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NIDA Language and Communication Journal is the official journal of the Graduate School of Language and Communication, National Institute of Development Administration. The journal, ranked in the first tier of Thai Journal Citation Index (TCI), is currently published as a periodical, with two issues annually (June and December). The purpose of this journal is to disseminate information of interest to language and communication scholars, and others interested in related social sciences. The journal presents information on theories, researches, methods, and ideas related to language and communication as well as related interdisciplinary social sciences. The editors welcome a wide range of academic papers, including research articles, review articles, and book reviews.

Editor's Note

Dear Readers,

First, the editorial team of NIDA Journal of Language and Communication would like to share the good news that our journal has recently been classified as a first-tier journal by the Thai-Journal Citation Index Center (TCI), which monitors and ranks academic journals published in Thailand. We would like to thank the authors who submitted their manuscripts to us last year and thus allowed us to continue our publication during the still ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, which may have posed several practical research challenges, particularly those related to data collection from human participants.

This new issue of the journal features three empirical research studies, one academic article, and one book review. The first empirical study, conducted by Usana Larbprasertporn and Sudaporn Luksaneeyanawin, used Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to investigate how metaphoric expressions pertaining to plants are used by Thích Nhất Hạnh, a prominent Zen Buddhist monk, to convey Zen concepts in his internationally best-selling books. The article provides detailed descriptions of how Hạnh mapped concrete ideas, such as seeds, to abstract concepts, such as mental states, to help readers understand Zen teaching. The article should therefore be of interest to readers who are interested in CMT and religious discourse.

Metaphors are also the focus of investigation in the second research article, by Chatchawan Chaiyasat. The researcher investigated the weekly televised speeches delivered in 2014 by General Prayuth Chan-o-cha during his tenures as head of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) and later as a prime minister of Thailand in the same year. Using Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) as an analytical lens, the researcher illustrated how building and construction-based metaphors were employed in these speeches to create a positive image of NCPO and to gain public support and collaboration. This study also provides a detailed example of how corpus linguistics software can be used in research on metaphors and therefore should be useful to graduate students who would like to conduct a discourse study involving a large amount of textual data.

The third empirical study addresses a different topic: teaching Japanese kanji to speakers of other languages. In this study, Simon Regin Paxton and Chavalin Svetanant investigated beginner-level Japanese language textbooks used at universities both within Japan and overseas. Focusing on kanji instruction, the researchers reported that these textbooks adopted similar kanji ordering strategies. While these strategies are useful, the researchers observed that component-based ordering patterns are absent from these textbooks and argued that these patterns deserve future pedagogical and research attention.

In addition, this issue features an academic article by Weerayuth Podsatiangool and Jiraporn Phornprapha. Viewing Japanese manga as intercultural media, these two authors drew on previous research findings to explain why *Doraemon*, a Japanese manga which is hugely popular across Asia, was relatively unpopular in the US, while *Dragon Ball*, another manga, has been much more well received by Americans. If you are interested in intercultural media or are a fan of Japanese manga, you definitely do not want to miss this article.

The last part of the issue features a review of the book *Research Methods in Linguistics*, edited by Lia Litosselit from City University of London. This book covers key issues, principles and core methods in linguistic research and features chapters written by various internationally well-known linguists. The author of this review, Kosin Panyaatisin, provides a clear summary of each book chapter and highlights how the book can be useful to readers, particularly junior researchers in the field of linguistics.

This issue is a result of collaborative editing work of the current editor-in-chief and the new coming editor-in-chief, Khwanchira Sena, as well as the new co-editor, Savitri Gadavanij. The new editor-in-chief and co-editor will assume full editorial responsibility starting from the next journal issue onwards. We would like to thank all the authors and manuscript reviewers for their contribution to this issue and hope that readers will find articles in this issue interesting and useful. I would also like to thank Jareeporn Kaewsuksri and Santi Jamngoen at the Graduate School of Language and Communication, NIDA, for their assistance in creating a new website for the journal, launched last year during my editorial tenure.

As always, the editorial team of NIDA Journal of Language and Communication would like to invite readers who conduct research within the scope of our journal to submit manuscripts to publish in our future issues. If you are conducting or plan to conduct a research project in the near future, we also hope that you can successfully overcome any research challenges that you may have during this time of pandemic.

Sarut Supasiraprapa

Editor-in-Chief

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Metaphor of NATURE in Zen Buddhism by Thích Nhất Hạnh: A Case Study of PLANT Metaphor

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Abstract

Evidence of metaphorical use can be found in religious discourse including Zen Buddhism, which deeply respects nature (Suzuki, 2015). To date, however, little empirical research has been conducted to support the claim that Zen is closely associated with nature. The present study aims to address this research gap by investigating the use of metaphorical expressions related to nature in the literary work of Thích Nhất Hạnh (1926-), one of the most influential Zen Buddhist monks whose works possess strong appeal to international audiences. The study is corpus-based consisting of 392 metaphorical expressions related to PLANT (i.e., PLANT METAPHOR). The corpus was constructed from seven best-sellers on Zen Buddhism by Hạnh, and the metaphorical expressions were identified using the Metaphorical Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU) (Steen, 2010). The findings show different parts of the PLANT being used to represent abstract concepts such as religions, emotions, and virtues. This study elucidates how Hạnh artistically employed the nature of PLANT to represent various Zen concepts in his didactic use of metaphor.

Keywords: Thích Nhất Hạnh, metaphor, NATURE, PLANT, MIPVU, Zen

Introduction

Metaphor has "an extraordinarily powerful influence on our perception and understanding of the world … the air of the language we breathe is infused with metaphor. We identify, characterize, assimilate, make sense of things by metaphor" (Unwin, 2019, p. 4). Along the same line, Larson (2011, pp. 4-6) claims that "metaphor does not only allow us to understand one thing in terms of another, but also to think of an abstraction in terms of something more concrete." Metaphors seem to be pervasive. They appear in many fields, not only in literature, but also in science, education, medicine, economics, politics, art, architecture, and religion (*Gibbs, 2008; Unwin, 2019)*. Among them, religious discourse is one of the fields where metaphor is predominant (Charteris-Black, 2004; Chiengchaovai, 2013; Keshvari & Eslamieh, 2017; Lu & Chiang, 2007; Neary, 2017; Obpat, 2009; Rajandran, 2017; Silvestre-López & Navarro, 2017; Soskice, 1985). Many scholars such as Soskice (1985), Charteris-Black (2004), and Neary (2017) confirm an extensive use of metaphors in the Bible which serve as a powerful tool by which the unknown (i.e., God) is conceptualized in terms of what is already known (e.g., fisherman, light).

In this study, the metaphors of NATURE in Thích Nhất Hạnh's books on Zen Buddhism were explored. Nature is intentionally selected for this study due to the claim that Zen is in close association with it. However, little literature has been conducted by researchers illustrating such connection. Moreover, very little study has been undertaken from the perspective of cognitive linguistics (with the exception of Lu & Chiang, 2007; Silvestre-López & Navarro, 2017). Taking a cognitive linguistic perspective, we can discover how religious teachings are conceptualized systematically and are metaphorically represented in the mind. Thus, the present study aims to examine the use of PLANT METAPHOR in the seven selected books by Thích Nhất Hạnh (henceforth referred to as Hạnh).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) is one of the primary approaches in the study of metaphor. It was first introduced in 1980 by Lakoff and Johnson who proposed that metaphor is a basic mental operation by which humans understand the world through mapping from known domains to unknown domains, adding that some conceptualizations are metaphorically structured in the mind (Lakoff, 1993), or "metaphor as thought" (Deignan, 2005). Metaphor is a process of mapping between two different conceptual domains: source domain (SD) and target domain (TD). The TD is what one tries to understand through metaphors while the SD is what one draws upon to create the metaphorical expressions (Kövecses, 2010; Simpson, 2014). Conceptual metaphors are is normally written in capital letters, such as TIME IS MONEY.

Based on CMT, metaphorical expressions are linguistic metaphors or surface manifestations of underlying conceptual relationship, for example, "Don't waste your time" or "I have spent a lot of time doing homework." The verbs "waste" and "spend" are often used with money, but in these utterances they are used with time. Thus, we can assume that time is being compared with money. It is clear that there is a correspondence or a mapping between the SDs and the TDs. TIME is the TD which is the concept being described while MONEY is the SD or the representation of the abstract TD. CMT will be used as the main framework of this study.

Metaphor and Religion

CMT can be used as a framework to understand religious teachings which are replete with abstract and complex concepts. Conceptual metaphor helps structure basic experience and religious belief by expressing abstract concepts through the SD which is often more concrete. There have been a number of studies on metaphor in religious discourse. Among them, Soskice (1985) was one of the pioneers who stressed the important role of metaphor in creating new perspectives, contributing to the understanding of metaphor as a tool able to unveil views which have not been previously available. Soskice claimed that metaphor is pervasively used in religious discourse due to its evocative and cognitive functions.

The predominance of metaphors is recorded across religions. For example, Charteris-Black's (2004) corpus linguistic investigation on Christianity and Islam revealed varying uses of metaphors. He found numerous SDs related to the concepts in Christianity, for example, ANIMALS, CONFLICT, PLANTS, LIGHT, BUILDING, FOOD & DRINK, BODY, and JOURNEYS. As for the Koran, he discovered four most productive SDs: JOURNEYS,

WEATHER, FIRE & LIGHT, and PLANTS. Moreover, Neary's (2017) examination of the metaphorical use in Hinduism and Christianity in Gandhi's (1940) English translation of his autobiography revealed that the single most frequently used SD was NATURE, especially PLANT, along with FOOD/DRINK, BODY, and WAR. The conceptual metaphors derived from different metaphorical expressions were: MORALITY IS A PLANT, EMOTIONS ARE PLANTS, and CHARACTER TRAITS ARE PLANTS. As for Buddhism, Obpat (2009) analyzed metaphors related to LIFE in 60 dharma books written by famous Buddhist monks. Fifteen concepts regarding LIFE were abstracted, for instance, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, LIFE IS A TREE, LIFE IS A CONTAINER, and LIFE IS AN IMPERMANENT THING. Through their abundance in religious discourse, metaphor appears to be one of the means by which abstract concepts and ineffable spiritual experience are made intelligible to lay people (Kang, 2018). These studies demonstrated the significance of metaphor in religious discourse.

Buddhism, Zen, and Nature

Buddhist philosophy emphasizes themes of compassion along with awareness, attitudes, and actions which should do no harm to any life on earth (i.e., nature). Humans should help conserve and not exploit nature (Kabilsingh, 1987; Nash, 1987). Buddhādasa (1906-1993), a famous and influential Thai ascetic-philosopher of the 20th century, identifies nature with Buddhist teaching or dhamma. It is claimed that "being attuned to the lessons of nature is tantamount to at-one-ment (in harmony) with the *dhamma*" (translation by Swearer, 1997, p. 25). Buddhādasa (1991) furthers this by mentioning that nature teaches the lessons of self-forgetting or non-attachment which is the heart of the dhamma. For him, the natural surroundings are a key for personal transformation:

> Trees, rocks, sand, even dirt and insects can speak. This doesn't mean, as some people believe, that they are spirits or gods. Rather, if we reside in nature near trees and rocks, we'll discover feelings and thoughts arising that are truly out of the ordinary. At first, we'll feel a sense of peace and quiet which may eventually move beyond that feeling to a transcendence of self. The deep sense of calm that nature provides through separation from the troubles and anxieties that plague us in the day-to-day world functions to protect heart and mind…. (Buddhādasa, 1991, pp. 5-7, translation by Swearer, 1997, pp. 24-25).

The importance of nature is also emphasized by numerous renowned Buddhist monks including *P. A. Payutto (1937-). He emphasizes the values of nature, particularly the forest. "The history of Buddhism … indicates that monks saw the forest as a place of practice the dhamma and to achieve a feeling of well-being, a happy state of mind, and eventually higher states of mental consciousness" (Payutto, 1998, p. 22, translation by Swearer 1997, p. 33).* Moreover, Chatsumarn Kabilsingh (2004), a famous scholar and a prolific writer on Buddhism and feminism (now known as Dhammananda Bhikkhuni, the first modern Thai Bhikkhuni [ordained female monk]), narrates that Buddhism has always viewed nature with respect. This position places a great deal of expectations on humans as they are regarded as an integral part

of nature. This means that when humans abuse nature, they abuse themselves. The Buddha's teaching highlights the human relationship with nature and humanity's obligation to preserve nature.

Zen is a blend of Indian Mahayāna Buddhism, Chinese Daoism, and Confucianism. Zen believes that all humans have an inherent Buddha nature (an ability to be enlightened). Zen shares with other Buddhist sects the common goals of ending suffering and attaining satori/enlightenment. Moreover, Zen believes that man and nature are closely related: "Nature produces man out of itself … [Man] has his being rooted in nature … therefore … there must always be a friendly understanding and a sympathetic communication between man and nature" (Suzuki, 2015, p. 119).

The present study sought to address the following research questions:

1. What are the metaphorical expressions of PLANT METAPHOR in Thích Nhất Hạnh's Zen Buddhist texts?
2. What are the main concepts of Zen Buddhism that are conceptualized using PLANT METAPHOR?

Methods

The study used both qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative methodology was applied for arriving at the number of occurrences of PLANT METAPHOR appearing in metaphorical expressions (RQ1). Meanwhile qualitative methodology was applied for analyzing conceptual metaphors from metaphorical expressions. Also, Zen teachings were interpreted from conceptual metaphor (RQ2).

Selection Criteria of Sample Books

Hạnh is one of the most influential Zen monks. He has published a wide variety of books, many of which have been best sellers. Of his 136 books, 112 are in English, while the remainder are in Spanish, French, and Vietnamese. His works belong to different genres: sutra, prose, poetry, and children's literature. His teaching is easy to understand and practical and of interest to this researcher. For the selection of Hạnh's books for the present study, two criteria were applied: (1) books that reached a wide audience globally, that is, they were written in English, an international language; and (2) they were best sellers according to the two well-known websites: Amazon (Amazon, n.d.) and Goodreads (Goodreads, n.d.). This paper investigated Hạnh's English best-selling prose published from the 1970s up to the latest works published in 2019. The seven selected texts were: (1) The Miracle of Mindfulness (1975); (2) Peace is Every Step (1990); (3) Living Buddha, Living Christ (1995); (4) You are Here (2001); (5) Your True Home (2011); (6) Fear (2012); and (7) How to See (2019).

Corpus Building

A corpus of Hạnh's works was created by scanning Hạnh's sample books and converting the scanned documents to digitalized form using an Optical Character Recognition (OCR) program. Some texts which were available online were downloaded in PDF form and converted into a plain text format. AntConc Software (Anthony, 2004) was used as a tool for

data analysis. The corpus of seven selected books consisted of 217,545 words and approximately 901 metaphorical expressions.

Identification of Metaphor of NATURE (Source Domain)

First, Hạnh's books were read carefully in order to grasp the overall message of his teaching as well as to ensure that there were metaphorical uses of words/terms related to NATURE. Next, definition of the word "nature" was looked up in various English dictionaries as well as English lexical meaning. The definition given by Collins (n.d.) where "nature" refers to "all the animals, plants, and other things in the world that are not made by people, and all the events and processes that are not caused by people" was selected. Based on Collins Dictionary's definition, the research searched for nature-related words/terms (as SD) in Hạnh's corpus. Finally, only metaphorical use of SD of PLANT was identified.

Regarding the metaphor identification process, Metaphorical Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU) (Steen, 2010) was selected as a tool to identify metaphor in this study. MIPVU is a systematic procedure which enables an identification of metaphor-related words (MRWs). It provides a clear procedure in organizing and analyzing the data. In particular, it helps researchers to examine difficult borderline cases such as polywords (e.g., a good deal, by means of), idioms, phrasal verbs (e.g., make up for, do away with), and compounds (e.g., under-five). For instance, researchers can decide that the borderline cases such as the phrasal verb "make up for" (meaning "compensate") should be examined wholly as one lexical unit, and not separately as three lexical units: "make," "up," "for" (Steen, 2010, p. 26).

In identifying MRWs in Hạnh's corpus, the researcher followed the MIPVU steps: first, the researcher identified a lexical unit (i.e., word, phrase) in the discourse that might be a potential metaphor. Then, the lexical unit was analyzed for its metaphoricity by examining the contextual meaning and the basic meaning. If the contextual meaning and the basic meaning contrasted, the lexical unit was judged a metaphor, for example:

> "Getting in touch with suffering will help us cultivate compassion and love… We all have the seeds (SD) of compassion, forgiveness, joy, and nonfear (TD) in us. If we're constantly trying to avoid suffering, there is no way for these [good] seeds (SD) to grow" (Your True Home, p. 82).

From the excerpt above, the researcher identified the lexical unit of potential MRWs to be the word "seed," then contextual meaning of "seed" was examined as meaning "positive and negative feelings/emotions/thoughts." Next, the basic meaning of "seed" was looked up in Collins Dictionary as meaning "the small, hard part of a plant from which a new plant grows." The researcher found that the contextual meaning and basic meaning contrasted. Also, the contextual meaning could be understood in relation to the basic meaning. The basic meaning related to parts of the plant which would grow into a root, a trunk, a flower, a fruit, and a mature plant, while the contextual meaning referred to something abstract, for example, feelings/emotions. Researchers could understand the beginning stage of feelings and thoughts which might develop and became expressed in words, actions, or habits.

Scope and Criteria of Metaphor Selection

To identify metaphor in this research, four criteria were applied. First, the focus was only on the SD which was from one word class "noun" (not including word classes "pronoun," "verb," "adjective") because nouns "prototypically designate concrete, bounded, enduring entities, so that their meaning tend to be highly concrete and precise … It is easiest to assign basic senses as we characterize them" (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 28). Second, only innovative and conventional metaphors[1] were of interest. Third, metonymy, fixed expressions (e.g., in the light of, on the ground of, and shine light on), idioms, and poem were excluded because metaphor was the focus of this study, other rhetorical devices, by themselves, deserved their own full scale study. Moreover, the focus of this study was on prose, hence, poem was not analyzed. Finally, sub-headings and footnotes were not included because they lacked context. Context was crucial in identifying and interpreting metaphor.

Findings and Discussion

The first research question asks what metaphorical expressions of PLANT METAPHOR are used in Thích Nhất Hạnh's Zen Buddhist texts. Based on MIPVU, quantitative results of metaphorical expressions of PLANT in the corpus were obtained, as illustrated in Figure 1.

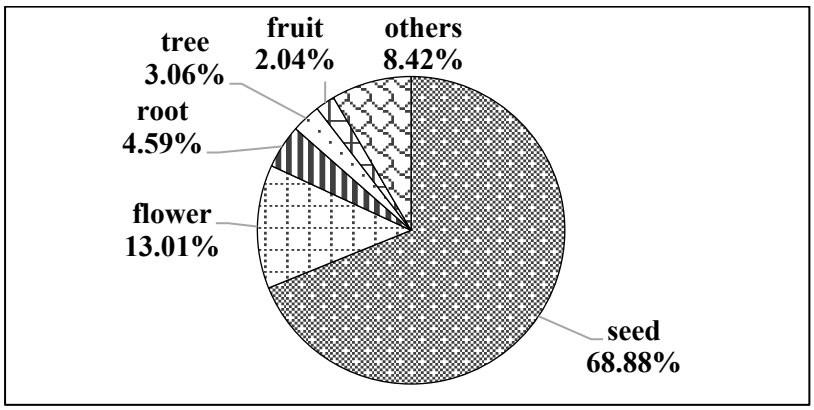

Figure 1: Percentages of PLANT METAPHOR

[1]Conventional metaphors include "familiar comparisons that do not attract attention as a figure of speech. A conventional metaphor is heard or read in everyday language, and it lends some credibility to that specific culture's understanding of the statement", e.g., time flies (Dykstra, n.d.). On the other hand, creative metaphors are "those which a writer/speaker constructs to express a particular idea or feeling in a particular context, and which a reader/hearer needs to deconstruct in order to understand what is meant" (Knowles & Moon, 2006, p. 5), e.g., it was as quiet as a church mouse (Dykstra, n.d.).

Table 1: Source Domain "Seed(s)"

Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Target Domains
seed	*Each of the fifty-one mental formations (TD) lies buried in the soil of consciousness in the form of a seed (SD) (You are Here, p. 30).*	mental formations (=characters of consciousness or mental properties)
	Getting in touch with suffering will help us cultivate compassion and love… We all have the seeds (SD)of compassion, forgiveness, joy, and nonfear (TD) in us. If we're constantly trying to avoid suffering, there is no way for these [good] seeds (SD) to grow." (Your True Home, p. 82).	positive and negative mental formations
	Buddhist sutras speak of Buddha nature (TD) as the seed (SD) of enlightenment that is already in everyone's consciousness (Living Buddha, Living Christ, p. 167).	enlightenment
	Each of our life experiences (TD) becomes a seed (SD) in our store consciousness (How to see, p. 89).	life experience
	With our daily practice of mindfulness we nourish the seed (SD) of right view (TD) (How to see, p. 42)	right view or understanding
	Buddhists say that everyone has the seed (SD) of mindfulness (TD) in the deepest level of his or her consciousness (Living Buddha, Living Christ, p. 183)	mindfulness
	"do I water your seeds (SD) of joy (TD)?" (Your True Home, p. 119)	joy
	"*We all have all the possible seeds (SD) within us; they contain all the different feelings, thoughts (TD)" (How to See, p. 44)*	feelings and thoughts
	these (negative) seeds can be transformed when we touch the qualities of a Buddha (TD), which are also seeds (SD) within us (Living Buddha, Living Christ, p. 44)	Buddha nature (=ability to be enlightened)
	Christians say that God is in everyone's heart. The Holy Spirit (TD)can be described as being always present in our hearts in the form of a seed (SD) (Living Buddha, Living Christ, p. 183).	Holy Spirit (= to be one with God/ awakening)

Among PLANT METAPHOR, Hạnh's used seed(s) most frequently (68.88%). This was interesting as it yielded different TDs. As can be seen in Table 1, the SD "seed" represented the TDs of mental formations[2] (characters of consciousness or mental properties such as joy, jealousy, mindfulness), dharma teaching (right view or understanding), life, enlightenment, and Buddha nature/Buddha qualities/Holy Spirit (all these terms refer to an ability to be enlightened

[2]Fifty-one mental formations refers to characters of consciousness or mental properties including feeling, perception, volition, attention, contact, intention, determination, mindfulness, concentration, insight, faith, inner shame, shame before others, absence of craving, absence of hatred, absence of ignorance, diligence, tranquility, vigilance, equanimity, non-harming, non-fear, absence of anxiety, stability, loving kindness, compassion, joy, humility, happiness, feverlessness, freedom, craving, hatred, ignorance, arrogance, doubt, wrong view, anger, resentment, concealment, maliciousness, jealousy, selfishness, deceitfulness, guile, desire to harm, pride, lack of inner shame, lack of shame before others, restlessness, drowsiness, lack of faith, laziness, negligence, forgetfulness, distraction, lack of discernment, fear, anxiety, despair, regret, sleepiness, initial thought, sustained thought (Plum Village, n.d.).

or be one with God or Lord Buddha). To explicate the realization of these TDs, I discuss how they are realized in the text.

From Hạnh's corpus, seeds were frequently used to represent different human's emotions, feelings, and thoughts which happened to all human beings. This is the reason they were often discussed by Hạnh. Emotions, feelings, and thoughts were part of 51 mental formations, deliberately conceptualized as seeds: "Each of the fifty-one mental formations lies buried in the form of a seed."

Considering its development/growth, seeds are linked to humans as they indicate an initial stage where emotions/feelings/thoughts have not yet arisen into consciousness. They remain unconscious until they transform into trunk, fruits, flowers, and trees, in other words, the fully expressed emotions/feelings/thoughts. Seeds also represent general phenomena (both good and bad) in an initial stage such as life experiences and right view/understanding, as in "seed of right view." Right view is one of the Noble Eightfold Path that leads to cessation of suffering. Importantly, the Holy Spirit, Buddha nature/Buddha qualities (an ability to be awakened or to be one with God or Lord Buddha) were conceptualized as seeds: "when we touch the qualities of a Buddha, which are also seeds within us." The Holy Spirit, Buddha nature/Buddha qualities related to the beginning stage of practicing toward enlightenment which was the ultimate goal of Zen.

As discussed, seeds demonstrated their connections with humans. They were used to highlight the beginning and/or the cause of emotions/feelings and abstract concepts which gave rise to further thoughts and actions. Some seeds that were watered and well taken care of tend to grow and develop into root, buds, trunks, leaves, fruits and flowers. Other seeds that were not watered or nourished may weaken, shrivel, and finally die. Hạnh perhaps teaches us to foster positive emotions and thoughts, such as mindfulness. If we keep having and expressing negative emotions and thoughts, they will become strengthened and eventually become bad habits in the future.

Moreover, with right conditions of sunlight, water, minerals, temperature, and farmers/gardeners, seeds will grow into different parts of plant. This is like human beings in that we are responsible for creating conditions to produce good emotions/feelings/thoughts so that they will be strengthened and increase in number. Good thoughts/feelings will bring about good actions/speech which will positively affect individuals and people around them.

Table 2: Source domain of "flower(s)"

Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Target Domains
flower	*the flower of tolerance to see and appreciate cultural diversity (TD)is one flower (SD)we can cultivate for the children of the 21st century (Peace is Every Step, p. 134)*	tolerance and appreciation of cultural diversity
	I shall try to share some of my experiences of and insights into two of the world's beautiful flowers (SD), Buddhism and Christianity (TD), so that we as a society can begin to dissolve our wrong perceptions (Living Buddha, Living Christ, p. 11).	Buddhism and Christianity
	It is on the very ground of suffering… that we can contemplate enlightenment (TD)and well-being. It is exactly the muddy water that the lotus (SD) grows and blooms (Your True Home, p. 313)	enlightenment

Flower(s) ranked second in frequency (13.01%). From Table 2, the SD "flower" represented the TDs of desirable phenomena, religion, and enlightenment, for example, flower was compared to desirable phenomena, that is, tolerance and appreciation for cultural diversity. Religions were also compared to flowers, for example, Buddhism and Christianity were compared to beautiful flowers. Moreover, Hạnh represented enlightenment as a lotus. This may be because the lotus symbolizes purity in body, word, and spirit in Buddhism (Tran, 2010). All in all, flowers may be selected to represent these good and desirable phenomena due to their positive qualities such as aesthetics and fragrance.

Root(s) ranked third in frequency (4.59%). Table 3 shows that root represented the TDs of feelings/emotions (part of mental formations), ancestral bond and spiritual belief/religion. It is worth noticing that root referred to negative phenomena that needed to be transformed or alleviated such as unpleasant feelings of toothache: "Some feelings have their root in the physical form. For example, if you have a toothache, you have unpleasant feelings and you go to the dentist." Occasionally, root(s) represented ancestral bonds and spiritual beliefs, as in "ancestral roots" and "spiritual roots."

Interestingly, root has the characteristics of being deep seated and long lasting. Root has both negative and positive values. For the negative aspect, Hạnh portrays negative emotions/feelings/phenomena such as hatred, greed, and delusion as root: "emotions have deep roots in us … finally they explode and cause hurt to ourselves and others." These negative emotions/phenomena need to be eradicated to the root level otherwise they would grow back. The eradication can be painstakingly difficult and requires a long time and tremendous effort. On the other hand, root sometimes displays desirable and indispensable phenomena when referring to ancestral linkage and spiritual beliefs. Humans need ancestral and parental linkages as well as spiritual beliefs to fulfil a sense of self, a sense of belonging to the community, and to have a happy, peaceful, and balanced life.

Table 3: Source Domain of "Root(s)"

Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Target Domains
root	*Some feelings (TD) have their root (SD) in the physical form. For example, if you have a toothache, you have unpleasant feelings and you go to the dentist to get relief from the pain. Other feelings arise from perceptions (You are Here, p. 27)*	feelings
	emotions (TD) have deep roots (SD) in us. They are so strong … We deny and suppress them until finally they explode and cause hurt to ourselves and others (Fear, p. 89)	emotions
	we can be aware without judgement that our negative habit come from these ancestral (TD) roots (SD) (Your True Home, p. 72)	ancestors
	I (=Hạnh) have statues of Buddhas and bodhisattvas and also an image of Jesus Christ…I feel stronger because I have more than one root (SD) (=Buddhism and Christianity: (TD))" (Living Buddha, Living Christ, p. 100).	spiritual beliefs

It could be observed from Tables 1-3 that the SDs of "seed," "flower," and "root" represented the same TDs of emotions/feelings/thoughts. However, it seemed that seeds represented both positive and negative emotions/feelings/thoughts whereas flowers tended to associate with positive feelings. Root normally linked with negative feelings such as anger.

Another interesting observation was that although seed and flower related to enlightenment, seeds seemed to represent the potential of humans to become enlightened or the beginning stage while flowers symbolized enlightenment or the final outcome of persistent and strenuous religious practices.

It is worth stressing that other parts of PLANT were also used to portray different concepts/phenomena, for example, branches represented different religions, as in "Christianity is a kind of continuation of Judaism, as is Islam. All the branches belong to the same tree" (Living Buddha, Living Christ, p. 29). This might imply the concept of interbeing of different religions. All religions are interrelated hence those who hold different religious beliefs should not be discriminated against. Interestingly, different types of plants and grains under PLANT METAPHOR were used to refer to human beings, for example, corn, as in "If things were impermanent, you could not have children (TD) and your children would never grow up. When you sow corn seeds (SD), they would never be able to grow" (You are Here, p. 104). In this case, corn was used to demonstrate impermanence through the changing stages of the human lifecycle and corn. As can be seen, different parts of the PLANT and different types of PLANT were used to represent different concepts, and in turn, they could be interpreted from the perspective of Zen teachings.

With regard to the second research question, which asks what main concepts of Zen Buddhism are conceptualized using PLANT METAPHOR. In Hạnh's corpus, many Zen concepts were identified, for example, mindfulness, interbeing, suchness, and impermanence. The researcher found that mindfulness was one of the most outstanding concepts in Hạnh's corpus. It occurred most frequently and its importance was explicitly emphasized by Hạnh. Mindfulness was considered the fundamental and essential Buddhist virtue/practice that helped create other higher-level virtues/practices such as concentration and insight. The concept of mindfulness was conceptualized from conceptual metaphors which were derived from the metaphorical expressions of PLANT. As can be seen in Table 4, mindfulness was interpreted from various conceptual metaphors abstracted from different parts of PLANT (i.e., seed, fruit) as well as types of PLANT, which were used as the SDs. The concept of mindfulness is discussed in detail in the next sections.

Table 4 shows that mindfulness was represented by different SDs of PLANT (i.e., seed, fruit) and types of PLANT as appeared in different metaphorical expressions. Mindfulness was interpreted through the conceptual metaphors: MINDFULNESS/ BUDDHA NATURE/ HOLY SPIRIT ARE SEEDS, MENTAL FORMATIONS (EMOTIONS) ARE SEEDS, MINDFULNESS IS FRUIT, and HUMANS ARE PLANTS. As described, mindfulness is "the energy of being aware and awake to the present moment. To be mindful is to be truly alive, present, and at one with those around you and with what you are doing" (Hanh Foundation, n.d.). Following his line of thought, Hạnh urges people to apply mindfulness in all activities of daily life. This is because mindfulness can transform undesirable emotions/feelings into positive ones. Moreover, it can develop into proper/good speech, actions, and thoughts, which then lead to happy and peaceful co-existence with others in society. This is examined through conceptual metaphors.

Table 4: Conceptual Metaphors Relating to Mindfulness Abstracted from PLANT Metaphor

Zen Teachings	Target Domains	Source Domains	Conceptual Metaphors	Metaphorical Expressions
Mindfulness is the good seed that needs to be watered since it helps transform bad mental formations (feeling/thought) into good ones. Most importantly, mindfulness is the basis for enlightenment (goal of Zen).	mindfulness	seed	MINDFULNESS IS A SEED	*Buddhists say that everyone has the seed (SD) of mindfulness (TD) in the deepest level of his or her consciousness (Living Buddha, Living Christ, p. 183).*
Zen Buddhism believes that everyone has an inherent Buddha nature.	Buddha nature (ability to be enlightened)	seed	BUDDHA NATURE IS A SEED	*these (negative) seeds can be transformed when we touch the qualities of a Buddha (TD), which are also seeds (SD) within us (Living Buddha, Living Christ, p. 44).*
Everyone can be one with God/awakening	Holy Spirit (to be one with God/ awakening)	seed	HOLY SPIRIT IS A SEED	*Christians say that God is in everyone's heart. The Holy Spirit (TD)can be described as being always present in our hearts in the form of a seed (SD) (Living Buddha, Living Christ, p. 183).*
Mindfulness can help raise an awareness of emotions as well as control and transform negative mental formations into good ones.	mental formations	seed	MENTAL FORMATIONS ARE SEEDS	*Each of the fifty-one mental formations (TD) lies buried in the soil of consciousness in the form of a seed (SD) (You are Here, p. 30).*
Mindfulness raises our awareness thus we should practice it in our daily life.	mindfulness	seed/fruit	MINDFULNESS IS SEED/FRUIT	*Thus mindfulness (TD) is at the same time a means and an end, the seed and the fruit (SD) (Miracle of Mindfulness, p. 14).*
Mindfulness can calm strong emotions down. It is through belly breathing which fosters concentration and mindfulness.	human body parts	parts of the tree	DIFFERENT HUMAN BODY PARTS ARE DIFFERENT PARTS OF A TREE→ HUMANS ARE PLANTS	*during a storm of emotion, you should not stay at the level of head or heart (TD), which are like the top of the tree (SD)… you have to leave the heart, the eye of the storm, and come back to the trunk of the tree (SD). Your trunk is 1 centimeter below your navel (TD)" (You are Here, p. 72).*

Zen Teachings	Target Domains	Source Domains	Conceptual Metaphors	Metaphorical Expressions
Mindful people are dependable and attract other people. People like to be around mindful people.	Mindful people	Beautiful trees with shade	MINDFUL PEOPLE ARE BEAUTIFUL TREES WITH SHADE → HUMANS ARE PLANTS	*they (people with mindfulness) (TD) will be like beautiful trees (SD), and visitors will want to come and sit under their shade (Peace is Every Step, p. 90).*

Conceptual metaphors, depicting mindfulness, were MINDFULNESS/BUDDHA NATURE/HOLY SPIRIT ARE SEEDS, as shown in metaphorical expressions as in "these [negative] seeds can be transformed when we touch the qualities of a Buddha, which are also seeds within us." Buddha nature or mindfulness helped transform bad mental formations (emotions, feelings, thoughts) into good mental formations. Furthermore, it was fundamental to growing other virtues and leading to the pathway to Nirvana.

From Table 4, mindfulness was represented in three ways. First, it was represented as a seed which could be cultivated and nourished by continual watering until it was strengthened and later grew into desirable mental formations and virtues such as understanding, insight, and awakening: "Each of the fifty-one mental formations lies buried … in the form of a seed." Another example of presenting mindfulness as seeds was done through actual association with seeds and fruits. This was observed in the conceptual metaphors MENTAL FORMATIONS ARE SEEDS/FRUITS, as in "mindfulness is at the same time … the seed and the fruit."

Second, mindfulness was demonstrated as a way to save people from negative emotions/mental formations (e.g., anger and fear) and transforming them into positive emotions/mental formations. The relevant conceptual metaphor was HUMANS ARE PLANTS: "during a storm of emotion, you should not stay at the level of head or heart, which are like the top of the tree, … and come back to the trunk of the tree." Here, the representation was realized through the comparison of the human body with the parts of the tree. During a storm of emotion such as anger, it was advised to step back (i.e., not focusing on the feeling of anger which happened in the head/heart, compared to the top of the tree) and be mindful of breathing by focusing on the belly, that is, belly breathing (human's belly was compared to a trunk of the tree). With mindful breathing, anger can be recognized, its causes learned about, and it can be calmed down. Anger will thus be no longer suffered from and it might finally be transformed to positive feelings such as love and compassion.

Third, mindfulness was demonstrated as one of desirable qualities of human. A mindful person is good, pleasant, and dependable, s/he normally attracts other people. The representation was done through the association of types of people and types of PLANTS, as in "they (= mindful people) will be like beautiful trees, and visitors will want to come and sit under their shade." The conceptual metaphor was HUMANS ARE PLANTS.

Having examined Hạnh's works, he used numerous devices to disseminate his teaching such as storytelling, questions-answers, repetition, hyperbole, giving quotes, and direct explanation – but metaphors seemed to be his key instruments. Metaphor is a powerful tool in religious discourse because religions are replete with abstract and sophisticated

concepts/notions that are difficult to understand and sometimes cannot be described in simple literal words.

Conclusion and Recommendations for Future Research

In conclusion, the aim of this article was to report on the use of PLANT metaphor in Hạnh's Zen teaching. The SD of "seed" was used most frequently, followed by "flower," and "root." Results of the present study confirmed those of previous studies in that metaphor was used extensively in religious discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004; El-Sharif, 2011; Kövecses, 2002; Neary 2017).

The present study investigated Hạnh's religious discourse. Based on the analysis, it was revealed that Hạnh's work is clearly related with the nature of PLANTS as part of nature which is represented in various conceptual metaphors: RELIGION IS PLANT, MORALITY/VIRTUE IS PLANT, HUMANS ARE PLANTS, MENTAL FORMATIONS (EMOTIONS) ARE SEEDS. Readers may have been impressed by Hạnh's eloquent use of PLANT METAPHOR and learned of the Zen concept of mindfulness. His writing successfully serves the aesthetic and didactic functions. It can attract readers who love nature and thus appreciate his teaching with joy and happiness.

This study of metaphor in religious discourse may help enrich the current understanding of Zen Buddhism taught by Hạnh. Readers can see the relationship between PLANT metaphor, human cognition, and Zen teaching. Also, readers can learn of the Zen way of life and understand how Zen followers think and act. Through Hạnh's ingenious use of metaphor, he proffers simple and practical guidelines of how to lead a happy and peaceful life individually and collectively.

It should be noted that some of the selected books are translated from Vietnamese or French into English, and the translation process may affect the use of metaphor. Moreover, out of Hạnh's 112 books available in the English language, only seven were selected for this study, this meant that not all metaphors of NATURE used by Hạnh were explored. Moreover, apart from nouns, metaphor of NATURE was used pervasively by Hạnh, through other word classes such as verb (e.g., "If the seeds of our anger are watered again, our anger will be reborn") or adjective (e.g., "A mind without anger is cool, fresh, and sane"), or pronouns (e.g., "But how can a river take her own life?").

Lastly, other outstanding Zen concepts found in Hạnh's corpus included interbeing, impermanence, and non-duality. They were represented by PLANT METAPHOR and other domains, for example, impermanence was often related to WATER METAPHOR. These are interesting areas worth exploring in future research.

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Appendix

Books / PLANT	Miracle of mindfulness	You are here	Peace is every step	How to see	Living Buddha, Living Christ	Your true home	Fear	Total
tree		3	2		3	1	1	**10**
trees			1	1				**2**
seed	2	6	7	15	30	12	23	**95**
seeds		36	42	17	19	32	29	**175**
root		1			4		1	**6**
roots	1	2	1		6	1	1	**12**
leaves		1						**1**
trunk		2				2	1	**5**
branch					1			**1**
branches		1			1			**2**
petals							1	**1**
flower	1	13	9		2	2	2	**29**
flowers		4	3	1	3	3	2	**16**
rose		1		1				**2**
rosebush		1						**1**
lotus						3		**3**
fruit	2				1			**3**
orange		5						**5**
stem			4					**4**
stems			3					**3**
thorn	2							**2**
waterplants	1							**1**
potatoes			1					**1**
lettuce			3					**3**
corn		2						**2**
corn (kernel)						2		**2**
corn (stalk)						2		**2**
vine					2			**2**
duckweed							1	**1**
TOTAL (plant)	**9**	**78**	**76**	**35**	**72**	**60**	**62**	**392**

Combining Critical Metaphor Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Construction Metaphors in the Weekly Televised Speeches "Returning Happiness to the People"

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Abstract

This study compares the construction metaphors and the three dominant conceptual metaphors employed in the weekly televised speeches in Thailand given by General Prayuth Chan-o-cha during his tenures as head of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) and as prime minister. Using both qualitative and quantitative approaches, the study uses corpus linguistic software to search for metaphorically-used words relating to physical qualities of building and construction through concordance line analysis. This is carried out on the basis of a conceptualization of concrete ideas (source domain) and abstract ideas (target domain), relying on the lens of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). In this paper, the emerging three important conceptual metaphors of construction are: COUNTRY/NATION AS A CONSTRUCTION, POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND ADMINISTRATION PRINCIPLES AS A CONSTRUCTION, and THE ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT-RELATED AFFAIRS AS A CONSTRUCTION. During the two periods of time, the selected metaphors reflect the underlying ideology of the country's future development in terms of citizen reconciliation and national stability. This might be interpreted as a legitimization strategy to highlight the positive self-image of the military junta to handle political unrest and to drive the country and economy forward.

Keywords: Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), corpus linguistics, construction metaphor, political discourse, Thai political crisis

Introduction

Ideology, and its interaction with conceptual metaphors, plays a crucial role in political discourse analysis (Lu & Ahrens, 2008). As the characteristics of a political speech often rely heavily on figurative language, this type of discourse is represented by many communicative means and purposes which represent social actions and practices (Wodak, 1995). Furthermore, it is undeniable that politicians have gained much success with their "attempts to persuade an audience of the validity of their views through the subtle use of elegant and persuasive language" (Thomas et al., 2004, p. 39).

In constructing messages to achieve specific communicative objectives, politicians tend to use persuasive language to convey their message. It can be clearly seen from previous literature that metaphor is one of the persuasive tropes used together with other rhetorical devices. It is a phenomenon aimed at communicating with specific communities and societies,

through vehicles, inter alia, such as speeches and manifestos (Charteris-Black, 2004; Ferrari, 2007; Hellín-García, 2013; Lu & Ahrens, 2008; McEntee-Atalianis, 2011; Rafoss, 2019), political cartoons (Silaški & Đurovic, 2019), broadsheet newspapers (Cammaert, 2012), and public statements (Meadows, 2007). Historically, metaphorical linguistic expressions have been minutely examined to reveal the hidden ideologies and political points of view of the communicator, and how this type of figurative language operates in political discourse and influences audiences.

Contemporaneously, and based on the more recent scientific studies of language, communications research has shifted to more multidisciplinary fields of studies and the wider implications on social and political issues. Fields such as political science, history, cultural studies, anthropology, sociology, psychology, educational studies, communication and media studies, and computer science have all come to the fore. In integrating such multidisciplinary fields of study, language metaphors have become widely investigated and selected to be the focal point of critical study in a wide range of discourse, particularly political discourse. For instance, Gavriely-Nuri (2008) combined gender theories with the discipline of political science to analyze the main concepts of metaphorical annihilation and war-normalizing metaphor in Israeli political discourse. McEntee-Atalianis (2013) emphasized the relationship between stance and metaphor in identity construction through an analysis of speeches delivered by consecutive secretary generals of an agency of the United Nations. In a further study, Silaški and Đurovic (2019) analyzed the journey metaphor in Brexit-related political cartoons within the theoretical framework of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) and multimodality. In a contemporaneous work, Zeng et al. (2021) focus on the topic of the free economy in Hong Kong from 1997 to 2017, analyzing how metaphorical frames of reference changed during that period.

Metaphor study provides a unique perspective to understanding human thought in connection with social and political issues. We can see from the findings of Charteris-Black's (2004) study of metaphor in British party-political manifestos, that both parties had a set of positive evaluation-related metaphors based on the conceptual metaphors of WORTHWHILE ACTIVITIES IS BUILDING and SOCIETY IS A BUILDING. In another study, Koller and Semino (2009) analyzed the metaphors employed in the interviews and speeches of both former and current chancellors of Germany, Gerhard Schröder and Angela Merkel. Some findings of this study suggested that Angela Merkel tended to use metaphorical expressions relating to femininity such as empathy and passion, representing a particular type of conservative politician. It should be noted that complicated and critical perspectives of metaphorical linguistic expressions in various types of discourse could specifically indicate that human thought and reasoning is fundamentally conceptual. Thus, a critical perspective of metaphor analysis plays a significant role and becomes an inevitable part of everyday discourse and society, hence their investigation in relation to political discourse.

While it can be seen that metaphors in political discourse have been the subject of investigation in different contexts, very little research has been conducted to address this concept within the Thai political context. Only three studies have utilized the metaphor concept to analyze political speeches in the Thai socio-political context (Chaiyasat & Sudajit-apa, 2017; Klinnamhom, 2008; Krutnate, 2004). Firstly, Chaiyasat and Sudajit-apa (2017) adopted a corpus-assisted approach to analyze General Prayuth Chan-o-cha's English subtitled weekly

addresses on politics and democracy-related issues in times of political turmoil through the lens of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and CMA. However, this study is limited both in terms of corpus size and the way candidate metaphors were extracted from the raw data. This study focused only on the target terms *democracy* and *democratic* to investigate the candidate metaphors which collocated with these two target terms.

Secondly, based in Thailand, Klinnamhom (2008) examined conceptual metaphors in expressions used by Thai politicians in different types of political discourse. The findings of this polyglot study showed that conceptual metaphors play an important role in the ideologies that politicians conveyed through their speeches and points of view. There were nine key conceptual metaphors Thai politicians used as follows: fighting, journey, competition, family, medical treatment, performance, business, caring and maintaining, and game. Significantly building and construction metaphors were not included in this study.

Lastly, Krutnate (2004) examined linguistic devices used as indirect attack mechanisms on the government during censure debates. Focusing on the use of metaphors, it is clear that metaphorical linguistic expressions used appeared to be negative, highlighting negative representations of those politicians when they were administering the country. As the focus of this study was not metaphorical analysis, the overall picture of Thai politicians' usage of metaphors was not clearly seen. Based on the previous studies by Klinnamhom (2008) and Krutnate (2004), it is likely that the corpus of their studies, collected from a wide range of sources such as political campaign speeches, censure debates, media interviews, and transcription of radio talks were compiled during a period of political stability. This contrasts with the current study which focuses solely on the construction-based metaphor.

This study attempts to fill the research gap and comparatively examine building-based metaphors which emerged in selected English language speeches as Thailand faced continuing conflict between two opposing political factions ("Yellow shirt" and "Red shirt" supporters) leading to a strongly perceived risk of civil war. The use of building and construction metaphors was based on the following reasons:

First, building metaphors were described as a particular type of "productive source domain" (Lu & Ahren, 2008, p. 385) to be significantly related to the complexity of social and political issues. This statement echoes Kövecses's (2010) mappings of the conceptual metaphor COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS and Goatly's (1997) identified conceptual metaphor of A SOCIETY IS A BUILDING.

Second, building metaphors, based on Charteris-Black's (2004) study, covey a strong positive evaluation and highlight "progress towards long-term social goals" (p. 71) which requires social cooperation and mutual understanding between government and people to handle such complicated social problems. This statement accords with Lu and Ahren's (2008) suggestion that building metaphors are employed to establish a president's credentials and that using this particular type of metaphor and its conceptual pairings of A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING and CITIZENS AND POLITICAL LEADERS ARE BUILDERS, they together show that "builders contribute great efforts to set up the building and citizens and political leaders contribute great effort to country development" (p. 386).

Looking closely at the Thai political context in which the speeches of this study (political discourse) were delivered is important. The current (2021) prime minister of Thailand, General Prayuth Chan-o-cha, led a military coup d'état which seized power on 22

May 2014, with the aim of ending and removing the existing government from power and controlling incidents of violent political turmoil, rooted in the political differences between the two main parties. Building from this political disconnect, building and construction related metaphors are worth examining to understand how the underlying political ideologies and hidden views of General Prayuth Chan-o-cha, the head of the military-led government, are metaphorically presented in this situation.

In times of political uncertainty, it is common for people to feel extremely insecure, anxious, and uncertain about of their living conditions and safety. Therefore, it is necessary for political leaders to reassure the citizenry, as well as to provide solutions for the crisis. Lasswell (1949) asserted that metaphor research has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention when emotive and ornamental language is used. It is frequently employed in the form of social practices and representations that mold the events of political upheaval, which are consistent with the study of political crisis language, suggesting the "metaphor power in politicians' and mass media discourse is elevated during severe political crises related to military interventions" (De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 72). To be more specific, the utilization of metaphors by politicians through public announcement and political speeches play a crucial role in conveying their underlying ideologies to the audience with the aim of raising the public's awareness leading to an understanding of the hidden agenda in relation to social solidarity and cooperating with them to tackle the political crisis during periods which feature instability.

In order to raise international audience's critical awareness of hidden ideologies, this present study aims to investigate the metaphors which were employed in English-subtitled political speeches aired on the weekly TV program "Returning Happiness to the People" during the 2014 Thai political crisis. These speeches were communicated by General Prayuth Chan-o-cha during his tenures as head of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) and subsequently as prime minister. This study employs Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT and Charteris-Black's (2004) CMA as the focal theoretical and methodological frameworks for the study. To synergize the qualitative and quantitative approaches, Scott's (2021) WordSmith Tools corpus linguistic software (version 8) was also utilized in order to generate metaphorically-used words relating to physical qualities of building and construction through the lists of concordance lines which lead to expanded sentences to enhance data analysis and interpretation through the lens of CMA. The key research objectives are:

1. To identify construction metaphors in the weekly television program "Returning Happiness to The People" presented by the head of the NCPO and the prime minister
2. To compare the usage of construction metaphors between the two periods of broadcasting, i.e., when the presenter was head of the NCPO and prime minister
3. To interpret and to explain the metaphorical linguistic expressions and conceptual metaphors in the weekly television program "Returning Happiness to The People" during time of political crisis.

2014 Thai Political Crisis

As metaphor study heavily relies on context, it is important to thoroughly understand the Thai political context in which the political speeches of this study were delivered. According to Jotikut (2016), it should be suggested that the initial point of Thailand's protest politics began in 2001 when the Thai Rak Thai (TRT) party won the general election and became a new kind of populist government. However, on further investigation, it was suggested that the then prime minister, Thaksin Shinawatra, leader of the TRT party, together with his cabinet ministers, were guilty of corruption and manipulating the electoral process to gain more votes. As a consequence, Thaksin's regime was replaced by the Royal Thai Army in 2006. During this transition period of military administration, Thaksin's supporters, under the banner of the "red-shirt" movement, formed cadres with the purpose of political protesting.

The current prime minister of Thailand, General Prayuth Chan-o-cha, was the leader of a military coup d'état which seized power on 22 May 2014, with the aim of ending and removing the existing government from power and controlling incidents of violent political behavior which had its roots in political divisions and public demonstrations between "Yellow" and "Red" shirt activists. From the time of the coup d'état, it was decreed that "all protest movements were prohibited under military rule and the so-called reconciliation process continued to work to remove Thailand's protest politics" (Jotikut, 2016, p. 79).

To achieve its aims, one of the strategies of the military government has been to promote and communicate its ongoing campaign to the Thai public. The political speeches of General Prayuth Chan-o-cha, aired on the weekly television program, were part of this charm offensive. Named "Returning Happiness to the People" or in Thai รายการคืนความสุขให้คนในชาติ, the weekly addresses were broadcast nationwide beginning on the 30 May 2014 at 9.30pm in Thai with English language subtitles and, subsequently, on a weekly basis, facilitating communication with international audiences, and both governmental and private sectors.

The weekly addresses were also designed to assist international audiences gain a better understanding of important domestic issues and to recognize how the political and social problems impacted on their involvement. In addition to their radio and television broadcasts, the weekly addresses were also publicized on the websites of the Thai government such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At that time, the weekly addresses might be considered as important information that international audiences such as ambassadors, diplomats, entrepreneurs, businesspersons, students, and tourists should pay particular attention to in order to appreciate the direction and policy that the Thai military government was moving toward during this time of political unrest.

It has been previously established that using the broadcast transcripts of these weekly communications might be considered as a legitimate form of political discourse analysis since they are the scripts prepared for a political addressor, General Prayuth Chan-o-cha (Carreon & Svetanant, 2017). Semantically, and to avoid ambiguity, the terms address, speech, and discourse are used synonymously throughout the study.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

The original work of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live By* created a new research theme in cognitive linguistics, highlighting conceptual systems, language, and actions through metaphorical thought. They were the first to theorize the cognitive function of metaphors and coin the term "cognitive metaphors," which are more recently known as "conceptual metaphors." Based on their ideas, CMT has emerged and become used as a theoretical framework to investigate linguistics. In addition, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) defined metaphors as "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (p. 5). This is a fundamental concept in the mapping of correspondences as metaphorical linguistic expressions between the source domain and the target domain, seen in the example of the construction metaphor (ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS) which was proposed by Kövecses (2000a, 2000b, 2002). The term "mapping" is generally described as a process in which particular words are associated with meanings and with comparable attributes of the topic under investigation (Ritchie, 2013). This corroborates Knowles and Moon's (2006) idea of analyzing conceptual metaphors, indicating that the connections between concept areas in terms of correspondences and mappings between the source and target domains is the focal point in CMT. With regards to the two terms of *source domain* and *target domain*, Cardini (2014) provided a clear explanation of these two terms: the source domain is "some concrete, simple, well-delineated entity that can typically be apprehended by our sense" (p. 59); while at the same time, the target domain is described as "some relatively abstract, poorly-delineated area of experience" (p. 59).

Relying on Kövecses's (2010) mappings of constituents of the conceptual metaphor COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS, it can be seen that basis, support, stability, and structure are all metaphorical in relation to abstract targets; as defined in Table 1.

Table 1: Mappings of Conceptual Metaphor of COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS (adopted from Kövecses, 2010, p. 139)

Source Domain: Buildings	Target Domain: Complex Systems
Foundation	Basis that supports the entire system
Framework	Overall structure of the elements that make up the system
Additional elements to support the framework	Additional elements to support the structure of the system
Design	Logical structure of the system
Architect	Maker/builder of the system
Process of building	Process of constructing the system
Strength	Lastingness/stability of the system
Collapse	Failure of the system

It should be noted that metaphorical expressions can be described and understood far easier when the concrete concept of source domain comes into play with the abstract concept of the target domain. Hence, CMT, as a network of mappings, plays a vital role in the systematic mapping of correspondences between source and target domains.

Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA)

CMT has met several challenges and severe criticisms. Inter alia, most metaphors are elicited or invented by users rather than being naturally occurring and metaphors were considered to be isolated sentences, lacking the reflection of their real use in a socio-political context. In reality, it is difficult to conduct cross-domain mapping between source and target domains if the social context has not been considered as metaphors would become hardly comprehensible for analysis.

Based on the criticism of influential notions within CMT, Charteris-Black (2004) consolidated Critical Discourse Analysis CDA, with CMT, more pragmatic approaches and corpus methodology propelling the critical study of metaphor into a larger and more complicated context. Closely looking at CMT, Sinclair (1991) cautioned that intuitions and introspections about critical investigation of language can be unreliable and problematic when it comes to the point of natural language use.

Thus, the so-called CMA has been proposed as a new research field of critical analysis for language. With regards to the analytical framework of CMA, Charteris-Black (2004, 2014) deconstructs metaphors into three stages of identification, interpretation, and explanation, an idea adopted from Fairclough's (1989, 2010) three interrelated-dimensional framework of text, discursive practice, and socio-cultural practice.

Table 2: Comparison between Fairclough's (1989, 1992, 2010) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Charteris-Black's (2004, 2014) Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA)

Interrelated Stages of CDA and CMA	Fairclough's (1989, 1992, 2010) CDA	Charteris-Black's (2004, 2014) CMA
Description/ Identification	Text analysis: Written and spoken (generation of text genres, types or categories)	Analysis of words and phrases: what to count as a metaphor (a close reading of a sample of texts to determine candidate metaphors)
Interpretation	Interaction: Processing analysis and seeking meanings of the description, (processes of (re)production, distribution, consumption of text)	Deciding how metaphors are to be categorized and organized based on the relationship of source and target domains (and identifying feasible conceptual metaphors and conceptual keys and considering which metaphor choices account for constructing a representation of social reality)
Explanation	Socio cultural practice: Social analysis (socio cultural, economic, political, and environmental conditions of production and interpretation of text)	Considering the broader sociopolitical context to determine the purposes for speakers employing such metaphors in their texts; how the persuasive role of metaphor has impact on audience's opinions, ideas, and beliefs

The integration of CDA, corpus linguistics, pragmatics, and cognitive linguistics not only provides new insights into both CDA and CMT, but establishes a new theory in the investigation of linguistic features, namely CMA.

Methods

Data Collection

This research aims to investigate construction metaphors and conceptual metaphors of country/nation, economy and development-related affairs, and political institutions and administration principles over two time periods. The first dataset is 15 English-subtitled versions of the weekly addresses of General Prayuth Chan-o-cha, while he was the head of NCPO between 30 May 2014 and 5 September 2014. The second dataset, of the same number of addresses, was when he was prime minister between 12 September 2014 and 19 December 2014. These two datasets are defined as NCPO and PM respectively. The total number of words spoken within the NCPO speeches is 95,581 and PM speeches is 75,217. Both datasets were electronically retrieved from www.thaigov.go.th.

The dataset of 30 speeches was employed as the corpus under investigation based upon the following reasons. First, the political situation at the time of the speeches were being delivered was extremely intense and negatively affected people's lives, national stability, and national economy. Second, many events affecting people's rights and freedoms of expression occurred under the military-led government such as the imposition of curfews, a limit to group gatherings for political discussion, and restrictions on the freedom of media channels. Third, in terms of text availability there are only 15 NCPO speeches available. Therefore, the decision was made to use this as the chronologically first dataset, and for reference and comparison take the next 15 speeches, made by the same individual in the same format, when he was appointed to the prime ministerial role.

Regarding any consent and ethical concerns, it must be clearly understood that General Prayuth Chan-o-cha, the physical communicator of the text embodied in the two datasets, was, at the time he was broadcasting, head of the NCPO and subsequently prime minister of Thailand. He was an important public figure, and his speeches were provided via the official website of the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs and were officially on open access to the public. Thus, it is not deemed necessary to obtain the personal consent from General Prayuth Chan-o-cha for their use.

Corpus-Assisted Metaphor Analysis Procedure

Dealing with a massive amount of data by manual identification creates unmanageable processes of data collection and metaphor extraction. Therefore, I adopted the WordSmith Tools version 8.0 to generate those linguistic features of possible candidate metaphors through a thorough examination of the concordance lines of the search-target words. Based on previous studies, such corpus linguistic tools have been shown to be very useful when dealing with large amounts of data and where applied to metaphor studies (Charteris-Black, 2004; Deignan, 1999, 2005; Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2006). Each of the 30 speech files were assigned a specific filename using the number, year, month, and date when it was published on the Thai government website. For instance, the first speech published on the Thai government website on 30th May 2014 was named NCPO01_30_05_2014.

Given the scope of this research, the concordance tool was solely used to examine the metaphorical linguistic expressions and the collocations of surrounding words. Metaphorical expressions were listed for each reference, for instance, words such as *build*, *lay*, *set up*, *restore*, *stabilize*, *solid*, *strong*, *long-lasting*, *long-standing*, *pillar*, *stability*, *foundation*, and *framework*

were aggregated into a "building and construction metaphor" based on the principles of CMT. The metaphorically-used words relating to physical qualities of building and construction are based on the previous studies of Charteris-Black (2004), Lu and Ahrens (2008), Kövecses (2010), Hellín-García (2013), and Gallagher (2021). After determining the metaphorically-conveyed lexical features, the concordance software, WordSmith Tools version 8, was utilized in this procedure in order to generate the selected search terms of the two datasets. This is displayed in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Screenshot of Scott's (2021) WordSmith Tools (Version 8.0) Controller

To further illustrate this procedure, Figure 2 displays the screenshot of WordSmith Tools version 8.0 output for the search-target word *build* in Key Word in Context (KWIC) and the associated concordance lines. Concordances show the selected word(s) in the context of the sentences or utterances in which they were used.

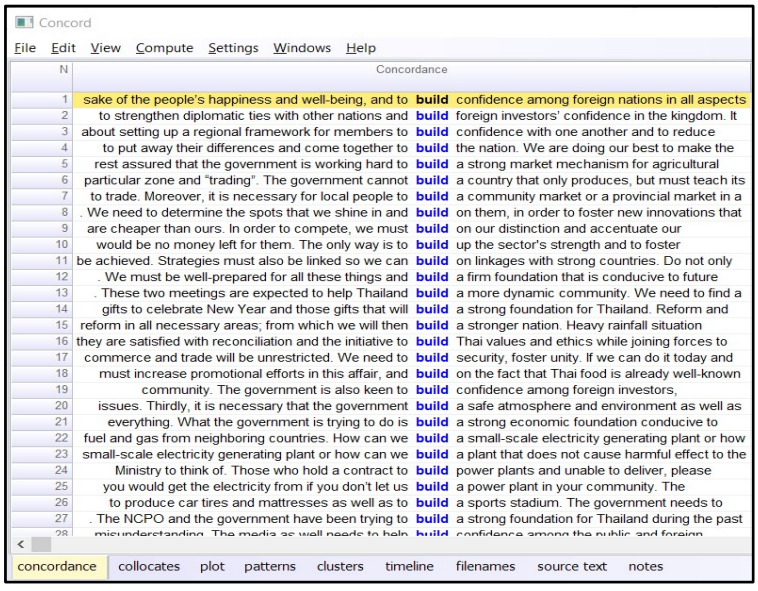

Figure 2: Screenshot of WordSmith Tools version 8.0 for the search-target word *build* in KWIC and concordance lines

Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP)

Metaphor identification procedure (MIP) is a method for identifying metaphoric expressions in discourse. Creed and McIlveen (2018) asserted that "the procedure supports a study of metaphor from a bottom-up approach while making no presumption of potentially metaphoric expressions nor proposing categorizations of underlying conceptual metaphors" (p. 31). As metaphor analysis is context dependent, it should be suggested that the concept of situated conceptualizations or situation-specific occurrences play a crucial role in identifying metaphorically-used words. It should be pointed out that "words that are commonly used with a metaphoric sense are then classified as metaphor keywords and it is possible to measure the presence of such keywords quantitatively in the corpus" (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 35).

Based on this, a group of scholars known as the Pragglejaz Group started MIP in 2007, elaborating on a detailed method of identifying metaphors. After extracting the entire concordance lines of a search-target word, I read and reread each sentence and full paragraph multiple times in order to determine which word appeared likely to be metaphorical based on the MIP methodology. The procedures, as described by Pragglejaz Group (2007), were as follows:

1. The entire corpus of a text was read for content understanding and familiarity of meaning.
2. The lexical units in the texts were dissected.
3. The contextual meanings of each lexical unit were determined and the basic meaning which is more concrete, related to bodily action, more precise and historically older were considered thoroughly.
4. In case the lexical unit has a more basic meaning, examine a relationship between the contextual meaning and the basic meaning.
5. If the lexical unit has a more basic meaning and there is a relationship between the contextual meaning and the basic meaning it may be considered as metaphorical.

In implementation of this procedure, all metaphorically-used words were both manually determined and conceptually mapped on a matrix of source domain and target domain based on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT and were analyzed through the lens of Charteris-Black's (2004, 2014) CMA. After this preliminary procedure of metaphor identification, the concordance lines of search-target words such as *build* were expanded into full sentences. As can be seen in the following example, the entire bold font *build* serves as a common metaphorical source domain and could be employed as a theme of analysis (see Figure 3).

According to Kövecses (2010) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980), a number of building metaphors might be identified from previous studies such as THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, SOCIETY IS A BUILDING, COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS, and CAREERS ARE BUILDINGS. In this present study, it was observed that the word *build* is collocated with noun phrases such as *a stronger nation*, *a strong Thailand*, and *a strong foundation for Thailand* as displayed in Figure 3. Consequently, conceptual mappings of source and target domains of these three concordance lines are metaphorically conceptualized as the COUNTRY/NATION IS A BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION for interpretation and

explanation based on social and political contexts. Conceptual metaphors were denoted in small capital letters to distinguish them from linguistic metaphors.

o put away their differences and come together to **build** the nation. We are doing our best to make the peo
s to celebrate New Year and those gifts that will **build** a strong foundation for Thailand. Reform and deve
m in all necessary areas; from which we will then **build** a stronger nation. Heavy rainfall situation Regar
. The NCPO and the government have been trying to **build** a strong foundation for Thailand during the past

Figure 3: Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions of Concordance Lines of Search Target Word *Build* from Prime Minister Speeches

After extracting the entire concordance of the search-target word output for *build* from the prime minister's speeches, I then thoroughly examined the lexical unit of the word *build* and its collocations (co-text) which appears to be part of a metaphorical expression as can be seen in Figure 3. In this process, the concordance lines which did not convey metaphorical meanings based on Pragglejaz Group's (2007) definitions were excluded. As can be seen in the sample list of concordance lines for the word *build* in Figure 2, some entries were removed from the analysis because the word conveys solely a sense of literal meaning, and not metaphorical.

Inter-Coder Reliability Procedure of Metaphor Identification

Inter-coder reliability plays a crucial role in qualitative research, demonstrating how similarly two or more coders apply a set of codes to the same data. To indicate consistency in coding, it is necessary to calculate the amount of agreement between two (or more) coders. This is in line with Steen et al. (2010), indicating that reliability tests should be carried out to examine the extent of inter-coder agreement. Importantly, Steen et al. (2010) also suggested it is necessary to have at least 92% agreement before discussion of all cases. In this study, inter-coder reliability of metaphor identification was conducted to strengthen coding agreement, maintain objectivity, and avoid bias. This comparison was carried out by the researcher and one expert who specializes in a related field of discourse analysis and metaphor study.

The 125 metaphors from NCPO speeches and 121 metaphors from PM speeches were put into this procedure. I then had an experienced inter-coder (an American citizen and doctoral degree holder) who specializes in metaphor studies to code the selected metaphors and establish the percentage of agreement. Inter-coder reliability was 95.2% (119 out of 125 metaphors) for the NCPO speeches and 93.38% (113 out of 121 metaphors) for the PM speeches, which indicated a high level of agreement between researcher and inter-coder. Any disagreement was thoroughly discussed to establish consensus between the two coders.

Data Analysis

After identifying metaphors and conceptually mapping the target and source domains of each metaphor, I then undertook further interpretation and explanation based on the analytical framework of Charteris-Black's (2004, 2014) CMA and his three stages of identification, interpretation, and explanation. In this stage, I considered the broader social and political context to determine the purposes that General Prayut Chan-o-cha had in using

metaphors. Through the interpretation process, it is necessary to establish any relationship between used metaphors and the cognitive and pragmatic factors that determine them (Charteris-Black, 2004). Thus, the socially-important representation of metaphor choice plays a significant role at the stage of interpretation. The persuasive role of construction metaphors should not be overlooked as they play a significant role in arousing emotions, forming ideas, changing opinions, and consolidating beliefs toward issues such as national unity, citizen reconciliation, and economic development. Further, this persuasive role in political speeches had become evident in Charteris-Black's (2004) previous work, which revealed that construction metaphors are likely to "imply a positive evaluation of political policy" (p. 95). As the construction-based metaphor is likely to convey positive sentiments toward abstract and complicated events, this accords with Kövecses's (2010) previous observations of the source domain in the conceptualization of complex systems, which indicated construction metaphors appear to be associated with "the creation of a well-structured and stable or lasting complex system" (p. 159).

Further, Semino (2008) pointed out the ideological implications expressed through the use of metaphors. This is consistent with Deignan's (2005) claim that "conceptual metaphor theory holds that metaphor is potentially ideological" (p. 23). To understand the ideology behind or underlying metaphorical use in this study, I focused on the conceptual mapping of source and target domains, their co-text, and the involved socio-political contexts. This led to the discovery of certain aspects of ideology prevailing in the focused conceptual metaphors under investigation. Specifically, analysis of such ideological and persuasive aspects of metaphors in this study relied on the assumption that metaphors reflect the positive self-image of the junta's "good men" – principally General Prayut Chan-o-cha – during his various tenures.

Findings and Discussion

Overall Percentage Differences of Construction Metaphors between the Two Datasets

A closer look at the data revealed several metaphorically-used words relating to physical qualities of building and construction as the source domain in the two datasets. The total numbers of metaphorical statements in the two sets of data are quite similar but the numbers across each lexical item varied. Although this study does not aim at statistically comparing the two data sets, there are subtle differences between them. Clearly, the total occurrence of metaphors in the NCPO speeches appeared to be higher than that of the PM speeches (119 to 113) due to the fact that the NCPO corpus size is 11.93% larger than the PM corpus (95,581 versus 75,217). The overall details of metaphorical linguistic items relating to the physical qualities of building and construction (the lexical items of source domain) is the focus in the current study and is presented in Table 3.

As the table shows, the number of words used in construction metaphors of the NCPO speeches (119 words) slightly outnumbered those in the PM speeches (113 words). There is no salient difference in the incidence of words used in construction metaphors of speeches over both periods, signifying that construction metaphors played a significant role as a linguistics choice throughout the political crisis. In addition, the metaphorically-used words as *set up*/*setting up* (37 words, 31.09%) appeared to be mostly used in NCPO speeches, while *build*

(30 words, 26.54%) appeared to be predominantly employed in PM speeches. The top five metaphorically-used words in NCPO speeches included *set up*/*setting up* (37 words, 31.09%); *build* (18 words, 15.12%); *stability* (16 words, 13.44%); *framework* (12 words, 10.08%); and *strong* (11 words, 9.24%). By contrast, the top five metaphorically-used words in the PM speeches were *build* (30 words, 26.54%); *set up*/*setting up* (18 words, 15.92%); *foundation* (17 words, 15.04%); *stability* (13 words, 11.50%); and *lay down*, *restore*, and *framework* (7 words each, 6.19%). Further, the metaphorically-used word *lay* and its linguistic variants, *restore*, *stabilize*, *solid*, *long-lasting*, *long-standing*, and *pillar* were employed sporadically in both sets of data.

Table 3: Details of Construction Metaphors between the Two Datasets

Construction Metaphors (Source Domains)	Metaphors in NCPO		Metaphors in PM	
	Frequency (words)	%	Frequency (words)	%
build	18	15.12	30	26.54
set up/setting up	37	31.09	18	15.92
lay/laid	4	3.36	3	2.65
lay down	-	-	7	6.19
lay out	-	-	1	0.88
restore	4	3.36	7	6.19
stabilize	-	-	5	4.42
solid	2	1.68	3	2.65
strong	11	9.24	-	-
long-lasting	2	1.68	2	1.7
long-standing	3	2.52	-	-
foundation	7	5.88	17	15.04%
framework	12	10.08%	7	6.19%
pillar	3	2.52%	-	-
stability	16	13.44%	13	11.50%
Total	**119**	**100%**	**113**	**100%**

Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions and Conceptual Metaphors of Country/Nation, Economy and Development-Related Affairs, and Political Institutions and Administration Principles

In times of political uncertainty, politicians often utilize linguistic expressions as a means of expressing abstract concepts in more concrete forms to make them more easily understood by the public. In order to interpret and analyze the selected words of source domain of building and construction metaphor as reported in Table 3 within the specific context of the 2014 Thai political crisis, it is necessary to conceptualize those selected metaphorical linguistic items (source domain) with the abstract concepts of country/nation, economy and development-related affairs, and political institutions/administration principles (target domain). This analysis is based on the critical lens of CMT (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2002, 2010) and CMA (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2014), as earlier discussed.

Table 4 illustrates the conceptual mapping of construction metaphors (source domain) and the abstract concepts (target domain) in the datasets. With respect to the original findings of this study, there are six major conceptual metaphors. However, due to space limitations, only the three most frequent metaphors of country/nation, economy and development-related affairs, and political institutions/administration principles were analyzed in the subsequent sections.

Table 4: Frequencies of Three Significant Conceptual Metaphors of Construction Derived from the Two Datasets

Conceptual Metaphors of Construction	Metaphor Tokens in NCPO	%	Metaphor Tokens in PM	%
UNDERSTANDING, TRUST, CONFIDENCE AMONG THAI AND INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC AS A CONSTRUCTION	13	10.92	6	5.30
COUNTRY/NATION AS A CONSTRUCTION	20	16.80	27	23.89
PEACE AS A CONSTRUCTION	5	4.20	8	7.07
POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND ADMINISTRATION PRINCIPLES AS A CONSTRUCTION	50	42.01	25	22.12
ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT-RELATED AFFAIRS AS A CONSTRUCTION	28	23.52	45	39.82
PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL ISSUES AS A CONSTRUCTION	3	2.5	2	1.76
Total	**119**	**100**	**113**	**100**

Country/Nation as a Construction

The interesting point of this conceptual metaphor is that it tends to be associated with the idea and the act of national building and construction. Linguistic features of such metaphors include metaphorical expressions such as: *build a strong nation*, *stability of the country*, *national stability*, *build a stronger nation*, *build the nation*, *build the country*, *build a strong Thailand*, *build a strong foundation for Thailand*, *lay down a strong foundation for the country*, *creating national stability*, *restore stability*, *lay a strong foundation for the country's future*, and so on. It can be seen from Table 4 that occurrences of this conceptual metaphor within the two datasets was nearly the same, accounting for 20 occurrences (16.80%) in NCPO speeches and 27 occurrences (23.89%) in PM speeches. These metaphorical linguistic expressions can be associated with the idea of forward-looking ways of building and laying the foundation of Thailand at a time of crisis and political protest. The following sentences exemplify this set of conceptual metaphors:

> (1) "Regarding the prohibition of political gatherings of more than 5 people, this also is necessary. Because we are in the initial phase of our operation, the NCPO cannot allow any group to create untoward incidents that may affect the ***stability of the country***". (NCPO104)
>
> (2) "I have said many times we need to take the country toward ***sustainable stability*** in the future, and ***the country's foundations need to be laid***". (PM106)

Another interesting point about the metaphorical expressions above is how the word *build* has been used concurrently with the adjective *strong* and the noun *foundation*. According to Longman (2000), the word *strong* can be defined in many interrelated aspects of physical strength, things, ability to deal with difficulty, power, healthy, feelings/opinions,

affect/influence, relationship, argument/ reason, and so on. This data suggests a closer look at the definition of the word *foundation*. Interestingly, the definition of *foundation* has many concepts including building, basic idea, organization, and establishment (Longman, 2000). These definitions of the word *foundation* seem to relate to the conceptualization of the concrete idea of source domain and the abstract idea of target domain. It also signifies the action of laying or providing a foundation for something.

Examining the definitions of the two words *strong* and *foundation*, we can see that in order to have a strong country or nation, it is necessary to strengthen its base or foundations. This implies that the country has become weakened due to the political turmoil and unrest of the citizenry. However, the country or nation is portrayed as having physical qualities of building or construction through the combination of metaphorical linguistic expressions such as *build*, *strong*, *foundation*, and *stability*. This is consistent with a study conducted by Johansen (2007), highlighting that "we see how logically the stability and building metaphors interact; it seems obvious that in order for us to build something, to make something grow, we need a stable base" (p. 52).

The conceptualization involved in metaphorically-used words in association with the concept of the country as a construction suggests Thailand needed to be re-founded with strong cornerstones and on stable ground. As the construction metaphors associated with national stability are critically assessed, it should be noted that this conceptual metaphor is conceptualized and framed in a prosperity/moving forward stance to develop and promote Thailand as a stable country among the Thai populace and foreign nations in terms of political, economic, and societal dimensions through the collaborative building between citizens and political leaders.

Political Institutions and Administration Principles as a Construction

Based on Table 4, the distribution of this conceptual metaphor in the two datasets was significantly different. The metaphor is more frequent than all others in the NCPO speeches, accounting for 50 occurrences (42.01%). In contrast, it accounted for only 25 occurrences (22.12%) in the PM speeches, but is common in both datasets.

Various types of words were metaphorically used to conceptualize the abstract idea of politics and administration-related issues. Those words are of three main types: verbs (*build, lay*, *set up*, *restore*); adjectives (*strong*, *long-lasting*); and nouns (*foundation*, *framework*, *pillar*). The words *build*, *set up*, *stable*, *pillar*, *strong*, *foundation*, and *framework* are frequently seen with the democracy-related concept through words such as *democracy* and *democratic*. These metaphorical linguistic expressions of construction co-occurring with the concept of democracy (6 occurrences) has been found more in the NCPO speeches, as can be seen in the following excerpts.

> (3) "At present, Thailand is trying to ***build the foundations for a strong democracy***, which will lead to more sustainable and mutually beneficial partnerships with the international community". (NCPO74)

By contrast, the adjective *long-lasting* and the verb *restore* appear to be words that were conceptually associated more with the democracy concept. Use of the construction

metaphor in connection with the democracy concept has been found less in the PM speeches, emerging on only three occasions based on the concordance corpus, as can be seen in the following extracts:

> (4) "I wonder how actions like those would help bring peace, happiness, economic growth, and ***long-lasting democratic solution*** to our country". (PM75)

> (5) "On this occasion, I informed him of the current situation and the government's reform plans to ***restore true and strong democracy in the kingdom***". (PM60)

This difference in the use of the construction metaphor to conceptualize the democracy concept in the two-period speeches is interesting. It possibly reflects the different political context toward the crisis over the two periods over which the speeches were broadcast. Perhaps, not surprisingly, the military-led government represented itself as a resolver needed to solve the problem of the rise of the Yellow Shirts and Red Shirts, and intervened through the military coup d'état in 2014. While the aim of this military intervention was to prohibit protest movements, Jotikut (2016) pointed out that after the Royal Thai Army had carried out a coup d'état "the so-called reconciliation process continued to work to remove Thailand's protest politics" (p. 79). Hence, the military government focused the public's attention on the construction source domain to conceptualize the political actions.

In this section, construction metaphors are ideologically motivated by this conceptual metaphor. This is consistent with the study of Charteris-Black (2004), suggesting that "building metaphors are motivated by the conceptual metaphor, SOCIETY IS A BUILDING, and invariably convey a positive evaluation because a valued outcome requires social co-operation between government and the people" (p. 71). He also indicated that social goals can be conceptualized as needing patience and the joint effort of government and populace to tackle political problems such as protesting in which instant outcomes are difficult.

Based on the political situation outlined above, the implication is that Thai democratic principles appear to be problematic even though Thailand defines its democratic principles somewhat uniquely. Thai people's political viewpoints are embroiled in a deep political polarization between the *Red Shirts*, Thaksin Shinawatra supporters, and *Yellow Shirt*, conservative/royalist demonstrators, lining up against the "Reds" (Funston, 2009). Behind the scenes of political conflict threatening the country's democratic transition, construction metaphors are vital for a political leader to precisely conceptualize and communicate the abstract ideas of democracy and policies to the public.

The Economy and Development-Related Affairs as a Construction

To analyze this type of conceptual metaphor, the construction metaphors that occurred with words related to the economy/finance and development-related affairs were described as the target domain. This echoes Cardini's (2014) study of metaphors within an economic crisis, which suggested that the words of the target domain, such as *economy*, *finance*, and *market* appeared to be related to the concept of economy. This is consistent with Gil's (2019) study, which analyzed metaphor and ideology in British and Spanish economic reports. In this study, a list of common targets within the economic ambit seem to be in line with this present study,

for instance, the words *bank*, *company*, *economy*, *finance*, *investor*, *market*, *money*, *product*, *sector*, and *stock* were primarily selected for concordance software purposes. As development-related affairs and activities are considered as the driving force to stimulate and enhance a country's economic development, I then selected the words *economy* and *economic* and other words related to the development-related affairs and activities such as *agriculture*, *trade*, *investment*, *price*, *market mechanism*, *market*, *development*, *energy*, *sector*, *resource*, and *system* as the target domain of the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT-RELATED AFFAIRS AS A CONSTRUCTION.

It can be seen from Table 4 that the distribution of this type of conceptual metaphor from the two datasets is significantly different in terms of percentage. This metaphor is far more frequent in the PM speeches, accounting for 45 occurrences (39.82%) compared to only 28 occurrences (23.52%) among the NCPO speeches. Based on this difference it might be inferred that the underlying ideology of General Prayuth Chan-o-cha toward building a stable economy was highlighted when the political crisis had become less severe and had been addressed after he was appointed prime minister. It might also be interpreted that he seemingly emphasized the development-related affairs to drive the national economy in order to gain popularity and confidence from the public, as can be seen in the following extracts:

(6) "What the government is trying to do is ***build a strong economic foundation*** conducive to growth and prosperity". (PM19)

(7) "The government will work hard to move the country forward, ***stabilize economy***, and develop society, so that we can have a fair election". (PM70)

When examining the NCPO speeches it appears that metaphorical linguistic expressions such as *build*, *stabilize*, *strong*, *fundamental*, and *foundation* were only sporadically employed and that messages had not been so heavily reliant on the packed construction metaphors conceptualizing the economy concept in comparison to the PM speeches, as can be seen in the following excerpts:

(8) "All parties in the meeting have agreed that SMEs are ***a fundamental and vital part of the domestic economic system***". (NCPO40)

(9) "Thailand is fortunate to have ***a good economic foundation*** and, with good and effective direction, we can become a key driver in the ASEAN as well as global economic community in the future". (NCPO82)

Further, the search terms *build*, *stabilize*, *foundation*, and *stability* appeared to be predominantly utilized in the PM speeches, while an analysis of corpus collocations reveal that all uses of the word *build* are in association with the abstract concepts of market, economy, development and agriculture related issues, as seen in the following extracts:

(10) "***Economic stability*** and social improvement must continue to grow without impasse". (PM108)

(11) "The government will work hard to move the country forward, ***stabilize economy***, and develop society, so that we can have a fair election". (PM70)

It appears the search terms *stability* and *stabilize* can be considered as common economic metaphors that play a crucial role in political discourse. This is in line with the study carried out by Johansen (2007) comparing the two terms *economic growth* and *economic stability* which he metaphorically uses to highlight physical entities. It is important; therefore, the government finds the way to maintain the economy in a stable and buoyant condition. It should be suggested that the political situation can be reflected in the use of conceptual metaphors used by the government, and that as the political situation changes, so do the mix and tone of metaphors used.

Based on the possibility of political upheaval, it is likely that the metaphorically-used words in the speeches of this period relied heavily on progressive development of the country. As can be seen in the excerpts discussed earlier, the metaphorical linguistic expressions in this specific period were used to emphasize economic development issues when the political turmoil and insurrection appeared to be controllable under the orders of the military government.

As metaphors are culturally bound and context dependent, it is useful to discuss the similarities and differences between construction metaphors in Thai political discourse and other contexts and cultures. The findings of this present study explain the function of construction metaphors in charting the progress of a country toward its future goal, which is consistent with the study of Lu and Ahrens (2008), indicating that a country's development is understood based on conceptual mappings of the building metaphor.

This study provides further supporting evidence of the persuasive power of building and construction based metaphors in political discourse, which corroborates the findings in Charteris-Black's (2004) work, based on British political discourse. This study also reinforces Chaiyasat and Sudajit-apa's (2017) study of Thai politics and democracy-related issues in times of political turmoil, emphasizing the hope of forward-looking ways toward the restoration of democratic principles and laying down strong and solid foundations during times of political turmoil.

In a study by Hellín and García (2013), based on the political discourses of the former Spanish president José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, building metaphors were employed to serve as a legitimization strategy to highlight the solid ground of the government's anti-terrorist initiative through various types of conceptual metaphors. The findings of this study seem to be consistent with the present study in terms of building and construction based metaphors employed to characterize a positive representation of General Prayuth Chan-o-cha's military-led government.

With regard to the persuasive role of construction-based metaphors, some findings in McEntee and Atalianis's (2011) study of the role of metaphor in constructing a common "imaging" of the International Maritime Organization (IMO) within the United Nations, suggested that the metaphorical expressions in certain phrases; for instance, "IMO…have *laid the foundation* for substantial and continued reductions in operational and accidental pollution from ships" and "IMO's approach is to promote regional *capacity building* and the

development of *strong infrastructures*…", were employed to highlight the importance and existence of the organization.

This part of their analysis is in line with the role of building- and construction-based metaphors in Prayuth Chan-o-cha's weekly televised speeches namely "Returning Happiness to the People" which served as the linguistic strategy to legitimize the importance and existence of the coup and the administration team of the NCPO to restore order to Thailand and enact political reforms during a time of political crisis. They might argue that without these involved authorities, the ongoing political movement(s) would remain and the consequence of such would be continued violence from protests which might have negative effects on the country and its economy.

Additionally, the findings of this study corroborate some of findings of the more recent work of Zeng et al. (2021), which revealed that the persuasive role of building metaphors can be considered as one of the linguistic strategies to justify the Hong Kong government's initiatives, placing an emphasis on economic growth and their commitment to the concept of a free economy throughout this period. This finding accords in part with this present study, which shows that the metaphorically-used words relied heavily on the politics and administration-related conceptual metaphor.

By contrast, the political turmoil and insurrection appeared to have abated and was more controllable by the time General Prayuth Chan-o-cha was officially appointed as prime minister. By this point the metaphorical linguistic expressions became more employed to emphasize the ideas of (future based) economic development. Based on the occurrences of the conceptual metaphors, it is clear that the underlying ideology of General Prayuth Chan-o-cha toward building political institutions and administration principles shifted when the political crisis subsided after his appointment as prime minister. He then increasingly emphasized economic issues and related- development affairs in order to gain popularity and confidence from the public.

Conclusion

Metaphors are of more significance in examining motivations and hidden ideologies of communicators during periods of political instability, and construction-based metaphors portray the underlying ideology of the country's future development in terms of citizen reconciliation and national stability. Throughout the two periods of time when General Prayuth Chan-o-cha was head of the NCPO and subsequently prime minister, construction-based metaphors were employed as a legitimization strategy to highlight the positive self-image of the junta to handle political issues and to drive the country and economy moving forward.

The desire of the junta for public support and legitimization can be defined on a number of dimensions. Firstly, the junta is composed of senior military figures who the public might be wary of as to their ability to administer the country. The junta needs to reassure the public that they have that ability. Secondly, the junta's coup d'état had been achieved by force, which is anathema to peaceful democratic election procedures. Thirdly, the junta is aware that little can be achieved without public support, hence their emphasis on collaboration strategies. Finally, as with all individuals, the junta, as individuals, wishes to be liked.

This is in line with Charteris-Black's (2004) idea, highlighting that social dimensions and sociopolitical contexts including ideology, culture, and history play a crucial role in the choices of metaphorical linguistic expressions in a particular discourse. As metaphors have been identified as one of the linguistic strategies political figures typically use to achieve their goal of political advantage, Antil and Verma (2020) pointed out that they "have also been considered as a manipulative tool in the hands of political leaders" (p. 223). It has been shown that the aim of employing construction metaphors in speeches within an unstable political context is to propagate the political ideology of national stability. Moreover, it also should be noted that such use of construction metaphors can be associated with the concept of promoting positive self-image which political figures tended to use in order to shed light on their personal representation.

This study employed corpus linguistics software to extract the target-search words of metaphorical linguistic expressions. In so doing, it helped the researcher deal with huge datasets more effectively for the preliminary process of metaphor extraction and identification. With regards to the studies limitations, this study solely examined the construction metaphors appearing in speeches during a political crisis. The findings from this present study are "a snapshot rather than video" and a replication over a longer time period might be useful. Other metaphor studies also need to thoroughly investigate different types of metaphors such as journey metaphor or machinery metaphor so that the findings would provide more insightful analysis and interpretation.

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Kanji Selection and Ordering in Beginner-Level Japanese Language Textbooks

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Abstract

This study investigated the selection and ordering of kanji in four beginner-level Japanese language textbooks used in Japanese as a foreign language courses at universities both within Japan and outside the country. The purpose was to ascertain which kanji are selected for inclusion and the types of kanji ordering strategies employed. Kanji included in beginner-level Japanese language textbooks were categorized according to multiple criteria to determine whether they are systematically arranged in a particular order. The study found that each textbook's selection of kanji was different, however, kanji orders in all four textbooks closely resembled each other, with a similar ratio of kanji falling under the same ordering categories. In particular, all four textbooks adopted context and kanji compounds as their ordering strategies, and component-based ordering strategies were not present in the textbooks. This study highlighted that, in terms of kanji selection and ordering, the predominant pedagogical approach to kanji in beginner-level Japanese language textbooks is to rely on context and kanji compound-based ordering strategies. While this approach offers many benefits, we argue that a more multi-faceted approach which exposes learners to an array of different strategies including identifying kanji components, may promote optimal outcomes for kanji learning.

Keywords: kanji, kanji orders, Japanese language textbooks, kanji learning and teaching

Introduction

The difficulty of learning Japanese is believed to be largely due to the complexity of its written language, especially the kanji (Bourke, 1996; Gamage, 2003; Mori, 1999). Kanji present a multitude of difficulties for learners of Japanese as a foreign language (JFL). For example, to achieve fluency in the written language requires JFL learners to remember the 2136 *jōyō* kanji, prescribed by the Japanese Ministry of Education as the "regular-use kanji" (Conning, 2013). Moreover, due to the adaptation of kanji from the Chinese language to the Japanese language, most kanji have a Chinese reading (*on-yomi*) and a Japanese reading (*kun-yomi*). Kanji also present several other challenges, such as the polysemous nature of kanji (Toyoda, 2007), memory and retrieval (Chikamatsu, 2005), typological differences (Tollini, 1994), and monosyballic and polysyballic kanji (Rose, 2019). Considering the complex nature of kanji and the difficulty they present to JFL learners, it is not surprising that kanji pedagogy has been the subject of much scholarly attention.

Kanji learning strategies have attracted significant attention from scholars (Bourke, 1996; Gamage, 2003; Rose, 2013). Bourke (1996) established a Strategy Inventory for Learning Kanji (SILK), a significant improvement on the Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL) (Oxford, 1990) as it applied learning strategies specific to kanji. SILK provides a list of 56 possible ways of processing kanji and managing kanji learning. As noted by Shimizu and Green (2002), however, conventional strategies for learning kanji often include rote-learning, mnemonic, and contextual strategies. Rote-learning uses repeated writing as a strategy to memorize kanji. Mnemonics uses keywords to represent individual components of a kanji, which can be combined into a sentence as a useful tool to help memorize kanji. Contextual strategies approach kanji by studying them in context rather than in isolation.

Despite the number of kanji learning strategies available to JFL learners, there is a tendency for some JFL learners and teachers to rely on one strategy. For example, Mori and Shimizu (2008) found that L2 learners of Japanese regarded rote-learning as the most effective learning strategy. Moreover, Shimizu and Green (2002) found that some L2 Japanese teachers also believed rote-learning to be the most effective strategy. Teachers' beliefs in relation to learning kanji are significant because, as Dewey (2004) notes, teachers attitudes toward learning strategies can influence students' attitudes. The evidence suggests, however, that the most successful students in kanji recall tasks are the ones who use the highest number and widest variety of strategies (Bourke, 1996). Moreover, as Rose (2019) noted, strategy use is highly dependent on individual preference. More important than determining which strategy is the most effective, therefore, is raising JFL learner's awareness of the variety of kanji learning strategies at their disposal, and encouraging learners to utilize a wide variety of strategies.

The pedagogical approach to kanji adopted in Japanese language textbooks facilitates specific kanji learning strategies. With the increase in popularity of Japanese language study in the 1980s and 1990s, a number of books emerged promoting mnemonics as an effective kanji learning strategy (Rose, 2013). Most of these books were designed specifically for kanji self-study as they did not teach other aspects of the Japanese language. Furthermore, many of these textbooks focused on kanji components as a means to facilitating a mnemonic kanji learning strategy. Most notably, De Roo (1982), Heisig (2001) Kaiho (1984), Takagi (1995), and Takebe (1989) all encouraged component-based approaches. Mnemonics have proven to positively influence students' perceptions of kanji (Manalo et al., 2004). However, Rose (2013) found that while mnemonic strategies did provide benefits, "an overuse of mnemonic strategies caused limitations in learner recall of kanji due to the multiplicity of kanji readings" (Rose 2013, p. 989).

On the other hand, beginner-level Japanese language textbooks which teach all four language skills typically adopt a different pedagogical approach to kanji than self-study textbooks. However, without further investigation, the pedagogical approach to kanji in these textbooks is unclear and can appear arbitrary.

Literature Review

Previous research on Japanese language textbooks has contributed to our understanding of kanji pedagogy. Kawamura (1999) conducted a study in which a kanji checker was used to

determine the difficulty of kanji in a text analysis. Kawamura's study determined the difficulty of kanji introduced in several textbooks by analysing the number of kanji in the textbooks and the percentage which fall into the respective levels of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT). However, Kawamura's study is based on the assumption that the respective levels of the JLPT are an accurate gauge of the difficulty of the kanji. The present research also analyzes the respective JLPT levels of kanji selected for inclusion in the textbooks, but goes beyond that to analyze the equivalent elementary grade and classification of the kanji.

Hayashi (2011) conducted a textbook analysis which focused on the kanji taught in intermediate-level Japanese textbooks. This study found that explanations of kanji in intermediate textbooks focused on the meaning and usage of kanji. However, the graphemic structure of kanji was largely ignored in intermediate textbooks. Hayashi argued that the absence of focus on graphemic structure was because it is assumed that intermediate students would have a sufficient foundation in kanji.

Richmond (2005) evaluated a selection of popular JFL kanji textbooks and proposed a number of suggestions for pedagogical improvements. Richmond analyzed the textbooks from the perspective of a number of different criteria, including kanji order. This current study, therefore, bears some similarity to Richmond's. However, Richmond's analysis was of self-study kanji textbooks, that is, textbooks solely dedicated to teaching kanji and therefore different from textbooks that incorporate other language skills such as speaking and listening. Richmond's study is a valuable addition to the literature on JFL kanji education. In particular, Richmond challenges many assumptions in relation to JFL kanji education, such as the assumption that JFL kanji learners require specialized methods to master kanji.

Riekkinen (2015) conducted a content analysis of textbooks used for studies at Stockholm University. The researcher analyzed four different areas of the textbooks including selection and kanji order. Rikkinen's analysis of kanji order was, however, limited to an analysis of kanji introduced which contain components not yet taught. Riekkinen's rationale for this approach was based on findings from a study by Maehara and Fujishiro (2007) which found that non-kanji background learners of Japanese required instruction in kanji components to facilitate their kanji learning. Riekkinen concludes that, in the textbooks analyzed, there is a low priority on teaching kanji that are often used as components. While many kanji that function as components are not commonly used kanji, Riekkinen suggests a greater balance between kanji components and other kanji.

Although somewhat scarce, previous studies on kanji in textbooks have made a valuable contribution to the literature. Nevertheless, the analysis of kanji selection and order in textbooks has been limited. Richmond limited his analysis to self-study textbooks, which tend to adopt a kanji order consistent with the *Monbukagakusho*'s order, or a component-based order coupled with mnemonic learning strategies. Riekkinen examined kanji order in respect to components without considering the presence of other kanji orders such as etymological and context-based kanji orders.

The present study aims to build on previous research, as well as to investigate kanji selection and order from more varied criteria. The value of this is a clearer understanding of pedagogical strategies of kanji learning for JFL students. In this paper, a pedagogical analysis is conducted in which four Japanese language commercial textbooks used in beginner courses at universities are examined and compared. The purpose is to ascertain the kanji selected for

inclusion in these textbooks and the learning and instructional strategies which they facilitate.

To that end, this paper seeks to contribute to the overarching question: How can pedagogical strategies of kanji learning be optimized for JFL students? Our hypothesis is that component-based ordering patterns will be underutilized, and we argue that, while current Japanese language textbooks offer a practical means for teaching kanji, a more multi-faceted approach to kanji instruction may improve kanji learning.

The study aimed to explore the following research questions:

1. Which kanji are frequently selected for inclusion in beginner-level Japanese language textbooks?
2. Which kanji ordering strategies are present in beginner-level Japanese language textbooks?

Methods

Materials

Four beginner-level Japanese language textbooks were selected for this study. Four comprehensive textbooks: *Genki*, *Nakama*, *Yookoso*, and *Minna no Nihongo*, were chosen because they all include sections that teach kanji and are textbooks used in JFL courses at universities both within Japan and outside the country. Beginner-level textbooks were selected so that a comparison could be made of the approaches to ordering kanji in textbooks targeting JFL learners who had no previous kanji knowledge. Table 1 outlines the details of the Japanese language textbooks selected for analysis.

Table 1: Textbook Analysis Materials

Title	Author(s)	Publisher	Year
Genki 1: An Integrated Course in Elementary Japanese (2nd ed.)	Banno, E. et al.	The Japan Times	2011
Minna no Nihongo: Kanji I	Nishiguchi, K. et al.	3A Corporation	2000
Yookoso!: An Invitation to Contemporary Japanese (3rd ed.)	Tohsaku, Y.	McGraw-Hill	2006
Nakama 1: Japanese communication, culture, context	Hatasa, Y. A. et al.	Houghton Mifflin	2009

Procedures

The research was conducted in two stages. Firstly, the kanji selected for inclusion in each textbook was analyzed. The purpose of this stage was to determine the similarities and differences in the kanji included in the textbooks. Furthermore, characteristics of kanji selected for inclusion in the textbooks were analyzed and compared. Secondly, a unique set of criteria based on various kanji properties was developed to determine the presence of kanji ordering patterns. That is, consecutively introduced kanji were analyzed to determine if they shared any common properties that would indicate the presence of a relationship which could be interpreted as an ordering pattern. A kanji ordering pattern was determined to be present when

at least two consecutive kanji fulfilled the kanji ordering pattern criteria, as outlined in Table 2.

Table 2: Kanji Ordering Patterns

Criterion	Description
Pictographs (Etymology)	When two or more kanji which can be classified as pictographs are introduced consecutively, an etymological order was determined to be present, e.g., 木、川 (tree, river)
Opposites	Kanji of opposite meanings, e.g., 上、下 (up, down).
Mutual Components	When two or more kanji are introduced consecutively with a shared component, e.g., 王、玉、宝、珠、現、狂、皇. Note that the position of the mutual component can move in its relative position to the rest of the character, and this component may or may not function as the kanji radical.
Context-based Order	When two or more kanji with a shared contextual meaning are introduced consecutively, e.g., 手、足、首、頭、耳、鼻、口、(hand, foot, neck, head, ear, nose, mouth).
Kanji Compounds	When two consecutive kanji introduced can form a kanji compound this order will be determined to be present, e.g., 先、生 （先生/teacher).
Components Based	When two separate kanji are combined to make a new kanji, e.g., （田、力、男）、（女、子、好).
Other Orders	When two or more kanji introduced consecutively have some relationship not covered in the above categories they will fall within this category.

*Exclusion: In order to ensure that the analysis of orders was consistent throughout, two consecutive kanji appearing with a number in the form of counting (e.g., 「三年」 "three years"), as well as people and place names, (e.g., 「山口」 "Yamaguchi") are not recognized as a kanji order.

Analysis

Part 1: Kanji Characteristics

In Part 1 of the analysis, the emphasis was on the selection of the kanji in each textbook and on the similarities and differences of the kanji chosen for each textbook. In this stage of the analysis, the following steps were implemented. First, Kanji included in the textbooks were compared to see which kanji were introduced in which textbooks. For example, the kanji 先 was found to be present in all four textbooks, while the kanji「文」was present in only one textbook. Next, Kanji were analyzed using an online kanji database (Tamaoka et al., 2017). The new 2136 Japanese jōyō kanji web-accessible database, and the respective grade in which the kanji are taught in Japanese schools, JLPT level, and kanji classification for each kanji, were analyzed and compared. The kanji classification consisted of classifying the type of kanji

as either simple ideograph, loan, pictograph, semantic composite, or semantic-phonetic composite, based on the Rikusho (六書) system. Rikusho is an overview of the six ways in which kanji originated (see Appendix). In addition to the classifications used here, there is another category of the Rikusho system known as derivative characters. As none of the kanji in the textbooks fell within this category, it was excluded from the study.

The online program used to analyze the kanji characteristics provides data based on the old JLPT levels, with level 4 being the most basic through to level 1 being the most advanced. The JLPT was revised in 2010 and the current JLPT has five levels: N1, N2, N3, N4, and N5. Nevertheless, the kanji based on the old JLPT still provide a good indication of how the kanji are divided among the different levels, and are relevant because, other than Genki, all the textbooks were published prior to the revision of the JLPT. Moreover, since 2010 the JLPT has not published an official kanji list for the respective levels, making the current analysis impossible using the current JLPT.

Part 2: Kanji Ordering Patterns.

For the analysis of the order of kanji in the textbooks, no pre-existing method of analysis was available, and therefore an approach was formulated to identify the presence of relationships between consecutively introduced kanji, referred to here as "kanji orders." A particular order was deemed to be present when it met one of the criteria outlined in Table 2.

Results

Part 1: Kanji Selection

A comparison of the kanji included in each textbook was undertaken. From this comparison, the number of kanji common to all four, three, two, or unique to one textbook(s) could be determined. In total, there were 662 kanji (token frequency) contained within the four textbooks: *Genki* with 145; *Minna no Nihongo* with 220; *Yookoso* with 170; and *Nakama* with 127. The frequency of shared type was 268. The results from this comparison are illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3: Shared Kanji Across Textbooks

Number of Textbooks	Number of Shared Kanji
Unique to one textbook only	83
Shared across two textbooks	57
Shared across three textbooks	47
Shared across all four textbooks	81
Total	**268**

Overall, 83 kanji were unique to one textbook, 57 kanji were included in two textbooks, 47 kanji were included in three textbooks, and 81 kanji were included in all four textbooks. The next sections reveal the following information about the four textbooks: (1) elementary grade in which the kanji are taught in Japan; (2) the classification of the kanji as either simple ideograph, loan, pictograph, semantic composite, or semantic-phonetic composite; and (3) the

JLPT level of that kanji for each of the textbooks. Kanji which did not fall within any of the relevant categories were listed under "Others."

Grade. Results for analysis of grade indicate that all textbooks selected the majority of kanji from Grades 1 and 2, with all textbooks having a higher percentage of kanji from Grade 2. Grade 3 level kanji were also included, with Minna no Nihongo having 22.27% of kanji from Grade 3, the highest percentage of kanji from that grade. The results from this analysis are illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4: Elementary School Grade

	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Others	Total
Genki	59	61	18	4	-	2	1	**145**
	(40.69%)	(42.07%)	(12.41%)	(2.76%)		(1.38%)	(0.69%)	**(100%)**
Minna no Nihongo	63	91	49	9	1	5	2	**220**
	(28.64%)	(41.36%)	(22.27%)	(4.09%)	(0.45%)	(2.27%)	(0.91%)	**(100%)**
Yookoso	56	81	30	3	-	-	-	**170**
	(32.94%)	(47.65%)	(17.65%)	(1.76%)				**(100%)**
Nakama	50	59	10	4	-	3	1	**127**
	(39.37%)	(46.46%)	(7.87%)	(3.15%)		(2.36%)	(0.79%)	**(100%)**

Classification. Results for analysis of classification of kanji indicate that the majority of kanji included were pictographs (kanji which have developed from pictures), semantic composites (combination of two or more existing kanji), and semantic-phonetic composites (the most common type of kanji, comprised of one element that represents meaning and one part that represents sound). The results from this analysis are illustrated in Table 5.

Table 5: Kanji Classification

	Ideograph	Loan	Pictographs	Semantic	Semantic-phonetic	Others	Total
Genki	10	8	49	47	30	1	**145**
	(6.90%)	(5.52%)	(33.79%)	(32.41%)	(20.69%)	(0.69%)	
Minna no Nihongo	10	7	57	77	69	-	**220**
	(4.55%)	(3.18%)	(25.91%)	(35.00%)	(31.36%)		
Yookoso	10	6	57	50	47	-	**170**
	(5.88%)	(3.53%)	(33.53%)	(29.41%)	(27.65%)		
Nakama	11	6	48	35	27	-	**127**
	(8.66%)	(4.72%)	(37.80%)	(27.56%)	(21.26%)		

Japanese Language Proficiency Test. Results from the analysis of JLPT level indicate that the majority of kanji included in the four textbooks were from levels 3 and 4 of the JLPT. Minna no Nihongo was the only textbook that had more kanji from level 3 than 4, possibly due to the larger number of kanji included in this textbook. Some kanji from level 2 of the JLPT were included, with Nakama having the highest percentage of kanji from level 2 (12.60%). No kanji from level 1 were included in any of the textbooks. The results from this analysis are illustrated in Table 6.

Table 6: JLPT Level (Old JLPT)

	Level 4	Level 3	Level 2	Others	Total
Genki	80	55	9	1	**145**
	(55.17%)	(37.93%)	(6.21%)	(0.69%)	**(100%)**
Minna no Nihongo	80	122	18	-	**220**
	(36.36%)	(55.45%)	(8.18%)		**(100%)**
Yookoso	75	74	21	-	**170**
	(44.12%)	(43.53%)	(12.35%)		**(100%)**
Nakama	71	40	16	-	**127**
	(55.91%)	(31.50)	(12.60%)		**(100%)**

Part 2: Kanji Orders

Table 7 outlines the percentage of kanji included in each textbook which falls within one or more of the specified categories: pictographs (etymology), opposite meanings, mutual components, contextual meaning, compound kanji, component based, and other orders.

Table 7: Kanji Orders

	Percentage of Kanji that Fall Within an Order Category	Percentage of Kanji that Do Not Within an Order Category
Genki	74%	26%
Minna no Nihongo	74%	26%
Yookoso	64%	36%
Nakama	82%	18%

Nakama had the highest percentage of kanji fall within an order category. *Yookoso* had the lowest percentage of kanji orders, while *Genki* and *Minna no Nihongo* were equal at 74%. Table 8 examines the breakup of the kanji that fell within ordering categories and outlines which categories they fell under.

Table 8: Ordering Categories

	Etymology	Component Based	Mutual Components	Context-Based Order	Kanji Compounds	Opposites	Other Orders
Genki	17.0%	0.0%	5.0%	25.8%	39.6%	11.3%	1.3%
Minna no Nihongo	13.8%	0.0%	3.1%	27.3%	38.5%	15.4%	1.9%
Yookoso	13.5%	0.0%	5.2%	25.4%	35.8%	17.6%	2.6%
Nakama	14.2%	0.0%	2.2%	35.5%	30.6%	14.2%	3.3%

For the percentage of kanji falling under the ordering categories, the analysis reveals similar results for each textbook. Kanji falling under the etymology ordering category were relatively similar for all textbooks, with *Genki* having slightly more kanji fall under this category. No kanji fell under the component-based ordering category. Kanji falling under the mutual component ordering category were relatively low in number for all textbooks; and context-based kanji was similar for most textbooks, with *Nakama* having approximately 10% more kanji fall under this category than the other textbooks. Kanji compounds also reveal relatively similar results but with *Nakama* having the least number of kanji fall under this category, approximately 10% less than *Genki*. Similarly, results for kanji falling under the opposites ordering category were similar, but *Yookoso* had the highest number of kanji fall under this category, 6% more than *Genki*. “Other orders” were identified when there was a

connection between two kanji, but that connection did not fit within an existing category. For example, consecutive kanji such as 出会, which would require the addition of the *hiragana* character う to formulate the word 出会う（*deau*/to meet） were included in this category. Only a small percentage of kanji fell within this category.

Discussion

The present study initially asked which kanji are selected for inclusion in beginner-level Japanese language textbooks. In order to address this issue, the study examined the kanji included in four Japanese language textbooks and compared the Japanese elementary school grade, kanji classification, and JLPT level. As discussed below, the results showed that while there was considerable overlap in kanji selection for each textbook, there were some interesting differences as well, particularly in relation to the JLPT level and elementary grade of kanji included in each textbook.

The data on kanji classification revealed a large number of pictographs were included in all four textbooks, indicating a pedagogical approach which emphasizes kanji etymology or kanji frequency. Introducing pictographs in the initial stages of kanji learning has proven to be an effective pedagogical approach (Hatasa, 1989; Takebe, 1989; Yamashita & Maru, 2000). This approach, however, has limitations. Pictographs only constitute a small percentage of kanji, and many kanji bear little resemblance to their original form (Taylor & Taylor, 1995). For example, the kanji 業 (*gyou*, *waza*/profession, deed) was originally written to depict a base and notched board of a musical instrument (Henshall, 1988, p. 75). Thus, the original meanings of this kanji and its form have both changed over time making its etymology of little use in the task of remembering kanji for the JFL student. Rose (2019) in relation to this approach notes that, "The strategy soon outlives its usefulness as students progress in proficiency and encounter more and more kanji that are abstract or complex in their representations of the language's morphemes and phonology."

Results from the analysis of Japanese elementary school grade and JLPT level for kanji included in the textbooks revealed no significant similarities across all four textbooks. Clearly, the kanji introduced are not limited to those kanji from grade one but rather are from varying grade levels. For three of the four textbooks, more kanji featured from grade two than grade one. Moreover, three of the textbooks included kanji, albeit small in number, from grade six. Even *Nakama,* which had a smaller number of kanji*,* introduced the kanji「私」*watashi* "I" which is a kanji introduced at grade six in Japan. *Minna no Nihongo* introduced「奥」and「寝」which are not even taught in elementary school. Kanji selection, therefore, is different from the order in which they are taught in Japan. From this, it be can be assumed that the authors of these textbooks perceive that kanji and the order they are introduced in Japan may not be the best order to use to introduce them to JFL learners. It is difficult to say what the reasoning is behind the kanji selected for inclusion in these textbooks, other than that it is most likely based on subjective opinion as to the importance of the kanji and how it relates to the other parts of the textbook. If we consider the results in relation to JLPT level, other than *Minna no Nihongo*, the majority of kanji introduced in all textbooks are from JLPT level 4. As we can only surmise as to the intention of the authors, it is difficult to say whether this was an

intentional action. It is feasible to assume that it probably was not, and when we examined the results it is clear that a large proportion of the kanji were also taken from JLPT level three. This, however, is not surprising as level four of the JLPT consisted of approximately 100 characters and level three consisted of approximately 300 characters. All textbooks included kanji from level two of the JLPT, which is an interesting result considering that these textbooks are aimed at the beginner and level two was regarded as a quite advanced level of the old JLPT. As with the case of the relationship between kanji selected for inclusion and the equivalent elementary school grade level of those kanji, there seems to be little relationship between JLPT levels and kanji included in these textbooks.

The second part of the study asked which kanji ordering strategies are present in beginner-level Japanese language textbooks. The results demonstrated that the ordering strategies adopted by all four textbooks were similar (See Table 8). That is, despite all textbooks including different sets of kanji, interestingly, the percentage of ordering patterns adopted was similar. Context-based and kanji compound orders dominated the results, while component-based orders were not present in any of the textbooks. These findings support our hypothesis that a component-based pedagogical approach to kanji learning, while popular in self-study kanji textbooks, is underutilized in beginner-level Japanese language textbooks.

Pedagogically speaking, the overwhelming presence of kanji compounds and context-based strategies in the textbooks shows that a top-down approach to kanji instruction has been emphasized. In contrast, self-study kanji textbooks frequently address kanji from a bottom-up pedagogical approach representative of a more structuralist approach to language learning and teaching. In terms of L2 reading of Japanese, Everson and Kuriya (1998) found that JFL learners tend to focus on bottom-up processing strategies, and become immersed in the process of decoding characters and words.

The most likely explanation for the lack of a component-based pedagogical approach is that, unlike the self-study kanji textbooks, Japanese textbooks are designed to teach all aspects of the language, and therefore a component-based approach to ordering kanji is more difficult to implement in a manner that complements other areas of the textbook. However, the lack of a component-based approach indicates an emphasis on a pictorial strategy for beginners and suggests one reason why JFL students tend to rely on kanji learning strategies such as rote-learning. Incorporating component-based ordering strategies may help students become more aware of the internal structure of kanji and develop "graphemic awareness" (Toyoda, 1998, p. 155).

Implications for Instructors and Future Research

The data revealed that component-based ordering strategies were absent from beginner-level Japanese language textbooks analyzed in this study. Such findings have clear implications for Japanese language instructors who want to incorporate instruction of kanji components into their curriculum.

Because language learners have different learning strategy preferences, addressing questions about the effectiveness of different learning strategies to determine which strategy delivers better learning outcomes is a moot task. A more important question is how can teachers encourage students to use a wider variety of kanji learning strategies. The results of this study indicate that teachers may need to supplement the textbook with additional material to expose

students to componential analysis of kanji and learning strategies such as mnemonics. In other words, rather than overemphasizing either a bottom-up or a top-down approach to kanji, an approach which exposes learners to an array of different strategies may promote optimal learning outcomes.

This study identified the order in which kanji are presented in beginner-level Japanese textbooks. The orders identified suggested that the textbooks did not support componential analysis and mnemonics as learning strategies. Future studies may wish to investigate how incorporating componential analysis and mnemonics aids kanji understanding and retention in beginner-level Japanese students. While incorporating these learning strategies may assist beginner-level students, this needs to be empirically tested.

Limitations

One limitation of the study is that it analyzed four beginner-level Japanese language textbooks, and thus the pedagogical approach to kanji in intermediate and advanced-level Japanese level textbooks was not included in the study design. A future study that examines textbooks aimed at intermediate- and advanced-level students could reveal interesting results regarding kanji pedagogy. Furthermore, the study may have benefitted by increasing the number of beginner-level textbooks analyzed in the study.

Conclusion

In this paper, four Japanese language textbooks were analyzed with regard to the kanji they selected for inclusion and the order in which they presented them. The study revealed that each textbook's selection of kanji was different, however, kanji orders in all four textbooks closely resembled each other, with a similar ratio of kanji falling under the same ordering categories. In particular, all four textbooks adopted context and kanji compounds as their ordering strategies. On the other hand, the component-based approach was completely absent in the Japanese language textbooks analyzed in this research.

The results suggest that the pedagogical approach adopted in the analyzed textbooks emphasized the etymology and semantic function of kanji by introducing kanji as units of meaning which developed from pictographs. While there are pedagogical benefits to this approach, a more balanced approach to kanji instruction which increases student awareness of the relationship between kanji components may facilitate learning. Teachers can also use the component-based approach to introduce students to a broader range of learning strategies such as mnemonics.

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Appendix

The six categories of *kanji* (*Rikusho*) (Henshall, 1988)

Pictographs (*shōkeimoji/*象形文字)	These characters are *kanji* which have developed from pictures of the objects they represent. Many of these characters bear little resemblance to the objects they represented. Examples of pictographs: 人- person, 口- mouth, 目- eye
Ideograph (*shijimoji/*指示文字)	These characters are *kanji* that represent abstract concepts such as numbers and directions. Examples: 一- one, 上 - above, 下 – below
Semantic Composite (*kaiimoji/*会意文字)	These characters are a combination of two or more existing *kanji* to make a single character. Examples: 森 – *mori*/forest (a combination of the *kanji* 木), 鳴く ***na****ku*/animal cry (a combination of 鳥 *tori*/bird and 口 – *kuchi*/mouth)
Semantic-phonetic composite (*keiseimoji/*形声文字)	These characters are the most common of the *rikusho* categories. In these *kanji* one part represents meaning and the other part represents sound. Example: 詩*shi*/poem (a combination of 言 and寺)
Derivative characters (*tenchūmoji*/転注文字)	This group of *kanji* refers to *kanji* that have taken on a new meaning related to and derived from their original meaning. For example, the *kanji*, 楽 used for music, ease, etc, has also taken on the new meaning of "fun," and is therefore used for both music and fun.
Loan *Kanji* (*kashamoji/*仮借文字)	These characters are called loan characters and are used for their phonetic quality and no longer for their original intended meaning. For example, the *kanji* 我 was borrowed to phonetically express *ga/ware* meaning "I," or "oneself."

Examining *Dragon Ball* and *Doraemon*: A Winning and Losing Case of Intercultural Media in the U.S.

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Abstract

American popular culture has played significant roles in almost every corner of the world. However, since the year 2000, Japanese *manga* and *anime* have become great rivals to U.S. popular culture. Many Japanese popular cultural artifacts such as *Dragon Ball*, *Fullmetal Alchemist*, *Saint Seiya*, and *Sailor Moon* have been favored by consumers in the U.S. Nevertheless, not all manga and anime from Japan can succeed in the competitive U.S. cultural market. This paper examines *Doraemon* as a losing case and *Dragon Ball* as a winning case of intercultural media in the U.S. The discussion in this paper is based on findings by researchers in manga, anime, and popular culture and previous case studies of *Doraemon* and *Dragon Ball*. The studies suggest that *Doraemon* failed to comply with American preferences whereas *Dragon Ball* was successful in gaining attention from U.S. consumers. All of the findings imply that although manga and anime are new challenges to U.S. cultural dominance, American culture remains in the lead in terms of its cultural power.

Keywords: *Manga, Anime, Doraemon, Dragon Ball, Intercultural Media*

Introduction

Ability to access information has become taken for granted. Almost any type of information can be accessed with just a click and people can be unintentionally exposed to massive amounts of information in their daily lives through various forms of media (Martin & Nakayama, 2018; Podsatiangool, 2017, 2020). Martin and Nakayama (2018) in particular emphasized that any type and quality of information received through media experiences are influenced by popular culture such as television, music, videos, and magazines. For many years, researchers such as Brummett (1994), Martin and Nakayama (2010), Storey (2015), Ting-Toomey and Chung (2012), and Williams (1983) have attempted to define the term "popular culture". Based on the definitions provided by other studies, the definition used in this paper is parallel to that proposed by Podsatiangool (2020): "the culture that is widely favored, produced, consumed, interpreted, shared by many people through media experiences, and is driven by businesses." (p. 10).

As the U.S. has long been the most influential producer of popular culture, U.S. consumers were rarely exposed to the popular culture of others (Martin & Nakayama, 2018; McGray, 2002). McGray (2002) concluded that American popular culture has played a

significant role in the international popular cultural market, stating that "culture flows from American power, and American supply creates demand." (p. 46). However, approximately after the year of 2000, the most remarkable growth of manga and anime in the U.S. took place (Brienza, 2009; 2014, Goldstein & Phelan, 2009; Ito, 2005; Poitras, 2008; Prough, 2010a; and Roland, 2006), raising the question of whether American popular culture remains unassailable.

Despite their growth, not all manga and anime are well received in the U.S. market. It is intriguing to examine the differences of the winning and losing instances. Since it is impossible to investigate all manga and anime, in this paper, *Doraemon* and *Dragon Ball*, as representational of the successful and unsuccessful cases of intercultural media in the U.S., shall be examined.

Manga as Intercultural Media

Popular culture has a significant relation with media experiences, as mentioned above. To further categorize manga and anime as intercultural media, the concepts of communication and intercultural communication should be defined. Researchers have discussed widely of the definition of communication and intercultural communication (Fiske, 1990; Gaines, 2010; Longhurst et al., 2008; Martin & Nakayama, 2010; Oetzel et al., 2016; Taylor, 2013; Ting-toomey & Chung, 2012; Samovar et al., 2013). Despite different approaches in defining both terms, they agreed that while "communication indicates the semiotic practices of how people produce, interpret meanings, and make sense of their social and cultural world through visual signs, linguistic signs, and other miscellaneous signs" (Podsatiangool, 2019, p. 14); while "intercultural communication means how people make sense of the media texts (visual, linguistic, and other miscellaneous signs) from other different cultural communities." (Podsatiangool, 2019, p. 14).

In this paper, the term "intercultural media" is defined to demonstrate the relationship between popular culture, media, and communication as "the media texts that enter other different cultural communities" (Podsatiangool, 2019, p. 14). Thus, the popularity of manga and anime among Asian countries since the mid-1980s (Chen, 2011, 2012; Iwabuchi, 2002; Natsume, 2004; Yamato, 2012) and in the U.S. after 2000 (Brienza, 2009; 2014, Goldstein & Phelan, 2009; Ito, 2005; Poitras, 2008; Prough, 2010a; Roland, 2006) renders them a form of intercultural media.

In Japan, the origin of manga began in the 12th century as the "Animal Scrolls" painted with frogs, hares, monkeys, and foxes, for instance, depicting the decadent lifestyle of the Japanese upper class of the period (Ito, 2005). Later in the 18th century, it was a woodblock print master Hokusai Katsushika (1760-1849) who first coined this type of art as manga. The word manga is written with two Chinese characters [漫画] translated as irresponsible pictures or various or whimsical pictures (Brienza, 2009, 2014; Ito, 2005; Podsatiangool, 2019; Prough, 2010a). Due to its popularity around the world, manga may be understood in many senses. For the purpose of discussion in this paper, manga refers to "all Japanese style graphic novels printed in black and white by any publishing company whether as periodicals or books" (Phornprapha & Podsatiangool, 2019a, pp. 102-103) and it is "not necessary that manga artists

must be Japanese, or the language of manga should be Japanese" (Phornprapha & Podsatiangool, 2019b, p. 403).

Manga has gradually been evolved over time, especially during and after World War II. As many researchers have pointed out, Japanese society was strongly influenced by the U.S. in many aspects, with manga not being an exception (Brophy, 2010; Ching, 2007; Henshall, 2004; Ito, 2005; Metzler, 2007; Podsatiangool, 2007; Podsatiangool & Phornprapha, 2019; Sasaki-Uemura, 2007; Takano & Osaka, 1997). American popular culture such as Hollywood, Disney, Popeye, and Superman has directly influenced manga as many manga artists adopted Western concepts and drawing styles in their creations after being exposed to American popular culture after World War II (Bouissou, 2010; Brienza, 2009, 2014, Drummond-Mathews, 2010; Grigsby, 1998; Ito, 2005; Natsume, 2004; Prough, 2010b; Roland, 2006; Yamato, 2012). Consequently, the unique styles of applying physical features of Westerners such as non-Asian hair colors and large eyes, and cinematic techniques of narrating the stories have characterized features of Japanese manga (Podsatiangool, 2019).

Manga should not be confused with anime (Japanese animation), although both of them may sometimes be used interchangeably. Chambers (2012) explained that "manga was the foundation upon which anime was built" (p. 95). The most significant difference between them is probably the order of how they are created. Manga usually are printed in black and white in weekly or bimonthly manga magazines as episodes. Publishers may compile those popular among fans into a comic book called Tankobon (単行本) which refers to Japanese comic books that comprise a collection of manga episodes that have previously appeared in manga magazines. Only manga that are a huge hit will be made into animation (Podsatiangool, 2019). On the other hand, animation means "a non-recorded (non-live action) illusion of motion and as a frame-by-frame production" (Martinez, 2015, p. 42). Japanese consume anime from television broadcast in a variety of versions such as short and long programs. Japanese consumers normally have a chance to read manga before watching its adaption into anime whereas other readers abroad often start from watching the anime before reading its manga version (Brienza, 2009; Chen, 2011; Goldberg, 2010; Prough, 2010a).

Although manga and anime can be considered "intercultural media," manga artists and anime producers in Japan have not intentionally aimed to export manga, at least not until 2000. As the fan bases around the world continue growing, the producers of both media have begun to consider marketing their products overseas (Chen, 2011; 2012; Grigsby, 1998; Johnson-Woods, 2010; Prough, 2010a, 2010b; Roland, 2006). That the American market has not welcomed popular culture from outside the U.S. and producers of manga and anime did not intend to export their work are interesting phenomena to explore. The discussion hereafter shall investigate significant features of Japanese manga based on *Dragon Ball* and *Doraemon* as a successful and an unsuccessful case of intercultural media in the U.S.

Doraemon and *Dragon Ball* in the US

The discussion regarding *Doraemon* and *Dragon Ball* in this part is to illustrate the features that contribute to manga's success and vice versa based on the findings of the studies of the failure of *Doraemon* and the success of *Dragon Ball*. *Doraemon* entered the U.S. as

animation and did not win over consumers' as it did in other parts of the world, especially in Asian countries. On the other hand, *Dragon Ball* went into the U.S. market as animation and manga and has become equally successful in both versions.

Doraemon

Doraemon is truly an icon of Japanese manga. It has been so popular that Japan's Foreign Ministry appointed its main character, *Doraemon*, the blue cat robot, the country's first animation ambassador. In addition, the blue cat was also enlisted as one of 22 Asian heroes by Time Magazine (McCurry, 2008). *Doraemon* consists of 45 volumes in the original Japanese manga version by Fujiko (1974-1996). Each volume has approximately 190 pages which contain 15-19 episodes.

Doraemon is worth examining because despite *Doraemon*'s iconic status in Japan and across Asia, it is relatively unpopular in the U.S. (Chen, 2011, 2012; Natsume, 2004). Podsatiangool (2017) and Prough (2010a) indicated that it has been a challenging way for *Doraemon* to enter the U.S. market as the producers of *Doraemon* had been trying to market it from the late 1970s. It was not until 2014 that *Doraemon* properly entered the U.S. market but still it is far from being popular in the country.

The phenomenon was examined by Podsatiangool (2017) using the American animation version to demonstrate how the power of American culture played a role in shaping the U.S. animation version of *Doraemon*. In investigating *Doraemon*, Podsatiangool (2017) applied Barthes's (1972) poststructuralist qualitative semiotic analysis on selected media texts from the animation version broadcasted in the U.S. Media texts can be defined by many terms, namely, physical images and sound patterns (Podsatiangool, 2017) or visual signs and linguistic signs (Podsatiangool, 2019). Due to the limitation of accessibility, only the corresponding signs that would yield connotative meanings were selected as the data. Selected data from original Japanese manga version that are corresponding with the signs from the American version were also analyzed to compare and contrast. Based on Barthes (1972) and Chandler (2007), Podsatiangool (2017) assigned each sign in both versions with numbers (No. 1-3). Number 1 stood for the denotative sign in the first order and the connotative signifier. Number 2 referred to the connotative signified. Last, number 3 was the connotative sign in the second order. The analysis was done based on the critical approach among the three stances of intercultural communication provided by Martin and Nakayama (2010, 2018) and Oetzel et al. (2016). The critical approach emphasizes the importance of power, historical context, and inequalities in order to understand intercultural communication. Since this approach tends to focus on media rather than face-to-face interactions, it can be argued that the critical approach is appropriate to examine *Doraemon* as the unsuccessful intercultural media. Many studies in manga and anime have applied textual analysis in the critical approach of intercultural communication. Therefore, the application of semiotic analysis in the study of *Doraemon* made contributions in terms of the alternative method to conduct the critical approach of intercultural communication.

The findings of Podsatiangool (2017) indicated that some physical images and sound patterns from the animation version broadcasted in the U.S. were altered to comply with the accepted norms in the U.S. In brief, most items that suggested Japaneseness were eliminated. In this case, Japaneseness "indicates any visible forms of Japanese or any Japanese scents that

can be detected to show it is 'from Japan' in the manga" (Podsatiangool, 2019, p. 14). The settings of *Doraemon* in the American version imply that the narratives were in the U.S. The identities of the characters were changed to match with American consumers' familiarity. For example, the characters' names were adapted to English naming. Noby, Sue, Sneech, Big-G, and Ace were the names in the American version for Nobita, Shizuka, Suneo, Giant, and Dekisugi, the main characters, respectively. Furthermore, the Japanese lifestyles of the characters were changed to Americans' such as the utensils, currency, and language in other signs.

The findings in Podsatiangool (2017) pointed out that such alterations occurred because of the socio-cultural and ideological inequality. Even after the alterations, *Doraemon* still cannot capture the essence of Americanization. Big-C cultural features from the iceberg model of culture (Weaver, 1993), Japaneseness, remain too prominent. This explains why American readers do not favor animations such as *Doraemon*. The study concluded that "the U.S. is still the most 'powerful' promoter of ideological artifacts of the world. If the most powerful Americans do not like it, no matter how popular it is in other countries, it has no future in the U.S." (Podsatiangool, 2017, p. 100).

All in all, the reasons why *Doraemon* is relatively unpopular in the U.S. are as follows. First, American consumers do not welcome the Japaneseness in *Doraemon* although it is the very core of the plot (Podsatiangool, 2017). Unlike Asia, especially in Southeast Asian countries, Japaneseness was well received since their economy was highly influential in the region. As a result, a majority of the people are already familiar with Japanese culture and Japaneseness (Chen, 2011, 2012; Iwabuchi, 2002; Natsume, 2004; Yamato, 2012). In addition, Japan was perceived as an idol which was similar to how the Japanese perceived the U.S., "reminiscent of Japanese sentiment following WWII in which American culture was idolized." (Natsume, 2004, p. 96). This is not the case for consumers in the U.S. Popular cultural artifacts that will be successful in the U.S. are supposed to be universal, hybridized, and culturally odorless (Brienza, 2009, 2014; Chen, 2011; Yamato, 2012). Therefore, *Doraemon*, which is replete Japanese ideologies or so called Japaneseness, is unlikely to be successful in the U.S. market.

Second, *Doraemon* is relatively unpopular in the U.S. because of its main target consumers, children. For consumers in the U.S., *Doraemon* can be too childish for Americans who watch anime. The accomplishment of manga and anime in the U.S. has been in the market for young adults (Brienza, 2009; Natsume, 2004; Poitras, 2008; Prough, 2010a). The narrative that the consumers were looking for was that containing the elements of young adult literature (YA). Although *Doraemon* contained fantasy elements commonly found in YA, it did not correspond with other characteristics of YA described by Cole (2009) and Nilsen and Donelson (2009). First, the protagonists of *Doraemon* are not young adults. Nobita, Shizuka, Suneo, and Giant are elementary students. The incidents in the plot and conflicts are often about their school or daily lives. Hence, the story is told from the point of view of those of children. Second, *Doraemon* featured children who have to participate in incidents to resolve the conflicts. The parents occasionally take part in the plot as the conflict is revealed or dissolved. Unlike YA, the conflict is usually resolved by the main character who is young adult. The existence of the parents is not prominent. Third, the theme of *Doraemon* does not suggest the

growth of the characters. All the protagonists remain static while YA's are often dynamic as the theme of YA involves coming-of-age.

Dragon Ball

If *Doraemon* is iconic, *Dragon Ball* is epic. It has become a prototype for other Japanese manga. *Dragon Ball* consists of 42 volumes in the original Japanese manga version. In the study of *Dragon Ball*, Podsatiangool (2019) used the 34 volume Japanese version (Toriyama, 2002-2004) and an English version published in the U.S. by VIZ Media (Toriyama, 2018) in the analysis. The side story, the cinematic, the fan-made, and other unoriginal versions are excluded as there are numerous unoriginal versions due to its extreme popularity around the world. Selected media texts, visual signs and linguistic signs, from the beginning to the end of Freeza's Saga were analyzed since it was supposed to be the original ending of the story, "the story was originally supposed to end as Son Goku turns into the Super-Saiyan, the form of the awakened one who defeats Freeza, the most powerful creature in the universe and the greatest villain of the story" (Podsatiangool, 2019, p. 35). Due to its popularity, Toriyama decided to continue the story after Freeza's Saga; however, the story significantly diverges since then (Aitchison, 2018; Baccetti, 2017; Baird, 2016; Kanzenshuu, n.d.).

Unlike *Doraemon* which is relatively popular among Asian countries but not really well-known globally, *Dragon Ball* is indeed the most successful case in the U.S. and in almost every country around the world (Ashcraft, 2018; Baird, 2016; Bryce & Davis, 2010; Chen, 2011; Couch, 2010; Drummond-Matthews, 2010; Goldberg, 2010; Gulfnews, 2019; Jones, 2012; Karbank, 2018; Mínguez-López, 2014; Muncy, 2019; Walsh, 2015; Wardak, 2019). It is not exaggerating to say that *Dragon Ball* is a winning case of intercultural media in the U.S.

Podsatiangool (2019) used data from the 1st Saga to the 5th Saga of Jonisuke's (2018) segmentation of each *Dragon Ball* saga. The data consisted of visual signs and linguistic signs. Barthes's poststructuralist qualitative semiotic analysis and Fairclough's (1995) three dimensions of critical discourse analysis (CDA) were applied to analyze these signs from the beginning to the end of Freeza's Saga. The visual signs were categorized into narrative scenes, physical appearances of characters, costumes of characters, weapons or devices of characters, and abilities of characters. On the other hand, the linguistic signs were categorized into narrations, names of characters, dialogues of characters, names of weapons or devices of characters, and names of abilities of characters. Then, all signs were analyzed for their denotative meanings. Last, by applying Fairclough's three dimensions and Barthes's two semiological systems, all signs were analyzed holistically to make sense of the signs' connotative meanings. The analysis was done based on the critical approach among the three stances of intercultural communication provided by Martin and Nakayama (2010, 2018) and Oetzel et al. (2016). Most research on manga and anime applies either semiotics or Fairclough's CDA. However, the study of *Dragon Ball* has offered a new mixed framework of qualitative analysis in the study of intercultural communication and of CDA.

The findings by Podsatiangool (2019) indicated that the Japaneseness in *Dragon Ball* is not prominent as it focuses more on creating culturally odorless imaginary territory in the readers' minds. It allows the cultures from both East and West to co-exist. This intertextuality might be a factor that contributes to *Dragon Ball*'s popularity in the U.S. and in other countries because there are at least four types of intertextual references, to the real world; to Asian

entities; to Hong Kong as international Asian city; and to Western entities, embedded in the story. Readers in the U.S. and around the world can relate to elements in the story. Podsatiangool (2019) concluded that:

> *Dragon Ball* can create interwoven relationships between the past and the present, the east and the west. It does not have a rigid plot as it keeps changing its atmosphere all the time depending on what Toriyama considered popular at that time. It is a mixture of many things circulating in Japan. The myths in each Saga and each Arc fluctuate between 'being Chinese', 'being Japanese', 'being Hong Kong', and 'being Western'. (p. 250)

The reasons why *Dragon Ball* managed to become successful in the U.S. are opposite to *Doraemon*'s. First, *Dragon Ball* does not showcase Japaneseness in its narrative. Since consumers in the U.S. are not open to Japaneseness, the amalgamation of intertextual references becomes an effective strategy to attract American readers. In this sense, they are hybridized and culturally odorless instead of representing Big-C cultural features. Unlike *Doraemon*, the characters of *Dragon Ball* are not the representation of Japanese. For instance, the protagonist, Goku, is highly influenced by the protagonist of the Chinese novel Journey to the West. Many of its antagonists are inspired by Hollywood movies such as Android 16 being inspired by The Terminator, the Red Ribbon Army inspired by James Bond; The Five Champions and All-Seeing Crone inspired by Count Dracula, The Invisible Man, and The Mummy; and Freeza inspired by Aliens. In addition, the plot of *Dragon Ball* does not revolve around any particular cultural context. The quest motif plays a significant role in the plot. The protagonist is on a quest to complete a mission. In this case, Goku, has been through obstacles to collect all *Dragon Balls*. In addition, Toriyama has applied numerous plots from Japanese folklore such as the tales of Urashima Taro; from Chinese folklore such as the novel Journey to the West and the mythological dragon Shenlong; from Hong Kong martial arts movies such as competition and training scenes; and from Hollywood such as James Bond, Star Wars, Superman, and so on.

Another reason for the achievement of *Dragon Ball* is its target consumers. Even in Japan, *Dragon Ball* is categorized as Shonen Manga (少年漫画) or manga for young male adults. It is no surprise that *Dragon Ball* is able to fit in the U.S. market more easily than *Doraemon*. Therefore, *Dragon Ball* contains the elements that align with consumers' preference as YA. Firstly, Goku, the protagonist of the story, is a young adult who grows up without parents. The plot, therefore, evolves around the struggle of Goku through conflicts. Furthermore, learn and evolve seem to be key words for the development of the protagonist. Goku learns from the incidents that occur and evolves to improve with each. This reflects the theme of coming-of-age since the character demonstrates the dynamic of characteristics. In sum, *Dragon Ball* contains the elements that *Doraemon* does not. Consequently, *Dragon Ball* has won where *Doraemon* has lost as intercultural media in the competitive U.S. market.

Conclusion

This paper contrasts the elements of *Doraemon* with *Dragon Ball* to illustrate a losing and a winning case of intercultural media in the U.S. The findings are consistent with Martin and Nakayama (2010, 2018) and McGray (2002) that culture flows from the U.S. to the rest of the world and not vice versa. The U.S. is a leading promoter of ideological artifacts (including popular cultural artifacts) of the world. *Doraemon* could not comply with American preferences for young adults' plots and for universal, hybridized, and culturally odorless sentiment whereas *Dragon Ball* effectively included these elements.

For American readers, the "coolness" of manga and anime derives from its universality, which Brienza (2014) described as not-the-United-States-ness, and not from its Japanessness. Popular cultural artifacts that can be popular in the U.S. are characterized as universal, hybridized, and culturally odorless. In other words, the Big-C cultural features in those artifacts must not be too prominent. Otherwise, these Big-C features "must be strictly screened, inspected, and even altered" (Podsatiangool, 2017, p. 100). The current findings suggest that the U.S. and American culture have since World War II been a powerhouse of international popular culture and will continue to remain so.

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Book Review

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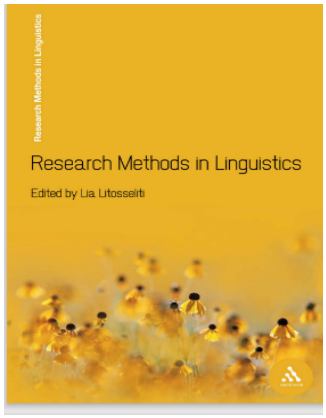

This anthology, edited by Lia Litosselit, is a compendium of writings dealing with research methods in linguistics and applied linguistics. Its reader friendliness augments its extraordinariness, making it quite likely that the interested reader can savor it all in one sitting. Contributors to this 10-chapter book run the gamut from such linguistic figures as Levon, the sociolinguist from Queen Mary University of London; Baker, the corpus linguist from Lancaster University; to other renowned authors.

Chapter One by Jane Sunderland introduces the connection between research objectives and research questions (RQs). Intuitively, this seems relatively simple and straightforward; however, the challenge lies in crafting local flows that will enable the writer to put the connection well in place. The researchers should consider what they seek, such as finding new knowledge or flaws from the previous literature. Also, those arguments should be falsifiable and based on evidentiary supports. The next tricky issue is the appropriate number of research questions. In this regard, Sunderland suggests that the number of the RQs depends, in large part, on whether those RQs cover the arguments' elements. Finally, she is kind enough to share a tip regarding previewing the research proposal and what components can be gathered in a study. I found this tip to be handy.

In Chapter Two, by Jo Angouri, dichotomous thinking about quantitative and qualitative research should be avoided. Epistemologically speaking, both types of research can equally help us to ascertain "reality." For example, triangulation, albeit becoming a research cliché, emphasizes the falsification of an argument and at the same time provides us with solid pieces of evidence. These attributes can improve research accountability and its quality. On top of that, repeated measures and various facets of data should be examined as much as possible.

In Chapter Three, by Sebastian M. Rasinger, demonstrates the quantitative research conventions consisting of some crucial steps. First, we form hypotheses and then falsify them in order to show the result's direction. The appropriate number of tokens/participants plays an essential role as the representative of the data population. Otherwise, the finding's reliability and confidence will be too weak. In addition, good quantitative research should have strong replicability. Finally, the author exemplifies how to design and conduct quantitative research, such as constructing and validating a questionnaire.

In Chapter Four, Erez Levon introduces how to deal with data management and run some statistical analyses. He shows us the walk-through steps of the (paired) t-test and the chi-square test's operationalization, which are the most pervasive used stat tools. In a nutshell, the t-test compares two average (continuous) scores, while the chi-square test is the test of

association. To elaborate, chi-square measures the association between (1) the nominal/category factors, such as gender, and (2) the ratio/continuous factors, such as the frequency of standard linguistic variety use. However, their explanatory powers and implications are limited as both are not the test to validate the causation of the independent predictors.

In Chapter Five, Paul Baker presents how it cannot be denied that corpus linguistics is widely useful in linguistic studies, such as TESOL, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, and applied syntax. Baker provides us previews and significant components of how corpus tools work. The data types in the corpus incorporate the written text data and the speech sound data. The corpus is the archive of compiled data which are tagged and annotated. The annotations can include infinite linguistics and demographic data, namely, grammatical categories (part of speech [POS]), semantic categories/fields, and other demographical information such as text's genre, source of information, gender, and age. In terms of usage, corpora can be classified into two types: a general corpus and a specific corpus. The general corpus is an extensive compilation of language data for decades, and it is annotated based on theoretical grounds. This corpus functions as a reference for language use, linguistic generalization, and language change observation. The exemplars include BNC, for the British English variety and COCA, for the American English variety. The latter is a specific corpus. Its scale and annotation details are conditioned by the research's aims. To conclude, corpus linguistics can be used to validate data in both empirical and inductive studies.

In Chapter Six, I think Judith Baxter has done a good job in helping to sketch the discourse studies' landscape. Even though the content is heavily theoretical and philosophical, the reader can find her prose pleasant to follow. Discourse analysis (DA) functions to analyze texts beyond a clausal level. Baxter embarks on the conversational analysis (CA) approach, a micro-unit of analysis. It is used to analyze conversation convention patterns of humans. Thus, like phonology, each conversation is governed by an embedded formula that can be predictable. In the next level, a DA is portrayed as a combination of the micro and macro level of analysis. The DA study aims not only to analyze the data beyond the conversation rules but also to look at the ambiance, context, and reality. Finally, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is the ultimate form of study in discourse. Even though the theory in CDA seems to be scattered, it best reflects the sophistication of the human mind, which is barely noticeable in how humans deploy language for particular agenda and vice versa. In CDA, many crucial concepts are introduced, challenged, and deconstructed, namely power, hegemony, stance, identity, repetition, beliefs, and practices.

In Chapter Seven, Angela Creese shares with us the knowledge of ethnography and its evolution over time. Linguistic ethnography and ethnography of communication are alike to some extent. To conduct research in ethnography, it can be done by using narratives, telling a story for depicting events, and incorporating current multimedia and high technologies such as recording people's behaviors from various perspectives. To closely observe and inhabit the target communities for a period of time are predominately used methods. The premises of ethnography might lie in diversity, heterogeneity, and specification or "emic." Unlike positivists and experimentalists, it is not quite right to assume that the ethnographic study stance leads to making a universal claim compared to what the scientific stance does.

Ethnography is an interdisciplinary approach by its nature. The author exemplifies that many sub-fields of linguistics employ it, particularly in DA and linguistic fieldworks.

Chapter Eight, by Nigel Edley and the anthology editor, is well-aligned with the ethnography approach. An interview and a focus group are widely adopted. Definitions of the interview and the focus group are similar but different in the number of participants and nuance characteristics. The focus group refers to a group whose participants share similar demographical attributes such as age or interest. The researcher can set either the open or the closed questions depending on the study's purposes. It is interesting that the authors question the interviews' drawbacks and raise awareness before employing them. The degree of naturalness and genuineness of the data elicitation should be considered since they could affect data quality. Unlike experimental research, it is more carefully controlled and devised. Nevertheless, many researchers argue that the concepts of naturalness and genuineness are circular, paradoxical, and too idealistic. This is because it is challenging to control all interfering factors in their research, even in scientific experiments that follow strict protocols. However, the authors still encourage us to use all sorts of interviews since their naturalness, freshness, creativity, and novelty can be obtained from these methods.

In Chapter Nine, by Jeff Bezemer and Carey Jewitt, a multimodal analysis, which is currently popular and used most frequently in digital humanities, is described. This method stresses analyzing semiotics' attributes and associations based on the observer's perspectives. It ranges from verbal to non-verbal and time, space, and other entities from various dimensions. To illustrate, this method might incorporate CA, surrounding sounds and music ambiances, noises, human gestures, movement and facial expressions, the position of the frame in the specific scenes and event, and the foreground and the negative. These components are used to analyze how people or atmospheres convey meaning and interact with one another. Thus, it can be said that multimodality can be almost everything to explain almost everything subjectively.

In the final Chapter, penned by Julio C. Gimenez, discusses the analysis tool designed by Labov. To note, this componential analysis of narrative has nothing to do with Nida's componential analysis of meanings. Instead, it is somewhat akin to the present DA. As a structural syntax-based, the immediate constituent of phrases plays a prominent role in analyzing texts to locate clausal boundaries. After carrying out the analysis, the data will be quantified to see its distribution, leading to generalizability of findings. As we know it, this narrative analysis has been dramatically developed over time. Therefore, the content analysis, thematic analysis, and other evolved tools created by Halliday's systemic functional grammar are used instead.

To sum up, with its reader friendliness accompanied by its insightfulness, I found that this book to be a joy to read. It provides us a well-balanced perspective between the qualitative and the quantitative research methods. Not only does the text offer helpful analytical tools that junior researchers can be equipped with, but it also imparts other in-depth knowledge for further studies.

The Author

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