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"Symbol and Society"

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ETHNOGRAPHICAL LANGUAGE WORK

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

LANGUAGE, COMMUNITY, ETHNICITY

LANGUAGE, CONTACT AND CHANGE

SEMIOTICS AND SEMIOLOGY

TEXT, CONTEXT, ENTEXTUALIZATION

Foreword

Dear Authors, Participants, Contributors, and Esteemed Readers,

The GLOCAL Conference 2023, in Asia, The Conference on Asian Linguistic Anthropology 2023, at the Philippines Diliman, on May 16-19, 2023, hosted by the SOAS GLOCAL, with major publishing affiliate Taylor and Francis Publishing and Springer, was an immense success, despite the prevalence of the COVID-19.

The GLOCAL has now developed and sustains a strong tradition of localized Linguistic Anthropology for Asia, and for the world. This effort has found support in its extensive number of global affiliate institutions, publishing companies, and its global sibling conferences (The COMELA, The MEALA, The AFALA, The COOLA, The SCAALA). The GLOCAL 2023, and the GLOCAL as a whole, have brought together researchers, academics, and professionals from the world over, who are experts in Asian Linguistic Anthropology, Language and Society, Sociolinguistics, Cultural Anthropology, Critical Studies, Music Anthropology, Gender Studies, Literary Studies, and related fields. The papers provided scientific knowledge within these pertinent fields, which this book is now publishing.

Themed *Symbol and Society*, The GLOCAL 2023 saw the gathering of a global group of scholars who sought to engage in progressive discussion on a range of issues significant to the field of Asian Linguistic Anthropology. The scholarship from these interactions was no less than academically groundbreaking, and these contributions structured The GLOCAL 2023 Conference in Asia to become the outstanding event that it was. The GLOCAL 2023 Conference Central Committee are

Conference Chair: Associate Professor Michael Hadzantonis, SOAS, University of London.

In addition to the contributed papers, the two invited keynote speakers were Professor Michael Lempert of the University of Michigan, and Professor Asmah Haji Omar, of the University of Malaya.

We thank all authors and participants for their significant contributions.

The GLOCAL Conference, in Asia 2023,
The Conference on Asian Linguistic Anthropology 2023, in Asia.

Editor's Note

The GLOCAL Conference 2023, in Asia, The Conference on Asian Linguistic Anthropology 2023, at the University of the Philippines Diliman, May 16-19, 2023, hosted by the SOAS GLOCAL, with major publishing affiliate Taylor and Francis Publishing and Springer, was a success, despite the prevalence of the COVID-19.

We thank all those who presented and who have achieved a tremendous feat with their work on the Linguistic Anthropology of Asia.

Michael Hadzantonis
Asmah Haji Omar

New Entrepreneur is Premature Baby: A Critical Metaphor Analysis of Malaysian Supply Bills

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Abstract

Malaysia, as a growing nation, is attempting to alleviate the country's denigration in its socio-economy performance. Realizing how local enterprises facilitate the country's economic growth, the government introduces plans, policies, and incentives aimed at aiding entrepreneurs to remain viable and competitive in overcoming business challenges. This paper observes the conceptualizations of these young or new entrepreneurs in the nine supply bills read by Najib Razak, the sixth Prime Minister of Malaysia.

This study was modelled on Charteris-Black's critical metaphor analysis. I discovered that young and new entrepreneurs were conceptualized as pre-term or sick newborns (NEW ENTREPRENEUR IS PRE-TERM NEWBORN). The government, however, framed itself as a doctor or more specifically a paediatrician (GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR) whose knowledge and competence were highly sought after by young entrepreneurs in order to stay healthy and active in businesses. Through these metaphors, the people were reminded that their helpless selves needed salvation by the heroic government. Therefore, the use of metaphors in the supply bills has served predicative, empathetic, ideological, and mythical purposes.

Keywords: *Critical metaphor analysis, supply bills, entrepreneurs*

Introduction

In democratic countries, it is the people who create the laws that govern the country. Representatives elected in general elections serve as the voice of their constituents in parliament. These representatives represent any of various political parties, upholding various ideologies, presenting distinct plans for the country, thus advancing their agendas. Through political campaigning, which includes speeches, social media posts, commercials, and policies, rules, and even supply bills, the candidates square off against one another.

A general election is held every five years in Malaysia, a Southeast Asian nation of 32.6 million people. A total of 576 seats in the state legislative assembly and 222 seats in the parliament are up for each election. The Barisan Nasional party (literally translated as the National Front party) had represented Malaysian politics, and had a considerable amount of agency in its politics, since Malaysia gained independence from the British in 1957, and until 2018. However, during the final few years of its reign, it encountered profound challenges and saw a decline in popularity. Dato' Sri Mohammad Najib bin Tun Haji Abdul Razak, the sixth Prime Minister of Malaysia (hereinafter referred to as Najib Razak), worked exceptionally hard to keep the public's faith in the party. Throughout his speeches, Najib attempted to persuade the audience that he and his team were working diligently for the country and the people. Najib and his administration created different social roles and identities for himself as the Prime Minister, and for the government and the people

as part of his strategies so as to win popular vote. These roles and identities were communicated in his discourse through the use of linguistic metaphors originating from several conceptual metaphors. These conceptual metaphors assisted the government to create favourable myths that assist the government to frame itself favourably.

The examination of nine supply bills tabled by Najib Razak while serving as Malaysia's sixth prime minister using Lakoff and Johnson's (1980a) conceptual metaphor theory, Charteris-Black's (2014) framework on critical metaphor analysis, and Harvey Sacks's (1995) membership categorization analysis framework revealed that his speeches are heavily influenced by the conceptual metaphor PRIME MINISTER / GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR/ HEALER. This paper aims to present the vocational roles and relational identities the government had created for itself, the people, and others in its attempts to further legitimize their presence as the ruling party.

Conceptual Metaphor, Identity, Discourse and Politics

Identity is not only discussed through discourse, but is also constructed, negotiated, strengthened, and even subverted through the medium of language (Koller 2012). As it facilitates the production, reception, and adoption of meaning (Gee 1999), discourse assists people to take action, to communicate with others, to position themselves, and to be positioned in a social space (Almeciga 2013). In addition to the ever-changing co-formations of complex relationships between the self and the world (Almeciga 2013), discourse plays an important role in developing and shaping the individual, collective, and relational identities of participants.

The collective identities of a discourse participant are frequently revealed by his or her vocation and social activities (Simpson and Mayr 2010). Sacks (1985) asserted through his membership categorisation analysis (MCA) framework that a person's membership in a social category is frequently based on their actions or behaviours (category-bound activity) and traits (category-bound predicates). Individuals' rights, obligations, knowledge, competencies, and attributes associated with membership categories such as age, sex, race, and occupation are invoked within naturally occurring ordinary activities (Augoustinos, Walker and Donaghue 2014). For example, when presented with the phrase '*The infant cried. The woman picked it up,*' readers or listeners intuitively assume the woman is the mother of the crying infant. Rarely will a listener think that the infant belongs to a different individual, it is thus because picking up babies is a category-bound activity of mothers, something they are morally and socially expected to perform (Day 2011). Sacks went on to elaborate on how a membership categorisation device (MCD) can be used to bring together pre-existing categories. MCD enables the 'baby' and 'mother' to be further classified as 'family' (Stokoe 2003; King 2010). Only by investigating the context and culture of interactions can such categorization be established (Stokoe 2003).

Aside from the category-bound activity and category-bound predicate, it is also vital to identify expected or obligated behaviours, behaviours, routines performed, and beliefs related to a vocation, to determine an occupational-based identity (vocational roles). They are frequently recognised by their descriptive job titles, and articulated by the use of lexical items such as verbs and nouns. One who performs the role of a doctor, for instance, should diagnose and treat illnesses, whereas someone who assumes the responsibilities of a gardener will plant and care for trees and shrubs.

In addition to the aforementioned items, relational identities refer to a person's identities that are based on his or her relationship to the roles that other people play. For instance, when studying from someone who assumes the position of a teacher professionally, the other participant accepts the relational identity of a student. Metaphors are one type of lexical item that can be used to index

these relational and professional identities (Koller 2012). Thomas and Beauchamps (2011) note that "Participants and scholars can study the challenging issue of identity development in vivid and illuminating ways"(p. 764) through the use of metaphor.

Conceptual metaphors were dismissed as non-existent or no more than linguistic adornment by Chomsky, Katz, and Kintsch's anomalous perspective (Gentner and Bowdle 2001; Ortony, Reynolds, and Arter 1978). I chose the metaphor over other linguistic elements for this analysis. According to Lakoff and Johnson's experientialist conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), conceptual metaphors assist individuals to understand a difficult-to-understand abstract concept through the use of a tangible item or concept. For instance, a perceivable object or concept of 'money' is used in many Western societies to explain an abstract concept of time. A conceptual metaphor is expressed in SMALL CAPITAL LETTERS as it resides unconsciously in one's mind, and its linguistic expressions, also known as linguistic metaphors, are frequently italicised. Here, a speaker's or writer's use of a linguistic metaphor (such as '*I don't want to waste time*') is essentially a reflection of the conceptual metaphor 'TIME IS MONEY,' which is understood through the mapping of the source domain ('Money') to the target domain ('Time') (Lakoff 1986).

Because there are a significant number of human activities that may be explained using conceptual metaphors, these conceptual metaphors are frequently categorised further into subcategories, and the linkages that exist between these subcategorisation relationships are what constitute an 'entailment relationship' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980b). Time is a restricted resource because TIME IS MONEY, and money is a finite resource. Time is a valuable commodity as it is a limited resource and therefore a valuable commodity (see Figure 1).

MONEY	TIME IS MONEY
is	entails
A LIMITED RESOURCE	TIME IS LIMITED RESOURCE
is	entails
VALUABLE COMMODITY	TIME IS VALUABLE COMMODITY

Figure 1 Metaphorical entailment relationship from Lakoff and Johnson (1980b), p. 457

Since conceptual metaphors are deeply rooted in human experiences, schemas, embodiments, and ideologies (Feldman 2006; Feldman and Narayanan 2004; Grady 1999; Lakoff 2013; Yu 2009), a conceptual metaphor in discourse does not only reflect the speaker's worldview, a mental schema, beliefs, and ideologies, but also, with the aid of proper tools, bridges the gaps between various social-cultural divides. Here, Maalej (2007) describes a two-step interpretative act in his cognitive-pragmatic discourse model of metaphor. To achieve the greatest structural match, including ontological and epistemic correspondences, the cognitive-pragmatic discourse model of metaphor starts by defining the elements of the mapping through a structure-mapping between the source and target domains. The element about which the discourse is silent is then the subject of a variety of predictions. These inferences are made after considering the metaphor's implications.

Charteris-critical Black's metaphor analysis (CMA) claims that choosing one metaphor over another implies that it was deliberate (Charteris-Black 2012). It "seeks to connect the ideological motivation—including the purpose—behind metaphor choices and present proof of their impact" (Charteris-Black 2012, p. 12). It aids in revealing the speakers' intentions and goals by illuminating the interactive and dynamic linkages between the pragmatic and linguistic meaning of the metaphors under examination. Systematically employed, these metaphors not only attract attention, and facilitate the understanding and framing of situations, but also "produce political myths and discourses of legitimization and de-legitimization that give rise to ideologies and world views" (Charteris-Black 2014, p.174). This is made possible through a method that "identifies and analyses metaphors that are routinely deployed to represent vulnerable social groups in a bad light or to represent actions – such as war – as being in the best interests of all" (Charteris-Black 2014, p. 174).

Methodical Framework

The methodical framework for this study draws on Charteris-Black's (2014) critical metaphor analysis approach. The framework comprises four fundamental stages; (1) contextual analysis, (2) metaphor identification, (3) metaphor interpretation, and (4) metaphor explanation. It is important to note that these stages are not linear, but rather, should be viewed as a cycle (Figure 1).
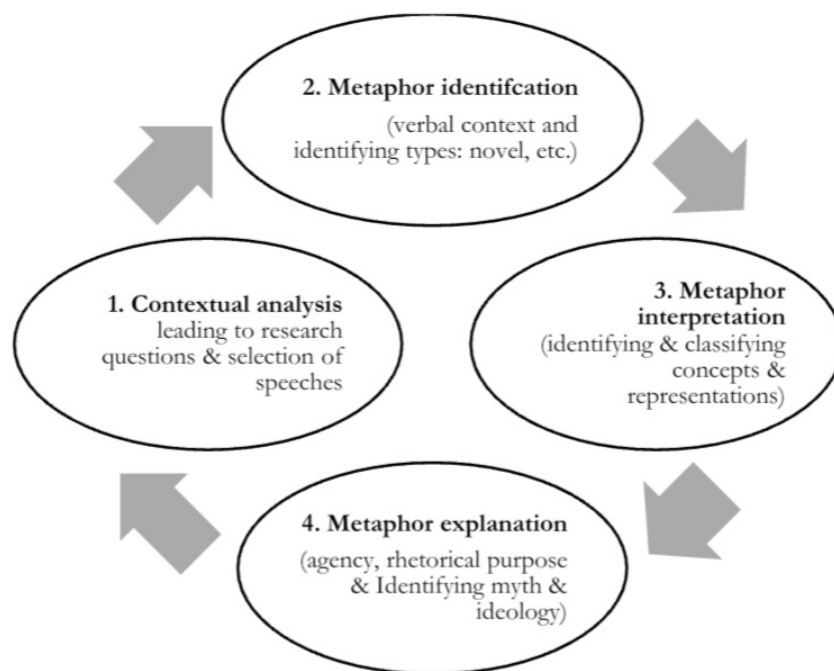
Figure 1. Main stages of critical metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black 2014, p. 175)

I also employ membership categorization analysis (Sacks 1995) to identify the occupational positions and relational identities produced by the government for itself, the people, and others in the nine supply bills read by Najib Razak during his time as the sixth Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of Malaysia.

A Malay metaphor identification procedure (MMIP) was developed based on Pragglejaz's metaphor identification procedure (MIP) and Steen et. al.'s (2010b) metaphor identification procedure VU University Amsterdam (MIPVU). To produce visibly, clear mappings between the

source and target domains of a metaphor and to facilitate the process of drawing up inferences and entailments, Maalej's (2007) two-step interpretative act is applied.

Stage One: Contextual Analysis and the Data

Research topics and the dataset were established during the contextual analysis phase. The study's data consists of nine supply bills that the sixth Malaysian prime minister, Najib Razak, read aloud in Malay (for the years 2010-2018). MyBuS is an acronym created by merging and shortening 'Malaysian budget speeches,' as a compilation of over 100,000 words. these supply bills and their English translations are available on the Malaysian Ministry of Finance's official site archive (http://www.treasury.gov.my/index.php/en/archives).

the supply bills or appropriation bills were selected as data for this study as their annual readings by the Minister of Finance (incidentally, the Prime Minister himself during the reign of Najib Razak) are eagerly anticipated by Malaysians and the country's stakeholders. The supply bill outlines not only how the current administration intends to use the nation's resources, but also how it intends to increase revenue through taxes, levies, and other means. Mega-development projects that will be launched in the coming year are also highlighted. In addition, the ruling party uses this platform to boast of their accomplishments and to denigrate the opposition parties facilitated by large audiences and their low resistance to political persuasive attacks (Chi-Chang 2009). In these bills, the positions and identities for the government and the people were constructed and ascribed as a rhetorical act.

Stage Two: Metaphor Identification

I manually annotated the data, following a bottom-up procedure, to ensure that I do not omit any of the novel metaphors. Since the data understudied was in the Malay language, I developed a Malay metaphor identification procedure (pronounced as double M, I, P), based on; Pragglejaz's (2007) metaphor identification procedure (MIP), Steen, Dorst, Hermann, Kaal and Krennmayr's (2010a) metaphor identification procedure VU University Amsterdam (MIPVU), Dorst, Reijnierse and Venhuizen's (2013) guidelines on a preferred combination of senses as a basic sense, and Krenmayr's (2008a) criteria and procedures. The creation of MMIP has assisted to solve several challenges and issues that may arise if either MIP or MIPVU were to be adopted unconditionally. Those challenges include (1) should we treat words with identical base forms such as the head (noun) and head (verb) as a single lexical unit, following Pragglejaz's proposition, or as two different lexical units as suggested by MIPVU?, (2) should we consider historically older meanings when consulting the dictionary for basic meaning?, (3) what is a lexical unit in Malay?, (4) are idioms, proverbs, and similes to be treated as one lexical unit?, (4) which dictionary is to be consulted?, (5) what decision is to be made about those linguistic items whose basic meaning and contextual meaning do not contradict locally but globally, and (6) which basic meaning is to be adopted if there is more than one available? The Malay Metaphor Identification Procedure is as follows:

1. Read the entire text/discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text/discourse:
   (a) Inflectional and derivational words are reduced to their roots unless they are listed as headwords in the Kamus Dewan (4th edition) or the Kamus Dewan Perdana.
   (b) Proper nouns, salutation + name, and title + name, are treated as one lexical unit.
   (c) Numbers, percentages, and written numbers are treated as one lexical unit.

(d)   Phrasal verbs (e.g. *simpan buang* (to keep)) and routine formulas (*Selamat pagi* (good morning)) are treated as one lexical unit.

(e)   Multi-word expressions such as proverbs (*peribahasa*), idioms (*simpulan bahasa*), and similes (*perbandingan*) are treated as one lexical unit.

(f)   Reduplication and conventional compounds are treated as one lexical unit. However, novel formations of compounds, for example *pasaran buruh* (labour market), are treated as two separate lexical units as the readers need to understand each word before it is taken as one.

(g)   Discourse markers (e.g. *walau bagaimanapun* (nevertheless)) are treated as separate lexical items.

    * If there is a discrepancy in spelling, the standard spelling as listed in the Kamus Dewan will be used.

3.   (a)   For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in local and global contexts, i.e. how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

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

Senses (additional information)	Action needed
Human + Concrete	Firstly selected over other senses
Human + Abstract	Secondly selected over other senses
Non-human + Concrete	Thirdly selected over other senses
Non-human + Abstract	Lastly selected over other senses
Human + Abstract vs. Non-human + Concrete	The MORE MAPPINGS a candidate can account for, the more basic it is
Physical action vs. Psychological behaviour	Physical action is a candidate of basic meaning
(Additional consideration)	Concreteness precedes humanness

(from Dorst, Reijnierse and Venhuizen 2013, p. 84).

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

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

(Adapted from Pragglejaz 2007, p. 3)

i.   If yes, mark the lexical unit as a clear metaphor-related word.

ii.   If no, mark the lexical unit as clearly not a metaphor-related word.

iii.   If in doubt, subject it to the inter-rater discussion. If still in doubt, count it as a metaphor-related word (following Steen et. al. 2010b and Krenmayr 2008b).

v.   Idiom, proverb, and simile, marked as a clear metaphor-related word

vi.   For a linguistic item where basic meaning and contextual meaning do not contradict locally but globally in a discourse, mark it as a clear metaphor-related word.

To strengthen the reliability of the detected linguistic metaphors in the present study, ten undergraduate students were employed as raters to supplement the judgement of the researcher. Cohen's.83 was recorded before the deliberation process, while 98 was captured after the deliberation process was completed.

Stage Three: Metaphor Interpretation

These linguistic metaphors were then grouped and categorised based on shared semantic fields, either by source or target domains. As I am interested in the use of metaphors by the Malaysian government in conveying its vocational roles and relational identities of the individuals and others in the Malaysian supply bills, I draw on Sacks' (1995) membership category analysis to assist in the metaphor selection and interpretation process. Following the completion of mappings between the ontological and epistemic correspondences and inferences drawn from the entailments of the metaphors, these category-bound activities and category-bound predicate linguistic metaphors are then subjected to Maalej's two-step interpretive act. The mapping elements, along with their respective domains of origin and destination, were documented by Maalej (2007) using a table-completion approach. Several cells will still be empty at this point, as the discourse "is silent on them" (Maalej 2007, p.146). Inferences are then drawn to fill in the blanks. These inferences constitute the system of entailments that are drawn from Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) blending or integration theory of metaphor. This method of structuring the data is crucial as it assists analysts to translate the entailments of metaphors into inferences. The inferential process is crucial when analysing the government's construction of occupational positions and relational identities for itself, the people, and others.

As in Table 1 below (from Maalej 2007, p. 146), the grey cells represent inferences, whilst the white cells represent the mapping between the source and target domains as presented in the data or discourse.

Elements of the Mapping	(Source Domain)	(Target domain)
Who waged the war?	Nazi Luftwaffe	US Marine
Who authorized the waging?	Generalissimo Francisco Franco	Former Prime Minister Eyed Allawi
Target of the war?	Guernica, a Spanish town	Falluja
Outcome of the war	Total ruins and 1,654 Basque civilians had been slaughtered and 889 wounded.	Hundreds of civilian casualties under the rubble of homes that were hit by USA bombs
Responsibility for the war	Franco blamed the destruction of Guernica and the killings on those who defended it	Allawi blamed the destruction of Falluja and the massacres on the combatants who defended it.
Who is in control of who waged the war?	Hitler	Bush
Which country waged the war?	Germany	USA

Table 1 Maalej's Mapping and Entailments Table

Stage Four: Metaphor Explanation

The final step, metaphor explanation, focuses on the ideological and rhetorical functions of metaphors in discourse. It aims to provide answers to the following questions: Do metaphors affect audience perception, and if so, how? And how do metaphors relate to other characteristics? It attempts to investigate the persuasive functions of metaphor in shaping beliefs, ideas, and opinions.

The explanation of the discourse functions of the conceptual metaphors is based on Charteris Black's (2014) seven persuasive purposes of metaphors; (i) gaining the audience's attention, (ii) heuristic, (iii) predicative, (iv) empathetic, (v) aesthetic, (vi) ideological and (vii) mythical purposes. These goals provide insight into the systematic use of the metaphor in the creation of political myths, as well as how it helps legitimate and delegitimize discourses. The purposes underlying the selection of each metaphor are expressed through narratives that explore "the relationship among conceptual metaphors" (Eubanks 2005, p. 174). In addition to being motivated by rhetoric, this story, or what Eubanks referred to as 'licencing stories,' depends on the structure of the narrative, the ideological stance taken, as well as the selection of facts and their interpretation. The use of this strategy helps "explain how and why such metaphors provide coherent representations of a story" (Charteris-Black 2014, p.196) or stories that the discourse is narrating.

In addition to the above, according to Charteris-Black, such debates or licencing tales enable one to determine the ideology and worldview of the speaker through the metaphors they employ. The employment of metaphors by various politicians is then contrasted, both in terms of the metaphors selected and the ideas, ideologies, and myths created (Charteris-Black 2011, p. 50). This is in keeping with the rhetorical function of metaphors, which is to "the consciously formed (logos) ideological beliefs with the unconsciously held (pathos) beliefs and emotions to form a moral approach to life (ethos)" (Bruce 2009, p. 90).

NEW ENTREPRENEUR IS PREMATURE/ILL NEWBORN

This inference is predicated on the linguistic metaphor 'inkubator' (incubator). There are four instances of a linguistic metaphor 'inkubator' being used; in DH1 (Kita akan melaksanakan program inkubator untuk melatih dan membimbing belia serta graduan menjadi usahawan tani berjaya 19 (Para 31, Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010)), DH2 (Dalam usaha meinkubatorkan generasi belia yang berpersonaliti tinggi ,20 (Para 117, Malaysian Supply Bill, 2013)), DH3 (satu pelan pembangunan entreprenur akan digubal untuk menyediakan … prasarana latihan dan inkubator, modul entrepreneurship 21, (Para 73, Malaysian Supply Bill, 2014)), and DH4 (MaGIC akan … menyediakan pusat inkubator, pendaftaran dan paten harta intelek…22 (Para 74, Malaysian supply bill 2014)).

The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defines 'incubator' as "a piece of hospital equipment into which very small or weak babies are put to keep them alive and warm" (Online). Similarly, in Kamus Dewan, inkubator is defined as "alat untuk membantu bayi yang baru

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19 Literal translation DH1: Implement the incubator programme to train and guide youths and graduates to be successful agro-entrepreneurs.

20 Literal translation DH2: In efforts to incubate (produce) a young generation with towering personality and integrity as well as creative, innovative and competitive attributes, the Government will launch the Y-Creative Programme involving youth societies nationwide

21 Literal translation DH3: An entrepreneur development plan will be formulated to provide a conducive ecosystem which emphasises the generation of ideas which can be commercialised, infrastructure for training and incubators, entrepreneurship modules, financing facilities as well as marketing.

22 Literal translation DH4: MaGIC will monitor the performance of entrepreneurs; house an integrated database; provide incubators; registration and patenting of intellectual property; funding facilities; business matching process; and guidance, counselling and training.

lahir pramatang berada dlm persekitaran dan pada suhu yang sesuai dan terkawal." Contextually, 'incubator' in the speech refers to programs (such as the Y-creative Program) and mechanisms introduced by the government to produce creative and innovative youth who in time will be competitive entrepreneurs. Therefore, 'inkubator' is metaphorically used.

Since these incubators are intended for entrepreneurs, it can be inferred that the new entrepreneurs are conceptualized by the government as newly born babies who are either premature or ill-born. Table 2 below maps the source domain – infant incubator onto the target domain - business incubator.

Elements of the Mapping	(Source Domain)	(Target domain)
Apparatus	Infant incubator	Business incubator
Patient	Preterm baby/ ill newborn	Young entrepreneur New business
Function	Provide a controlled environment for the baby to grow healthily	Provide a conducive environment for entrepreneurs and businesses to grow
Attending professionals	Doctor	Government
	Paediatrician	Business incubator programme mentors
	Trained nurses	Business incubator programme executives and managers
Treatment	Thermo regulator, fluid and oxygen	Office space, advice and link to potential suppliers

Key:

[ ] : Mentioned in text   [ ] : Inferences

Table 2 Mapping for source domain - infant incubator onto target domain – business incubator

Similar to the 'infant incubator' as a "biomedical device which provides warmth, humidity, and oxygen, all in a controlled environment as required by the new-born" (SRM University, n.d, online), the 'entrepreneur and business incubators' in the discourse refer to "an organization that creates a favourable environment for nurturing fledging ventures" (Said, Adham, Abdullah, Hanninen and Walsh 2012, p. 65). Among the business incubators available in Malaysia, are the Multimedia Super Corridor Central Incubator, the Technology Park Malaysia Incubator, UPM-MTDC Technology Incubation Centre One Incubator, UKM-MTDC Smart Technology Centre and UTM-MTDC Technovation Centre (Said, Adham, Abdullah, Hanninen and Walsh 2012).

As the correct amount of warmth, humidity, and oxygen are essential to the new-born, "office space equipped with basic support services, professional business advice and links to potential

suppliers and customers" (Said, Adham, Abdullah, Hanninen and Walsh 2012, p. 65) are essential for young entrepreneurs and new businesses. This suggests that office space, advice, and link to potential suppliers are warmth, humidity, and oxygen.

As more than 10% of the world's babies are born prematurely (Associated Press 2012), the situation is just as critical for young entrepreneurs. Ridzwan, Nik Muhammad and Ab Rahman (2017) cited that 80% of new entrepreneurs fail each year in Malaysia. As many pre-term babies die due to improper heat regulation, water loss and neonatal jaundice (Tisa, Nisha and Kiber 2012), studies globally suggest that entrepreneurs and businesses fail due to management and planning deficiencies (Ahmad and Seet 2009; Arasti 2011; Singh 2011; Ridzwan, Nik Muhammad and Ab Rahman 2017), lack of financial support and inadequate funds (Arasti 2011; Singh 2011; Atsan 2016), employee related issues (Singh 2011), inadequate economic spheres (Arasti 2011), insufficient government policies (Arasti 2011), lack of personal contacts and business networks (Ahmad and Seet 2009; Ridzwan, Nik Muhammad and Ab Rahman 2017), and product or service related issues (Singh 2011). Since new entrepreneurs are premature/ ill newborns, it is inferred that the problems faced by entrepreneurs are equivalent to health problems.

Since these problems of improper thermoregulation, insensible fluid loss, and oxygen concentration can easily overlap with the use of incubators (Amer and Al-Aubidy 2005; Smith 2012; Ringer 2012), in high-income countries, 95% of preterm babies under 28 weeks survive, while less than half do in low-income countries (Hawson, Kinney and Lawn 2012). This is so as "sophisticated and expensive intensive care saves the majority of the preterm babies" (Associated Press 2012). Likewise, it is believed that the same approach – placing young entrepreneurs and new businesses in incubators – helps accelerate growth (Pompa 2013) by providing appropriate support that increases companies' chances of survival (Rouwmaat, Reid, and Kurik 2003). This approach is not unique to the Malaysian government as it is practised by many governments around the world, among others are China (Tang, Baskaran, Pancholi and Munchie 2011), Estonia (Rouwmaat, Reid and Kurik 2003), India (Tang, Baskaran, Pancholi and Munchie 2011), Norway (Petterson, Aarstad, Hovig and Tobiassen 2016), Saudi Arabia (Abdulatif 2009), South Africa (Lose and Tengeh 2015), and Slovakia (Lesakova 2012).

The introduction of incubators to treat pre-term babies also marks the shift in responsibility of care for preterm babies from mothers to obstetricians to paediatricians (Baker 2000). Mothers are losing a degree of control over the care of their preterm infants to specialized nurses supervised by paediatricians. The shift is so apparent that incubators were once illustrated as an artificial foster mother (Baker 2000). The responsibility to care for the young entrepreneurs and new businesses is shifted from the entrepreneurs themselves to the government, as the government is conceptualized as a doctor (GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR). It is also inferred from the mappings that the business incubator mentors play the role of paediatricians, and the incubator executives and managers are equivalent to trained nurses who provide direct care to the entrepreneurs - the pre-term babies.

Equating young entrepreneurs and new businesses to premature or ill new-borns is a sleek strategy employed by the government to counsel the entrepreneurs and new businesses to understand that their weaknesses and possible failure are not their fault as preterm or ill new-borns have no control over their conditions. This has empathetic effects on this specific target audience as it feels loved and cared for. Rather than placing the agency for entrepreneurs' ill-being on the people themselves, the government's use of the pre-term baby's metaphor has shifted the blame to 'time.' Time is a crucial factor in determining whether a baby is born pre-term or normal. This shines a positive light on young entrepreneurs and new businesses, as success in business is often

marked through the years they survive in the market. It does not only evidence the longevity of the business, but most importantly it marks the businesses and entrepreneurs as healthy competitors in the market. Christopher Hawson, an epidemiologist, once notes that "A healthy baby is worth the wait" (Associated Press 2012, p.3).

In addition to the above, the metaphor does not only serve the heuristic purpose of facilitating understanding of the challenges by youth and young entrepreneurs but also the predicative purpose of painting the government with an image of an able responsible doctor (GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR) who with his expert knowledge and access to interventions has helped transform the people into able beings.

ACTIVE ECONOMY IS HEALTHY BABY

Apart from conceptualizing these people as pre-term or ill-newborn and sick individuals, the government has also constructed a relational identity for the economy and economic activities of being healthy. This state of being healthy is predominantly assigned to the economy and economic-related activities such as the stock market, trading, investment, capital, and equity markets. Through the use of the linguistic metaphor *mencergaskan* (to cause something to be active, to invigorate), the government constructs the characteristics of a healthy economy and economic activities.

In order for a country or global economy to be considered healthy, they must have an active stock market [DH5] "Selain itu, langkah liberalisasi dan pemodenan pasaran modal akan terus dilaksanakan untuk sentiasa mencergaskan aktiviti pasaran saham" 23 (Malaysian Supply Bill 2010, Para 73) and [DH6] "Mencergaskan Pasaran Saham" 24 (Malaysian Supply Bill 2010, Para 77), active construction sector [DH7] "Prestasi yang baik ini disokong oleh kecergasan sektor pembinaan yang berkembang" 2.8 peratus (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010, Para 15) 25 and [DH8] "sememangnya langkah ini turut mencergaskan industri berkaitan bahan binaan dan merancakkan sektor perkhidmatan" 26 (Malaysian Supply Bill 2010, Para 49), active capital market [DH9] "Mencergaskan Pasaran Modal dan Kewangan" 27 (Malaysian Supply Bill 2013, Para 38), and, active equity market [DH10] "Untuk terus mencergaskan pasaran modal dan ekuiti negara, Suruhanjaya Sekuriti (SC) akan menyediakan rangka kerja bagi terbitan AgroSukuk untuk syarikat yang terlibat dalam sektor pertanian" 28 (Malaysian Supply Bill 2013, Para 41).

This mapping – active economy is healthy individual – served three main rhetorical purposes; predicative purpose, aesthetic purpose, and mythic purpose. Although the government has conceptualized both the people and the economy as patients and pre-term or ill newborns, it is important for the government to also highlight the well-being of the national economy. By constantly placing the national economy in a negative light as a patient, it creates an image of an incompetent doctor. To avoid such negative evaluation of the government and its policies, from time to time, the government has been observed to place the economy and economic activities in different relational roles, switching between a patient and a healthy individual. This has resulted in a symbiosis-like relationship, i.e. a sick economy needs a doctor (the government) to recover, and

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23 Literal translation DH5: "In addition, liberalisation and modernisation of the capital market will be further **activated / invigorated** (intensified) to stimulate stock market activities."
24 Literal translation DH6: "The stock market will be further **activated / invigorated** (liberalised)."
25 Literal translation DH7: "This improved performance was supported by the **active** construction sector, which grew 2.8%."
26 Literal translation DH8: "These measures also **activate** (reinvigorate) building materials related industries and intensify the services sector."
27 Literal translation DH9: "**Activating** (Stimulating) the Capital and Financial Markets."
28 Literal translation DH10: "To further **activated / invigorated** (stimulate) the capital and equity markets, the Securities Commission (SC) will provide a framework on the issuance of AgroSukuk for companies engaged in the agriculture sector."

the doctor (the government) is responsible for maintaining the good health of a national economy. By employing the conceptual metaphor 'cergas' (active), the government has choreographed a coherent piece of discourse that contributes well to the beauty of the myth it is creating – the people and others are weak and diseased, while the government as the doctor is the only entity that could assist them to exit the difficult situation.

GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR

The government has metaphorically conceptualized itself as a doctor and a physiatrist (a doctor specializing in physical medicine and rehabilitation). The conceptual key, GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR is inferred mostly from relational identities such as from 'people is patient,' 'the economy is patient,' 'economic activity is patient,' and, 'the entrepreneur is pre-term / ill newborn.'

A doctor, according to the Australian Medical Association (2011), is responsible for acting professionally in the patient's best interest, and for exercising good judgment and leadership skills over a team responsible for the patient's care, particularly in the complex area of diagnosis and treatment. Although some may take on health service leadership roles, they still ought to be clinically active. As they are rigorously trained, closely supervised, assessed, and certified, doctors must keep themselves updated with evidence-based knowledge and be available to the young and less-experienced ones to consult.

This positive image of a doctor listed by the Medical Association (Australian Medical Association 2011) and the WHO (Boelen 1996) has assisted the Malaysian government in securing its positive image. By conceptualizing itself as a doctor, the government is highlighting the fact that it is not only a professional qualified to serve the country and its economy, but is also certified to practice the knowledge acquired through rigorous training. Just like medical doctors who are monitored by regulatory bodies and associations, the country's financial and economic activities are also closely supervised and assessed by regulatory bodies such as Bank Negara Malaysia (the National Bank of Malaysia), Suruhanjaya Sekuriti Malaysia (Securities Commission of Malaysia) and Labuan Financial Services Authority (Labuan FSA). Through such monitoring systems, the people and the others (investors) are assured of the country's economic situation being handled by an establishment which is not only capable but also reputable.

In addition to the above roles delineated by medical associations, Boelen (1996), writing for the World Health Organization (WHO), outlined five fundamental values of an ideal doctor. He/she should serve as an excellent care provider, decision-maker, communicator, community leader, and manager. As with any good leader, a doctor requires intelligence, creative problem-solving skills, motivation, extroversion, and strong intuition, thinking, and judgement. These characteristics are then reflected in his social appraisal skills, problem-solving competencies, and tacit knowledge. Here, the use of the GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR metaphor serves the predicative purpose. It helps legitimize the conceptualization of the government as a doctor metaphor, as doctors too are good leaders.

Another scoring point of adopting a doctor as an identity for the government is that society almost always has a positive attitude and perception towards a medical doctor. The media always portray doctors as selfless heroes who work additional hours to save lives (Goldsmith 2007). In the same vein, by conceptualizing the government as a doctor, the same predicative effect (positive attitude and perception) can be garnered from the people and others. The government is seen as an entity that walks the extra mile for the people and others but never for its own selfish sake. Just as with the doctors, the government is elevated in social hierarchy for the service they render.

In addition to the above, to many, a doctor is a figure who always has solutions to questions and difficulties (Goldsmith 2007). However, since many patients are now becoming more informed (Bokoch 2007), doctors are being inundated and challenged with questions that threaten their traditional 'doctor knows-all' status, leading to a shared decision-making process (Goldsmith 2007). However, despite the fact that doctors no longer have a dominant voice over patients' decisions (Soskin 2007), they are still voted as of the most trusted people by the public (Ham 2016; Blewett 2016). Doctors' voices are still considered when Parliament sits to pass health-related bills (Soskin 2007).

The government however is attempting to gain the people's attention and trust by positing a similar notion, a myth - 'government knows best.' This myth is amplified by the government by toning down the voice of the people and hence by subjecting the people to additional legal control. Although the people are promised "the right of freedom of speech" under "Article 10 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia," the presence of other limiting acts such as the Printing and Publications Act 1984 and the Security Offences (Special Measures) 2012 may have contributed to the decrease of 9% in the people to trust the government in the period 2014 to 2015 and a further decrease of 7% in 2016 (Edelman Trust Barometer 2015; Kay 2016). As of 2016, only 39% of the general population has exhibited trust in the government (Kay 2016). The percentage dwindled further as the government lost its vote of confidence in the Malaysian 2018 14th General Election.

To conclude, the concept of GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR serves not only a rhetorical purpose of gaining the audience's trust but also predicative purpose. The government is placed in a positive light, as capable, responsible, professional, knowledgeable, and selfless, helping the people and others in their predicaments. The use of this metaphor also indirectly creates a 'government-knows-all' myth, which further places the people and others at the receiving end rather than as those who actively contribute to the decision-making processes.

The use of such a metaphor is not exclusive to Malaysia, but has been adopted by many prominent country leaders such as Margaret Thatcher (Charteris-Black 2007; 2011; 2014), Jose Luis Rodriguez (Garcia 2010), Olusegun Obasanjo, Musa Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan (Kamalu and Iniworikabo 2016), Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, George Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barrack Obama (Xu 2010) and Donald Trump (Egana 2016). In Malaysia, its people are also accustomed to a similar conceptualization, as the country has been under the administration of a medically-trained leader – Dr Mahathir Mohamed, for more than twenty years (Imani and Habil 2016).

Discussion and Conclusion

The metaphor GOVERNMENT/ PRIME MINISTER IS DOCTOR has successfully created positive representations of the government, and personified it as a professional, reliable, and able being. As a professional, the government is portrayed as someone who is competent, thus legitimising its actions. In the bills, these roles and identities were constructed, negotiated, and reinforced but never subverted.

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