METAPHORS FOR MALAYSIA'S ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION PROGRAMME

Kumaran Rajandran

Faculty of Languages and Linguistics, Universiti Malaya, 50603 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Email: kumaranr@siswa.um.edu.my

This article explores the Malaysian Prime Minister's choice of metaphors to conceptualise Malaysia's Economic Transformation Programme (ETP) by studying a sample of the Prime Minister's texts about the ETP. These texts include the Prime Minister's Foreword in the ETP Report and his periodic Progress Updates released between 2010 and 2011. A qualitative close reading, using critical metaphor analysis, reveals that the role of metaphor in these texts is to implicitly evaluate the ETP positively. The two major conceptual metaphors identified here are ETP IS A JOURNEY and ETP IS A VEHICLE. Such conceptual metaphors naturalise a binary and dependent relationship between the government as expert and citizens as non-experts in economic matters. Such rhetoric thus helps to justify the tradition of government intervention in the economy. The other conceptual metaphors identified are ETP IS A PLANT and UP IS GOOD, both of which posit that increasing economic and social advantages result from the ETP. All these conceptual metaphors enhance the government's claim to economic experience and leadership by legitimising the ETP as an effective policy in transforming Malaysia into a developed country. These conceptual metaphors might be part of a larger strategy to portray the government positively among citizens, as having sustainable economic development policies could provide a crucial electoral advantage to the government in the upcoming general elections.

Keywords: Malaysia, Economic Transformation Programme (ETP), speech, critical metaphor analysis, conceptual metaphor, metaphor

INTRODUCTION

Malaysian Prime Minister Dato' Sri Najib Razak launched the Economic Transformation Programme (ETP) in September 2010. A new Prime Minister often institutes new policies (Yeoh and Farizal, 2006: 210), and the ETP is his policy to stimulate new employment, investment and the growth of knowledge, although the economic crisis was spreading across Europe and North America at the time. The ETP consists of six Strategic Reform Initiatives (SRIs) and 12 National Key Economic Areas (NKEAs) and is directed by Performance Management and Delivery Unit (PEMANDU), in the Prime Minister's

Department. The SRIs aim to reform business policies while the NKEAs include various Entry Point Projects (EPPs) in numerous industries (PEMANDU, 2012). The NKEAs are intended to alter the economic profile of Malaysia, as Malaysia can no longer depend solely on favourable export conditions and non-renewable resources, which are not sustainable (Jomo, 1990; 2003). Through the SRIs and NKEAs, the ETP helps to realise Vision 2020. In Vision 2020, Malaysia should become a developed country by the year 2020.

The ETP continues the efforts of the New Economic Policy (1970–1990), the National Development Policy (1991–2000), the National Vision Policy (2001–2010) and the New Economic Model (2010 onwards), aimed at diminishing economic disparities between ethnicities and regions of Malaysia. Such policies help legitimise Barisan Nasional, the governing political party (Jomo, 2003), because they provide evidence that Barisan Nasional is seeking to develop the economy. The economy is important in political discourse in Malaysia. Barisan Nasional consistently pledges economic development (e.g., via its election manifestos), and the ETP can be seen as the latest manifestation of this pledge. The government, particularly the Prime Minister, must ensure that citizens understand the ETP's contribution to economic development, as this will reflect positively on Barisan Nasional. Such communication might be accomplished through metaphor.

Metaphor is common in everyday life (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 3; Maalej, 2007: 134), and its use is purposive (Charteris-Black, 2004: 9). Metaphor is a cognitive heuristic (Charteris-Black, 2006: 565) or a way of understanding a topic. I pose the following research question: What metaphors have the Prime Minister utilised to conceptualise the ETP? The question is answered, in this paper, using critical metaphor analysis (CMA) (Charteris-Black, 2004). The analysis demonstrates the role of metaphor in politics, specifically, its influence on peoples' perceptions of the ETP. The way that metaphor portrays the ETP may or may not resemble the way in which the ETP impacts people's lives. Citizens can compare rhetoric to action and demand accountability on the part of the government. In addition, the analysis is useful to the government, in providing information about the use of metaphor in portraying the ETP. The right metaphor enables citizens to understand and thus trust the government's decisions. Appropriate metaphors can be included in the government's communication strategy in promoting the ETP. Therefore, CMA can benefit both citizens and government.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON METAPHOR

Metaphor helps to simplify concepts in the complex domain of politics (Mio, 1997: 130; Semino, 2008: 90). Charteris-Black (2004) confirms this in his study of metaphor in American presidential speeches and British election manifestos. In particular, he argues that metaphor can convey a particular ideology (Charteris-

Black, 2004: 85). Metaphor can separate (Wee, 2001) or unite (Lu and Ahrens, 2008; Vengadasamy, 2011) participants on a topic. The merger, separation and possible remerger of Malaysia and Singapore suggest the spouse metaphor, with Malaysia as male and Singapore as female. The metaphor suggests an unequal relationship between the two countries and can be used to facilitate the shifting of blame from one country to the other (Wee, 2001). By contrast, a building metaphor used in Taiwan (Lu and Ahrens, 2008) and a land metaphor used in Malaysia (Vengadasamy, 2011) imply collective identity.

In Britain, Charteris-Black's (2006) study of immigration rhetoric in rightist election texts finds the metaphors IMMIGRATION IS A NATURAL DISASTER and BRITAIN IS A CONTAINER. These metaphors work together to portray immigration as a problem to be solved. The arguments behind these metaphors take an anti-immigration perspective, which polarises views on the topic. Such polarisation is also found in Koteyko, Brown and Crawford (2008), who study media articles about the avian flu. The avian flu is explained through the journey metaphor and the war metaphor, justifying the government's subsequent response to it. In Malaysia, the media is commonly analysed for metaphors, as in Faridah and Emma (2005). Tengku-Farah et al. (2012) study economic metaphors in print media, and Imran and Ruzy Suliza (2009) study economic and political metaphors in electronic media. Kelly (2001) is an exception in that he examines speeches by former Prime Minister Tun Mahathir Mohamad during the Asian financial crisis.

Charteris-Black (2004; 2006), Kelly (2001) and Koteyko, Brown and Crawford (2008) show that a topic can be conceptualised using multiple metaphors. Similarly, Batstone (2000) finds two metaphors to conceptualise a university – UNIVERSITY IS A COMMUNITY and UNIVERSITY IS A BUSINESS, where the former is subservient to the latter, as a university without a sense of unity and purpose cannot be profitable. These metaphors do not imply conflicting roles, as Batstone (2000) claims. A university is a complex target domain, and multiple metaphors can capture its numerous meanings for different parties (Ritchie, 2002). Perhaps multiple metaphors target a specific audience (Henderson, 2000: 169) or a non-expert audience. Skorczynska and Deignan (2006: 102) note that popular business writing uses more metaphors than scientific business writing to compensate for the audience's lack of disciplinary knowledge.

As research suggests, metaphor provides a cognitive frame that guides understanding of a topic (Charteris-Black, 2004: 5). Metaphor can be instrumental in persuading people to adopt a particular perspective because it can emphasise or deemphasise certain aspects of a topic (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 10). For example, the metaphor "immigration is a natural disaster," in Charteris-Black (2006), characterises immigration as destructive, although immigration can also be viewed as constructive if other metaphors are chosen. There is ample research studying the role of metaphor in economics and politics, even in Malaysia. But the focus of such studies has not been on the use of metaphor by

individual politicians, except for Charteris-Black (2004), Kelly (2001) and Wee (2001), or in political speeches, except for Charteris-Black (2004), Kelly (2001) and Lu and Ahrens (2008). This article seeks to extend the analysis of Kelly (2001) and Wee (2001) to the study of Malaysian Prime Ministers. Specifically, I examine the role of metaphor in the present Malaysian Prime Minister's speeches that champion a new government policy – the ETP.

METHODOLOGY

Data

To examine metaphors of the ETP, several of the Prime Minister's texts are selected. The ETP was initiated during Dato' Sri Najib Razak's tenure as Prime Minister. As head of the government, the Prime Minister represents the government's views about the ETP. It should be noted that he does not actually write these texts; however, their content reflects his views. The Prime Minister can control the content of these texts because he delivers them at public events (except for Text 1). The actual writer may be unimportant, as these texts are considered authentic and authoritative communications about the ETP from the Prime Minister to Malaysians. The texts must cater to people with varied knowledge about the economy, as the audience consists of almost all Malaysians, including people hearing the Prime Minister speak and people reading the published texts later. The selected texts are detailed in Table 1. Text 1 is from the ETP Report, which was published at around the time the ETP was launched, while Texts 2 to 6 are speeches given to report on the latest ETP achievements. The texts are in English, except for part of the introduction to the Progress Updates, which is in Malay.

Table 1: Selected ETP texts

No.	Text	Month and year	Number of words
1.	ETP Report Foreword	October 2010	506
2.	Progress Update	November 2010	1,732
3.	Progress Update	January 2011	1,978
4.	Progress Update	April 2011	2,139
5.	Progress Update	June 2011	2,553
6.	Progress Update	July 2011	1,215

Method

As in previous research, the ETP texts are analysed through close reading. One method of analysis is CMA (Charteris-Black, 2004). CMA identifies the

motivation behind the choice of one metaphor compared with another (Charteris-Black, 2004: 251). Two concepts are important in understanding the analysis and discussion: metaphor and conceptual metaphor. Following convention (Charteris-Black, 2004: xv; Kövecses, 2010: 4), I employ *italics* to indicate metaphors and CAPITALS to indicate conceptual metaphors. Metaphor is a linguistic representation whose domain changes from one where it is expected to a domain where it is not expected, causing semantic tension (Charteris-Black, 2004: 21). There should be a source domain mapped onto a target domain (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 265). For example, the metaphors *situation on the ground*, *uphill battle to win seats* and *winnable candidates* map the source domain of war onto the target domain of elections. In these metaphors, words and phrases normally employed in the domain of war are employed in the domain of elections. These metaphors may appear to be unrelated, but in fact they share the same conceptual metaphor. A conceptual metaphor is a grouping of metaphors that shows their ontological relationship, resolving the semantic tension among them (Charteris-Black, 2004: 22). For example, the metaphors above belong to the conceptual metaphor ELECTION IS WAR. These metaphors share a common rhetorical motivation, namely, to persuade people that the nature of elections resembles that of war.

Research Design

To analyse the texts, the approach proposed by Charteris-Black (2004) is employed, combined with insights from Lu and Ahrens (2008), Maalej (2007) and the Pragglejaz Group (2007). Under this approach, the texts must first be read several times because a first reading may not reveal all the metaphors employed (Maalej, 2007: 140). The readings provide candidate metaphors, invoked through words or phrases termed metaphor key words (Charteris-Black, 2004). The major criterion for identifying a metaphor is that its key words display domain incongruity (Lu and Ahrens, 2008: 387) or semantic tension (Charteris-Black, 2004: 21). That is, words or phrases for other domains (source domain) employed to describe the ETP (the target domain) most likely indicate a metaphor (Charteris-Black, 2004; Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). Moreover, the contextual meanings of these words and phrases (their meaning in relation to the ETP and co-text) should contrast with their basic meanings (their common, concrete, typical meanings) (Pragglejaz Group, 2007: 3). Then, using corpus software, the texts are searched for morphological forms related to these key words. These key words are given context through concordance, a procedure that produces dozens of concordance lines. Next, the concordance lines are sorted between metaphors and non-metaphors. The major criterion for identifying a metaphor is as described above. Metaphors sharing a similar source domain are grouped, to help identify their conceptual metaphor. Lastly, the metaphors must

be explained, a crucial aspect of the approach of Charteris-Black (2004), Lu and Ahrens (2008), Maalej (2007) and the Pragglejaz Group (2007).

For example, *reach* is identified a metaphor key word for the journey metaphor. *Reach* displays domain incongruity (Lu and Ahrens 2008: 387) or semantic tension (Charteris-Black, 2004: 21) because its contextual meaning contrasts with its basic meaning (Pragglejaz Group, 2007: 3). Related morphological forms of *reach*, such as *reaches* and *reached* are searched for and their concordance lines are generated. The forms of *reach* are seen as invoking a metaphor if their contextual meaning does not match their basic meaning (Pragglejaz Group, 2007: 3). This incongruence can be deciphered using the researcher's intuition (Lu and Ahrens, 2008: 388), a dictionary (Semino, 2008: 13) or a reference corpus (such as the Bank of English or International Corpus of English). Once this is done, the source domain for *reach* is identified. Metaphors sharing a common source domain with *reach* are grouped, and a common conceptual metaphor to which they belong is then proposed. Note that, in answering the research question, only metaphors and conceptual metaphors for the ETP are presented. I translated parts of the Malaysian texts into English, and these translations were verified by a native English speaker.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

ETP is a Journey

A major conceptual metaphor in the texts is ETP IS A JOURNEY. This is unsurprising because the metaphor of the journey is a highly conventional and pervasive one in English (Semino, 2008: 81). The texts become an embodiment of the journey metaphor, as the ETP journey starts in Text 1 and continues in Texts 2 through 6. Text 1 cannot be evaluated for the journey metaphor because the ETP at the time has not yet started, unlike in Texts 2 to 6, where, through the Progress Updates, the Prime Minister describes the ETP's continuing achievements. These latter texts can be used to present evaluations of the ETP because now there are results to report. Evaluation of the ETP, in Examples 1–5 is done through adjectives, adverbs or nouns (**bolded**). These evaluations are positive, and they work with metaphors to make the ETP's progress explicit.

Example 1: Semenjak pelancaran *hala tujunya*, Program Transformasi Ekonomi telah menarik **perhatian yang memberangsangkan** daripada golongan peniaga, pelabur dan rakyat. (Text 2)
[Translation: Since the launch of *its direction*, the Economic Transformation Programme has attracted **great interest** from business people, investors and citizens.]

Example 2: As you can see, the Economic Transformation Programme *has started* the year **very strongly** by going into *overdrive* and *is surging ahead,* with **more** Entry Point Projects and developments. (Text 3)

Example 3: Seperti mana yang saya maklumkan semasa Invest Malaysia 2011 pada minggu lepas, pelaksanaan Program Transformasi Ekonomi *sedang berjalan* **dengan lancar**. (Text 4)
[Translation: As I discussed during Invest Malaysia 2011 last week, the ETP's implementation *is going along* **smoothly**.]

Example 4: …adalah jelas bahawa ekonomi Malaysia berada di atas *landasan* yang **betul** dan **stabil**. (Text 5)
[Translation: …it is clear that Malaysia's economy is on the **right** and **stable** *track*.]

Example 5: Today, we *have reached* a **new** *milestone*. (Text 5)

The Prime Minister cautions that "*The journey* will be *long* and *arduous…*" in Text 1 and that "*…this journey* is *a marathon* and not *a sprint*" in Text 6. The ETP advances, but it requires time to reach its destination, as the metaphor key words *long* and *marathon* imply. The audience should not expect results quickly because the effects of the policy might require time to impact them. The inclusion of time gives a temporal dimension to this metaphor, a dimension marked by the past tense in Example 6. The ETP is not a sudden policy, but continues the efforts of previous economic policies, such as the New Economic Policy, the National Development Policy, the National Vision Policy and the New Economic Model. This is evidence of the government's long-term commitment to developing the economy. The ETP journey becomes a means to an end because its destination is a developed country in the future. In Examples 7–11, this destination is vague, with terms like *high-income nation(s)* (Example 7 and 10), *2020* (Example 8), *bright future* (Example 9) and *developed country* (Example 11). The audience must speculate about the future because these terms are undefined. Perhaps these terms assume audience knowledge, but they may not mean the same thing to everyone. National economic planning is speculative (Jomo, 1990: 117), and the language employed to convey it echoes its speculative nature. This also absolves the Prime Minister of a definite commitment because the future is unpredictable, even with the ETP.

Example 6: Whilst much *has been achieved,* the challenges *ahead* are significant. (Text 1)

Example 7: Malaysia must transform itself economically, *to join* the select group of high income nations. (Text 1)

Example 8: We *have embarked on* this ETP, *to propel* our economy to 2020. (Text 1)

Example 9: …a bright future *lies ahead* for Malaysia. (Text 2)

Example 10: I have complete belief and confidence that the powerful combination of focus and competitiveness through the NKEAs and SRIs, respectively, will enable us *to achieve* our high-income nation target… (Text 5)

Example 11: Naturally, different players within the public and private sectors will have different objectives, but we all have only *one goal*: to make Malaysia a developed country in 2020. (Text 6)

There is a notion of choice, presented to the audience in Examples 12–13, where Malaysia has to decide on its future. "Malaysia" here refers to the entire population, who can choose to pursue the ETP and not to remain underdeveloped. Yet this choice cannot be exercised because the government has decided to embark on the ETP, and the entire population is expected to trust the government's decision. Example 14 confirms this because the CEO of PEMANDU (Dato' Sri Idris Jala) represents the government leading the ETP, and the audience (us) is to follow him. Therefore, the government presents itself as expert and the audience as non-expert in economic matters.

Example 12: Malaysia is at *a crossroads*. (Text 1)

Example 13: This is where Malaysia *stands* today. (Text 1)

Example 14: I would also like to thank Yang Berhormat Dato' Sri Idris Jala for *walking us through* the Strategic Reform Initiatives in his typically precise and detailed manner. (Text 6)

The decision to embark on the ETP was taken to solve a problem implicit in the metaphor key words *correct* and *changing*, in Examples 15–16. The problem is a sluggish economy, to which previous economic policies have been unable bring desired development. However, the problem is conveyed positively through the nouns "improvements" and "growth" (**bolded**), switching the focus from problems to achievements. As Dato' Sri Najib Razak is also Chairman of Barisan Nasional, these nouns could be used to save face and validate 40 years of economic policies. This implies that Barisan Nasional did bring development, but that it was not enough for Malaysia to become a developed country.

Example 15: If we do not *correct our course*, we will be unable *to continue* **improvements** in education, health and quality of life. (Text 1)

Example 16: This also means *changing our approach* to economic **growth,** from an active player to a supporter and facilitator of private sector-led growth. (Text 1)

At a more banal level, ETP IS A JOURNEY marks the ETP's temporal sequence as it progresses. For Goatly (2007: 208), use of the journey metaphor in education documents implies a manipulated event. Similarly, the government controls the ETP, but portrays its actions as benefiting the country. The ETP is part of the government's long-term commitment to achieve a better, through vaguely defined, future for Malaysia, a commitment meant to reflect positively on the government. The consistency of the journey metaphor substantiates Semino (2008: 117), who finds the journey metaphor employed systematically in politics to refer to policies. This systematicity is also seen in other conceptual metaphors.

ETP is a Vehicle

Another major conceptual metaphor in the texts is ETP IS A VEHICLE, which implies the existence of a driver and passengers. In the introduction and conclusion of the texts, the driver is the government, but in the body of the texts, it is the projects. This exhibits the role of the government in directing the ETP in general, while business directs specific ETP projects, as in Examples 17–19. The government, as driver, manages the ETP through PEMANDU, whose main role is to administer and evaluate the ETP (PEMANDU, 2012). PEMANDU continues the tradition of government intervention in the economy, a tradition that started with the New Economic Policy of 1970 and continues today with the New Economic Model (Asan Ali, 2004). The government, not the market, tries to influence the path of the economy. This, however, is misleading, as the government cannot in fact control the economy (Jomo, 1990: 233).

Example 17: Today I'm pleased to announce two projects that *will drive* us closer to our goal of doubling Oil, Gas, and Energy sector contributions to gross national income by 2020. (Text 2)

Example 18: We recognise that *project-driven initiatives and investments* cannot operate effectively without the necessary cross-cutting fundamental reforms. (Text 5)

Example 19: While we have been busy engaging and bringing on board both domestic and foreign investors *to drive* the economy, we continue to be questioned by investors on a different front. (Text 6)

The government, as driver, expects the audience, as passengers, to take part in the ETP, and the Prime Minister presents this invitation in Text 1. He institutes a binary and dependent relationship between the government and the audience because the government can control the ETP while the audience cannot. The government, through PEMANDU, can choose to include or exclude segments of the audience. A semblance of inclusivity exists because the NKEAs were developed through consultations between the public and private sectors. Such consultations, however, involved only 1,000 people (PEMANDU, 2012), and their decisions cannot be expected to be valid throughout the ETP. PEMANDU might contribute to an unfair distribution of economic benefits, which has happened in previous economic policies (Gomez and Jomo, 1999). This binary and dependent relationship is precarious, as it can only persist if the audience benefits from it.

A relationship is also forged between the government and business. Just as a vehicle requires an engine to function, the ETP requires investment to function. Business funds the ETP, as the metaphor key words *engine* and *engines* indicate, in Examples 20–22. While passengers depend on the driver, the driver must depend on the engine, implying that the government must make Malaysia an attractive destination for business. This is best encapsulated by former Prime Minister Tun Mahathir Mohamad's "Malaysia Incorporated" concept, where the government's role is to serve private capitalist interests (Jomo, 1990: 211). This concept reduces the government to a middleman that facilitates business transactions. Rather than care for its citizens, the government in this role might serve to make citizens vulnerable to exploitation. Inadvertently, this metaphor warns us about the close relationship between the government and business in Malaysia, a relationship that might foster corruption, cronyism and nepotism (Gomez, 2004; Gomez and Jomo, 1999; Jomo, 1990).

Example 20: This means of prioritising investments of public funds and policy support in a limited number of *key growth engines*, the 12 National Key Economic Areas (NKEAs), we announced in the 10th Malaysia Plan. (Text 1)

Example 21: Kerajaan berhasrat untuk meletakkan sektor swasta sebagai *enjin pertumbuhan negara*. (Text 4)
[Translation: The government wants to make the private sector *the country's growth engine.*]

Example 22: To return the private sector to its natural role as *the engine of economic growth*, it must first be convinced that this government will do what is right and do it quickly. (Text 6)

There is a metaphoric coherence between ETP IS A VEHICLE and ETP IS A JOURNEY because a vehicle is normally used on journeys. Vehicles can go

forward or backward, but the ETP vehicle moves forward because the ETP journey progresses, indicating positive economic change. These conceptual metaphors reinforce one another, evoking the government as leader-driver and the audience as follower-passenger. They naturalise the notion of the government managing the economy on behalf of the audience. This requires little substantiation because the government can claim the experience and leadership of managing previous economic policies, in cooperation with business.

ETP is a Plant

The conceptual metaphor ETP IS A PLANT is a typical metaphor for the economy in the texts, confirming White (2003: 145). Plants evoke a sense of natural and organic change and are seasonal. Just as plants can thrive or die, the ETP can be positive or negative. However, the use of this metaphor in this case does not involve this metaphorical opposition (Semino, 2008: 82) because the metaphor key words *grow* and *growth* have only positive contextual connotations. For Asan Ali (2004), economic growth brings economic development, establishing a causal relationship between growth and development. Growth is caused by the ETP's projects (Example 23), but it mainly serves as a common objective for the country (Examples 24–27). In this metaphor, more is better because growth is encouraged almost as an end in itself. Growth brings more material progress, but the strain that it might put on nature and people is not considered. It also presumes that everyone (e.g., *Malaysia(n)* in Examples 24 and 25, *our* in Example 26, *us* in Example 27) benefits from growth, although this generalisation may not be true.

Example 23: The projects to drive *growth* in the economic areas have been chosen based on rigorous financial and economic analysis… (Text 1)

Example 24: The Electronics and Electrical sector is another vital industry for Malaysia's long-term *economic growth*. (Text 2)

Example 25: The oil and gas industry plays a vital role in *the growth* and development of the Malaysian economy. (Text 4)

Example 26: This substantial investment is vital to support our economy as it continues *to grow*. (Text 2)

Example 27: We will continue to focus on our pursuit of *economic growth* and power that with reforms that will enable us to compete robustly in the global arena. (Text 6)

Up is Good

By convention, a movement up is linked with good news (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003), and this is also the case in the texts. In Examples 28–33, economic or social indicators go up after the ETP is introduced, and these indicators make Malaysia a desirable destination for business. The implication is that the ETP is integral to development because it stimulates change that would not happen otherwise. Like ETP IS A PLANT, UP IS GOOD lacks metaphorical opposition (Semino, 2008: 82), as there are no negative economic and social indicators in the texts. The selective use of one side of the up-down pair is an implicit evaluation of the ETP as having only a positive effects. This avoids explicit evaluation (Semino, 2008: 82), which might require substantiation.

Example 28: It is a perfect combination of the right infrastructure and people that *will move* Malaysia's tourism industry *up to the next level*. (Text 2)

Example 29: Keyakinan sektor perniagaan dan para pelabur terhadap ekonomi Malaysia kini semakin *tinggi*. (Text 3)
[Translation: The confidence of the business sector and investors in Malaysia's economy is becoming *higher*.]

Example 30: Sementara itu, Laporan Perniagaan Antarabangsa Grant Thornton yang terkini menunjukkan 50 peratus perusahaan sederhana hingga besar positif tentang prospek ekonomi Malaysia pada tahun ini, *tahap keyakinan tertinggi* untuk Malaysia pada tahun ini, *tahap keyakinan tertinggi* untuk Malaysia sejak penyertaan kita dalam laporan tersebut. (Text 3)
[Translation: Meanwhile, the latest Grant Thornton International Business Report shows that 50 percent of medium to large enterprises are positive on Malaysia's economic prospects for this year, *the highest confidence level* seen for Malaysia this year, *the highest confidence level* for Malaysia since our participation in the report.]

Example 31: …Malaysia *moves up* the value chain to become a leader in the production of nutraceuticals and botanical drugs. (Text 3)

Example 32: Simultaneously, economic activities and growth will also benefit from *high standards of integrity*. (Text 4)

Example 33: On ease of doing business, we ranked *higher* at 21 based on the World Bank's 2010 Doing Business Report… (Text 6)

Roles of Metaphors

Texts 2 to 6 inherit and use all the metaphors from Text 1, establishing an intertextual metaphoric coherence between them (Kövecses, 2010: 285), as all the texts convey similar ideas about the ETP. Nevertheless, Text 1 uses more metaphors than Texts 2 to 6 do, despite its shorter length (see Table 1). Metaphors are present in all six paragraphs of Text 1 because the ETP had not yet commenced at the time of its publication. Nobody knew about it, so there was nothing to report. The Prime Minister, therefore, had to conceptualise the ETP for his citizens, using metaphors to explain it and its benefits. In Texts 2 to 6, metaphors are found mostly in the introduction and conclusion, while the intermediary paragraphs use very few. These intermediary paragraphs use literal language because, as these texts were published, the ETP was underway and there were results to report. This illustrates that metaphor presents a holistic view of the ETP's progress, while literal language provides specific and tangible details of this progress.

The ETP is impersonal, consisting of facts and figures that the audience might not understand. The audience of the texts is Malaysians in general, a very wide demographic. Metaphor is a way of explaining the ETP to them, using common and concrete source domains such as journey, vehicle, plant and direction, things people experience in their daily lives. These metaphors are not novel (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003), but they become distinct in their application to a new target domain – the ETP. The Prime Minister's choice of metaphor is commendable because he makes the ETP understandable, using schema readily available to the audience, substantiating Henderson (2000: 169). Former Prime Minister Tun Mahathir Mohamad employed slogans to make major policies comprehensible (Ooi, 2006: 48). Perhaps Dato' Sri Najib Razak prefers metaphors to slogans, although that hypothesis requires more research.

The Prime Minister's choice of metaphors can convey ideology (Charteris-Black, 2004; 2006). Ideology consists in the beliefs, ideas and values of social life (Eagleton, 2007: 28). This is evident, if we consider the rhetorical motivation underlying conceptual metaphors. ETP IS A JOURNEY, ETP IS A VEHICLE, ETP IS A PLANT and UP IS GOOD share a further level of abstraction or conceptual key (Charteris-Black, 2004: 244). Journeys and vehicles by definition include a change from one place to another place. Plants are visualised as growing upwards towards the sun and to go up means moving from a lower place to a higher place. Common to these four conceptual metaphors is the ontological state of movement. Movement inevitably involves a change in space or time, and change is often seen as desirable. Similarly, a core idea of the Prime Minister's metaphors is that the ETP, under government management, changes Malaysia from a developing country, in the present, to a developed country, in the future. This belief acquires a positive value because being a developed country is associated with an improved quality of life.

These metaphors and the ideology that underlies them should be viewed in a broader perspective. The ETP is part of the Prime Minister's agenda to reform the country, an agenda that includes the Government Transformation Programme (GTP). The metaphors for the ETP aim to unite citizens in their pursuit of a shared objective that can become a reality through the Prime Minister's reforms. For Ooi (2010: xii), the reforms required by Malaysia are institutional. That is, problematic economic structures stunt development, and new policies that do not address institutional problems simply replicate the *status quo*. The ETP cannot realise the ideals of its metaphors if it merely repackages old practices in new projects.

The ETP was launched two years after Barisan Nasional failed to retain its traditional two-thirds majority in the 12th general elections. Barisan Nasional has since faced criticism on numerous fronts, regarding its ability to govern Malaysia, including from opposition political parties (now formalised as Pakatan Rakyat), non-governmental organisations and civil society (Giersdorf and Croissant, 2011). The upcoming 13th general elections will be a tussle between Barisan Nasional and Pakatan Rakyat. Barisan Nasional can gain a crucial electoral advantage if it portrays itself as having sustainable economic development policies. If it does not do this, then Pakatan Rakyat will have stronger grounds on which to question Barisan Nasional's economic governance. The ETP and its metaphors provide evidence that the economic policies of Barisan Nasional can bring development. They help to convey the economic experience and leadership of Barisan Nasional, and as such they may be part of a larger strategy to portray Barisan Nasional positively, in anticipation of the 13th general elections.

CONCLUSION

The complex target domain (Ritchie, 2002: 54) of the ETP involves multiple metaphors. The Prime Minister's texts reveal that such metaphors as ETP IS A JOURNEY, ETP IS A VEHICLE, ETP IS A PLANT and UP IS GOOD are utilised to conceptualise the ETP. These metaphors are distinct but coherent in legitimising the ETP as bringing positive economic changes for Malaysia. They implicitly indicate that the ETP has to be implemented if Malaysia wants to become a developed country. This is implicit because it is not said directly but indirectly, through metaphor. ETP IS A JOURNEY and ETP IS A VEHICLE also maintain a relationship of power between the government and citizens. Their discursive thrust consists of naturalising the government's role in directing the economy, while citizens are expected to follow the government. These metaphors can structure perceptions (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 5) of the ETP and ultimately of the commitment of Barisan Nasional to develop Malaysia. A critical audience might be able to decipher these metaphors, although this requires training. CMA can be a useful pedagogical tool.

Next, it would be worthwhile to study whether the Prime Minister is consistent in his choice of metaphors in other texts, an analysis that could be extended to politicians of Barisan Nasional and Pakatan Rakyat. Their media texts could be examined for metaphors for the ETP, as the media reach a wider audience. The impact of partisan views should be explored, but a broad selection of media texts is vital because the print media favours Barisan Nasional, while digital media favours Pakatan Rakyat (Abbott, 2004; 2011). A database of metaphors could be built, with data from politicians, media and texts. This would provide future analyses with a larger and more representative corpus. It would permit quantification of the frequency of metaphors and the study of their collocation and colligation. Once the ETP has been in existence for several years, the diachronic factor should be included, to monitor historical changes in the metaphorical conceptualisation of the ETP (Musolff, 2004: 140). As the ETP yields further results, it becomes more tangible to citizens, perhaps reducing the need for metaphor.

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