

Treating and Healing Malaysia: A Critical Analysis of Najib Razak's Metaphors

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Abstract

This paper discusses the vocational roles constructed by Najib Razak, the sixth Prime Minister of Malaysia for himself, the government, and the relational identities for the people and others in nine Supply Bills (2010 – 2018). I have modelled this study on Charteris-Black's Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) and Sack's Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) as frameworks.

The findings indicate that Najib Razak and the government played a role as medical doctor while the people and others have been conceptualised as patients and pre-term babies, experiencing a global economic downturn, an Asian Financial Crisis, poverty, and bribery. The people and others as patients must depend on the government for health and recovery. This experience emphasises the independent, heroic role enacted by the government, and the weak, sunjugated role expected of the people and others. Through these metaphors, the people were reminded of the fact that, without the government to heal the people, the country can not develop its metaphorical health. As such, the use of metaphors in the Supply Bills serves predicative, empathetic, ideological and mythical purposes.

Keywords: *Conceptual metaphor, political identity, linguistic anthropology, discourse, ideology*

Introduction

In a current era of global democracy, political agency is ideologically assigned to citizens of the respective country. Officials elected represent the people and purport to champion the efforts of their respective parties, each upholding certain ideologies, mapping the country's future, yet while realizing their own personal agendas. The battles between the candidates occur as political campaigns, which traverse the boundaries of discourse genres, and hence across platforms, such speeches, social media, advertisements, policy, and supply bills.

In Malaysia, the election process is colourful, owing to its multi-racial constituency. Situated within Southeast Asia, its 32.6 million people reside across 13 states and three federal territories, with 576 seats for the state legislative assembly, and 222 parliamentary seats to be contested in general elections scheduled every five years. Since its independence from the British in 1957, the Barisan Nasional party has dominated Malaysian politics. Through his rhetoric, the sixth Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato' Sri Mohammad Najib bin Tun Haji Abdul Razak (Najib Razak) attempted to convince the country of his efforts, creating extensive media and identities, for himself, his political contingency, and Malaysia as a whole. Najib Razak communicated these roles and identities through conceptual metaphors, to assist the government to positively frame itself, and in the process, constructing attractive myths.

A discourse participant's collective identities are often found through the speaker's or the interlocutor's occupation and social activity (Simpson and Mayr 2010). Sacks (1985), employing a framework of membership categorisation (MCA), argued that membership in a social category is often grounded in one's activities or actions (category-bound activity) and characteristics (category-bound predicates). Individuals' rights, obligations, knowledge, competencies, and attributes associated with membership categories, such as age, sex, race, and occupation are invoked within ordinary activities (Augoustinos, Walker and Donaghue 2014). As membership categories are tied to category-bound activities, membership can be implied based on the conventional predicates attached to a membership category. Sacks further explained that categories can be linked through a membership categorisation device (MCD).

Identifying an occupational-based identity (vocational roles) requires the identification of obligated actions, behaviours, routines performed and beliefs associated with a vocation, often identified through descriptive job titles and linguistic features. These vocational roles and their relational identities may be indexed through lexical items, such as metaphors (Koller 2012), thus assisting "participants and researchers to examine the difficult concept of identity development in vivid and insightful ways" (Thomas and Beauchamp 2011, p. 764). Such is the case in the context of Najib Razak's political rhetoric, evidenced through his use of political conceptual metaphors. In his discourse strategies, these conceptual metaphors do not only reflect his worldview and ideologies, but also bridge Razak's social-cultural contexts embodied through the discourse (c.f.,

Gibbs, Lima and Francozo 2004; Grady 1999; 2005; Lakoff 2013; Yu 2009).

By applying Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory, Charteris-Black's (2014) framework on Critical Metaphor Analysis, and integrating Harvey Sacks's (1995) Membership Categorization Analysis, I analyze nine supply bills presented by Najib Razak during his tenure as the sixth Prime Minister of Malaysia, as I discover that his rhetoric is laden with a variety of conceptual metaphors and similarly patterns.

Research Methodology

In this paper, I draw on and combine several analytical frameworks, in a sequential manner. These include Charteris-Black's (2014) model of Critical Metaphor Analysis, as a methodological blueprint of this study. The model comprises four principle stages; (i) contextual analysis, (ii) metaphor identification, (iii) metaphor interpretation, and (iv) metaphor explanation. To this I integrate Sacks' (1995) Membership Categorization Analysis model, in order to categorize identities and roles of all participants within the frame of Najb Razak's talk. Consequent to the above, I have developed a Malay Metaphor Identification Procedure (MMIP) from Steen et. al.'s (2010) Metaphor Identification Procedure VU University Amsterdam (MIPVU). The creation of MMIP has assisted to solve several challenges and issues that may arise with MIP or MIPVU. Those challenges include (1) should we treat words with identical base forms such as 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 take historically older meaning into consideration when consulting the dictionary? (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 are to be made on those linguistic items whose basic meaning and contextual meaning do not contradict locally but socioculturally and ideologically, and (6) which meaning is to be adopted if there is more than one available?

The data for this study comprises nine Supply Bills read in the Malay language by Najib Razak (for the year 2010-2018). This corpus of 104, 000 words is named MyBuS (Malaysian Budget Speeches). These Supply Bills and their English translations are available on the Malaysian Ministry of Finance official portal archive (<http://www.treasury.gov.my/index.php/en/archives>). I selected these as the annual readings by Najib Razak of these bills were always a much-awaited occasion by Malaysians and the country's stakeholders. Due to its large audience which also has a low resistance level towards political persuasive attacks, the ruling party takes this opportunity to boast its achievement and to belittle the opposition (Chi-Chang 2009). Throughout, as a rhetorical act, roles and identities are constructed and assigned in the readings of these bills, for the government and the people.

I manually annotated the data employing a bottom-up process, to ensure that the novel metaphors were not ignored. To increase the reliability of the identified metaphors in the current study, I brought in ten undergraduate students to complement my judgment. I then organized these metaphors by source or target domains or predicated on their shared semantic fields. I also adopted Sacks's (1995) Membership Category Analysis to facilitate the metaphor selection and interpretation process. Furthermore, I modelled my description of the discourse functions of the conceptual metaphors and keys on Charteris-Black's (2014) seven persuasive purposes of metaphor; (i) gaining the audience's attention, (ii) heuristic, (iii) predicative, (iv) empathetic, (v) aesthetic, (vi) ideological and (vii) mythical purposes. The use of this strategy assist to "explain how and why such metaphors provide coherent representations of a story" (Charteris-Black, 2014, p.196) or the stories the rhetoric is narrating. This method aligns with the rhetorical importance of metaphors, which is to connect the ideological beliefs with the held beliefs and emotions to form a moral approach to life (Bruce 2009).

Analysis

Government is Doctor: An Introduction

Of the 221 vocational-related metaphorically-used lexemes or metaphorical keywords, twenty-four (10.38%) sit within a medical domain. I further classified these 24 keywords into the vocational roles constructed by the government for itself, the relational identities assigned by the government for the *rakyat* and others, the disease and its spectrum, which include exposure, pathological changes, treatment and prevention, and, recovery and death. The keywords and their source domains are presented in the Table 7.1 below.

Of these 24 keywords and 99 instances of use, I identified GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR and GOVERNMENT IS HEALER conceptual metaphors. The government also assigned four main relational identities, to the *rakyat* and to others; *rakyat* is patient, economy is patient, economic activity is patient, and entrepreneur is pre-term / ill newborn. Apart from these roles and identities, the mapping process assisted to uncover the diseases and heir elements; exposure, pathological changes, treatment and management, recovery, and death.

Source Domains	Keywords (lexemes)	
Doctor-healer	PULIH (to heal)	
Patient	PULIH (healed), LEMBAP (slow, inactive), KRITIKAL (critical), STABIL (stable), NADI (pulse), DENYUT (beat), NAFAS (breathing), SUSUT (losing weight), REBAH (collapse), and TEKANAN (pressure)	
Recovered or healthy entities	SIHAT (healthy), CERGAS (active) and FITNESS, STABIL (stable)	
Disease	BASMI (disinfect), PULIH from X (healed from X)	
Spectrum of disease:	Exposure (cause)	BASMI (disinfect)
	Pathological changes (symptoms)	SUSUT (losing weight), REBAH (collapse), and TEKANAN (pressure). LEMBAP (slow, inactive), KRITIKAL (critical)
	Treatment and prevention	SUNTIK (inject), INKUBATOR (incubator), RANGSANG (stimulate), and BASMI (disinfect)
	Recovery and death	(keyword not available in the discourse under study)

Table 1: Medical Keywords and their Source Domains

Vocational Roles of the Government

Government as Doctor

In the data, the government presented itself as both a healer and a doctor. The notion of healer appears through the metaphor *memulihkan* (to heal), while the notion of doctor is inferred from the remaining keywords.

The government metaphorically presents itself as a doctor (a doctor specializing in physical medicine and rehabilitation). The conceptual key, GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR is inferred mostly from relational identities; rakyat is patient, economy is patient, economic activity is patient, and, entrepreneur is pre-term / ill newborn. In addition to the relational identities, the government also infers its role as a doctor from the respective category-bound activities, such as diagnosis and treatments. Apart from prescribing drugs, the government also plans for rehabilitation programs for abandoned economic activities.

By presenting 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 knowledge acquired through rigorous training. Here, the country's financial and economic activities are 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 Rakyat and the Others (investors) are assured that the country's economic situation is handled by an establishment which not only boasts that it is capable but also reputable. Similarly, the use of GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR metaphor serves a predicative purpose, assisting to legitimize the notion of the government as a doctor metaphor, as doctors are frequently leaders.

The government has also considered the fact that society has positive conceptions towards medical doctors and holds doctors in high regard, where the media portrays doctors as selfless heroes who work extra hours to help save life (Goldsmith 2007; Soskin 2007; Ham 2016; Blewett 2016). By envisioning the government as a doctor, the same predicative effect (positive attitude and perception) can be garnered from the rakyat and others. The government is seen as selfless and giving, and elevated both politically and socially, owing to its public service. In addition, a doctor is required to have solutions at all times, despite the increasing access patients have to medical information online and so forth (Bokoch 2007), which has increased the shared decision-making process. Yet still, the general public adheres to its 'doctor knows best' ideology.

The government has attempted to gain the rakyat's attention and trust by creating such a 'government knows best' myth for itself. This myth is amplified by the government through toning down the voice of the rakyat, and by subjecting the rakyat to legal control. Although the rakyat 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 number of people who trust the government between 2014 and 2015, and a further decrease of 7% in 2016 (Edelmen Trust Barometre 2015 and Kay 2016). In 2016, only 39% of the general population retained its trust in the government (Kay 2016). This percentage further dwindled as the government lost its vote of confidence in the Malaysian 2018, 14th General Election.

Government as Healer

The Malaysian government under the administration of Najib Razak, did not only frame itself as a doctor, but also as a healer. This notion of GOVERNMENT IS HEALER is evident in the use of verb 'mem(p)ulihkan' (to heal) (to make healthy again). As such, the phrase 'Kerajaan ... memulihkan' (the government ... heals) indicates the government's positioning of self as an agent responsible for the healing of Malaysia.

The Malaysian government's role as a healer is highlighted at various times. For example, the government expresses its intention to 'heal' the diseased (abandoned) housing project (DH1: *Kerajaan akan terus melaksanakan usaha murni ini pada tahun 2012 dengan peruntukan 63 juta ringgit untuk memulihkan 1,270-unit rumah terbengkalai* (Para 82, Supply Bill 2012) (DH2: *melalui Program Pemulihan Rumah Terbengkalai, Kerajaan berjaya memulihkan dan mendapat Sijil Layak Menduduki (CF) bagi 82 projek yang melibatkan lebih 15,000 unit rumah* (Para 82, Supply Bill, 2012)). The government also appropriates the metaphor 'pulih' (healed) in reference to private investment (DH13: *pelaburan swasta yang kembali pulih 3.4 peratus* (Para 17, Supply Bill, 2010)), world tradings (DH14: *Perdagangan dunia pula, dijangka mencatat negatif 11.9 peratus pada tahun 2009 dan kembali pulih 2.5 peratus pada tahun 2010* (Para 16, Supply Bill, 2010)), and world economic performance (DH15: *prestasi ekonomi dunia, turut dijangka kembali pulih pada kadar 4.8 peratus berbanding negative 0.6 peratus tahun 2009* (Para 7, Supply Bill, 2011)).

I have identified several category-bound activities and predicates for the term 'healer.' Firstly, as a healer, one is not restricted to a particular method, such as evidence-based medicine and clinical trials. A healer can display "balanced mental knowledge with practices to create wisdom and personal authenticity" (Gordon 2007, p.2). The notion GOVERNMENT IS HEALER evidences the government's attempt toward the rakyat and toward others to expose its efforts as such. The notion GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR implies that the government as a medical doctor would administer a tested and approved course of treatment on a patient. The government as a doctor and a healer, however, would commission the best plan of economic recovery, predicated on both a world tested economic recovery plan and a newly crafted economic recovery plan based on expert judgment and local requirements. This is significant, as there is no one tested and board-approved model or aid that can guarantee recovery against economic recession (DH52: *negara kita telah berjaya pulih daripada kemelesetan ekonomi dunia* (Para 7, Supply Bill, 2011)).

In line with the above, the interaction between prescribed government funds (DH70: *Bagi merencanakan lagi akses syarikat ke pasaran modal, Kerajaan akan menambah peruntukan modal Dana jamin sebanyak 400 juta ringgit dalam tempoh 2 tahun. Suntikan ini dapat melipatgandakan nilai terbitan antara 4 hingga 6 bilion ringgit* (Para 49, Supply Bill, 2013)), incubator programme (DH72: *Kita akan melaksanakan program inkubator untuk melatih dan membimbing belia serta graduan menjadi usahawan tani Berjaya* (Para 43, Supply Bill, 2010)), stimulation therapy (DH84: *kami telah melancarkan Pakej Rangsangan Ekonomi Pertama, berjumlah hampir tujuh bilion ringgit, bagi merangsang kembali pertumbuhan ekonomi negara* (Para 26, Supply Bill, 2017)), and rehabilitation programme (DH69: *melalui Program Pemulihan Rumah Terbengkalai, Kerajaan berjaya memulihkan dan mendapat Sijil Layak Menduduki (CF) bagi 82 projek yang melibatkan lebih 15,000 unit rumah* (Para 82, Supply Bill, 2012)), creates a harmony between the two roles enacted by the government.

A recovery will not only strengthen hope and belief in the healer and their healing power, but also paints a portrait of a responsible successful government. Yet, apart from presenting itself as a doctor bound to evidence-based medicine and clinical trials, as a healer, the government endangers itself as being seen as a healer who dispenses with body parts unnecessarily, such as the placebo (Levy 2007). In healing the economic crisis, the placebo can be introduced in the form of programmes, policies, or strategies, all popularized through speeches and public campaigns. Often, such placebos heighten spirit and uphold moral of the rakyat to revolve public unrest such as during economic recessions.

The metaphors do not only portray the government as healer but also as an integrator of modern medicine during treatment. As people often consult both a healer and a doctor at the final stages of their ailments (Mohyuddin and Ambreen 2014), positioning oneself as both healer and physician increases the agency and appearance of the actor in addressing critical issues, such as trust and commitment. Despite the fact that evidence-based medicine is trusted above traditional healing, the commitment extended by a healer is treasured by patients. In our current context, the rakyat exhibit a similar affinity.

Through the use of GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR and GOVERNMENT IS HEALER metaphors, the government is able to gain the audience's trust. Despite the fact that cure and recovery are not guaranteed, efforts of care and responsiveness articulate the image of the doctor and the healer (Levy 2007). One survey indicated that Malaysians prefer medical personnel who are caring and responsive towards the patients' needs (Haron and Ibrahim 2012), and hence, the government's choice to frame itself as doctor and healer is effective. Therefore, the metaphor GOVERNMENT IS HEALER serves empathetic purpose, evoking positive emotional response from the rakyat patients, reassured that they will not be abandoned.

In addition to this, labeling themselves as healer liberates the government from the burden of ensuring definite recovery, as it dissociates itself from the negative realm of medico-economic transaction, where doctors and health institutions are seen as economic-generating entities (Mohyuddin and Ambreen 2014). The notion of 'healer' positively represents the government.

Relational Identities of the Rakyat

In what follows, I argue that, in referent to relational identities constructed by the government, new entrepreneurs and youth are positioned as pre-mature or ill newborns. The national and global economy, economic activities, government income, private investment, capital, equity and stock markets, currency value, construction and building industries, housing projects, the poor and those involved in bribing schemes are presented as patients. However, the economy and economic activities are presented as a healthy individual. As such, below, I divide the rakyat into three major categories; (i) premature/ill newborns, (ii) patients, and (iii) healthy individuals.

New entrepreneurs as premature/ill newborn

The 'entrepreneurs as premature/ill newborn' inference is grounded in the metaphor 'inkubator' (incubator). Contextually, 'incubator' in the speeches refers to programs (such as Y-creative Program) and mechanisms introduced by the government to produce creative and innovative youths that in time will be competitive entrepreneurs.

Four instances of metaphor 'inkubator' appear; DH72 (Kita akan melaksanakan program inkubator untuk melatih dan membimbing belia serta graduan menjadi usahawan tani Berjaya (Para 31, Malaysian Supply Bill 2010)), DH73 (Dalam usaha meinkubator kan generasi belia yang berpersonaliti tinggi , (Para 117, Malaysian Supply Bill 2013)), DH74 (satu pelan pembangunan entrepreneur akan digubal untuk menyediakan ... prasarana latihan dan inkubator, modul entrepreneurship , (Para 73, Malaysian Supply Bill 2014)), and DH75 (MaGIC akan ... menyediakan pusat inkubator, pendaftaran dan paten harta intelek... (Para 74, Malaysian Supply Bill 2014)).

As these incubators address entrepreneurs, I infer that new entrepreneurs are presented as newly born who are either premature or ill-born. Table 7.2 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 controlled environment for baby to grow healthily	Provide 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

Table 2: Source domain - infant incubator onto target domain - business incubator

In the same way that the 'infant incubator' is a "Bio Medical 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' suggests "an organization that creates a favourable environment for nurturing fledging ventures" (Said, Adham, Abdullah, Hanninen and Walsh 2012, p. 65). Among business incubators 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 a correct amount of warmth, humidity, and oxygen are essential to a new-born, "office space equipped with basic support services, professional business advice and links to potential suppliers and customers" (p. 65) are essential for young entrepreneurs and new businesses. I therefore draw parallels between office space, advice, and potential suppliers, and warmth, humidity, and oxygen.

We can also draw parallels between the fact that over 10% of the world's new borns are premature (Associated Press, 2012) and young entrepreneurs. Ridzwan, Nik Muhammad and Ab Rahman (2017) cite that 80% of new entrepreneurs fail each year in Malaysia. Many pre-term babies die owing to heat deregulation, water loss, and jaundice (Tisa, Nisha and Kiber 2012), where entrepreneurs and businesses fail due to early management and planning deficiency lack of financial support and inadequate fund, employee related issues, inadequate economic spheres, insufficient government policies, insufficient contacts and networks, and product or service related issues (Ahmad and Seet 2009; Arasti 2011; Singh 2011; Atsan 2016; Ridzwan, Nik Muhammad and Ab Rahman 2017). As such, I infer that the issues faced by entrepreneurs are equivalent to health problems. Yet, "sophisticated and expensive intensive care saves the majority of the preterm babies" (Associated Press, 2012 online). Likewise, conceptions have it that placing young entrepreneurs and new businesses in incubators can accelerate growth (Pompa 2013) by providing appropriate support that assists a company's survival (Rouwmaat, Reid and Kurik 2003). This approach is not unique to the Malaysian government (Tan, Baskaran, Pancholi and Munchie 2011; Rouwmaat, Reid and Kurik 2003; Petterson, Aarstad, Hovig and Tobiassen 2016; Abdulatif 2009; Lose and Tengeh 2015; Lesakova 2012).

The use of incubators to treat pre-term babies also marks a shift in responsibility in the care of preterm babies from mothers to obstetricians to paediatricians (Baker 2000), fraing the incubator as 'an artificial foster mother' (Baker 2000). The responsibility to care for young entrepreneurs and new businesses shifts from the entrepreneurs to the government who is framed as a doctor (GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR). My mappings also infer that the business incubator mentors act as paediatricians, where the incubator executives and managers are commensurate to nurses who care for the entrepreneurs as pre-term babies.

Correlating young entrepreneurs and new businesses to premature or ill new-borns is strategic by the government, in suggesting that entrepreneurs and new businesses do not have agency over their weaknesses and possible failure, as is the case with ill new-borns. Such a strategy culminates in coceptions of itentions to empathize through love and care. Rather than agentifying the rakyat for entrepreneurs' ill-being, the government's pre-term baby metaphors agentify 'time,' a crucial factor in determining whether a baby is born pre-term or normal, as it is for young entrepreneurs and new businesses to succeed, via notions of longevity and healthy market competitors.

Furthermore, the metaphor does not only facilitate the understanding of challenges faced by youth and young entrepreneurs, but also assigns the government the image of an able responsible doctor (GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR) who, with their expert knowledge and access to interventions, transforms the rakyat into an able entity.

Economy, Economic Activities, and Rakyat as Patients

The government also frames the national and world economy, trading, private investment, and housing projects, economic activity, federal income, currency, markets, the construction sector, the poor, those engaged in bribery, and the rakyat, as sick individuals or entities.

The argument 'X is patient' is grounded in the metaphor *pulih* (heal). The preceding words (collocation to the left) signal whether the individuals or entities are sick. The phrase *dijangka pulih* (expected to heal) and *belum pulih* (not yet healed) denote that the individuals or entities are sick. The phrase *kembali pulih* (healed) and *berjaya pulih* (successfully healed) presuppose that the entities were sick. The phrases *untuk memulihkan* (to heal) and *bagi memulihkan* (to heal) also presuppose that the individuals or entities are currently sick. The fact that they are sick and receiving treatment, or were sick and received treatment, denotes that these discourse participants are the government's patients. Table 7.3 below presents metaphors presenting the economy and economic activities as patients.

In addition to the above, the symptoms that the economy and economic activities as patients exhibit are inferred from metaphors such as *susut* (losing weight) and *lembap* (inactivity).

Apart from the above, the patient image is also constructed through the use of the lexeme *basmi* (eradicate). In the data, *basmi* collocates with *kemiskinan* (poverty) and *rasuah* (bribery), rendering these as diseases from which one suffers, where the texts alluded to the fact that the rakyat is patient suffering.

The government as a doctor begins by examining the patient's vital signs. In the following: DH5 (...*kita terus mendengar denyut nadi dan rintihan rakyat* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2016, Para 47)), DH6 (*Sebagai Kerajaan yang merasa denyut nadi rakyat* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2017, Para 67)), DH7 (*Lantaran demikian, mengambil kira dan memahami denyut nadi rakyat* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2015, Para 19)), and DH8 (*inilah bajet yang menelusuri keperluan dan meresapi denyut nadi rakyat* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010, Para 140)), the government stresses listening, feeling and understanding the rakyat's pulse.

Code	Linguistic metaphor in context	Target domain	Source domain
DH9	Ekonomi negara dijangka pulih dan cergas (Para 17, Supply Bill 2010) Trans: The country's economy is expected to heal and be active	National economy	Patient
DH10	ekonomi dan perdagangan dunia masih belum menunjukkan tanda-tanda pemulihan yang kukuh (Para 4, Supply Bill 2010) Trans: the global economy and trade have yet to show strong signs of healing.	World economy	Patient
DH12	Setakat ini, terdapat sebanyak 148 projek swasta yang terbengkalai Daripada jumlah ini, sebanyak 87 projek masih belum dapat dipulihkan (Para 116, Supply Bill 2010) Trans: To date, a total of 148 private projects have been abandoned... Of this, 87 projects are yet to be healed.	Abandoned private projects	Patient
DH18	Galakan Cukai untuk Memulih Projek Trans: Perumahan Terbengkalai (Para 134, Supply Bill 2013) Trans: Tax Incentive to heal Abandoned Housing Projects	Abandoned housing projects	Patient
DH13	pelaburan swasta yang kembali pulih 3.4 peratus (Para 17, Supply Bill 2010) Trans: private investment which was healed at 3.4%	Private investment	Patient
DH14	Perdagangan dunia pula, dijangka mencatat negatif 11.9 peratus pada tahun 2009 dan kembali pulih 2.5 peratus pada tahun 2010 (Para 16, Supply Bill 2010) Trans: World trade is expected to record -11.9% in 2009 and has healed at 2.5% in 2010.	World trading	Patient

Table 3: Metaphors for economy, economic activities are patients

The phrase *denyut nadi* is deployed metaphorically (literally 'beat of the pulse' but figuratively in this case 'livelihood of the rakyat' (DH7: *Lantaran demikian, mengambil kira dan memahami denyut nadi rakyat serta realiti kehidupan* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2015, Para 19)). Here, checking vital signs informs the physician of which treatment to pursue, and provides critical information for making life-saving decisions, and to confirm treatment feedback (Dean 2007). The government as doctor is required to listen to the rakyat's pulse, to understand its problems, and to diagnose and administer treatment. Subsequently, the use of medical metaphors creates intra- and inter-textual coherence in the overall myth of the government as a medical practitioner.

In the data, the rakyat, the economy, and economic activity suffer from diseases; economic crisis, poverty, bribery, and social problems. These diseases are identified or inferred from three

metaphor – *pulih* (healed), *susut* (losing weight) and *lembap* (slow). Economic crisis emerges from the phrase *pulih daripada* (healed from) in [DH52] *negara kita telah berjaya pulih daripada kemelesetan ekonomi dunia* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2011, Para 7). The disease is identified using the formula, in a phrase “healed from X”, where the X is the disease one suffers from. In DH39 (*Kini, pelaburan swasta telah menyusut ketara di bawah 10 peratus daripada KDNK* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010, Para 21), and DH40 (*Sungguhpun begitu, kita sedar, bahawa kita tidak dapat lari daripada menghadapi kelembapan ekonomi global, termasuklah dari segi penurunan harga komoditi terutamanya minyak, kelapa sawit dan getah, penyusutan nilai ringgit serta pertumbuhan perlahan di negara-negara kuasa besar ekonomi dunia* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2016, Para 15), economic crisis as a disease is inferred from the lexical metaphors *menyusut* and *penyusutan* (losing weight), signalling probably illness.

Collocation (1 to the left)	Words	Collocation (1 to the right)
Untuk (260)	Basmi Membasmi Pembasmian	Kemiskinan (1020)
Dan (173)	Preterm baby/ ill newborn	Penyakit (42), wabak (7)
Usaha (165)	Provide controlled environment for baby to grow healthily	Kegiatan (45)
Program (123)	Doctor	Gejala (42)
Yayasan (64)	Paediatrician	Kuman (21), bakteria (5), cacing (5), kutu (4), tikus (6)
Bagi (51)	Trained nurses	Rasuah (41)
Dalam (44)		Gangguan (33)
Kerajaan (25)		Buta (28)
Dapat (24)		Masalah (25)
Membantu (22)		Jenayah (23)
Matlamat (21)		Dan (22)
Arah (20)		Dadah (16)
Ialah (18)		Segala (14)
Iaitu (17)		Amalan (10)

Table 4

In addition to *susut* (weight loss), we can also infer one's health from *lembap* (slow). Among the examples are DH45 (*Sungguhpun begitu, kita sedar, bahawa kita tidak dapat lari daripada menghadapi kelembapan ekonomi global* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2016, Para 15) and DH46 (*Malaysia tidak terlepas daripada dilanda kelembapan ekonomi global* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2017, Para 25). In addition to the above, other phrases such as *berubah sejak* (changed since), and *menghadapi* (facing) also provide contextual cues that infer the rakyat's.

The lexeme *basmi* (eradicate) also connotes the presence of disease. In order to determine the source domain of *basmi*, I ran a collocation analysis on Korpus DBP. Table 4 below presents the lexeme *basmi* as mostly collocated with *kemiskinan* (poverty), followed by *penyakit* (disease), and *wabak* (epidemic). As disease physically affects human as compared to the non pathological ailment 'poverty,' *basmi* appears metaphorically in the data.

Disease and Epidemic

Of the ten instances of the lexeme *basmi*, nine appeared with 'poverty' and one with 'bribery.' As *basmi* or 'eradicate' most often collocates with *penyakit* (disease), both poverty and bribery are presented as diseases. A similar notion, POVERTY IS DISEASE appears in a study by Shaikh et al. (2014).

In 2018, the government presented social problems as 'cancer.' In DH63: *Kerajaan memandang serius gejala sosial yang membarah dalam masyarakat* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2018, Para 9), the word *membarah* (to become ill with cancer) is used outside of its medical context, and thus, metaphorically. The government amplifies risk by likening this to the risk of cancer and death, as this social issue can destroy the country and its rakyat. This social problem conceptualized as cancer has been observed by Mio (1997) and Semino (2008), in British and American politics.

Symptoms distinguish one disease from another, as do the symptoms of economic crises; poverty and bribery. I now draw parallels between pathological diseases and social diseases; (i) weight loss, (ii) fatigue, and (iii) high pressure.

Weight loss appears through the lexeme *susut*. As humans lose body weight, the economy, trading, investment, and housing projects renounce their value and hence the government loses income. In the Supply Bills, these symptoms are framed as decrease (losing weight) in investment (DH39: *Kini, pelaburan swasta telah menyusut ketara di bawah 10 peratus daripada KDNK* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010, Para 21), DH 40: *... penyusutan nilai ringgit serta pertumbuhan perlahan di negara-negara kuasa besar ekonomi dunia* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2016, Para 15), DH41: *Walaupun ringgit menyusut nilai* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2016, Para 26), and DH42: *Tuan Yang Dipertua, penyusutan pendapatan Kerajaan lebih 30 bilion ringgit* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2016, Para 36)). While unintended weight loss is often attributed to malignancy, gastrointestinal

illnesses, and psychiatrist illnesses (Wong 2014), the decrease in private investment, currency value and government income are symptoms of economic crises. This may also lead to the mortality of the economy, i.e., bankruptcy.

In this context, *lembap* is described as lethargy, malaze, or weakness. In DH43: *ekonomi dunia yang lembap* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010, Para 36), DH44: *kelembapan ekonomi di Amerika Syarikat, Eropah dan Jepun* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2012, Para 10), DH45: *menghadapi kelembapan ekonomi global* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2106, Para 15), DH46: *dilanda kelembapan ekonomi global* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2017, Para 25), DH47: *kelembapan kesemua Kuasa-Kuasa Besar Ekonomi Dunia* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2017, Para 31) and DH48: *ekonomi negara yang lembap* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2017 Para 28), economic downturn appears as lethargy and fatigue, laze and stunted growth. Here, the speeches frame the economy as a patient to become healthy and strong.

During fatigue, participation in activities also decreases. Similarly, a sick economy suffering from a downturn presents fewer economic activities (Business Queensland, n.d, online). Here, the economic downturn shows symptoms of fatigue. During an economic downturn, common factors are a global recession, fiscal austerity, oil price shock, falling asset prices, deflation, and the shaking in investor confidence (Pettinger 2008). As fatigue negative effects human performance, economic downturn negatively impacts on the rakyat and the country's income and spending, thus altering inflation levels.

Economic downturn may result from inadequate financial liquidity (Allen and Bolton 2004), where financial liquidity is significant to economic growth, as is nutrition in human growth, rendering financial liquidity a nutritional food to the economy, a lack of which may produce an economic downturn. Economic downturn equates to stunted growth in children. In the same way that intestinal parasites can stunting growth, bribery and poverty have been identified as the pathogen that stunts economic growth. Through effective intervention, the government as doctor (GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR) can reverse this economic stunt or downturn through its medication (money), stimulation (economic stimulus) and rehabilitation programmes. While, stunted growth in children increases the risk of mortality (Korpe et al. 2016), stunted economic growth can damage or bankrupt a country.

The third symptom emerging in the Supply Bills is *tekanan* (pressure). This appears twice in paragraph nine and ten of a 2012 Supply Bill (DH49: *tekanan inflasi meningkat* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2012, Para 9) and DH50: *tekanan inflasi akibat kenaikan harga komoditi* (Malaysian Supply Bill 2012, Para 10). In both instances, the word *tekanan* describes inflation. The source domain *tekanan darah* or blood pressure refers to the "measure of the force that the circulating blood exerts on the walls of the main arteries." (Lawes et al. 2004, p. 284), while inflation is defined as "a sustained or continuous rise in the general price level or, alternatively, as a sustained or continuous fall in the value of money" (Labonte 2011, p.1). When combined, *tekanan inflasi*

(literally 'inflational pressure') suggests "the rate of increase in prices over a given period of time" (Oner 2010, p.44). Thus, inflation signifies Supply Bills as blood pressure.

As presented in DH50: tekanan inflasi akibat kenaikan harga komoditi, krisis hutang negara Eropah (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2012, Para 10), a country's debt may also lead to increased inflation. The government's increase of taxes may push businesses to raise their prices, where printing more money will increase the money supply, which will in turn devalue currency (Pat 2011). Similarly, as Labonte (2011) notes, inflation tends to rise when unemployment falls, where employed consumers have money to spend, and thus increasing demand and leading to inflation. I thus infer that an increase in money circulated is an 'overweight economy,' national debt is a 'poor diet' and unemployment is a 'sedentary lifestyle.'

In the same way that high blood pressure may effect health problems (stroke, ischaemic heart disease, renal disease, hypertensive disease, cardiovascular disease) (Lawes et al. 2004) and morbidity and mortality (O'Brien 2007), hyperinflation may cause money's usefulness to diminish (Wolla 2013). In such a process, people would abandon the currency for a more stable currency, and the country would face bankruptcy (Wolla 2013).

According to Winston (2004), blood pressure must be regulated "to ensure that there is always an adequate supply of blood, therefore oxygen, to the organs" (p. 81). Similarly, inflation must be maintained at a rate between 1.5-2% per-year. Oppositely, blood hypotension may cause a weakening of the body, as would an inflation rate below 2% weaken the economy, leading to deflation. I infer that deflation is comparable to hypotension.

Elements of Mapping	Source Domain (keyword)	Target domain
Patient	Patient	Economy, Economic activity
Disease	Disease	Economic crisis (Economic downturn, economic recession, and financial crisis)
Symptoms	Weight loss (susut)	Decrease in Private investment
Program (123)	Doctor	Decrease in Currency value
Yayasan (64)	Paediatrician	Decrease in Government's income
Bagi (51)	Fatigue	Decrease in number of economic activities
Dalam (44)	High blood pressure	High inflation rate
Kerajaan (25)	Stunted	Bankruptcy

Table 5 Mapping the Source and Target Domains for Patients, Diseases,

Treatments, Stimulation Therapy, and Rehabilitation Programmes

Treatment

Once the symptoms have been observed and the diseases have been identified, as a responsible doctor, the government plans treatment and rehabilitation programs. In the Supply Bills, the metaphors *pulih*, *suntik*, and *rangsang* denote treatment and rehabilitation. These treatment and rehabilitation metaphors emphasize the vocational role of the government 'GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR.' The rakyat are again reminded that they stand as weak in dire need of the doctor's judgement and performance. As a doctor, the government performs its duty by administering treatment to the poor, and to the economy.

In the Supply Bills, medical treatment includes 'injections' of funds, tax incentives and tax exemptions (money is medicine). Therapeutic treatment such as 'stimulation' therapy programs (economic stimulus programme is stimulation therapy) and several 'rehabilitation' programs (economic activity rehabilitation program is rehabilitation program) also contribute to the treatment plan presented by the government, where stimulation and rehabilitation programs mentioned in the Supply Bills aim at 'saving' businesses and ensuring "kesihatan jangka panjang system kewangan Malaysia" (long term Malaysian economic system health) (Malaysian Supply Bills 2017, para 314). Incorporating three treatment programs suggests an excellent health care provider i.e., the government, heightening the audience's trust.

In order to resolve financial crises, global and national economic downturn, and economic recession (economic crisis is disease) the government as doctor has selected 'injection' as a method with which to administer the 'fund' (money is medicine) to treat symptoms; 'losing weight' (decrease in number) of private investments, 'losing weight of' (decrease in) currency, 'losing weight' (decrease) in government's income, slow economic growth, and high inflation rate. This is evidenced through the metaphors *suntikan* (injection) and *menyuntik* (inject).

The metaphorical lexeme *suntik* appears in the Supply Bills, as a noun *suntikan* and as a verb *menyuntik*. These appear in describing funds by the government [DH70] (*Bagi merencanakan lagi akses syarikat ke pasaran modal, Kerajaan akan menambah peruntukan modal Danajamin sebanyak 400 juta ringgit dalam tempoh 2 tahun. Suntikan ini dapat melipatgandakan nilai terbitan antara 4 hingga 6 bilion ringgit* (Malaysian Supply Bill 2013, Para 49), and foreign investors [DH71] (*Baru-baru ini, sempena lawatan saya ke Arab Saudi, sebuah syarikat negara itu telah menyuntik dana sebanyak 1.5 bilion dolar Amerika* (Malaysian Supply Bill 2010, Para 32)).

Despite several available routes to introduce drugs into the human body (oral, sublingual, rectum, intravascular, intramuscular, subcutaneous and inhalation), injection was selected as a metaphor in the Supply Bills to focus on its preciseness, accurateness and almost immediate onset

of action (Verma, Thakur, Deshnakh, Jha and Verma 2010). In the bills, the fund must be directed to companies and agencies to improve the businesses and the country's economy performance. Using other metaphors such as *suap* (feed), i.e., oral route, may lead to only part of the administered fund absorbed, while the balance is lost within the digestive system that is the larger economy. The use of the metaphor *suntikan* (injection) correlates well with the mapping - economy is patient, i.e., economy is human, as only humans and animals can be injected.

In addition, the oral route is not preferred over the parenteral route (other than the mouth and alimentary canal) due to its slower rate of absorption (Verma et. al. 2010). During economic crises and slowdown (economic crisis is disease), the government must act quickly to minimize negative effects on the economy, and to stop private investment and the country's from further losing value, hence the use of *menyusut* (lose weight) (DH39: *sejak krisis kewangan Asia 1997/98. Kini, pelaburan swasta telah menyusut ketara* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010, Para 21), DH41: *Walaupun ringgit menyusut nilai* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2016, Para 26)). The government must also ensure that the economy continues to grow while maintaining low inflation. Other routes for administering drugs or medication (sublingual, rectal, urethral, topical) are dispreferred as they are slow in absorption or as they cause discomfort.

The use of *suntik* is coherent with other conceptual metaphors in the Supply Bills as MONEY IS LIQUID. *Dana* (fund) is appropriated to treat medical conditions such as losing weight (decrease in number of private investments and decrease in currency value), slow growth (economy) and high pressure (high inflation rate), it represents both liquid and medicine and connotes poverty as a disease. Therefore, it is best to pair 'fund' with the lexeme *suntik* (inject), as only aqueous medicine can be injected. The government as doctor must also calculate the correct dosage or amount of fund for patients, i.e., businesses, agencies, and investors (amount of fund is medicine dosage). As administering an overdose may be life-threatening while an underdose may be ineffective, allocating more funds than needed can corrupt and effect financial mismanagement, while less funds may become ineffective in solving monetary issues. Regarding equipment, injections can only use sterile syringes and hypodermic needles (WHO 2010), to avoid pathogens. Administration of funds must also travel through sterile channels free from financial misuse such as bribery (bribery is pathogen).

While it is important for health workers to have sound anatomy, physiology, and pharmacology knowledge and skills on good injection techniques (Bartley 2014), government officers handling the funds should be equipped with sound business and economy related knowledge and skills. As guidelines have assisted to maximise the therapeutic effects of medication, while reducing complications, injury, and discomfort resulting from injections (Bartley 2014), a guideline should be developed for the administration and management of funds. Table 6 (below) presents a map for source domain, medicine and target domain, and money.

Treatment programme	Medicine	Money
Patient	Patient	Economy, Economic activity
Type of medicine	Liquid	Money
Prescription	Medicine dosage	Fund amount

Table 6: Mapping for Source Domain, medicine and target domain, money

Stimulation therapy

In the Supply Bills, the lexeme *rangsang* (stimulate) appears ten times in describing (i) national economy, for instance in DH76: *Saya telah mengambil beberapa langkah penting bagi merangsang ekonomi negara demi menjamin kesejahteraan rakyat* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010, Para 9), (ii) domestic and private investment in DH81: *bagi merangsang pelaburan domestik dan mempercepatkan penyertaan syarikat Malaysia dalam rantaian bekalan global, Kerajaan telah menyediakan Dana Strategik Pelaburan Domestik* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2013, Para 18), and (iii) innovation in DH 83: *Kerajaan juga berhasrat untuk menubuhkan Digital Free Zone yang pertama di dunia. Ini menggabungkan zon fizikal dan maya, dengan penambahan perkhidmatan online dan digital bagi memudahkan e-dagang antarabangsa dan merangsang inovasi berteraskan internet* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2017, Para 314).

Different forms of stimulation therapy can be directed to different parts of the body to treat different diseases and symptoms (muscular fatigue, dementia, tremor, dystonia, depression). While some treatments that focuss on muscles and nerves may use electrical impulses (Kadosh 2014; Castillo-Lozano 2015), those aiming at restoring cognitive functions often use guided, themed group-activities (Ballard and Corbett and Khan 2014; Piras et al. 2017).

In the data, seven of ten instances of the lexeme *rangsang* address the economy and economic stimulus package. The Pakej Rangsangan Ekonomi or 'economic stimulus package' aims to increase the amount of domestic investment, strong purchasing power among the people, and to decrease unemployment (Pakej Rangsangan Ekonomi, n.d). This economy stimulus package aims at reducing the symptoms of global economic crises (economic crisis is a disease). By increasing the amount of domestic investment, the government as doctor is helping the investment sector to gain weight. The investment sector must gain weight as a decrease in investment is a symptom of economic downturn.

The government must ensure that the rakyat has strong purchasing power, i.e., free from poverty as a disease. Strong purchasing power correlates with higher consumer sentiment index. When the consumer sentiment index is up, the stock market is also positive, and vice versa. A high consumer sentiment index signifies that the economy is healthy, as consumer sentiment index is a health indicator. To ensure that the rakyat has strong purchasing power, the government must

ensure that unemployment decreases. Higher unemployment leads to higher inflation (Labonte 2011), as a symptom of a sick economy (inflation rate is blood pressure and high inflation rate is hypertension). When inflation is high, the rakyat's purchasing power is lowered.

Similar to a deep brain neurostimulator used to treat psychological depression, Najib Razak stresses that the economic stimulus packages in 2009 impeded the adverse effects of the 2008-2009 global economic depression from affecting Malaysians and the national economy (Rusli, Ngah and Faisal 2017). I infer that the deep brain neurostimulator is the *pakej rangsangan ekonomi* while the Malaysian economy is the diseased nerve, and the adverse effect of the economic downturn is the major depression (clinical depression).

I note that stimulation therapy is helpful in treating and preventing individuals and the economy from depression (Nordqvist 2016). Just as electrical stimulation therapy must be administered at the right voltage to avoid damage to the body (Azman and Azman 2017), the Senior Vice President and Chief Economist World Bank notes in his speech that the International Monetary Fund suggested a balanced stimulus of 2 percent of exactly Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Lin 2009). Applebaum, Baker and Schmitt (2008), however propose a fiscal stimulus package equal to 1 percent GDP. Through its two stimulus packages amounting to 9.9% of GDP, Malaysia's economy continued to grow positively in 2009 (Bank Negara Malaysia 2009). From the above, I conclude that fiscal policy signifies electrical voltage.

In conclusion, stimulation therapy (economic stimulation package is stimulation therapy) is effective in ensuring that the national economy remains active, strong, grow steadily and stay out of depression (Rusli, Ngah, Faisal, 2017). This fact further enhances the vocational role played the government as a doctor, and the relational roles it constructed for the rakyat as patients and newborns. Table 7 summarizes the economic stimulation package, stimulation therapy, and other inferences.

Treatment Programme	Deep brain neurostimulator	Pakej rangsangan ekonomi
Patient	Patient	Economy, Economic activity
Diseased part	Diseased nerve	Non-performing Malaysian economy
Treatment	Electrical voltage	Fiscal policy

Table 7: Economic stimulation package, stimulation therapy, and other inferences

Rehabilitation programme

Pemulihan (healing) is synonymous with *sembuh* (recovered), *sihat* (healthy), and *afiat* (healthy). In the data, *pemulihan* describes an abandoned housing project rather than human's health, and is hence metaphorical: (DH65: *Ketiga: Kontraktor penyelamat diberi pengecualian duti setem ke atas*

semua jenis surat cara yang disempurnakan bagi tujuan pindah milik tanah atau rumah dan surat cara pinjaman bagi membiayai kos pemulihan (Malaysian Supply bill 2013, Para 134)), (DH68: Memperuntukkan 40 juta ringgit di bawah KPKT, bagi pemulihan projek perumahan swasta terbengkalai (Malaysian Supply Bill 2016, Para 155)), (DH69: ... melalui Program Pemulihan Rumah Terbengkalai, Kerajaan berjaya memulihkan dan mendapat Sijil Layak Menduduki (CF) bagi 82 projek yang melibatkan lebih 15,000 unit rumah (Malaysian Supply Bill 2012, Para 82).

As abandoned housing projects have been framed as patients suffering from global economic recession, the Asian financial crisis and a global economic downturn, the Program Pemulihan Rumah Terbengkalai (abandoned housing project healing (rehabilitation) program) is inferred to be a step by the government as doctor to heal, treat and improve the well-being of its patient – the abandoned housing projects. Since both the healing process of abandoned housing projects and ‘rehabilitation’ focus on “restoration especially by therapeutic means to an improved condition of physical function’ (Merriam Webster Online Dictionary), it is not surprising that ‘rehabilitation program’ is the widely accepted equivalent in the English version of the Supply Bills for Program Pemulihan Rumah Terbengkalai. The program ‘pemulihan rumah terbengkalai’ (abandoned housing project rehabilitation program) is therefore presented as a treatment.

Rehabilitation is preferred over other metaphors as it reflects the situation. Hanssen and Lindqvist (2003) note that rehabilitation focusses on bodily functions and repair, where patients regain functionality, after experiencing physical impairment that inhibits them from functioning. An abandoned housing project rehabilitation programme aims not only to complete the project but also to ensure that the houses can serve their intended function which is to be occupied (Abdul-Rahman, Alashwal and Abdullah 2016). As rehabilitation includes drug treatment (WHO 2011), in the Supply Bills, the government funds the abandoned housing project. For example, between 2009 and 2017, the government allocated RM250 million to rehabilitate 188 abandoned housing projects (Bernama 2017). This aligns with the aforementioned concept – money is medicine.

While the government enacts the role of doctor, or more specifically physiatrist, in the rhetoric, I infer that the newly appointed contractors and developers act as physical therapists or physiotherapists toward the patient – the abandoned housing projects. As physiatrist, the government manages the diagnosis and prescribes therapy (Lee 2011). The execution of the treatment and therapy are performed by the physical therapist - the contractors. Similar to clinical graduates of physical therapy, the contractors must obtain a license before commencing their practice (American Physical Therapy Association, n.d and Lembaga Pembangunan Industri Pembinaan Malaysia Act 1994).

Since “physical therapists are leaders in rehabilitative services that allow individuals with injury, disease or chronic health conditions, impairments in body functions and systems, activity limitations, and participation restrictions (disabilities) to return to productive lives” (American

Physical Therapy Association, n.d, p.1), the newly appointed contractors repair and continue building the diseased unfinished houses, to receive a Certificate of Completion and Compliance (CCC). Although CCC was ratified on April 12, 2007 (Cheong 2007), the 2012 Malaysian Supply Bill continued to quote the old term 'CF' (Certificate of Fitness), to create intra-textual coherence (aesthetic purpose) as the metaphors *memulihkan* (healed) and *Program Pemulihan* (rehabilitation program) also appeared in the sentence [DH 38] *melalui Program Pemulihan Rumah Terbengkalai, Kerajaan berjaya memulihkan dan mendapat Sijil Layak Menduduki (CF) bagi 82 projek yang melibatkan lebih 15,000 unit rumah* (Malaysian Supply Bill 2012, Para 82). Therefore, I infer that revived housing projects as healthy individuals. Since not all patients who have undergone rehabilitation heal (81% success rate as reported by Hardison and Roll (2017)), the government as physiatrist also cannot guarantee that all abandoned housing projects withing Abandoned Housing Project Rehabilitation Programs are completed successfully (Khalid 2010).

Elements of the Mapping	(Source Domain)	(Target domain)
Treatment programme	Rehabilitation Program	Program Pemulihan Rumah Terbengkalai (Restoration Programme)
Cause	Accidents, injuries, abnormalities	Economic recession, financial crisis, economic downturn
Aim	To improve physical function of the limbs and other bodily parts	To improve physical function of the building (the building can be occupied)
Medical personnels	Physiatrist	Government
	Physical therapist	Newly appointed contractor
Health state	Healthy individual	Revived housing project Certificate of Fitness (CF) or Certificate of Completion and Compliance (CCC)
Elements of the Mapping	(Source Domain)	(Target domain)

Table 8: Mappings of source domain, the rehabilitation program, target domain

The above metaphors serve many purposes, i.e., heuristic, aesthetic, and mythic. Apart from facilitating understandings of abstract concepts, these metaphors amplify the government's role as doctor, healer, and physiatrist. The myth is further extended by using disease, symptom, and treatment metaphors.

To conclude, the Malaysian government as doctor-healer subjected the ill Malaysian economy to a comprehensive treatment plan consisting of medical treatment, stimulation therapy, and a rehabilitation program. The treatment plan sought to develop the economy. Table 8 below summarizes the mappings between source domain, the rehabilitation program, target domain, and the economic activity rehabilitation program.

Causes and Prevention

Among the factors contributing to diseases are genetic mutations, chemical injury, physical injury, electrical discharge, radiation, immune deficiencies, infectious agents, fungi, and parasites. In the data, I observe that economic downturn (economic crisis is disease) may possibly emerge from pathogens – bribery and poverty as pathogens.

The pathogens bribery and poverty appear by using *basmi* (eradicate, disinfect). While 'eradicate' is highly collocated with 'disease' (*penyakit*) and 'epidemic' (*wabak*), 'disinfect' collocates strongly with pathogens, i.e germs and bacteria. In the rhetoric, *basmi* does not only appear metaphorically with reference to disease, but also their causes (bribery and poverty are pathogens). In the current context, *basmi* is taken as 'disinfect.'

Nine out ten instances of metaphors of *basmi* collocate with the word *kemiskinan* (poverty). For example, in DH86: *Fokus utamanya adalah untuk membasmi kemiskinan tegar serta meningkatkan tarafsosioekonomi umat Islam* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010, Para 126). The remaining one instance – DH95, collocates *basmi* with *rasuah* (bribery) (*Pastinya, Kerajaan terus komited untuk membasmi gejala rasuah. Bagi tahun 2013, sebanyak 276 juta ringgit akan diperuntukkan kepada SPRM bagi membanteras rasuah* (Malaysian Supply Bill 2013, Para 101).

As pathogens that contribute to diseases occur as bacteria, viruses, fungi, and protozoa, I present that social pathogens can also be various, owing to the fact that more than half of the data taken from Korpus Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka shows *basmi* as collocating with *kuman* and *bakteria* (germs and bacteria).

Bribery and poverty are treated as pathogens that motivate the development of economic related diseases. Bribery leads to economic problems as economic growth may be stunted through unequal opportunity given to businesses when securing tenders and businesses deals. With unequal opportunity, only a limited number of businesses will grow, thus reducing the number of individuals who own purchasing power. With a small number of economically opportuned individuals, the consumer sentiment index is lowered, affecting national economic development performance. Similarly, poverty is considered as a pathogen as it stunts business development. As stunting is a symptom of diseased business and economy, I infer that the economy is infected by poverty, the pathogen. Projects such as housing are abandoned through insufficient funds

(poverty). Either the company does not have enough funds to complete projects, or the project does not sell. Both situations can be strengthened by the government through antibiotic or medicine injections (money is medicine).

As both germs and bacteria must be destroyed with correct medication prescribed by healthcare providers, bribery and poverty can also only be controlled by the government through several measures - programs and policies such as 'Program Pembasmian Kemiskinan Bandar' (the Urban Poverty Eradication (disinfectant) Program) and preventive action such as Akta Suruhanjaya Pencegahan Rasuah Malaysia 2009 (the Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission Act 2009).

Apart from the measures introduced by the government, the rakyat can also prevent the spread of these pathogens by practising good hygiene. This is an interesting fact as someone who does not receive nor bribe others is metaphorically labelled in Malaysia as 'a clean man.' The rakyat labelled former fifth Prime Minister of Malaysia, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, fighting against corruption, as 'Mr. Clean' (Wai 2003). I thus infer that those infected are no longer clean (infected person is dirty). As water is a cleaning agent, and as money is required to clean a country from poverty, money is presented in the Supply Bills as water (MONEY IS WATER). Once poverty as pathogen has been washed away by money, water, the patients (economy, trading, abandoned housing projects, entrepreneurs and rakyat in general) will have money to spend. During an increase in the consumer sentiment index, the economy is active and thus healthy.

Such notions are significant in facilitating public understanding on the deadly effects that bribery and poverty have on national economy. The use of such metaphors does not only serve an empathetic purpose of arousing fear in the rakyat, but also contributes significantly to the aesthetic of the rhetoric as it summons intra- and inter-textual coherence. As metaphors help frame the issues in intelligible ways, the government has an important role in this myth (GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR-HEALER) and further strengthens and legitimizes these. Table 9 presents a map among causes, diseases, treatment, and preventions.

Elements of the Mapping	(Source Domain)	(Target domain)
Cause of disease	Pathogen	Bribery and poverty
Disease	Disease	Economic crisis Abandoned economic activities and projects
Treatment	Medicine	Various programs and policies
Prevention	Water (Practice good hygiene)	Money

Table 9 Mapping between causes, disease, treatment and preventions and other inferences

Active Economy as Healthy Individual

Apart from being presented as pre-term, ill-newborn, or sick individuals, the government also constructs a relational identity between the economy and economic activities and health. This state of health predominantly related to the stock market, trading, investment, capital, and equity markets. Through the use of the metaphor *mencergaskan* (cause activity, invigorate), the government constructs bulds notions of a healthy economy and economic activity.

In order for a country or global economy to be considered healthy, an active stock market is required ([DH29] Selain itu, langkah liberalisasi dan pemodenan pasaran modal akan terus dilaksanakan untuk sentiasa mencergaskan aktiviti pasaran saham (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010, Para 73)), ([DH30] Mencergaskan Pasaran Saham (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010, Para 77), active construction sector),([DH31] *Prestasi yang baik ini disokong oleh kecergasan sektor pembinaan yang berkembang 2.8 peratus* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010, Para 15)), ([DH32] *sememangnya langkah ini turut mencergaskan industri berkaitan bahan binaan dan merencanakan sektor perkhidmatan* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2010, Para 49)), an active capital market ([DH34] *Mencergaskan Pasaran Modal dan Kewangan* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2013, Para 38), and, an active equity market ([DH36] *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* (Malaysian Supply Bill, 2013, Para 41)).

This mapping – ‘active economy as healthy individual’ serves three main rhetorical purposes; predicative purpose, aesthetic purpose, and mythic purpose. Although the government has framed both the rakyat and economy as patients and pre-term or ill-newborns, it is important for the government to highlight the well-being of the national economy. The placement of the national economy in a negative light of appearing as a patient presents itself as an incompetent doctor, not able to treat the ill. To avoid such negative evaluation on the government and its policies, the government assign the economy and economic activities different relational roles, between patient and healthy individual. This has resulted in a symbiosis-like relationship, i.e., a sick economy needs a doctor (the government) in order to recoer, and the doctor (the government) is responsible for maintaining the health of a national economy. By employing the conceptual metaphor *cergas* (active), the government has choreographed a coherent discourse that contributes to the beauty of the myth it is creating – the rakyat are weak and diseased, while the government as doctor is the only entity in a political stance disposition through which to raise the sick from this difficulty.

Conclusion

The government has presented itself conceptually, playing several vocational roles such as doctor, healer, and psychiatrist. While young entrepreneurs are framed as pre-term or ill newborns, the economy, economic activities, and rakyat, have been relationally assigned identities of a patient.

Conceptualizing itself as GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR, and GOVERNMENT IS HEALER assists the government to gain the audience's attention and establish trust. These metaphors also serve a predicative purpose. Associating the government with the positive attributes and characteristics of a doctor, healer, and psychiatrist assists to legitimize the ruling political party and its policies in the Malaysian political scenario. The predicative use of metaphors is significant in presenting the politicians as having just intentions (Charteris-Black 2011).

Patients	Disease	Spectrum of Disease				
		Exposure (Cause)	Pathological changes and Symptoms	Treatment and Management	Recovery	Death
Rakyat is patient	Poverty is disease	Poverty is pathogen Bribery is pathogen	Inflation is blood pressure Inactive economic activity is fatigue	Money is medicine	Rakyat with money is healthy individual	Bankruptcy is death
Economy is patient	Economic crisis is disease			Money is medicine	Active economy is healthy individual	
Economic activity is patient				Economic Stimulus Programme is Stimulation Therapy	Active economic activity is healthy individual	
New entrepreneur is premature/ill newborn				Business incubator program is infant incubator	Successful entrepreneurs is healthy baby	

Table 10: Summary of relational identities

To discuss the problems and challenges faced by young entrepreneurs, the economy, economic activities, and the rakyat, the government appropriates disease and treatment metaphors. The rakyat are relationally ascribed with the identities of patients and premature or ill newborns. These metaphors do not only facilitate the audience's understanding of abstract concepts by framing these through relatable human experience, such as falling ill and being treated (heuristic purpose), but also serves an aesthetic purpose. The use of metaphors constitutes a delicate way of suggesting that the rakyat is not at fault for its own weak condition, a metaphor which operates effectively owing to the fact that people relinquish agency for their own downfall and mishaps, and hence, this becomes a form of 'sugar coating.'

The disease and treatment metaphors create a coherent discourse. These well orchestrated metaphors created a political myth. The conceptual metaphor, GOVERNMENT IS DOCTOR is not unique to the Malaysian government under the administration of Najib Razak, but was also prevalent during the administration of the fourth Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir Mohammed, and amongst others, 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, and Barrack Obama (Xu 2010) and Donald Trump (Egama 2016). Both the vocational roles and relational identities constructed by the Malaysian government for itself, and the rakyat, instil in people ideologies suggesting that the rakyat needs the government, and not vice-versa. Table 10 below summarises the relational identities constructed by the government for the rakyat and others in the Supply Bills.

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