



**THESIS APPROVAL**  
**GRADUATE SCHOOL, KASETSART UNIVERSITY**

Master of Arts (English for Specific Purposes)

**DEGREE**

English for Specific Purposes

**FIELD**

Foreign Languages

**DEPARTMENT**

**TITLE:** A Study of Metaphor Reflecting the Opinions of International Mass Media  
on Thai Politics

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**THESIS**

**A STUDY OF METAPHOR REFLECTING THE OPINIONS OF  
INTERNATIONAL MASS MEDIA ON THAI POLITICS**



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**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts (English for Specific Purposes)  
Graduate School, Kasetsart University**

**2011**

Wannaporn Niyomthong 2011: A Study of Metaphor Reflecting the Opinions of International Mass Media on Thai Politics. Master of Arts (English for Specific Purposes), Major Field: English for Specific Purposes, Department of Foreign Languages. Thesis Advisor: Assistant Professor Chamaipak Tayjasant, Ph.D. 204 pages.

The main objectives of this study were to study forms and meaning domains of metaphors in Thai political news published in two international news magazines and to study political concepts of the international news magazines reflected by metaphor on Thai political news. The data were collected from the Internet-based *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines between August 2008 and July 2009. The analysis of conceptual metaphors as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) was based on the theoretical frameworks of cognitive semantics, the tenor and vehicle and componential analysis.

The results of the study yielded 24 conceptual domains of metaphor in Thai political news, reflecting how the international mass media conceptualized Thai politics; *viz.*, war, competitive game or sport, nature, life, business, journey, firing, drama, disease, gambling, brittle object, construction, arson, earning a living, music, cooking, religion, refrigeration, family, model, machine, furniture, supernatural and justice. The findings also revealed their concepts of the Thai political systems (e.g., something damaged during the war and living thing), Thai political institutions (e.g., army and player), Thai politicians (e.g., warrior and player), Thai political activities (e.g., war and competitive game), and Thai interest groups (e.g., animal and broker).

The present study offers a useful way of examining the underlying opinions of the international mass media concerning Thai politics, which has received global attention in recent years, so that the parties concerned can explain the facts in cases where information is inaccurate before this has a negative impact on international public opinion.

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Student's signature

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Thesis Advisor's signature

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this research could not have been possible without the care and consideration from these persons who, during several months in which my effort went on, provided me kind support, useful contribution, and encouragement. First of all, I wish to thank Assistant Professor Chamaipak Tayjasanant, Ph.D., my thesis advisor, who devoted her precious time to giving me valuable advice, insightful remarks and research supervision from the preliminary to the final step in order to complete the thesis. Second, I would like to thank Ajarn Richard James Goldrick, who provided assistance throughout the editing process.

It is also a pleasure to thank my committee members for their valuable comments on the study. In addition, I would like to show my gratitude to all my teachers of the ESP program for giving me useful knowledge both within or outside the classroom. I really appreciate all of the support and encouragement from my colleagues, friends, especially my classmates during the time we carried out our individual research.

I would like to express special thanks to the websites of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines for making the data available for my research and also to the previous researchers for good guidance.

Finally, I am indebted to my beloved family for their warm understanding, unconditional support and great encouragement throughout these years. Their kindness, patience and understanding during the study will never be forgotten. Thank you very much.

Wannaporn Niyomthong  
March 2011

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### Statement of the Problem

Events related to Thai politics have been closely monitored by the international mass media in recent years since the 2006 coup d'état the Royal Thai Army staged against the elected government of caretaker Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. According to *The Nation* (2009), a Thai English language daily newspaper, Thailand has been one of the top news stories of international news agencies such as BBC, CNN, al-Jazeera and NHK during the peaks of the 2008 political crisis. China's Xinhua news agency ranked the Thai political turmoil among its top ten international news events in 2008, and international newspapers like the *International Herald Tribune*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Financial Times* reported on Thailand's troubled political situation several times a week. *Time* (2008), an American news magazine, stated in a headline, "Thailand's political crisis becomes a global one," when anti-government protesters seized Suvarnabhumi International Airport.

Hence, it is important to be aware of the coverage given Thailand by international mass media, especially their language use, because news language has "a particular signifying power (the power to represent things in particular ways)" (Fairclough, 1995 cited in Harrison, 2006: 24). Their use of language and their choice of what to emphasize, therefore, may have a major impact on readers' perceptions of topics or issues in many ways. Importantly, their language may not be neutral and may reflect an existing attitude which can influence, shift or shape public opinion, behavior, and decision making in different ways. There are different theories about how mass media influence people's attitudes, worldview, and behavior such as theories of cognitive processing, e.g., agenda setting, framing, and priming (Lowery and DeFleur, 1995 cited in Fog, 2004: 10). Some negative attitudes may have been pushed or guided by the international mass media, affecting the country's image, including confidence in Thailand on the part of foreign investors.

Regarding language use, the mass media often use vivid figurative language like metaphor to make political news more interesting and attract the readers' attention. Ortony (1980) stated that metaphors are often used to communicate ideas that are difficult to express or describe in words. They help us understand some abstract concepts much clearer by using words which explain concretely the feeling based on similar concepts. For example, "The demonstrators, who call themselves the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD), had been calling for Samak's ouster ever since he took office, labeling him nothing more than a *puppet* of former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, who himself had been deposed by a bloodless military coup in 2006" (Beech, 2008: para. 2). The metaphor "puppet" means "a person or organization that allows other people to control them and make their decisions" (Longman, 2007: 1237).

Metaphors, furthermore, are thought to be central to cognition. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), our ordinary conceptual system or human thought processes are largely metaphorical in nature, reflecting how we view the world. According to Kvalheim (2000: 3), conceptual metaphors or cognitive metaphors are "relationships created in the cognitive system that make sense and can be communicated to others." For example, when we talk about an argument, the concept *argument* is metaphorically presented as *war* in a variety of verbal battle expressions in everyday English as follows:

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

His criticisms were *right on target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*

If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*.

He *shot down* all of my arguments.

(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 4)

In these expressions, arguments are viewed in terms of war – defense, attack and counterattack – in this culture. Thus, this often-quoted conceptual metaphor is ARGUMENT IS WAR, which reflects the actions a person performs in arguing with an opponent.

Seeing that a considerable number of metaphors used in English news and that people in one culture may view or experience something differently from those in another culture (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), the study and analysis of metaphor found in international mass media coverage is both interesting and worthwhile. This study thus focuses on finding the forms and the domains of meaning of metaphors in news concerning Thai politics published in online international news magazines. Online international news magazines have been chosen as the focus because they have never been explored before. Additionally, the study aims to examine how the international mass media conceptualize Thai politics, the transition of Thai society and the daily life of Thai people who are concerned with politics and how this conceptualization is reflected through metaphor, for little analytical research has been conducted on political metaphors, and the few studies that have been done have concentrated on Thai newspapers or Thai English-language newspapers and thus have only reflected concepts of reporters who were Thai.

### **Objectives of the Study and Research Questions**

This study aims to explore forms and meaning domains of metaphor in Thai political news published in the Internet-based *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines and to examine their conceptual metaphors in order to discover their views of Thai politics. Based on these objectives, the following two research questions have been formulated:

1. What are the forms and meaning domains of metaphors in Thai political news published in these international news magazines?

2. What are the concepts concerning Thai politics of international news magazines reflected by the metaphors they use in reporting Thai political news?

### **Scope of the Study**

The study analyzed metaphor in Thai political news, focusing on Internet-based *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines only. The reason why these American news magazines were selected is that both magazines are internationally distributed in the form of both print weekly news magazines and web-based daily magazines. The data was collected from these international news magazines from August 2008 to July 2009 because there were continuous reports on Thai political events from ex-premier Thaksin's fleeing Thailand for London, the invasion of Government House by the supporters of the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD), the resignation of then-PM Samak Sundaravej, PAD's seizure of Suvarnabhumi International Airport, the dissolution of Somchai Wongsawat's administration, the inauguration of the new administration of PM Abhisit Vejjajiva, the protests forcing the cancellation of ASEAN summit in Pattaya, and the anti-government riots in April 2009. The political news studied was limited to only Thai political news; i.e., that concerned with the Thai government, Thai politicians, government affairs, parliamentary activities and Thai political parties.

### **Research Contribution**

The results of the study of political metaphors used in international mass media coverage will be beneficial to different groups of readers in several ways. First, readers will have a better, clearer, and deeper knowledge of the views of international mass media concerning Thai politics. The study can also be a guideline for teachers teaching English for journalism. In addition, it can provide some suggestions for students who want to work in the field of mass media, specifically those who need to develop professional writing skills to achieve the goal of effective communication due to the fact that readers include both native speakers and non-native speakers of English. Furthermore, the research can raise awareness of the

language use of the international mass media among people who are involved in responding to media coverage of Thai government affairs. Importantly, when the government is aware of the mass media's viewpoints conveyed through metaphors in Thai political news content, it can explain the facts about current situations in the country to the international community. This is beneficial in protecting the country's image and maintaining the confidence of investors should the international mass media carry negative attitudes about Thai political situations. Finally, the research is useful for further comparative studies of political metaphors across languages.

### **Definitions of Terms**

**Metaphor** refers to a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is used to understand one thing in terms of another thing based on some similar concept or idea without the use of a comparative word such as 'like', 'as', 'compare', 'resemble' like simile.

**Conceptual metaphor** is a metaphor which refers to the understanding of one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain by using concrete words or metaphorical linguistic expressions to understand the abstract concept.

**Cognitive semantics** refers to the study of lexical semantics associated with the human conceptual system by virtue of our everyday cognitive experience.

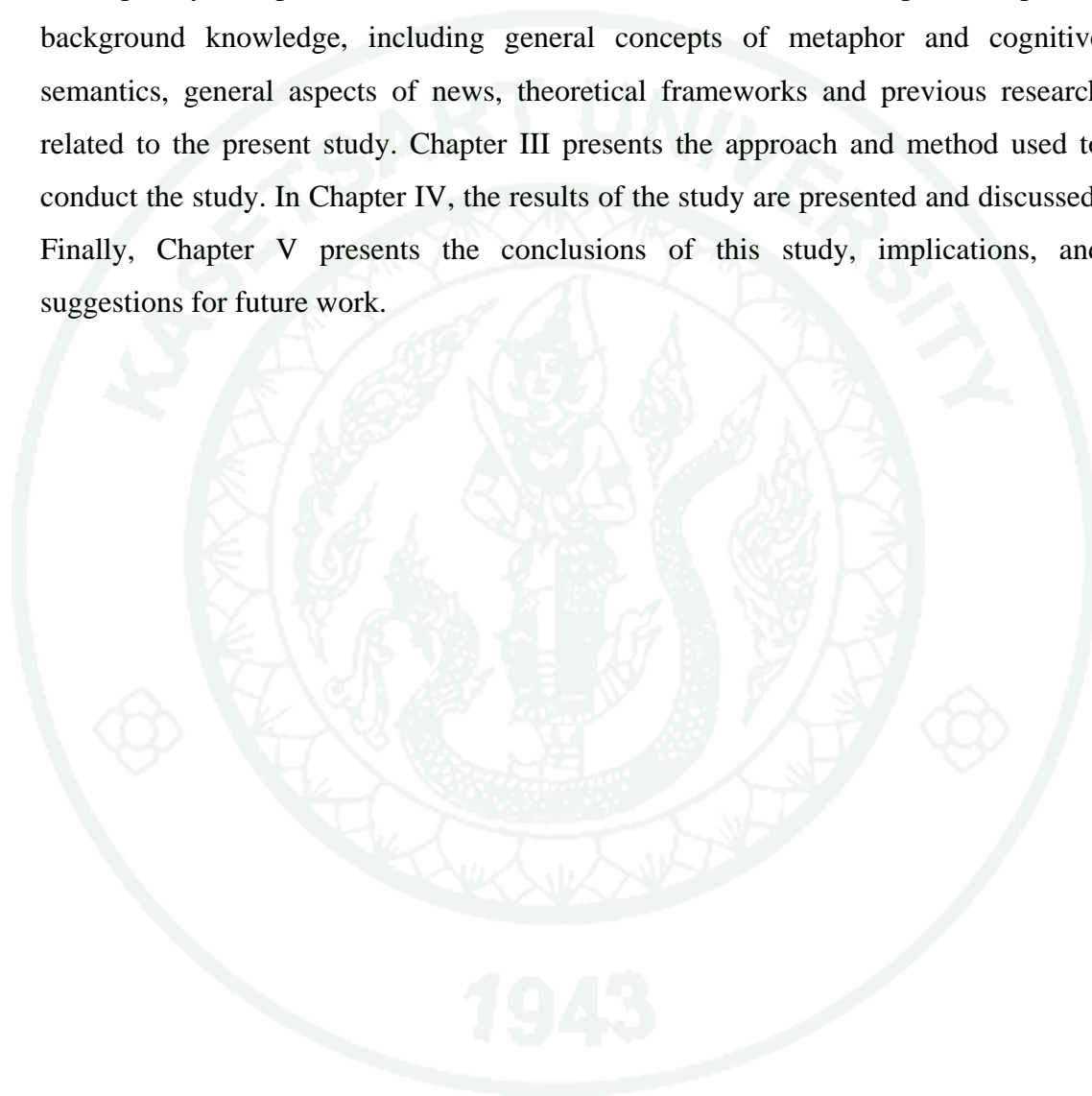
**Tenor** refers to the thing to which a metaphorical expression is applied.

**Vehicle** refers to the metaphorical expression through which the tenor is applied.

**Componential analysis** refers to the systematic description of semantic components between related words by determining the presence and absence of linguistic feature.

## Outline of the Thesis

This chapter has described objectives of the study in accordance with the research questions, and discussed the scope of the study and research contribution. Subsequently, Chapter II reviews the related literature in order to provide specific background knowledge, including general concepts of metaphor and cognitive semantics, general aspects of news, theoretical frameworks and previous research related to the present study. Chapter III presents the approach and method used to conduct the study. In Chapter IV, the results of the study are presented and discussed. Finally, Chapter V presents the conclusions of this study, implications, and suggestions for future work.



## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter aims to review concepts, theoretical frameworks and the previous research that are concerned with the study. Five topics are discussed in the five sections of this chapter. The first section presents general concepts on metaphor, which comprise definitions of metaphor and types of conceptual metaphor. The second describes general concepts of cognitive semantics. The third examines general aspects of news, which comprise the definitions of “news”, the types and elements of news, the structure of news stories and the principles of news writing. The next section deals with theoretical frameworks of conceptual metaphor, the tenor and vehicle and the componential analysis for the present study. The final section discusses the previous research related to this study.

#### General Concepts of Metaphor

##### Definitions of Metaphor

Metaphor is a figure of speech used to compare two things, saying that one is like the other. According to Knowles and Moon (2006: 3), metaphor is “the use of language to refer to something other than what it was originally applied to, or what it ‘literally’ means, in order to suggest some resemblance or make a connection between the two things” as in “We used to *thrash* all the teams in the Keith Schoolboy League. We had a great squad and no-one could *touch* us.” The metaphors ‘thrash’ and ‘touch’ imply the victory and great superiority over the other teams, respectively. Here, two views of metaphor will be discussed: the traditional view and the view of cognitive linguistics.

Traditionally, as claimed by Geeraerts (2006: 185-186), “metaphor is primarily in the realm of poetic or figurative language”, this is to say, it is “a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of their normal conventional meaning to express a similar concept.” Furthermore, the metaphor is viewed as a matter of lexical items or words. Based on Knowles and Moon’s statement (2006), metaphor can be easily understood as a kind of substitution or transfer and a comparison. The former involves a word or expression with two or more different meanings, whereby the word or expression with a secondary metaphorical meaning is substituted for another with a literal meaning as schematically shown below.

Word A        has literal meaning **A**  
 Word B        has literal meaning **B1**  
                   has metaphorical meaning **B2**  
 Metaphor:    **B2 is substituted for A**

(Knowles and Moon, 2006: 66)

Metaphor seen as a comparison suggests a resemblance between the tenor and the vehicle of the metaphor, saying how the vehicle is like the tenor, as shown schematically below.

Word A        has literal meaning **A**  
 Word B        has literal meaning **B**  
 Metaphor:    “**A is B**” means “A is like B in being x, y, z”

(Knowles and Moon, 2006: 67; Ong and Ong, 1996: 24)

Knowles and Moon (2006) explained that the process of understanding metaphor above shows the different meanings of the two words in a metaphor and also the close relationship between metaphor and simile. Metaphor in the traditional view, nevertheless, is considered as a linguistic phenomenon, namely the substitution of word or expression for another based on the similarity without using a comparative word such as ‘like’, ‘as’, ‘compare’, ‘resemble’ as in the simile. It is used to describe,

clarify, express, evaluate, entertain or explain what something is like in a creative or interesting way (cf. Aristotle, 1954).

In cognitive linguistics, however, metaphor is seen to be behind much of everyday language. It is not just a matter of language or of words, but of thought and concepts. The influential work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) stated that metaphor is prevalent in everyday life, not only in language. They argued that the human conceptual system is basically metaphorical, reflecting what we think and how we view the world. The metaphor can provide insights into concepts. The essence of metaphor, they explained, is “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 5). For example, the aforementioned conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR reflects the way argument is thought of and viewed.

Metaphor was defined by Lakoff (1993 cited in Hiraga, 2005) as mappings, or correspondences, between conceptual domains, namely the source domain and the target domain. The source domain is the conceptual domain metaphorically used to understand another conceptual domain by means of the use of terms from the concrete source field. Specifically, the source domain refers to objects and events (Wee, 2005). The target domain is the abstract semantic domain that we are trying to understand. Lakoff (1993 cited in Hiraga, 2005) said that the target domain is understood by image-schemata of the source domain. In other words, metaphoric mappings, as explicated by Deane (1995 cited in Hiraga, 2005), can transfer knowledge or meaning from the source domain to the target without changing image-schematic structure of either domain; i.e., any part / whole relations in the source domain and target domain must correlate.

Kovecses (2002: 4) discussed metaphor as “understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain” so as to make the understanding of abstract concept in the target domain easier through the use of concrete words or expressions in the more familiar source domain. For example, we may talk about the target domain of “social organizations” by using the source domain as “plants” as in these examples given by Kovecses (2002: 8).

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS

He works for the local *branch* of the bank.

Our company is *growing*.

They had to *prune* the workforce.

The organization was *rooted* in the old church.

There is now a *flourishing* black market in software there.

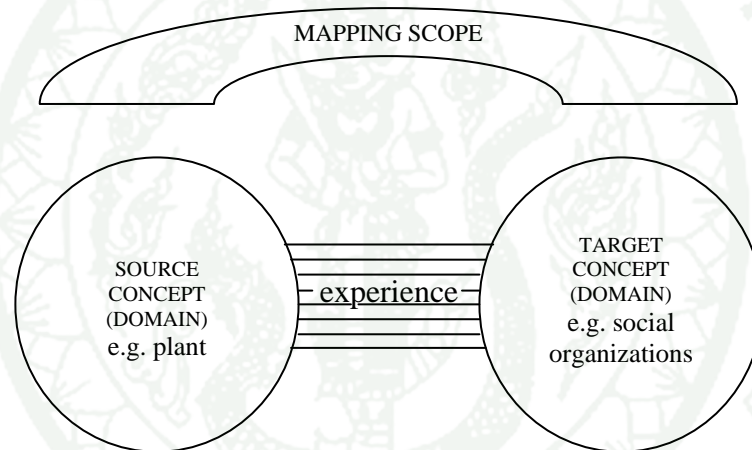
His business *blossomed* when the railways put his establishment within reach of the big city.

Employers *reaped* enormous benefits from cheap foreign labour.

The above examples show that conceptual metaphor is systematic association in both language and thought. Specifically, it is the relationship between conceptual metaphors (ways of thinking) and metaphorical linguistic expressions (ways of talking), namely the metaphorical linguistic expressions that display conceptual metaphors (Kovecses, 2002). In the case of the above example, constituent elements of plants correspond systematically to constituent elements of social organizations, such as companies, as shown by Kovecses (ibid.: 8) below. The words about plants are systematically connected with the organizations by the following set of mappings which characterize the SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS conceptual metaphor:

<i>Source:</i> PLANT		<i>Target:</i> SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS
(a) the whole plant	-	the entire organization
(b) a part of the plant	-	a part of the organization
(c) growth of the plant	-	development of the organization
(d) removing a part of the plant	-	reducing the organization
(e) the root of the plant	-	the origin of the organization
(f) the flowering	-	the best stage, the most successful stage
(g) the fruits or crops	-	the beneficial consequences

Understanding more abstract domains, however, is based on experience - cognitive, physiological, biological, cultural, or whatever. This is to say, experience is critical to understanding conceptual metaphors (Kovecses, 2002). As the previous example, the SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS conceptual metaphor is understood in an experiential sense across different conceptual domains. Buchmuller (2008: 4) pointed out that conceptual metaphor was “an unconscious imaginative mechanism of meaning extension across conceptual domains: from an experiential (i.e. sensory-motor/imagistic) source domain to an ‘abstract’ (i.e. non-sensory-motor/introperspective) target domain.” The diagram below shows an experiential connection of metaphorical mapping between two conceptual domains.



**Figure 2.1** Basic components of metaphorical mapping

Source: Adapted from Ungerer and Schmid (2006: 119)

The diagram above affirms that the source-to-target mapping – in addition to objective, literal, and preexisting similarity between the source and the target according to the traditional view – can be motivated by the experiential bases or motivation of conceptual metaphors (Kovecses, 2002). This is to say, the source-to-target mapping, in the cognitive linguistic view, can arise from nonobjective, nonliteral, and nonpreexisting similarity between a source and target domain. Kovecses (2002) also explained that similarity between the source and the target cannot completely account for the basis of metaphor, saying that conceptual

metaphors may be based on correlations in experience, perceived structural similarity and source as the root of the target as further elaborated below:

### **1. Correlations in Experience**

Some metaphors are based on correlations in human experience, namely that an event is not similar to another event, but they are correlated in experience. For instance, the conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP derives from our everyday experience, for when fluid is added to a container, the fluid level will rise. This shows the correlation between two concepts, namely that change in quantity is understood in terms of change in verticality. In other words, when the quantity of a substance increases (MORE), the level of the substance rises (UP); conversely, when the quantity of the substance decreases (LESS), the level of the substance falls (DOWN). However, some conceptual metaphors have no clear correlation in experience.

### **2. Perceived Structural Similarity**

Some metaphors arise from nonobjective and nonpreexisting similarity between the structure of one domain and that of another by virtue of the basis of perception. For instance, the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME can be understood by structural similarity between actions in human life and gambling game; i.e., life's actions are metaphorically viewed as gambles as it appears in such expressions as "I'll *take my chances*," "The *odds are against me*," and "Where is he when the *chips are down*?" Further, their consequences are viewed as either winning or losing such as "He *won big*."

### **3. Perceived Structural Similarity Induced by Basic Metaphors**

In some cases, the perception of structural similarity draws on a basic type of metaphor called ontological metaphor. This kind of metaphor gives the concrete shape of objects, substances and containers to nonphysical entities and events or abstract concepts. It shares a basic shape or status between an abstract and a concrete

concept, and this leads to the perception of a basic structural similarity between the two concepts. An example is in the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD, which arises from the following mappings (Kovecses, 2002: 73):

*Target:* IDEAS

*Source:* FOOD

- |                       |   |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| (a) thinking          | - | cooking<br>e.g. Let me <i>stew over</i> this.             |
| (b) accepting         | - | swallowing<br>e.g. I can't <i>swallow</i> that claim.     |
| (c) considering       | - | chewing<br>e.g. Let me <i>chew over</i> the proposal.     |
| (d) understanding     | - | digesting<br>e.g. I can't <i>digest</i> all these ideas.  |
| (e) mental well-being | - | nourishment<br>e.g. He <i>thrives on</i> stuff like this. |

#### 4. Source as the Root of the Target

In some other cases, the root of the target becomes the source metaphorically used to understand the target domain. The source may be the biological and cultural roots of the target and leads to the creation of conceptual metaphors. For example, the source BOND in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A BOND shows biologically determined state of the relationship between a mother and a child, whereas the source WAR in the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR shows cultural root of the target which developed from fighting domain in the past.

In each culture, however, people view, understand and experience something differently as reflected through each culture's tradition of discourse and text; e.g., the concept in modern Western culture of time as something that is valuable. The metaphorical concept TIME IS MONEY is reflected in our everyday

language by a variety of English expressions as in the following examples (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 7-8).

TIME IS MONEY

You're *wasting* my time.

This gadget will *save* you hours.

I don't *have* the time to give you.

How do you *spend* your time these days?

That flat tire *cost* me an hour.

I've *invested* a lot of time in her.

I don't *have enough* time to spare for that.

You're *running out* of time.

You need to *budget* your time.

*Put aside* some time for ping pong.

Is that *worth your while*?

Do you *have* much time left?

He's living on *borrowed* time.

You don't *use* your time *profitably*.

I *lost* a lot of time when I got sick.

*Thank you* for your time.

Studying Thai culture, Kvalheim (2000) found no metaphorical concept of TIME IS MONEY. Thai people view and talk about TIME mostly as CONTAINMENT, RESOURCE, and MOVING OBJECT as in the following examples.

TIME IS CONTAINMENT

a) นาที เต็ม

minute full

a full minute

b) เวลา กลาง วัน

time middle day

midday

- c) ภายใน เวลา เพียง หนึ่งชั่วคน  
 within time merely one lifetime  
 within just one lifetime
- d) ใน ปี ค.ศ. 2304  
 In year A.D. 2304

These examples from Kvalheim (2000), however, affirm Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) claim that some metaphors are universal. Although most metaphors are culture-specific, languages have conventional metaphors which may be more or less the same. In this case, it may be pointed out that English shares the conceptual metaphor TIME IS CONTAINMENT with Thai; therefore, indicating the universality of this particular conceptual metaphor.

### **Types of Conceptual Metaphor**

Conceptual metaphor can be classified according to the cognitive function into three types: structural, orientational, and ontological metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

#### **A. Structural Metaphor**

A structural metaphor is a metaphor in which a concept is structured or represented instead of another so that the source domain (usually a more concrete concept) provides corresponding frameworks for the target domain (typically an abstract concept) making it possible to understand the target concept. It reflects the ways in which we think, behave, talk about entities and activities or carry out activities as in the case of ARGUMENT IS WAR (Knowles and Moon, 2006).

## B. Orientational Metaphor

An orientational, or coherence, metaphor is a metaphor in which a whole system of concepts is organized and spatially related each other in the way which Kovecses (2002) identified as bipolar, bivalent or spatial orientations such as up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, center-periphery and near-far. Most orientational metaphor results from physical, social and cultural experience; for example, when we speak of sad events, the metaphorical concept SAD is oriented DOWN because of falling physical posture (Ong and Ong, 1996). Further, upward orientation is mostly viewed as positive, whereas downward orientation is viewed as negative, as can be seen in the following examples (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 15-16):

MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN

The number of books printed each year keeps going *up*.

His draft number is *high*.

My income *rose* last year.

The amount of artistic activity in this state has gone *down* in the past year.

The number of errors he made is incredibly *low*.

His income *fell* last year.

He is *underage*.

If you're too hot, turn the heat *down*.

Nevertheless, orientational metaphor differs in each culture; e.g., the terms “future” in some cultures refers to the events being in front of us, whereas some is in back (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

## C. Ontological Metaphor

An ontological, or physical, metaphor is a metaphor in which abstract target concepts or nonphysical entities, such as experiences, events, activities, actions, states, emotions, and ideas, can be understood through something concrete or physical, such as objects, entities, substances and containers as if they have physical

properties. Knowles and Moon (2006) gave these examples: facing problems, a sick society, and a headache for the government. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) explained that we can refer to our experience as entities or substances; we can classify them, group them, quantify them and reason about them as soon as we correlate our experience to them. Here are some examples that refer to the experience (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 26):

INFLATION IS AN ENTITY

*Inflation is lowering* our standard of living.

If there's much *more inflation*, we'll never survive.

We need to *combat inflation*.

*Inflation is backing us* into a corner.

*Inflation is taking its toll* at the checkout counter and the gas pump.

Buying land is the best way of *dealing with inflation*.

*Inflation makes me sick*.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) pointed out that in these examples, inflation was viewed as an entity to which we refer; we can quantify it, identify its particular aspects, view it as a cause and act on it. Nevertheless, they also said that ontological metaphors do not enable us to understand very much about nonphysical things.

Some overlap was found among the three types of metaphor by Knowles and Moon (2006); namely, ontological functions can be also found in the first two types of metaphor. Ontological metaphors often serve as the bases of structural metaphors and therefore depend on structured source domains.

### **General Concepts of Cognitive Semantics**

Cognitive semantics is an important part of the study of metaphor. It focuses on semantics (meaning) concerning the human conceptual system, of which most, as claimed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), are metaphorically structured. According to cognitive linguistics, the meanings of words are grounded in our everyday cognitive experience. Consequently, cognitive semantics, as defined by Evans and Green

(2006), is the study of the association between experience, embodied cognition and language. Similarly, cognitive semantics, as stated in the work of Yu (2009: 28), is the study of language, particularly the semantic and conceptual structure underlying it, as “a window into the mind and culture.” Their definitions support the statement of Lakoff (1987: 291-292), who interestingly discussed the relationship between language, thought and cognition as follows:

Language is thus based on cognition. The structure of language uses the same devices used to structure cognitive models – image schemas, which are understood in terms of bodily functioning. Language is made meaningful because it is directly tied to meaningful thought and depends upon the nature of thought. Thought is made meaningful via two direct connections to preconceptual bodily functioning, which is in turn highly constrained, but by no means totally constrained, by the nature of the world that we function within.

In experiential realism, there is no unbridgeable gulf between language and thought on one hand and the world on the other. Language and thought are meaningful because they are motivated by our functioning as part of reality.

Sweetser (1990) also asserted that language is systematically based on human cognition and results from human perception and everyday human experience.

In the study of cognitive semantics, two major basic elements have to be considered as follows:

1. The *basic-level concepts*, according to Lakoff (1987), result from our ability for gestalt perception, mental imagery, and motor movements. For example, we can distinguish pandas from elephants, roses from tulips or televisions from radios. The fact that our capacity for basic-level categorization arises from our experience, which is preconceptually structured, and our capacity for dealing with part-whole structure emerges from gestalt perception, motor movement, and the

creation of rich mental image. Therefore, our basic-level concepts relate to the preconceptual structure.

2. *Image schemas*, according to Johnson (1987), are the mental images or pictorial concepts which we learn through our embodied experience; in other words, experience is understood by image schemas, which are elements of the cognitive unconscious structure that help us understand concrete phenomena. He and Lakoff (1987) pointed out that our concepts about the world, called ‘mental models,’ are largely grounded on image schemas. Also, the meanings of words grounded in our everyday perceptual experience are naturally image-schemas by means of which we call up images in the mind.

In contemporary cognitive linguistics, image schemas are mental patterns of embodied experience which stimulate conceptual metaphor mappings in the way we think, imagine, and reason. Image schematic metaphors are thus deeply embedded in our language and thought. Image schemas, as explained by Katz, Cacciari, Gibbs, and Turner (1998), provide a broad range of experiential structures which help us understand more abstract concepts via metaphor. For example, the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER is a conceptual mapping between a heated fluid in a container and anger. Understanding this conceptual metaphor necessarily depends on our bodily experience about fluid becoming heated and on the image schema for CONTAINMENT like ‘in-out’ of container to convey the intensity of anger (Katz *et al.*, 1998).

In addition, Lakoff and Johnson’s work (2003) argued that metaphor was a neural phenomenon. The metaphorical mappings are neural connections between neural maps in different parts of the brain. They illustrated the AFFECTION IS WARMTH metaphor, saying the various parts of the brain which deal with emotion and temperature are activated together and develop a neural association. They (1999: 57) explain the process by which the metaphoric conceptual system is established as follows:

...Whenever a domain of subjective experience or judgment is coactivated regularly with a sensorimotor domain, permanent neural connections are established via synaptic weight changes. Those connections, which you have unconsciously formed by the thousands, provide inferential structure and qualitative experience activated in the sensorimotor system to the subjective domains they are associated with...

...Our enormous metaphoric conceptual system is thus built up by a process of neural selection. Certain neural connection between the activated source- and target domain networks are randomly established first and then have their synaptic weights increased through their recurrent firing. The more times those connections are activated, the more the weights are increased, until permanent connections are forged. ...

### **General Aspects of News**

#### **Definitions of News**

Different scholars or educators define “news” in a different ways. This is to say, no definition of news is absolute due to the fact that each reader is interested in different topics. The selection of news or the decision as to which events are newsworthy depends on editors and reporters, based on the interest of their particular readers or audience; Agee, Ault and Emery (1983: 23) stated, “News is an abstract concept whose shape changes as the interests of human change.” The most widely quoted and best-known definition of news is that of Bogart (1877 cited in Agee *et al.*, 1983: 24), the city editor of the New York *Sun*, who said, “When a dog bites a man that is not news; but when a man bites a dog, that is news.” A more useful definition may be that of Reah (1998: 4), who described news as “information about recent events that are of interest to a sufficiently large group, or that may affect the lives of a sufficiently large group.”

In magazines with specialist readers, McKay (2000) stated that news could be almost any piece of information or opinion which might draw the readers' interest. However, Agee, Ault, and Emery (1997) specified that the news in magazines was summarization and interpretation of information from many sources and usually presented in in-depth weekly articles on current events discussing trends in different fields. Furthermore, Itule and Anderson (1994) pointed out that the differences between the news magazine and the newspaper, apart from more in-depth stories in magazines, were the deadline pressure and the limitation in the length of stories. Namely, the news magazine has less frequent deadlines than the newspaper and a broader range of coverage. Magazine journalists have more time to explore a topic and complete their reportage and have more space for in-depth articles than do newspaper reporters; for example, the stories in the newspapers may be limited to 10 or 12 inches, whereas the stories in magazines may run 50 or more inches.

### **Types of News**

In general, news is divided into three broad categories: hard news, soft news and investigative reports.

#### **A. Hard News**

Hard news, also called *spot news* or *straight news*, is event-centered coverage. News of an event is gathered, written, edited, produced, and disseminated within 24 hours and becomes an issue of ongoing concern (Jamieson and Campbell, 2006). Hard news composes basic facts: who, what, when, where and how. News stories report important public events or specific, tangible, sensational events which may have a wide significance or effect on many people such as government actions, the passage of a bill by Congress, international happenings, social conditions, the economy, crime, environment, science, fire, shootings and deaths of prominent persons (Dominick, 1999; Agee *et al.*, 1983).

McKay (2000: 4) stated, “Hard news is seen as exciting, frontline and edgy, largely about war or crime or affairs of state.” Stein, Paterno and Burnett (2006: 4-5) further stated, “Spot news usually happens within a 24-hour time frame,” and “straight news usually informs readers quickly, clearly and concisely in a ‘just the facts, ma’am’ writing style that holds interest.” Similarly, Itule and Anderson (1994) claimed hard news is timely reportage by mass media chronicling as concisely as possible the who, what, where, when, why and how of an event. Hard news events affect a wide variety of people. Jamieson and Campbell (2006: 42-50) characterized hard news as follows:

1. Hard news is personalized and individualized.
2. Hard news is dramatic, conflict-filled, and violent.
3. Hard news is action, an event and an identifiable occurrence.
4. Hard news is novel, deviant, out of the ordinary.
5. Hard news reports events linked to issues prevalent in the news at the time.

#### **B. Soft, or Feature, News**

Soft, or feature, news reports on events which may not be immediately important to the lives of a large number of people. It aims to catch people’s interest in the news value and elicit their curiosity, sympathy, skepticism or amazement (Dominick, 1999; Itule and Anderson, 1994). According to Lorenz and Vivian (1996), it aims more to entertain than to inform. This type of news story can be about people, places, animals, topics, events, or products such as how people are coping with cold weather or the re-emerging popularity of soft-top automobiles (Dominick, 1999; Itule and Anderson, 1994), but it does not aim to “examine the people, places, and things that shape the world, nation or community” (Itule and Anderson, 1994: 482).

### **C. Investigative reports**

Investigative reports are those that present the results of inquiry into matters of concern to the general public. These are not routine reports and require a great deal of time, money and energy in gathering facts (Dominick, 1999).

### **The Elements of News**

News, or newsworthy events, should have at least one of the following important elements: timeliness, proximity, prominence, consequence, human interest or conflict (Dominick, 1999; Tumber, 1999; Itule and Anderson, 1994; Newsom and Wollert, 1985; Agee *et al.*, 1983).

#### **A. Timeliness**

News is an immediate report of the events happening to readers. News is new or fresh, timely information about events. It implies the interaction of a news source, a news medium, and a news audience. Since news is an urgent need in every social organization, timeliness is an important element because old news is not interesting. This element is often found in the lead, which tells the main point and is the most important part of news story.

#### **B. Proximity**

News of close-to-home occurrences naturally holds more people's interest than that of far-from-home events, except those affecting their living.

#### **C. Prominence or Eminence**

“Names make news” is a well-known saying in journalism. The more prominent or well-known the person involved, the more newsworthy the happenings; thus, the activities of heads of state, prime ministers, political leaders, sports and entertainment figures or even infamous criminals are news.

#### **D. Consequence and Impact**

Events that have an impact on readers' lives, community or nation – no matter what – such as an economic downturn, a tax increase, mass layoffs by major employers, inflation or drought are news.

#### **E. Human Interest**

Human interest stories appeal to the readers' emotions or capture their interest and are mostly concerned with animals, children, or the elderly. These stories are ironic, bizarre, uplifting, or dramatic.

#### **F. Conflict**

Stories concerning arguments between people, groups, governmental bodies or sports teams are considered newsworthy.

#### **Structure of News Stories**

The structure of news presentation includes four major parts of news articles as follows (Reah, 1998; Moes and Shewan, 1998; Itule and Anderson, 1994; Newsom and Wollert, 1985; Agee *et al.*, 1983; Dary, 1973):

##### **A. The Headline**

The headline, according to Reah (1998: 13), is “a unique type of text; it has a range of functions that specifically dictate its shape, content and structure.” He as well as McKay (2000) said that the headline was a summary of the story or gave the readers a succinct overall picture of the current news or the relative importance of the news in a way that would attract the readers' interest to the story. Headlines function as “carriers of information” (Reah, 1998: 26) that invite readers into the story by telling them what happened, who was involved, where it happened

and what the circumstances were. Thus, headline words are short, attention-getting, and effective. Headline writers tend to use a range of language devices to make their headlines memorable, striking, and effective such as sound via alliteration, homophones and rhyme; word and meaning via naming, loaded language, ambiguity, word play and polyseme; syntax via the use of structure designed to focus on specific aspects of the text; and non-standard structures like omission of words to create a concise style. Moreover, since headlines are of larger size than the text, especially on a newspaper front page, they are often written to influence readers' opinions.

### **B. The Lead**

The lead summarizes the main points of a news event in a way that grabs the attention of the readers. It consists of the first paragraph or the first few paragraphs of the story and tells readers who did what or what happened, to whom, where, when, why and how. Although the five W's and H are six basic elements of event, the *who* or *what* is generally the most important point together with *where* and *when*. The lead may tie the story to previous ones. It may be written in a variety of styles, generally as a single sentence of no more than 35 words, but could also be two or three sentences. However, the news lead must be concise, clear, accurate, specific and direct apart from giving the essential news point to convey the main point in a timely fashion. The reporter may use description, narration, dialogues, questions, unusual statements, call to action, or comparison-contrast in lead writing. Hard news stories like political news usually begin with a summary lead as the opening paragraph in order to tell the important facts and draw the attention of the readers into the story immediately.

### **C. The Neck**

The neck serves as a transitional segment, containing some important information or facts which make the key points clearer. It helps to create unity in the story by providing background for the lead before giving more detail in the body. It may consist of a few words or phrases or several paragraphs connect the lead with the body of the news story.

### **D. The Body**

The body gives the details of the news or the facts concerning the events. It is the main part of the news story in which all details are presented, analyzed, interpreted, and discussed. The news story must be organized so that readers can follow and understand it easily. Each paragraph should further explain or expand upon the facts summarized in the lead and the preceding paragraph. This means that every paragraph should be less important than the preceding one.

### **E. The Conclusion**

Although a conclusion is generally not included in a news story, writers may end their stories by using a direct quotation to arouse readers' emotions, giving additional facts, or devising an exciting or surprising climax. Further, a conclusion often ends where the lead began. The conclusion should be short and tight.

## **Principles of News Writing**

Mott (1958) stated that news stories should be written correctly, simply, concisely, objectively and interestingly. The news writer must consider these following principles (Newsom and Wollert, 1985; Agee *et al.*, 1983; Mott, 1958):

### **A. Correctness**

Correctness is essential to a news report. The facts should be correct, precise, clear and easy to understand. Walker (1934 cited in Mott, 1958: 50) pointed out, "Newspaper writing at its best seeks to present facts, tersely, logically, completely." The news writer must use accurate language so as not to arouse readers' suspicions. Correctness also includes accuracy in grammar, spelling, diction, and conformity to good taste. If even an extremely small detail in a news story is not correct, the news organization may be discredited.

## **B. Simplicity**

Simplicity is needed to achieve clarity and ease of reading in any news story. A simple style of news writing at the word, sentence, and paragraph levels is necessary. The news writer should use short, familiar, well-known words rather than longer, less common ones. The sentence is compact, definite in structure and gets to the point. The sentence lengths are moderate; less than twenty words are accepted because the longer the sentence, the more difficult the reading, particularly for less-educated people. The news-story paragraph should be brief too.

## **C. Conciseness**

Conciseness is essential for coverage. The sentences of news stories and the stories themselves should be short enough to grab the attention and not to waste space and long enough to cover the content or events. Conciseness can be achieved by omission of unnecessary articles, avoidance of redundancy, use of direct statements, and replacement of a series of words with one word or sentence that gives the same meaning or information. Excessive ideas should not be included in one sentence because readers can usually understand only one new idea at a time, especially in a technical or type of story dealing with an unfamiliar topic.

## **D. Objectivity**

The news writers must report fact-based news stories without bias. Both direct and indirect expression of opinion should be avoided, and the journalists should try to tell both sides of the story. Objectivity is an important value in all parts of reporting, ranging from gathering to selecting and presenting the news.

### **E. Interest**

News must always be presented in an interesting way; particularly the beginning of a sentence should immediately give the most important fact in the opening phrase. The words chosen should be fresh, specific and vigorous; active voice should be used to keep the pace of the story brisk. News writers should avoid cliché and monotony in both style and the use of words and phrases because these may reduce the excitement of reading. Furthermore, news writing must have a variety of both structure and length in sentences and paragraphs to draw the readers' eye and interest. The specific phraseology may also intrigue readers apart from giving a more vigorous style of writing and immediately attracting their attention.

Political news stories categorized as hard news are concerned with important public events or affairs which may affect large numbers of people or an entire nation. In general, coverage of politics is like that of other areas, save that it focuses on government and parliamentary affairs, the prime minister's tasks, activities of key political persons, political parties and elections. Street (2001) stated that the political news story is always explicitly or implicitly a narrative which may have different narrative frames and tells how political actors cause events. Further, Meyrowitz (1985 cited in Street, 2001: 49) pointed out that the way leaders were viewed was another feature of this kind of news reporting. However, Street (2001) stated that political reportage differs in each country and political system; for example, the mass media in some countries are interested in reporting on the private lives of political leaders, whereas those in other countries rarely attach importance to this topic.

In addition, political discourse is important for this type of reportage because it deals with the major problems of public life and involves a group of people who have a lot of power and influence. Political language, according to Nimmo and Sanders (1981), is also a major tool of information dissemination about the roles played by political actors, agenda-setting, interpretation and linkage, projection to

future and past, and action stimulation. Moreover, political messages usually carry connotations and convey the sender's perspective in addition to facts.

### Theoretical Framework

In this study, the metaphors in Thai political news published in the Internet-based *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines were analyzed. Therefore, the frameworks used were conceptual metaphor, the tenor and vehicle as underlying conceptual systems, and componential analysis.

#### Conceptual Metaphor

A conceptual metaphor is a metaphor that shows a concept of something, comprising two conceptual domains in which one domain is better understood in terms of another. For example, the conceptual metaphor of "argument" is ARGUMENT IS WAR.

...In Downing Street, it was as if *a hand grenade had landed* in the front hall. Through the next few weeks newspaper front pages were *pockmarked* with the *fallout*, *a shower of anti-Brown stories*...

...Campbell and Hunter form the circle of *intimates* who are *Blair's armour*. *Brown wears a similar protective suit*. His most important adviser is Ed Balls...Balls was left as the Chancellor's principal political *lieutenant*. He is a disarmingly cheery soul, given much more to laughing than to *dark conspiracies*, but he has created *a fearsome reputation* for himself...

(Naughtie, 2001 cited in Knowles and Moon, 2006: 97)

In the above example, the words or expressions in italics portray the uneasy relationship between then British Prime Minister Tony Blair and then Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown as if it was war. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of 'ARGUMENT' is ARGUMENT IS WAR.

### The Tenor and Vehicle as Underlying Conceptual Systems

The *tenor*, or *topic*, and *vehicle* are the basic structure of metaphor. These well-known terms of Richards (1936 cited in Viereck, Ramisch, and Wynne, 1997) denote two interrelated parts of a metaphor. Understanding the relationship between the *tenor* and the *vehicle* is a useful way of analyzing conceptual metaphors or the underlying concept of words. According to Ullmann (1962: 213), the *tenor* is “the thing we are talking about”, whereas the *vehicle* is the thing “to which we are comparing it”, and “the feature or features they have in common form the *ground* of the metaphor.” Knowles and Moon (2006) further explains that the *tenor* is the intended meaning of a metaphor, not its literal meaning, while the *vehicle* is the metaphoric word or phrase, and that the *grounds* is the relationship or the connection between the literal and metaphorical meaning. Consider the previous text of Naughtie:

E.g.	Context	- the book plus earlier alleged criticism of Brown by supporters of Blair
(Conceptual)	Vehicle (Metaphor)	- nuclear war
(Conceptual)	Tenor (Meaning)	- alleged hostility between the two major politicians and their supporters
	Grounds (Connection)	- the idea of extreme aggression between two powerfully armed opponents

(Naughtie, 2001 cited in Knowles and Moon, 2006: 98)

In this example, an ‘alleged hostility between the two major politicians and their supporters’ is compared to ‘nuclear war.’ It is described with the attributes of ‘nuclear war’; the ‘alleged hostility between the two major politicians and their supporters’ is the tenor, while ‘nuclear war’ is the vehicle.

Moreover, Wallace and Boisseau (2000) interestingly argue that the juxtaposition of the tenor and the vehicle which create a flash of recognition and spark the reader’s attention is regarded as the best metaphor; especially when the tenor and

vehicle are completely unrelated. For instance, the metaphor “the sun is a tow truck” gets greater attention than “the sun is a star,” in which the tenor and vehicle are closely related. This argument supported the idea of Richards (1936 cited in Ricoeur, 1986: 119), “the greater the link between the tenor and vehicle and the more unexpected their combination, the more striking and surprising is the metaphor.”

### **The Componential Analysis**

Componential analysis, in the work of Kempson (1977: 18), is “an explicit representation of the systematic relations of meaning between words”, whereby the meanings of words are not analyzed as unitary concepts but as complexes of primitive semantic components, as in the following examples he gives:

E.g. ‘Spinster’ can be analyzed as having its components of -[MALE], +[HUMAN], +[ADULT], and -[MARRIED].

‘Bachelor’ has the semantic components of +[MALE], +[HUMAN], +[ADULT], and -[MARRIED].

‘Wife’ has the semantic components of -[MALE], +[HUMAN], +[ADULT], and +[MARRIED].

As illustrated by these examples, ‘Spinster’, ‘Bachelor’ and ‘Wife’ might be analyzed as a semantic complex made up of the above components. All words share the semantic components of [ADULT] and [HUMAN]; they differ in terms of the components of sex and status. Hence, the method of componential analysis is helpful in interpreting lexical items or words because it provides details of their basic meanings.

## Previous Research

The research concerning the metaphor was widely undertaken both in Thailand and in other countries due to the fact that the conceptual metaphor framework can be employed to infer attitudes and beliefs from metaphorical expressions people use in everyday language. Examples of the study of metaphor in other countries follow.

Cortes de los Rios (2002) analyzed the metaphors used in advertising discourse to transfer values to a banking institution. The study applied the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics for the purpose of demonstrating the close relation between cognitive semantics and axiology. The result of the study distinguished the metaphor on two functions in advertising discourse. First, the cognitive function of metaphor was used to show ideas and create the meaning of a concept from the body experience and culture. Second, the rhetorical function of metaphor was used to serve the advertiser's purpose of persuading or influencing the readers' behavior.

Moreno Lara (2004) studied metaphor as a conceptual process based on conceptual metaphor and cognitive linguistics framework. The study analyzed 130 conceptual metaphors found in *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines. It revealed three generic-level metaphors: ACTIONS ARE EVENTS, ACTIONS ARE ACTIONS and ACTIONS ARE STATES. Moreover, the study assessed the role of cognitive mechanisms; e.g., enrichment between image schemas and propositional models, and determined the role of experiential grounding for understanding better metaphor in political discourse; e.g., POLITICAL POSITIONS ARE LOCATIONS and POLITICAL PURPOSES ARE DESIRED OBJECTS.

Arcimaviciene (2007) examined the moral grounds of British political life as reflected in conceptual metaphors of political discourse. The analysis made use of a hypothetical-deductive method and cognitive linguistics framework for analyzing the moral grounds. The study discovered that the underlying conceptual metaphor of British political discourse is POLITICS IS JOURNEY, reflecting that British political values

and British politicians' performance were morally unacceptable because of their dirty actions.

Vestermarck (2007) studied conceptual metaphors of personification in the first inaugural addresses by the four former US presidents: Ronald Reagan, George Bush, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush. The analysis based on Lakoff's theories and Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) book *Metaphors we live by* revealed that all presidents used metaphors to personalize America for the purpose of making American people understand their goals and visions. The underlying conceptual metaphors are THE WORLD AS A COMMUNITY, NATION AS A PERSON, NATION WITH HUMAN ATTRIBUTES and NATION ACTING AS HUMAN.

Moreno (2008) examined and analyzed the choice of metaphors in Hugo Chavez's political discourse covering a period of nine years between 1999 and 2007. The metaphors were chosen from three target domains in his discourse: the nation, his revolution, and the opposition. Based on the cognitive linguistic metaphor theory first discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) as defined by Jonathan Charteris-Black, the findings of the study showed that Chavez attempted to legitimize his Bolivarian Revolution. He conceptualized the nation as a person who has been resurrected by his government, as a person ready to fight for his revolution, or as Chavez's himself; the revolution as war; and members of the opposition as war combatants or criminals. In addition, his political opponents were represented as enemies of the nation and as detractors of national symbols; e.g., Bolivar or his wars of independence.

Hamba Allah Di Buminya Allah (2010) studied the use of metaphor in Barack Obama's inauguration speech in 2009. The twenty-three sentences were selected to represent all the metaphorical expressions found in Obama's speech. The analysis was based on the Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory of metaphor, leading to conclude that Obama has creatively used metaphorical expressions with the aim of making American people feel sure of his future plans. He used the "Movement" domain for explaining "Change", the "Location" domain over "States", the domain of "Motion

Over a Landscape” for elaborating “States”, the “War/Fight” domain for describing “Politics”, the “Transfer” domain so as to explain “Actions”, the “Journey” domain to describe “Politics” and the “Agriculture” domain to describe “Achieving a Purpose”.

In addition, some related studies on metaphor in newspapers and Internet websites published in Thailand have been carried out. They investigated the concepts of Thai mass media through the use of metaphor in political, economic, sport news and Thai Internet websites as follows:

Jarayapun (1996) studied war metaphor in sport news to reflect Thai people’s attitudes towards sports. The data were collected from news concerning ten sports (football, rugby basketball, fencing, boxing, judo, takraw, volleyball, tennis, and golf) published before, during and after the SEA games between December 1995 and January 1996 in three daily newspapers, the *Thairath*, *Daily News* and *Khaosod*, and three sport newspapers, *Siam Sport*, *Lokkeela*, and *Muay Siam*. The study found 49 true war metaphors and 198 implicit war metaphors. The results also showed different frequencies of the use of war metaphors in news about each sport. This difference related to two factors; i.e., the possibility of bodily contact and participation as a team. It was concluded that Thai people saw different degrees of war-likeness in sports depending on how much body contact was involved and whether it was a team or individual sport. The ten sports ranged in the degree of war-likeness from boxing, basketball, football, fencing, rugby, takraw, volleyball, tennis, judo to golf.

Prutthichaiwiboon (2001) identified and analyzed metaphor in Thai political news for the purpose of determining how Thai people conceptualized politics. The study was based on the componential semantic analysis and the cognitive semantics proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The data included political metaphors in 1999 in five weekly newspapers: *Thansupdawijarn*, *Manager Weekly*, *The Nation Weekly*, *Matichon Weekly* and *Siamrath Weekly*. The study revealed that Thai people conceptualized politics in ten conceptual domains; i.e., politics was war, a competitive game, gambling, business, drama, education, travelling, robbery, furniture, and life.

Bangnoghkwag (2003) focused on political metaphors in the news of a censure debate on the front page of the *The Nation* and the *Bangkok Post* in order to find out the concepts of the censure debate of Thai reporters. Componential analysis and the cognitive semantics proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) were used as frameworks in analyzing conceptual metaphors for the censure debate in May 2002. The study found a rather high frequency of metaphor use: 49 metaphors were found in political news concerning the censure debate. The findings of the study suggested that the conceptual metaphors for the censure debate had three characteristics, namely that the censure debate was an argument, a boxing match, and war. In addition, the government was found to have seven characteristics; i.e., the government was 'the weakest link', cowardly, deceptive, a skillful fighter, a boxer, an injured fighter, and a warrior. The opposition was found to have four characteristics; i.e., the opposition was a boxer, a warrior, an experienced boxer, and a dangerous fighter. These findings showed Thai reporters' concepts.

Rungrojsuwan (2006) investigated the attitude of Thai mass media reflected by the metaphor in political and sport head news found in seven Thai newspaper websites; i.e., *Manager*, *Matichon*, *Khaosod*, *Daily News*, *Thairath*, *Thai Post*, and *Siamrath* between February and July 2006. The study was based on the conceptual metaphor theory and found that Thai mass media often used the expressions from "WAR MODEL" as a "Source Model" in political and sport head news. It showed that Thai journalists conceptualized the target models POLITICS and SPORTS in terms of war or fighting practices – attack and defense – in the two domains.

Siriwarin (2007) conducted a study on forms and meaning domains of metaphor in business news published in a Thai newspaper so as to elucidate Thai people's concepts of business. The three theories applied in the study were: 1) componential analysis (Nida, 1975) to define the meaning domains of metaphor; 2) cognitive semantics (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) to analyze metaphor; and 3) Ogden-Richards Triangle for Meaning (Ogden-Richards, 1972) to describe what business concepts Thai people have. The data were collected from the *Daily News* newspaper in 2005. The research findings indicated that Thai people conceptualized

business in six conceptual domains; i.e., business is war, vehicle, construction, life, competition, and tree.

Sathitdetkunchorn (2008) analyzed the conceptual metaphor in Thai Internet websites and the process of semantic mappings based on Cognitive Linguistics theory. The data from 170 websites were categorized into 17 types and only 10 of each type were chosen. The findings of the study found nine meaning domains of conceptual metaphors used in Thai Internet websites; i.e., human, action, object, construction, printed matters, war, sport, nature, and supernatural metaphors. Furthermore, the ontological correspondence, which represented the relationship between elements of one domain and those of the other domain, was only one found process of semantic mappings between source domain and target domain of meanings. The study also revealed that the conceptual system of Thai people was INTERNET IS WORLD, reflecting bodily, environment, social, and cultural experiences as the basis of Thai concepts of Internet.

In conclusion, this chapter has presented critical background knowledge related to the present study since the concepts of metaphor in traditional and contemporary cognitive linguistics perspective, of the conceptual metaphor, and of cognitive semantics are used in the analysis of conceptual metaphors. Moreover, the review clarifies the meaning of news, its rudiments, the differences between the news magazine and the newspaper and political discourse. To find the political concepts of the international news magazines, Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) framework, together with the tenor and vehicle and the componential analysis are used. In addition, previous research related to this study is used as an additional guide for the present study. The methodological procedures used in the study are discussed in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **METHODOLOGY**

This chapter reviews the research methodology and describes the methodological procedures adopted in the present study. It is divided into six main sections. This first section presents the objectives of the study and research questions. The second section describes types of research, sampling procedures, data collection and data analysis. The last section is a discussion of verification of the research.

#### **Objectives of the Study and Research Questions**

The objectives of the present study were: 1) to study or explore forms and meaning domains of metaphor in Thai political news published in international news magazines; and 2) to examine political concepts of international news magazines reflected by metaphor in Thai political news. The study attempted to answer two main research questions: 1) What are the forms and meaning domains of metaphor in Thai political news published in these international news magazines?; and 2) What are the concepts concerning Thai politics of international news magazines reflected by the metaphors they use in reporting Thai political news?

#### **Types of Research**

##### **An Overview of Research Types, Their Characteristics, and Their Advantages and Disadvantages**

In general, the social research may be divided into two broad categories: quantitative research and qualitative research. Kumar (2005) stated that the way in which a research study to answer questions about a phenomenon, situation, problem or issue was conducted depended on the purpose of the inquiry (e.g., exploration, confirmation or quantification) and the use to which the findings were to be put (e.g.,

formulation of policy or understanding of a process). While quantitative research and qualitative research share some similar processes, namely one or more hypotheses, literature review and data collection and analysis, the two types of research are carried out in distinctly different ways.

### **1. Quantitative research**

Quantitative research, also called the *traditional*, *experimental*, or *positivist* approach, is a systematic empirical research to answer questions about the correlations among measured variables, accompanied by explaining, predicting and controlling observed phenomena (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). Neill (2007: 1) stated that its aim is “to classify features, count them, and construct statistical models in an attempt to explain what is observed” and that the data are in numeric and statistical form. The main characteristics of quantitative research, according to Leedy and Ormrod (2001), are: 1) to establish, confirm or validate correlations and develop generalizations of a theory; 2) to predetermine concepts, variables, hypotheses, and methods of variable measurement; 3) to collect data from one or more large samples so as to be able to represent the population in the form of numbers; 4) to use standardized instruments for measuring variables for research validity and reliability; 5) to give deductive reasoning in analysis; and 6) to present the numerical data which result from statistical means in order to confirm or disprove the tested hypotheses in a report written in scientific style.

Quantitative study has both advantages and disadvantages. The primary advantage is that it allows broader scientific studies across different fields, for testing theories and hypotheses. The data are measured in an objective way and tend to provide accurate, reliable results and produce results that can be generalized. It also clearly involves both independent and dependent variables under the investigation and makes it possible to control extraneous variables. Another advantage of quantitative research is that it employs standard procedures to ensure validity and reliability of collected data; e.g., controlled observations, laboratory experiments, and surveys (Balsley, 1970). Furthermore, the use of standardized instruments for measuring

variables makes it possible for the data to be repeated and compared those of similar studies. Finally, the researcher can keep his or her bias out of the research or may use unknown subjects.

On the other hand, quantitative experiments are difficult, necessarily dependent on statistical analysis and time-consuming. Shuttleworth (2008) said that they must be carefully designed to ensure complete randomization and correct selection of control groups. Leedy and Ormrod (2001) commented that researchers sometimes cannot generalize the results gained from quantitative research in some cases, especially when the research was carried out in a laboratory although it is easy to control the events that occur. Neill (2007: 1) added that this method is inclined to “miss contextual detail” because it provides numerical data or predetermined answers leading to the limited results, not reflecting the view or the real feeling of people about a subject. It often produces only proved or unproven results. Moreover, the questions can lead to systematic bias and represent false results.

The quantitative research includes three major types as follows:

a) *descriptive research*, according to Leedy and Ormrod (2001), describes the characteristics of phenomenon being investigated or explores the relationships of two or more phenomena to seek answers to the questions *who, what, where, when* and *how*, but it cannot determine causality or improve the situation. Descriptive research designs are of various types according to different authors. Interestingly, the correlational research is one descriptive research design employed to investigate systematically and explain the relationship or co-variation among two or more variables, indicating that one variable may predict another (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

b) *quasi-experimental research*, according to Jackson (2008), is a research design sharing some but not all of the characteristics of true experimental research, as some elements of experiment disappear; e.g., control group or comparison group, manipulation of the independent variable, and random assignment of subjects to the control and experimental conditions. However, Burns and Grove

(2005) stated that it is designed to identify causality, to examine the importance of causality, to explain the reason some events take place and to control as many threats to validity of the findings as possible.

c) *experimental research*, according to Burns and Grove (2005), is a systematic approach to investigate causality under experimental control to predict and control phenomena. It has three major characteristics: 1) one or more independent variables are manipulated; 2) a treatment is given to some experimental group but not given to control group; and 3) the subjects are randomly selected or/and randomly assigned among groups. Leedy and Ormrod (2001) stated that an experiment is conducted to examine the effects of one or more independent variables on dependent variables.

## **2. Qualitative research**

Qualitative research, also called the *interpretative, constructivist, or postpositivist* approach, is empirical research used to describe and gain some insights into complex phenomena and participants' perspectives (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). Neill (2007) pointed out that qualitative study includes both verbal and nonverbal data such as words (e.g., from interviews), pictures (e.g., video), or objects (e.g., artifacts). In the words of Blaxter, Hughes, and Tight (2006), qualitative research is a method of data collection and data analysis in many forms, but mostly not in numeric form. It pays greater attention to exploration of as much detail as possible for the purpose of gathering in-depth rather than in-breadth understanding of information.

The major characteristics of qualitative research, according to Leedy and Ormrod (2001), are as follows: 1) qualitative research is an effort to understand more complex phenomena or situations which the researcher explores and observes to construct a theory by using inductive reasoning in analysis; 2) the research process is holistic with emergent design and emergent unknown variables from the data; 3) the researcher, who often selects a small sample, serves as the primary instrument for data collection in natural context with different method; e.g., interviews,

observations, document analysis and field notes; 4) the researcher has to categorize data into patterns in order to report the results, which are written in a narrative, literary style; 5) the emphasis of this type of research is on detailed inquiry and descriptions of contexts or behaviors; therefore, the researcher, as stated by Dale (2006), is subjectively immersed in the details of data to find out or interpret hidden meanings; and 6) the results of the study are in the form of themes, categories, concepts, tentative answers or hypotheses.

A qualitative study has several distinct advantages and disadvantages that must be considered in comparison with those of a quantitative study. Two definite advantages of qualitative methods are that they permit investigation of phenomena in-depth so as to gain a more realistic feel and understanding of the world and that they provide flexible ways to gather, analyze, and interpret information (Matveev, 2002). Another advantage is that qualitative methods do not hang on a large sample size as do quantitative methods; for instance, a case study may deal with a small sample group and produce meaningful findings (Shuttleworth, 2008). Another advantage is that the hypotheses formed may develop new areas of future research in addition to building new theories (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

As to the disadvantages associated with qualitative research, Neill (2007) has stated that the collection and analysis of data under this approach can be time-consuming and that they hinge on the skills and experience of the researcher in obtaining the target information during interviews, observations and focus groups (Matveev, 2002). This means that researcher bias can occur. Matveev also pointed out the weaknesses of qualitative research with respect to the consistency and reliability, saying that the techniques used in investigation can be different and that respondents may or may not be able to talk about certain things. Neill has commented that the results of studies may be so specific that they cannot be generalized to other situations. Matveev added that this type of research cannot be used in examining cause-and-effect relationships between different phenomena. Thus, the results derived, as stated by Shuttleworth (2008), are only a guide to general tendencies or are only observations instead of hard findings due to the fact that the answers given

are widely different and highly subjective. Moreover, the qualitative design is usually unique and cannot be replicated in the same way as quantitative design (ibid.)

Qualitative research includes five major types as follows:

a) *case study* is a research approach, focusing on an in-depth investigation of a single case of a phenomenon, an individual person, an event, a group, or an institution (Neill, 2006). Two or more cases may be found in a *multiple* or *collective* case study when the researcher needs to make comparisons, to formulate a theory, or to suggest generalizations (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). The case study has proven particularly useful for studying little known or poorly understood situations, evaluating programs and supporting hypotheses concerning some event through observation, interview, appropriate written documents and/or audiovisual material; however, its results cannot be generalized to other contexts on account of the subjective nature of data (ibid.).

b) *ethnographic research*, as described by Leedy and Ormrod (2001), is an in-depth study for investigating behaviors of a group of people sharing a common culture with the purpose of identifying, understanding and reflecting the complexities of norms, beliefs, social structures, and other particular cultural patterns. The researcher studies and closely observes people's daily lives by either participating in a cultural setting or living in cultural community for a period of time (Burns and Grove, 2005). The data from participant observation, interviews, artifacts or documents are systematically collected, described and analyzed to develop a theory about cultural behavior and understand the effect or influence that a culture has on human behavior (ibid.). Nevertheless, it is difficult to objectively analyze the data in ethnographic research and the extent to which its findings can be generalized is limited.

c) *phenomenological Research* is a study of phenomenon and human experiences from the various perspectives of the research participants so as to understand the perception and the experiences of others of the particular situation

through such methods as in-depth, unstructured interviews, observation and description of experiences (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). The results are seen through the researcher's comprehension and interpretation of subjective reality (Burns and Grove, 2005), and researchers can generalize on similarities in their perspectives (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

d) *grounded theory research*, as stated by Neill (2006) is a study to develop inductively a theory from data derived from participant observation, whereas Burns and Grove (2005) describe it as a way to find out the problems occurring in a society and the way people handle them, and this accords with Leedy and Ormrod (2001: 154), who say that this approach is effectively used to investigate "people's actions and interaction" through a variety of methods such as interviews, observations, documents, historical records, and videotapes. The limitation of this kind of study is that the researcher must collect the participants' attitudes and voices (Strauss and Corbin, 1994 cited in Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

e) *historical research* is a study to describe narrative or analyze events in the past, the data of which are derived from records, artifacts, or verbal reports (Burns and Grove, 2005). Gay (1996 cited in Neill, 2006) further explained that the evaluation of systematically collected data was objective with the purpose of testing hypotheses related to causes, effects, or trends of these events in order to help to explain and better understand present events and predict events in the future.

However, some authors like Leedy and Ormrod (2001) have included content analysis rather than historical research among the qualitative research designs as reflected below:

f) *content analysis* is a research methodology used to systematically investigate the contents of human communication no matter what form (e.g., books, newspapers, films, television, art, music, videotapes of human interactions, and transcripts of conversations) with the purpose of identifying patterns, themes, or biases such as the investigation of attitudes reflected in speeches or newspaper articles

(Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). Similarly, Colorado State University (1993) has defined content analysis as a research tool used to examine the implications of messages within texts, including the writer, the audience, the culture and the time of the text by determining, quantifying and analyzing the appearance of certain words or concepts in a text. Content analysis is generally classified into two categories: 1) *conceptual analysis* involves quantifying and counting the frequency of concepts, focusing on the occurrence of selected words or phrases in a text or set of texts, based on somewhat subjective judgments; and 2) *relational analysis*, also called *semantic analysis*, which is similar to conceptual analysis in that it begins with identifying concepts in a text or texts but also focuses on the relationships among concepts or semantic relationships.

To conduct a content analysis of any text, as described by Leedy and Ormrod, the researcher must select a sample of the specific material to be studied and code the material in relation to predetermined and precisely defined characteristics. If that material has complex details; e.g., transcriptions of conversations, the researcher can break them down into small, manageable categories on various levels, clear examples of which the educational website of Colorado State University provides – word, word sense, phrase, sentence, or theme. In data analysis, the interpretation hinges on the tabulated frequency of each characteristic found in the material and statistical analyses in some cases.

Nevertheless, Leedy and Ormrod (2001: 156) also argued that the content analysis is considered “quantitative as well as qualitative” due to the fact that the researcher must use its results, presented in the form of numbers of frequencies or percentages of each characteristic, in interpreting the data.

The points of view discussed above can be summed up by saying that both quantitative research and qualitative research are systematic research approaches to find answers to a problem. Each approach has distinctive attributes: concepts, analytical purposes or goals, types of questions or problems, research designs, flexibility in design, data collection instruments and the forms of data they generate. Selecting which research approach is suitable for a given research project depends on

the nature of the research problem, the purpose of the inquiry, available resources, the adequacy and effectiveness of the method and the skills and training of the researcher in strategies; e.g., observation techniques and interviews. The quantitative approach is used when the researcher wants to verify hypotheses, identify and examine cause-effect relationships and explore the relationships of two or more phenomena, whereas the qualitative approach is used to serve the purpose of description, interpretation, verification and evaluation. However, both research methodologies might be incorporated into some research projects in order to compensate for the weaknesses of each and ensure the reliability of research methods and results derived. The table below shows a comparison of different features of quantitative and qualitative research.

**Table 3.1** Comparison of Features of Quantitative Research and Qualitative Research

Quantitative	Qualitative
Seeking the facts/causes of social phenomena	- Concerned with understanding behavior from actors' own frames of reference
- Obtrusive and controlled measurement observation	- Naturalistic and uncontrolled
- Objective	- Subjective
- Removed from the data: the 'outsider' perspective	- Close to the data: the 'insider' perspective
- Ungrounded, verification oriented, reductionist, hypothetico-deductive	- Grounded, discovery oriented, exploratory, expansionist, descriptive, inductive
- Outcome-oriented	- Process-oriented
- Reliable: hard and replicable data	- Valid: real, rich, deep data
- Generalizable: multiple case studies	- Ungeneralizable: single case studies
- Particularistic	- Holistic
- Assuming a stable reality	- Assuming a dynamic reality

Source: Oakley (1999 cited in Blaxter, Hughes, and Tight, 2006: 65)

## **The Research Approach of the Study**

In order to investigate forms and meaning domains of political metaphors, this study has been carried out by using a qualitative approach, firstly because it focuses on exploring the metaphors by analyzing and interpreting their meaning through the cognitive model in natural settings. Its aim is to find out, reveal and seek to understand the views on and concepts of Thai politics of international news magazines in-depth. Secondly, this study has served one or more of the following purposes of qualitative approach: description, interpretation, verification and evaluation (Peshkin, 1993 cited in Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). Thirdly, this study has employed a process-oriented method to discover how international mass media viewed Thai politics. In addition, the fact that the researcher had to be close to the data and pay attention to details of conceptual metaphor and relations of meaning between words by virtue of naturalistic observation technique fit a qualitative paradigm (Oakley, 1999 cited in Blaxter, Hughes, and Tight, 2006). Finally, the categorization and conceptualization of political metaphors have led to inductive reasoning.

Furthermore, the data have been analyzed based on content analysis – specifically, conceptual analysis – to examine occurrence of conceptual metaphors and implications of messages within texts because content analysis, as stated by Colorado State University (1993), reflects a close relationship with socio- and psycholinguistics and can reveal international differences in communication content and identify the intentions, focus or communication trends of an individual, group, or institution in addition to describing attitudinal responses.

## **Sampling**

### **Types of Sampling Procedures**

Sampling is a process of selecting a representative sample of a large population which a researcher uses to reflect the gained knowledge, opinions or

the characteristics of the target population being studied. It is an important step in the data gathering process, helping to facilitate research both as to time and cost or even accessibility (Gebremedhin and Tweeten, 1994). To obtain valid outcomes, the sample size should be carefully chosen because it can affect the inference and influence the statistical reliability of the results (ibid.: 53), “The soundness of sampling plan will determine how reliability the sample can be generalized.” Sampling designs are generally classified into three categories as follows:

### **1. Random or probability sampling design**

Random, or probability, sampling design, as described by Kumar (2005), is the random selection of a sample whereby each element of the study population has an equal chance of being drawn without bias or personal preference. Furthermore, the researcher can generalize the findings from the sample to the total population, calculate the accuracy of result estimates derived from the sample and state the sampling error. The following are the three most common types of random sampling:

a) *simple random sampling* (SRS) is the simplest method of drawing a random sample from the population as a whole without paying attention to the characteristics of the population. All elements or sampling units in the population are identified by a number. The researcher must decide on the sample size and select it as the basis of inquiry by using the fishbowl draw, the table of random numbers or a computer program (ibid.). However, this method suits a small population in which all members are known.

b) *stratified random sampling*, also sometimes called *proportional* or *quota random sampling*, involves categorizing the study population into subgroups, then drawing a random sample from each subgroup. Sadhu and Singh (1980: 125) have explained, “The population is stratified to make the sample representative,” whereby the researcher chooses the random sample from each layer or each of the different subgroups. Within each subgroup, the sample size is determined, and

the SRS technique is employed. The criteria for stratification depend on the purpose of investigation and vary according to problem; for example, the population may be stratified as lower income group, middle income group and high income group or as north zone, east zone, west zone and south zone. This method is subcategorized into two types: 1) *proportionate stratified sampling*, which takes the subgroup size into consideration in the sample selection; this is to say, the required sample is in proportion with the size of each subgroup; and 2) *disproportionate stratified sampling*, which does not take the size of the subgroup into account in the sample selection. Notably, stratified sampling is often used in sample surveys because it helps to increase the accuracy of the sample estimates (ibid.).

c) *cluster sampling* is similar to stratified sampling but is used with large populations, particularly widely scattered populations. The population is divided into groups, called clusters, and definitions, scope, concepts are given in order to distinguish the clusters (Sadhu and Singh, 1980), based on a common or similar characteristic associated with the major variable of the study (Kumar, 2005). Henry (1990) explained that the clusters are randomly selected and that all members of the selected cluster are used as the sample for data collection. This means that a few groups are selected as a cluster sample; hence, cluster sampling differs from stratified sampling, in which a few members from each group are randomly selected for the study. Furthermore, the cluster sampling process can be conducted in various stages such as single, double or multi-stage cluster sampling.

## **2. Non-random or Non-probability sampling design,**

Non-probability sampling is the process of sample selection whereby some elements of the study population have no chance of being chosen for the sample or the number of elements cannot be individually determined and known (Kumar, 2005). Henry (1990) states that the sample selection depends on the researcher's convenience or systematically employed criteria. This selection method includes sampling approaches with different characteristics. Subjective judgments are used in the sampling selection. Thus, the researcher cannot estimate sampling errors.

In qualitative research, there are three common types of non-probability sampling as follows (Kumar, 2005):

a) *quota sampling* is the selection of a sample with certain particular characteristics (e.g., gender or race) from any location convenient to the researcher or whenever the researcher can see individuals with the required characteristic until the required number or quota of respondents is obtained. This design has both advantages and disadvantages, for although it economizes on costs for sample selection and guarantees the researcher interviews the individuals needed for the sample, the results cannot be generalized to the whole population and some respondents may have unique characteristics.

b) *judgemental, or purposive, sampling* is the selection of a sample based on the judgment of the researcher. The researcher decides which individuals can give and share the best information to reach the purpose of the study; in other words, this sampling does not generate a representative sample of a larger population. This method is very useful in historical reality studies and in describing a phenomenon or developing something about which little is known.

c) *snowball sampling* is the selection of a sample by virtue of a communication network; that is, a group of people is selected to give some required information, then asked to identify other people who can be part of the sample. The latter group of people identifies other members of the group and so on in a manner similar to a snowball until the researcher obtains the required number of respondents. This sampling method is often used when little is known about the target group or organization the researcher wants to study. But the study may be biased, depending upon people's choice at the first stage, and it is difficult to use this method in a large sample.

### 3. 'Mixed' sampling design

'Mixed' sampling design includes the properties of both random and non-random sampling designs. *Systematic sampling* falls into this design; it is sometimes called "pseudo-simple random sample" due to its characteristic similar to simple random sample (Henry, 1990). In systematic sampling, as stated by Kumar (2005), all the elements are listed in the study population (N) and the sample size (n) is determined. The researcher determines the width of the interval (k); i.e., the total population is divided by the sample size (N/n). An element from the first interval (*nth* order) is randomly selected as the sample by virtue of the SRS technique, and then the subsequent elements at *nth* intervals are selected for inclusion in the sample.

#### Sampling of the Present Study

This study has employed a non-random sampling design by using the purposive sampling technique. That is, the researcher extracted and listed metaphors found in 40 pieces of Thai political news from two online international news magazines, *Time* and *Newsweek*, between August 2008 and July 2009 because they were internationally recognized political magazines and their popularity influenced people's attitudes or viewpoints all over the world. In the form of print magazines, as reported to the Audit Bureau of Circulations of North America (2009), *Time* was the largest-circulation weekly news magazine in the United States, whereas *Newsweek* was the second largest weekly news magazine. In the form of online magazines, *Time* and *Newsweek* were among the most well-known magazine sites. Pew Research Center's annual report on American journalism (2009: para. 6) said, "...by some counts *Time* and *Newsweek* had moved into the top 25 among general interest news websites." In addition, the websites of these news magazines provide thought-provoking coverage and analyze important current news events, political leaders, and key global issues. Thus, their access to large numbers of people can influence their attitudes all over the world, particularly in this era in which websites have become sophisticated. People can continuously update information, create databases and archives of material, and link to related sites.

To reduce the large amount of data or examples of metaphor in each conceptual domain, however, the researcher used the random sampling technique - specifically, disproportionate stratified sampling - by categorizing political metaphors found into conceptual domains. The conceptual domains were then subcategorized into five political elements; *viz.*, political systems, political institutions, politicians, political activities (e.g., protest, political conflict, political event, coup, election, debate in the parliamentary session and argument) and interest groups. Next, the process and technique known as simple random sampling (SRS) was adopted in the study; i.e., first, the fishbowl draw was used for some conceptual domains with small populations or small numbers of metaphors and then the table of random numbers, based on a statistical table by Rohlf and Sokal (1994 cited in Kumar, 2005), was used for some conceptual domains with large populations or large numbers of metaphors.

The procedure for selecting the sample using the fishbowl draw was first numbering each metaphor separately in each magazine and in each political element using a separate slip of paper for each metaphor. The slips of metaphors from *Time* and *Newsweek* were placed in separate boxes. Then only one metaphor in each political element was drawn from the box of each magazine without looking.

In the procedure for selecting a sample in each political element using the table of random numbers, the researcher dealt with each magazine separately. Each metaphor in each political element was numbered starting from 1 so as to find the total number of metaphors in each political element. Next, the sample size was determined. For this study, only one metaphor in each political element from each magazine was chosen as the sample. A number in one column of the table of random numbers was then selected by a random procedure done separately for each political element and in each magazine. The total number of metaphors was a one, two or three digit number, so the last one, two, three digits of the number chosen from the table of random numbers could not be more than the total number of the metaphor in each political element. If the last one, two or three digits of the first chosen random number were greater than the total number of metaphors in a political element, the next

number in the same column was chosen. This process went on until the last one, two or three digits of a number was less than or equal to the number of metaphors in that political element in that magazine. This method was used so as to avoid biases in terms of the metaphors selected. The following table showed the procedure for using a table of random numbers:

### **The Procedure for Selecting a Sample by Using a Table of Random Numbers**

**Step 1** Numbering each metaphor in the political element with a large number of metaphors, starting from 1.

For instance, the conceptual metaphor of POLITICS IS WAR in *Time* magazine consisted of four political elements (the first three political element had a few metaphors; therefore, the fishbowl draw was adopted). The last political element, i.e., political activities, had 115 metaphors related to the protest. Thus, the metaphors related to the protest were numbered from 1 to 115 as seen in the following example.

#### **The protest**

(1) But early on Sept. 2, the atmosphere took a sudden turn when a deadly street battle erupted ..... (*Time* of September 3, 2008)

(2) The Battle for Thailand (*Time* of September 4, 2008)

(3) On Sept. 2, after a deadly street battle erupted between the PAD and a counterprotest group, ..... (*Time* of September 4, 2008)

.....

(115) In some ways, the fact that Abhisit's government and troops were able to disperse the entrenched Red Shirts from central Bangkok on Tuesday without further bloodshed ..... (*Time* of April 14, 2009)

**Step 2** Determining the sample size in each political element.

In this study, the researcher selected only one metaphor in each political element as the sample for each magazine due to the fact that often there were few metaphors in each political element, the exception being political activities, for which there were over one hundred metaphors, and that for each political element, there were often the same or similar metaphorical expressions representing the same concept. Hence, the researcher randomly selected one metaphor in each issue of political activities as the sample in each magazine too. In the above-mentioned protest issue, for example, the sample came from one of all these 115 metaphors.

**Step 3** In a political element, randomly selecting one number from the table of random numbers.

The table for random numbers in the present study was based on statistical table by Rohlf and Sokal (1994 cited in Kumar, 2005) as seen in the next table where the researcher randomly selected one random number with a pen. Suppose that the element “77468” in eighth vertical column and the sixteenth horizontal column was chosen.

**Table 3.2** Table for Random Numbers by Rohlf and Sokal

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	48461	14952	72619	73689	52059	37086	60050	86192	67049	64739
2	76534	38149	49692	31366	52093	15422	20498	33901	10319	43397
3	70437	25861	38504	14752	23757	29660	67844	78815	23758	86814
4	59584	03370	42806	11393	71722	93804	09095	07856	55589	46820
5	04285	58554	16085	51555	27501	73883	33427	33343	45507	50063
6	77340	10412	69189	85171	29802	44785	86368	02583	96483	76553
7	59183	62687	91778	80354	23512	97219	65921	02035	59487	91403
8	91800	04281	39979	03927	82564	28777	59049	97532	54540	79472
9	12066	24817	81099	48940	69554	55925	48379	12866	41232	21580

**Table 3.2** (Continued)

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
10	69907	91751	53512	23748	65906	91385	84983	27915	48491	91068
11	80467	04873	54053	25955	48518	13815	37707	68687	15570	08890
12	78057	67835	28302	45048	56761	97725	58438	91529	24645	18544
13	05648	39387	78191	88415	60269	94880	58812	42931	71898	61534
14	22304	39246	01350	99451	61862	78688	30339	60222	74052	25740
15	61346	50269	67005	40442	33100	16742	61640	21046	31909	72641
16	56793	37696	27965	30459	91011	51426	31006	<u>77468</u>	61029	57108
17	56411	48609	36698	42453	85061	43769	39948	87031	30767	13953
18	62098	12825	81744	28882	27369	88185	65846	92545	09065	22653
19	68775	06261	54265	16203	23340	84750	16317	88686	86842	00879
20	52679	19599	13687	74872	89181	01939	18447	10787	76246	80072
21	84096	87152	20719	25215	04349	54434	72344	93008	83282	31670
22	83964	55937	21417	49944	38356	98404	14850	17994	17161	98981
23	31191	75131	72386	11689	95727	05414	88727	45583	22568	77700
24	30545	68523	29850	67833	05622	89975	79042	27142	99257	32349
25	52573	91001	52315	26430	54175	30122	31796	98842	37600	26025
26	16586	81842	01076	99414	31574	94719	34656	80018	86988	79234
27	81841	88481	61191	25013	30272	23388	22463	65774	10029	58376
28	43563	66829	72838	08074	57080	15446	11034	98143	74989	26885
29	19945	84193	57581	77252	85604	45412	43556	27518	90572	00563
30	79374	23796	16919	99691	80276	32818	62953	78831	54395	30705
31	48503	26615	43980	09810	38289	66679	73799	48418	12647	40044
32	32049	65541	37937	41105	70106	89706	40829	40789	59547	00783
33	18547	71562	95493	34112	76895	46766	96395	31718	48302	45893
34	03180	96742	61486	43305	84183	99605	67803	13491	09243	29557
35	94822	24738	67749	83748	59799	25210	31093	62925	72061	69991
36	04330	60599	85828	19152	68499	27977	35611	96240	62747	89529
37	43770	81537	59527	95674	76692	86420	69930	10020	72881	12532
38	56908	77192	50623	41215	14311	42834	80651	93750	59957	31211

**Table 3.2** (Continued)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
39	32787	07189	80539	75927	75475	73965	11796	72140	48944	74156
40	52441	78392	11733	57703	29133	71164	55355	31006	25526	55790
41	22377	54723	18227	28449	04570	18882	00023	67101	06895	08915
42	18376	73460	88841	39602	34049	20589	05701	08249	74213	25220
43	53201	28610	87957	21497	64729	64983	71551	99016	87903	63875
44	34919	78801	59710	27396	02593	05665	11964	44134	00273	76358
45	33617	92159	21971	16901	57383	34262	41744	60891	57624	06962
46	70010	40964	98780	72418	52571	18415	64362	90637	38034	04909
47	19282	68447	35665	31530	59838	49181	21914	65742	89815	39231
48	91429	73328	13266	54898	68795	40948	80808	63887	89939	47938
49	97637	78393	33021	05867	86520	45363	43066	00988	64040	09803
50	95150	07625	05255	83254	93943	52325	93230	62668	79529	66964

Source: Rohlf and Sokal (1994 cited in Kumar, 2005)

**Step 4** The last one, two or three digit number of chosen number had to be equal to or less than the total number of metaphors in each political element. If the last one, two or three digits in the first chosen number was more than the total number of metaphors in a political element, the researcher went down to the next number in the same column until the number of the last one, two or three digits was less than or equal to the number of metaphors in that element.

For instance, the aforementioned protest issue consisted of 115 metaphors; therefore, the researcher saw that the last three digit number of the number chosen “77468,” i.e., 468, was more than 115; hence, it could not be accepted in the sample. Thus, the next number below “77468” in the same column; i.e., 87031, was considered, and the last three digits were seen to be “031,” which was below 115; hence, the 31<sup>st</sup> metaphor of the protest issue became a sample of the study.

**Step 5** Repeating steps 1-4 in each political element with a large number of metaphors in each magazine for inclusion in the sample.

## **Data Collection**

### **Qualitative Data Collection Methods and Procedures**

Based on the definition given by Burns and Grove (2005), data collection is a process of selecting subjects and collecting data from these subjects. Its steps rely on the research design and measurement methods. Data in qualitative research may be collected from observations, interviews, written documents, audiovisual materials, objects, or anything else which enables the researcher to answer the research questions in a conclusive way. The following are the most frequently used data collection methods in qualitative research:

#### **1. Observations**

According to McDaniel and Gates (1998: 133), observation is “the systematic process of recording the behavioral patterns of people, objects, and occurrences without questioning or communicating with them.” In like manner, Abraham (2009: 113) defined observation as “methodically controlled non random purposive examination of the actions of one or several individuals in order to discover some distinct characteristic of personality.” The major advantage of observational techniques is that the researcher can observe directly the actual behavior of subjects, which helps to reduce errors in the research. The findings of observational research usually have a high degree of validity due to the fact that the researcher can collect in-depth information about a particular behavior. In terms of reliability, however, the observations can be replicated. The results may also reflect a unique population; thus, it cannot be generalized to others. In addition, data collection takes a great deal of time, and the researcher may have some problems while recording events or have a bias against behavior they do not want to see.

## **2. Interviews**

Interview is a data-collection technique which involves asking the participants, either individually or in a group, questions in order to find out facts, people's beliefs about the facts, feelings, motives, present and past behaviors, standards for behavior, what people think should be done in some situations and conscious reasons for actions or feelings (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). Their most obvious advantage is that interview can probe deeper into answers in order to gain detailed information or unexpected data which can "provide perceived causal inferences" (Yin, 1994: 80). The interview also allows the participants to ask for clarification of unclear or ambiguous questions and the interviewer to adapt the questions according to the progress of the interview. Further, the participants' body language, facial expressions and tones during the interview may be useful to the researcher in evaluation in some cases (Gratton and Jones, 2004).

On the other hand, interviews are time consuming and expensive in terms of travelling. The fact that interviewers can adapt questions according to the nature of the data or even show reactions (e.g. nodding or shaking the head) at some responses can also encourage the participants to answer what the interviewers want, thereby causing biased results (ibid.). In addition, the interview, based on the interviewer's perceptions, is difficult to analyze; therefore, the interpretation and the summary of the results may be wrong if the researcher is inexperienced, improperly trained or careless.

## **3. Document Studies**

A document, as stated by Ary, Jacobs, Razavieh and Sorensen (2009), refers to any written, physical, and visual materials, including artifacts, which may be personal, official or public. Document analysis is based on written artifacts or nonwritten records. Researchers can also ask subjects to produce artifacts or documents; e.g., journal about personal experiences or family stories. However, although documents may be good sources of information about the beliefs and

perspectives of individuals and be useful for determining value, interest, public attitudes and studying trends, they may be incomplete, inaccurate or unrepresentative (Frechtling and Sharp, 1997). Furthermore, documents are highly subjective; for example, personal documents may be distorted or even public records may have built-in biases. Another limitation is that the researcher may not be able to access some documents, and analysis may take time too.

With all techniques, there are different strengths and weaknesses. Thus, the use of appropriate probes is important to ensure data quality.

### **Qualitative Data Collection Used in the Study**

The main instrument used in collecting the data, namely metaphors, was documents studies of Internet-based *Time* and *Newsweek* news magazines reports about Thai political situations with the purpose of finding out how these international news magazines conceptualized each of the five elements of Thai politics through study of the forms and meaning domains of metaphors in reports on Thai politics. The steps in data collection were as follows. Firstly, metaphors in Thai political news in the two online international news magazines were collected between August 2008 and July 2009 because during this period, there were many continuous reports on Thai politics. Secondly, the researcher jotted down notes about her initial interpretations of metaphors which the researcher found in 40 pieces of Thai political news from these two news magazines. Of these, metaphors were drawn from 26 pieces of Thai political news in *Time* and the other 14 pieces in *Newsweek* magazines.

## **Data Analysis**

### **Qualitative Data Analysis Methods**

As stated by Smith (2010), data analysis is a process in which raw data is ordered and organized in order that useful information is extracted. It involves discovering patterns and trends in data sets (Egger and Carpi, 2008). To identify

important patterns in the data, data analysis proceeds to several phases. The first major phase is to code the data, namely the process of applying a definition by which concepts or themes are identified with the purpose of building categories and their properties (Holloway, 1997). Codes may come from theory or emerge from the data, based on themes, topics, ideas, concepts, terms, phrases or keywords found in the data.

Data analysis in qualitative research involves three coding processes. First, *open coding*, as explained by Goodwin and Goodwin (1996: 144), involves “breaking down data, examining them carefully, comparing and then categorizing” such that each concept found in the data is given a label. Similar concepts are assigned to the same category. Coding can change over the course of the analysis. The next step is *axial coding*, where the data are gathered in a new form by making connections between major categories and sub-categories (ibid.). Later on, *selective coding* involves selecting the core category and systematically relating it to sub-categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The relationships between categories are also validated by producing these hypothetical relationships and utilizing data from the field to test the hypotheses. In short, coding in qualitative studies involves establishing codes while studying the data. At the same time, it helps to reduce a large amount of data to a smaller amount by virtue of the process of categorization and facilitates the organization and interpretation of data, leading to conclusions.

There are two ways to categorize narrative data: preset and emergent categories (Unrau, Gabor, Gabor and Grinnell, 2007). *Preset categories* start with listing the themes in advance and then categorizing the data by looking for matching themes. *Emergent categories* allow the researcher to read the text and identify the emerging themes or concepts from the data. Briefly, this approach allows the categories to emerge from the data. In some cases, the researcher may combine the two approaches, starting with preset categories and adding others. However, the list of categories can change over the course of the analysis; the researcher can adapt the definition of categories or create more suitable categories for the existing data. If main categories can be broken down into the smaller subcategories, these

subcategories will also be more defined. The researcher, therefore, pays great attention to distinguishing data.

After coding, categorizing and subcategorizing the data, the researcher may identify patterns and connections both within and between the categories by *describing within category* and *relative importance* (ibid.). The former is used to summarize the key ideas related to one theme, or identify the similarities or differences of data in a category. The latter is used when the researcher counts the number of times which a particular theme emerges because these counts provide a rough estimate of relative importance. Although they are not appropriate for statistical analysis, they are useful for revealing patterns in the data. The final phase of data analysis is to interpret the data by applying themes and connections to explain the findings.

### **Qualitative Data Analysis Used in the Study**

The data in the present study was analyzed through the content analysis method, based on the cognitive semantics of Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987), the tenor and vehicle as underlying conceptual systems, and the componential analysis proposed by Kempson (1977) because these were the basis for analysis in this study. The analysis was divided into six steps as follows. First, the researcher identified the emerging themes or conceptual metaphors derived from 40 pieces of Thai political news published in *Time* and *Newsweek* and defined conceptual metaphors with the purpose of building categories into conceptual domains. Second, each conceptual domain of political metaphor was subcategorized into five political elements – political systems, political institutions, politicians, political activities and interest groups – each of which were also defined. Third, from the metaphors chosen by above-mentioned random sampling method to reduce the number of metaphors, one metaphor was chosen to exemplify each political element in each conceptual domain so as to gain insight into how these international news magazines conceptualized or viewed Thai politics. Fourth, each conceptual metaphor for politics was studied in the frameworks of tenor and vehicle and componential analysis. Fifth, the cognitive

semantics of Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) was applied to analyze the conceptual metaphors of politics. Finally, the researcher discussed the conceptual metaphors, and interpreted the findings.

## Verification of the Research

### Definitions of Reliability, Validity, and Generalizability in Qualitative Research

*Reliability*, as defined by LeCompte and Goetz (1982 cited in Thyer, 2010: 356), is “the extent to which the set of meanings derived from several interpreters are sufficiently congruent.” In other words, reliability refers to the degree to which an observation and an analysis are repeatable and yield similar results and interpretations. The researcher uses different observers to check interpretations and confirm the results for the purpose of achieving dependability in observations. In addition, the use of several methods, called *triangulation*, can increase the reliability of research. In short, reliability in qualitative studies refers to the accuracy of the measuring instrument or procedure or the reliability of the research instrument.

Reliability is generally categorized into two types: *internal reliability*, which involves the consistency of data collection, analysis, and interpretation; and *external reliability*, which refers to the degree to which the researcher can obtain results similar to those of the original study (Nunan, 1992). However, Kirk and Miller (1986) interestingly distinguish three kinds of reliability in qualitative studies as follows: 1) *quixotic reliability* refers to any observational method that consistently yields the same findings, but this kind of reliability can be misleading; 2) *diachronic reliability* or the stability of observations over time is suitable for examining features that are somewhat unchanged over a period of time; and 3) *synchronic reliability* refers to the extent to which observations from different sources are similar within the same time period.

*Validity*, according to Carmines and Zeller (1979), is the ability of any instrument to measure or explain a phenomenon of interest. In qualitative studies, it involves the degree to which the results have been interpreted in a correct way. Maxwell (1992) stated that validity in qualitative research partly relates to revealing a “theory-in-use.” He distinguished five kinds of validity. First, *descriptive validity* refers to the credibility of the data or the factual accuracy of describing acts, physical and behavioral events or anything reported from the data. He stated that errors may result from the choice of language, relevant data selection and interpretative biases. Thus, the researcher has to carefully collect, support data and present valid description of the data. Waltz, Strickland and Lenz (2005) suggested asking the original participants for the feedback about the accuracy of the data and the analysis or using secondary participants to confirm the analysis. Second, *interpretive validity* depends on the words and concepts of the participants being studied, based on their language. Further, it depends on whether the researcher correctly understands and describes the participants’ views or meanings. Third, *theoretical validity* refers to the extent to which a theoretical explanation fits the data. Fourth, *generalizability validity* refers to the ability to extend the description about a particular phenomenon or population to other persons, times or settings than the people studied. Finally, *evaluative validity* involves the application of evaluative framework to the objects of the study (ibid.).

*Generalizability* is the degree to which the results of a study can be applied to other individuals, times, settings or context than those studied (Maxwell, 1992). Horsburgh (2002: 310) further explained that generalizability in qualitative studies refers to “the extent to which theory developed within one study may be exported to provide explanatory theory for the experiences of other individuals who are in comparable situations.” This statement corresponds to the comment of Popay, Rogers and Williams (1998: 348): “...the aim is to make logical generalizations to theoretical understanding of a similar class of phenomena rather than probabilistic generalizations to a population.”

Maxwell (1992) has also distinguished between *internal* and *external generalizability*: the former refers to the generalizability of a conclusion within the group, setting or phenomenon directly studied, whereas the latter involves the generalizability beyond that group, setting, time, or context. He has also pointed out that internal generalizability is more important to qualitative studies than external generalizability due to the fact that the descriptive, interpretive, and theoretical validity of the conclusions in qualitative studies rely on the internal generalizability, and the generalizability of qualitative research also tends to be grounded on the development of a theory, not on sampling of some defined population.

### **Reliability, Validity, and Generalizability in the Study**

In this study, the researcher used *external reliability* and *synchronic reliability* to check consistency of the results derived from the study and used the cognitive semantics proposed by Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987), the tenor and vehicle, and componential analysis as the frameworks to analyze the metaphors. In order to increase the reliability of interpretation, the researcher gave a selected portion of metaphors found in *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines (about 10 % of all metaphors) to three fellow graduate students and asked them to interpret the metaphors. The researcher then counted the degree of agreement of the interpretation by different researchers. This consistency and accuracy helped to demonstrate a high level of reliability resulting from the validity in the study.

Furthermore, the study was conducted using *interpretive validity*. The researcher used the *peer debriefing* technique – a process of building the credibility or validity of the research by means of providing feedback concerning the accuracy of the researcher's data collection and data analysis process – to ensure the validity of the analysis. This process allowed a few peers who were graduate students majoring in English to analyze some data based on the aforementioned frameworks. Over 50% of their analysis was consistent with that of the researcher, and this verified the analysis.

For the verification form (See Appendix B), the researcher asked three peers to categorize the given metaphors in Thai political news of the Internet-based *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines into conceptual domains reflecting these foreign media's concepts of Thai politics in different political elements. The peers had to compare the passages containing metaphors in bold type provided for each of the political elements – political systems, political institutions, politicians, political activities and interest groups – and using the metaphors as a guide, to the categorization of POLITICS as some type of conceptual metaphor as the following example:

E.g. POLITICS IS WAR

- But even then, Thailand's **battered** political system will still be grounded. (*Time* of November 27, 2008)

- It's no secret that Thailand's democracy is **embattled**. (*Newsweek* of November 26, 2008)

From the above examples, political system is seen as something damaged during the war. (Please specify)

- The creation of Pua Thai looks to be a PPP tactic to keep its **grip on power**. (*Newsweek* of December 6, 2008)

From the above example, political institution is seen as an army. (Please specify)

- On September 17, Thailand's parliament elected Somchai Wongsawat as the country's new Prime Minister, replacing embattled political **veteran** Samak Sundaravej, who only served in the top post for just over six months. (*Time* of September 17, 2008)

From the above example, politician is seen as warrior. (Please specify)

-“The first thing is to get rid of the government,” says Surapol Chinakulprasert, a 48-year-old second-hand goods trader clapping along as PAD leaders **rallied their troops** from a giant stage set up in the garden of Government House. (*Time* of September 3, 2008) 2008)

- They’ve **occupied** the prime minister’s office, **stormed** airports near popular beach resorts and crippled national railway service across Thailand. (*Newsweek* of September 2, 2008)

From the above examples, political activities, namely the protest, political conflict, coup and election, are seen as war. (Please specify)

After three peers had categorized the given metaphors into conceptual domains, it was found that most of their results were consistent with those of the research presented in Chapter IV. The consistency of results from all three peers was 56.25%, 84.37% and 87.5% respectively (See Appendix Table B1). Such results verify the analysis of POLITICS metaphor in both international news magazines. However, it was also found that some metaphors led certain peers to imagine something different due to the fact that some metaphors were too broad for all peers to assess identically. In case of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS JOURNEY, for instance, a certain peer saw politics as uncertainty from the metaphors given, including *grounded, roll back, step down, limps, gone, come and go* and *far*; hence, the peer imagined political system, political institution, politician and political activities using a conceptual metaphor different from the researcher’s.

Furthermore, some of their answers seemed close to the findings of the researcher. For example, some peers categorized the metaphor *Thaksin’s ghost* into the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS UNPREDICTABLE or SUPERSTITION, which differed from the researcher’s conceptual metaphor: POLITICS IS SUPERNATURAL. Thus, although close, their answers were deemed to be different from the study findings. Similarly, when some peers categorized the metaphor *arbiter* into the conceptual

metaphor POLITICS IS LAW OR COURT instead of POLITICS IS JUSTICE, their answers were also deemed to be different.

With respects to the generalizability of the study, the results derived from this qualitative research could not claim external generalizability, but only *internal generalizability* of the conclusion within the phenomenon studied. This is due to the fact that the important element generalizable from this qualitative analysis came from the concepts, called “conceptual generalizability” (Green and Thorogood, 2004), found in particular articles in *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines. In addition, the study aimed to find their specific concepts concerning Thai politics through the metaphors they used.

In a nutshell, this chapter has dealt with the research methodology employed in the study, including research approach, sampling and data collection, data analysis procedure and verification of the research. In the next chapter, the findings of this study will be presented and discussed in detail.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

This chapter presents the research findings obtained from the study of metaphors. It consists of one major section; i.e., conceptual metaphors found in Thai political news. The frequency of conceptual metaphors used in Thai political news published by *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, is first presented. This is followed by a classification of these metaphors based on five political elements – political systems, political institutions, politicians, political activities and interest groups. Then, a display is given showing the way in which the metaphor is reflected in news concerning each element of Thai politics. The conceptual metaphors for politics are next examined in the frameworks of tenor and vehicle and of componential analysis. Following this, a conceptual metaphor analysis with a cognitive semantics framework is elaborated. Finally, the analyses are discussed.

#### **Conceptual Metaphors Found in Thai Political News**

The findings of the study revealed 24 conceptual domains for metaphors in Thai political news published in *Time* (26 pieces) and of *Newsweek* (14 pieces) magazines between August 2008 and July 2009, reflecting the ways these international mass media conceptualized Thai politics. The analysis of metaphors was carried out according to the theory of conceptual metaphor in Lakoff and Johnson (1980), which helped to explain the metaphoric correspondences that structure the understanding of abstract concepts; herein politics in different elements. All conceptual metaphors found in the study are displayed in the following table arranged from the most to the least common along with the frequency of their use in Thai political news in each of the magazines.

**Table 4.1** The Frequency of Conceptual Metaphors Used in 40 pieces of Thai Political News of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines

Conceptual Metaphors	Time (26 pieces)		Newsweek (14 pieces)	
	No. of Metaphors (205)	Percentage (%)	No. of Metaphors (147)	Percentage (%)
1. POLITICS IS WAR	141	40.06	90	25.57
2. POLITICS IS A COMPETITIVE GAME OR SPORT	6	1.70	11	3.13
3. POLITICS IS NATURE	9	2.56	7	1.99
4. POLITICS IS LIFE	9	2.56	3	0.85
5. POLITICS IS BUSINESS	7	1.99	5	1.42
6. POLITICS IS A JOURNEY	4	1.14	6	1.70
7. POLITICS IS FIRING	3	0.85	3	0.85
8. POLITICS IS DRAMA	4	1.14	2	0.57
9. POLITICS IS DISEASE	2	0.57	4	1.14
10. POLITICS IS GAMBLING	4	1.14	1	0.28
11. POLITICS IS A BRITTLE OBJECT	2	0.57	2	0.57
12. POLITICS IS CONSTRUCTION	2	0.57	2	0.57
13. POLITICS IS ARSON	2	0.57	1	0.28
14. POLITICS IS EARNING A LIVING	1	0.28	2	0.57
15. POLITICS IS MUSIC	3	0.85	-	-
16. POLITICS IS COOKING	-	-	3	0.85
17. POLITICS IS RELIGION	2	0.57	-	-
18. POLITICS IS REFRIGERATION	2	0.57	-	-
19. POLITICS IS A FAMILY	-	-	2	0.57
20. POLITICS IS MODEL	1	0.28	-	-
21. POLITICS IS MACHINE	1	0.28	-	-

**Table 4.1** (Continued)

<b>Conceptual Metaphors</b>	<b>Time</b> (26 pieces)		<b>Newsweek</b> (14 pieces)	
	<b>No. of Metaphors</b> (205)	<b>Percentage</b> (%)	<b>No. of Metaphors</b> (147)	<b>Percentage</b> (%)
22. POLITICS IS FURNITURE	-	-	1	0.28
23. POLITICS IS SUPERNATURAL	-	-	1	0.28
24. POLITICS IS JUSTICE	-	-	1	0.28
<b>Total</b>	205	58.25	147	41.75

In the study, each conceptual domain of political metaphor was subcategorized into five political elements as follows:

### **1. Political systems**

According to Easton (1965: 57), a political system is defined as “a set of interactions, abstracted from the totality of social behavior, through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society.” He identified all political systems as means of processing inputs into outputs, which are the decisions or actions taken by the decision makers in response to the demands. Similarly, Almond and Powell (1966) described that the political system comprised interacting roles, structures, and subsystems. They explained its operation in terms of inputs from the environment or from within the political system itself, the changeover of these inputs within the system and the production of outputs into the environment, and this in turn may affect the political system.

Akinchan (1995) classified the inputs of political system into two types: *demands* (for action on the part of some government agency or official, concrete benefits or other political outputs) and *supports* (votes, ideological loyalty, party membership, donations and the like). These inputs, which may come from any sources - domestic society, political elites and international environment - are processed by the political system to create outputs in the form of authoritative decisions. In addition, Easton (1965, 1975 cited in Dalton and Sin, 2006) distinguished the elements of political support at three levels: the political community, the regime and political authorities. This study focuses on regime structures as major parts of the overall political system such as democratic, authoritarian and totalitarian systems.

## **2. Political institutions**

Bealey, Chapman and Sheehan (1999: 8) defined a political institution as “a public body with formally designated structures and functions intended to regulate defined activities applying to the whole population.” Examples of political institution are the government, coalitions, parliament, political parties, courts and bureaucracies that play a significant role in making, carrying out, enforcing laws and managing conflicts about them.

## **3. Politicians**

According to the definition given by Beard (2000: 3), a politician is “a person who is practically engaged in running a country, district and town,” whereas Safire (2008: 557) stated that a politician is “one who engages in a career either in government or in a political party on a full-time, usually professional, basis.” However, the word ‘politician,’ according to the definition of dictionaries, is a person who is involved or works in politics - whether to come from election, appointment, coup d’etat or other means - including those who have decision-making power in government or who are involved with influencing public decision making such as the prime minister, ministers and members of parliament.

#### 4. Political activities

The Arizona Judges Association's statement (1998: 2) defined a political activity as "related or connected with the orderly conduct of government and the peaceful organization, regulation and administration of the government." This definition is consistent with that discussed by Elacqua in the *Houston Business and Tax Journal* (2008) which identified political activity as any act in which people took part whether in support of or in opposition to a government. In addition to any activities relating to politics, the study of this element includes elections and issues such as joining a political party, attending political party events (meetings, rallies or other political gatherings), debating in parliamentary sessions, and being involved in a coup, a putsch or a political conflict.

#### 5. Interest groups

Based on the definition given by Wilson (1991 cited in Costain and McFarland, 1998), interest groups are forms of organizations which are independent of the government and political parties but try to influence governmental policies. Similarly, Axford *et al.* (1997) said that interest or pressure groups try to influence the political process in order to advance their own interests or keep their social, political or economic position or reach some objective or vision of how society should be organized, while Castles (1967: 1) defined an interest group as "any group attempting to bring about political change, whether through government activity or not, and which is not a political party in the sense of being represented, at that particular time, in the legislative body." From the points of view discussed above, interest groups, according to Almond and Powell (1966), can be divided into four categories as follows:

5.1 *Institutional interest groups* are organized groups within formal organizations which have both political and social functions such as legislatures, political executives, political parties, bureaucracies, armies and churches. With lots of

autonomy, the blocs, cliques or corporate bodies within them may enunciate their own interests, or represent the interests of other groups in the society.

5.2 *Associational interest groups* are formally organized groups with specialized structures; e.g., trade unions, businessmen's and industrialists' organizations, ethnic associations, and civic groups. These groups express clearly the demands and represent or protect the interests of a particular group by virtue of orderly formulated procedures. Their goals and tactics are often accepted in society in terms of legitimacy.

5.3 *Non-associational interest groups* are unorganized groups which include the kinship and lineage groups, ethnic, regional, religious, status and class groups. These groups have informal structures and occasionally articulate interests for individuals, family, cliques, religious heads and the like.

5.4 *Anomic interest groups* are the associations of people who share a common concern regarding a particular issue. In general, their gatherings arise from some crisis and turmoil. These groups are sporadically formed by their loose coordination and often resort to violence, riots or demonstrations to press their demands in hope of affecting political decisions or political system in unpredictable and uncontrollable ways.

The analysis of each of the conceptual metaphors that represent the views of Thai politics of international mass media was based on the stated political elements, the theoretical framework provided by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the tenor and vehicle, the componential analysis and the cognitive semantics framework as illustrated by the following examples:

## **1. POLITICS IS WAR**

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR means metaphorical expressions which apply the concept of war to politics; in other words, politics is viewed in terms

of war. This conceptual metaphor includes armies, leaders of the armies, objectives of the war, battles, weapons, bases, commands, battlefields, strategies, tactics, attacks, counterattacks, defenses, injuries, victory and defeat. This metaphor is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *The political system* is something damaged during the war.

E.g. - But even then, Thailand's battered political system will still be grounded. (*Time* of November 27, 2008)

- It's no secret that Thailand's democracy is embattled. (*Newsweek* of November 26, 2008)

b) *A political institution* is an army.

E.g. - The creation of Puea Thai looks to be a PPP tactic to keep its grip on power. (*Newsweek* of December 3, 2008)

c) *A politician* is a warrior.

E.g. - On September 17, Thailand's parliament elected Somchai Wongsawat as the country's new Prime Minister, replacing embattled political veteran Samak Sundaravej, who only served in the top post for just over six months. (*Time* of September 17, 2008)

d) *Political activities* are war.

(1) *The protest* is war.

E.g. - “The first thing is to get rid of the government,” says Surapol Chinakulprasert, a 48-year-old second-hand goods trader clapping along as PAD leaders rallied their troops from a giant stage set up in the garden of Government House. (*Time* of September 3, 2008)

- They’ve occupied the prime minister’s office, stormed airports near popular beach resorts and crippled national railway service across Thailand. (*Newsweek* of September 2, 2008)

(2) *The political conflict* is war.

E.g. - But even as these troubles mount, neither the government nor the opposition appears willing to give ground. (*Time* of November 25, 2008)

(3) *The coup* is war.

E.g. - They accused Thaksin, who was toppled in a military coup in 2006, of massive corruption and abuse of power. (*Time* of July 6, 2009)

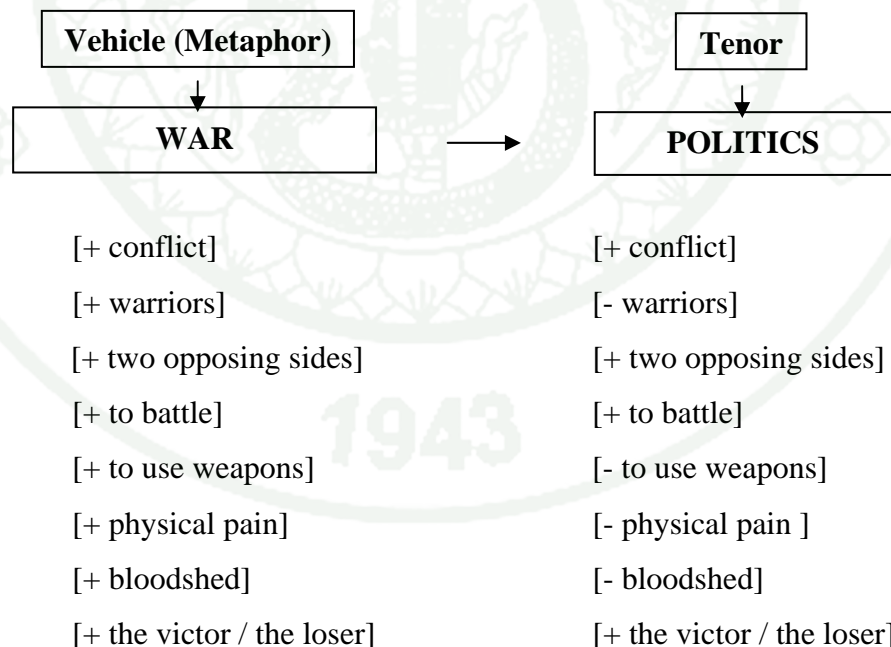
- After all, the party remains pro-monarchy, supported the military during the coup that toppled Thaksin, is socially conservative and is strong in Bangkok and southern Thailand. (*Newsweek* of December 3, 2008)

(4) *The election is war.*

E.g. - Still, support from rural voters probably would ensure another victory for the pro-Thaksin camp – much to the disgust of the PAD. (*Time* of November 26, 2008)

- Samak and his People’s Power Party gained power by courting the rural vote, which outnumbers the Alliance’s mainly urban power base. (*Newsweek* of September 2, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved war derives from the source domain of WAR to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “war” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *battered, embattled, grip on power, veteran, rallied their troops, occupied,*

*stormed, give ground, toppled, camp* and *base*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR follows.

Politics was like a war between the government and the protesters of the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) at that time. The political activities – e.g., protest, political conflict, coup and election – were presented as a war, where a political institution is an army, a politician is a warrior, and a political system is something damaged during the war. Clearly, in the case of the protest in the given examples, Bangkok was turned into the battlefield when the PAD *occupied* the prime minister's office, *stormed* airports and crippled national railway service across Thailand. Later on, the PAD turned the prime minister's office into their command center and *rallied their troops*, namely their supporters, in an effort to bring down the government led by then Prime Minister Samak Sundaravej, a political *veteran* whom PAD also accused of being a puppet of former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra.

Another example, the metaphor *give ground*, shows that Thailand's political conflict at the time was similar to a war. Namely, both pro- and anti-Thaksin groups continued to engage each other with the goal of taking control of state power or pushing policies to further their own ends. It seemed difficult, therefore, to bring about an end to the political conflict in such a polarized society. Finally, the political system – specifically, democracy – was under siege and undermined or damaged by the war or this conflict, as seen in the metaphors *battered* and *embattled*.

In the case of the coup, the metaphor *toppled* shows that the sudden coup was like a war due to the fact that a small group of individuals or the army wanted to remove the government suddenly by force and replace it with either a new civil or military government. As for the election, the metaphors *camp* and *base* show that each political party had to fight for power by building its own power base or support camp from voters in order to ensure victory in the election.

## 2. POLITICS IS A COMPETITIVE GAME OR SPORT

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A COMPETITIVE GAME OR SPORT means metaphorical expressions which relate the concept of a competitive game or sport to politics; in other words, politics is conceptualized as a competitive game or sport. This conceptual metaphor includes sports, trainers, players or sportsmen, competitors, referees, arenas, rules of the game, competitive or sports equipment, sport actions, sport results and cheering teams. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) A *political institution* is a player.

E.g. - For a growing number of observers and ordinary Thais, that third way may be the Democrat Party, a major player in Thai politics since 1945 that has stood on the sidelines through much of the recent tumult. (*Newsweek* of December 3, 2008)

b) A *politician* is a player.

E.g. - But he and his supporters will need a deep bench if they are to continue dominating Thai politics. (*Time* of November 26, 2008)  
 - They champion a sector of Thai society ignored by the old political elite – impoverished farmers – and practice dual-track economic policies that combine populist perks for the least well-off and greater participation in the global economy. (*Newsweek* of November 15, 2008)

c) *Political activities* are competitive games or sports.

(1) *The protest* is a competitive game or sport.

E.g. - He changed his message after the rioting and joined political rivals in calling for reconciliation. (*Time* of April 24, 2009)

- This morning, Prime Minister Samak Sundaravej struck back in defense of his government, declaring emergency rule just hours after rival mobs clashed on Bangkok's streets. (*Newsweek* of September 2, 2008)

(2) *The political conflict* is a competitive game or sport.

E.g. - Thaksin looks like he might be called on to play another round of defense. (*Time* of August 12, 2008)

- That football match reached fever pitch last week when, the second time in three months, Thailand's constitutional court toppled a democratically elected government. (*Newsweek* of December 6, 2008)

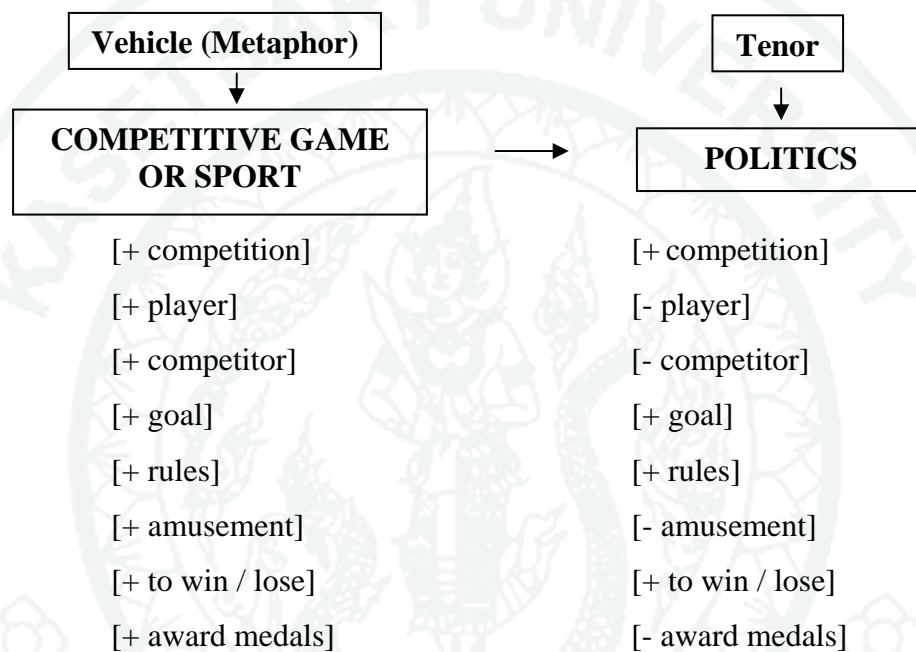
(3) *The election* is a competitive game or sport.

E.g. - The PAD hopes its violent street actions will muster enough power to oust political opponents it can't beat at the ballot box. (*Newsweek* of November 26, 2008)

(4) *The debate in the parliamentary session* is a competitive game or sport.

E.g. - The debate ran for two marathon 15-hour sessions dominated by partisan bickering over who was to blame for the violence, but did little to resolve Thailand's deepening political divide. (*Time* of April 24, 2009)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved competitive game or sport derives from the source domain of COMPETITIVE GAME OR SPORT to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “competitive game or sport” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *player, sidelines, deep bench, champion, rivals, rival, play another round of defense, that football match reached fever pitch, beat and marathon*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A COMPETITIVE GAME OR SPORT follows.

Politics was like a competitive game or sport between the government and the opposition or anti-government protesters. The political activities – e.g., protests, political conflicts, elections and debates in parliamentary sessions – are presented as a competitive game or sport in which political institutions and politicians participate as players. In case of the protest in September 2008, given as the example, then

Prime Minister Samak's government and anti-government protesters calling themselves the PAD were *rivals* of each other. The PAD wanted victory in its bid to unseat Thaksin-allied government, while Samak had to defend his government against the PAD protesters. As for the protest in April 2009, Thaksin and Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva were leaders of two rival groups who were competing against each other. The goal of the political competition between the political parties was to gain power or political control of the country where the position of prime minister was the highest prize of the competition.

In case of the political conflict, Thaksin was called on to *play another round of defense*. That is to say, he was in the position to explain his charges so as to ensure the Manchester City football club of the English Premier League that he was suitable for ownership at the time. As for the metaphor *That football match reached fever pitch*, this means that Thai political situation at the time was like a football game which had reached its peak in the eyes of the watchers when the ruling People Power Party was disbanded for electoral fraud and then PM Somchai Wongsawat and 35 others were banned from politics for five years by Thailand's Constitutional Court.

With regard to the election, the metaphor *beat* points out that the election was seen as a rule-based competitive game or sport between the candidates from political parties in order to get votes and political positions. If any political party won majority support, it would run the government. Thus, ministerial portfolios were like the medals awarded in the competition.

Finally, the metaphor *marathon* shows that the debate in the parliamentary session was like a rule-based competitive game or sport between the Government and the Opposition. They competed to seek some information on the other side for use in the debate carried on with harsh accusatory speeches, which took a long time and required a lot of patience to listen to. In this case, both the government and the opposition could be compared to athletes in a marathon watched by the people, who were the spectators. Gaining the confidence of the people was the prize the government and the opposition were trying to win in this competition.

### 3. POLITICS IS NATURE

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS NATURE means metaphorical expressions which involve concept of nature into politics. To put it simply, politics is viewed as nature. This conceptual metaphor includes substances, phenomena and natural processes. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *A Political Institution* is a natural phenomenon or substance.

E.g. - In early June, the founders of Thailand's New Politics Party (NPP) unveiled their logo – usually a routine procedure in a country where new parties seem to come and go with the monsoons. (*Time* of June 19, 2009)

- Its salient aspects include a winner-take-all political culture, a rising authoritarian bent among the country's traditional elite and the erosion of democratic institutions. (*Newsweek* of December 6, 2008)

b) *Political activities* are natural phenomena.

(1) *The protest* is a natural phenomenon.

E.g. - But early on Sept. 2, the atmosphere took a sudden turn when a deadly street battle erupted between the PAD and a counter-protest group that supports the embattled Prime Minister. (*Time* of September 3, 2008)

(2) *The election* is a natural phenomenon.

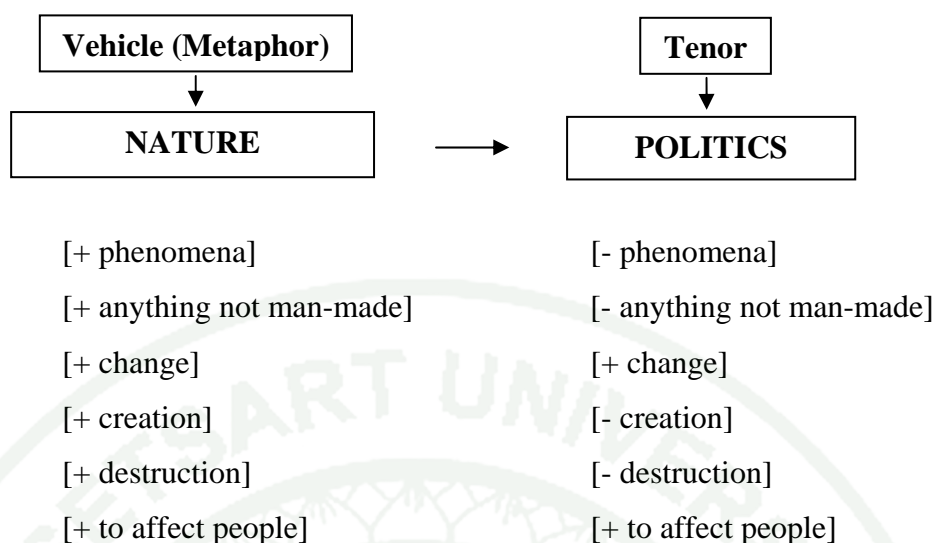
E.g. - But his marriage to Thaksin's sister, who also served as a parliamentarian, makes him unacceptable to the PAD, which accuses Thaksin of having bought many of the rural voters who swept him into office with a record mandate. (*Time* of September 17, 2008)

- Ironically, Prime Minister Samak and his allies posted a landslide victory in that contest by opposing martial law and pledging to revive the populism of ousted tycoon-turned-prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra. (*Newsweek* of September 2, 2008)

(3) *The political conflict* is a natural phenomenon.

E.g. - A brazen attack by gunmen Friday wounded the protest leader who helped topple Thailand's government in 2006 and paralyzed the capital last year, reheating political temperature that had started to cool after several days of rioting by opposing forces. (*Newsweek* of April 17, 2009)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved nature derives from the source domain of NATURE to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of "nature" and "politics" are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *come and go with the monsoons, erosion, erupted, swept, landslide* and *reheating political temperature*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS NATURE follows.

Politics was like nature; a political institution and political activities were compared with natural phenomena which could affect people. The example metaphor given of *come and go with the monsoons*, in case of political institution, showed that new political parties were like monsoons which were active in politics for a period of time disappeared for no matter what reason. The members of political party were those affected by the monsoon. Further, the metaphor *erosion* implied that a political institution was also like a substance; e.g., soil or rock, which could be gradually destroyed by natural phenomena, namely political activities.

With regard to political activities compared with natural phenomena, the metaphor *erupted* showed that the protest was like an active volcano erupting and spewing out thick smoke, fire, and rock into the sky. The thick smoke, fire, and rock were compared with the protesters' violence which affected people or the government. It can be pointed out on the basis of the metaphors *swept* and *landslide*, the election was a natural phenomenon. The metaphor *swept* showed that the voters

were compared with a wind which could blow electoral candidates of a political party in a particular direction, namely, to a position in the government, if it was strong enough. Moreover, the metaphor *landslide* referred to a victory in an election in which candidates or political parties got a number of votes that overwhelmed their opponents as if the votes were a large mass of soil and rock which suddenly slid down a hill.

Finally, the metaphor *reheating political temperature* indicated that the political conflict such as protests was like climate change caused by human activities whether directly or indirectly. In other words, this conflict was compared with a change in the normal weather. This change affected the people, the economy and the infrastructure, requiring urgent action on the part of the government. This conflict was far-reaching and regarded as a long-term problem in politics measured by temperature changes and even other indicators.

#### 4. POLITICS IS LIFE

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS LIFE means metaphorical expressions which relate life concept to politics; briefly, politics is conceived of as life. This conceptual metaphor includes the growth, the development and the behavior of living things such as human beings, animals and plants between birth and death or extinction and their organs or components such as blood and blood vessels. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *The political system is a living thing.*

E.g. - Even at the best of times, politics in Thailand rarely hew to the playbook of a mature democracy. (*Time* of August 29, 2008)

b) *A political institution* is a person.

E.g. - The fate of that program, and the government itself, may rest on events surrounding the protests. (*Time* of April 7, 2009)

- With more than 160 seats in the House, the party has been in the opposition to the PPP, after serving in a similar role to Thaksin's now defunct Thai Rak Thai Party. (*Newsweek* of December 3, 2008)

c) *A politician* is an animal.

E.g. - The comment appeared to perpetuate the idea that rural people can be bought as well as emphasize the challenge the fledgling P.M. faces in the north and northeast. (*Newsweek* of December 31, 2008)

d) *Political activities* are animal behavior.

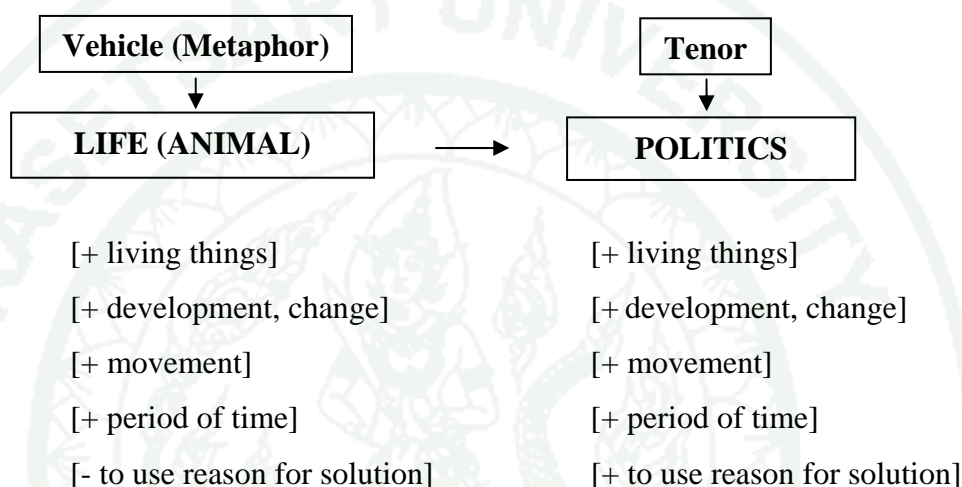
(1) *The protest* is animal behavior.

E.g. - "This is all because of one man, Thaksin Shinawatra," he said, as a yellow-hued sea of protesters armed with plastic hand-clappers milled around near him. (*Time* of November 26, 2008)

e) *An interest group* is an animal.

E.g. - But Apirat knows that merging political hues – and disentangling the complex web of shifting relationships between Thai politicians, military officers and those who serve the King – is an all but impossible task. (*Time* of April 14, 2009)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved life derives from the source domain of LIFE to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “life” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *mature*, *fate*, *defunct*, *fledgling*, *milled* and *web*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS LIFE follows.

Politics was like life. The political system was presented as a living thing. A political institution was compared with a person while politicians and interest groups were compared with an animal, the behavior of which could be seen through political activities. In the light of political system, the metaphor *mature* shows that democratic development of Thailand’s political system was immature even in a normal situation as in case that Thai Rak Thai Party was dissolved for violation of election laws, reflecting an undermined democratic system in Thailand. Accordingly, Thai Rak Thai Party became as *defunct* political party.

Furthermore, the metaphor *fate* reflected that the government was like a person being under some power which could control people's lives while people could not avoid or prevent something from happening. From the metaphor *fledgling*, it could be claimed that the behavior of some politicians or interest groups was similar to that of an animal; in other words, the politician was like an animal which is just learning what to do. The metaphor *web* showed an example of animal learning, namely that animals as well as human beings knew how to build complex relationships among themselves. In addition, animal behavior could be seen during the protest; e.g., the yellow-shirted protesters *milled* around near the PAD leader.

## 5. POLITICS IS BUSINESS

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS BUSINESS means metaphorical expressions which compare business to politics; this is to say, politics is conceived of as business. This conceptual metaphor includes trade, entrepreneurs, business competitors or owners, consumers, products or merchandise, brand names, marketing strategies, selling points, services, merchandising, investments, costs, prices, profits and losses. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) A *political institution* is a company or store.

E.g. - In the meantime, Chaowarat is minding the store, although apparently not doing much with the merchandise. (*Newsweek* of December 3, 2008)

b) A *politician* is merchandise.

E.g. - The demonstrators, who call themselves the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD), had been calling for Samak's ouster ever since he took office, labeling him nothing more than a

puppet of former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, who himself had been deposed by a bloodless military coup in 2006. (*Time* of September 17, 2008)

- In the meantime, Chaowarat is minding the store, although apparently not doing much with the merchandise. (*Newsweek* of December 3, 2008)

c) *Political activities* are businesses or merchandises.

(1) *The election* is a business.

E.g. - Although Thaksin is a wealthy telecoms tycoon and his cohorts have been linked with various abuses of power including vote-buying, his party's micro-financing and health-care initiatives resonated with the poor, who felt like these politicians were finally addressing their concerns. (*Time* of December 15, 2008)

- The comment appeared to perpetuate the idea that rural people can be bought as well as emphasize the challenge the fledgling P.M. faces in the north and northeast. (*Newsweek* of December 31, 2008)

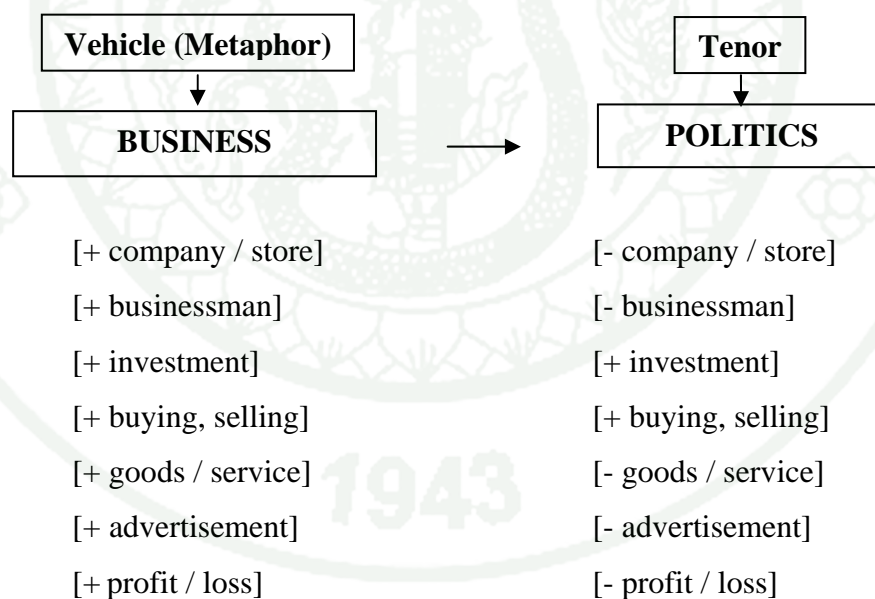
(2) *The argument* is merchandise.

E.g. - But the court didn't buy that argument, ruling that Samak and his entire cabinet must resign. (*Time* of September 9, 2008)

d) *An interest group* is a broker.

E.g. - His economic model played well in the largely rural country and made Thailand an emerging-market star, yet Thaksin's populism, charisma and superior political skills also made him powerful enemies among Thailand's traditional power brokers: the military, Bangkok's political clans, the business elite and the monarchy. (*Newsweek* of December 6, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved business derives from the source domain of BUSINESS to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of "business" and "politics" are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *store, labeling, merchandise, vote-buying, bought, buy* and *brokers*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS BUSINESS follows.

Politics was like a business. It can be said that the political institutions – e.g., political parties – were like companies or stores in which the politicians were compared with merchandises. The political activities – e.g., elections and arguments – were also presented as a business in which the interest group served as a broker. In regard to elections, explicitly, running for election was regarded as a political investment. The election campaign seemed to be the advertisement for selling products which the politicians offered. The electorate, as consumers, had to decide which products or politicians they would buy or choose into the parliament. It should be noted that some politicians chose to invest large amounts of money in buying eligible voters' votes, as can be observed in the metaphors *vote-buying* and *bought*, so that they could obtain profitable positions in the government.

An argument was like merchandise which the consumer had the right to buy or not to buy. In the example given, the court, which functioned as a consumer, chose not to *buy* the argument of the company that produced a TV cooking program called “Tasting, Complaining” and said the company had paid Samak, who did not have the status of a company employee, an honorarium of around \$2,300 for his shows, thus leading to the resignation of Samak and his cabinet's.

## **6. POLITICS IS A JOURNEY**

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS JOURNEY means metaphorical expressions which relate concept of journey to politics; briefly, politics is seen in terms of journey. This conceptual metaphor includes road, route, footpath, vehicles and any movement from one place to another. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *The political system* is a vehicle.

E.g. - But even then, Thailand's battered political system will still be grounded. (*Time* of November 27, 2008)

- Unable to reassert authority over the hinterland, the old guard seems bent on retaking command through a platform it calls "new politics," which would roll back one-person, one-vote democracy. (*Newsweek* of December 6, 2008)

b) *A political institution* is a traveler.

E.g. - The opposition gathered support over the weekend, as business leaders joined the chorus calling for Thailand's democratically elected ruling party to step down from power. (*Time* of November 30, 2008)

- For now, the caretaker administration limps on, getting the rudiments of governance done, as an array of politicians and parties circle each other, trying to find a way forward under the watchful – and suspicious – eye of the PAD. (*Newsweek* of December 3, 2008)

c) *A Politician* is a traveler.

E.g. - But even though Samak is gone and his predecessor charged with criminal wrongdoing, the Thaksin connection remains. (*Time* of September 17, 2008)

- The 2006 coup that consigned Thaksin to exile threw Thailand into tumult that has seen four more prime ministers come and

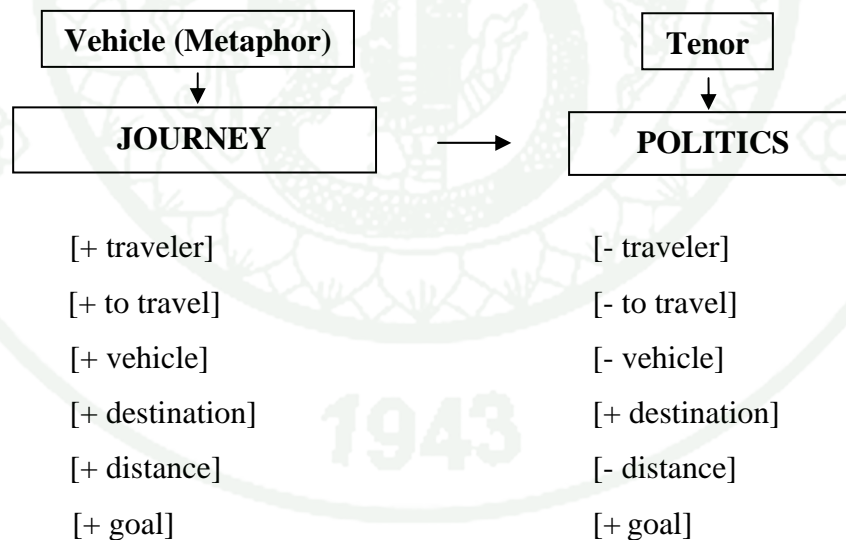
go. (*Newsweek* of December 31, 2008)

d) *Political activities* are long journeys.

(1) *The political conflict* is a long journey.

E.g. - Anti-democracy protestors succeed in bringing down the government, but the conflict is far from over. (*Newsweek* of December 2, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved journey derives from the source domain of JOURNEY to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “journey” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *grounded, roll back, step down, limps, gone, come and go* and *far*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS JOURNEY follows.

Politics was compared with a journey, on which the political system was like a vehicle which travelers used to reach their destination. Political activities were presented as a long journey which politicians and the political institution joined as travelers. For politicians, Government House was like the destination which they would like to reach because it stood as a major symbol of authority in government. Posts in the government were compared to their goal, whereas the distance of the journey stood for the term in office.

It might be expected that elected politicians, in general, would push forward the process of democracy, but here, on the contrary, the metaphors *grounded* and *roll back* showed that Thailand's political system was like a vehicle that had encountered obstacles during the journey. Two examples were that the PAD campaigned to *roll back* one-person, one-vote democracy and that Thailand changed prime ministers four times in the two years after the 2006 coup. This latter fact led to the metaphorical expressions *come and go*, pointing out that the prime ministers were travelers who came and went, or stepped up to and stepped down from power. In addition, the metaphor *far* in the given example indicated that the conflict between the Yellow Shirts and Thaksin-allied government or opponents was like a long journey which was as difficult as travelling to the ends of the earth.

## 7. POLITICS IS FIRING

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS FIRING means metaphorical expressions which relate concept of firing to politics; briefly, politics is seen as firing. This conceptual metaphor includes fuel and the act of lighting and stoking a fire. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *A politician* is fuel for the fire.

E.g. - It is also legally proscribed from bringing criminal charges against any participant in the 2006 coup that ousted populist firebrand

Thaksin Shinawatra from power. (*Newsweek* of December 6, 2008)

b) *Political activities* are fire or something on fire.

(1) *The protest* is anything made hot.

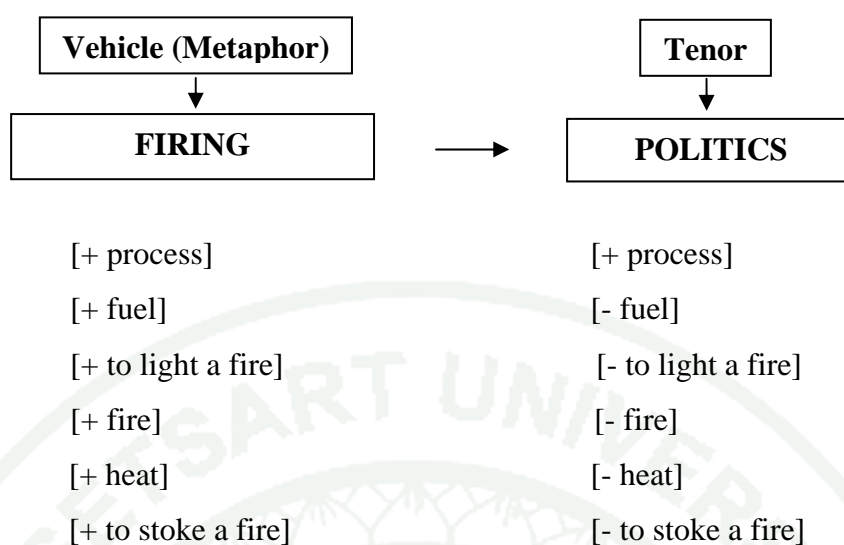
E.g. - It was not immediately clear if the ban was prompted by heated political protests that had gripped Thailand in December, which the government said had been stoked by Thaksin from overseas. (*Time* of June 10, 2009)

(2) *The political conflict* is fire.

E.g. - That evening, Thaksin – who is in self-imposed exile presumably because of a two-year conflict-of-interest jail sentence by a Thai court – added fuel to the fire by saying the time might be right for a “revolution.” (*Time* of April 13, 2009)

- Thaksin himself shows every sign of adding fuel to the fire. (*Newsweek* of December 2, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved firing derives from the source domain of FIRING to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “firing” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *firebrand*, *heated* and *adding fuel to the fire*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS FIRING follows.

Politics was like firing; in the metaphor *firebrand*, politicians were conceptualized as fuel for the fire, which was compared to the ongoing political conflict. This kind of fuel, namely politicians, could heat up something on fire, which here was compared to such political activities as protests. Moreover, the metaphor *adding fuel to the fire* indicated that the political activities – e.g., protests or political conflicts – could be stoked by politicians' speeches, also compared with fuel.

## 8. POLITICS IS DRAMA

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS DRAMA means metaphorical expressions which related concept of drama to politics; this is to say, politics is seen in terms of drama. This conceptual metaphor includes a play, show, stage performance, theatrical performance, movie, director, actor, actress, hero, heroine, supporting performer, action, prelude and audience. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *A politician* is a hero.

E.g. - Thaksin is hardly the hero of the future. (*Newsweek* of April 13, 2009)

b) *Political activities* are drama.

(1) *The protest* is drama.

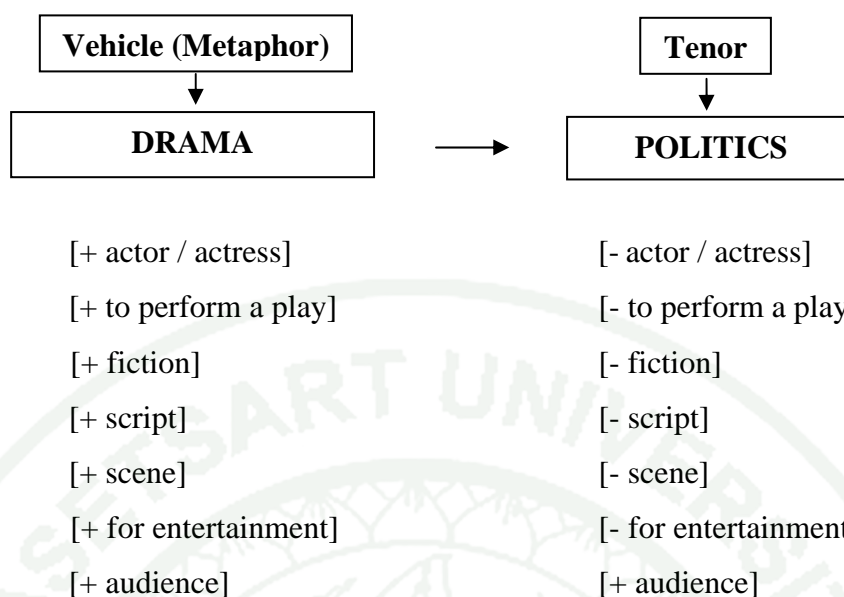
E.g. - But the current stalemate is rapidly reaching that of political farce, with a distinct possibility of degenerating into tragedy. (*Time* of September 4, 2008)

- During a Tuesday broadcast from Hong Kong, one of the network's anchors interviewed Sondhi by telephone and gave him free rein to spin his tales of a government run amok that attacks peaceful protesters who dare yearn for true democracy. (*Newsweek* of September 3, 2008)

(2) *The political event* is drama.

E.g. - Hollywood, the land of ultimate battles and last stands, doesn't have a monopoly on dramatic endings. (*Time* of November 25, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved drama derives from the source domain of DRAMA to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of "drama" and "politics" are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *hero*, *farce*, *tales*, *last stands* and *dramatic endings*, could be connected or transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS DRAMA follows.

Politics was like a drama in which a politician played the role of the hero. Political activities – e.g., protests and other political events – were also compared to dramas in which politician switched among various roles or characters they were playing. For example, “Thaksin is hardly the *hero* of the future” shows the development of this character. In the case of political events, a protest was compared with a drama, the theme of which referred to the main goal of the protest. The theme was clearly stated through dialogues delivered by the protest leaders. Its scenes might contain some violence or battles with some special effects building certain atmosphere or mood which held the audiences glued to their seats. The scene may also use symbols such as colors which helped make a scene more effective. In addition, the scene may show conflict or the politician’s or character’s good and bad points and lead to the climax of the story, the audience’s anxiety, or a dramatic ending.

## 9. POLITICS IS DISEASE

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS DISEASE means metaphorical expressions which relate concept of disease to politics; briefly, politics is seen as disease. This conceptual metaphor includes patients, germs, symptoms and diseases. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *A political institution is a patient.*

E.g. - Last year's demonstrations, which paralyzed the government for months and occupied the capital's airports for a week, ended after court rulings removed two Thaksin-allied governments, paving the way for Abhisit's rise in December. (*Newsweek* of April 17, 2009)

*A politician is the source of disease.*

E.g. - Thaksin, a billionaire businessman overthrown in a bloodless coup in 2006, remains an incendiary figure; the source of a paralysis Thailand cannot shake. (*Newsweek* of December 2, 2008)

c) *Political activities are diseases.*

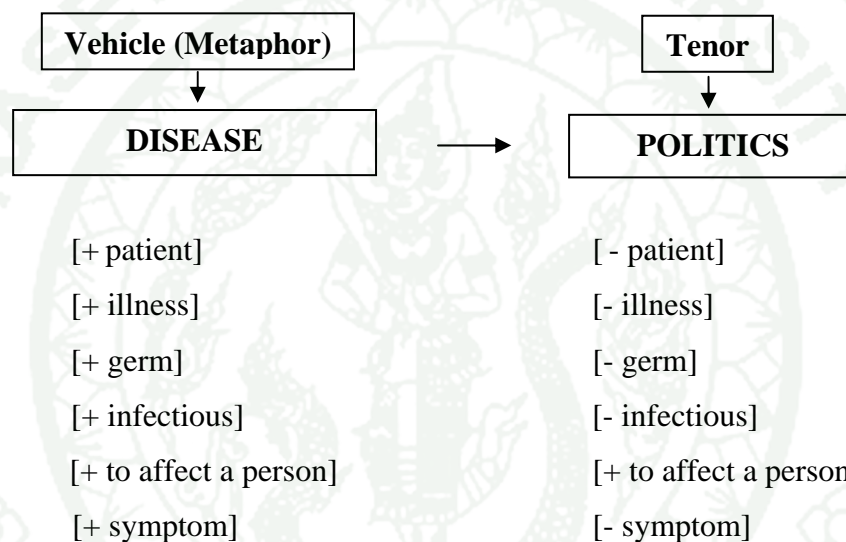
(1) *The political conflict is a disease.*

E.g. - Thai hopes for healing fade after protest leader shot. (*Time* of April 17, 2009)

- The government has underestimated the wrath of rural and marginalized people and that is partly why they have not made

enough effort to reach out to heal the rift. (*Newsweek* of April 14, 2009)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved disease derives from the source domain of DISEASE to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “disease” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *paralyzed*, *paralysis*, *healing*, and *heal*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS DISEASE follows.

Politics was like a disease; a politician was presented as the source of disease, whereas diseases, compared with political activities, could also make a political institution ill; this is to say, a political institution was like a patient. In the examples given, the metaphors *paralyzed* and *paralysis* revealed that the then PM Somchai Wongsawat’s government was like a patient who lost the ability to govern during the PAD’s demonstrations in 2008. His government was compared to a paralyzed patient, the source of whose disease was former PM Thaksin Shinawatra.

Thus, this disease or political conflict needed a cure as seen in the given metaphors *healing* and *heal*.

## 10. POLITICS IS GAMBLING

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS GAMBLING means metaphorical expressions which involve concept of gambling into politics. To put it simply, politics is viewed as gambling. This conceptual metaphor includes a pay-off, stake or anything of value, card, dice, horse and gambling result. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *A politician* is something people bet on.

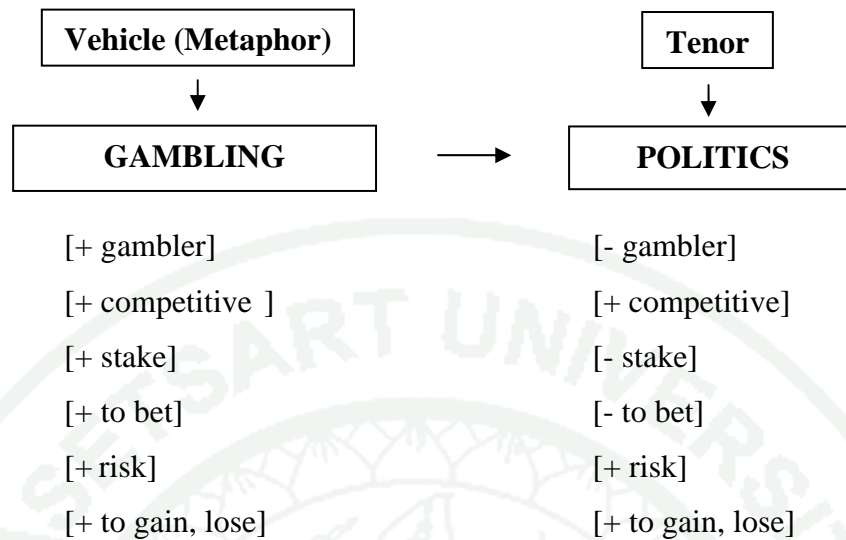
E.g. - Few people are willing to bet that the new prime minister, Abhisit Vejjajiva, Democrat Party, will last much longer than his immediate predecessor, Somchai Wongsawat, who hung on for 77 days. (*Newsweek* of December 17, 2008)

b) *Political activities* are gambling.

(1) *The protest* is gambling.

E.g. - On Nov. 24, the PAD upped the ante, shutting down Thailand's parliament and later overwhelming the old air terminal. (*Time* of November 26, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved gambling derives from the source domain of GAMBLING to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of "gambling" and "politics" are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen together in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *bet* and *upped the ante*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS GAMBLING follows.

Politics was like gambling in which politicians were both players and something people bet on, whereas their political activities were presented as gambling games. The example metaphor given of *upped the ante* shows that political activities were gambling with high risks; in other words, the player has a chance to gain or lose a great deal by betting. In the case of the Yellow Shirts' protest in November 2008, for example, shutting down Thailand's parliament and the old airport was regarded as a political stake. If either the Yellow Shirts or the then-Prime Minister Somchai Wongsawat's government had won the political conflict at the time, the parliament and the old airport would have come under the control of the winner. Another example was the case of politicians; the metaphor *bet* indicated that Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva became something people bet on if he would serve in the office for longer than the predecessor, Somchai Wongsawat.

## 11. POLITICS IS A BRITTLE OBJECT

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A BRITTLE OBJECT means metaphorical expressions which relate concept of a brittle object to politics; in other words, politics is seen in terms of a brittle object. This conceptual metaphor includes glasses, mirrors or anything delicate. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *The political system* is a brittle object.

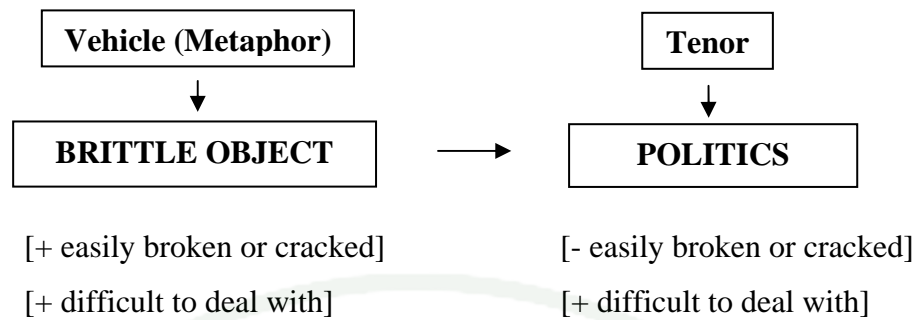
E.g. - The brittle state of Thailand's young democracy was highlighted back in 2006 when the military masterminded a bloodless coup against former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. (*Time* of September 4, 2008)

- However reluctant, Samak's decree struck a blow to Thailand's already-fragile democracy. (*Newsweek* of September 2, 2008)

b) *Political institution* is a brittle object.

E.g. - Thailand's new prime minister must win over the rural majority to preserve his fragile coalition government. (*Newsweek* of December 31, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved a brittle object derives from the source domain of BRITTLE OBJECT to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of "brittle object" and "politics" are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *brittle*, and *fragile*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A BRITTLE OBJECT follows.

Politics was like a brittle object; the political system and political institution were conceptualized as something that was liable to break easily. The metaphors *brittle* and *fragile* hinted, in case of political system, that democracy was easily broken if the political pressure increased or if it was threatened by political institutions, politicians, the military intervention, or any other factor. In the case of political institutions, similarly, the metaphor *fragile* presented the coalition government as something that would break easily if anything affected the coalition parties' interests or the agreement among them, leading to the rift among them.

## 12. POLITICS IS CONSTRUCTION

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS CONSTRUCTION means metaphorical expressions which relate construction concept to politics; briefly, politics is viewed as construction. This conceptual metaphor includes the materials, component parts and building methods. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *A political institution* is a building.

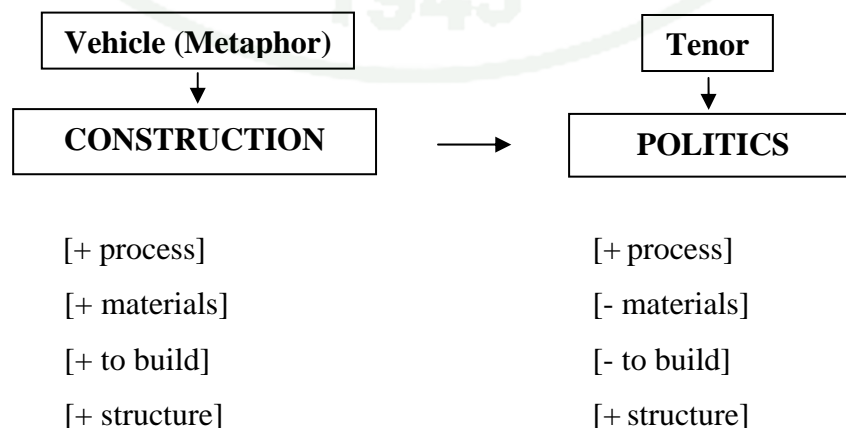
E.g. - Now officially banned twice, it has again begun to reconstitute itself, this time as Puea Thai, and likely will maintain its sway over Parliament's powerful lower house. (*Newsweek* of December 6, 2008)

b) *Political activities* are materials.

(1) *The protest* is a material.

E.g. - Thailand appeared to be bracing for a crackdown on anti-government protesters occupying Bangkok's two main airports on Friday evening, as riot police gathered near the airfields and a government spokesman claimed the administration had international support to use force against the demonstrators. (*Time* of November 28, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved construction derives from the source domain of CONSTRUCTION to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of "construction" and "politics" are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *reconstitute* and *bracing*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS CONSTRUCTION follows.

Politics was like construction; the metaphor *reconstitute* showed that political institutions were like a building, while the metaphor *bracing* indicated that political activities – e.g., the protest – are like materials which can break and damage the building; herein is the political institution – e.g., the government – and/or the nation in stressful situation. The metaphor *bracing* is an effort to resist being damaged. In addition, politicians were compared with builders forming a political party or political institution through a political process. Finally, the metaphor *reconstitute* also showed that a political institution compared with a building could be formed one more time.

### 13. POLITICS IS ARSON

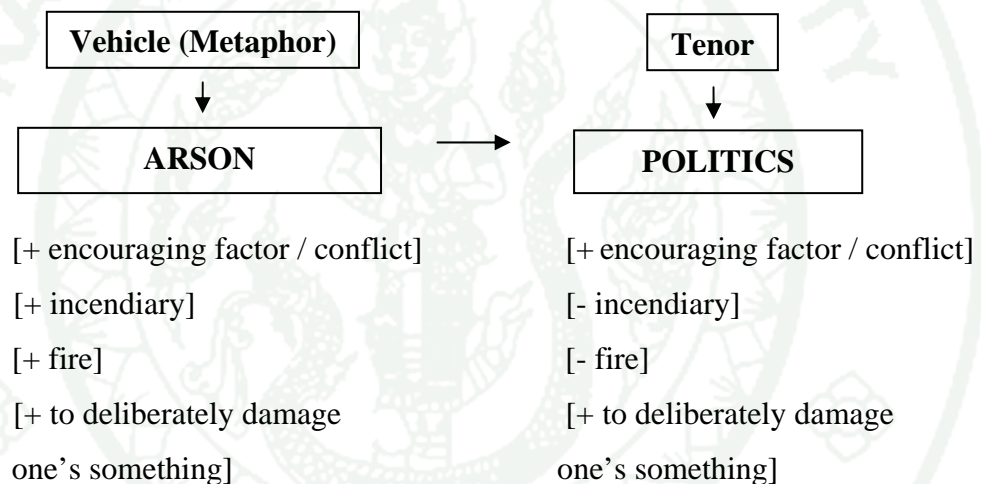
The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS ARSON means metaphorical expressions which involve concept of arson into politics. To put it simply, politics is seen as arson. This conceptual metaphor includes incendiary and suspicious fires. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) A *politician* is an incendiary.

E.g. - Back then, the PAD accused Thaksin of abuse of power and graft, even going so far as to imply that the billionaire tycoon showed disrespect to Thailand's monarch – an incendiary charge in a country where the King is deeply revered. (*Time* of August 29, 2008)

- Thaksin, a billionaire businessman overthrown in a bloodless coup in 2006, remains an incendiary figure; the source of a paralysis Thailand cannot shake. (*Newsweek* of December 2, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved arson derives from the source domain of ARSON to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “arson” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *incendiary*, was transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS ARSON follows.

Politics was like arson in which politicians were conceptualized as an incendiary. The metaphor *incendiary* indicated arson arose in the deliberate actions of those who aimed at destroying or damaging property or targets and even injuring people or causing loss of life. In case of the given examples, the metaphor *incendiary* was attached to former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. His speech was like fuel

he ignited himself. The Thai political situation where people were unexpectedly caught in a fire was seen as flaming fire.

#### 14. POLITICS IS EARNING A LIVING

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS EARNING A LIVING means metaphorical expressions which involve concept of professions into politics; this is to say, politics is viewed in terms of professions. This conceptual metaphor includes every profession. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *A political institution is a caretaker.*

(1) *The government is caretaker.*

E.g. - For now, the caretaker administration limps on, getting the rudiments of governance done, as an array of politicians and parties circle each other, trying to find a way forward under the watchful –and suspicious- eye of the PAD. (*Newsweek* of December 3, 2008)

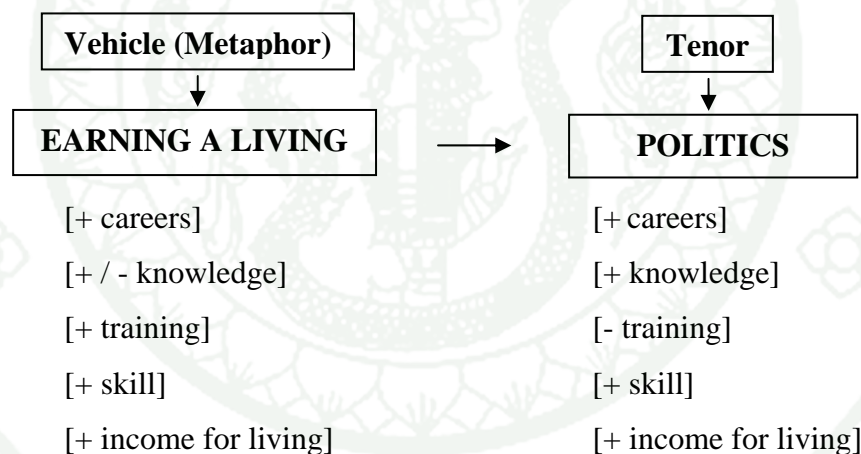
b) *A politician is a caretaker.*

E.g. - Deputy Prime Minister Chaowarat Chandeearakul is expected to become caretaker prime minister until Parliament selects a replacement for Somchai, which it must do within 30 days. (*Newsweek* of December 2, 2008)

c) *An interest group* is an architect.

E.g. - Apirat's own father, General Sunthorn Kongsompong, was key architect of the 1991 army coup that culminated in a bloody crackdown against demonstrators in May 1992. (*Time* of April 14, 2009)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved earning a living derives from the source domain of EARNING A LIVING to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of "earning a living" and "politics" are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *caretaker* and *architect*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS EARNING A LIVING follows.

Politics was like earning a living. Political institutions and politicians were compared to caretakers, whereas an interest group was compared with an architect. The metaphor *caretaker* presented the interim government and prime minister acting as a caretaker temporarily hired to look after the country's administration until the

new owner – namely the new government and prime minister – took office. Therefore, it can be also said that Thailand was like a house which the interim-prime-minister-led government had to look after. As for the metaphor *architect*, the military was seen as an architect who had designed and supervised the coup. Thus, the coup was compared to the building whose construction the architect devised and controlled.

## 15. POLITICS IS MUSIC

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS MUSIC means metaphorical expressions which involve music concept into politics; this is to say, politics is viewed in terms of music. This conceptual metaphor includes instruments, musical sounds, rhythms, styles, melodies, harmony, keys, performances and chorus. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *Political activities* are music with different styles.

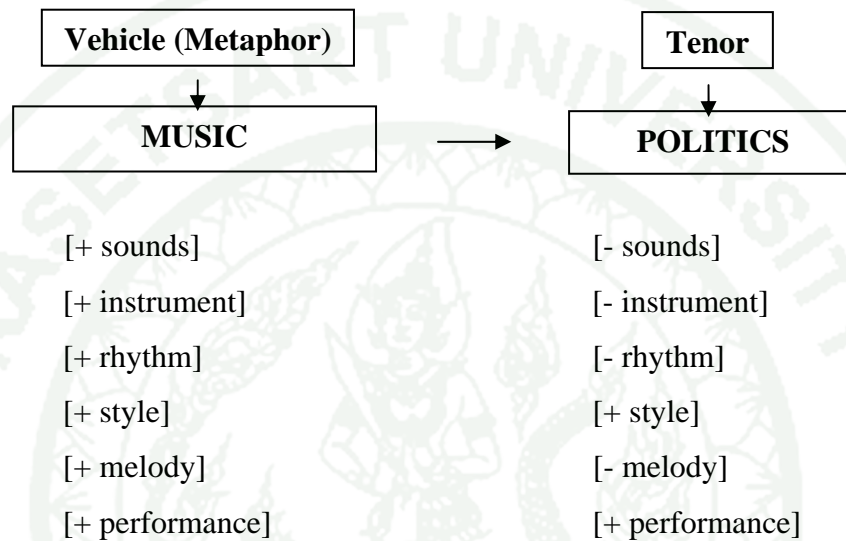
(1) *The protest* is rock-and-roll music.

E.g. - It's a stance that gives him a rock-and-roll rebel aura at PAD assemblies, but his attitude surely plays less favorably among foreign investors and tourists, on whose pocketbooks Thailand's economy depends. (*Time* of September 3, 2008)

b) *An interest group* is a chorus in music.

E.g. - The opposition gathered support over the weekend, as business leaders joined the chorus calling for Thailand's democratically elected ruling party to step down from power. (*Time* of November 30, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved music derives from the source domain of MUSIC to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “music” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *rock-and-roll* and *chorus*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS MUSIC follows.

Politics was like music, as seen from the metaphors *rock-and-roll* and *chorus*, reflecting that political activities could be viewed as music of different styles, whereas the interest group was presented as a chorus in a musical performance. The previous example of political activities illustrated that the protest was like *rock-and-roll* music with a strong loud beat. The protesters became musicians playing this style of music with various instruments or implements – e.g., sticks, bamboo poles, plastic hand-clappers or plastic foot-clappers – used for producing the rhythmic sounds of music or protest. In addition, the shouts of the protesters were also compared to the pitch in music while their demands were compared to the content in songs which the interest group sometimes joined as a *chorus* of protest.

## 16. POLITICS IS COOKING

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS COOKING means metaphorical expressions which involve cooking concept into politics. To put it simply, politics is conceptualized as cooking. This conceptual metaphor includes food, cooking procedures, cooking methods, tasting, cooks, and consumers. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *The political system* is food.

E.g. - Sondhi promptly soured on democracy. (*Newsweek* of September 15, 2008)

b) *Political activities* are cooking.

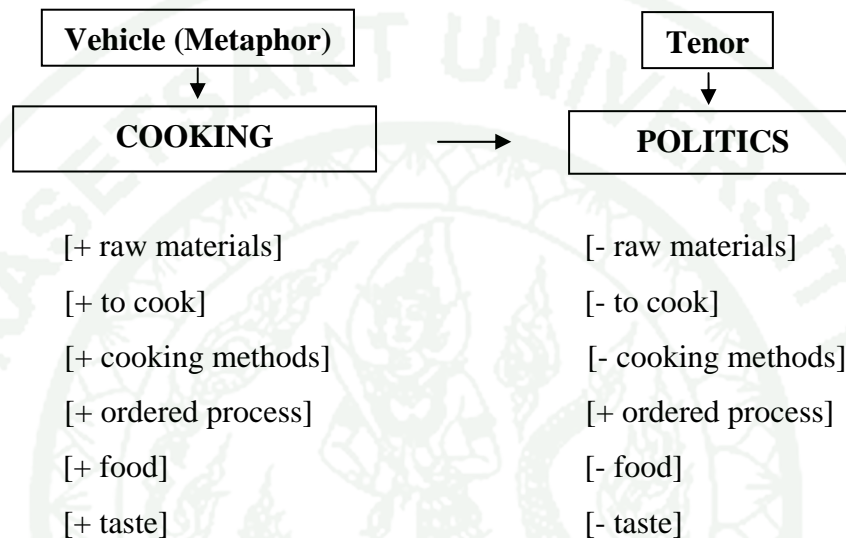
(1) *The protest* is cooking.

E.g. - At Bangkok's Suvarnabhumi airport, which opened today after being shut down for the past week, thousands of yellow-clad protestors lingered – apparently wanting to savor the taste of victory overnight. (*Newsweek* of December 2, 2008)

(2) *The election* is cooking.

E.g. - It did not help when Newin was widely quoted suggesting to Abhisit that he could make the northeast forget Thaksin by “dishing” billions of Thai baht into the region. (*Newsweek* of December 31, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved cooking derives from the source domain of COOKING to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “cooking” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *soured*, *savor the taste of victory* and *dishing billions of Thai baht*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS COOKING follows.

Politics was like cooking as seen in the given metaphors. Firstly, the metaphor *soured* pointed out that political system was food, whereas political activities – e.g., protests and elections – were compared to cooking. In case of the protest, for instance, the metaphor *savor the taste of victory* in the previous example implied that the protesters were like a cook who needed to take each step in the cooking procedure or during the protest in order to acquire the protest victory regarded as food which the protesters desired to savor.

The case of the election was also compared to cooking. The metaphor *dishing billions of Thai baht* in the given example implied that politicians were cooks serving food, dessert or drink at the table. The phrase *billions of Thai baht* could be compared herein to the food being given away. Voting in the election was like a cooking procedure. The candidate who won support in the election was like food the voters chose to buy or consume.

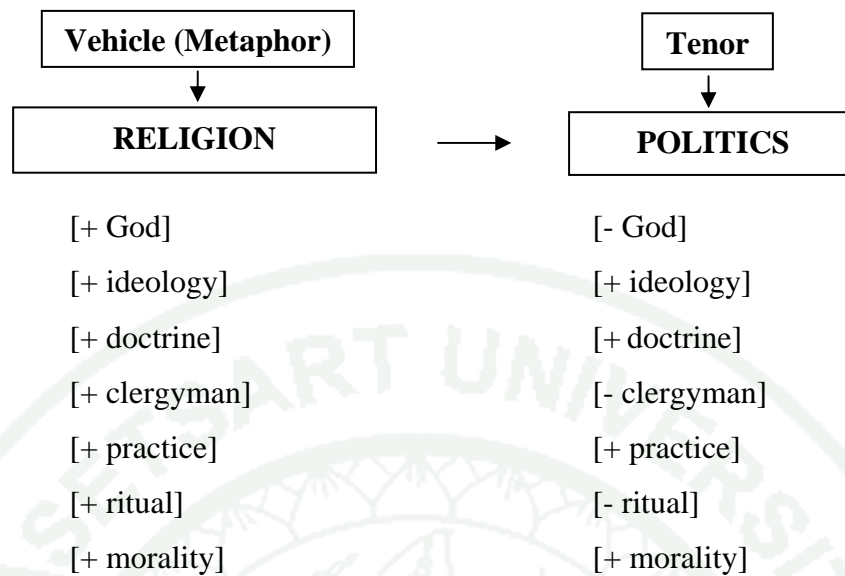
## 17. POLITICS IS RELIGION

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION means metaphorical expressions which relate religious concept to politics; in other words, politics is conceptualized as religion. This conceptual metaphor includes a belief, faith, ritual, doctrine, ideology, God, clergyman, follower and practices. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) A *politician* is an acolyte.

E.g. - If elections were held tomorrow, the governing coalition led by the People Power Party, which is packed with Thaksin acolytes, would likely win support again. (*Time* of October 7, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved religion derives from the source domain of RELIGION to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “religion” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, a form from the source domain; e.g., *acolytes*, was transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION follows.

Politics was like a religion acolytes of which were compared to politicians. The metaphor *acolytes* represented that a political leader or an influential person could be compared with a religious leader whose political party's members or *acolytes* stood about him to serve him and believed in his idea. His idea might be, herein, compared as the ideology which these acolytes believed in and applied in practice.

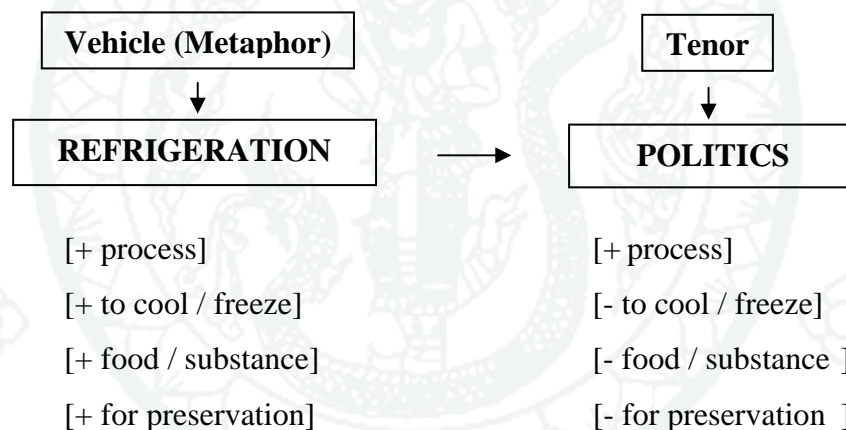
## 18. POLITICS IS REFRIGERATION

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS REFRIGERATION means metaphorical expressions which involve concept of refrigeration into politics. To put it simply, politics is viewed in terms of refrigeration. This conceptual metaphor includes refrigerators or freezers and the process of cooling or freezing something. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) A *political institution* is a refrigerator.

E.g. - A Thaksin aide said last month he was considering buying a resort island in the tiny Balkan state, despite claims he was short on cash because Thai government had frozen his assets.  
(*Time* of June 10, 2009)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved refrigeration derives from the source domain of REFRIGERATION to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “refrigeration” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, a form from the source domain; e.g., *frozen*, was transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS REFRIGERATION follows.

Politics was like refrigeration; a political institution – specifically, the government here – was compared to a refrigerator. For instance, the example metaphor given of *frozen* showed that the Thai government was like a refrigerator in which former PM Thaksin’s assets were frozen or stored for a long period of time. His assets were like food stored at a very low temperature and he could not cook with them now.

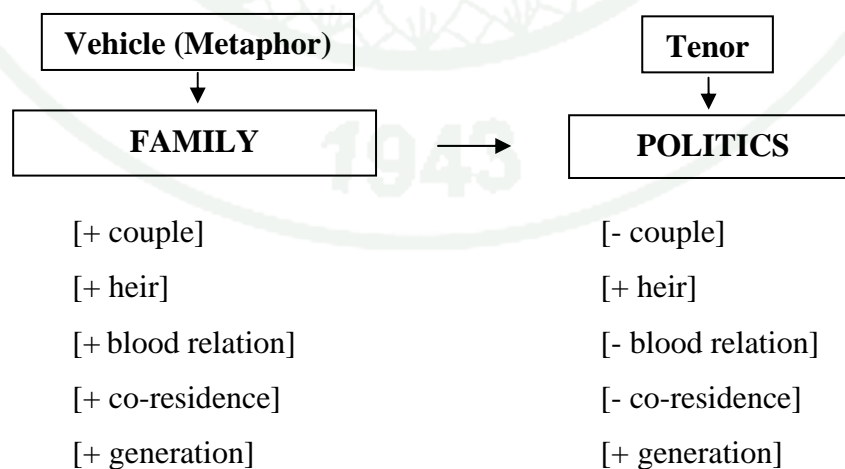
## 19. POLITICS IS A FAMILY

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A FAMILY means metaphorical expressions which relate family concept to politics; in other words, politics is seen as a family. This conceptual metaphor includes a group of people who share a close relationship, consisting of parents and children who live together. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *Politician* is an heir.

E.g. - As heir to Chuan, Abhisit Vejjajiva inherits the antipathy many in the north and northeast feel toward the Democrats.  
(*Newsweek* of December 31, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved family derives from the source domain of FAMILY to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “family” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, forms from the source domain; e.g., *heir* and *inherits*, were transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A FAMILY follows.

Politics was like a family; the metaphor *heir* implied that political leaders or political party's leaders were like parents, whereas a politician was represented as an heir who had a close relationship with the leader and was a member of the same government or political party. The metaphor *inherits* also illustrated that power, fame and other things related to politics could be handed down from generation to generation. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor was POLITICS IS A FAMILY.

## 20. POLITICS IS MODEL

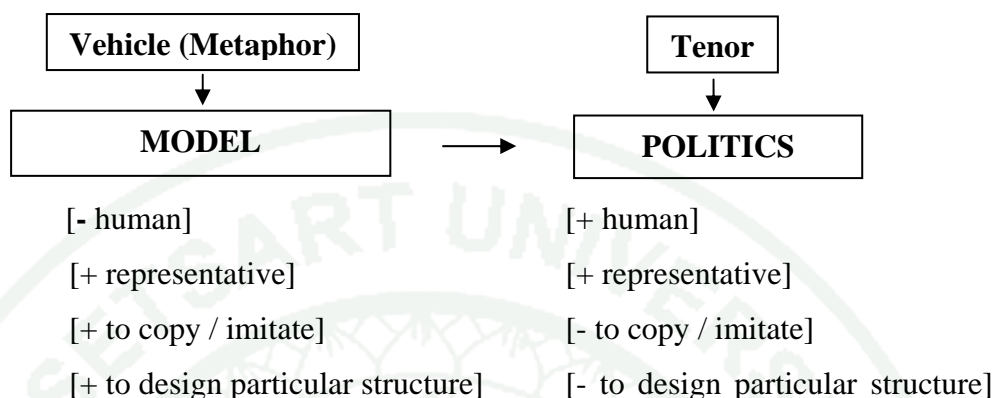
The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS MODEL means metaphorical expressions which relate concept of model to politics; in other words, politics is conceptualized as model. This conceptual metaphor includes a representation of a person or anything on a smaller scale such as puppet and figurehead. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *A politician is a figurehead.*

E.g. - While opposition Red Shirts politicians still publicly pledge loyalty to the monarch, their figurehead, former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, has openly alleged that one of the King's closest advisers was behind the 2006 army coup that unseated him. (*Time* of April 14, 2009)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved model derives from the source domain of MODEL to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of "model" and "politics" are illustrated by the

tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, a form from the source domain; e.g., *figurehead*, was transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor *POLITICS IS MODEL* follows.

Politics was like a model. The politician was compared with a figurehead; therefore, implying that the government was like a ship carrying politicians across the sea without knowing their destiny. Generally, the leader of the government is the person who has real authority. In contrast, the person who was the leader of the country seemed to have no real power; in other words, he was only a nominal leader. Thus, it was he, namely former PM Thaksin Shinawatra here, who was compared as a *figurehead* or a wooden model placed on the ship's prow, whose power was only symbolic.

## 21. POLITICS IS MACHINE

The conceptual metaphor *POLITICS IS MACHINE* means metaphorical expressions which involve machine concept into politics; this is to say, politics is conceived of as machine. This conceptual metaphor includes a device or system with its energy and the mechanism of the machine. It is reflected by a variety of

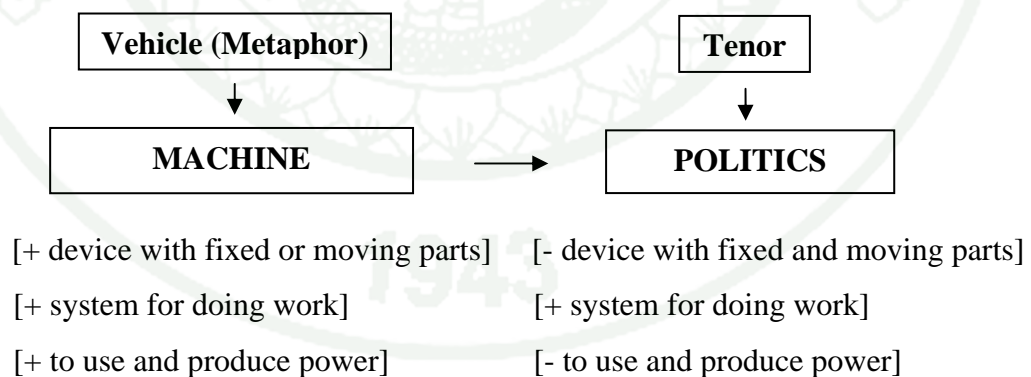
expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *Political activities* are the mechanism of the machine.

(1) *The putsch* is the mechanism of the machine.

E.g. - Although the military claimed legitimacy by accusing Thaksin of misrule, the appearance of tanks on the streets pulled the country back to the bad old days when putsches, not polls, were the mechanism for changing governments. (*Time* of September 4, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved machine derives from the source domain of MACHINE to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “machine” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, a form from the source domain; e.g., *mechanism*, was transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS MACHINE follows.

Politics was like machine; political activities were presented as the mechanism of the machine, or politics, which used power or energy such as electrical or mechanical energy to carry out a process on something. From the example metaphor given *mechanism*, the putsches were compared to the mechanism of a machine which some groups of people used for changing government through forceful processes compared with energy. To remove a government was the outcome of the work done by the machine.

## 22. POLITICS IS FURNITURE

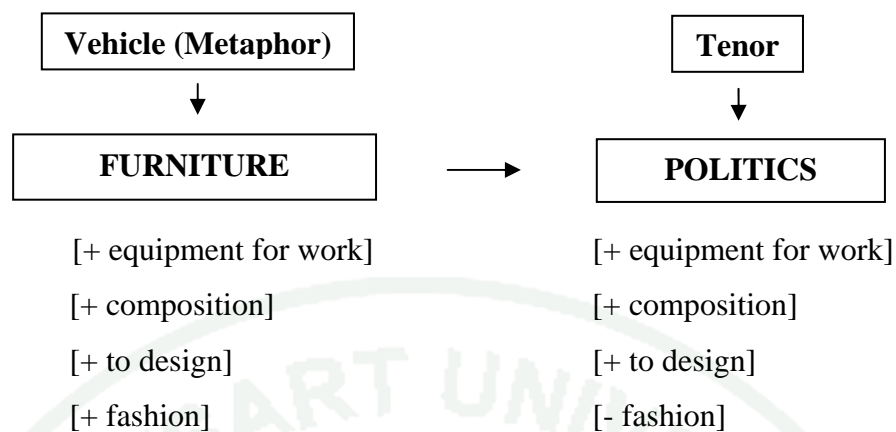
The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS FURNITURE means metaphorical expressions which involve concept of furniture in politics; briefly, politics is viewed as furniture. This conceptual metaphor includes large movable objects, equipment or articles for use in the house or office such as chairs and mirrors. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *Political Activities* are furniture.

(1) *The protest* is furniture.

E.g. - The demonstrations were a mirror of mass protests by urban groups last year that snarled Bangkok until the courts removed a government led by Thaksin's allies who were elected on the strength of rural voters. (*Newsweek* of April 14, 2009)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved furniture derives from the source domain of FURNITURE to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of "furniture" and "politics" are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, a form from the source domain; e.g., *mirror*, was transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS FURNITURE follows.

Politics was like furniture, observed in the case of political activities such as protests. As seen in the metaphor *mirror*, the demonstrations by red-shirted supporters of former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra in April 2009 were a *mirror* reflecting mass protests by yellow-shirted People's Alliance for Democracy in 2008 which had seized Government House and Bangkok's two main airports to pressure the elected government of PM Somchai Wongsawat to resign before the Constitutional Court banned more than 50 members of the People's Power Party and the other two parties in the ruling coalition from politics for five years.

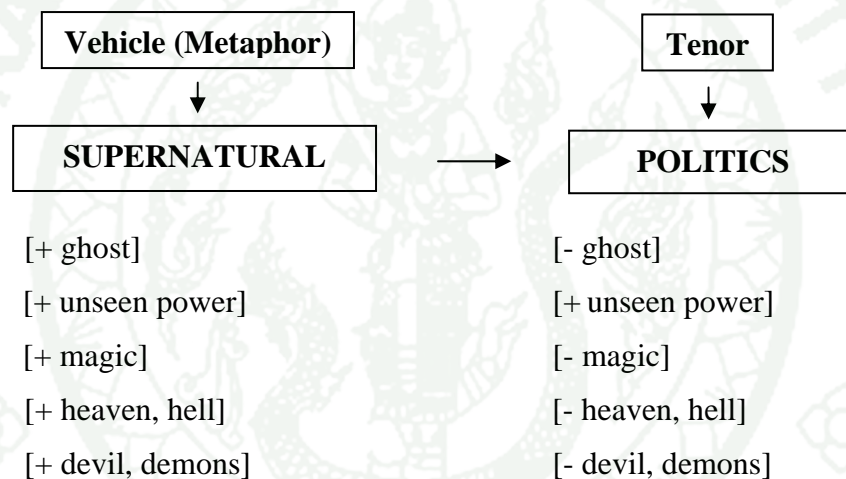
### 23. POLITICS IS SUPERNATURAL

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS SUPERNATURAL means metaphorical expressions which involve concept of supernatural into politics; this is to say, politics is viewed as supernatural. This conceptual metaphor includes spirit, mystery, ghost and magical powers. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *A Politician* is a ghost.

E.g. - More than two years later, the old elite is still struggling to exorcise Thaksin's ghost. (*Newsweek* of December 6, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved supernatural derives from the source domain of SUPERNATURAL to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of "supernatural" and "politics" are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, a form from the source domain; e.g., *ghost*, was transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS SUPERNATURAL follows.

Politics was like the supernatural; a politician was compared with a ghost haunting a place. In the example, the metaphor *ghost* implies that Thaksin-allied governments were like the dead due to the fact that the constitutional court removed both Prime Minister Samak Sundaravej and Prime Minister Somchai Wongsawat's government. But the spirits of Thaksin's allies continued to appear and haunted the old elite, whereas the old elite acted like an exorcist in order to drive away those spirits.

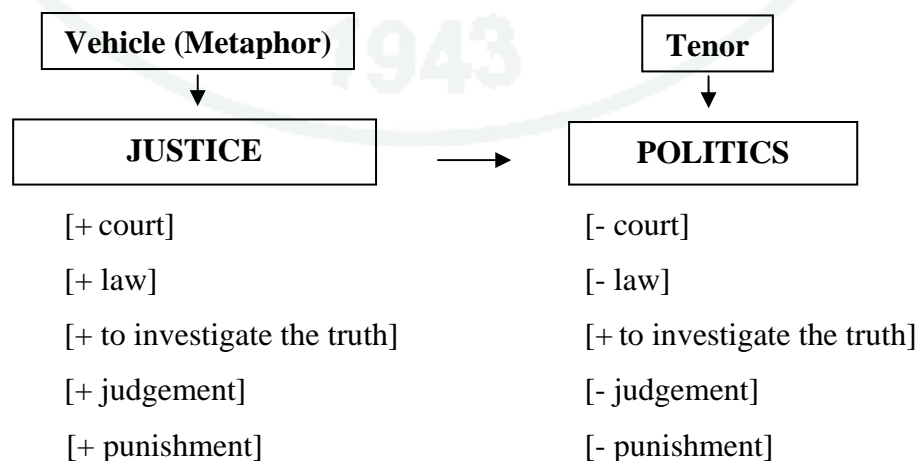
## 24. POLITICS IS JUSTICE

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS JUSTICE means metaphorical expressions which relate concept of justice to politics; in other words, politics is viewed in terms of justice. This conceptual metaphor includes laws, courts, arbiters, lawsuits and punishments. It is reflected by a variety of expressions depending on the political elements as follows (See Appendix A for all the metaphoric expressions found):

a) *An interest group* is an arbiter.

E.g. - His decree bans gatherings of more than five people, prohibits media reports with a propensity to “cause panic” and puts sweeping police powers into the hands of Thailand’s military, which is often the final arbiter in Thai politics. (*Newsweek* of September 2, 2008)

Based on all metaphors above, the use of words whose meanings involved justice derives from the source domain of JUSTICE to the POLITICS target domain. The mappings between the domains of “justice” and “politics” are illustrated by the tenor-vehicle model of metaphor below and are grounded on some common semantic features as seen in the componential analysis of meaning.



The componential analysis of the meaning domain shows the semantic relation between the source and the target domains, a form from the source domain; e.g., *arbiter*, was transferred to the Tenor *politics*. A discussion of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS JUSTICE follows.

Politics was like justice, which could be seen in case of an interest group presented as an arbiter in a political conflict. The metaphor *arbiter* showed that the military had taken an active role in trying to resolve the nation's problems when two opposing groups of people disagreed. The military acted as *an arbiter* in a court while the political conflict was like a legal case.

This chapter has presented the overall results of the present study. The analysis has derived 24 conceptual domains from which metaphorical expressions were drawn in Thai political news published in the Internet-based *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines. Each conceptual domain of political metaphor was subcategorized into five political elements – namely political systems, political institutions, politicians, political activities and interest groups – and example forms of metaphor in each political element were shown. Furthermore, the analysis was also displayed in diagrams illustrating meaning transference of metaphor from the concrete semantic domain to the abstract domain by using the framework of the tenor and vehicle, followed by the componential analysis and the conceptual metaphor analysis with a cognitive semantics framework. The next chapter will discuss the findings of the study, its implications, the limitations of the research and recommendations for further studies.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter discusses the overall results of the study with reference to the research questions. It also compares the findings obtained from the present study with those of previous studies, discusses the implications and limitations of the present study, and finally, offers recommendations for future studies on metaphors in other media or news.

#### Discussions of Research Findings

The results obtained from the study can be used to answer the following research questions.

1. What are the forms and meaning domains of metaphors in Thai political news published in these international news magazines?
2. What are the concepts concerning Thai politics of international news magazines reflected by the metaphors they use in reporting Thai political news?

#### **The Forms and Meaning Domains of Metaphor Found in Thai Political News Published in *Time* and *Newsweek* Magazines**

In response to the first research question ‘*What are the forms and meaning domains of metaphors in Thai political news published in these international news magazines?*’, this form-based study found 24 meaning domains of the metaphor in Thai political news on *Time*’s and *Newsweek*’s websites between August 2008 and July 2009. Table 5.1 summarizes the forms and meaning domains giving rise to the conceptual metaphors for politics found in these magazines.

**Table 5.1** The Representation of Forms, Meaning Domains, and Conceptual Metaphors for Politics Found in *Time* and *Newsweek* Magazines

Forms	Meaning Domains	Conceptual Metaphors
1. <i>battered, embattled, grip on power, veteran, rallied their troops, occupied, stormed, give ground, toppled, camp, base</i>	war	POLITICS IS WAR
2. <i>player, sidelines, deep bench, champion, rivals, rival, play another round of defense, that football match reached fever pitch, beat, marathon</i>	competitive game or sport	POLITICS IS A COMPETITIVE GAME OR SPORT
3. <i>come and go with the monsoons, erosion, erupted, swept, landslide, reheating political temperature</i>	nature	POLITICS IS NATURE
4. <i>mature, fate, defunct, fledgling, milled, web</i>	life	POLITICS IS LIFE
5. <i>store, labeling, merchandise, vote-buying, bought, buy, brokers</i>	business	POLITICS IS BUSINESS

**Table 5.1** (Continued)

<b>Forms</b>	<b>Meaning Domains</b>	<b>Conceptual Metaphors</b>
6. <i>grounded, roll back, step down, limps, gone, come and go, far</i>	journey	POLITICS IS JOURNEY
7. <i>firebrand, heated, adding fuel to the fire</i>	firing	POLITICS IS FIRING
8. <i>hero, farce, tales, last stands, dramatic endings</i>	drama	POLITICS IS DRAMA
9. <i>paralyzed, paralysis, healing, heal</i>	disease	POLITICS IS DISEASE
10. <i>bet, upped the ante</i>	gambling	POLITICS IS GAMBLING
11. <i>brittle, fragile</i>	brittle object	POLITICS IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
12. <i>reconstitute, bracing</i>	construction	POLITICS IS CONSTRUCTION
13. <i>incendiary</i>	arson	POLITICS IS ARSON
14. <i>caretaker, architect</i>	profession	POLITICS IS EARNING A LIVING
15. <i>rock-and-roll, chorus</i>	music	POLITICS IS MUSIC

**Table 5.1** (Continued)

<b>Forms</b>	<b>Meaning Domains</b>	<b>Conceptual Metaphors</b>
16. <i>soured, savor the taste of victory, dishing billions of Thai baht</i>	cooking	POLITICS IS COOKING
17. <i>acolytes</i>	religion	POLITICS IS RELIGION
18. <i>frozen</i>	refrigeration	POLITICS IS REFRIGERATION
19. <i>heir, inherits</i>	family	POLITICS IS A FAMILY
20. <i>figurehead</i>	model	POLITICS IS MODEL
21. <i>mechanism</i>	machine	POLITICS IS MACHINE
22. <i>mirror</i>	furniture	POLITICS IS FURNITURE
23. <i>ghost</i>	supernatural	POLITICS IS SUPERNATURAL
24. <i>arbiter</i>	justice	POLITICS IS JUSTICE

Table 5.1 points out that the abstract concept of politics was perceived via all 24 meaning domains and that physical objects were used to represent abstract concepts as found in the conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS FURNITURE and POLITICS IS A BRITTLE OBJECT. Political activities were presented as furniture while political systems and political institutions were presented as a brittle object. Moreover, some metaphors show that non-living things could display the behavior of living

thing; e.g., the mature democracy was represented as fully-grown living thing or the defunct Thai Rak Thai Party was represented as a dead person.

The study showed, too, that *Time* magazine used more metaphors than *Newsweek* did. Table 5.2 below reveals that *Time* used 205 metaphors, more than half of all metaphors used in both magazines, whereas *Newsweek* used 147 metaphors, or nearly half of all metaphors. Furthermore, the reporters of both magazines used metaphors related to the protest most in accounts of the anti-government protests and violent street clashes at that time as seen in Table 5.2; hence, the war metaphor was the most frequently found on these magazines' websites at that time, and this also reflected their views of the situation. Of the total of 352 metaphors found in the two magazines, *Time* used 141 war metaphors, or nearly half of all metaphors, while *Newsweek* used 90 war metaphors, or approximately one-fourth of all metaphors. The least frequently used metaphors were model, machine, furniture, supernatural and justice, each of which occurred only once in either of the magazines.

**Table 5.2** The Frequency of Metaphors Used in Political Elements of *Time* and *Newsweek* Magazines

Political Elements	Time		Newsweek	
	No. of Metaphors	Percentage (%)	No. of Metaphors	Percentage (%)
1. The political system	8	2.27	5	1.42
2. A political institution	7	1.99	15	4.26
3. A politician	10	2.84	15	4.26
4. Political Activities				
a) The protest	153	43.47	92	26.14
b) The political conflict	6	1.70	4	1.14
c) The political event	3	0.85	-	-
d) The coup	1	0.28	2	0.57

**Table 5.2** (Continued)

Political Elements	Time		Newsweek	
	No. of Metaphors	Percentage (%)	No. of Metaphors	Percentage (%)
e) The election	11	3.13	12	3.41
f) The debate in the parliamentary	1	0.28	-	-
g) The argument	1	0.28	-	-
h) The putsch	1	0.28	-	-
5. An interest group	3	0.85	2	0.57
<b>Total</b>	205	58.22	147	41.77

In regard to meaning domains, the findings of the present study corresponded to the previous research of Prutthichaiwiboon's (2001), who also studied metaphor in Thai political news, but in Thai language weekly newspapers, and even to Bangnokhwag's (2003), who studied political metaphors in the news of a censure debate on the front pages of the English language daily newspapers *The Nation* and the *Bangkok Post*. The study found that eight of the total of 24 meaning domains for metaphors found in Thai political news published in *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines were consistent with Prutthichaiwiboon's (2001) research, namely war, competitive game, life, business, journey, drama, gambling, and furniture. In addition, two of the meaning domains – e.g. war and competitive game or sport – that emerged from this study seemed to be consistent with Bangnokhwag's research, which found that the censure debate – a political activity – was like war and a boxing match; the government was like a skillful fighter, an injured fighter, a warrior and a boxer; and the opposition was like a warrior, a dangerous fighter, a boxer and an experienced boxer. However, the present study did not find any occurrences of meaning domains related to education or robbery as did Prutthichaiwiboon.

### The Concepts of *Time* and *Newsweek* Magazines Reflected by the Metaphor in their Thai Political News reporting

Table 5.3 shows conceptual metaphors found in each political element, thereby distinctively reflecting how these magazines conceptualized Thai politics in terms of political systems, political institutions, politicians, political activities and interest groups.

**Table 5.3** The Representation of Conceptual Metaphors Found in Each Political Elements

<b>POLITICS</b>					
	<b>Political Systems</b>	<b>Political Institutions</b>	<b>Politicians</b>	<b>Political Activities</b>	<b>Interest Groups</b>
1.	war	war	war	war	-
2.	-	competitive game	competitive game	competitive game	-
3.	-	nature	-	nature	-
4.	life	life	life	life	life
5.	-	business	business	business	business
6.	journey	journey	journey	journey	-
7.	-	-	firing	firing	-
8.	-	disease	disease	disease	-
9.	-	-	drama	drama	-
10.	-	-	gambling	gambling	-
11.	brittle object	brittle object	-	-	-
12.	-	construction	-	construction	-
13.	-	-	arson	-	-

**Table 5.3** (Continued)

<b>POLITICS</b>					
	<b>Political Systems</b>	<b>Political Institutions</b>	<b>Politicians</b>	<b>Political Activities</b>	<b>Interest Groups</b>
14.	-	earning a living	earning a living	-	earning a living
15.	-	-	-	music	music
16.	cooking	-	-	cooking	-
17.	-	-	religion	-	-
18.	-	refrigeration	-	-	-
19.	-	-	family	-	-
20.	-	-	model	-	-
21.	-	-	-	machine	-
22.	-	-	-	furniture	-
23.	-	-	supernatural	-	-
24.	-	-	-	-	justice

As suggested by Table 5.3, the metaphors can be found in various political elements and contexts. For instance, the war metaphor tended to occur in the context of political activities related to the conflicts, protests, coups and elections and it often involved physical striking. Similarly, the metaphor related to a competitive game or sport usually arose from situations in which people, a group, an organization or a political party tried to overcome another; e.g., protests, political conflicts, elections and debates in the parliament. The drama metaphor appeared in the context of protest and political events, whereas the metaphors of life, gambling, construction, music and furniture, were found in the context of protest. It is also remarkable that the metaphor of life was found in all five political elements; namely that, the political systems, political institutions, politicians and interest groups were represented as living things, either a person, an animal or anything else, while their behavior was seen in political activities.

In addition, the conceptual metaphors in Table 5.3 reflecting the concepts of Thai politics of these foreign media can be grouped in the following five categories: 1) *violent concepts* were war, firing, a brittle object and arson; 2) *non-violent concepts* were a journey, drama, construction, earning a living, music, cooking, religion, refrigeration, family, model, machine, furniture and justice; 3) *natural concepts* were nature, life and supernatural; 4) *concepts of chancy* were composed of a competitive game or sport, business and gambling; and 5) the *disease concept* was composed of disease.

The conceptual metaphors reflected Thai political reality in the eyes of these international mass media. The research revealed their underlying concepts according to political elements as follows:

1. The political system

- a) The political system is something damaged during the war.
- b) The political system is a living thing.
- c) The political system is a vehicle.
- d) The political system is a brittle object.
- e) The political system is food.

2. A political institution

- a) A political institution is an army.
- b) A political institution is a player.
- c) A political institution is a natural phenomenon or substance.
- d) A political institution is a person.
- e) A political institution is a company or store.
- f) A political institution is a traveler.
- g) A political institution is a patient.
- h) A political institution is a brittle object.
- i) A political institution is a building.
- j) A political institution is a caretaker.
- k) A political institution is a refrigerator.

## 3. A politician

- a) A politician is a warrior.
- b) A politician is a player.
- c) A politician is an animal.
- d) A politician is merchandise.
- e) A politician is a traveler.
- f) A politician is fuel for the fire.
- g) A politician is a hero.
- h) A politician is the source of disease.
- i) A politician is something people bet on.
- j) A politician is an incendiary.
- k) A politician is a caretaker.
- l) A politician is an acolyte.
- m) A politician is an heir.
- n) A politician is a figurehead.
- o) A politician is a ghost.

## 4. Political activities

- a) Political activities are war.
- b) Political activities are competitive games or sports.
- c) Political activities are natural phenomena.
- d) Political activities are animal behavior.
- e) Political activities are businesses or merchandises.
- f) Political activities are long journeys.
- g) Political activities are fire or something on fire.
- h) Political activities are drama.
- i) Political activities are diseases.
- j) Political activities are gambling.
- k) Political activities are materials.
- l) Political activities are music with different styles.
- m) Political activities are cooking.
- n) Political activities are the mechanism of the machine.
- o) Political activities are furniture.

#### 5. An interest group

- a) An interest group is an animal.
- b) An interest group is a broker.
- c) An interest group is an architect.
- d) An interest group is a chorus in music.
- e) An interest group is an arbiter.

On the whole, these international mass media had more negative views of Thai politics at that time than positive views, for war metaphors were the most frequently found in the Thai political news of both the magazines. It can be said that these mass media viewed Thai politics as violent because of their use of the following conceptual metaphors: POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS FIRING, POLITICS IS A BRITTLE OBJECT and POLITICS IS ARSON. In addition, the conceptual metaphors of POLITICS IS DISEASE, POLITICS IS GAMBLING and POLITICS IS SUPERNATURAL also showed that Thai politics was seen in a negative way. Obviously, these foreign reporters saw Thai politicians as being fuel for the fire, sources of disease, incendiary, figureheads and ghosts. They also saw Thai political activities at that time as war, fire or something on fire, diseases, gambling, sometimes dangerous natural phenomena and even as the display of animal behavior by which Thai political system – specifically, democracy – was affected. Nevertheless, Thai politicians were also viewed positively in the eyes of international mass media, seeing that they were brave, experienced warriors who fought the country's problems, whereas an interest group was seen as an arbiter settling an argument between two opposing sides.

The results of the study corroborated the findings of the previous research of Prutthichaiwiboon (2001) and Bangnokhwag (2003), who suggested that the metaphors of war and competitive game or sport were used in the context of political conflict. The present study revealed that political activities – including political conflict, protest, coup and election – were depicted by foreign media through war metaphors. The results of the study also pointed out that the image of Thai political institution – specifically, the political party called “PPP” – was seen as an army where a politician was conceptualized as a warrior, which accorded with Prutthichaiwiboon

(2001). Furthermore, these results were similar to those of Bangnokhwag (2003), who found that the political institution – specifically, the government – was viewed as a skillful fighter, an injured fighter and a warrior and that a political activity – i.e., the censure debate – was like a war.

With respect to the metaphor of competitive game or sport, the current study's findings were parallel to those of Prutthichaiwiboon (2001), who found that political activities – e.g. political conflict, election and debate in parliament – were like a competitive game between the opposition and the government or among politicians and politicians were like the players. In addition, these findings broadly accord with the work of Bangnokhwag (2003), who argued that the censure debate was a competitive game or sport in which the government and the opposition were boxers.

Consistent with Prutthichaiwiboon (2001), too, the politician was seen by foreign media – here, *Time* and *Newsweek* – as something people bet on, merchandise, hero and animal but Prutthichaiwiboon further found that the politician was like a businessman, manager and plant, whereas the political institution – specifically, the government – was like an old person. In short, the findings of the present study indicated that international mass media had some views of Thai politics that were similar to those of the Thai mass media.

Nevertheless, several conceptual metaphors the foreign media used in reporting of the foreign media on Thai politics as seen in the current study differed from those of Thai mass media. The previous research of Prutthichaiwiboon (2001) on Thai weekly news magazines found the conceptual metaphors that POLITICS IS EDUCATION and POLITICS IS ROBBERY, which were not found in the reporting of *Time* and *Newsweek*, whereas the present study found many other conceptual metaphors in the two foreign news magazines not found by Prutthichaiwiboon (2001), including POLITICS IS NATURE, POLITICS IS FIRING, POLITICS IS DISEASE, POLITICS IS A BRITTLE OBJECT, POLITICS IS CONSTRUCTION, POLITICS IS ARSON, POLITICS IS EARNING A LIVING, POLITICS IS MUSIC, POLITICS IS COOKING, POLITICS IS RELIGION, POLITICS IS REFRIGERATION, POLITICS IS A FAMILY, POLITICS IS MODEL, POLITICS IS MACHINE, POLITICS IS SUPERNATURAL and POLITICS IS JUSTICE.

By looking at the political institution, the work of Bangnokhwag (2003) found that Thai English-language newspapers saw the Thai government as the weakest link, cowardly, deceptive, a skillful fighter, a boxer and an injured fighter and that the opposition was seen as a boxer, warrior, an experienced boxer, and a dangerous fighter. Such representations differed from the present study, which found that foreign media viewed the Thai government as a person, traveler, patient, brittle object, caretaker and refrigerator while seeing the opposition as a player. The reason for this may be that the two studies were concerned with two different periods and the political situations of those two periods were different, and thus the views of Thai or international mass media were also different.

It is worth noting that some conceptual metaphors found in the study could be called universal metaphors, expressions of which occur frequently or are used widely; e.g., POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS A COMPETITIVE SPORT, POLITICS IS BUSINESS, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY and POLITICS IS RELIGION. For instance, the conceptual metaphor of POLITICS AS WAR in the present study supported Kovecses's (2002) argument that armies corresponded to political groups and that the leaders of the armies corresponded to political leaders. The conceptual metaphor of POLITICS AS JOURNEY was another example in the present study which supported the work of Arcimaviciene's (2007), who asserted that POLITICS IS A JOURNEY derived from the universal metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY, saying that political activities were conceptualized as ongoing and long journey where politicians were travelers to reach their political goals.

To sum up, the concepts of Thai politics of the international mass media can be examined through underlying conceptual metaphors in their political reporting. In this study, the metaphorical concept "POLITICS IS WAR" was the most common of the 24 metaphorical concepts found in the Thai political news of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines because of the salience at that time of political conflict, especially that between the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD), the Red Shirts and the government. This result was similar to that of Prutthichaiwiboon (2001), who found war the most common concept due to the conflict between politicians or parties, the censure debate, the election, the electoral campaign and the administration. This

showed that international mass media conceptualized Thai politics in the same way as Thai mass media.

### **Implications, Limitations and Recommendations of the Study**

#### **Implications of the Study**

This study may be of significant value in several aspects to different groups of Thai readers as well as students and teachers of mass communications, especially those who are interested in the role of metaphor in conceptual representation embodied in the media's coverage. Firstly, the findings could alert Thai readers to the foreign media's perception about Thai politics. The results of the study might also provide some fundamental guidelines for teachers and students in field of mass communication for analyzing the style of writing political news and help them gain a clearer understanding of political metaphors. As teachers and students develop an understanding of the findings of this study, they could be more confident in analyzing metaphor forms and conceptual representation of the world through conceptual metaphors in the English language. In this regard, students would understand the existence of bias in the use of language by the media, which is pervasive on websites. More specifically, teachers may give students more awareness of the media style in writing political news and metaphoric representation of various political situations. Moreover, the study could be applied to analyzing the political metaphors in other kinds of media and other types of news such as social news and foreign news so as to gain understanding of reporters' viewpoints.

#### **Limitations of the Study**

It should be noted that this study has examined only the forms, meaning domains of metaphor and concepts of the Internet-based *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines reflected by metaphors used in their Thai political news reporting. The analysis has concentrated on conceptual metaphors in five political elements,

reflecting the opinions of these two news magazines. The findings of this study are accordingly restricted to these five elements only.

The size of population or the number of metaphors chosen was also limited to only one metaphor in each political element for each magazine owing to the many metaphors, thereby leading to the apparent lack of metaphor in some political elements either in *Time* or in *Newsweek* magazines.

Furthermore, the lack of metaphor in some political elements means that there was a lack of clearer evidence for confirmation of these mass media's concepts of Thai politics. Hence, the analysis cannot cover all view of the two magazines and the findings also cannot imply or represent other international mass media's views towards Thailand's political situations.

### **Recommendations for Further Studies**

Notwithstanding its above limitations, - using the purposive sampling technique, investigated political elements and sample size - this study does suggest further studies of different kinds of news; e.g., Thai social or business news in the eyes of international news agencies, newspapers or news magazines in addition to political conceptual metaphors in other mass media in order to investigate the international mass media's views of situations in Thailand in a different periods of time. Alternatively, it will be more valuable and beneficial if comparative analyses of the conceptual metaphor in Thai and in international mass media are conducted so as to see more clearly similarities and differences in their views.

### **Conclusion of the Thesis**

The research was conducted to examine the forms and meaning domains of metaphors in Thai political news published in the Internet-based *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines and to examine the concepts of these international news magazines reflected by the metaphors they use in reporting Thai political news. The data were

collected from Internet-based *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines by purposive sampling between August 2008 and July 2009, a period of political crisis in Thailand. The results of the study can raise awareness of the use of media language among readers. Importantly, the findings might provide some useful insights into the concepts or ways the media think through the conceptual metaphors they employ.

The conceptual metaphor is a metaphor that shows a concept of something. It comprises two conceptual domains, one of which is better understood than the other by virtue of the concrete words or expressions. In cognitive linguistics, metaphor was the substance of thought and related concepts. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the human conceptual system is basically metaphorical and is based on physical experience. However, people from different cultures may view, understand and experience things differently, except in the case of some universal metaphors found in most cultures. In this regard, the research used the cognitive-semantic approach to metaphors, the *tenor*, or *topic*, and *vehicle*, and componential analysis as a basic way for the representation of the systematic relations of meaning between words grounded in our everyday cognitive experience.

To carry out the conceptual analysis of metaphors, the research applied to the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics, which was exclusively qualitative analysis in nature. This method was applied to the analysis of all political metaphors in 40 pieces of Thai political news retrieved from the websites of *Time* and *Newsweek*, by categorizing all political metaphors into conceptual domains and subcategorizing conceptual domains into five political elements; i.e., political systems, political institutions, politicians, political activities and interest groups. The research used the random sampling technique in selecting only one metaphor in each conceptual domain in each political element of each magazine. Finally, the political conceptual metaphors in each domain were analyzed on the basis of the tenor and vehicle, componential analysis and the cognitive semantics suggested by Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987), respectively.

The research found 24 meaning and conceptual domains for metaphors in Thai political news reported on the websites of the two magazines, reflecting the ways these foreign media conceptualized Thai politics. The underlying conceptual metaphors in their critical political discourse were POLITICS AS WAR, A COMPETITIVE GAME OR SPORT, NATURE, LIFE, BUSINESS, A JOURNEY, FIRING, DRAMA, DISEASE, GAMBLING, A BRITTLE OBJECT, CONSTRUCTION, ARSON, EARNING A LIVING, MUSIC, COOKING, RELIGION, REFRIGERATION, FAMILY, MODEL, MACHINE, FURNITURE, SUPERNATURAL and JUSTICE.

The research findings also reflected Thai political reality in the eyes of international mass media at that time. Firstly, these foreign media conceptualized Thai political system as something damaged during the war, a living thing, a vehicle, a brittle object and food. They represented Thai political institution an army, a player, a natural phenomenon or substance, person, a company or store, a traveler, a patient, a brittle object, a building, a caretaker and refrigerator. These mass media viewed politicians as a warrior, a player, an animal, merchandise, a traveler, fuel for the fire, the source of disease, hero, something people bet on, incendiary, caretaker, an acolyte, heir, figurehead and ghost. Next, political activities were seen as war, competitive games or sports, natural phenomena, animal behavior, business or merchandise, a long journey, fire or something on fire, diseases, gambling, drama, materials, music of different styles, cooking, the mechanism of the machine and furniture. Finally, interest groups were perceived as an animal, a broker, an architect, a chorus in music and an arbiter.

Of the total of 24 conceptual metaphors identified in this study, however, only two were found in by Bangnoghkwag (2003) – i.e., the metaphors of war and competitive game or sport, and eight conceptual metaphors were found in the research of Prutthichaiwiboon (2001) – i.e., war, competitive game, life, business, journey, drama, gambling, and furniture. These results indicated that both Thai and international mass media conceptualized Thai politics in similar ways.

In contrast, the current study did not find metaphors related to education or robbery as found in the work of Prutthichaiwiboon (2001) but found other conceptual metaphors such as POLITICS IS NATURE, POLITICS IS DISEASE and POLITICS IS ARSON.

An implication of this is the possibility that the opinions of Thai and international mass media varied according to the situation study. Furthermore, the present study did not find some underlying concepts found in the work of Bangnoghkwag (2003); i.e., the government was seen as the weakest link, cowardly, deceptive, a skillful fighter, a boxer, an injured fighter and a warrior and the opposition was seen as a boxer, a warrior, an experienced boxer, and a dangerous fighter. Nevertheless, the fact that war metaphors were the most frequently found in Thai political news reported in *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines showed that these international mass media seemed to have negative view of Thai politics at that time.

The present study is expected to be a useful way of examining the underlying opinions of international mass media of Thai politics under global spotlight in recent years so that the concerned parties can explain the facts in cases in which information is incorrect or biased before negative attitudes arise in international public opinion. In addition, the research will yield benefits to teachers and students in the fields of mass communication, linguistics and cognitive science in understanding how conceptual metaphor works. Finally, the collection and analysis of conceptual metaphors in the study will contribute to the general body of knowledge involved with conceptual metaphors and understanding their role in the human cognitive system.

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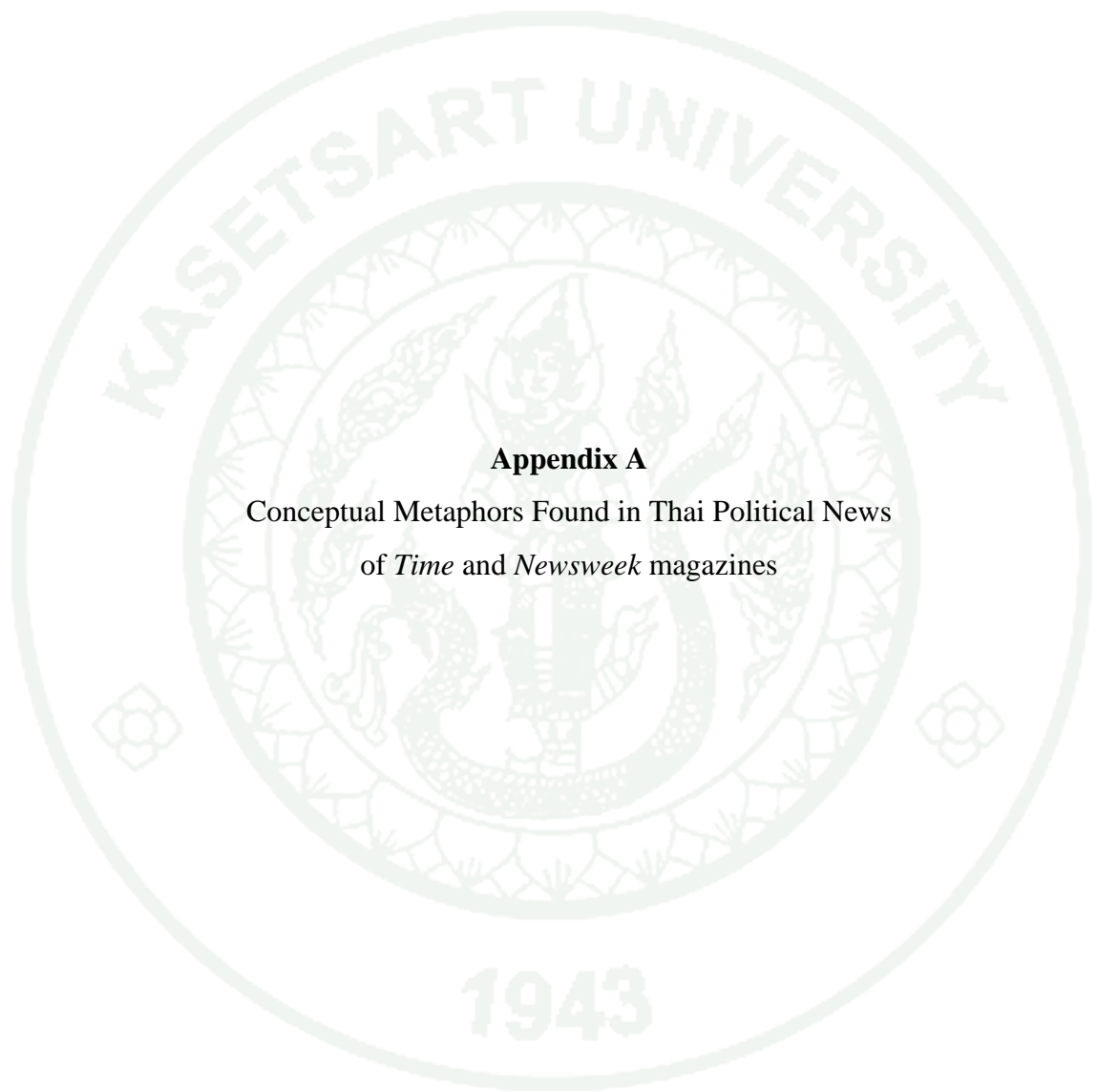
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January 28, 2010.





**APPENDICES**



**Appendix A**

Conceptual Metaphors Found in Thai Political News  
of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines

**Appendix Table A1 POLITICS IS WAR**

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) The political system	Time	1	- battered
	Newsweek	1	- embattled
b) A political institution	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- grip on power
c) A politician	Time	1	- veteran
	Newsweek	-	-
d) Political activities			
(1) The protest	Time	132	- battle, battle, battle, battle, battle, battle, clashes, crusade, Thailand's version of Tiananmen, forces, enemy, antagonists, allied, cohorts, lower-echelon, pro- and anti-Thaksin forces

Appendix Table A1 (Continued)

Political Elements	Magazines	No. of Metaphors	All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found
			<p>struggle for control of the country, two political forces, lieutenants, enemies, troops, camp, camps, opponents, PAD footsoldiers, ranks, forces, opponents, opponents, command center, tarp that serves as the alliance’s makeshift headquarters, the Red Shirts’ makeshift headquarters, post, battle zone, armed with plastic hand-clappers, maneuvering, occupied, camping out, take over, besieged, occupying, siege, takeovers, occupied, take over, besieged, camped out, rallied their troops, besieged, occupy, skirmish, hit, toppled, besieging, stormed, camped out, besieged, embattled, camped, occupied, volleys, siege, camped out, bring down, occupied, overthrown, occupied Thailand’s seat of power, siege, occupy his office grounds, surrounding, besieged, boxing their way out of poverty and prison, took the reins, takeover, besieged, takeover, blow up, trying to circumvent, occupation, embattled, incursions, launched incursions, occupied, occupying,</p>

Appendix Table A1 (Continued)

Political Elements	Magazines	No. of Metaphors	All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found
			<p>seized, occupying, attack, occupation, occupied, blockade, takeover, took over, bury their hatchets, besieged, taking over, camped, violent response, stage an attack, toppling, disrupt Asia Summit, occupied, besieged, pledge allegiance to Thaksin, occupying, camped out, occupation, decamped, overthrew, besieged, took over, disperse the entrenched Red Shirts, cleaved, commandeered, stormed, attack, invasion, rioted, clashed, bring down, invading, seizing, occupying, seized, stormed, rioted, attacked, besieged, takeover, seizure, siege, topple, occupied, bloodshed</p>
	Newsweek	85	<p>- clashes, pitched battles, clashes, opponents, rival camps, opponents, camp, rank and file, rival, rival political force, guard, cohort, force, opponents, opponents, cohort, foes, opponents, opponents, enemies, trapped in a war zone, camps, tactics echo past “people power” uprisings in neighboring</p>

**Appendix Table A1** (Continued)

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
			Indonesia and the Philippines, tactics, tactic to keep its grip on power, attack tactics, tactic, strategies, bring down, occupied, stormed, struck back in defense, clashed, seized, storming, attacks, seizure, occupy, topple, attacks, exploded, occupied, clashed, occupied, seized, storming, occupied, topple, occupied, seized, stormed, occupied, bringing down, seized, bringing down, ended their occupation, overthrown in a bloodless coup, strike, bring down, occupation, siege, ended their weeklong occupation, siege, toppled, occupied, crushed, retaking, siege, fighting, attacks, occupying, arrayed, facing off, occupying, seized, clashes, mobilize, blew up, occupying, topple, occupied, assaulted, seizures, succumb to, succumb to
(2) The political conflict	Time	1	- give ground
	Newsweek	-	-

**Appendix Table A1** (Continued)

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
(3) The coup	Time	1	- toppled
	Newsweek	2	- toppled, toppled
(4) The election	Time	5	- electoral fray, base, vote base, camp, camp
	Newsweek	1	- base
<b>Total</b>		231	

**Appendix Table A2 POLITICS IS A COMPETITIVE GAME OR SPORT**

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>	
a) A political institution	Time	-	-	
	Newsweek	2	- player, sidelines	
b) A politician	Time	1	- deep bench	
	Newsweek	2	- champion, rival	
c) Political activities	(1) The protest	Time	2	- rival, rivals
		Newsweek	3	- rival, rival, rival
	(2) The political conflict	Time	2	- play another round of defense, run off
		Newsweek	1	- That football match reached fever pitch

Appendix Table A2 (Continued)

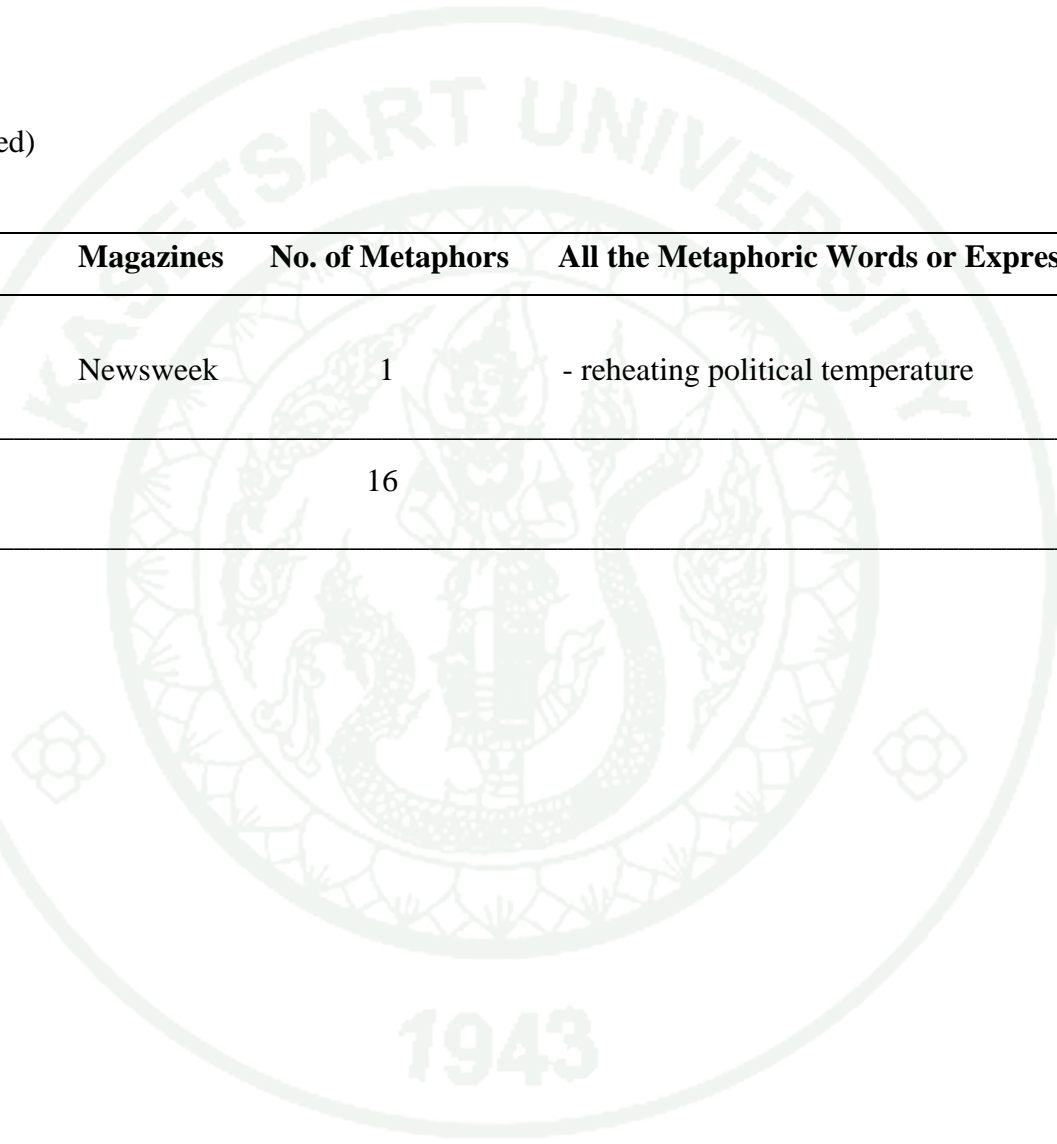
Political Elements	Magazines	No. of Metaphors	All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found
(3) The election	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	3	- beat, win, winning
(4) The debate in the parliamentary session	Time	1	- marathon
	Newsweek	-	-
<b>Total</b>		17	

**Appendix Table A3 POLITICS IS NATURE**

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A political institution	Time	2	- new parties seem to come and go with the monsoons, dry up as quickly as rain puddles in the tropical sun
	Newsweek	1	- erosion
b) Political activities	(1) The protest	Time	6 - yellow-hued sea of protesters, erupted, erupted, erupted, flood, erupt
		Newsweek	-
	(2) The election	Time	1 - swept
	Newsweek	5	- landslide, landslide, landslide, landslide, landslides
(3) The political conflict	Time	-	-

Appendix Table A3 (Continued)

Political Elements	Magazines	No. of Metaphors	All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found
	Newsweek	1	- reheating political temperature
<b>Total</b>		16	

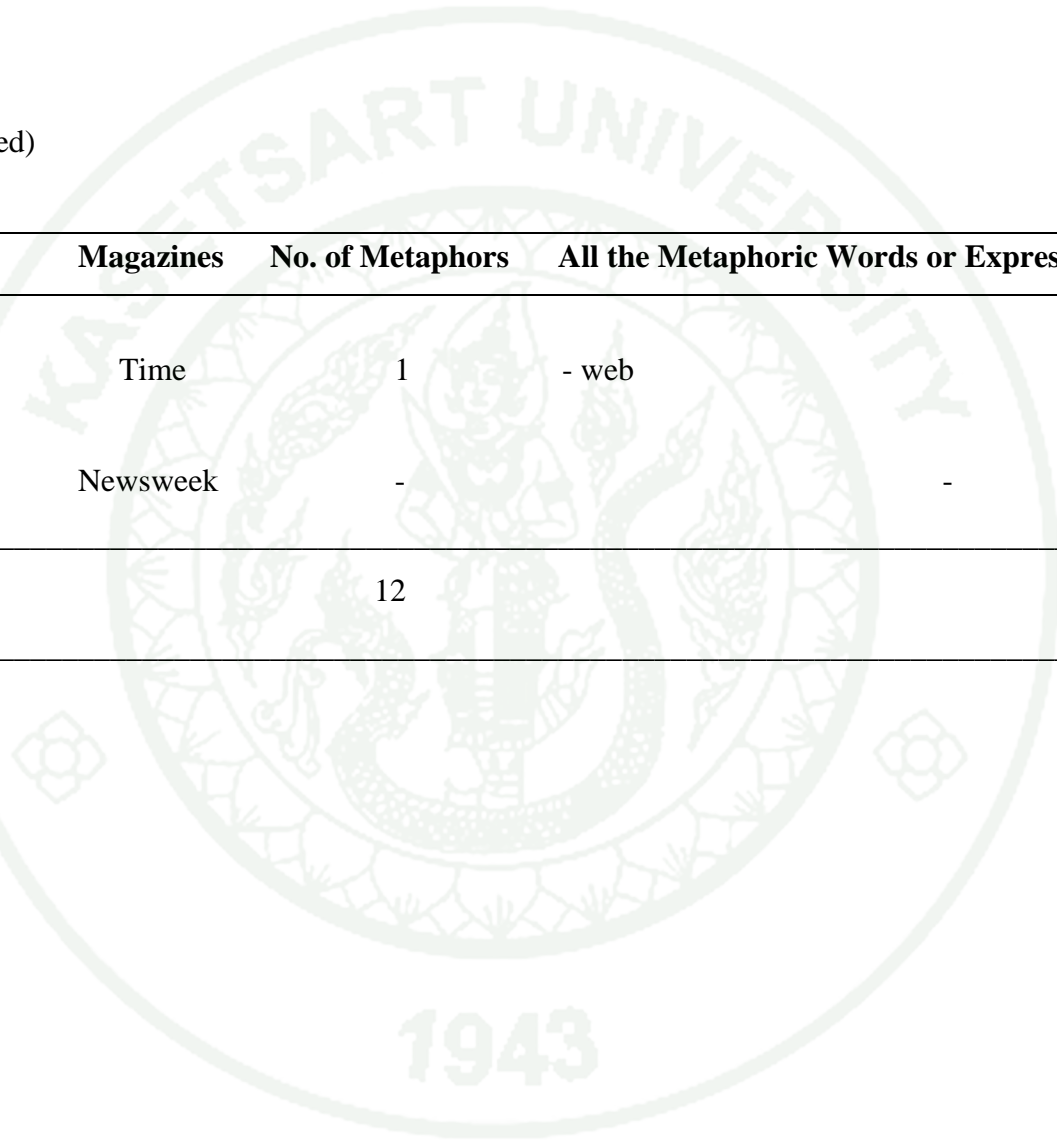


**Appendix Table A4 POLITICS IS LIFE**

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) The political system	Time	4	- mature, mature, young, nurture
	Newsweek	-	-
b) A political institution	Time	2	- fate, fledgling
	Newsweek	2	- thin, defunct
c) A politician	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- fledgling
d) Political activities (1) The protest	Time	2	- milled, milled
	Newsweek	-	-

**Appendix Table A4** (Continued)

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
e) An interest group	Time	1	- web
	Newsweek	-	-
<b>Total</b>		12	



**Appendix Table A5 POLITICS IS BUSINESS**

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A political institution	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	2	- store, vote-buying
b) A politician	Time	1	- labeling
	Newsweek	1	- merchandise
c) Political activities	(1) The election	Time	5 - vote buying, vote-buying, vote-buying, vote-buying, sell their votes
		Newsweek	1 - bought
	(2) The argument	Time	1 - buy

Appendix Table A5 (Continued)

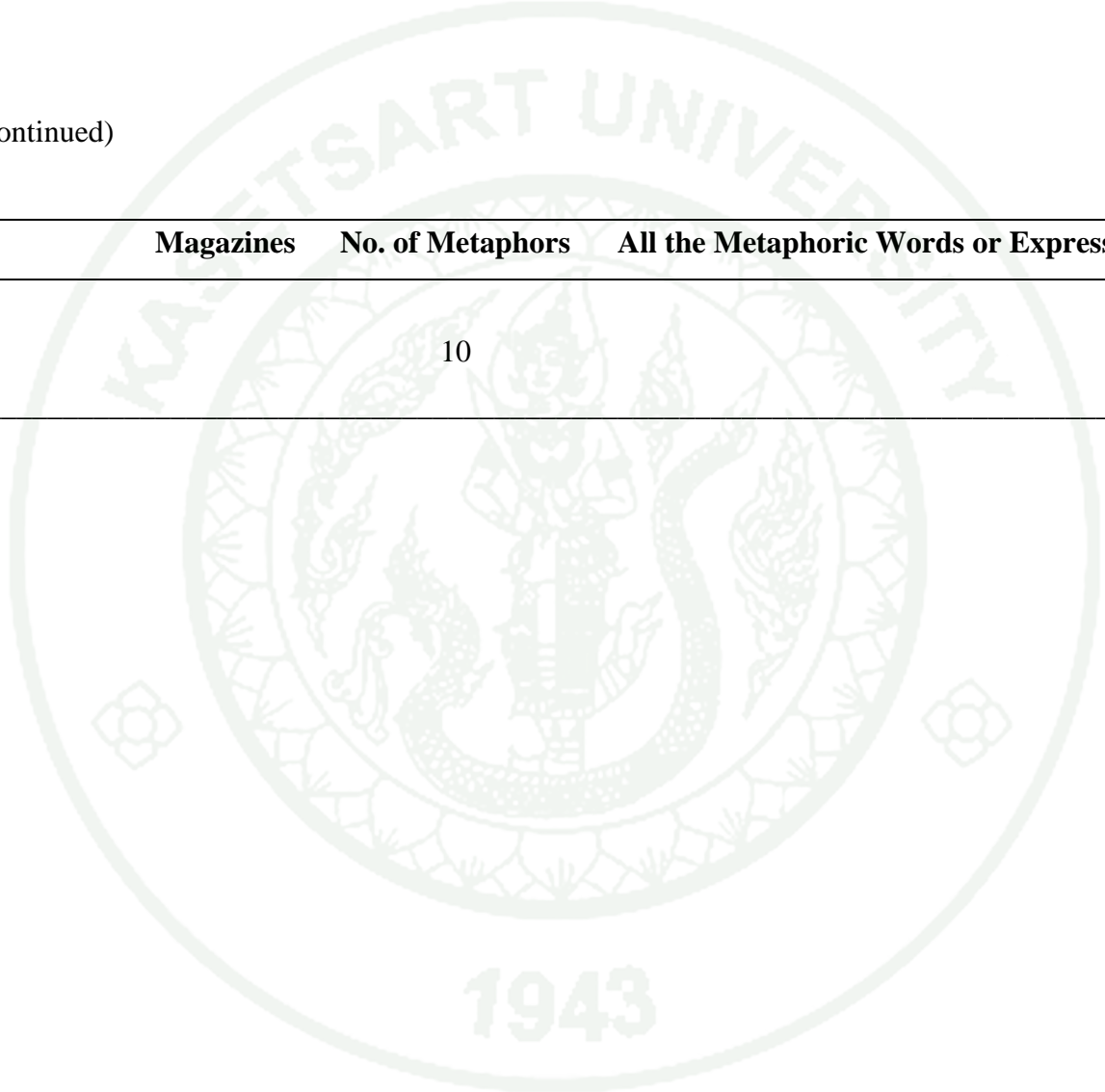
Political Elements	Magazines	No. of Metaphors	All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found
d) An interest group	Newsweek	-	-
	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- brokers
<b>Total</b>		12	

**Appendix Table A6 POLITICS IS A JOURNEY**

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) The political system	Time	1	- grounded
	Newsweek	2	- roll back, roll back
b) A political institution	Time	1	- step down
	Newsweek	2	- limps, helms
c) A politician	Time	2	- gone, re-entering
	Newsweek	1	- come and go
d) Political activities			
(1) The political conflict	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- far

Appendix Table A6 (Continued)

Political Elements	Magazines	No. of Metaphors	All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found
Total		10	



**Appendix Table A7 POLITICS IS FIRING**

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A politician	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	2	- firebrand, firebrands
b) Political activities	(1) The protest	Time	2 - Heat Up, heated
		Newsweek	-
	(2) The political conflict	Time	1 - added fuel to the fire
		Newsweek	1 - adding fuel to the fire
<b>Total</b>		<b>6</b>	

**Appendix Table A8 POLITICS IS DRAMA**

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A politician	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- hero
b) Political activities			
(1) The protest	Time	1	- farce
	Newsweek	1	- tales
(2) The political event	Time	3	- scene, last stands, dramatic endings
	Newsweek	-	-
<b>Total</b>		<b>6</b>	

**Appendix Table A9 POLITICS IS DISEASE**

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A political institution	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- paralyzed
b) A politician	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- the source of a paralysis
c) Political activities (1) The political conflict	Time	2	- paralysis, healing
	Newsweek	2	- heal, heal
<b>Total</b>		<b>6</b>	

**Appendix Table A10** POLITICS IS GAMBLING

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A politician	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- bet
b) Political activities			
(1) The protest	Time	4	- stakes, upped the ante, upped the ante, upped the ante
	Newsweek	-	-
<b>Total</b>		5	

**Appendix Table A11** POLITICS IS A BRITTLE OBJECT

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) The political system	Time	2	- fragile, brittle
	Newsweek	1	- fragile
b) A political institution	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- fragile
<b>Total</b>		4	

**Appendix Table A12 POLITICS IS CONSTRUCTION**

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A political institution	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	2	- reconstitute, form
b) Political activities	Time	2	- Braces, bracing
	Newsweek	-	-
<b>Total</b>		4	

**Appendix Table A13** POLITICS IS ARSON

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A politician	Time	2	- incendiary, incendiary
	Newsweek	1	- incendiary
<b>Total</b>		3	

**Appendix Table A14** POLITICS IS EARNING A LIVING

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A political institution	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- caretaker
b) A politician	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- caretaker
c) An interest group	Time	1	- architect
	Newsweek	-	-
<b>Total</b>		3	

**Appendix Table A15** POLITICS IS MUSIC

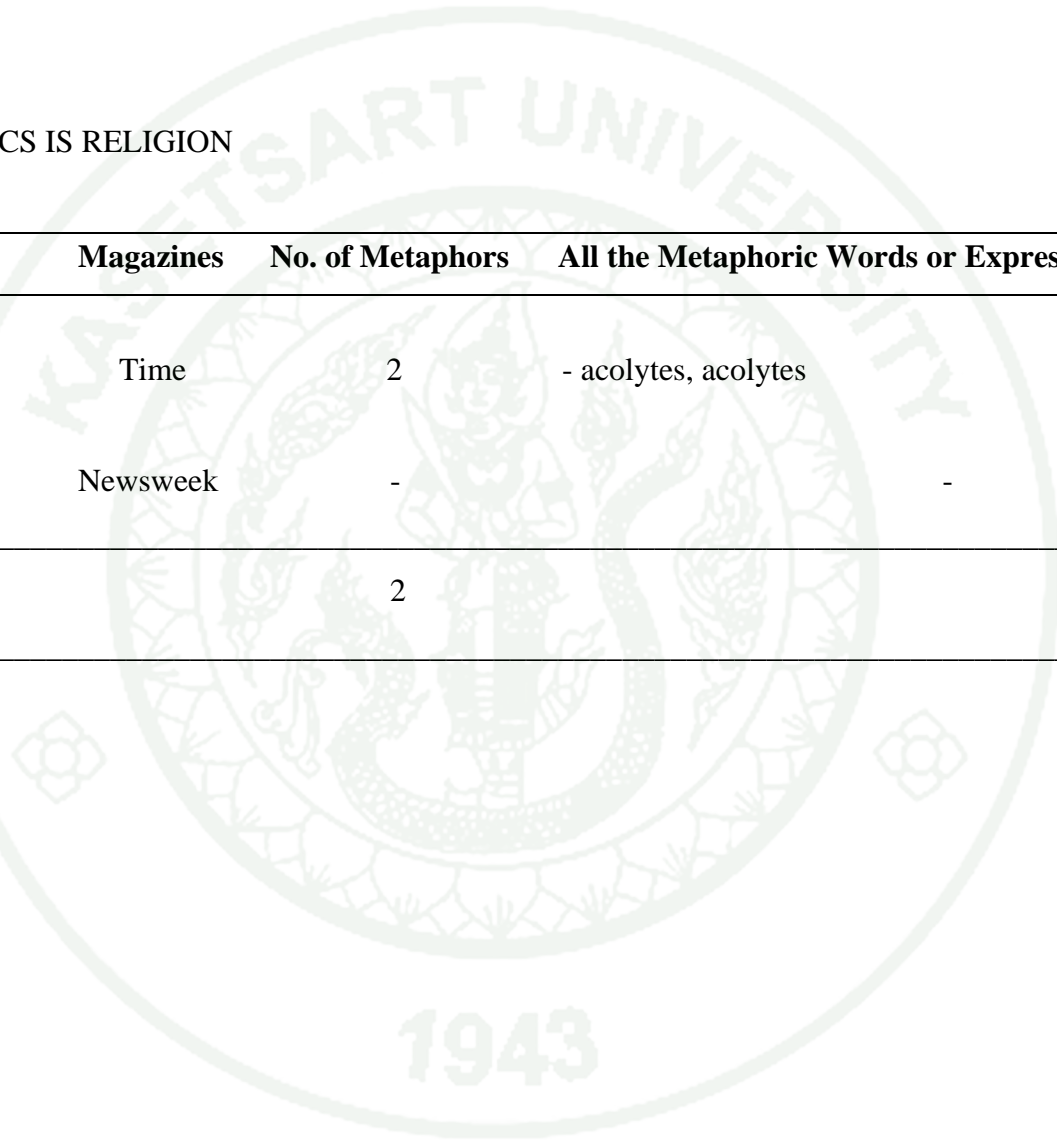
<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) Political activities			
(1) The protest	Time	2	- rock-and-roll, drumroll
	Newsweek	-	-
b) The interest group	Time	1	- chorus
	Newsweek	-	-
<b>Total</b>		3	

**Appendix Table A16** POLITICS IS COOKING

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) The political system	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- soured
b) Political activities			
(1) The protest	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- savor the taste of victory
(2) The election	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- dishing billions of Thai baht
<b>Total</b>		<b>3</b>	

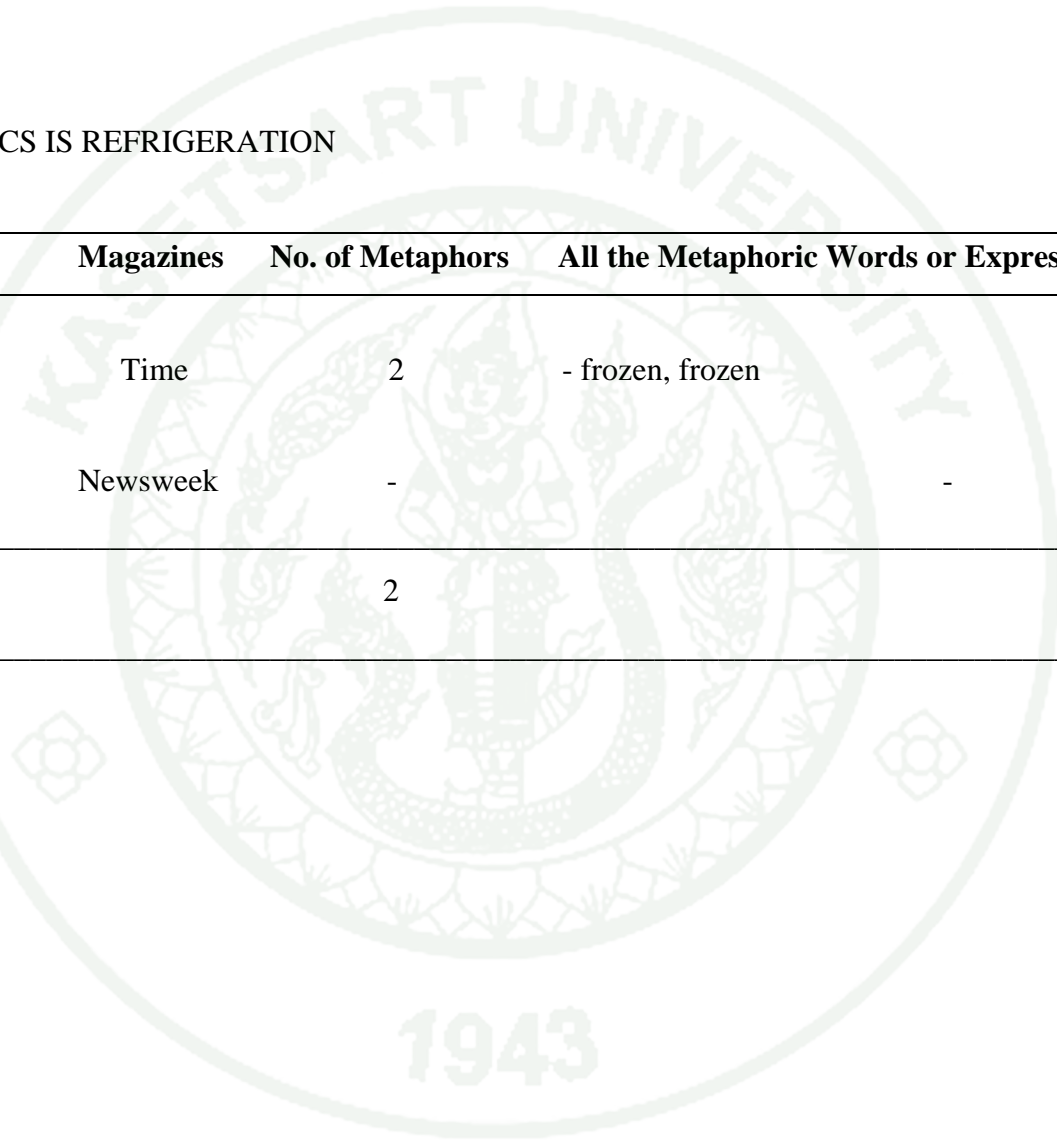
**Appendix Table A17** POLITICS IS RELIGION

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A politician	Time	2	- acolytes, acolytes
	Newsweek	-	-
<b>Total</b>		2	



**Appendix Table A18** POLITICS IS REFRIGERATION

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A political institution	Time	2	- frozen, frozen
	Newsweek	-	-
<b>Total</b>		2	



**Appendix Table A19** POLITICS IS A FAMILY

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A politician	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	2	- heir, scion
<b>Total</b>		2	

**Appendix Table A20** POLITICS IS MODEL

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A politician	Time	1	- figurehead
	Newsweek	-	-
<b>Total</b>		1	

**Appendix Table A21** POLITICS IS MACHINE

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) Political activities			
The putsch	Time	1	- mechanism
	Newsweek	-	-
<b>Total</b>		1	

**Appendix Table A22** POLITICS IS FURNITURE

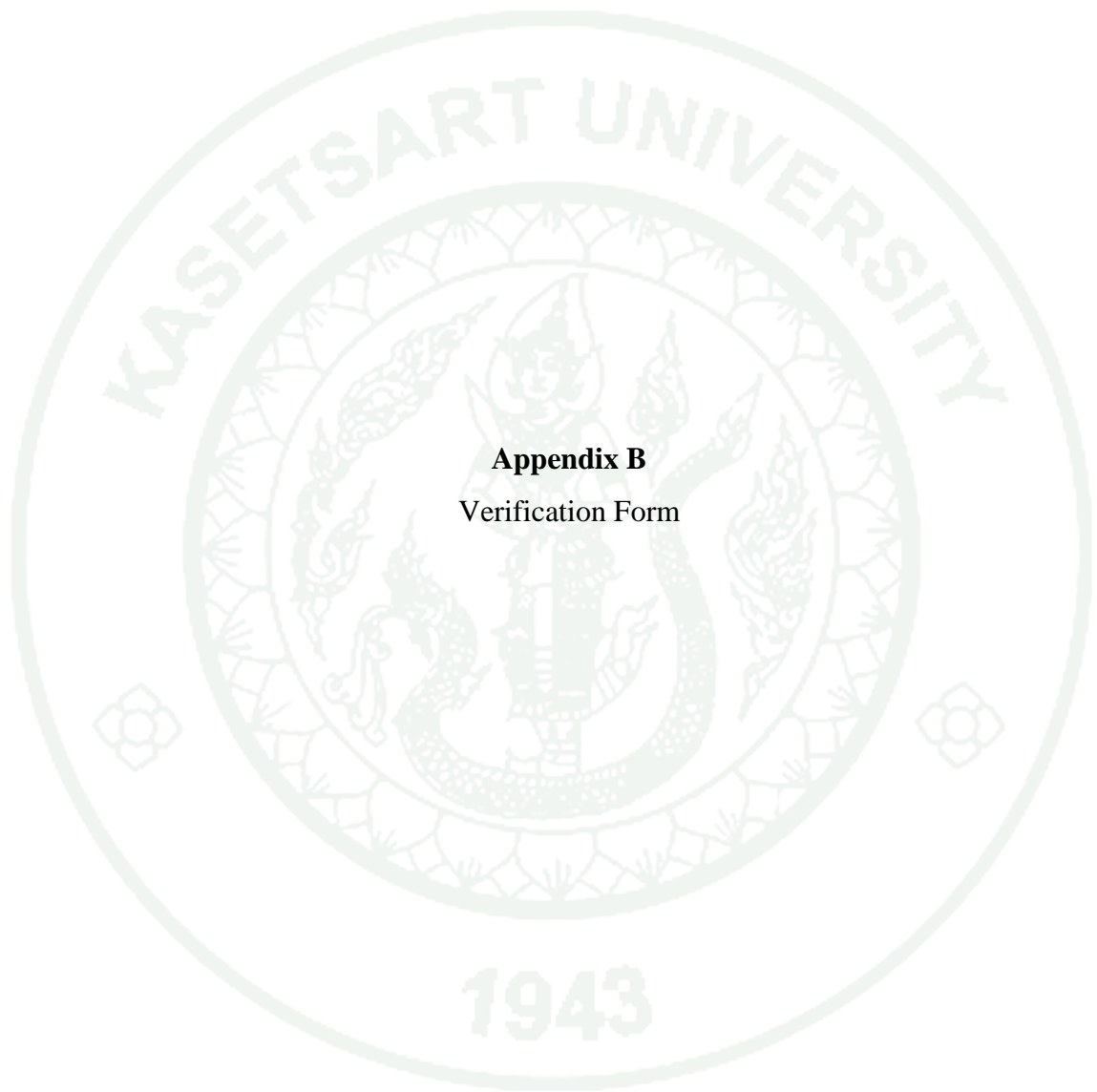
<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) Political activities			
(1) The protest	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- mirror
<b>Total</b>		1	

**Appendix Table A23** POLITICS IS SUPERNATURAL

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) A politician	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- ghost
<b>Total</b>		1	

**Appendix Table A24** POLITICS IS JUSTICE

<b>Political Elements</b>	<b>Magazines</b>	<b>No. of Metaphors</b>	<b>All the Metaphoric Words or Expressions Found</b>
a) An interest group	Time	-	-
	Newsweek	1	- arbiter
<b>Total</b>		1	



**Appendix B**  
Verification Form

### Peer Debriefing Form

**Instructions:** Please categorize the following metaphors found in Thai political news published in the Internet-based *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines into conceptual domains in order to reflect how these international mass media conceptualized Thai politics in different aspects. I suggest considering the following elements - political systems, political institutions, politicians, political activities and interest groups - and the metaphors in bold type below as a guide in the categorization of POLITICS conceptual metaphor.

- Ex. POLITICS IS WAR - But even then, Thailand's **battered** political system will still be grounded. (*Time* of November 27, 2008)
- It's no secret that Thailand's democracy is **embattled**. (*Newsweek* of November 26, 2008)

From the above examples, political system is seen as something damaged during the war. (Please specify)

- The creation of Puea Thai looks to be a PPP tactic to keep its **grip on power**. (*Newsweek* of December 6, 2008)

From the above example, political institution is seen as an army. (Please specify)

- On September 17, Thailand's parliament elected Somchai Wongsawat as the country's new Prime Minister, replacing embattled political **veteran** Samak Sundaravej, who only served in the top post for just over six months. (*Time* of September 17, 2008)

From the above example, politician is seen as warrior. (Please specify)

- “The first thing is to get rid of the government,” says Surapol Chinakulprasert, a 48-year-old second-hand goods trader clapping along as PAD leaders **rallied their troops** from a giant stage set up in the garden of Government House. (*Time* of September 3, 2008) 2008)

- They’ve **occupied** the prime minister’s office, **stormed** airports near popular beach resorts and crippled national railway service across Thailand. (*Newsweek* of September 2, 2008)

- But even as these troubles mount, neither the government nor the opposition appears willing to **give ground**. (*Time* of November 25, 2008)

- They accused Thaksin, who was **toppled** in a military coup in 2006, of massive corruption and abuse of power. (*Time* of July 6, 2009)

- After all, the party remains pro-monarchy, supported the military during the coup that **toppled** Thaksin, is socially conservative and is strong in Bangkok and southern Thailand. (*Newsweek* of December 3, 2008)

- Still, support from rural voters probably would ensure another victory for the pro-Thaksin **camp** – much to the disgust of the PAD. (*Time* of November 26, 2008)

- Samak and his People’s Power Party gained power by courting the rural vote, which outnumbers the

Alliance's mainly urban power **base**. (*Newsweek* of September 2, 2008)

From the above examples, political activities, namely the protest, political conflict, coup and election, are seen as war. (Please specify)

-----

1. POLITICS IS ..... - For a growing number of observers and ordinary Thais, that third way may be the Democrat Party, a major **player** in Thai politics since 1945 that has stood on the **sidelines** through much of the recent tumult. (*Newsweek* of December 3, 2008)

From the above example, political institution is seen as ..... (Please specify)

- But he and his supporters will need a **deep bench** if they are to continue dominating Thai politics. (*Time* of November 26, 2008)

- They **champion** a sector of Thai society ignored by the old political elite – impoverished farmers – and practice dual-track economic policies that combine populist perks for the least well-off and greater participation in the global economy. (*Newsweek* of November 15, 2008)

From the above examples, politician is seen as ..... (Please specify)

- He changed his message after the rioting and joined political **rivals** in calling for reconciliation. (*Time* of April 24, 2009)
- This morning, Prime Minister Samak Sundaravej struck back in defense of his government, declaring emergency rule just hours after **rival** mobs clashed on Bangkok's streets. (*Newsweek* of September 2, 2008)
- Thaksin looks like he might be called on to **play another round of defense**. (*Time* of August 12, 2008)
- **That football match reached fever pitch** last week when, the second time in three months, Thailand's constitutional court toppled a democratically elected government. (*Newsweek* of December 6, 2008)
- The PAD hopes its violent street actions will muster enough power to oust political opponents it can't **beat** at the ballot box. (*Newsweek* of November 26, 2008)
- The debate ran for two **marathon** 15-hour sessions dominated by partisan bickering over who was to blame for the violence, but did little to resolve Thailand's deepening political divide. (*Time* of April 24, 2009)

From the above examples, political activities, namely the protest, political conflict, election and debate in the parliamentary session, are seen as .....

(Please specify)

2. POLITICS IS ..... - Even at the best of times, politics in Thailand rarely hew to the playbook of a **mature** democracy. (*Time* of August 29, 2008)

From the above example, political system is seen as ..... (Please specify)

- The **fate** of that program, and the government itself, may rest on events surrounding the protests. (*Time* of April 7, 2009)

- With more than 160 seats in the House, the party has been in the opposition to the PPP, after serving in a similar role to Thaksin's now **defunct** Thai Rak Thai Party. (*Newsweek* of December 3, 2008)

From the above examples, political institution is seen as ..... (Please specify)

- The comment appeared to perpetuate the idea that rural people can be bought as well as emphasize the challenge the **fledgling** P.M. faces in the north and northeast. (*Newsweek* of December 31, 2008)

From the above example, politician is seen as ..... (Please specify)

- "This is all because of one man, Thaksin Shinawatra," he said, as a yellow-hued sea of protesters armed with plastic hand-clappers **milled** around near him. (*Time* of November 26, 2008)

From the above example, political activities, namely the protest, are seen as .....  
 (Please specify)

- But Apirat knows that merging political hues – and disentangling the complex **web** of shifting relationships between Thai politicians, military officers and those who serve the King – is an all but impossible task.  
 (Time of April 14, 2009)

From the above example, interest group is seen as ..... (Please specify)

-----

3. POLITICS IS ..... - But even then, Thailand’s battered political system will still be **grounded**. (Time of November 27, 2008)

- Unable to reassert authority over the hinterland, the old guard seems bent on retaking command through a platform it calls “new politics,” which would **roll back** one-person, one-vote democracy. (Newsweek of December 6, 2008)

From the above examples, political system is seen as ..... (Please specify)

- The opposition gathered support over the weekend, as business leaders joined the chorus calling for Thailand’s democratically elected ruling party to **step down** from power. (Time of November 30, 2008)

- For now, the caretaker administration **limps** on, getting the rudiments of governance done, as an array of politicians and parties circle each other, trying to find a way forward under the watchful – and suspicious – eye of the PAD. (*Newsweek* of December 3, 2008)

From the above examples, political institution is seen as ..... (Please specify)

- But even though Samak is **gone** and his predecessor charged with criminal wrongdoing, the Thaksin connection remains. (*Time* of September 17, 2008)

- The 2006 coup that consigned Thaksin to exile threw Thailand into tumult that has seen four more prime ministers **come and go**. (*Newsweek* of December 31, 2008)

From the above examples, politician is seen as ..... (Please specify)

- Anti-democracy protestors succeed in bringing down the government, but the conflict is **far** from over. (*Newsweek* of December 2, 2008)

From the above example, political activities, namely political conflict, are seen as ..... (Please specify)

-----

4. POLITICS IS ..... - Last year’s demonstrations, which **paralyzed** the government for months and occupied the capital’s airports for a week, ended after court rulings removed two Thaksin-allied governments, paving the way for Abhisit’s rise in December. (*Newsweek* of April 17, 2009)

From the above example, political institution is seen as ..... (Please specify)

- Thaksin, a billionaire businessman overthrown in a bloodless coup in 2006, remains an incendiary figure; the source of a **paralysis** Thailand cannot shake. (*Newsweek* of December 2, 2008)

From the above example, politician is seen as ..... (Please specify)

- Thai hopes for **healing** fade after protest leader shot. (*Time* of April 17, 2009)

- The government has underestimated the wrath of rural and marginalized people and that is partly why they have not made enough effort to reach out to **heal** the rift. (*Newsweek* of April 14, 2009)

From the above examples, political activities, namely the political conflict, are seen as ..... (Please specify)

-----

5. POLITICS IS ..... - Few people are willing to **bet** that the new prime minister, Abhisit Vejjajiva, Democrat Party, will last much longer than his immediate predecessor, Somchai Wongsawat, who hung on for 77 days. (*Newsweek* of December 17, 2008)

From the above example, politician is seen as ..... (Please specify)

- On Nov. 24, the PAD **upped the ante**, shutting down Thailand's parliament and later overwhelming the old air terminal. (*Time* of November 26, 2008)

From the above example, political activities, namely the protest, are seen as ..... (Please specify)

-----

6. POLITICS IS ..... - It's a stance that gives him a **rock-and-roll** rebel aura at PAD assemblies, but his attitude surely plays less favorably among foreign investors and tourists, on whose pocketbooks Thailand's economy depends. (*Time* of September 3, 2008)

From the above example, political activities, namely the protest, are seen as ..... (Please specify)

- The opposition gathered support over the weekend, as business leaders joined the **chorus** calling for Thailand's democratically elected ruling party to step down from power. (*Time* of November 30, 2008)

From the above example, interest group is seen as ..... (Please specify)

-----

7. POLITICS IS ..... - Sondhi promptly **soured** on democracy. (*Newsweek* of September 15, 2008)

From the above example, political system is seen as ..... (Please specify)

- At Bangkok's Suvarnabhumi airport, which opened today after being shut down for the past week, thousands of yellow-clad protestors lingered – apparently wanting to **savor the taste of victory** overnight. (*Newsweek* of December 2, 2008)

- It did not help when Newin was widely quoted suggesting to Abhisit that he could make the northeast forget Thaksin by “**dishing**” **billions of Thai baht** into the region. (*Newsweek* of December 31, 2008)

From the above examples, political activities, namely the protest and the election, are seen as ..... (Please specify)

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8. POLITICS IS ..... - More than two years later, the old elite is still struggling to exorcise Thaksin's **ghost**. (*Newsweek* of December 6, 2008)

From the above example, politician is seen as ..... (Please specify)

-----

9. POLITICS IS ..... - His decree bans gatherings of more than five people, prohibits media reports with a propensity to "cause panic" and puts sweeping police powers into the hands of Thailand's military, which is often the final **arbiter** in Thai politics. (*Newsweek* of September 2, 2008)

From the above example, interest group is seen as ..... (Please specify)

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Thank you very much for taking your time to fill out this verification form.

**Appendix Table B1** The Frequency of Consistency in Interpretation of Results  
Done by All Three Peers (C = Consistent, I = Inconsistent)

Conceptual Metaphors	Peer 1	Peer 2	Peer 3
1. POLITICS IS A COMPETITIVE GAME OR SPORT	C	C	C
a) A political situation	I	C	C
b) A politician	C	C	C
c) Political activities	C	C	C
2. POLITICS IS LIFE	C	C	C
a) The political system	C	C	C
b) A political institution	I	C	C
c) A politician	C	C	C
d) Political activities	C	C	C
e) An interest group	C	C	C
3. POLITICS IS JOURNEY	I	I	C
a) A political system	I	C	C
b) A political institution	I	I	C
c) A politician	I	C	C
d) Political activities	I	C	C
4. POLITICS IS DISEASE	C	C	C
a) A political institution	I	C	C
b) A politician	C	C	C
c) Political activities	C	C	C
5. POLITICS IS GAMBLING	C	C	C
a) A politician	C	C	I
b) Political activities	I	C	C
6. POLITICS IS MUSIC	C	C	C
a) Political activities	C	C	C
b) An interest group	I	C	I

**Appendix Table B1** (Continued)

<b>Conceptual Metaphors</b>	<b>Peer 1</b>	<b>Peer 2</b>	<b>Peer 3</b>
7. POLITICS IS COOKING	I	I	C
a) The political system	C	C	C
b) Political activities	I	C	C
8. POLITICS IS SUPERNATURAL	I	I	I
a) A politician	C	C	C
9. POLITICS IS JUSTICE	I	I	I
a) An interest group	C	C	C
<b>Average</b>	56.25%	84.37%	87.5%

## BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

**NAME:** Miss Wannaporn Niyomthong  
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