



HWA CHONG INSTITUTION (HIGH SCHOOL SECTION)

PROJECT WORK FINAL REPORT 2021

COVER PAGE

Topic: Singaporean General Election 2020 (GE2020) - A Corpus-based Analysis of Conceptual Metaphors in People's Action Party (PAP) and Opposition Party Speeches

Students' Name:

Zeaus Koh Jin Rui (2i427) - L

Isaac Ng Sheng Kang (2i420) - M

Seah Jin Rong (2i422) - M

Song Haoran (2i423) - M

Class: S2i4

Name of Teacher-Mentor: Dr Tommie Chen

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	2
Introductory Chapter	3
Introduction and Background	3
Rationale	3
Research Questions	4
Literature Review	5
Conceptual Metaphor Theory	5
Critical Discourse Analysis	6
Corpus Linguistics	6
Methodology	8
Discussion, Interpretations, and Analysis	11
PAP IS A PARENT (PAP Corpus)	11
PAP IS A COMMUNITY (PAP Corpus)	13
POLITICS IS CONFLICT (Workers' Party Corpus)	15
POLITICS IS A RELIGION (Workers' Party Corpus)	17
POLITICS IS BUSINESS (SDP & PSP Corpus)	18
Conclusion	21
Comparison of Conceptual Metaphors employed by different political parties	21
Limitations and Extensions for Future Research	22
References	23

1 Introductory Chapter

1.1 Introduction and Background

Held in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic, the 2020 General Elections (henceforth, GE2020) was the first of its kind – Singapore’s first “true Internet election” (Baharudin & Sin, 2020). Indeed, the pandemic has brought about massive changes for the society at large, and has “led to a disruption of the economy and an unprecedented ‘circuit breaker’ in Singapore, changing the way people live and threatening livelihoods” (Chew, 2020).

Due to the restrictions imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic, political broadcasts were introduced in lieu of physical rallies, airing on national television, radio and other online media. With a different setting and atmosphere, necessitating corresponding changes in content, they lack key traits of physical rallies (Subramaniam, 2020). Therefore, research on conceptual metaphors in political broadcasts in previous elections would not apply, which highlights the need for such a project. Furthermore, the results of GE2020 were somewhat unprecedented. Although Singapore's ruling PAP won yet again, it was not the “strong mandate” that Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong had hoped for (Devadas, 2020). As such, this project aims to introduce a framework to analyse the key messages obtained by the electorate from the political broadcasts in GE2020.

1.2 Rationale

Since Lakoff and Johnson argued in their 1980 book that thinking itself is metaphorical, scholars have been increasingly aware of the significance of metaphor in everyday life. In particular, it has been argued by a number of scholars that metaphors have considerable political effects. Metaphors are crucial to the language of foreign policy (Shimko, 2004); they may undermine long-existing political constellations (Baranov & Zinken, 2003) and they can prepare for new political structures (Chilton & Ilyin, 1993). As such, the concepts of metaphor and politics have for the last decades separately been the subject of a surge in intensive research (Landtsheer, 2009).

Even still, there has been little research on the use of conceptual metaphors in the context of Singapore politics. Notable works include Singh’s 2016 study on corporate metaphors

employed in Singapore politics. Yet, there is limited research on conceptual metaphors in political broadcasts of parties in Singapore. As such, this project aims to fill in that gap in research by examining the use of conceptual metaphors in the political broadcasts of the various parties that competed in GE2020, through utilising Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, which will be explained in the Literature Review section.

1.3 Research Questions

In this study, we aim to answer the following research questions:

1. How do the use of conceptual metaphors in the broadcasts of the political parties portray the parties and politics in general?
2. How do political parties differ in the ideas they communicate in the broadcasts, with reference to the application of metaphor in political communication (Black, 2009)?

2 Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The Conceptual Metaphor framework will be utilised as the primary framework for analysis in this paper. Conceptual Metaphors are phrased in the form of ‘X IS Y’, when “one domain of experience is systematically conceptualised in terms of another” (Black, 2004, p.39). An example would be the metaphor ‘POLITICS IS WAR’, in which politicians are presented as “fighting” against each other, “defending” their own stance and “attacking” the opposition’s. The power of Conceptual Metaphors lie in their ability to conceptualise abstract ideas, allowing the audience to experience “one kind of thing in terms of another ” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.5). This allows for complex concepts to be represented and delineated into an easily understood and shared experience. The table below lists certain common conceptual metaphors, and their canonical manifestations.

	CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	MANIFESTATIONS
1.	ARGUMENT IS WAR	Your claims are indefensible/ he attacked every weak point in my argument/ I demolished his argument/ she shot down all my arguments/ his criticisms were right on target
2.	TIME IS MONEY	You are wasting my time/ I have no time to spend on this/ I invested my time in this/ is that worth your while/ budget your time/ use time profitably/ no time to spare
3.	LOVE IS A JOURNEY	Look how far we have come/ we are at crossroads/ we have to go our separate ways/ we are not going anywhere/ the marriage is on the rocks/ we are stuck or off-track

Figure 1. Common Conceptual Metaphors and their Canonical Manifestations

Conceptual Metaphors are “fundamentally persuasive”. As such, they are often used by people in power. This is primarily because Conceptual Metaphors help in “representing new ideas” – they allow the layman to conceptualise and understand abstract concepts by tapping on a shared reservoir of “shared experiences”. It is also notable that Conceptual Metaphors not merely disseminate information, but create “emotional impact” and are able to “arouse the emotions”

(Black, 2004). In doing so, they are able to influence and shape the course of public opinion regarding certain issues. Hence, Conceptual Metaphors are a highly influential and persuasive discourse tool, particularly in political broadcasts during elections.

Additionally, metaphors are able to ‘highlight certain properties, downplaying others, and hiding still others’ (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Such a function is highly important in political rallies, which often seek to establish a nuanced image of certain concepts in a manner advantageous to the parties contesting. In doing so, political parties can ensure that certain desirable ideas, mostly pertaining to positive traits of the party, will be portrayed to the public. Likewise, political parties can also portray undesirable concepts, usually pertaining to the negative traits of their opposition, to the public.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Using tools of linguistic analysis, the study of how texts, particularly media texts, frame the events or issues they describe is one part of what is known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA investigates how language use reproduces the perspectives, values and ways of talking of the powerful, which may not be in the interests of the less powerful. It thus “focuses on the relationship between power, language and ideology” (O’Halloran, 2010, p.563). This approach can be thus utilised for analysis of political broadcasts, as political speeches involve this particular relationship.

CDA is a qualitative analytical approach for critically describing, interpreting, and explaining the ways in which discourses construct, maintain, and legitimize social inequalities. It attempts to expose the ideologies which inform and underlie texts (McCarthy & O’Keeffe, 2010), thus showing us how the use of linguistic devices shape the reader’s interpretation in terms of different issues. In the case of political broadcasts, it can be used to investigate the ideologies that shape the views of the electorate.

2.3 Corpus Linguistics

Corpus Linguistics provides a quantitative method of linguistic analysis which identifies “repeated patterns” throughout a body of text (Mahlberg, 2010). This means that word patterns which are reflected in a large dataset but are not accessible by human intuition will be shown.

Effectively, Corpus Linguistics addresses the limitations of an individual's cognitive abilities in identifying word patterns amongst a large body of text. Corpus Linguistics provides a computerised and semi-automated means of discerning word patterns on a large scale, ensuring that the findings are unbiased and complete. Ultimately, Corpus Linguistics validates conclusions in a quantitative manner which is repeatable, thus establishing a strong and objective basis for analysis. This is achieved by the quantification of word and semantic domain frequencies, as expressed in the LL values assigned to every lexical entity within the corpus.

The application of Corpus Linguistics has evolved over the years with new advancements in technology, resulting in new ways to analyse literature (McCarthy & O'Keeffe, 2010). Currently, the Corpus Linguistics framework has been amalgamated with the Literary stylistics approach, giving rise to a new branch of study known as Corpus Stylistics (Mahlberg, 2010). Literary stylistics refers to the analysis of "the way in which language is used in a given context, by a given person, for a given purpose" (Leech & Short, 1981). Corpus Linguistics, on the other hand, concerns itself with using 'quantitative' methods of linguistics analysis which identifies 'repeated patterns' throughout a body of text. Thus, the combination of the three aforementioned literary analysis frameworks will give rise to a new research methodology, which reinforces the understanding of how our surroundings affect the way we view political broadcasts with empirical and statistical backing. Hence, such a research methodology lens provides the crucial element of empirical repeatability to this research while still allowing for a close reading of the context in which language has been used.

3 Methodology

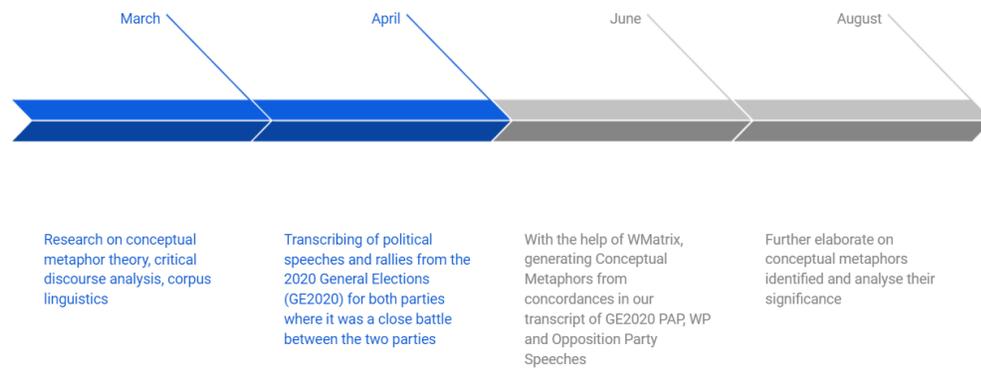


Figure 2. Overall timeline of our project

Firstly, a text-based corpus of political broadcasts from People’s Action Party (henceforth, PAP), Workers’ Party (henceforth, WP), Progress Singapore Party (henceforth, PSP) and Singapore Democratic Party (henceforth, SDP) is collected from constituencies where PAP lost to the opposition or PAP won by a small margin (<10%). The corpus is then separated between PAP, WP, and with the remaining opposition parties (PSP and SDP) together.

Subsequently, the corpus is run through the word processing software, WMatrix (Rayson, 2008). WMatrix is a ‘software tool for corpus analysis and comparison’ which provides corpus linguistics methodologies such as frequency lists of words and concordances. The corpus analysis framework this project is using utilises the British National Corpus (BNC). The BNC stores above 100 million words, from both fiction and non-fiction texts, with the database proven to have equal representation. This ensures that the corpus is able to cover all fields of study effectively with minimal bias (Bednarek, 2008). This allows the researcher to identify anomalies in word usage within the corpus, relative to typical language usage. These characteristics of word usage can then be analysed to identify key motifs and ideas within the corpus. Ultimately, such an approach allows the research to adopt a macro, bird’s eye view of language use within the corpus.

All words in the corpus are subsequently assigned a log-likelihood value (LL) value based on the frequency of their occurrence. A LL value of 6.63 and above indicates that the word

is in the top 99 percentile of frequency. Such words are deemed statistically significant, and will be analysed in greater depth. This mechanism provides an empirical and rigorous basis for the research to identify, and subsequently, analyse key words and motifs within the body of text. Such a research methodology is meritorious in that it minimises human biases within the research process.

Next, the USAS (UCREL Semantic Annotation System) will be used as the framework for the semantic annotation of text. This framework has been developed by Lancaster University, a key global centre for linguistic research. Semantic domains divide words into 21 major categories and 200 subcategories according to their nature and meanings (Rayson, 2008). The division of words into Semantic domains allows for the analysis of key terms in each category of meaning. This allows the researcher to identify key thematic ideas which occur frequently throughout the corpus. The major domains of USAS are listed below:

A General and abstract terms	B The body and the individual	C Arts and crafts	E Emotion
F Food and farming	G Government and public	H Architecture, housing and the home	I Money and industry in commerce
K Entertainment, sports and games	L Life and living things	M Movement, location, travel and transport	N Numbers and measurements
O Substances, materials, objects and equipment	P Education	Q Language and communication	S Social actions, states and processes
T Time	W World and the environment	X Psychological actions, states and processes	Y Science and technology
Z Names and grammar			

Figure 3. The Major USAS Semantic Domains

After qualitative analysis is done via the Corpus Linguistics framework, the Metaphor Identification Mechanism (MIP) will be utilised to identify words of metaphorical significance (Semino, 2008). According to the MIP, words are judged to be metaphorical if it has a more

“basic contemporary meaning” than the meaning it has in the given context of the film. From the identified words or phrases, Conceptual Metaphors can be formed. This is a key process in ensuring the repeatability of research findings.

19 occurrences.

rd for you- major projects like a new polyclinic ; a community hospital ; and even 4 MRT stations on the upcoming Cro
 ter manage public funds . Our vision is for a caring community . A vote for us , is a vote for change . We are five o
 o get it done . We do so because we believe that the community must stand above politics , it matters not where we se
 iter-themed playground in Anchorvale and a \$2 million community sports hub to Rivervale . I am sure our kids and fitne
 e than ever , that we foster a kampong spirit in our community that takes care of each other . We are here to support
 pport you . Our job is to take care of things in the community . Our job is to help ease your burden as much as possi
 t . By growing this kampong spirit , we will build a community that cares for each other . Together , we will work wi
 family spirit that Hougang has . We are a big family community that rallies around when one of our own is in need . W
 . we will support you . our partners in the SGCare Community Networks are actively reaching out to households livin
 o , laid out my plans to make Bukit Batok a stronger community with a brighter future . We face an uncertainty like n
 us . But , in Bukit Batok , we need to have a strong community plan to make sure that we retain our shape . It is not
 h , four as your MP . I have forged close bonds with community volunteers , with community partners , and most of all
 : forged close bonds with community volunteers , with community partners , and most of all , with you . With your supp
 d to develop East Coast and build a caring inclusive community . We revitalised Bedok Town Centre , built the Bedok N
 e the same vision of building a caring and inclusive community . In East Coast , I believe in partnering with our you
 nt . Together with the schools in East Coast and the community partners , our young residents have stepped forward to
 seniors , and also befriended the vulnerable in the community to care for their wellbeing . Amongst many other initi
 ng together , we can build a more vibrant and caring community . As a newcomer in the East Coast family , I have much
 le work with small and medium sized businesses in our community , encouraging them to leverage available schemes to tr

Figure 5. 2020 PAP Corpus: Node word “community”

This idea that PAP IS A PARENT is reinforced in Fig 5. For this analysis, we selected the node word “community”, with an LL value of 120.73. It carries the idea of PAP caring for the community, easing their burden as much as possible, making the community stronger and the like. Not only is PAP a parent, it is a kind and caring one, as seen from the multiple instances of “caring” used by PAP, and how it is “building” and “forging” bonds and relationships. PAP presents itself as a caring “parent” for Singapore.

19 occurrences.

rd for you- major projects like a new polyclinic ; a community hospital ; and even 4 MRT stations on the upcoming Cro
 ter manage public funds . Our vision is for a caring community . A vote for us , is a vote for change . We are five o
 o get it done . We do so because we believe that the community must stand above politics , it matters not where we se
 iter-themed playground in Anchorvale and a \$2 million community sports hub to Rivervale . I am sure our kids and fitne
 e than ever , that we foster a kampong spirit in our community that takes care of each other . We are here to support
 pport you . Our job is to take care of things in the community . Our job is to help ease your burden as much as possi
 t . By growing this kampong spirit , we will build a community that cares for each other . Together , we will work wi
 family spirit that Hougang has . We are a big family community that rallies around when one of our own is in need . W
 . we will support you . our partners in the SGCare Community Networks are actively reaching out to households livin
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 le work with small and medium sized businesses in our community , encouraging them to leverage available schemes to tr

Figure 6. 2020 PAP Corpus: Node word “support”

Fig 6 further supports the idea that PAP IS A PARENT. The node word selected is “support”, which is significant (LL value of 140.01). As seen from the figure, PAP wishes to be “alongside”

and to “support” Singaporeans, and “provide assistance” when they are in need, as would a parent for their children. Here, the idea that PAP is a parent which cares for its children, Singaporeans, is reinforced.

4.2 PAP IS A COMMUNITY (PAP Corpus)

One conceptual metaphor significant in the corpus is PAP IS A COMMUNITY. Given that politics is made up of factions or competitive political organisations (Belloni & Beller, 1976), there seems to be a reiteration of the idea that PAP, together with the citizens of Singapore, can form a supportive community together. PAP IS A COMMUNITY creates the impression of a safe space where there is unity.

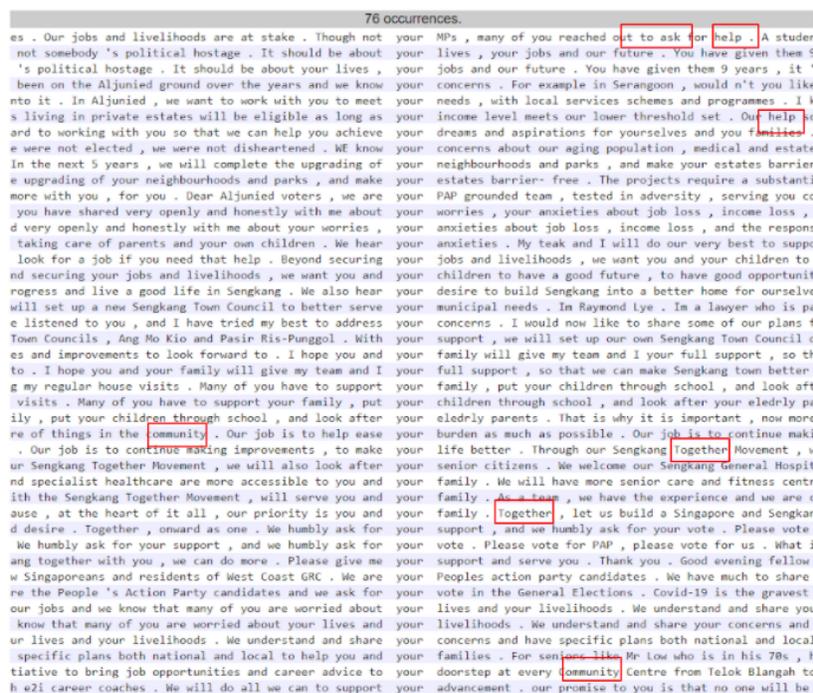


Figure 7. 2020 PAP Corpus: Node word “your”

The word “your” is significant as it has an LL value of 98.86. The words here reinforce the idea that PAP IS A COMMUNITY. The words “ask” and “help” appear frequently, highlighting the idea that people seek help from PAP. These words come together to suggest that PAP IS A COMMUNITY, and the party and Singapore forms a collective group with much in common, as shown by the words “together” and “community”.

19 occurrences.

ard for you- major projects like a new polyclinic ; a
 tter manage public funds . Our vision is for a caring
 to get it done . We do so because we believe that the
 ater-themed playground in Anchorvale and a \$2 million
 re than ever , that we Foster a kampong spirit in our
 support you . Our job is to take care of things in the
 it . By growing this kampong spirit , we will build a
 family spirit that Hougang has . We are a big family
 t . we will support you . our partners in the SGCares
 to , laid out my plans to make Bukit Batok a stronger
 us . But , in Bukit Batok , we need to have a strong
 ch , four as your MP . I have forged close bonds with
 e forged close bonds with community volunteers , with
 rd to develop East Coast and build a caring inclusive
 re the same vision of building a caring and inclusive
 ent . Together with the schools in East Coast and the
 r seniors , and also befriended the vulnerable in the
 ing together , we can build a more vibrant and caring
 We work with small and medium sized businesses in our
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 community . A vote for us , is a vote for change . We are five o
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 community partners , our young residents have stepped forward to
 community to care for their wellbeing . Amongst many other initi
 community . As a newcomer in the East Coast family , I have much
 community , encouraging them to leverage available schemes to tr

Figure 8. 2020 PAP Corpus: Node word “community”

The word “community” is also significant in the concordance as it has a LL value of 120.73. Words like “community”, “us”, “our”, “together”, “we” and “all” enforce the idea that PAP and Singapore together act as a collective community, highlighting a sense of unity.

30 occurrences.

from our supporters and our merchants associations to
 , we want to assure you that the PAP is alongside , to
 our anxieties . My teak and I will do our very best to
 pncils , Ang Mo Kio and Pasir Ris-Punggol . With your
 you and your family will give my team and I your full
 d during my regular house visits . Many of you have to
 munity that takes care of each other . We are here to
 re . Together , onward as one . We humbly ask for your
 gether with you , we can do more . Please give me your
 d to serve as career navigators.They will provide peer
 ion with e2i career coaches . We will do all we can to
 e lost their jobs , and families have less savings and
 , and families have less savings and support . we will
 ng to find out how they 're coping and what additional
 so made ComCare assistance more responsive , to better
 he brink , and that is why we established the Covid-19
 d the Covid-19 support Grant , to offer some financial
 recipients of the grant will also be linked up for job
 lp us man the 24-hour National Care hotline to provide
 ank you Desmond . Now , more than ever , families need
 ed support to succeed . at West Coast GRC , we want to
 know of residents who may not know how to access this
 nity partners , and most of all , with you . With your
 best to keep you in jobs , help you find new ones and
 ting to others . Kiat How will talk about the care and
 dset , and to continue developing each of our own . To
 ast family , I have much to learn . I hope to get your
 workers . We feel your worries and we have programs to
 e extended , to enable our residents to get employment
 a future plans to meet your evolving needs . With your
 support our community.We can harness the power of negotiation a
 support and care for you . At the national level , we know that
 support you in these challenging times . We have already brought
 support , we will set up our own Sengkang Town Council dedicate
 support , so that we can make Sengkang town better for all of u
 support your family , put your children through school , and lo
 support you . Our job is to take care of things in the communit
 support , and we humbly ask for your vote . Please vote for PAP
 support and serve you . Thank you . Good evening fellow Singapo
 support to assist our residents in their job search efforts , i
 support your advancement . our promise to you is that no one wi
 support . we will support you . our partners in the SGCares Com
 support you . our partners in the SGCares Community Networks ar
 support they need . We have also made ComCare assistance more r
 support lower-income households during this time . and for seni
 support Grant , to offer some financial support to help you man
 support to help you manage basic needs . Recipients of the gran
 support or training . At the same time , this crisis is inflict
 support for people who are feeling anxious . Now during this cr
 support to succeed . at West Coast GRC , we want to support the
 support the building of strong families . Thank you for spendin
 support , We will provide the help needed . Another area that w
 support , I am confident of making these plans a reality . So ,
 support you to bounce back stronger . We will continue to stren
 support for our seniors . Jessica will share about rejuvenation
 support our youths in their development and career , the existi
 support and your patience . Dear East Coast GRC residents , I a
 support you . Getting employed matters or GEM@East Coast GRC .
 support , as well as to connect to jobs . The programme include
 support , we will work to build a strong East Coast GRC and Sin

Figure 9. 2020 PAP Corpus: Node word “support”

The word “support” is significant as it has a LL value of 140.01. The PAP wants to “support” Singaporeans. Put differently, PAP wants to provide assistance to Singaporeans in order to help them live their best life. This can be likened to members of a community, where they lift one another up. These words imply that PAP IS A COMMUNITY that helps out the

members of the community, that being the citizens of Singapore. Furthermore, the diction of “alongside”, “us”, “we” and “together” contribute to creating the impression that everyone is together. Although they may be individuals, they are united in a purpose, hence the use of pronouns that refer to an entire community. Overall, this seems to create the sense of unity you would see in a close knitted and caring community, hence emphasising that PAP IS A COMMUNITY.

4.3 POLITICS IS CONFLICT (Workers’ Party Corpus)

Across the Workers’ Party corpora, one significant conceptual metaphor that surfaces repeatedly is POLITICS IS CONFLICT. The use of this conceptual metaphor seems to create the impression that the various political parties involved are fighting to garner the people’s vote. In the GE2020 WP political broadcast speech taken from East Coast GRC, the word “vote” has a LL value of 163.95, which proves its significance.

22 occurrences.

t our team offers you a better choice and ask that you vote for us . All five of us have parliamentary experience ,
 not need to agree on what the government says . If you vote for a PAP team in Aljunied GRC , your new MPs will have
 n we won by just 2 625 votes . We understand that your vote needs to be earned . We have worked hard to earn your tr
 and promise to do better . Now , more than ever , your vote is essential to chart the kind of political system Singa
 l of political system Singapore should have . Make your vote count . Vote for The Workers Party . Voters of Aljunied
 system Singapore should have . Make your vote count . Vote for The Workers Party . Voters of Aljunied GRC , the PAP
 Aljunied GRC , the PAP keeps saying theres no need to vote for the opposition as the NCMP scheme secures your voice
 policy . But if the Bills are wrong for Singapore , we vote no - as we did against the GST hike , the Constitution A
 o an election with the intention of fighting for every vote and winning every seat . Unquote . And the PAP fights wi
 fully-elected seats . Please make your count . Please vote for the Workers Party . Dear voters of Sengkang GRC , my
 here to walk with you into a better future . Make your vote count . Vote for the Workers party . I wish to touch on
 with you into a better future . Make your vote count . Vote for the Workers party . I wish to touch on two final mat
 o help us make this possible . We ask you to make your vote count and vote for the Workers Party . Dear Hougang vote
 this possible . We ask you to make your vote count and vote for the Workers Party . Dear Hougang voters , I am Denni
 t make any difference . He can not be your voice , and vote against his party , but as a Workers Party MP , I can sp
 Party MP , I can speak for you . And when necessary , vote against any undesirable bills or motions , as I have don
 about your future , your children 's future . May your vote count . Vote for the Workers Party , send me back to Par
 ture , your children 's future . May your vote count . Vote for the Workers Party , send me back to Parliament to
 is simply not the consequence we want for Singapore . A vote for Workers Party is a vote for fairness and balance and
 we want for Singapore . A vote for Workers Party is a vote for fairness and balance and I urge you Singaporeans to
 being equally present in your constituency . Make your vote count . Vote the Workers Party .
 present in your constituency . Make your vote count . Vote the Workers Party .

Figure 10. 2020 East Coast GRC WP Corpus: Node word “vote”

It is mentioned here that WP has the “intention of fighting for every vote and winning every seat.” Here, WP describes their role in the election as a “fight” for votes. This word creates an impression of opposition. It connotes the struggle to overcome an opposing force. In this light, it presents WP as a body which is in the election to contest seats with the PAP. It is also

interesting to note WP’s use of the word “winning”. In a conflict involving two parties, both parties fight with each other to produce a winner and loser. By trying to “win” the election, WP presents the election as a conflict in which they fight PAP. Indeed, WP has constantly been questioning PAP in Parliament, opposing them in Bills such as the GST hike.

12 occurrences.

we have asked **tough questions** on your behalf to hold the PAP government **accountable** . As Workers Party MPs , we have b
to agree on what the government says . If you vote for a PAP team in Aljunied GRC , your new MPs will have to support
ote for The Workers Party . Voters of Aljunied GRC , the PAP keeps saying theres no need to vote for the opposition as
. It exists to make laws which are voted on by MPs . The PAP will feel safe as long as their two-thirds majority is no
im to win 100% of fully-elected Parliament seats for the PAP , leaving the opposition to **be losing** NCMPs . His reply w
or every vote and winning every seat . Unquote . And the PAP fights with huge advantages and resources . In 2001 and 2
a huge advantages and resources . In 2001 and 2015 , the PAP won around 70% of votes or more , almost **wiping out a** ter
s they do nt carry the full mandate of the people by the PAP at the risk of losing more fully-elected seats . Please m
h are just as good , if not better than those run by the PAP . We need a new vision to present alternatives that the c
Singaporeans will benefit from scrutiny of the **uncertain** PAP 4G leadership . One more PAP MP will not make any differe
a scrutiny of the uncertain PAP 4G leadership . One more PAP MP will not make any difference . He can not be your voic
s , as I have done in the last parliament . The **defeated** PAP candidate will still remain as your grassroots advisor .

Figure 11. 2020 East Coast GRC WP Corpus: Node word “PAP”

Fig 11 supports the metaphor of POLITICS IS CONFLICT. It continues concepts of a win and a loss as outcomes of the General Election. This is akin to the concepts of conflict - there will be one who emerges victorious over the other. Furthermore, not only is politics a conflict, it is a conflict that is capable of “wiping out” one side. In this conceptual metaphor, WP seems to present the PAP as a powerful party in the conflict. PAP seems to have the power to dominate the election such that it becomes the main party with little opposition. This brings the intensity and level of the conflict to another level - it presents the political scene as tough and even violent.

21 occurrences.

ed MPs and Non-Constituency MPs . During our time in Parliament , we have asked **tough questions** on your behalf to hol
th their party leadership . This will not strengthen Parliament as a check on government . If you believe that Parlia
ament as a check on government . If you believe that Parliament is an important institution and we have to make it mo
arent so that elected non-PAP MPs are represented in Parliament . The Workers Party MPs take our parliamentary work s
attention , including representing your interests in Parliament . We have also enjoyed meeting you during our estate
opposition as the NCMP scheme secures your voice in parliament . Do nt be **swayed** by this **argument** . Parliament is no
e in parliament . Do nt be swayed by this argument . Parliament is not just a talk shop where MPs make speeches . It
dents in ways I could not as an NCMP . When I was in Parliament , I filed over 150 questions and spoke on healthcare
the experience Ive gained to serve a second term in Parliament . My friends , Workers Party MPs in Parliament have s
rm in Parliament . My friends , Workers Party MPs in Parliament have spoken up to hold the government to account , fr
f the reserved Presidency . We support most Bills in Parliament if they are good for Singapore , though we voice our
r lived . On the 9th November 2015 , I asked DPM Teo Parliament if it was the governments aim to win 100% of fully-el
was the governments aim to win 100% of fully-elected Parliament seats for the PAP , leaving the opposition to be losi
ll get constructive responsible MPs who work hard in Parliament , while on the ground you 'll benefit from our experi
e , the importance of having an alternative voice in Parliament . The government 's handling of the COVID crisis left
therefore now , more than ever , we need a balanced parliament , so that Singaporeans will benefit from scrutiny of
irable bills or motions , as I have done in the last parliament . The **Defeated** PAP candidate will still remain as you
count . Vote for the Workers Party , send me back to Parliament to speak up for you and your children . Thank you . M
hands . The Workers Party raised these questions in Parliament to make sure that your voice was heard . The voters o
past GRC have voted consistently for more balance in Parliament over the last two decades and the voters of East Coas
e that you would not want to see a super majority in parliament that goes unchecked . That is simply not the conseque

Figure 12. 2020 East Coast GRC WP Corpus: Node word “parliament”

Fig 12 further supports the notion that POLITICS IS WAR. As seen from the figure, the work of a WP politician includes asking “tough questions” to the ruling party PAP. This creates the impression that the two parties are opposing each other and posing challenges to each other. This party seems to overpower the other with these “challenges” and thus emerge victorious. WP also seems to aim to “sway” - perhaps to “sway” PAP to their strategic advantage. WP also seems to use words like “argument” and “defeated”, which create the impression of two opposing sides fighting with each other. It connotes opposition and hence, conflict.

4.4 POLITICS IS A RELIGION (Workers’ Party Corpus)

Across the Workers’ Party corpora, one significant conceptual metaphor that surfaces repeatedly is POLITICS IS A RELIGION. The use of this conceptual metaphor seems to create the impression that the various political parties such as the Workers Party give people a sense of hope, and a source of motivation as well as something to believe in. In the GE2020 WP political broadcast speech taken from East Coast GRC, the word “parliament” has a LL value of 185.84, which proves its significance.

21 occurrences.

d MPs and Non-Constituency MPs . During our time in Parliament , we have asked tough questions on your behalf to hold their party leadership . This will not strengthen Parliament as a check on government . If you believe that Parliament as a check on government . If you believe that Parliament is an important institution and we have to make it more so that elected non-PAP MPs are represented in Parliament . The Workers Party MPs take our parliamentary work seriously , including representing your interests in Parliament . We have also enjoyed meeting you during our estate opposition as the NCMP scheme secures your voice in parliament . Do not be swayed by this argument . Parliament is not in parliament . Do not be swayed by this argument . Parliament is not just a talk shop where MPs make speeches . It is in ways I could not as an NCMP . When I was in Parliament , I filed over 150 questions and spoke on healthcare the experience I've gained to serve a second term in Parliament . My friends , Workers Party MPs in Parliament have spoken up to hold the government to account , for in Parliament . My friends , Workers Party MPs in Parliament have spoken up to hold the government to account , for the reserved Presidency . We support most Bills in Parliament if they are good for Singapore , though we voice our lived . On the 9th November 2019 , I asked DPM Teo Parliament if it was the governments aim to win 100% of fully-elected as the governments aim to win 100% of fully-elected Parliament seats for the PAP , leaving the opposition to be lost I get constructive responsible MPs who work hard in Parliament , while on the ground you 'll benefit from our experience , the importance of having an alternative voice in Parliament . The government 's handling of the COVID crisis left therefore now , more than ever , we need a balanced parliament , so that Singaporeans will benefit from scrutiny of rable bills or motions , as I have done in the last parliament . The defeated PAP candidate will still remain as you count . Vote for the Workers Party , send me back to Parliament to speak up for you and your children . Thank you . M hands . The Workers Party raised these questions in Parliament to make sure that your voice was heard . The voters of last GRC have voted consistently for more balance in Parliament over the last two decades and the voters of East Coast that you would not want to see a super majority in parliament that goes unchecked . That is simply not the consequence

Figure 13. GE2020 WP Corpus: Node Word “parliament”

In Fig 13, the word “aim” reinforces the fact that POLITICS IS A RELIGION, as people are given the idea that politics is aspirational. Moreover, the Workers' Party also describes the

alternative opinions in the Parliament as “voices”, which implies the idea of a guiding force which gives one a sense of purpose and motivation. In addition, the diction “believes” suggests the idea of putting one’s trust into a larger force, which in this case is the Workers’ Party. These are extremely similar to that of a religion, which aims to be the guiding light in someone’s life.

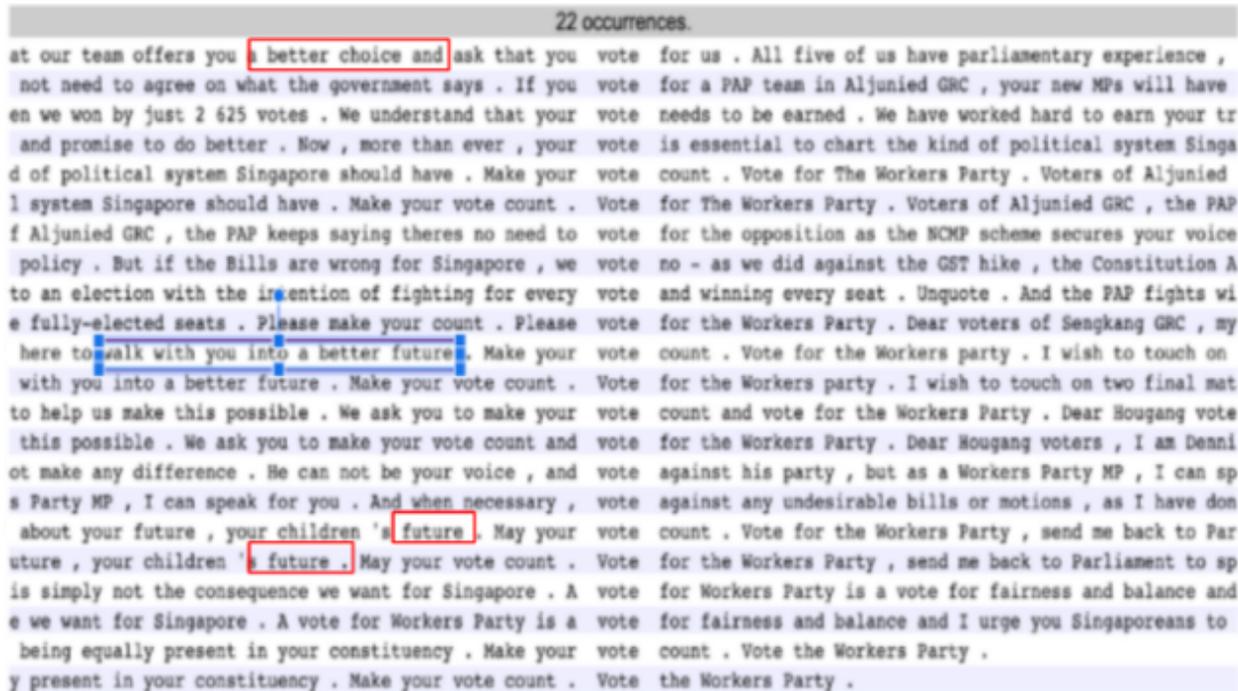


Figure 14. GE2020 WP Corpus: Node Word “vote”

The word “vote” in the WP Corpus has a LL value of 140.92, hence proving of significance and importance. Here, the idea of POLITICS IS A RELIGION is once again reinforced by words like “vision”, which implies the idea of envisioning a better future for the citizens, similar to that of aims of religions. Furthermore, by saying that the Workers' Party “walk with you into a better future”, it is suggesting that the Workers' Party can advocate for change for the better of citizens and people, brightening up one’s life. Hence, just as religions push for change of the society and oneself for the better, politics is a religion.

4.5 POLITICS IS BUSINESS (SDP & PSP Corpus)

This corpus that we analysed comprised the political broadcasts of the other political parties that made up the opposition. One conceptual metaphor prominent in the corpus is POLITICS IS A BUSINESS. It carries an implicit suggestion that politics is a sort of industry, and the

government functions as a sort of business enterprise. Often, politics and business are interrelated and interdependent. Money from big businesses can influence the way politicians and their parties act or campaign. Even the way political parties campaign relies in itself on marketing techniques and advertising gimmicks. Backroom deals and big money is often linked with politics. (Rauch, 2015) In the political broadcasts of Singapore Democratic Party and Progress Singapore Party, the word “residents” has particular significance, as the residents are essentially the primary audience of the political parties. This is evident by how “residents” has a LL value of 116.99, appearing 13 times.

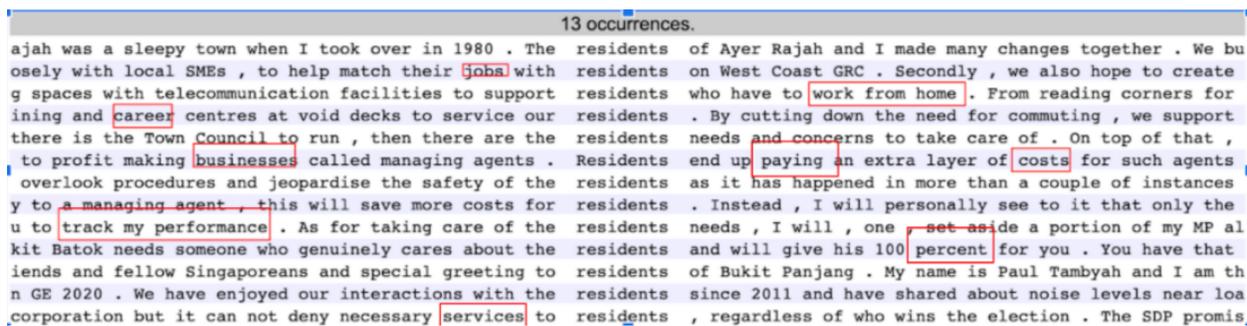


Figure 15. 2020 West Coast GRC PSP & Bukit Batok SMC SDP Corpus: Node word “residents”

In this figure, the word “jobs” in itself suggests that the political parties are focused on helping people to find employment, which connotes the idea of politics being a business, as a large part of it is on meeting the employment needs of the people. SDP and PSP both focus on the challenges people may face as they “work from home” and struggle with their “career”, and that the parties will assist them, particularly in finding jobs. This can be likened to a business, which provides people with jobs. The parties also mention “profit making businesses”, which creates the impression that politics is in a way a money-making enterprise. This conclusion is further supported by the word “costs”, which is also another important consideration in business. Finally, the political speaker emphasises that Singaporeans can “track [his] performance”. Here, we can draw a link between politics and business. Just as companies have performance-based goals which managers use to track their teams’ progress, quantitatively and qualitatively, politicians should allow the people they serve to give feedback on their progress and what they have achieved. This comparison thus suggests that politics is a sort of business, wherein goals and progress of the governing bodies are just as important as in business.

Figure 16. 2020 West Coast GRC PSP & Bukit Batok SMC SDP Corpus: Node word “vote”

9 occurrences.

cy and accountability on how these reserves are spent . Vote for Progress Singapore Party . Dear voters of West Coast ly respected and experienced Dr Tan Cheng Bock . Please vote with no fear . Have no fear about a freak election result vantage . In the last election , the PAP won 70% of the vote and 93% of the seats . On polling day , this round , the i or do not have access to whom they want to serve . So vote us in as full MPs because we want to bring about real ch strong alternative voice . Do nt shortchange yourself , vote for us , vote for Progress Singapore Party . For country tive voice . Do nt shortchange yourself , vote for us , vote for Progress Singapore Party . For country , for people percent for you . You have that someone in me . Please vote for me , vote for the SDP . Good evening friends and fel ou . You have that someone in me . Please vote for me , vote for the SDP . Good evening friends and fellow Singaporea ntly based on justice and equality . Maiulah Singapura . Vote SDP , thank you .

In Fig 16, we see how the PSP and SDP politicians imply that politics is business through showing what they campaign for and what might happen if they are not voted in. the word “vote” has great significance, considering that it is essentially what the political parties are vying for. It has a LL value of 57.24. The parties are campaigning for “accountability”, which suggests transparency and being open, often on how “reserves” are spent. The idea of money and business can be inferred, and it thus alludes that politics is a business, as according to these politicians, the government, which conducts business and handles the country’s finances, have to be forthcoming on how the money is used. The diction of “shortchange” also highlights the idea that if the voters do not vote for PSP, they would be depriving or cheating themselves of something they rightfully deserve, usually referring to money. This suggests the conceptual metaphor that POLITICS IS A BUSINESS, since voters have to choose a political party to lead the country (just like how a CEO leads the company) and their choice will either benefit or harm them (just like how a CEO’s decisions can impact a business drastically).

10 occurrences.

together , well make our dreams for West Coast , and Singapore , become a reality . Dear voters of West Coast GRC . I prong approach . Firstly we must priorities jobs for Singapore citizens . There are currently about 400,000 foreign P . There are currently about 400,000 foreign PMETs in Singapore while tens of thousands of Singaporean PMETs are joble y on how these reserves are spent . Vote for Progress Singapore Party . Dear voters of West Coast GRC . My teammates h hortchange yourself , vote for us , vote for Progress Singapore Party . For country , for people Dear friends and vote wipe out the opposition which would be a disaster for Singapore . The SDP has a simple message - Four Yes , One No . Y than cover the costs without touching the reserves . Singapore does not have oil or gas or diamonds . Our reserves ar er chief planner Liu Thai Ker , who said in 2014 that Singapore should plan for 10 million people for it to remain sus w appears to have backed down on this one . Well done Singapore . Lets keep Bukit Panjang and the rest of Singapore . e Singapore . Lets keep Bukit Panjang and the rest of Singapore . Lets work together to build a democratic society bas

Figure 17. 2020 West Coast PSP & Bukit Batok SDP Corpus: Node word “Singapore”

In Fig 17, we selected the node word of “Singapore”, as it has a relatively high LL value of 111.56. Here, the focus of “jobs” is once again revealed (as in Figure 4). It could suggest that politics is a form of business, such as a recruitment company, which helps connect potential employees to customers. Besides that, we again see that the political parties are focused on transparency in the way “reserves” are “spent”. It suggests the idea of politics being a business. Like in business, where the company has to be transparent and forthcoming on how much they

make in their financial reports, PSP and SDP believe the government has to be transparent with the wealth it has. In the speech, several resources like “oil”, “gas” and “diamonds”, which Singapore largely lacks. By emphasising that Singapore lacks certain resources, the politicians imply that the government has to be a business, acknowledging what the country lacks and finding ways to push economic growth.

5 Conclusion

5.1 Comparison of Conceptual Metaphors employed by different political parties

In many aspects, the purposes implicit within the political broadcasts are similar. The different parties all wish to present themselves as the more favourable and appealing party to be voted for, however the way they do this differs. However, by looking closer at the differences between the main conceptual metaphors for each party, we can begin to understand the subtle, underlying differences between the identities of each party, and their worldview.

There are observable differences between the conceptual metaphors employed by the different political parties. The first difference being the focus of the conceptual metaphors themselves. For the PAP corpus, the more obvious conceptual metaphors focus primarily on the PAP. Examples include PAP IS A PARENT and PAP IS A COMMUNITY. By comparison, the conceptual metaphors in the corpora of the opposition parties we interpreted focused more on politics itself. Examples include POLITICS IS CONFLICT (from the Workers’ Party corpus) and POLITICS IS BUSINESS (from the Singapore Democratic Party and Progress Singapore Party corpus). This is the technical difference between the conceptual metaphors employed, but the implications on the results of GE2020 cannot be concretely proven. We hypothesize that the fact that there were more conceptual metaphors focusing on PAP in the PAP corpus meant that the PAP politicians focused more on their party in their speeches.

The next distinct difference between the conceptual metaphors is the message each of the parties are trying to convey in the way they are trying to portray themselves or politics in general. In other words, the ideas in the conceptual metaphors for each party can be very different. For PAP, the party mainly focuses on highlighting the good aspects of themselves. This can be seen in the two prominent conceptual metaphors from the PAP corpus: PAP IS A PARENT and PAP IS A COMMUNITY. All these metaphors suggest that PAP is attempting to portray

themselves as a reliable and united force with its primary goal centering on the needs of the people of Singapore. In stark contrast, opposition parties focus more on conveying abstract ideas about Singapore politics. For instance, WP politicians compare politics to conflict, while SDP and PSP politicians compare it to a “BUSINESS”. These metaphors convey the message that politics is not a bed of roses. Arguably, these metaphors are more practical and less rosy like how PAP portrays themselves as a benefactor. Instead, there seems to be some form of violence (as in POLITICS IS CONFLICT), and brusque and sometimes sneaky (as in POLITICS IS BUSINESS). The opposition parties seem to portray politics as more serious than what PAP might suggest, with great consequences depending on who the electorate votes for. Just as how a new CEO in a company could have a profound effect on the future of the company, the party with the most votes can seriously change Singapore, for better or for worse. Just as how there will be losers and winners in a conflict, elections and the results will ultimately change Singaporeans’ lives. Again, it is not concrete to directly attribute this difference to the results – many other factors play a part. But we must understand that, it is possible to hypothesize the connections between these differences and the results. Possibly, the fact that opposition parties like WP could emphasise that politics is a serious affair helped appeal to the sense of urgency and alarm that their listeners might have, especially given the dire situation given the pandemic. In contrast, PAP politicians focus more on how PAP can be nurturing and helpful, which could be out of touch with the dire situation. Maybe, more of the electorate wanted a party that recognised the difficulties of the situation and could promise forceful, decisive changes, and not abstract, rosy images of a benefactor.

5.2 Limitations and Extensions for Future Research

However, this study has limitations as well. The type of political speeches targeted are only that broadcasted during the political broadcasts. It does not take into account other forms of communicating to voters like social media, blog posts and interviews. Hence, a way to expand and build upon this project would be to use the corpus analysis method or other frameworks like the multi-modal framework) to look at online social media pages and other informal forms of media. This would open up a whole new level for analysis in more informal media and be more relevant to the current era as well as social media is one of the main networking systems today. The use of such discourse has been proven to be effective in the understanding and analysis of

conceptual metaphors (Ooi, Tan, & Chiang, 2007). Conceptual metaphors also differ between situations and contexts. Different locations and circumstances shape the population's mind through shared experience and different cultural understanding (Eubanks, 1999). Hence, it is important to take into consideration the differing contexts faced when analysing discourse with a corpus-based methodology.

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