaphor Identification Procedure

After extracting the entire concordance of each word which appears to be part of a metaphorical expression, we then expanded to the whole paragraph, the area where these words featured. Once all paragraphs featuring ‘Democratic’ and ‘Democracy’ were extracted, a close reading for each paragraph was conducted in order to establish which lexical bundle or word appeared likely to be metaphorical based on the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 3). Their procedure consists of the following steps:

1. “Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning”.

2. “Determine the lexical units in the textdiscourse”.

3. “(a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute to the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit”.

“(b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:

- More concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste;
- Related to bodily action;
- More precise (as opposed to vague);
- Historically older;
- Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit”.

“(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current-contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it”.

4. “If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical”.

Following this procedure, Kheovichai (2015a) asserted that these criteria would assist the researcher in determining the metaphorical linguistic expressions in a systematic manner. All metaphorical expressions were then manually categorized and analyzed based on the conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) or in combination with an alternative metaphor analysis tool, critical metaphor theory (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2014).

Inter-Rater Reliability of Metaphor Identification

The reliability or consistency in metaphor identification must be checked by an expert who specializes in a related field of metaphor study or another member of the same community in terms of agreement of metaphor identification (Ritchie, 2013). After we manually extracted metaphors from each selected excerpt based on the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) (Pragglejaz Group, 2007), we then constructed the instrument for the process of inter-rater reliability of metaphor identification in order to establish agreement, obviate personal bias, and make the study more reliable. Cohen kappa was employed as the statistical measurement for this procedure. The kappa value of inter-rater reliability procedure for source and target domain yielded results of 0.947 and 0.911 respectively, indicating a high degree of agreement between our coding of metaphors and an inter-rater.

Data Analysis

As discussed earlier, this present study attempts to synergize the corpus-assisted critical metaphor analysis, the notion of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) as analytical frameworks. As previously mentioned source and target domains appear to be significant in mapping correspondences of conceptual metaphors which these tools are employed to do.

It should be noted that the steps in analyzing metaphors are identification, interpretation, and explanation of conceptual metaphors, based on the analytical framework of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). After reading and rereading the selected corpus to identify and determine if the identified words or phrases have metaphoric or literal meanings, we then mapped the target and source domains of those candidate metaphors based on the notion of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). By doing so, we explained a metaphoric usage by showing a proposition or assumption that the conceptual metaphor was situated within a socio-political context where it was produced.

Findings and Discussion

The analyses reveal that metaphorical expressions on politics and democracy-related issues are expressed through a wide range of conceptual metaphors. The manual analysis yielded a total of 49 metaphoric expressions, identifying seven different conceptual metaphors. There are two issues that are primarily focused on in the analyses of metaphorical expressions: concerning politics and democracy. The conceptual metaphors that appeared in the selected excerpts are displayed in capitals as the conceptual mappings of source and target domains presented in the following table.

Table 1 Conceptual Mappings of Source and Target Domains of Metaphors in the Weekly Addresses on Politics and Democracy-Related Issues

Conceptual Metaphors	Number of Occurrences	Percentage
DEMOCRACY AND POLITICS AS MACHINE AND TOOLS	19	38.77%
DEMOCRACY AND POLITICS AS A JOURNEY	8	16.32%
DEMOCRACY AND POLITICS AS BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION	8	16.32%
DEMOCRACY AND POLITICS AS HUMAN	8	16.32%
DEMOCRACY AS WAR	3	6.12%
DEMOCRACY AS AN ANIMAL (BIRD)	2	4.08%
DEMOCRACY AS AN OBJECT	1	2.04%
Total	49	100%

From the above table, it is clear that the conceptual metaphor of DEMOCRACY AND POLITICS AS MACHINE AND TOOLS appeared to be most used, furthermore, the conceptual metaphors of DEMOCRACY AND POLITICS AS A JOURNEY, BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION, and HUMAN displays smaller numbers of occurrences. At a very low occurrence are the conceptual metaphors of DEMOCRACY AND POLITICS AS WAR, as an ANIMAL (BIRD), and as an OBJECT. In the subsequent sections, we then decided to analyze and discuss these conceptual metaphors associated with the politics and democracy-related issues by centering on five conceptual metaphoric themes including DEMOCRACY AND POLITICS AS MACHINE AND TOOLS, JOURNEY, BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION, HUMAN, and WAR.

Machine and Tools Metaphor

Individuals use machines and tools to work, play, fight, and for pleasure. Thus, the source domain of machines and tools plus the activities associated with them represent metaphorical expressions such as 'the machine of democracy' and 'conceptual tools' (Kövecses, 2010). Emerging lexical patterns for this source domain included words such as 'a democratic system', 'the democratic mechanisms', 'a fully functioning democracy', 'steer', 'mechanisms for democracy', and 'dysfunctional state'. According to these common domains, we employ the conceptual metaphor **DEMOCRACY AND POLITICS AS MACHINE AND TOOLS** to lead to further analyses and interpretations. This metaphor frequently links with abstract concepts such as the legal system, the government, political parties, political systems, and so on (Kövecses, 2010). As can be seen in the excerpts illustrated below, the key conceptual metaphor is machine function and operation. Phrases such as 'a democratic system' and 'a fully functioning democracy' are predominantly utilized. It should be emphasized that democracy can be conceptualized as a mechanical system and the use of this conceptual mapping intends to establish the political function as a more fully democratic principle. As can be seen in the following selected excerpts, phrases such as 'a fully functioning democracy' are often used.

Conceptual Mappings of Source and Target Domains of DEMOCRACY/POLITICS AS MACHINE AND TOOLS

Democracy and politics are designed to be as machine system, and it is necessary for it to be installed and to function normally/satisfactorily.

“A general election under a democratic system which is legal and accepted by all sides”

(WA01_2014_05_30)

“to mend our democratic system and make it right, just, responsible and beneficial to all people” (WA01_2014_05_30)

“But we reached a point where our democracy has stalled” (WA04_2014_06_20)

“If we build good mechanisms for democracy as we are trying to achieve in our reform phase, if everyone cooperates” (WA07_2014_07_11)

“Democracy is thought by all to be the best system” (WA08_2014_07_18)

“Development of a democratic system that is right, comprehensive, internationally accepted and appropriate for Thailand” (WA14_2014_08_29)

Politics is established to be a fully functioning democracy. The examples below refer to Thai politics being established to be more fully democratic and with functioning effectiveness.

“We came in to make our country stronger, laying firmer foundations to prevent the structure from collapsing so that our country will be ready to move towards becoming a fully functioning democracy” (WA02_2014_06_06)

“But please be assured that we are doing the best we can in order to achieve our goal of a fully functioning democracy which is accepted by all sides” (WA02_2014_06_06)

“we will accelerate the reform process in order to make Thailand a fully functioning democracy” (WA05_2014_06_27)

“The NCPO wishes that a free and fair general election be held under the constitution, to lay a strong foundation for a fully functioning democracy devoid of political conflicts” (WA05_2014_06_27)

“they can be amended and improved so that the promulgation of a new constitution can then be used for the next general elections, in a just and fair manner to all the parties in a fully functioning democracy without further quarrels in the future” (WA07_2014_07_11)

“We will need to make a transition from operations in the first phase to addressing problems and carrying out reforms, as well as passing new laws, and making preparations for elections to ensure that we will be a fully functioning democracy” (WA10_2014_08_01)

It should be noted that using a conceptual metaphor with a source domain of machinery is salient and is most frequently employed throughout the speeches comparing to other source domains. It can be interpreted as related to words concerning the function (or non function) of a specified bodily organ or system, or even in the negative connotation as malfunction and dysfunction which signifies the abnormality or impairment in the function.

During the time the speeches were being delivered, Thai democratic principles and its political systems appeared to be unstable and at risk due to the political turmoil. It was necessary to deliver addresses which carried the thought-provoking messages in order to gain people’s support towards the administration of the military-led government, particularly, its active duty in shaping the future direction of the Thai political system and society. Thus, General Prayuth Chan-o-cha, as head of NCPO and a representative of military government, attempts to use a source domain of machinery widely in order to pinpoint his political view of establishing democratic principles and a stable political system.

Journey Metaphor

Charteris-Black (2004) emphasized that journey metaphors have a long history in cognitive linguistics. Theoretically, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed LOVE IS A JOURNEY accounting for expressions such as “how far we have come and we’re at the crossroads” (p. 44). Based on Charteris-Black’s (2004) work, words such as ‘step’ and ‘forward’ appear to be the common key metaphorical words in studying the British manifestos corpora (p. 74). In this part, we propose a conceptual metaphor of DEMOCRACY AND POLITICS AS JOURNEY as the focal point of analysis. From the corpus, the phrases ‘move forward’ appeared to be predominantly employed. It expresses an idea of political experience related to the concept of movement.

It can be interpreted that a source domain of the journey is an attractive-metaphorical expression which played a crucial role for General Prayuth Chan-o-cha. Rhetorically, He can represent himself as the ‘guide’, his proposal or policies as the ‘map’, and his potential audiences and supporters as ‘fellow travelling companions’ (Kamalu & Iniworikabo, 2016, p. 79). In coordination with the statement by Charteris-Black (2004), the most common metaphor key words ‘step’ and ‘forward’ can be utilized conventionally to denote positive progress towards an identified goal. It is seen that ‘forward’ can be collocated with ‘move’. The following table illustrates the mapping with evidence of the conceptual metaphor DEMOCRACY AND POLITICS AS A JOURNEY.

Conceptual Mappings of Source and Target Domains of DEMOCRACY/POLITICS AS JOURNEY

Purposeful social activities are travelling along a path towards a destination or a journey proceeding to a destination (goal). It should be interpreted as politically related activities are travelling progressively along a path towards a destination.

“our country will be ready to move towards becoming a fully functioning democracy” (WA02_2014_06_06)

“This has been done through returning happiness activities in various forms in moving the country towards sustainable reform and democracy” (WA04_2014_06_20)

“We request for time for us all to apply our conscience and rationality in steering this country forward” (WA04_2014_06_20)

“We need to live in the present, learn from the past, and move forward together to the future” (WA05_2014_06_27)

“I ask for patience from the Thai people and foreign friends to allow us to move forward in unity” (WA08_2014_07_18)

“This is their statements I have already mentioned that we have to use Thai people’s intellect to develop Thailand’s democracy and determine how we will move forward” (WA11_2014_08_08)

The conceptual metaphor DEMOCRACY/POLITICS AS A JOURNEY in the table above attempts to provoke potential audiences’ emotion and attitudes in order to invite the Thai people as a whole to participate in the journey. To be precise, this forward movement metaphor was utilized in order to arouse people into accompanying him on the roadmap to reach a final destination that all people will be happy to accept. This interpretation is similar with Kövecses (2010)

analysis, indicating progress is a form of change and is conceptualized as FORWARD MOTION ALONG A PATH.

Building and Construction Metaphor

There is a number of building metaphors identified in the literature consisting of THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, SOCIETY IS A BUILDING, COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS, CAREERS ARE BUILDINGS and so on (Kővecses, 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Charteris-Black (2004) highlighted “Metaphors from this source domain carry strong positive connotation because they express aspiration towards desired social goals” (p. 70). According to Charteris-Black (2014, p. 210), a source domain of building and construction is based on the conceptual metaphor of SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IS A BUILDING. The emerging lexical patterns appearing in the following excerpts included: ‘to build’, ‘to lay a strong foundation’, ‘to build the foundations’, ‘set up a stable pillar of’, ‘stability’, ‘lasting regional and global stability’, ‘fundamental’, and ‘the framework of’. These expressions serve as common metaphorical source domains and are employed as a theme of analysis. The most frequent illustration of the conceptual metaphor DEMOCRACY/POLITICS AS BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION in the corpus below refers to the action of building which forms well-founded, strong, and permanent foundations of the democratic principle of Thailand.

Conceptual Mappings of Source and Target Domains of DEMOCRACY/POLITICS AS BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION

Building and construction are designed to be stable and well-founded so that they will not collapse. In other words, democratic principles and the Thai political system are designed to be stable and well-founded so that they will withstand political turmoil and insurrection, and ultimately will not collapse.

“As for the international community, we are asking for your patience to give us time as we build our country and a democracy in which the Thai people possess discipline and a true understanding of democracy with good governance” (WA02_2014_06_06)

“The NCPO wishes that a free and fair general election be held under the constitution, to lay a strong foundation for a fully functioning democracy devoid of political conflicts” (WA05_2014_06_27)

“If we build good mechanisms for democracy as we are trying to achieve in our reform phase, if everyone cooperates, then there will be no conflicts” (WA07_2014_07_11)

Building and construction are structured to be strong, solid, and permanent in order to progress towards long-term goals. This can be interpreted that the democratic principles and Thai political systems (judiciary process, election, good governance, and so on) are structured to be strong in order to progress towards long-term goals.

“Thailand is trying to build the foundations for a strong democracy, which will lead to more sustainable and mutually beneficial partnerships with the international community” (WA08_2014_07_18)

“Today it is better for us all to help set up a stable pillar of Thai democracy, rather than to criticize, particularly regarding a demand for an early election” (WA08_2014_07_18)

“I also ask for every country to be supportive of us in creating a country full of hope as well as bringing about national stability, which will lead to lasting regional and global stability in the future” (WA08_2014_07_18)

“In the past, it could be said that the flaws of democracy in Thailand is the lack of respect for fundamental democratic principles which include the respect for the law, equality, and good governance, as well as the maintenance of the check-and-balance system for executive, legislative, and judicial powers” (WA08_2014_07_18)

“If some say this matter should be so and so, they should have fixed it a long time ago within the framework of democracy” (WA10_2014_08_01)

It should be noted that the implied meaning of this source domain of building and construction connotes a strong foundation of democracy or policies. This is in agreement with Gallagher’s (2017) contention, that the idea of physically structuring a building is usually employed to portray the abstract concept of creating political processes. It expresses a positive evaluation of political activities with an assumption of subsequent valuable outcomes. It can be interpreted that this conceptual metaphor appears to be associated more with the underlying ideologies of General Prayuth, as head of NCPO, in his attempt at building a stable democracy in Thailand during times of political disturbance and insurrection.

This replicates Kamalu and Iniworikabo (2016) who believe politicians employ the metaphorical source domain of building and construction in order to present themselves as foundation layers, builders and those who are able to implement well-structured reforms and strengthen democratic principles through their proposition. This metaphor is related to progress taking place in stages towards an ultimate goal achievement (Charteris-Black, 2004). Thus, it is necessary for the Thai military government to report progress in the repair and restoration of the political system during times of political crisis.

Human Metaphor

In this subsequent part of analysis, the term ‘personification’ can be employed interchangeably as a conceptual metaphor DEMOCRACY/ POLITICS HUMAN. Because it is common to say ‘human being’ as a source domain it might be easier to label this more specifically as ‘personification’ especially when something (rather than somebody) is being strengthened. However, in the context of this study, personification is described as human being as a source domain. Therefore, the word ‘strengthen’ is normally considered as personification (Gallagher, 2017).

Further, Gallagher (2017) also asserted that a number of metaphors may be based on body positions taken up by humans. This is in line with Johnson’s (1987): The Body in the Mind where he argues that individuals create metaphors based largely on the perspective of their own bodies, especially for having a vision, facing a challenge, strengthening something, standing up for something, and so on. Hence, the word ‘facing’ is normally considered a personification or body position metaphor (Gallagher, 2017).

Conceptual Mappings of Source and Target Domains of DEMOCRACY/POLITICS AS HUMAN

A person who acts, behaves, and interacts with obstacles, personified as other humans in his/her environment. It can be interpreted that democratic principles and the political system in Thailand are represented as difficult situation.

“Democracy in Thailand is also facing many problems” (WA10_2014_08_01)

“It should also be measured on the basis of what the elections will bring and give to the people in a sustainable manner” (WA08_2014_07_18)

A person who becomes partly or wholly incapable of movement or weak, needs to be cared for in order to survive. This metaphor alludes to the democratic principles in Thailand becoming partly or wholly weak and incapable of movement, so in order to survive they need to be cared for and protected with urgent action taken to make them stronger and healthier.

“If government officials and the military did nothing, who would help the Thai people resolve this deadlock when the democratic mechanisms are paralysed” (WA01_2014_05_30)

“However, this military intervention is inevitable, in order to uphold national security and to strengthen democracy” (WA06_2014_07_04)

“A former leader of our country, who is a democracy and human rights advocate, has remarked that no one supports a coup but understand that democracy in Thailand must be strengthened in a sustainable manner” (WA13_2014_08_22)

“They hope to see the return to a strengthened democratic system” (WA08_2014_07_18)

“We therefore have had to safeguard democracy” (WA02_2014_06_06)

“We believe that, [if you were in our situation for the past 9 years] you would choose the well-being of your country above a flawed democratic system” (WA01_2014_05_30)

In the excerpts above, the conceptual metaphor DEMOCRACY/POLITICS AS HUMAN (PERSONIFICATION) can be categorized into two main areas: (1) The democratic principles and political system in Thailand are challenged by a difficult situation due to the political crisis and insurrection, and (2) The democratic principles in Thailand have become weak and ineffectual, hence incapable of strong decision making in order to survive. They hence need to be protected, allowed to convalesce to allow them to become stronger and healthier. The Thai military government, led by General Prayuth, has used this metaphor several times in his weekly addresses.

Thai democratic principles and political processes are personified as a patient. The implied meaning of this conceptual metaphor DEMOCRACY/POLITICS AS HUMAN (PERSONIFICATION) suggests that the Thai military government identifies themselves metaphorically in several roles, as a police officer to safeguard and protect the Thai democratic principles and political processes from a turbulent environment, and as a physician who can cure the country's ills.

War Metaphor

Metaphors from this source domain include words such as ‘fight’, ‘battle’, ‘protect’, ‘threat’, ‘defend’, ‘attract’, ‘destroy’, ‘defeat’,

‘fight’, and ‘struggle’. These conflict-based metaphors are dominantly employed in a political context and are commonly observed in the British manifestos (Charteris-Black, 2004). For this reason, we propose a conceptual metaphor DEMOCRACY AS WAR for a theme of analysis. The emerging significant lexis and lexical patterns of this conceptual metaphor in the selected excerpts includes words such as ‘fight’, ‘kill’, ‘win’, ‘loose’, ‘revenge’, and ‘abuse’.

Conceptual Mappings of Source and Target Domains of DEMOCRACY AS WAR

War is a conflict carried on by force of arms, as between nations or between parties within a nation or a serious disagreement or argument between two parties or more various groups of people and social groups. Its outcome can be dysfunctional if it is excessive or involves personal attacks or underhanded tactics. It can be interpreted that the democratic principles in Thailand are under threat, arising from the conditions of social and political tension leading to the coup and ultimately the risk of a civil war is feasible.

“For those who have viewpoints different from the NCPO, we do not want anyone who fights for democracy to disregard their safety, and overlook corruption and misadministration” (WA08_2014_07_18)

“If we do not adhere to any principles and continue with the old means of fighting, whether through the laws or democratic process and eventually end up killing each other, those who are stronger, have more weapons or receive more favour will win and the losing side will seek revenge” (WA11_2014_08_08)

“It was an abuse of democracy, leading to failures in governance and thus problems like lack of safety and security, lack of

credit from the global community, unfair wealth distribution, corruption, the destruction of natural resources and the environment, and the exploitation of other people via all possible means without regard to right or wrong for the public to be misled into believing that certain actions are good for them, while in truth those actions only benefit certain groups or areas and so far have not solved any of the people's basic problems" (WA13_2014_08_22)

As can be seen in the excerpts above, the conceptual metaphor DEMOCRACY AS WAR can be associated with the common source domain of games and sport. Compatibly, Kövecses (2010) asserts that people play games and participate in sports activities to entertain themselves whilst respecting the rules of the game. However, the implied meanings of specific words such as 'fight', 'kill', 'win', 'loose', 'revenge', and 'abuse' appears to suggest "no-rules" for playing political games.

According to Clark and Jordan (2014), in their narrative on Thai politics there has been a long history of violent political strife, based on the nation's decade-long political divide between "Red shirts" and "Yellow shirts". This political turmoil has resulted in deadly street clashes, politically tainted corruption trials, and the army taking control after an election derailed by protests, with an ever present threat of all-out civil war.

The underlying ideology related to the conceptual metaphor DEMOCRACY AS WAR hidden in the message is that playing games and sport could harm the symbols of unity and stability of people and the nation, if the laws of the game are not applied and adhered to by the participants. The implication is that non adherence to the rules of political democracy and gamesmanship could ultimately lead to civil war which would threaten national sovereignty and Thai society. Thus, a conceptual metaphor DEMOCRACY AS WAR conveyed in

the weekly addresses during the times of political crisis aims to raise people's awareness of the value of democratic principles which can be accepted by all sides.

Conclusion

According to the findings of this study, the data clearly lead us to conclude that the metaphors of MACHINE AND TOOLS, JOURNEY, BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION, and HUMAN appeared to be extensively utilized throughout the selected entire corpus. Evidently, the machinery lexicon has a higher overall frequency in the whole corpus as compared with journey, building, and human based metaphors. Many words that are frequent in the entire corpus are more associated with political and democracy-related issues, examples include 'a democratic system', 'the democratic mechanisms', 'a fully functioning democracy', 'steer', 'mechanisms for democracy', and 'dysfunctional state'. This data could be said to represent the necessity for having operations and functions of basic democratic principles and political processes in a regular or satisfactory manner. This is a similar point to one made by Charteris-Black (2004) with regard to the use of machine-based metaphors that ensure a smooth circulation within the new industrial conditions.

As previously discussed, journey-based metaphors can be conceptualized metaphorically through the words 'step' and 'forward'. It is clearly associated with the phrasal verb 'move' which appeared to be predominantly utilized in selected corpus. These phrases and the clauses denote a positive stance towards the status quo regarding the concepts and issues of democracy, and moving forward, steering the right path toward improved stability.

With regards to the conceptualization of democratic principles and political process as a building and construction, the key is to

conceptualize the urgency of installation for lasting stability through the use of key verb and noun phrases such as ‘to lay a strong foundation for a fully functioning democracy’, ‘to build good mechanisms for democracy’, ‘to build the foundations for a strong democracy’, ‘to set up a stable pillar of Thai democracy’, ‘fundamental democratic principles’, and ‘the framework of democracy’. In these examples, the phrases rely on a metaphorical sense of a building well-grounded and with stable bases. This is in agreement with Charteris-Black (2004) who feels that “metaphors from the source domain of building are typically evaluative, carrying a strong positive connotation and are employed to express aspiration towards desired social goals such as peace, democracy and progress towards a better future” (p. 100).

A further interesting finding emerging from concordance in this specific-context discourse is that General Prayuth, as a leader of the caretaker government, utilizes figurative language as the so-called personalization for the term ‘democracy’ to influence his potential audiences’ psychological and emotional responses. It should be interpreted that this military government specifically personifies the concept as having human characteristics and traits to support its proposition in relation to the importance of stability within Thai democracy and politics.

Further, utilizing the conflict-based conceptual metaphors in association with the concept of democracy, these specific source domains of conceptual metaphors evoke the public’s attention to a high degree of mutual agreement and cooperation between the Thai military government and its potential audience, many of whom may have different political views. Further, they play a crucial role in signaling the potential audiences’ awareness to be engaged in establishing for a well-founded, permanent, and fully functioning democratically structured political process in Thailand.

The analysis from this current study leads us to conclude that metaphors enable social actors to communicate effectively with one another by expressing their ideologies more persuasively through metaphoric illustration which appeal cognitively and imaginatively to the audience's knowledge of historical, cultural, and political aspects.

According to Semino and Masci (1996), all metaphors are politically motivated at a certain level and are a conceptualization of reality. Beyond concordances of the term 'democracy' and 'democratic', the Thai military government has also tended to promote Thai democracy and its associated political system in line with the ideals of freedom, participation, transparency, common interest, practicality, peace and sustainability in order to restore national happiness.

The study also suggests that the Thai military government, led by General Prayuth Chan-o-cha, has exploited metaphorical expressions in order to shed light on, and inspire confidence toward, the impending resumption of democratic and political process. Thus, these positive connotations lead us to interpret that the Thai military government is attempting to promote national reconciliation to bring about a viable-and-stable democracy for achieving political calm as opposed to political turbulence and insurrection.

Recommendation

As already discussed the frequency-based lexical analyses and collocations surrounding the target term 'democracy' and 'democratic' from 15 selected weekly addresses is the focal point for this metaphor study. Further larger scale studies of this kind might include (1) a no focusing on specific terms and (2) a contrast metaphor study between the addresses delivered during General Prayuth tenures as head of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) and subsequently as prime minister. In so doing, a massive amount of candidate metaphors

might appear and mapped with many source domains of conceptual metaphors to reveal the discursive representation of ideologies on politics and democracy-related issues more meaningfully.

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