

**A STUDY OF POLITICAL METAPHOR ON THE FRONT PAGE
OF TWO THAI ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS**

**A MASTER'S PROJECT
BY
MISS WACHIRAWAN BANGNOGKHUWAG**

**presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Arts degree in English
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การศึกษาเรื่องอุปถัมภ์ในข่าวการเมืองหน้าหนึ่งของหนังสือพิมพ์ภาษาอังกฤษ

บทคัดย่อ

ของ

นางสาวชัชววรรณ บางนกแขวก

เสนอต่อบัณฑิตวิทยาลัย มหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ เพื่อเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษา
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การวิจัยครั้งนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาเรื่องอุปลักษณ์ในข่าวการเมืองเรื่องการ
อภิปรายไม่ไว้วางใจ ในหน้าหนึ่งของหนังสือพิมพ์ภาษาอังกฤษจำนวน 2 ฉบับคือหนังสือพิมพ์
บางกอกโพสต์และหนังสือพิมพ์เดอะเนชั่นประจำวันที่ 1-31 พฤษภาคม 2545 โดยใช้ทฤษฎี
การวิเคราะห์อรรถลักษณะ (componential analysis) เพื่ออธิบายการถ่ายทอดความหมายและ
แสดงถึงความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างแฉวงความหมายต้นทางและแฉวงความหมายปลายทางของ
รูปภาษาที่ใช้เป็นอุปลักษณ์และทฤษฎีอรรถศาสตร์ปริชาน (cognitive semantics) ตามแนวคิด
ของเลคอฟและจอห์นสัน (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) เพื่อวิเคราะห์อุปลักษณ์ในทัศนคติเกี่ยว
กับการอภิปรายไม่ไว้วางใจ คณะรัฐบาล และฝ่ายค้าน ในการวิจัยครั้งนี้มีการวิเคราะห์ความถี่
ของการใช้อุปลักษณ์ในการเสนอข่าวการเมืองด้วยการศึกษาพบว่ามีการใช้อุปลักษณ์ใน
การเสนอข่าว การอภิปรายไม่ไว้วางใจค่อนข้างสูง คือมีจำนวน 49 อุปลักษณ์ อาจเนื่องมาจาก
อุปลักษณ์สามารถทำให้ข่าวนั้นมีความตื่นเต้น น่าสนใจสำหรับผู้อ่านในการติดตามข่าว ใน
การวิเคราะห์อรรถลักษณะเพื่อศึกษาการถ่ายโอนความหมายระหว่างคำพบว่า การใช้คำที่เกี่ยวข้อง
ข้องกับการอภิปรายไม่ไว้วางใจมีจำนวน 13 คำ เท่ากับการใช้คำที่เกี่ยวข้องกับฝ่ายค้าน และ
พบที่มีการใช้คำเกี่ยวกับคณะรัฐบาลมากที่สุดจำนวน 23 คำ อาจเป็นเพราะคนส่วนมากเชื่อ
ว่ารัฐมนตรีนั้นๆมีความผิดจริงตามที่ถูกกล่าวหา ส่วนการวิเคราะห์อุปลักษณ์ในทัศนคติพบว่า ผู้
สื่อข่าวมองการอภิปรายไม่ไว้วางใจใน 3 ลักษณะ คือ การโต้เถียง เกมการแข่งขันชกมวย และ
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ที่เชี่ยวชาญ เป็นนักมวย เป็นนักสู้ที่ได้รับบาดเจ็บ และเป็นนักรบที่กล้าหาญ ส่วนฝ่ายค้าน
เปรียบเสมือนนักมวย นักรบ นักมวยผู้มีประสบการณ์ และเป็นนักสู้ที่เต็มไปด้วยอันตราย

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AN ABSTRACT

BY

MISS WACHIRAWAN BANGNOGKHUWAG

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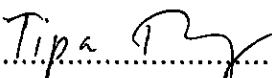
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The Master's Project Committee and Oral Defense Committee have approved this Master's Project as partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Arts Degree in English of Srinakharinwirot University.

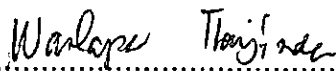
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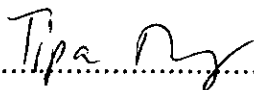

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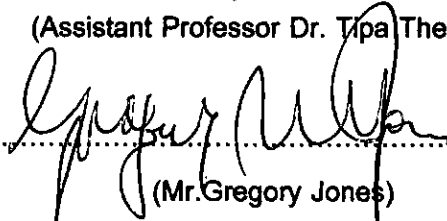
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem

To make political news more interesting, vivid figurative language is often used. Metaphor, a device to create figurative language, is often employed in political news. For example:

Does the Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra have the courage
to get rid of his rotten fish? (N. 20/5/02)

The headline, though in English, contains a Thai metaphor rotten fish, which is equal to a rotten apple in English, meaning a person who behaves badly in a well-behaved group.

In the past, metaphor was viewed as a matter of words rather than as of thought or of action. However, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that metaphor is, in fact, a link between language and thought. For example, they argue that the concept of ARGUMENT can be presented as WAR. Thus, many verbs and adjectives applicable to WAR can be used with ARGUMENT. For example:

Your claims are undefensible.

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)

The words involving war such as attack, defense, demolish, etc. are used with the concept of argument which is presented as a verbal battle. Thus, argument is conceptualized as war.

There are metaphors in the political news in the English newspapers in Thailand today. The following news concerning the censure debate on May 22-28, 2002 shows some of them.

Who will be left standing after this week's bout?

We will know this week who the victor is of showdown at Parliament stadium. The red corner or the blue, Thai Rak Thai or the Democrats? Both sides are feeling the pressure ahead of the three-day, three-night battle, although stakes may be higher for the red corner as the government has to protect its "brittle heart" from taking any blows. (N. 15/5/02)

People know that this is not a boxing game. Instead it is an 'event' in the parliament, the debate between the government and the opposition party. The reporter uses metaphor to make news more interesting. The words bout, showdown and battle refer to the censure debate, stadium to the parliament, and the red corner or the blue to the government or the opposition. All of these metaphors describe the censure debate

as a fight between the government - the red corner and the opposition - the blue corner in the parliament. Thus, in this passage the conceptual metaphor of the censure debate is that of a fight.

With a considerable number of metaphors used in English news, especially in political news in Thailand, it is interesting to find out how the metaphor is presented. In this study, the political metaphor presented in the censure debate news was analyzed. The frameworks used were the componential analysis and the cognitive semantics proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

Objectives of the study

1. To analyze the frequency of metaphor used in the political news of the censure debate on the front page of *Bangkok Post* and *The Nation* from May 1 to 31, 2002.
2. To analyze the Vehicle -Topic for their relations to the political metaphor.
3. To analyze the conceptual metaphor of the censure debate, the government, and the opposition.

Significance of the study

1. The research results can be guidelines for teachers to teach journalism.
2. They can help students in journalism and writing classes to analyze the writing style.
3. They can help readers understand political news more clearly.

Scope of the study

1. In the fractious period of the censure debate between May 22 to 28, 2002, all daily newspapers continuously reported the event. Political news of the censure debate from May 1 to 31, 2002 was selected.

2. Because of the popularity of two English newspapers - *Bangkok Post* and *The Nation* in Thailand, the political news of the censure debate of these two newspapers was selected.

3. Only the political news of the censure debate on the front page was selected.

4. All metaphors in the political news of the censure debate in both newspapers were studied.

Definition of terms

political news = the news reporting the political movements regarding the work, policy and planning of the government, the political parties, the senators, the politicians, etc. on the front page of *Bangkok Post* and *The Nation* from May 1 to 31, 2002

the censure debate = the debate in the parliament that the opposition expresses strong disapproval of the tainted behaviour of the Cabinet members from May 22 to 28, 2002

the government = the prime minister, and the ministers in Prime Minister Thaksin' s government during the censure debate on May 22 to 28, 2002

the opposition = the leader and members of the opposition (The Democrat

Party) during the censure debate from May 22 to 28, 2002

metaphor = the transference of the qualities of one thing to another, for example: The sun is a bauble hung in the tree.

(Wallace & Boisseau, 2000)

The qualities of a bauble, a toy are transferred to the sun.

Thus, the powerful sun is weak or silly similar to a bauble.

Topic = the thing that undergoes transference in metaphor. It may include objects, qualities, processes, concepts, relationship, for example: John is a pig.

John is the Topic. The qualities of a pig are transferred to the Topic John.

Vehicle = the referring term or the meaning that Topic refers to. It cannot be an object or a process but can be a typical image or concept, for example: The air was sick.

Sick is the Vehicle. The concept sick is applied to the air, which is considered the Vehicle.

conceptual metaphor = a metaphor that shows a concept of something such as a conceptual metaphor of Love is LOVE IS MADNESS.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 46-51) apply many concepts of madness to Love. For example:

I'm crazy about her. She drives me out of my mind.

He constantly raves her. He's gone mad about her.

I'm just wild about Harry. I'm insane about her.

In the above sentences, the words crazy, drives me out of my mind, raves, mad, wild, insane show the different emotions of people when they are in love as if they were mad. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of LOVE is LOVE IS MADNESS.

Abbreviations used in the study

B. 17/5/02 refers to *Bangkok Post* of May 17, 2002

N. 19/5/02 refers to *The Nation* of May 19, 2002

Longman: 111 refers to Page 111 of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*

In all, the political metaphor of the censure debate news was analyzed for its frequency used, for the Vehicle - Topic, and for the conceptual metaphor. The frameworks used were the componential analysis and the cognitive semantics proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The objectives of the study, the significance of the study, the scope of the study, and the definition of terms were also presented in this chapter.

A Study of Political Metaphor on the Front page of two Thai English Newspapers.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There are five parts in the review of the literature: metaphor as figurative language and a universal process, the componential analysis, the Topic-Vehicle as underlying conceptual systems, the cognitive semantics proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and some studies about metaphor in Thai.

Metaphor as Figurative Language and a Universal Process

Figurative language is language which does not mean what it literally says. The function of figurative language is to transfer literal terms of one object to another for a new and more precise meaning. Metaphor is basically thought of as the fundamental figure of speech, as its literal meaning is turned away to figurative meaning. For example:

The riot was reported in the newspapers with screaming headlines.

(Falk, 1978: 43)

The headlines presented with a highlight as if it was a person screaming.

Hawkes (1972) explains that the word metaphor comes from the Greek word metaphora. It derives from meta meaning over and pherin meaning to carry. It is a linguistic process whereby one object is carried over or transferred to another object, so that the second object is spoken as if it were the first. Another example of metaphor is from Falk (1978: 43).

Your daughter is a playful little lamb, Mrs. Johnson.

The daughter is presented as a playful, docile and naive person.

Metaphor is found in everyday life as it is deeply embedded in the way we construct the world around us and the way the world is constructed for us by others (Beard, 2000). We use it in speaking, advertising, making a conversation, and more. According to Hatch and Brown (1995) metaphor is common and pervasive not just in English but in all languages and across all dialects and that it appears as well in everyday language. Thus, its commonplace can account for its universality. Shyu and Kelly (cited in Hatch and Brown, 1995: 97) investigated the universality of metaphors by comparing metaphors of anger in Chinese and Turkish with those of English. In English, anger is the change from a liquid to heat, to steam as in the following example:

The angry air caused the smoke to pour out of his seven holes (mouth, nose, eyes, and ears).

In Chinese it is air which becomes heated and rises to be released as steam as angry air (nu ch'i or yuan ch'i)

In Turkish anger produces heat as in kizma (don't get hot), and anger is also fire as in ates sacmak (to scatter fire, which is to lose one's temper). The examples show that at least people in three countries use similar metaphors of anger as heat.

Finegan (1994) has also studied the universality of metaphor which is the fundamental basis of communication among people. Metaphors have been found fundamental for people of all ages. Small children can be observed creating metaphors

in the process of acquiring language. Children extend the meaning of the words they know to cover objects they do not know. Clark (cited in Finegan, 1994) reports an example of a child who first said the word mooi (moon). He first said the word mooi (moon) while he was looking at the moon. He also used the word mooi to describe round-shaped things such as cakes, circles drawn on foggy windows, and the letter O. The behavior is explained that the child shared the round shape of the objects and referred them to the word mooi. The process of applying a particular word to meanings that resemble the primary meaning of a word is called overgeneralization, which is a primitive kind of metaphor.

In short, since all humans have the same perceptual mechanisms, they tend to perceive the same metaphors across languages such as the metaphor of anger. Moreover, metaphors can be created from an early age by children. Thus, metaphor can be accepted as a universal process of communication.

The Componential Analysis

The definition and application of the componential analysis have been defined and applied by many linguists, as the following.

Kempson (1977) defines the componential analysis as an explicit representation of the systematic relationship of meaning between words. The meanings of words are analyzed not as unitary but as complex concepts made up of components of meaning which are themselves semantically primitive. Examples of the componential analysis are the words woman and spinster. Woman can be analyzed as having its components of [female], [adult], [human], spinster as having its components of [female], [adult], [human], [never married]. Other examples are the words spinster and bachelor. Spinster has the meaning components of [female], [never married], [adult], [human], bachelor has the meaning components of [male], [never married], [adult], [human]. Spinster and bachelor might be analyzed as a semantic complex made up of the above

components. Both words share the meaning components of [never married],[adult], [human]. They are different in the components of sex, a spinster is a female while a bachelor is a male. Hence, the method of componential analysis can formally define the basic meanings inherent in a word.

In application, the analysis is used to account for basic meanings in vocabulary. For example, in the distinction between murder and kill, murder is analyzed as having a meaning which consists of components representing [intention], [causation], [death] while kill as having only the components representing [causation], [death]. By this means, the relationship between a word and other words in the system can be stated explicitly in terms of componential analysis.

In short, the componential analysis is an explicit representation of the systematic relationship of meaning between words. The meaning of words are analyzed as complex concepts made up of components of meaning. Thus, the componential analysis can be applied to account for basic meanings in words.

The Topic and Vehicle as Underlying Conceptual Systems

The Topic and Vehicle in terms of metaphor have been seen as the vital elements of the conceptual system, in that they act as the underlying conceptual domains for metaphor comprehension. Hence, understanding the Topic and Vehicle relations is useful for analyzing conceptual metaphors.

Cameron (1999) says that in labelling the components of a metaphor, the first something is often labelled the Topic and something else is the label given to the Vehicle. Black (in Cameron & Low, 1999) defines the Vehicle as a system of associated commonplaces and later as an implication complex. The Topic term belongs to a system of relations; thus, metaphor connects the two conceptual systems

of the Topic and Vehicle. Considering the Topic and Vehicle, the cognitive theory does not view metaphor as surface forms because metaphors are considered underlying systems of semantic and contextual information which are often applied to the lexical item. However, writers on metaphor through the centuries have seen the Topic and Vehicle as the surface forms of underlying systems of conceptual information. In other words, the Topic and Vehicle on the surface structure can be analyzed for the underlying concept of a word.

Wallace and Boisseau (2000) argue that the best metaphors result from the meeting of the Topic and Vehicle which creates a flash of recognition. The Topic and Vehicle too closely related such as the sun is a star does not spark the reader's attention because the sun and a star are both in the sky. On the other hand, a metaphor too unrelated like the sun is a tow truck may catch the reader's attention because the sun is totally different from a vehicle. This argument is in accordance with Ricoeur (1997), who points out the greater the link between the Topic and Vehicle and the more unexpected their combination, the more striking and surprising the metaphor.

Paivio (1990) explains that the Vehicle serves as an efficient conceptual peg for metaphor comprehension that promotes retrieval of images and verbal information aroused by the Topic. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) propose that the Vehicle domain is held to be a conceptual system. They believe that the underlying conceptual domains are themselves metaphorically structured and can be stored in long-term memory. In other words, metaphor does not just link conceptual systems, but motivates and constrains concepts.

The following example of conceptual analysis of the Topic and Vehicle is taken from Low (1999).

This paper thinks.

(Surface) Topic paper

(Surface) Vehicle thinks

Low's (1999) conceptual analysis of the metaphor goes beyond the surface form. The underlying metaphoric structures are analyzed as follows:

THIS PAPER IS A PERSON.

(Conceptual) Topic paper

(Conceptual) Vehicle a person

As paper cannot think, the question is what can think? The answer is only people can think. Thus paper here means a person. Paper is the Topic in this metaphor while a person is the Vehicle. The metaphor is This paper is a person.

Goatly (1997) presents an example of metaphor through the Topic and Vehicle as follows:

A battle is a game of chess.

Here, a battle is compared to a game of chess. In this metaphor, a battle is the Topic while a game of chess is the Vehicle.

The Topics and Vehicles are frequently nominal as in

Juliet is the sun

Weeds are the measles of the garden.

(Cameron, 1999: 15)

The Topics Juliet and Weeds, and the Vehicles the sun and the measles are nominal in these metaphors. The widespread use of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) general underlying form of metaphor, A IS B (e.g. LOVE IS A JOURNEY, THE MIND IS THE MACHINE, IDEAS ARE FOOD, AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING), helps the nominal metaphor as the most common or typical. According to Halliday (2001: 183),

most of the lexical material in any clause in writing is located within nominal constructions: nominal groups or nominalized clauses. For example:

The separable or external soul is a magical stratagem generally employed by supernatural wizards or giants.

There are two nominal groups, the separable or external soul and a magical stratagem generally employed by supernatural wizards or giants.

Though the Topic and Vehicle are typically nominal, they may be from any word class and many ranges from morphemes, word, phrase, and sentence to a unit of discourse as in a poem or an allegory. For example:

Winds stampeding the fields.

The rock that had saved him was lathered and fringed with leaping strings of foam. (Goatly, 1977: 271)

In brief, metaphor does not just link the conceptual systems, but it motivates concepts. The Topic and Vehicle of metaphor can be analyzed for the underlying concept of a word. Hence, the Topic and Vehicle on the surface structure are the underlying conceptual domains for metaphor comprehension.

Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Cognitive Semantics

To elucidate the conceptual metaphor and how such concept structures affect everyday activities, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) demonstrate the concept TIME and the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY. The metaphor is reflected in our everyday language by a variety of expressions as follows:

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.

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 get sick.

(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 7-8)

In the examples, the words spend, invest, run out of, save, borrow, etc. reflect money that we can spend, waste, budget, invest wisely or poorly. These words also act as the Topic that leads to the Vehicle of money. The concept of TIME is money or the conceptual metaphor of TIME is TIME IS MONEY. It is a metaphorical concept that we use everyday. We use the experience with money to conceptualize time.

The following are a few more examples of the conceptual metaphors proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Each of the conceptual metaphors is followed by a list of ordinary expressions.

IDEAS ARE PRODUCTS

We're really turning (churning, cranking, grinding) out new ideas.

We've generated a lot of ideas this week.

He produces new ideas at an astounding rate.

It's a rough idea; it needs to be refined.

We need to take the rough edges off that idea, hone it down, smooth it out.

His intellectual productivity has decreased in recent years.

LOVE IS MADNESS

I'm crazy about her.

She drives me out of my mind.

He constantly raves about her.

He's gone mad about her.

I'm just wild about Harry.

I'm insane about her.

In short, the conceptual metaphor is a metaphorical concept that can affect everyday activities. It is reflected in our everyday language by a variety of expressions. The conceptual metaphor as TIME IS MONEY is a metaphorical concept which we experience money to conceptualize time. Thus, the conceptual metaphor can show the metaphorical concept of something in a number of expressions.

Some studies on Thai metaphor

There are some studies on metaphor in Thailand. They are analyses of sport news, advertising, and political news.

Jarayapun (1996) studied metaphor of war in sport news in Thai newspapers which reflected people's attitudes towards sports. The data were collected from 10 kinds of sport news from three daily newspapers and three sport newspapers, published before, during and after the SEA games from December 1995 till January 1996. There were 205 pieces of sport news. She found 49 true war metaphors and 198 implicit war metaphors. A comparison of the percentage of frequency of war metaphors showed a

difference in the frequency of the use of war metaphor influenced by two factors: the possibility of bodily contact and participation as a team. She also found that Thai people saw different degrees of war-likeness in sports. The differences depended on how much bodily contact there was and whether it was a team or an individual who was participating in that particular sport. Based on the degree of war-likeness, the 10 sports can be ranged from boxing, basketball, football, fencing, rugby, takraw, volleyball, tennis, judo to golf.

The use of metaphor in advertising copy or the body of an advertisement was studied by Laxanaphisuth (1997). The samples were 112 advertising copies obtained from the top three best-selling magazines which were reported by DEEMAR Media Index Readership Survey 1996. The data obtained were statistically analyzed in terms of frequency and percentage. Moreover, the data were classified into the classes according to a definition set forth by a panel of experts. The results were found as follows:

1. The personification class of metaphor was used most or 44.64% in an advertising copy in the top three best-selling magazines.
2. About 38.39 % of metaphor in the advertising copy was mostly displayed in the body copy.

Prutthichaiwiboon (2001) analyzed metaphors in the Thai political news to determine how Thai speakers conceptualized politics. The research methods were cognitive semantics (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) and the componential analysis. The data were collected from five weekly newspapers in 1999. The study revealed Thai speakers conceptualized politics in 10 conceptual metaphors as follows:

1. POLITICS IS WAR.
2. POLITICS IS A COMPETITIVE GAME.

Handwritten notes in the left margin:

- Ident
- Function
- of
- metaphor
- in
- advertising
- copy
- and
- body
- copy

3. POLITICS IS GAMBLING.
4. POLITICS IS BUSINESS.
5. POLITICS IS DRAMA.
6. POLITICS IS EDUCATION.
7. POLITICS IS A JOURNEY.
8. POLITICS IS ROBBERY.
9. POLITICS IS FURNITURE.
10. POLITICS IS LIFE.

The study also identified 10 conceptual domains for metaphors in the Thai political news which were war, competitive games, gambling, business, drama, education, travelling, robbery, furniture, and life.

In short, an analysis of Thai metaphor in sport news, advertising, and political news found out that the frequency of war metaphors was influenced by the possibility of bodily contact and participation as a team. The metaphor of personification was mostly displayed in the body copy of the advertisement. Thai speakers conceptualized politics in ten conceptual domains which were war, competitive game, gambling, business, drama, education, travelling, robbery, furniture, and life.

In all, metaphor is accepted universally. The Topic-Vehicle acts as the underlying conceptual domains for metaphor comprehension. Metaphor does not just link the conceptual systems but motivates concepts. A metaphorical concept that is used everyday is the conceptual metaphor that is reflected in our everyday language. Moreover, the studies about Thai metaphors are presented in sport news, advertising, and political news.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the method to analyze metaphors in political news of the censure debate on the front page of *Bangkok Post* and *The Nation* from May 1 to 31, 2002 within the componential analysis and the cognitive semantics proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is presented.

Data Collection

Fourteen pieces of the political news of the censure debate on the front page of *Bangkok Post* and *The Nation* on May 1 to 31, 2002 was selected.

Data Analysis

The procedure to analyze the data were as follows:

1. Forty-nine metaphors in the political news of the censure debate were analyzed.
2. The frequency of all metaphor used in the political news of the censure debate in both newspapers was analyzed. The results were reported in percentages.
3. The total metaphors were classified into three topics - the censure debate, the government, and the opposition.
 - 3.1 There are 13 metaphors concerning the censure debate. They are fracas, showdown, bout, bare-knuckle bout, match, team boxing, jabs, cross, hooks, the ring, the referee, battle, battle over technicalities, the fight, and the war room.

3.2 There are 23 metaphors involving the government. They are a bad apple, weakest links, the weakest links, soft spot, rotten fish, a fool and a coward, to use dirty tactics, to distract the referees, top trainer, fierce trainer, experienced fighters, coach, head coach, boxer, fighter, the red corner, training camp, get hurt, the injuries, the wounds, reel, bear the brunt of attacks, suffer maximum damage, to torpedo, and to fire barrage.

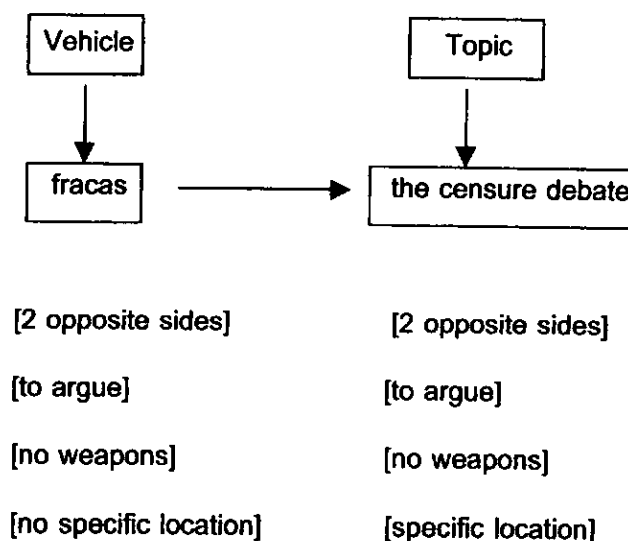
3.3 There are 13 metaphors regarding the opposition. They are heavyweight, heavyweight fighter, the blue corner, the boxing style, to place a jab, cross, a hook, to turn its guns on, to mobilise its big guns, to lead attacks, to stun, to keep alive its battle, sharp-tongued boxer, pro of ring experience, and experienced fighter.

4. The relations of metaphors, the Vehicle - Topic analysis, were studied. For example:

In analyzing the metaphor, the Vehicle the fracas was analyzed for the Topic the censure debate as follows:

Vehicle: fracas (a noisy quarrel in which a number of people take part, and which often ends in a fight, *Longman*: 409)

Topic: the censure debate



The above shows the relations of the Vehicle fracas to the Topic the censure debate. Most of the meaning components of the Vehicle are the same as those of the Topics except for [no specific location]. However, the fracas can take place in any locations while the censure debate must take place in the parliament. Most of the meaning components of the Vehicle and the Topic are related to each other. Hence, the meaning of the Vehicle fracas can be transferred to the Topic the censure debate.

5. The cognitive semantics of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) was applied to analyze the conceptual metaphors of the censure debate, the government, and the opposition from all metaphors. For example:

Who will be left standing after this week's bout?

Bare-knuckle bout expected.

Our team was told to study the boxing style of the Democrat using video-tapes of previous matches. They were looking for angles and weak points.

The trainers have to be ready for fighting outside the ring.

No jabs, crosses or hooks are allowed to touch Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra.

The words bout, bare-knuckle bout, boxing style, matches, the ring, jabs, crosses, hooks are all about boxing. The censure debate is like a boxing match between the government and the opposition. Hence, the conceptual metaphor of the censure debate is THE CENSURE DEBATE IS A BOXING MATCH.

In all, the frequency of the 49 metaphors in the political news of the censure debate was analyzed. Then, the componential analysis through the Topic-Vehicle was conducted. After that the conceptual metaphors of the censure debate, the government, and the opposition proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) were analyzed.

Of all 49 metaphors, *The Nation* used 42 or 85.72% while *Bangkok Post* used only 7 or 14.28%.

Regarding the total of 13 metaphors used for the censure debate, *The Nation* used 11 or 84.62% while *Bangkok Post* used only 2 or 15.38%.

With regard to the total of 23 metaphors used for the government, *The Nation* used 20 or 86.96% while *Bangkok Post* used only 3 or 13.04%.

Of all the 13 metaphors used for the opposition, *The Nation* used 11 or 84.62% while *Bangkok Post* used only 2 or 15.38%.

In brief, *The Nation* used much more metaphors in the censure debate news than did *Bangkok Post*.

The analyses of the Vehicle -Topic in the political metaphor, and the conceptual metaphor of the censure debate, the government, and the opposition (The Democrat Party), are presented in Table 2.

Table 2 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis and the Conceptual Metaphors of the Censure Debate

Vehicle	Topic	The conceptual metaphor
fracas showdown	the censure debate	THE CENSURE DEBATE IS AN ARGUMENT
bout bare-knuckle bout match team boxing jabs, cross, hooks the ring	the censure debate the parliament	THE CENSURE DEBATE IS A BOXING GAME

Table 2 (continued)

Vehicle	Topic	The conceptual metaphor
the referee	the House Speaker	
battle	the censure debate	THE CENSURE DEBATE IS
battle over technicalities		WAR
the fight		
the war room	the operating room for the debate	

Table 2 shows all the Vehicle -Topic analyses and the conceptual metaphors of the censure debate found in the study. Thirteen metaphors are first analyzed for the meaning components of the Vehicle-Topic. Then the Vehicles are analyzed for the conceptual metaphor as follows.

I. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of fracas and showdown

The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphors fracas and showdown is analyzed as follows:

(1) A normal censure motion has become a nasty legal fracas because both the government and the opposition have abused the law for political gain, analysts said yesterday. (B.15/5/02)

(2) We will know this week who the victor is of the showdown at Parliament stadium. The red corner or the blue, Thai Rak Thai or the Democrat. (N.19/5/02)

Vehicle : - fracas (a noisy quarrel in which a number of people take part, and which often ends in a fight, *Longman*: 409)

- showdown (a settlement of a quarrel or matter of disagreement in an

open direct way, *Longman*: 972)

Topic : the censure debate

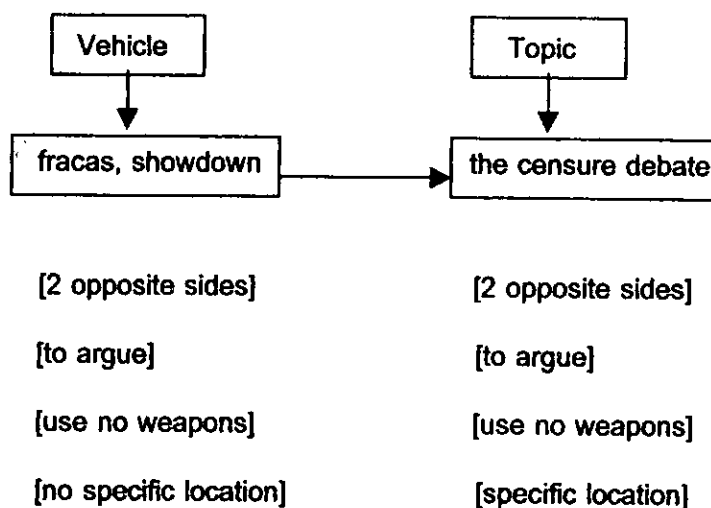


Figure 1 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of Fracas and Showdown

From the componential analysis, most of the meaning components are the same. They have two opposite sides; they argue, and they use no weapons in the fight. However, the Vehicle is different from the Topic in having a specific location while the Topic has a specific location. The explanation is the censure debate must take place only in the parliament while fracas, showdown can take place anywhere. Thus, from the same meaning components of the words, the qualities of the Vehicles fracas, showdown are transferred to the Topic the censure debate.

The conceptual metaphor of the censure debate as THE CENSURE DEBATE IS AN ARGUMENT can be discussed as follows:

The metaphors fracas and showdown are transferred to the censure debate because the censure debate is like an argument or a quarrel between the opposition and the government. The argument is acceptable because it takes place in the parliament and the House Speaker acts as the controller of the argument. The argument or the censure debate is very exciting because both sides prepare their best

speakers for the debate. While the opposition tries to debate vigorously, the target ministers have to defend themselves to their best to prove their innocence. The audience are waiting to see who the victor is, Thai Rak Thai or the Democrat. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of the censure debate is THE CENSURE DEBATE IS AN ARGUMENT.

In brief, the meaning components of the Vehicles of fracas and showdown are transferred to the Topic the censure debate. The conceptual metaphor is THE CENSURE DEBATE IS AN ARGUMENT.

II. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of bout, bare knuckle-bout, match, team boxing, jabs, crosses, hooks, the ring, the referee

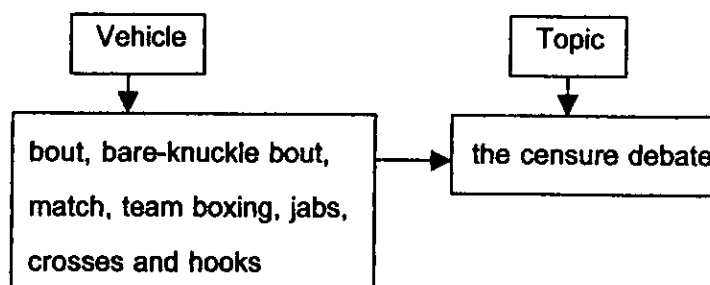
The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphors bout, bare knuckle bout, match, team boxing, jabs, crosses, or hooks are analyzed as follows:

- (3) Who will be left standing after this week's bout? (N. 19/5/02)
- (4) Bare-knuckle bout expected (N. 20/5/02)
- (5) One team was told to study the boxing style of the Democrat using video-tapes of previous matches. They were looking for angles and weak points. (N. 19/5/02)
- (6) Compared to the upcoming World Cup, some fans might feel this match is somewhat less scintillating. But many still appreciate the unique flavour of this uncommon form of team boxing. (N. 19/5/02)
- (7) No jabs, crosses or hooks are allowed to touch Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. (N. 19/5/02)

Vehicle : - bout (a boxing match, *Longman* : 111)
 - bare-knuckle bout (a boxing match that boxers using only empty fists)
 - match
 - team boxing

- jabs, crosses, hooks (boxing manners)

Topic : the censure debate



[to compete]

[to compete]

[opponents]

[opponents]

[referee]

[referee]

[the victor/loser]

[the victor/loser]

[boxers]

[speakers]

Figure 2 The Vehicle -Topic Analysis of Bout, Bare-knuckle Bout, Match, Team Boxing, Jabs, Crosses, Hooks

From the componential analysis of the Vehicles bout, bare-knuckle bout, match, team boxing, jabs, crosses, hooks to the Topic the censure debate, most of the meaning components are the same. The opposition and the government who are opponents fight each other. The House Speaker acts as a referee in the censure debate. There are victors or losers in the fight. Nevertheless, the final meaning component of the Vehicles as [boxers] is not the same as the last component of the Topic [speakers]. The speakers not boxers are in the censure debate. Thus, the qualities of the Vehicles bout, bare-knuckle bout, match, team boxing, jabs, crosses, hooks are transferred to the Topic the censure debate.

The Vehicle – Topic of the metaphors of the censure debate, the ring, the referee is analyzed as follows:

(8) The trainers have to be ready for fighting outside the ring. (N.19/5/02)

Vehicle : ring (a small square space closed in with ropes in which people box or wrestle, *Longman* : 900)

Topic : the parliament

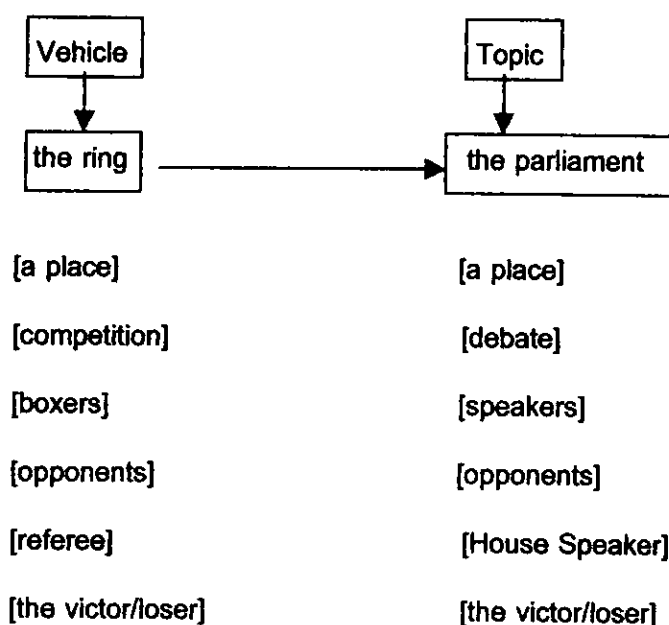


Figure 3 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of the Ring

From the componential analysis of the Vehicle the ring to the Topic the parliament, most of the meaning components are the same. While the ring is a place for boxers in a boxing match, the parliament is a place for the opposition and the government to debate. While the referee is a judge in a boxing match, the House Speaker is the referee in the censure debate. Thus, the Vehicle the ring can be transferred to the Topic the parliament.

(9) And both teams will be under the control of the war room. If any ministers

blunder or need help, the war room order a top trainer like Adisorn to rally his band of lookthung (country) MPs to distract the referees.

(N. 19/5/02)

Vehicle : referee (a judge in charge of some games, *Longman* : 872)

Topic : The House Speaker

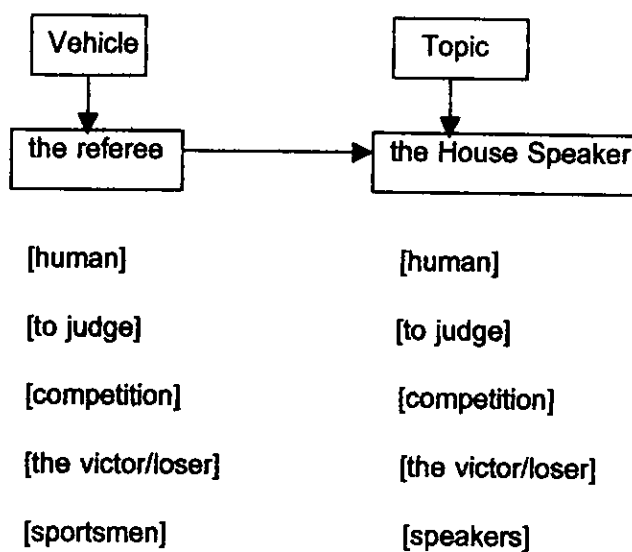


Figure 4 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of the Referee

From the componential analysis, most of the meaning components are the same. While the referee acts as a judge in a competition, the House Speaker is a judge in the censure debate. However, the meaning component of the Vehicle [sportsmen] is different from the component of the Topic [speakers] because the House speaker acts as a referee to judge the speakers not sportsmen in the censure debate. Thus, the Vehicle the referee can be transferred to the Topic The House Speaker.

The conceptual metaphor of the censure debate THE CENSURE DEBATE IS A BOXING GAME can be discussed as follows:

From the metaphors bout, bare-knuckle bout, match, team boxing, the ring, the referee, the censure debate is seen as a boxing match between the government and the opposition in the parliament. The parliament is an arena similar to a ring. The metaphors jabs, crosses, hooks which means boxing gestures are transferred to the debating style of the opposition. Team boxing shows that the opposition and the government fight in a team. The target ministers have to defend themselves from the corruption accusations. It seems that both sides, the government and the opposition, have to fight seriously for the victory of the censure debate similar to a boxing game. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of the censure debate is THE CENSURE DEBATE IS A BOXING GAME.

In all, the meaning components of the Vehicles bout, bare knuckle-bout, match, team boxing, jabs, cross, hooks, the ring, the referee are transferred to the Topic related to the censure debate. The conceptual metaphor is THE CENSURE DEBATE IS A BOXING GAME.

III. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of battle, battle over technicalities, the fight, the war room

The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphors of the censure debate battle, battle over technicalities, the fight are analyzed as follows:

- (10) Coalition MPs had questioned the constitutionality of the motion in the hope of scuttling it, while the opposition used the same constitution to keep alive its battle against the government. (B. 15/5/02)
- (11) The debate could also be a battle over technicalities. (N. 20/5/02)
- (12) The less experienced fighters, led by sharp-tongued boxers like Satis Wongnamtoei, Akhrapol Sorrasuchart and Taworn Sennium, will support

the team during the fight.

(N. 19/5/02)

Vehicle : - battle (a fight between enemy forces, esp. forming part of a larger struggle, *Longman: 76*)

- battle over technicalities (a fight with special rules)

- fight (an act of fighting between two people, groups, countries, etc; battle, *Longman: 379*)

Topic : the censure debate

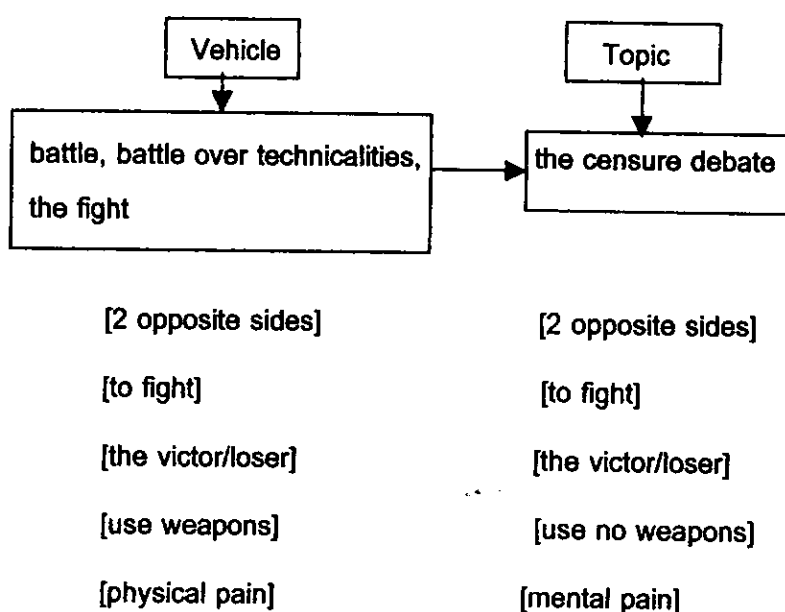


Figure 5 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of Battle, Battle over Technicalities, the Fight

From the componential analysis, some of the meaning components of the Vehicles are different from the Topic. In the censure debate, the speakers can fight with speech but not with weapons. Therefore, those who are attacked have mental pain but not physical pain in the censure debate. Other meaning components are shared by the Vehicles and the Topic. Thus, the Vehicles battle, battle over technicalities, the fight are transferred to the Topic the censure debate.

The Vehicle-Topic analysis of the metaphor of the censure debate the war room is analyzed as follows:

- (13) And both teams will be under the control of the war room. If any ministers blunder or need help, the war room will order a top trainer like Adisorn to rally his band of lookthung (country) MPs to distract the referees. (N. 19/5/02)

Vehicle : the war room

Topic : the operating room for the censure debate

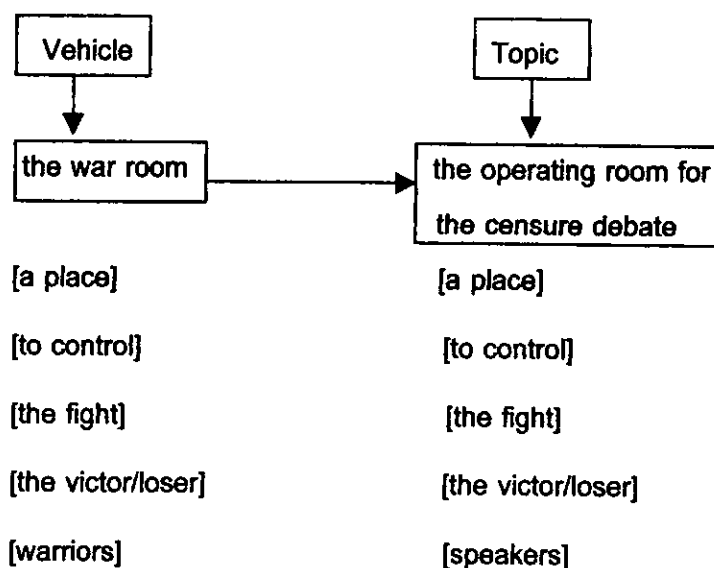


Figure 6 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of the War Room

From the componential analysis, the meaning component of the Vehicle as [warriors] is different from the meaning component of the Topic [speakers]. The war room is a place to control warriors in a fight while the operating room for the censure debate is a place to control speakers. Other meaning components of the Vehicles and the Topic are same. Thus, the Vehicle the war room is transferred to the Topic the operating room for the censure debate.

The conceptual metaphor of the censure debate as THE CENSURE DEBATE IS WAR can be discussed as follows:

The censure debate is seen as a fight between the government and the opposition in the parliament. Both sides seem to fight and inflict maximum pain on their opponents. While the opposition tries to attack the government with sharp speech, the government uses its best speakers to help the inexperienced target ministers. In this fight, special rules are accepted. Moreover, both the government and the opposition have war rooms as the operating rooms to control speakers for the censure debate. The metaphors battle, battle over technicalities, the fight, the war room present the censure debate as war. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of the censure debate is THE CENSURE DEBATE IS WAR.

In short, the meaning components of the Vehicles battle, battle over technicalities, the fight, the war room are transferred to the Topic the censure debate. The conceptual metaphor is THE CENSURE DEBATE IS WAR.

The analyses of the Vehicle-Topic of political metaphor, and the conceptual metaphor of the government are presented in Table 3.

Table 3 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis and the Conceptual Metaphor of the Government

Vehicle	Topic	The conceptual metaphor
a bad apple	the target ministers	THE GOVERNMENT IS
weakest links		'THE WEAKEST LINKS.'
the weakest links		
soft spot		
rotten fish		

Table 3 (continued)

Vehicle	Topic	The conceptual metaphor
a fool and a coward	the government	THE GOVERNMENT IS COWARDLY.
to use dirty tactics to distract the referee	the deceit of the government	THE GOVERNMENT IS DECEPTIVE.
top trainer fierce trainer experienced fighter coach head coach	best speaker of the government	THE GOVERNMENT IS A SKILLFUL FIGHTER.
boxer fighter the red corner	the government	THE GOVERNMENT IS A BOXER.
training camp	the party office	
get hurt, the injuries the wounds reel bear the brunt of attacks, suffer maximum damage	the government's mental pain	THE GOVERNMENT IS AN INJURED FIGHTER.

Table 3 (continued)

Vehicle	Topic	The conceptual metaphor
to torpedo to fire barrage	to harm the opposition	THE GOVERNMENT IS A WARRIOR.

Table 3 shows all the Vehicle -Topic analysis and the conceptual metaphors of the government found in the study. The 23 metaphors are first analyzed for the meaning components of the Vehicle-Topic. Then the Vehicles are analyzed for the conceptual metaphor of the government.

I. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of a bad apple, weakest links, the weakest links, soft spot, rotten fish

The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphors a bad apple, weakest links, the weakest links, soft spot, rotten fish is analyzed as follows:

- (14) The prime minister said he certainly would not keep a bad apple but he could not punish any censure target either if the opposition could not prove beyond doubt that the person was wrong. (B. 17/5/02)
- (15) Chuan will also leads attacks on PM's Office Minister Somsak Thepsuthin, one of the government's weakest links. (N. 20/5/02)
- (16) The censure debate came to a close on 25 May 2002. The opposition claimed the Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra to rid himself of "the weakest links" in his cabinet and keep his vows to combat corruption. (B. 26/5/02)

(17) Democrat Arkom Engchuan will attack another government soft spot,

Education Minister Suwit Khunkitti.

(N. 20/5/02)

(18) Does Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra have the courage to get rid of his
rotten fish?

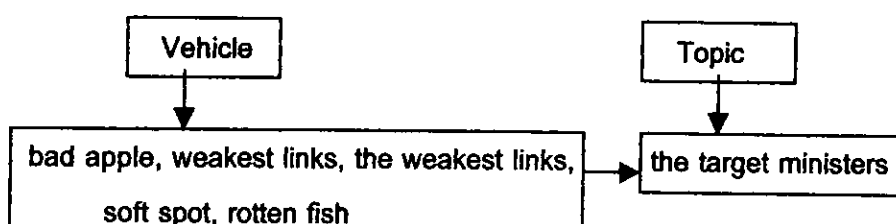
(N. 26/5/02)

Vehicle : - a bad apple (a person of dishonourable character, *Longman*: 65)

- weakest links (the weakest people that should be rid of in a group
of players in a TV game show)

- soft spot (unwanted people)

Topic : the target ministers



[non human]

[human]

[awful behavior]

[awful behavior]

[weak]

[weak]

[unwanted]

[unwanted]

Figure 7 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of a Bad Apple, Weakest Links, the Weakest Links, Soft Spot, Rotten Fish

From the componential analysis, most of the meaning components of the Vehicles and the Topic are the same. The meaning components of the Vehicle [non human] is different from the meaning component of the Topic [human]. The metaphor 'the weakest links' is influenced by a TV program, in which the weakest competitors are eliminated from the game. The target ministers with appropriate behavior can injure the government reputation. Therefore, they should be rid of the government. The other

meaning components are shared by the Vehicles and the Topic. Thus, the Vehicles bad apple, weakest links, the weakest links, soft spot, rotten fish are transferred to the Topic the target ministers.

The conceptual metaphor of the government as THE GOVERNMENT IS 'THE WEAKEST LINKS' can be discussed as follows:

The target ministers who are tainted with corruption are undesirable because they can weaken the government and make a bad political reputation. Most people want to be clean. Hence, the tainted target ministers are undesirable or unwanted ones that should be rid of from the cabinet similar to the losers in 'the weakest links.' The metaphors a bad apple, weakest links, the weakest links, soft spot, and rotten fish relate to the tainted target ministers as undesirable. Since the target ministers are parts of the government, the conceptual metaphor of the government is THE GOVERNMENT IS 'THE WEAKEST LINKS.'

In brief, the meaning components of the Vehicles a bad apple, weakest links, the weakest links, soft spot, rotten fish are transferred to the Topic the government. The conceptual metaphor is 'THE GOVERNMENT IS THE WEAKEST LINKS.'

II. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of a fool and a coward

The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphor a fool and a coward is analyzed as follows:

(19) The report was made up by a fool and a coward. I performed well as communication minister for three years and I am not afraid of the boomerang effect of exposing irregularities, he said. (N. 19/5/02)

Vehicle : - a fool (a person who is lacking in judgment or good sense, *Longman*:

- a coward (a person who is afraid to face danger, pain, hardship; person who shows fear in a dishonorable way, *Longman: 237*)

Topic : the government

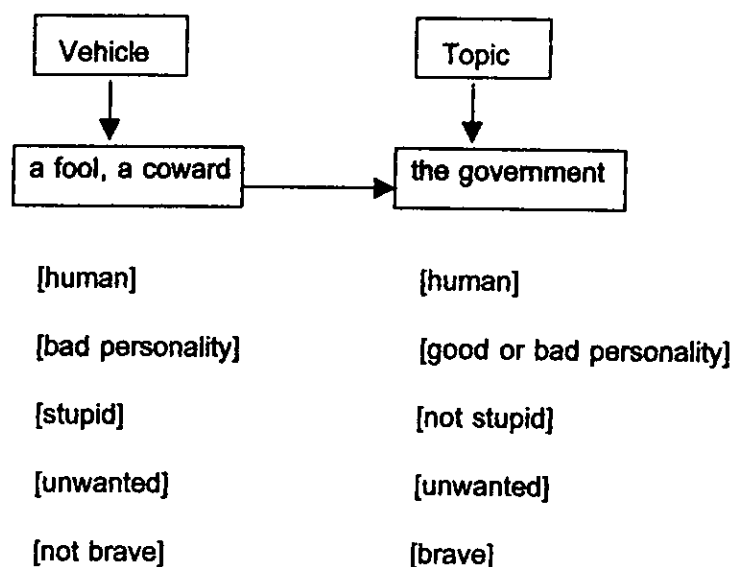


Figure 8 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of a Fool and a Coward

From the componential analysis, some meaning components of the Vehicles and the Topic are the same such as [human], [unwanted]. The ministers of the government are accused as being foolish and cowardly in reporting corruption charges to the former communication minister of the Democrat. The opposition believes that these corruption accusations are as a revenge on the government. These corruption accusations show bad or awful behavior of the government. Hence, the opposition accuses the government of being cowardly. Thus, the meaning of the Vehicles a fool and a coward is transferred to the meaning of the Topic the government.

The conceptual metaphor of the government as THE GOVERNMENT IS COWARDLY can be discussed as follows:

The government is accused that they fear or lack of courage to tell the truth about the corruption of the target ministers to the public. Though the target ministers are not proved to be tainted with corruption in the censure debate, most people believe they have a tendency to be so because they show their fear. The government retaliates with corruption accusations to the past communication minister of the Democrat. However, the past minister of the Democrat refuses them. At the same time the opposition accuses the government as a fool and a coward in reporting false information about the former communication minister. The metaphors a fool and a coward relate the government as being stupid and cowardly. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of the government is THE GOVERNMENT IS COWARDLY.

In all, the meaning components of the Vehicles a fool and a coward are transferred to the Topic the government. The conceptual metaphor is THE GOVERNMENT IS COWARDLY.

III. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of to use dirty tactics, to distract the referee

The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphors to use dirty tactics, to distract the referee is analyzed as follows:

(20) On the suppression of media freedom, the opposition said the government used 'dirty tactics' to intimidate reporters critical of it and force the press to give 'one-sided' reports on politics. (N. 11/5/02)

(21) And both teams will be under the control of the war room. If any ministers blunder or need help, the war room order a top trainer like Adisorn to rally his band of lookthung (country) MPs to distract the referees. (N. 19/5/02)

Vehicle : - to use dirty tactics (to use unpleasant methods)

tactics (a plan or method that is intended to gain a desired result, *Longman*: 1077)

- to distract the referees

Topic : the deceit of the government

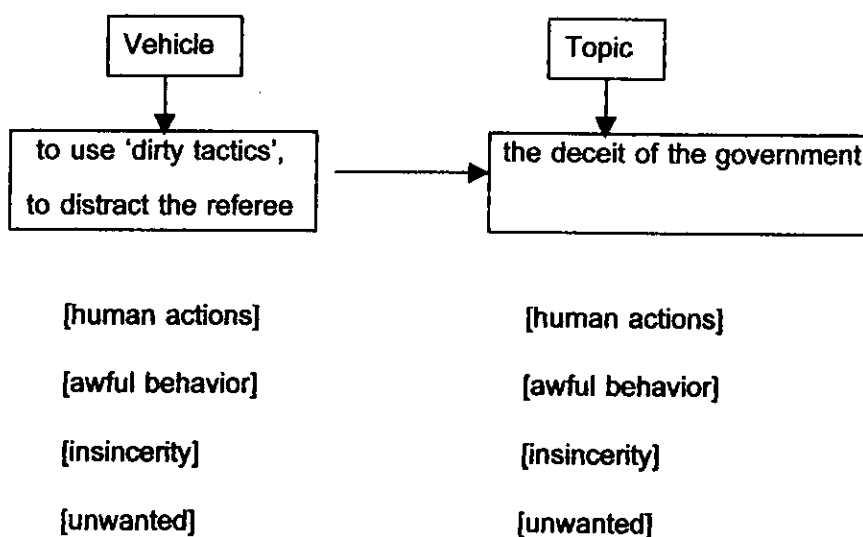


Figure 9 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of to Use Dirty Tactics, to Distract the Referee

From the componential analysis, all of the meaning components of the Vehicles and the Topic are the same. They are all bad behavior that show the insincerity of the government. Such behavior of the government is unwanted. Thus, the Vehicles to use dirty tactics, to distract the referees, are transferred to the Topic the deceit of the government.

The conceptual metaphor as THE GOVERNMENT IS DECEPTIVE can be discussed as follows:

The government and the opposition try hard to overcome each other. While the opposition tries to destroy the government with violent corruption accusations, the target ministers have to defend themselves to prove their innocence. Because most of the target ministers are inexperienced, the government prepares to help them in many

ways. If they are weaker than the opposition, the government will help them by rallying its best speakers to distract the House Speaker. Such behavior is considered awful. Moreover, the government tries to suppress media freedom. For example, they use dirty tactics to threaten reporters who criticize them and forcing the press to report only the government news. The metaphors to use dirty tactics and to distract the referee show the government's insincerity and deceit. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of the government is THE GOVERNMENT IS DECEPTIVE.

In brief, the meaning components of the Vehicles to use dirty tactics and to distract the referee are transferred to the Topic the deceit of the government. The conceptual metaphor is THE GOVERNMENT IS DECEPTIVE.

IV. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of top trainer, fierce trainer, experienced fighter, coach, head coach

The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphors top trainer, fierce trainer, experienced fighter, coach, head coach is analyzed as follows:

- (22) And both teams will be under the control of the war room. If any ministers blunder or need help, the war room order a top trainer like Adisorn to rally his band of lookthung (country) MPs to distract the referees. (N. 19/5/02)
- (23) The second team will surround the stage during the bout. Their mission will be to give advice on the match and order an immediate attack if needed. Led by fierce trainers Prommin Lertsuridej and Phumtham Wetchaiyachai, this team groups (24) experienced fighters like Adisorn Piangket, Chaturon Chaisang and Sudarat Keyuraphun. (N. 19/5/02)
- (25) Coach Pramual Rujanaseree, the deputy coalition whip, will manage the queue of boxers. (N. 19/5/02)

(26) Take a peek behind the scenes at the Thai Rak Thai training camp and one would see the head coach calling for victory and saying teams of trainers are ready for the bout. (N.19/5/02)

Vehicle : - trainer (a person who trains people or animals for sports, work, etc.

Longman: 1127)

- top trainer (best trainer)
- fierce trainers (violent trainer)
- fighter (a boxer, *Longman: 379)*
- experienced fighters (skilled boxers)
- coach (a person who trains sportsmen and sportswomen for games, competition, etc., *Longman: 185)*

Topic : best speakers of the government

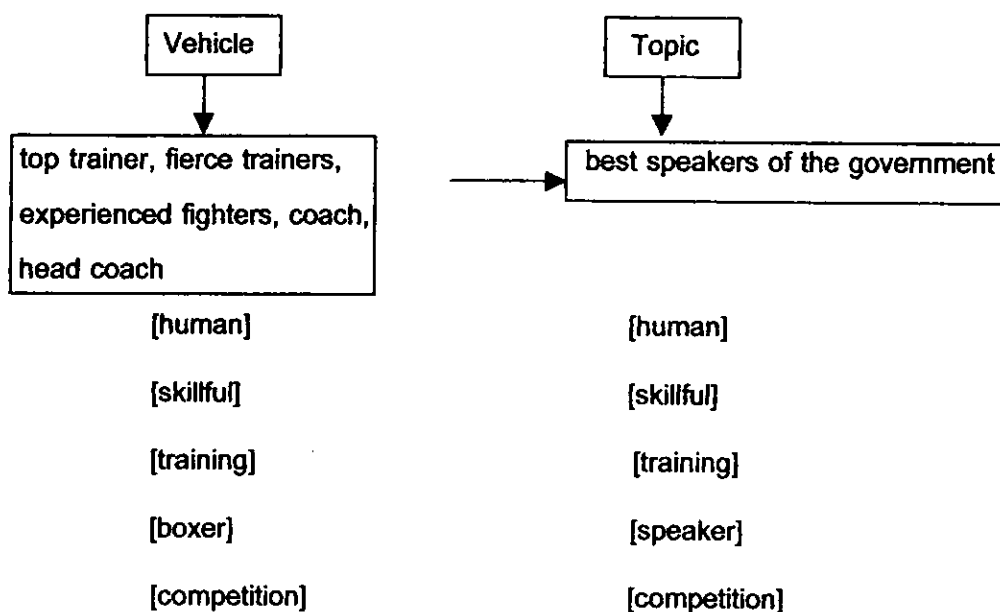


Figure 10 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of Top trainer, Fierce Trainer, Experienced Fighter, Coach, Head Coach

From the componential analysis, most of the meaning components of the Vehicles are the same as the Topic except for the meaning components [boxer] and

[speaker]. The coach or trainer has to train boxers while the best speakers of the government have to train the inexperienced ministers for the censure debate. Thus, the Vehicles top trainer, fierce trainer, experienced fighter, coach, head coach are transferred to the Topic best speakers of the government.

The conceptual metaphor as THE GOVERNMENT IS A SKILLFUL FIGHTER can be discussed as follows:

The opposition has been well known for the sharp tongue for a long time. Due to a large number of best speakers of the opposition, it seems that they can destroy the government in the censure debate. Hence, the government or the target ministers have to defend themselves from the opposition. At the same time the government prepares skillful or experienced speakers to help the target ministers when they are attacked by the opposition. The metaphors top trainer, fierce trainer, experienced fighter refer to the skillful speakers of the government. The government has some skillful debaters to fight the opposition in the parliament. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of the government is THE GOVERNMENT IS A SKILLFUL FIGHTER.

In all, the meaning components of the Vehicles top trainer, fierce trainer, experienced fighter, coach, head coach are transferred to the Topic best speaker of the government. The conceptual metaphor is THE GOVERNMENT IS A SKILLFUL FIGHTER.

V. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of boxer, fighter, the red corner, training camp

The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphors boxer, fighter, the red corner, training camp is analyzed as follows:

(27) Coach Pramual Rujanaseree, the deputy coalition whip, will manage the queue of boxers. (N. 19/5/02)

(28) Led by fierce trainers Prommin Lertsuridej and Phumtham Wetchaiyachai, this team groups experienced fighters like Adisorn Piangket, Chaturon Chaisang and Sudarat Keyuraphun. (N. 19/5/02)

(29) We will know this week who the victor is of the showdown at Parliament stadium. The red corner or the blue, Thai Rak Thai or the Democrat. (N. 19/5/02)

Vehicle : - boxers

- fighters

- the red corner

Topic : the government

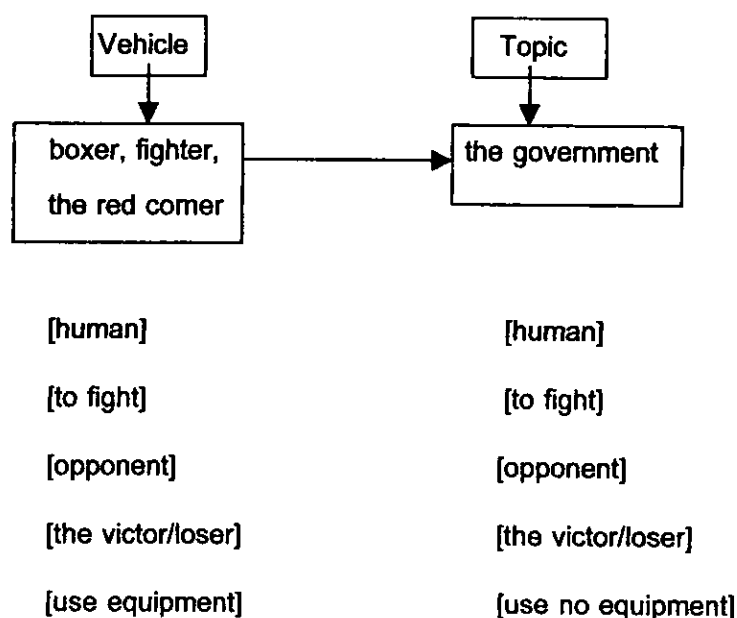


Figure 11 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of Boxer, Fighter, the Red Corner

From the componential analysis, most of the meaning components of the Vehicles are the same as the Topic except for [use equipment]. This is because boxers can use boxing gloves as boxing equipment while the government cannot use any equipment except for speech in debating. Therefore, the Vehicles boxer, fighter, the red corner are transferred to the Topic the government.

(30) Take a peek behind the scenes at the Thai Rak Thai training camp and one would see the head coach calling for victory and saying teams of trainers are ready for the bout. (N.19/5/02)

Vehicle : training camp (a place where sportsmen are trained)

Topic : the party office

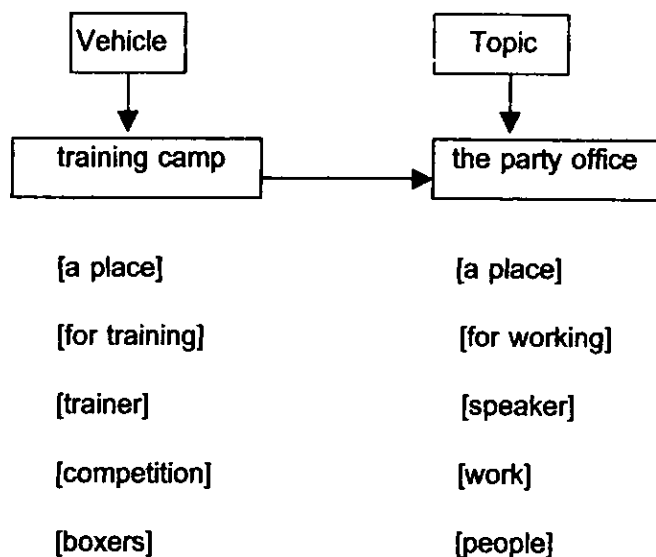


Figure 12 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of Training Camp

From the componential analysis, the meaning component of the Vehicle as [for training], [trainer], [competition], [boxers] is different from the Topic. While the training camp is the place for training boxers, the party office is the place for training speakers not boxers for the debate. Thus, the Vehicle training camp is transferred to the Topic the party office.

The conceptual metaphor as THE GOVERNMENT IS A BOXER can be discussed as follows:

The censure debate is similar to a fighting match between the government and the opposition in the parliament. The metaphors boxers, fighter, the red corner relate to the government as a boxer of a boxing match to fight the opposition. Because of the

well-known reputation of the opposition in debating, the government has to train the inexperienced target ministers to be ready for the debate. The experienced speakers of the government are trainers of the inexperienced ones. The training camp relates to the party office as a place for training boxers or speakers. The ring is a place for boxing. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor of the government is THE GOVERNMENT IS A BOXER.

In brief, the meaning components of the Vehicles boxers, fighter, the red corner, the training camp are transferred to the Topic the government. The conceptual metaphor is THE GOVERNMENT IS A BOXER.

VI. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of get hurt, the injuries, the wounds, to reel, to bear the brunt of attacks, suffer maximum damage

The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphors get hurt, the injuries, the wounds, to reel, to bear the brunt of attacks, suffer maximum damage is analyzed as follows:

(31) They will have to hold a press conference when their boxers get hurt to try to convince the public that the injuries are minors and not as serious as they look on TV. (N. 19/5/02)

(32) Sources close to the prime minister said he wanted politics to be as still as possible after the votes, so that the wounds can quickly heal. (N. 28/5/02)

(33) "Govt reels under Alpine punch" (N. 23/5/02)

(34) Overwhelmed by the parliament strength of the Thaksin administration, the opposition is adopting a strategy to ensure that key-no confidence targets bear the brunt of attacks and suffer maximum damage. (N. 20/5/02)

Vehicle : - hurt (physical pain or damage to a part of a body, *Longman*: 514),

- injury (a physical hurt or wound, esp. when caused accidentally, *Longman*:

540)

- wound (a damaged place in the body, usu. a hole or tear through the skin, esp. one made intentionally by a weapon, such as a gun or knife,

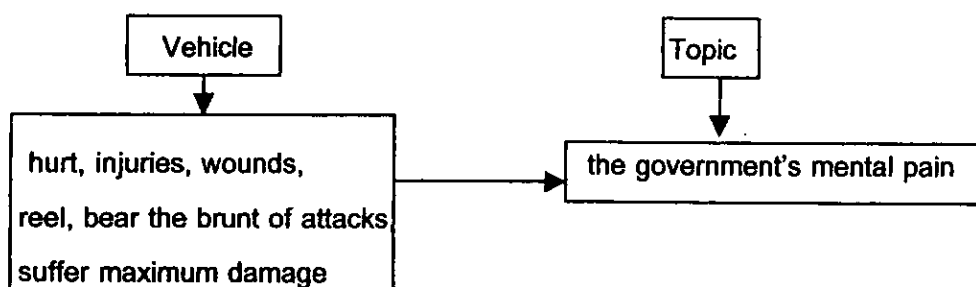
Longman: 1219)

- reel (to walk unsteadily, moving from side to side, as if drunk, *Longman*: 872)

- bear the brunt of attacks (the most damaging part of an attack)

- suffer maximum damage

Topic : the government's mental pain



[pain]

[pain]

[harmful]

[harmful]

[to fight]

[to debate]

[opponents]

[opponents]

[weapons]

[no weapons]

[physical]

[mental]

Figure 13 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of Get Hurt, Injuries, Wounds, Reel, Bear the Brunt of Attacks, Suffer Maximum Damage

The meaning components of the Vehicle such as [to fight], [weapons] are different from the Topic [to debate], [no weapons]. All the Vehicles relate to physical pain from the fight while the government's mental pain is not caused by physical attack.

In the debate, the government suffers from mental pain. Other meaning components of the Vehicle are the same. The same components show relations of these words.

Therefore, the Vehicles get hurt, the injuries, the wounds, to reel, to bear the brunt of attack, suffer maximum damage are transferred to the Topic the government's mental pain.

The conceptual metaphor as THE GOVERNMENT IS AN INJURED FIGHTER can be discussed as follows:

In the censure debate, the opposition tries to attack the government while the cabinet has to prove that they are innocent from the corruption accusations of the opposition. As the opposition has a large number of best speakers, they are believed to be able to harm the government violently in the debate. The government seems to suffer maximum damage and pain from the brunt of attacks of the opposition. However, the pain from the opposition are mental not physical. The metaphors get hurt, the injuries, the wounds, to reel, to bear the brunt of attacks, suffer maximum damage relate to the government's mental pain inflicted by the opposition in the censure debate. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of the government is THE GOVERNMENT IS AN INJURED FIGHTER.

In all, the meaning components of the Vehicles get hurt, the injuries, the wounds, to reel, to bear the brunt of attacks, suffer maximum damage are transferred to the Topic the government's mental pain. The conceptual metaphor is THE GOVERNMENT IS AN INJURED FIGHTER.

VII. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of to torpedo, to fire barrage

The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphors to torpedo, to fire barrage is analyzed as follows:

(35) After comfortably brushing aside the opposition in the parliamentary
censure showdown, the Thaksin coalition moved yesterday to find legal
loopholes in order to torpedo the next political threat - the impeachment
investigations against nine ministers. (N. 29/5/02)

(36) The government is giving the opposition a taste of its own medicine ahead
of next week's censure debate by firing barrage of corruption accusations
of Key Democrat figures. (B. 15/5/02)

Vehicle : - to torpedo

- to fire barrage

barrage (the continuous firing of a number of heavy guns, done esp. to
give protection to soldiers as they advance upon the enemy, *Longman: 72*)

Topic : to harm the opposition

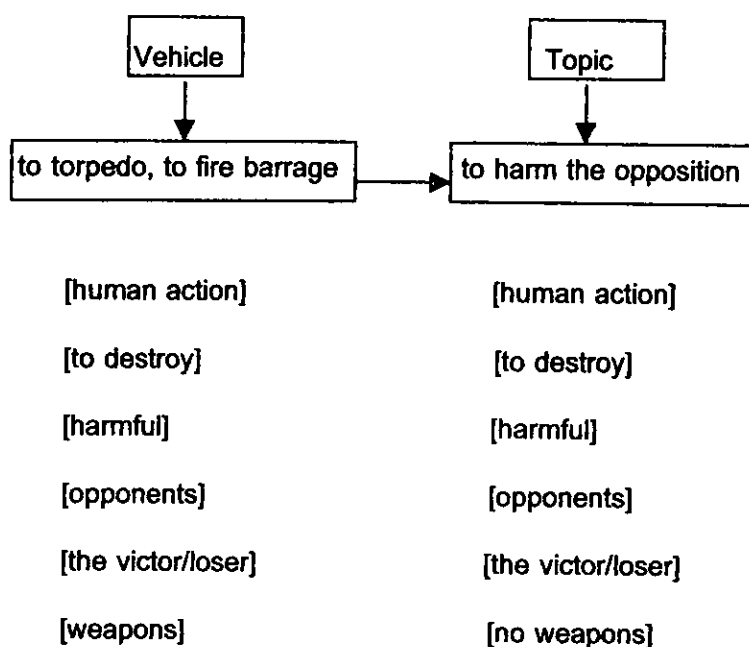


Figure 14 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of to Torpedo, to Fire Barrage

From the componential analysis, almost all of the meaning components of the
Vehicles and the Topic are the same. While the opposition tries to destroy the

government, the government tries to harm the opposition violently as they torpedo or fire barrage to the opposition. All of the same meaning components of the Vehicles and the Topic show relations of these words. Thus, the Vehicle to torpedo, to fire barrage are transferred to the Topic to harm the opposition.

The conceptual metaphor as THE GOVERNMENT IS A WARRIOR can be discussed as follows:

The censure debate is similar to war between the opposition and the government in the parliament. Hence, both sides are also like warriors fighting each other in the war. The government or the target ministers have to be well prepared to defend themselves from the violent attack of the opposition. They seem to use dangerous weapons as to torpedo or to fire barrage to the opposition. Moreover, the government has to respond to the opposition in many ways such as a political threat and corruption accusations to the Key Democrat member. The conceptual metaphor of the government is THE GOVERNMENT IS A WARRIOR.

In all, the meaning components of the Vehicles to torpedo and to fire barrage are transferred to the Topic to harm the opposition. The conceptual metaphor is THE GOVERNMENT IS A WARRIOR.

The analysis of the Vehicle-Topic of metaphor and the conceptual metaphor of the opposition are shown in Table 4. Thirteen metaphors are analyzed for the Vehicle – Topic and then for the conceptual metaphors of the opposition.

Table 4 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis and the Conceptual Metaphors of the opposition

Vehicle	Topic	The conceptual metaphor
heavyweight	the opposition	THE OPPOSITION IS
heavyweight fighter		A BOXER.
the blue corner		
the boxing style	the debating style	
to place a jab, cross, a hook	to debate the government	
to turn its guns on	to debate the government	THE OPPOSITION IS
to mobilise its big guns		A WARRIOR.
to lead attacks		
to stun		
to keep alive its battle		
sharp-tongued boxer	an experienced speaker	THE OPPOSITION IS
pro of ring experience	of the opposition	AN EXPERIENCED
experienced fighter		BOXER.
to turn its guns on	to debate the government	THE OPPOSITION IS
to mobilise its big guns		A DANGEROUS
to lead attacks		FIGHTER.
the brunt of attack		
to place a jab, cross, a hook		

Table 4 shows the Vehicle-Topic analysis of metaphors and the conceptual metaphors of the opposition in four characteristics found in this study. The Vehicle-Topic analysis and the conceptual metaphor of the opposition are discussed as follows.

I. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of heavyweight, heavyweight fighter, the blue corner

The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphors heavyweight, heavyweight fighter, the blue corner is analyzed as follows:

- (37) Deputy Finance Minister Suchart Jaovisidha, who is alleged to have neglected his duties with regard to the dubious tax practises of the prime minister's business empire, will be grilled by another Democrat heavyweight, Pichet Phanvichartikul. (N. 23/5/02)
- (38) Heavyweight fighters on the opposition side include Democrat leader Chuan Leekpai and a maverick Chalerm Yubamrung of Muan Chon party, both tipped to pick the Alpine golf saga. (B. 22/5/02)
- (39) In the blue corner, the Democrats stay calm and say nothing about their own strategies. (N.19/5/02)

Vehicle : - heavyweight, heavyweight fighter (a boxer of heaviest class, weighing 175 pounds (79 kilos) or more, *Longman*: 487-488)

- the blue corner

Topic : the opposition

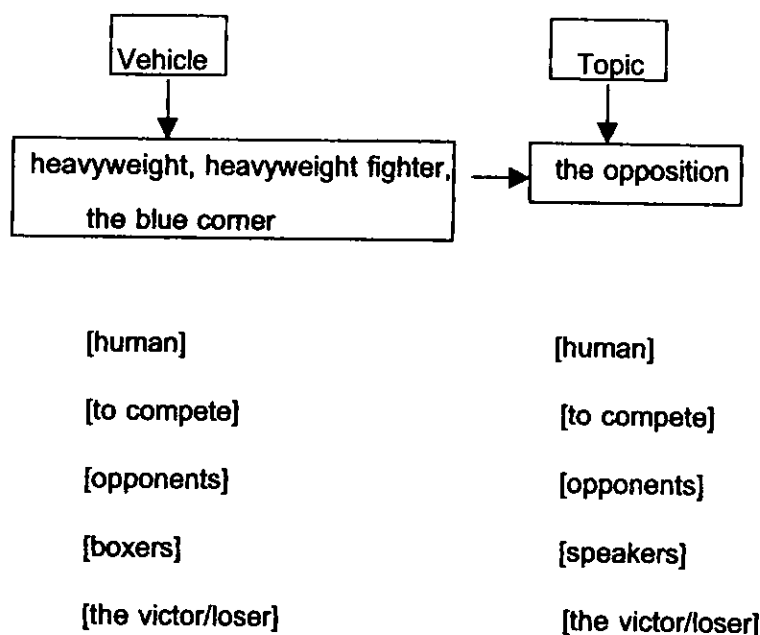


Figure 15 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of Heavyweight, Heavyweight Fighter, the Blue Corner

From the componential analysis of the Vehicles heavyweight, heavyweight fighter, the blue corner to the Topic the opposition, most of the meaning components of both words are the same except the component in meaning of the Vehicle as [boxer] and the Topic [speakers]. This is because the opposition does not have boxers but speakers to fight the government in the censure debate. Other same meaning components of the Vehicle and the Topic show relations of the words. Thus, the Vehicles heavyweight, heavyweight fighter, the blue corner is transferred to the Topic the opposition.

(40) One team was told to study the boxing style of the Democrat using videotapes of previous matches. They were looking for angles and weak points.

(N. 19/5/02)

Vehicle : boxing style (a manner in boxing)

Topic : debating style of the Democrat

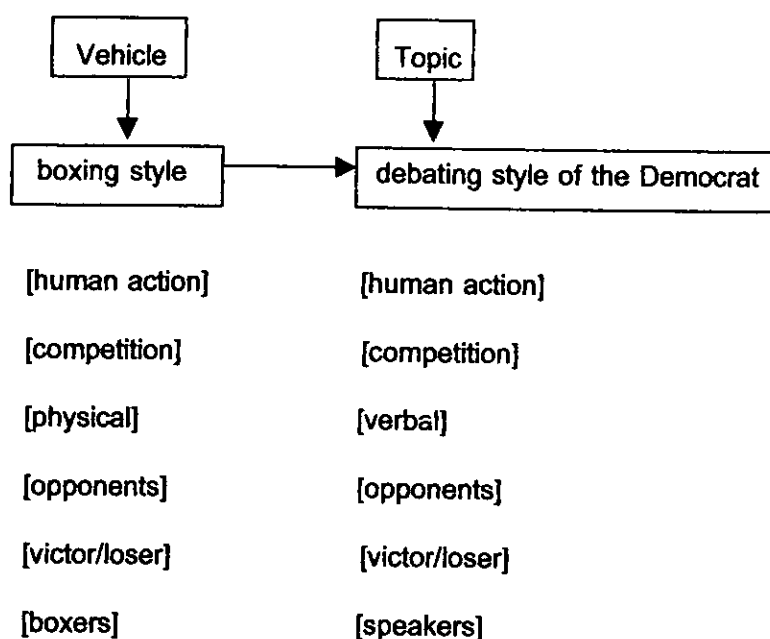


Figure 16 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of the Boxing Style

From the componential analysis, the meaning component of the Vehicle [boxer] is different from the Topic [speakers]. There are no boxers but speakers to fight each other verbally in the debate. Most of the meaning components of the Vehicle and the Topic are the same. Thus, the Vehicle boxing style is transferred to the Topic debating style of the Democrat.

(41) How to fight is not a problem for the Democrats because all of its fighters know how to place a jab, cross and a hook when there is a chance for a knock out. (N.19/5/02)

Vehicle : to place a jab, cross, a hook

Topic : to debate the government

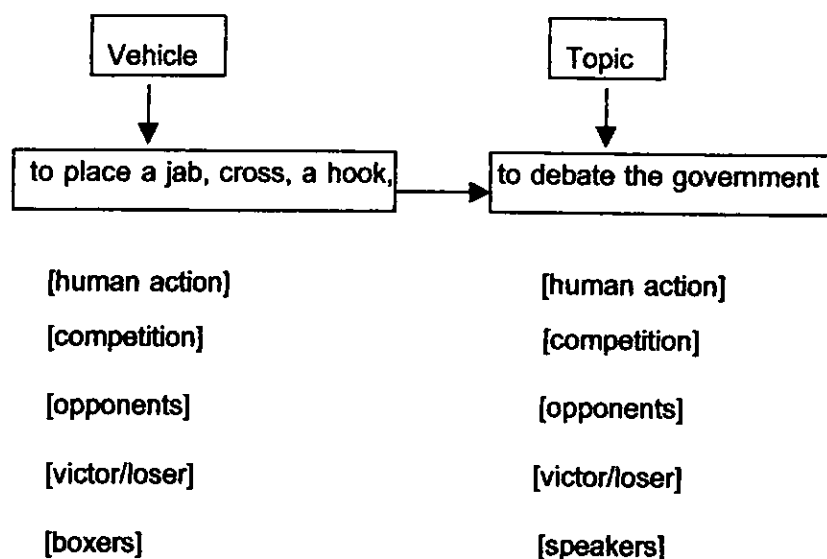


Figure 17 The Vehicle -Topic Analysis of to Place a Jab, Cross, a Hook

From the componential analysis, the meaning component of the Vehicle [boxer] is different from the Topic [speaker]. The opposition debates the target ministers not boxers in the censure debate. Other meaning components of the Vehicle and Topic are the same. To debate is like to box in a boxing match. These meaning components show relations of the words. Thus, the Vehicle to place a jab, cross, a hook is transferred to the Topic to debate the government.

The conceptual metaphor as THE OPPOSITION IS A BOXER can be discussed as follows:

The censure debate is similar to boxing where the opposition and the government are boxers. The opposition is in the blue corner of the ring while the government is in the red. The House Speaker is similar to a referee. The metaphors heavyweight and heavyweight fighters show that the opposition is good at debating. The opposition has been well known in debating for a long time and its fighters are experienced. Because of the skills of the opposition, the government seems to be utterly destroyed. Boxing style, a jab, cross, a hook relate to a style of boxing. The

metaphors heavyweight, heavyweight fighters, the blue corner relate to a boxer in a boxing match. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of the opposition is THE OPPOSITION IS A BOXER.

In brief, the meaning components of the Vehicles heavyweight, heavyweight fighter, the blue corner, the boxing style, to place a jab, cross, a hook are transferred to the Topic to debate the government. The conceptual metaphor is THE OPPOSITION IS A BOXER.

II. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of to turn its guns on, to mobilise its big guns, to lead attacks, to stun, to keep alive its battle

The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphors to turn its guns on, to mobilise its big guns, to lead attacks, to stun, to keep alive its battle is analyzed as follows:

- (42) Instead of directing the assault at Interior minister Purachai Piumsoombun and his deputy Sombat Uthaisang - the named targets on its censure card - the opposition turned its guns on Thai Rak Thai chief advisor Sanoh Thienthong over the land deal. (B. 23/5/02)
- (43) The opposition plans to mobilise its 'big guns', or most eloquent speakers, against the key targets. (N. 20/5/02)
- (44) Chuan will also lead attacks on PM's Office Minister Somsak Thepsuthin, one of the government's weakest links. (N. 19/5/02)
- (45) The opposition stunned the government with another bombshell allegation yesterday, charging that a decision to impose surcharges on steel imports had been made to help a locally based stainless-steel producer with very close links to the Thai Rak Thai Party. (N. 24/5/02)
- (46) Coalition MPs had questioned the constitutionality of the motion in the hope of scuttling it, while the opposition used the same constitution to keep alive

its battle against the government.

(N. 15/5/02)

Vehicle : - to turn its guns on

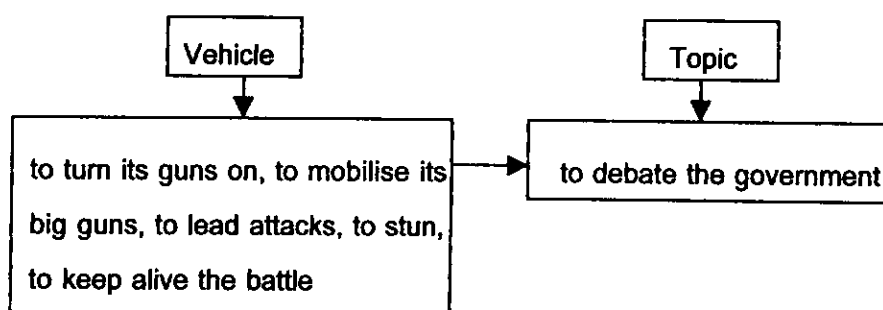
- to mobilise its big guns

- to lead attacks

- to stun (make unconscious by hitting on the head, *Longman*: 1052)

- to keep alive its battle

Topic : to debate the government



[human action]

[human action]

[to destroy]

[to destroy]

[opponents]

[opponents]

[harmful]

[harmful]

[use weapons]

[use no weapons]

Figure 18 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of to Turn Its Guns on, to Mobilise Its Big Guns, to Lead Attacks, to Stun, to Keep Alive Its Battle

From the componential analysis, the meaning component of the Vehicle [use weapons] is different from the Topic [use no weapons]. Weapons are not allowed to be used in the debate. Other meaning components of the Vehicles and the Topic are the same. The same meaning components show relations of the words. Thus, the Vehicles to turn its guns on, to mobilise its big guns, to lead attacks, to stun, to keep alive its battle are transferred to the Topic to debate the government.

The conceptual metaphor as THE OPPOSITION IS A WARRIOR can be discussed as follows:

The opposition and the government are compared to opponents that have to fight each other. The metaphors to turn its guns on, to mobilise its big guns, to lead attacks, to stun mean the opposition tries to attack and destroy the government violently with dangerous weapons. The metaphor to keep alive its battle means that the opposition would like to maintain the debate with the government. Hence, the opposition is like a fighter who wants to destroy the government violently to make the opponent suffer maximum damage. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of the opposition is THE OPPOSITION IS A WARRIOR.

In all, the meaning components of the Vehicles to turn its guns on, to mobilise its big guns, to lead attacks, to stun, to keep alive its battle are transferred to the Topic to debate the government. The conceptual metaphor is THE OPPOSITION IS A WARRIOR.

III. The Vehicles-Topic analysis of sharp-tongued boxer, pro of ring experience, experienced fighter

The Vehicle-Topic of the metaphors sharp-tongued boxer, pro of ring experience, experienced fighter is analyzed as follows:

- (47) The less experienced fighters, led by sharp-tongued boxers like Satis Wongnamtoei, Akhapol Sorrasuchart and Taworn Senniam, will support the team during the fight. (N.19/5/02)
- (48) Unfortunately for Thai Rak Thai, its rival is a pro with 50 years of ring experience. It is possible that it could wound the brittle Thai Rak Thai even before the first bell rings. (N.19/5/02)

(49) The only thing the audience knows is that the opposition is led by three experienced fighters – party leader Chuan Leekpai, his deputy Abhisit Vejajiva, and opposition whip leader Jurin Laxanavisit. (N.19/5/02)

Vehicle : - sharp-tongued boxers

- pro of ring experience

pro (a person who has great experience and high professional standards,

Longman: 827)

- experienced fighter

Topic : an experienced speaker of the opposition

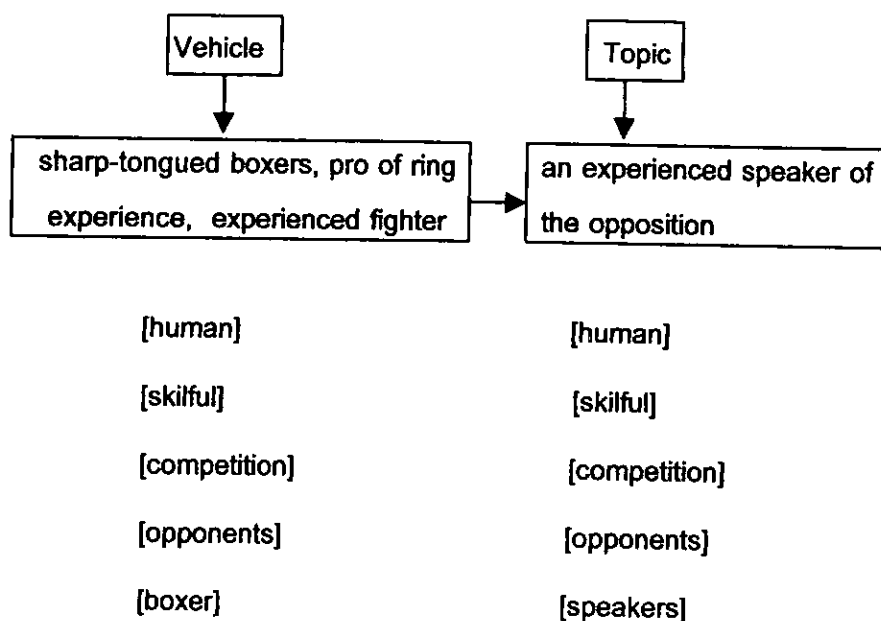


Figure 19 The Vehicle-Topic Analysis of Sharp-tongued Boxers, Pro of Ring Experience, Experienced Fighter

From the componential analysis, the meaning component of the Vehicle [boxer] is different from the Topic [speakers]. The speakers are not boxers in the debate. Other meaning components of the Vehicle and the Topic are the same. Thus, the Vehicles sharp-tongued boxer, pro, ring experience, experienced fighter are transferred to the Topic an experienced speaker of the opposition.

The conceptual metaphor as THE OPPOSITION IS AN EXPERIENCED BOXER can be discussed as follows:

The Democrats has been well known as an opposition party for a long time. They are experienced debaters that can destroy the opponent. The debaters are eloquent. They can convince the listeners. Most people admire the opposition when they debate. The opposition can harm the government in the censure debate. The metaphors sharp-tongued boxers, pro of ring experience, experienced fighters relate to the opposition as eloquent and skillful debaters. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of the opposition is THE OPPOSITION IS AN EXPERIENCED BOXER.

In brief, the meaning components of the Vehicles sharp-tongued boxer, pro of ring experience, experienced fighter are transferred to the Topic an experienced speaker of the opposition. The conceptual metaphor is THE OPPOSITION IS AN EXPERIENCED BOXER.

IV. The Vehicle-Topic analysis of to turn its guns on, to mobilise its big guns, to lead attacks, the brunt of attack, to place a jab, cross, a hook

The conceptual metaphor as THE OPPOSITION IS A DANGEROUS FIGHTER can be discussed as follows:

The opposition seems to harm the government violently in the censure debate because of their experience in debating. Its fighters try to destroy the government. Thus, the opposition seems to lead attacks to the government with the brunt of attacks to inflict maximum damage. When there is a chance for a jab, cross, a hook, the opposition will not hesitate. The metaphors to turn its guns on, to mobilise its big guns show that the opposition destroys the government with dangerous weapons. The

opposition is harmful to the government in the censure debate. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of the opposition is THE OPPOSITION IS A DANGEROUS FIGHTER.

So far the frequency of metaphors used in the censure debate news was rather high. It may be because metaphor is common in everyday language and it can catch reader' attention to follow the news. In the componential analysis of the Vehicle -Topic, the meaning components of 49 Vehicles were transferred to the Topic of the censure debate, the government, and the opposition. In the analysis of the conceptual metaphor, the conceptual metaphor of the censure debate, the government, and the opposition were found in different characteristics.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter starts with a summary of the research. Then the results of the analysis of metaphors used in political news of the censure debate are discussed. Finally the limitations of the study, implications, and suggestions for further studies are presented.

Summary

The objectives of the research were as follows:

1. To analyze the frequency of metaphors used in the political news of the censure debate on the front page of *Bangkok Post* and *The Nation* from May 1 to 31, 2002.

The study found that of all 49 metaphors, *The Nation* used more metaphors than did *Bangkok Post*. While *The Nation* used 42 or 85.72%, *Bangkok Post* used only 7 or 14.28%. Moreover, the study found that reporters of both newspapers used metaphors related to the government most. Of all 23 metaphors, *The Nation* used 20 or 86.96% while *Bangkok Post* used 3 or 13.04%.

2. To analyze the Vehicle-Topic for their relations to the political metaphor.

In 14 pieces of political news of the censure debate, 49 metaphors representing the censure debate, the government, and the opposition were found.

Thirteen metaphors related to the censure debate were found. They were fracas, showdown, bout, bare-knuckle bout, match, team boxing, jabs, cross, hooks, the ring, the referee, battle, battle over technicalities, the fight, and the war room.

Twenty-three metaphors related to the government were found. They were a bad apple, weakest links, the weakest links, soft spot, rotten fish, a fool and a coward, to use dirty tactics, to distract the referees, top trainer, fierce trainer, experienced fighters, coach, head coach, boxer, fighter, the red corner, training camp, get hurt, the injuries, the wounds, reel, bear the brunt of attacks, suffer maximum damage, to torpedo, and to fire barrage.

Thirteen metaphors related to the opposition were found. They were heavyweight, heavyweight fighter, the blue corner, the boxing style, to place a jab, cross, a hook, to turn its guns on, to mobilise its big guns, to lead attacks, to stun, to keep alive its battle, sharp-tongued boxer, pro of ring experience, and experienced fighter.

3. To analyze the conceptual metaphors of the censure debate, the government and the opposition.

The conceptual metaphors of the censure debate were found to have three characteristics: THE CENSURE DEBATE IS AN ARGUMENT, THE CENSURE DEBATE IS A BOXING GAME, THE CENSURE DEBATE IS WAR.

The conceptual metaphors of the government were found to have seven characteristics: THE GOVERNMENT IS 'THE WEAKEST LINKS', THE GOVERNMENT IS COWARDLY, THE GOVERNMENT IS DECEPTIVE, THE GOVERNMENT IS A SKILFUL FIGHTER, THE GOVERNMENT IS A BOXER, THE GOVERNMENT IS AN INJURED FIGHTER, THE GOVERNMENT IS A WARRIOR.

The conceptual metaphors of the opposition were found to have four characteristics: THE OPPOSITION IS A BOXER, THE OPPOSITION IS A WARRIOR, THE OPPOSITION IS AN EXPERIENCED BOXER, THE OPPOSITION IS A DANGEROUS FIGHTER.

Discussion

The findings on the frequency of metaphors used, on the Vehicle-Topic analysis, and on the conceptual metaphors of the censure debate, the government, and the opposition are discussed as follows.

I. The frequency of metaphors used in the political news of the censure debate

Of all 14 pieces of political news of the censure debate in both newspapers, 49 metaphors were found. *The Nation* used 42 or 85.72% while *Bangkok Post* used 7 or 14.28%. This shows that reporters of both newspapers often used metaphors in reporting political news. The reason that reporters used metaphors in political news may be because metaphor is common and it can be found in everyday language. It is also believed to be fundamental of communication among people. As Hatch and Brown (1995: 87) explain that metaphor is common and pervasive not just in English but in all languages and across all dialects and that it appears in literary as well as everyday language.

Another reason that the reporters used metaphors in political news was to catch the readers' attention. As metaphor can make language vivid, metaphor in political news of the censure debate can make the news more interesting and exciting for readers to follow.

Moreover, the study found that the reporters of both newspapers used metaphors related to the government the most. It may be because the target ministers of the government were the targets that the opposition tried to attack. Hence, the reporters focused on the target ministers the most because the metaphors related to them were found the most.

In all, the frequency of metaphor used was rather high. This shows that the reporters often used metaphor in reporting political news. It can be because metaphor

is pervasive in everyday language. Moreover, metaphor can also catch readers' attention to follow the news.

II. The analysis of the Vehicle-Topic for their relations to the political metaphors

In the analysis of the Vehicle-Topic of political metaphors, 13 metaphors related to the censure debate, 23 metaphors related to the government, and 13 metaphors related to the opposition were found. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) note that the Topic-Vehicle can be analyzed for the underlying concept of a word, the analysis of the Vehicle-Topic of political metaphors also shows the underlying concepts of words. For example, the Vehicles bout, bare-knuckle bout, match, team boxing, jabs, cross, and hooks can be analyzed for the underlying concept of the Topic of the censure debate as a boxing match. The Vehicles boxer, fighter, the red corner, training camp can be analyzed for the underlying concept of the Topic of the government as a boxer. The Vehicles heavyweight, heavyweight fighter, the blue corner, the boxing style, to place a jab, cross, a hook can be analyzed for the underlying concept of the Topic of the opposition as a boxer.

In all the Vehicles, the underlying concepts of the Topic of the censure debate were seen as an argument, a boxing game, and war. The Topic of the government was seen as 'the weakest links', cowardly, deceptive, a skillful fighter, a boxer, an injured fighter, and a warrior. The Topic of the opposition was seen as a boxer, a warrior, an experienced boxer, a dangerous fighter. Thus, the Topic-Vehicle analysis has been seen as the fundamental of a conceptual system.

In short, the componential analysis of Vehicle-Topic of metaphor can show the underlying concepts of a word. Therefore, the Vehicle-Topic analysis can be helpful to understand the concepts of metaphor used.

III. The analysis of the conceptual metaphor of the censure debate, the government and the opposition

The findings about the conceptual metaphors of the censure debate, the government, and the opposition were found. These conceptual metaphors showed the reporters' concepts towards the censure debate, the government, and the opposition. The reporters conceptualized the censure debate as an argument, a boxing game, and war. They viewed the government as 'the weakest links', cowardly, deceptive, an injured fighter, a skillful fighter, a boxer, and a warrior. They saw the opposition as a boxer, a warrior, an experienced boxer, and a dangerous fighter. The findings are in accordance with Prutthichaiwiboon (2001) who studied metaphors in Thai political news and how Thai speakers conceptualized politics. She found that war metaphor and competition metaphor were used in the news about the conflict between politicians or parties such as the censure debate, the election, etc. Reporters of *The Nation* and *Bangkok Post* also used war and competition metaphors in the censure debate news. The results revealed that not only reporters of Thai newspapers but also those in English newspapers viewed the censure debate as war and a competition between the opposition and the government.

In short, the reporters often used metaphors in the censure debate news because metaphor is not only common and pervasive in everyday language but also makes the news more interesting and exciting for readers to follow. The Topic-Vehicle can be seen as the vital elements of a conceptual system. The analysis of Vehicle-Topic for their relations can help people to understand the concept of a word. The conceptual metaphors of the censure debate news are also useful for readers to understand the reporters' concepts towards the censure debate, the government, and the opposition.

Limitations of the Study

One limitation in the study is the shortage of metaphors used in the political news of the censure debate in *The Bangkok Post*. The study found that *The Nation* used more metaphors than did *Bangkok Post*. While *The Nation* used 42 metaphors, *Bangkok Post* used only 7 metaphors. Because of fewer metaphors found in *Bangkok Post*, the results of the study of metaphors used in the censure debate were mostly from *The Nation* rather than *Bangkok Post*.

Implications

The study of metaphors used in political news of the censure debate is useful in four ways as follows:

1. The results of the study can be used in journalism classes in order that students can use them to analyze the style of writing political news in journalism.
2. The results of the study can be used in reading classes in order that students will understand political metaphor more clearly.
3. Those who are interested the research method may apply it to analyze political metaphors in other media such as radio, television, etc.
4. The study can be applied to analyze the conceptual metaphors in other news such as social news, education news, etc.
5. Understanding the political conceptual metaphors will help readers understand reporters' views or attitudes in the news.

Suggestions for Further Studies

1. There should be further studies of the political conceptual metaphors in other media such as radio, television, etc.

2. There should be further studies of the political conceptual metaphors in other news of newspapers such as social news, education news, etc.

3. Those who are interested in analyzing the conceptual metaphor in political news should compare political conceptual metaphors in Thai newspapers and those in English newspapers.

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APPENDIX

'New era of graft'

72

Democrats target 15 Cabinet members, charge PM oversees corrupt networks

■ *The Nation*

THE OPPOSITION filed a no-confidence motion against 15 Cabinet members yesterday, charging the Thaksin government with bringing in a "new era" of mass corruption that featured well-crafted networks overseen by the prime minister himself.

The strongly worded censure motion submitted to House Speaker Uthai Pimchaichon accused the government of using political power for business interests, suppressing media freedom, harassment of civil servants and inefficiency.

All major ministries, with the conspicuous exception of the Public Health Ministry, are targeted for censure, underlining the opposition Democrats' intention to throw everything at Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra even though the coalition does not have enough parliamentary seats to grill him directly.

[See a full list of targets and charges they face on Page 3A]

Finance Minister Somkid Jatusripitak will be censured for the alleged failure of economic and fiscal policies, but most other targets will have to answer corruption allegations, some linked to the prime minister.

For example, Deputy Finance Minister Suchart Jaovisidha will be held responsible for alleged tax evasion by Shin Satellite Plc and Interior Minister Purachai Piumsobun is blamed for controversial government decisions on the Alpine golf-course scandal.

Industry Minister Suriya Jungreangkit is another major target. He will be grilled for allegedly assisting family members to buy Petroleum Authority of Thailand shares and giving tax privileges to auto-parts companies with which he is connected.

The opposition wants three days for the censure debate. Given the unprecedented number of minis-

ters targeted, the "carpet-bombing" strategy could backfire because there are too many Cabinet members involved to inflict real damage on any one of them.

But the opposition may be hoping to destroy the credibility of the government as a whole. Its censure motion decries large-scale corruption and thus targeting 15 ministers could have a major psychological effect on popular sentiment.

"The government declared war on corruption just to boost its image and use [the anti-graft] mechanism to destroy its opponents," the motion said. "Those on the prime minister's side have been protected."

The opposition said the prime minister was directly involved in a "new era of corruption".

"There has been a 'political corporation' which has an intricate network linking the prime minister, Cabinet members and other power holders in the government. And the head of this political corporation is the prime minister himself.

"It operates through shrewd implementation of state policies. Superficially, it looks as though things are being done for national interests, but underneath that personal gains are being reaped," said the motion.

On the suppression of media freedom, the opposition said the government used "dirty tactics" to intimidate reporters critical of it and force the press to give "one-sided" reports on politics.

Interior Minister Purachai will also be censured in connection with the much-criticised probe by the Anti-Money Laundering Office into the assets of journalists.

One surprise is the exclusion of Public Health Minister Sudarat Keyuraphan from the target list, despite controversies surrounding the government's Bt30-healthcare scheme.

The opposition described the programme as a "double-edged sword" but admitted that while there were a lot of flaws the scheme had benefited many people.

Opposition sources said the bloc would continue to closely monitor the healthcare plan and denied that Sudarat had been spared because of the programme's popularity.

Who will be left standing after this week's bout?

73

■ *Sukanya Lim*
THE NATION

WE WILL know this week who the victor is of the showdown at Parliament stadium. The red corner or the blue, Thai Rak Thai, or the Democrats?

Compared to the upcoming World Cup, some fans might feel this match is somewhat less scintillating. But many still appreciate the unique flavour of this uncommon form of team boxing.

Both sides are feeling the pressure ahead of the three-day, three-night battle, although stakes may be higher for the red corner as the government has to protect its "brittle heart" from taking any blows. No jabs, crosses or hooks are allowed to touch Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra.

Unfortunately for Thai Rak Thai, its rival is a pro, with 50 years of ring experience. It is possible that it could wound the brittle Thaksin even before the first bell

rings. Its censure motion scored a direct blow to Thaksin's face even though the motion was supposed to target his ministers. When pressed, the Democrats accepted a change to the motion - but only in so far as they changed "Thaksin" to "government", which must have left the Prime Minister's face numb.

Take a peek behind the scenes at the Thai Rak Thai training camp and one would see the head coach calling for victory and saying teams of trainers are ready

for the bout. One team was told to study the boxing style of the Democrats using videotapes of previous matches. They were looking for angles and weak points.

The second team will surround the stage during the bout. Their mission will be to give advice on the match and order an immediate attack if needed. Led by fierce trainers Prommin Lertsuridej and Phumtham Wetchaiyachai, this team

groups experienced fighters like Adisorn Piangkiet, Chaturon Chaisang and Sudarat Keyuraphun.

And both teams will be under the control of the war room. If any ministers blunder or need help, the war room will order a top trainer like Adisorn to rally his band of look thung (country) MPs to distract the referees. You can expect to see their hands if a Democrat dares mention a name like "Thaksin".

Most of Thai Rak Thai's trainers will be prepared to rescue "younger" boxers who lack verbal fighting skills, like Transport Minister Pracha Maleenont, Commerce Minister Adisai Bodharamik and Deputy Defence Minister Yuthasak Sasiprapha. Among this group of trainers are new generation MPs and academics like Suranan Vejjajiva, Rungruang Phittayasiri, Noppadol Inna and Banjong Wongtrirat.

The trainers have to be ready for fighting outside the ring. They will have to hold a press confer-

ence when their boxers get hurt to try to convince the public that the injuries are minor and not as serious as they look on TV. Piles of documents will be present at such press conferences.

Coach Pramual Rujanaseree, the deputy coalition whip, will manage the queue of boxers.

In the blue corner, the Democrats stay calm and say nothing about their own strategies. The only thing the audience knows is that the opposition is led by three experienced fighters - party leader Chuan Leekpai, his deputy Abhisit Vejjajiva, and opposition whip leader Jurin Laxanawisit.

How to fight is not a problem for the Democrats because all of its fighters know how to place a jab, cross and a hook when there is a chance for a knock-out. The less experienced fighters, led by sharp-tongued boxers like Satis Wongnamtoei, Akkaphol Sorrasuchart and Taworn Senniam, will support the team during the fight.

Tensions are high ahead of this showdown? We will see soon who is left standing.

From *The Nation* of May 19, 2002.

■ CENSURE SHOWDOWN

Bare-knuckle bout expected

✶ ■ *Yossawadee Hongthong*
THE NATION

OF COURSE your mind is on the World Cup, but before dismissing this week's censure debate, imagine showdowns between Chuan Leekpai and Purachai Piumsoombun, or Abhisit Vejjajiva versus Suriya Jungrungreangkit.

Overwhelmed by the parliamentary strength of the Thaksin administration, the opposition is adopting a strategy to ensure that key no-confidence targets bear the brunt of attacks and suffer maximum damage.

The opposition plans to mobilise its "big guns", or most eloquent speakers, against the key targets. This will pit leading opposition members against Cabinet members who are powerful, or popular, or close to the prime minister.

Either Democrat leader Chuan *See Technical [3A]*

Leekpai or his deputy Abhisit Vejjajiva, or both, will take on Interior Minister Purachai Piumsoombun.

The opposition believes the Alpine golf course controversy, which is linked to the prime minister, could be one of its heaviest blows, but since it involves the most popular Cabinet member, the issue requires the most credible speakers to launch the offensive.

Chuan will also lead attacks on PM's Office Minister Somsak Thepsuthin, one of the government's weakest links. Assisting Chuan will be Democrats Sathit Wongnongtoey and Alongkorn Palabutr.

Finance Minister Somkid Jatusripitak faces an onslaught by his predecessor Tarrin Nimmanahaeminda, Democrat economic affairs committee

Technical knockout?

✶ ■ **From 1A**

chairman Ekamol Khiriwat, Korbsak Sabhavasut and Sansern Samalabha.

Abhisit has also been tipped to lead assaults on another major target, Industry Minister Suriya Jungrungreangkit. If the Thai Rak Thai secretary-general crumbles at the censure debate, Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra will be rattled.

Deputy Finance Minister Suchart Jaovisidha, who is alleged to have neglected his duties with regard to the dubious tax practices of the prime minister's business empire, will be grilled by another Democrat heavyweight, Pichet

Phanvichartikul.

Democrat Arkom Engchuan will attack another government soft spot, Education Minister Suwit Khunkitti.

The debate could also be a battle over technicalities. The Thai Rak Thai Party is trying to set limits on how far the opposition can go. Mentioning Thaksin's name could trigger a storm of protest as the opposition does not have the parliamentary numbers to censure him.

Regarding ministers targeted for censure but not impeachment, the government plans to ban any reference to impeachable offences (corruption or constitutional violations).

Govt reels under Alpine punch

PM shifts uncomfortably, Purachai looks grim, Snoh gets angry as Chuan details alleged theft of temple land

■ *The Nation*

OPPPOSITION LEADER Chuan Leekpai rocked the government on the first day of the censure debate with a thorough account of how the law was broken when land was snatched from a temple and developed into the Alpine golf course and real estate now owned by the prime minister.

Thaksin Shinawatra shifted uncomfortably in his seat while Interior Minister Purachai Piumsombun looked grim, as the Democrat leader put together the jigsaw pieces to show why the government resisted returning the land to the temple as legal experts instructed.

Bearing the brunt of Chuan's attacks, though, was Thai Rak Thai chief adviser Snoh Thienthong, who was accused of plotting the "theft" when serving as deputy interior minister in 1990 overseeing the Land Department.

The land had been donated to the Thamnikaram temple in the will of a woman named Nuem Chamnarnchatsakda, who died in 1971. But Snoh, making an unprecedented decision concerning land donations to temples, barred the monastery from becoming the rightful owner of the 924-rai property.

Chuan said there was immense pressure on the executors of the will

and some had to resign. Under highly dubious circumstances, the land ownership was transferred to one executor of the will on August 21, 1990 and then on to a foundation on the same day.

Also on the same day, Alpine Real Estate and Alpine Golf and Sport Club, both owned by Snoh

and his closest relatives, bought the land for Bt142 million.

Chuan insisted that the law does not allow the transfer of an inheritance to the will executor or a foundation. After Snoh decided that the temple could not keep the donated land it should have been sold by the temple, but new legislation had

first to be issued to sanction the sale.

Chuan said there were attempts to block the temple from getting the land because it would have been much more difficult to acquire the property once it was formally owned by a temple.

"The laws were broken on

August 21, 1990 and since then everything about the land has been illegal," the opposition leader said.

The illegal transfer was backed by a late Thamnikaram abbot, Phra Suranartchayanant. Several senior monks opposed the planned transfer and even Phra Yannasangvorn, before he became

Supreme Patriarch, consulted other senior ecclesiastic figures on legality of the move, Chuan said.

The opposition leader was armed with a letter sent by Wichien Rattanapirapong, then deputy director-general of the Land

Department, to a junior official. The letter asked the official to "speed up the matter" because Snoh was keen on it.

The developers who bought the land include Snoh's wife and the politician's brother Withaya Thienthong, as well as Agriculture Minister Chucheeep Hansaward.

Chuan blasted Purachai and Deputy Interior Minister Sombat Uthaisang for using the suffering of the clients of the golf course and real estate development project as a pretext to protect Thaksin's interests.

"Everyday the ministers mention the 200 plus families who bought units in the project, but they never say anything about the fact that the biggest interests in the Alpine development belong to people in the Thai Rak Thai Party," said Chuan.

He said attempts to cover up for Snoh and protect Thaksin's interests made

Purachai and Sombat ignore the decision by the Land Department and the Council of State that the land should be returned to the temple.

Chuan added that Purachai discarded the ministry's seniority system and made Yongyuth Wichaidit acting permanent secretary because the latter had pro-government views where the Alpine controversy was concerned.

Purachai only briefly defended his decision on Yongyuth and did not reply to other charges raised by Chuan, prompting strong criticism from the opposition. Sombat insisted that the Thaksin government did not break any law.

An angry Snoh responded that he did not do anything wrong.

"What did I do wrong? The temple did not want the land but wanted money, so I made an official decision against allowing it to keep the land. I would have already gone to hell if I had really stolen land of a temple," he said.

CENSURE DEBATE

More big blows

Abhisit links sole import-surge beneficiary to Thai Rak Thai deputy leader Prayuth

By The Nation

THE OPPOSITION stunned the government with another bombshell allegation yesterday, charging that a decision to impose surcharges on steel imports had been made to help a locally based stainless-steel producer with very close links to the Thai Rak Thai Party.

On the second day of the censure debate, deputy Democrat leader Abhisit Vejjajiva linked Thainox, the lone producer of stainless steel who stood to benefit from the government's questionable protectionist action, to Thai Rak Thai deputy leader Prayuth Mahakitsiri.

Abhisit pointed the finger hard at Industry Minister Suriya Jungreangkit, but it sent tremors across the Cabinet bench. The allegation capped another bad day for the administration, after Education Minister Suwit Khunkitti was pilloried by the opposition in the morning and could face a rebellion by some Thai Rak Thai MPs.

Thainox is chaired by Prayuth, although more than 90 per cent of its stocks belong to French

Political 'buddies'

Prayuth Mahakitsiri is a major financial supporter of the ruling Thai Rak Thai Party, as is Industry Minister Suriya Jungreangkit.

The Constitutional Court imposed a five-year ban preventing Prayuth from holding public office after finding him guilty of assets concealment last year, and he was removed as a party-list MP in August. He was subsequently appointed as a deputy Thai Rak Thai leader.



Prayuth is a close associate of the industry minister. They often play golf together. Their friendship has become especially evident in their families' decisions in buying stakes in iTV and PTT Plc.

Prayuth's family has invested B1178.7 million in PTT stocks, holding the second, fifth, and sixth largest shares in the company. He also holds a B14.4-million stake in iTV and is the sixth largest shareholder.

The two families have invested simultaneously in iTV and PTT, and both received a large amount of shares, stirring curiosity among industry onlookers.

Prayuth and his family are worth B7.1 billion. Currently, one of his companies is the local distributor of Nescafe. His business empire is down to 25 companies, from 35 in the past, with Thainox Steel his major business.

THE NATION

investors. A Thai company, PM Group, was involved in the setting up of Thainox last year.

"P comes from the first name and M from the surname," Abhisit explained. "Remember when they [Thai Rak Thai candidates] told voters that successful businessmen are rich enough that they won't serve their own interests when playing politics?"

Setting up his attack, the Bangkok MP told the House of Representatives that the government and the Board of Investment (BoI) had been too slow to act early last year when local producers of hot-rolled steel called for a sur-

NEWS IDEAS

- Banharn pressures whips ■ 2A
- Disputed deals 'are history' ■ 2A
- Suwit in 'uniforms scandal' ■ 3A
- Blessing ritual backfires ■ 3A
- Suriya's 'shady' business ■ 4A

charge due to local overcapacity and rising imports. The officials in charge then said that the government did not want to be seen as resorting to trade protectionist measures that were not necessary.

From *The Nation* of May 24, 2002.

'Show us your true colours'

Opposition says credibility of cabinet at stake

✱ *The Nation*

'DOES PRIME MINISTER Thaksin Shinawatra have the courage to get rid of his rotten fish?' That was the question Democrat Party deputy leader Abhisit Vejjajiva posed in his wrap-up speech at the four-day censure debate yesterday.

The opposition rested its case that there was good reason to be suspicious the 15 censure targets were involved in corruption and abuse of power, Abhisit said. He then challenged the prime minister to make a bold decision to restore trust in his government.

"The debate just ended was about the performance and honesty of individual ministers and not about government policies as was often the case in the past," he said.

The opposition wants to give the coalition government time to prove itself, but it cannot tolerate even the slightest hint that a policy-maker is corrupt, Abhisit said.

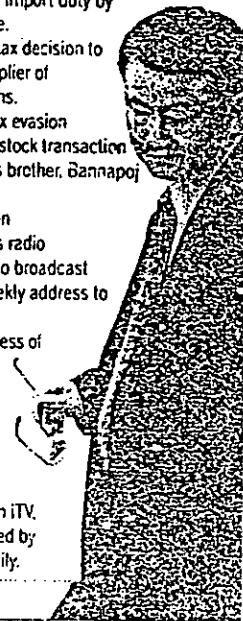
With evidence of alleged corruption laid out during the censure debate, a purge of tainted ministers is necessary if the government's war against corruption is to be taken seriously, he said.

Alluding to the popular game show "The Weakest Link", Abhisit

Collateral damage

The allegations that have ricocheted onto the PM and his family.

- Alpine scandal that cheated a temple out of its land.
- Suspicious software-park transaction involving Thaksin's wife, Pojaman.
- Evasion of import duty by Shin Satellite.
- Arbitrary tax decision to favour a supplier of imported vans.
- Income-tax evasion relating to a stock transaction by Pojaman's brother, Bannapoj Damapong.
- Interruption of a religious radio programme to broadcast Thaksin's weekly address to the people.
- Slow progress of education reform.
- Lopsided placement of government-sponsored advertising on iTV, majority owned by Thaksin's family.



NATION GRAPHICS

said the opposition has helped in tabulating the flaws of 15 ministers who will undermine the government if they are allowed to remain in their posts.

The Democrat deputy party leader proceeded to sum up the main charges against some of the censure targets:

From *The Nation* of May 26, 2002.

THAKSIN LAMBASTS DEBATE

'Scrutiny at its lowest'

PM blasts 'destructive' opposition while guaranteeing full support for ministers

By The Nation

ALL 15 censured ministers will get total support from government MPs when voting takes place this morning as Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra exercises his overwhelming command of the lower House to paper over damage inflicted by what he felt was a dirty no-confidence debate, government sources said.

Government MPs will vote "en bloc" to ensure that all censured Cabinet members receive equal support. This will not only pre-empt factional trouble that could occur if some ministers receive fewer votes than others, but also enable Thaksin to resist possible calls for a Cabinet reshuffle.

Determined to quickly put the considerable setbacks caused by the censure behind him, Thaksin emphasised to his Thai Rak Thai Party yesterday the importance of voting en bloc. Sources close to the prime minister said he wanted politics to be as "still" as possible after the vote, so that the "wounds" can quickly heal.

Though he was not officially on the opposition's censure list, Thaksin reeled from indirect attacks that focused on specific ministers' failures to tackle conflicts of interests involving his telecom business empire. The prime minister let his feelings be known at the Thai Rak Thai gathering yesterday.

"I have not been in politics that long, but I can say I have never seen a check and balances [process] performed in such a low manner," Thaksin said.

"The Democrats didn't do it for the country's interests; they just want to destroy the prime minister's credibility, and they tried so very hard to achieve that."

A Dusit poll on public reactions to the censure debate showed that of 1,142 people surveyed, 52 per cent said their faith in the government remained unchanged, while 28 per cent felt the government now had

less credibility and 17 per cent liked the government more.

The poll showed the opposition's popularity has considerably increased, with 33 per cent saying they liked the Democrat Party more. About 49 per cent said their trust in the opposition remained unchanged and 18 per cent said the opposition came out of the debate with less credibility.

Thaksin called on Thai Rak Thai MPs, some of whom were said to be swayed by the opposition's information against certain ministers, to forget personal feelings and strictly abide by the party's resolution when they take part in the voting today.

"I would like you to abide by our organisation's judgement rather than personal feelings," he said. "The government wants to move on and fight corruption. I don't think any minister censured was involved in corruption, although there may have been flaws in their management. Everybody has passed the test."

But Thaksin's strong control of the House will not solve every problem. With the National Counter Corruption Commission launching impeachment investigations against eight of the censured ministers, in addition to Communications Minister Wan Muhamad Noor



Thaksin

Govt to fight all the way

Mobilises legal experts to monitor NCCC moves

■ *The Nation*

AFTER COMFORTABLY brushing aside the opposition in the parliamentary censure showdown, the Thaksin coalition moved yesterday to find legal loopholes in order to torpedo the next political threat - the impeachment investigations against nine ministers.

The Thai Rak Thai-led coalition will mobilise its legal experts to closely monitor the current impeachment procedures being carried out by the National Counter Corruption Commission (NCCC), a high-ranking government source said yesterday.

Any failure by the NCCC to abide by constitutional or legal rules will be cited by the government

in its bid to nullify the probes.

The impeachment investigations, requested by the opposition in accordance with the Constitution's rules on censure debate, are seen as a political time bomb and put the affected ministers in a lame-duck situation.

In fact, impeachment is regarded as a bigger threat to the government's stability than the parliamentary grilling, which the administration overcame easily yesterday with each of the 15 censured ministers receiving between 355 and 359 votes of confidence.

"From our preliminary look into the whole NCCC process so far, there seem to be a lot of things not being done the right way," said the Thai Rak Thai source.

He claimed, for example, that the NCCC had agreed to launch investigations without thoroughly contemplating whether the charges raised by the opposition were based on good evidence, and that the anti-graft agency failed to properly inform

accused ministers of the allegations against them.

This will open a new chapter in the volatile relationship between the NCCC and Thai Rak Thai, after the agency almost destroyed Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra's political career over a year ago when it indicted him for concealing parts of his assets.

Thaksin has been upset by the current impeachment campaign and yesterday decried reports that the opposition would seek to impeach more Cabinet members.

"When you go too far, the system will suffer," said the prime minister. "We need to find a balance for our system or it won't bear personal whims."

Thai Rak Thai complained that the NCCC had accepted the opposition's impeachment motions against nine ministers in a "blanket" manner, without considering evidence in each case.

The nine Cabinet members facing impeachment investigations are: Finance Minister Somkid Jatusripitak, Deputy Finance Minister Suchart Jaovisidha, Defence Minister Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, Deputy Defence Minister Yuthasak

Sasiprapha, Deputy Prime Minister Pitak Intrawityanunt, PM's Office Minister Somsak Thepsuthin, Deputy Agriculture Minister Prapat Panyachatraksa, Education Minister Suwit Khunkitti and Communications Minister Wan Muhamad Noor Matha.

Opposition leader Chuan Leekpai warned the government yesterday against intimidating the NCCC.

"If the government thinks we have used false evidence against the ministers, it should act against us now. They'd better try to get us rather than using intimidation tactics against the NCCC," he said.

From *The Nation* of May 29, 2002.

CENSURE MOTION

Rivals blasted for pointless quarrel

Both sides abusing charter, say analysts

ost reporters

A normal censure motion has become a nasty legal fracas because both the government and the opposition have abused the law for political gain, analysts said yesterday.

There was no point in the Thai Rak Thai and Democrat parties arguing whether the censure motion was constitutional, because the law itself was not the problem.

Coalition MPs had questioned the constitutionality of the motion in the hope of scuttling it, while the opposition used the same constitution to keep alive a battle against the government.

"They are exploiting the law to try to win this political game," one analyst said.

Some Thai Rak Thai MPs argue the motion is unlawful because it was written in a way that could discredit Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, even though he is not a censure target.

They are demanding the opposition alter the wording.

Analysts agreed the motion was constitutional and that the government was "overly sensitive", but criticised the opposition for its lack of political etiquette. Wcr-jate Pakhirat, a law lecturer at ar.masat University, said the oppo-

sition should not have made negative references to Mr Thaksin in its motion.

However, the government needed to accept that as head of the government Mr Thaksin could not hope to remain untouched.

House Speaker Uthai Pinchaichon could decide during the actual debate if the opposition had crossed the line by including the prime minister in its critical references.

Former charter writer Decho Sawan-anon said there was nothing illegal about the motion and the government should accept this, as the censure debate was certainly going to take place.

But there were too many censure targets — 15 ministers.

That would mean a heavy workload for the National Counter Corruption Commission, which would have to look into all allegations of corruption and malfeasance, and make impeachment proceedings "less sacrosanct".

"Impeachment should be only for life-or-death issues," he said.

Chusak Sirinil, Mr Uthai's legal adviser, said the House speaker had decided the opposition should rewrite its motion.

Mr Chusak said the opposition would have to stick to the same topics and the same 15 targets but with no reference to the prime minister.

Mr Uthai will discuss the matter with opposition and government whips today.

Opposition leader Chuan Leekpai again insisted the motion was good

enough and would not be altered.

Mr Chuan said the opposition would not grill the prime minister. However, it had the right to mention anyone relating to its allegations.

Jurin Laksanavisit, the opposition chief whip, said the censure motion was constitutional because it did not target Mr Thaksin, just his ministers.

The opposition is short of the 200 MPs required by the constitution to back a censure move against the prime minister.

"Please listen to what we have to say before making complaints. We are just doing our duty, not ruin the government," Mr Jurin said.

Mr Jurin also said the opposition needed three days instead of two, scheduled for May 22-23, for the debate.

Meanwhile, the National Counter Corruption Commission has received the opposition's petitions for the impeachment of nine cabinet ministers from the senate speaker.

Opas Arunin, the NCCC chairman, said the petitions would be considered at full meetings by the entire commission.

Sub-committees would not be set up at this stage.

Each commissioner would first study the petitions.

After that the commission would send out letters seeking more information, witnesses and evidence, and ask the targeted ministers to send written statements or testify verbally in 15 days.

Govt fires volley of corruption allegations at key Democrats

Rail-track project, rubber scheme cited

Post reporters

The government is giving the opposition a taste of its own medicine ahead of next week's censure debate, by firing a barrage of corruption accusations at key Democrat figures.

Wichit Klamsri, a Thai Rak Thai list MP, said he would file a corruption charge with the police against Democrat Pradit Phataraprasit, who was deputy transport minister in the former Chuan Leekpai government.

Mr Wichit alleged Mr Pradit had made financial gains from the double-rail track project by raising its cost to 8 billion from 4 billion baht.

Earlier, Thammarong Hatsabamroeh, a retired police general, went to the police and charged opposition chief whip Jurin Laksanavisit, also a Democrat, with corruption in connection with the rubber trade.

Some Thai Rak Thai MPs have also threatened to seek the ouster of opposition leader Chuan Leekpai if he leads the no-confidence motion, deemed unconstitutional by the government camp

because part of its content was damaging to Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, who was not a censure target.

Mr Chuan said the government was using "police methods" because it was afraid "the truth" would come out.

"The government should not be overly afraid as that may cost it the public's faith," Mr Chuan said.

He said the move against the Democrats was "unusual", given that allegations were only being made as the censure motion drew nearer.

The Democrat leader said that by resisting the censure debate, the government had let the public know it was not ready for a check and that it did not want to be scrutinised.

Mr Jurin, meanwhile, dared Pol Gen Thammarong to prove he had pocketed two billion baht from a rubber price intervention scheme funded by the state a decade ago.

Mr Jurin said it was clear the accusation was politically motivated as he was "head of a Democrat team gathering information for the censure attack".

He said he had learned that a close aide of the premier had "whispered" to some reporters on Saturday that he would soon be arrested.

Mr Jurin said the defunct Counter

Corruption Commission had already looked into the alleged corruption and found no irregularities.

In fact, the scheme was a success as the rubber price had jumped to 42 baht a kilo from 13 baht, Mr Jurin said, adding this brought the country 29 billion baht in revenue and growers 23 billion baht.

Mr Jurin also questioned why the authorities never said they would find out why the country lost 3-4 billion baht from the rubber trade during the period his Democrat party was not in power.

Mr Pradit also dismissed the corruption charge, saying the double-rail track project had been overseen by the board of the State Railway of Thailand, which could not be manipulated.

Interior Minister Purachai Piumso-bun said the investigation into rubber corruption would be a strictly police affair and have nothing to do with the government.

"There is nothing wrong with a citizen pressing charges against a politician," Mr Purachai said.

Deputy Agriculture Minister Praphat Panyachartrak said his ministry's own inquiry could link scores of politicians both in the government and opposition to alleged corruption in the rubber trade.

No purge without evidence

Thaksin stands by his men

Yuwadee Tunyasiri

Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra says he will not drive any minister out of cabinet just because the opposition accuses him of making major mistakes or being dishonest.

Mr Thaksin said he would have to be convinced by the opposition's evidence of corruption and malfeasance, to be raised in next week's no-confidence debate, before he would take action.

The prime minister said he certainly would not keep a bad apple, but he could not punish any censure target either if the opposition could not prove beyond doubt that the person was wrong.

"The public and I alike will have to hear both sides of the story first. People can say anything, even if it is half-truth," Mr Thaksin said.

"But I will thank the opposition if it can prove to me that my ministers are not good."

He said the opposition should give Transport Minister Wan Muhamad Nor Matha, whom it accused of illegally endorsing several illegal purchases for Nong Ngu Hao airport, a chance to defend himself as well.

The opposition has sought to impeach Mr Wan Nor but opted not to censure him.

"The opposition is still playing political games," Mr Thaksin said.

He was not worried about the debate, which begins on May 22, and had not made any preparations. If he was mentioned he may defend himself.

"Don't get too excited. A censure motion is a common phenomenon. We have it once in a year," he said.

House Speaker Uthai Pimchaichon put the opposition's censure motion on the House agenda yesterday and set May 22 and 23 for the debate.

The speaker gave the censure action the go-ahead after the Democrat-led opposition changed the wording to remove damaging remarks about Mr Thaksin.

The government doubted the motion was constitutional given that Mr Thaksin was not a censure target. The new motion replaced the words "the prime minister" with "the government".

Mr Uthai said the opposition would be given time to debate the performance of all 15 targeted ministers.

Meanwhile, Chalerm Yubamrung has vowed to take the side of the Democrats in the debate.

Pol Capt Chalerm, who spoke briefly to opposition leader Chuan Leekpai at parliament yesterday, said he would single out the Alpine golf course scandal and grill Mr Thaksin's wife, Khunying Pojaman, as well as his top adviser Sanoh Thienthong, for their alleged involvement in the land controversy.

Pol Capt Chalerm, who has just revived his Muan Chon party, said he would need one hour for the debate.

According to a survey released yesterday, many people wanted Pol Capt Chalerm to join the opposition in the debate.

The result of the poll, conducted by the Suan Dusit Rajabhat Institute among 2,632 people, showed that 44% of respondents wanted Pol Capt Chalerm to grill cabinet members.

Fiery time likely as opposition unleashes 'facts and figures' ⁸³

Thaksin's name sure to be mentioned

Surasak Tumcharoen

The opposition launches its censure attack on 15 members of cabinet today — with eight targeted ministers also facing the threat of impeachment proceedings.

The debate is expected to be fiery, and although House Speaker Uthai Pimchaichon has said he intends to keep the debate free of groundless accusations, overlapping protests are expected from both sides.

The Democrat-led opposition claims to have "facts and figures" pointing to corruption, abuse of power and accumulation of unusual wealth by eight of the 15 ministers.

As required by the constitution it has filed details and a motion for impeachment with the National Counter Corruption Commission through Senate Speaker Manoonkrit Roopkachorn.

Given insufficient numbers in the House, the opposition could not bring a no-confidence motion against Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, and had to remove his name from the original censure motion.

Nevertheless, sources said Mr Thaksin and his wife Khunying Pojamarn would almost certainly be mentioned by name, which would certainly prompt Thai Rak Thai members to protest immediately.

The Democrats would pull no punches in debating highly lucrative and controversial business of firms once owned and run by the premier, Shin Satellite and Shin Corp, sources said.

Heavyweight fighters on the opposition side include Democrat leader Chuan Leekpai and a maverick Chalerm Yubamrung of Muan Chon party, both tipped to pick the Alpine golf saga, deputy Democrat leader Abhisit Vejjajiva and former finance minister Tarrin Nimmanaheminda.

Sathit Wongnongroey, Democrat spokesman, said details of the debate and charges made against each minister would be posted on the party's website <www.democrat.or.th>.

All relevant documents would also be posted on the website.

Mr Thaksin, the Thai Rak Thai leader, moved to rally his men yesterday.

He said those ministers targeted for the debate were paying the price of his karma, because the opposition could not bring a censure motion against him.

Ministers should try to be clear and concise in their explanation of opposition charges, he said. The two-day debate is expected to be extended until Friday.

In the firing line

Fifteen members of the Thaksin government face questioning during the no-confidence debate starting today.

Targeted for censure only:



Deputy Transport Minister:
Pracha Maleenond

Accused of mishandling Thai Airways International.



Industry Minister:
Suriya Juengrungruangkij

Accused of providing a large number of shares in PTT to business tycoon Prayudh Mahakijirin and helping relatives buy shares in PTT.



Labour Minister:
Dej Boonlong

Accused of taking kickbacks offered by overseas job agency SSM Co.



Deputy Labour Minister:
Ladawan Wongsriwong

Accused of misconduct in relation to the same overseas job placement scandal.



Interior Minister:
Purachai Piumsubun

Accused of abusing his authority in connection with the Alpine golf course affair.



Deputy Interior Minister:
Sombal Uthaisang

Accused of the same charge as Mr Purachai as he was in charge of the Land Department



Commerce Minister:
Adisai Bodharamik

Accused of failing to raise the price of farm produce, especially rice, and of failing to prevent collusion among rice millers and exporters

Targeted for impeachment and censure:



Finance Minister:
Somsak Jatupitak

Accused, as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, of helping the prime minister escape

punishment for violating the SEC law on the concealment of company shares and avoid the payment of taxes on the transfer of shares to his son and other relatives. Accused of sustaining the economic slump.



Education Minister:
Suwit Khunkitti

Accused of mishandling educational reform.



Deputy Finance Minister:
Suchart Jaovisidha

Accused of helping Shin Satellite evade taxes. Shares in the firm are held by members of PM Thaksin Shinawatra's family.



Deputy Prime Minister & Defence Minister:
Chavalit Yongchaiyudh

Accused of irregularities involving the repair of US-made UH-1 helicopters and involvement in questionable arms deals.



Deputy Defence Minister:
Yuthasak Sasiprapa

Accused of involvement in questionable arms deals.



Deputy Prime Minister:
Pitak Intrawithayanunt

Accused of illegally obtain ng Nor Sor 3 land rights documents for a parcel of beach land in Phuket, and dodgy schemes to promote tourism on Silom road and in Chiang Mai.



PM's Office Minister:
Somsak Thepsuthin

Accused of dipping into a 6-billion-baht tourism promotion fund, and of misconduct involving a TV Channel 11 improvement project.



Deputy Agriculture Minister:
Praphat Panyachartrak

Accused of misconduct resulting in the transfer of Forestry chief Piodprasop Suraswadi and of illegally obtaining parcels of public land in Lampang.

Sanoh accused of temple land-grab

Purachai slammed for failure to act

Surasak Tumcharoen

The Alpine land controversy returned to haunt the government as the opposition launched its censure debate against 15 cabinet ministers yesterday.

Instead of directing the assault at Interior Minister Purachai Piumsoombun and his deputy Sombat Uthaisang — the named targets on its censure card — the opposition turned its guns on Thai Rak Thai chief adviser Sanoh Thienhong over the land deal.

The tactic appeared aimed at creating a domino impact on the prime minister. Mr Thaksin could not be censured because the opposition has insufficient support in the House to back a motion against him.

Opposition leader Chuan Leekpai, assisted by a maverick Chalerm Yubamrung, took the floor for five hours to criticise Mr Sanoh over the Alpine land deal.

Mr Chuan accused him of involvement in a land-grabbing racket.

The Democrat leader charged that Mr Sanoh had been involved in a "conspiracy" to steal the costly Alpine land from Wat Thammapiakaram.

He held Interior Minister Purachai and Deputy Interior Minister Sombat responsible for failure to keep the property from the hands of "corrupt" politicians.

Mr Chuan alleged that Mr Sanoh as

deputy interior minister in 1990 had pushed for the sale of the land in Pathum Thani to Alpine Real Estate Co and Alpine Golf & Sports Club Co.

The leader of the Wang Nam Yen faction, now part of Thai Rak Thai, had rejected ownership of the land by the temple, which was bequeathed the property by Nuem Chamnanchatsakda.

He then had 924 rai of the land sold off to the Alpine firms, owned in part by his family and associates, Mr Chuan said.

The Democrat leader charged that Mr Purachai and Mr Sombat had failed to carry out the Thaksin government's anti-corruption policy by not intervening in the dispute over the land ownership. They should have ensured the land was returned to the temple.

Instead the land had been left in the hand of the two Alpine firms. Many of those firms' shares were held by Mr Sanoh's wife, Uraiwan, his younger brother, Wittaya, and Thai Rak Thai's Agriculture Minister Chucheep Harnsawat.

Part of the Alpine land, which was valued at 220 million baht 12 years ago, was held by Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra's family, Mr Chuan said.

Mr Chuan said Mr Sanoh, who as deputy interior minister was then in charge of the Land Department, had ordered officials to facilitate the sale of the land. It would otherwise have stayed with the temple, as was Mrs Nuem's wish.

The Maha Mongkut Rajavithayalai Foundation which was appointed by

the temple to manage Mrs Nuem's will later sold the land for 142 million baht to the Alpine firms.

"The [former] deputy interior minister did not break the law, but it was not appropriate for him to intervene.

"The [former] deputy minister had claimed to be working in the interests of 252 families [who had bought part of the land] and never mentioned the Alpine firms or the golf course."

Mr Chuan quoted a ruling of the Council of State that the land belonged to the temple and that it could not be transferred without passage of legislation by parliament.

Pol Capt Chalerm said the land-grabbing conspiracy had split monks at the temple, which later agreed to appoint the foundation manager of the land so that it could be sold to the Alpine firms. These firms then turned part of the property into a housing estate.

The controversy was in full bloom when the Thaksin government came to power, but Mr Purachai had failed to take action to stop the racket. Pol Capt Chalerm said.

He held Mr Sanoh directly responsible for the racket, and said he even had his brother, Mr Wittaya, help the Maha Mongkut Rajavithayalai Foundation manage the property.

Pol Capt Chalerm said he did not want to make groundless accusations against Mr Purachai, who had a good image and could be prime minister one day. "Why didn't the interior minister do what he had pledged to do against corrupt officials?"

PM told: Remove deadwood

Opposition also calls for action on graft

Post reporters

The censure debate came to a close yesterday with the opposition calling on Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra to rid himself of "the weakest links" in his cabinet and keep his vow to combat corruption.

The prime minister would make no comments about whether he would remove any ministers as a result of the debate, saying only that he planned a cabinet reshuffle in October to prepare for the establishment of new ministries.

Uthai Pimchaichon, House speaker, scheduled votes of confidence in the 15 targeted ministers for Tuesday morning.

Capping the four-day censure debate, which ended at 8pm last night, deputy Democrat leader Abhisit Vejjajiva insisted

Mr Thaksin replace the ministers to meet his campaign pledges.

"The censure debate could help [the premier] rid the government of its weakest links," Mr Abhisit said. "The new constitution gives the prime minister extraordinary powers to dismiss ministers, who would subsequently be banned from parliament.

"The standards of your premiership are being put to the test because you said you would dismiss cabinet members suspected [of malpractice]," he told Mr Thaksin.

The "think new, act new" approach touted in the government's election campaign was a mockery while ministers were allowed to maintain vested business interests, he added.

Citing the Alpine land saga, Mr Abhisit also fired a broadside at Purachai Piumsomboon, interior minister, over his alleged failure to fight corruption.

He accused Mr Purachai of pulling

punches over the controversy, which allegedly involved Sanoh Thienthong, Thai Rak Thai adviser, and members of Mr Thaksin's family.

"I support the interior minister's social order campaign," he said.

"But it should also apply to his associates."

Mr Thaksin said he was confident all coalition MPs would vote along party lines in support of the targeted ministers.

He added a panel chaired by Sudarat Keyuraphan, deputy prime minister, was considering whether to sue opposition MPs who presented false information during the debate.

Mr Thaksin hit out at the opposition for its alleged failure to conduct an orderly debate.

"Some MPs are good at citing the law, but we executives speak in a more straightforward manner," he said. "The longer they [opposition MPs] spoke, the more boring it got."

"Some spent seven hours talking about what happened under previous administrations," he said. "It was a waste of time."

If some Thai Rak Thai whips get their way, House Deputy Speaker Somsak Prisananantakul could prove to be the only casualty of the debate.

According to sources, the whips were unhappy with the Chart Thai member's alleged failure to stop the opposition from grilling the prime minister.

Mr Somsak had failed to block the Democrats from linking Mr Thaksin to the Alpine scandal and allegations of tax evasion by Shin Satellites Co., which is owned by the premier.

"Mr Somsak was biased toward the opposition," said Pongsak Rakpongpaissal, secretary to the government whip. "He did not allow government MPs to protest their innocence."

THE RESEARCHER'S BRIEF BACKGROUND

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