

Encouraging Local Unity and Regional Solidarity: A Cross-audience Metaphor Analysis of Dr. Mahathir's Business Speeches

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ABSTRACT

Metaphors are one of the most common discourse tools used by orators as a communication strategy to persuade, communicate with, and convey their ideologies to their audience. This power of metaphor comes from its ability to create a clear and vivid picture of a concept or a topic in the audience's mind making the audience perceive that concept or topic as the orator wants them to. Thus the usage of metaphors seems to be bound to the audience in the first place. Hence, drawing upon Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis Approach, this study analyzed 10 national and 15 international business speeches delivered by Dr. Mahathir Mohamad in the year 2000 in order to understand how 'economic development' as the main topic in both speech types was represented by metaphors across national and international audience. The findings revealed a significant relationship between the used metaphors and the addressed audience: metaphors of War, Unfair Game, and Miracle were used in international speeches to portray the economic gap between the developed and developing countries and to call for unity and solidarity among Southeast Asian countries; while metaphors of Plant, Cake/Pie, and Music were used in national speeches to call for Malaysians' patience, trust in the government's policies, and national harmony promising economic prosperity in return.

Keywords: Metaphors, business speeches, audience, Dr. Mahathir Mohammad

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, the former Prime Minister of Malaysia (1981-2003), was one of the world's controversial leaders in his time not only for his economic policies but also for his discourse type. While almost everybody agrees on Dr. Mahathir's impressive economic achievements transforming Malaysia into one of the modernized and industrialized nations in the region, there are different attitudes on his discourse type. Some describe his discourse as outspoken, while others criticize it as aggressive; and even some assign his political and economic achievements to his discourse type. Hence considering Dr. Mahathir's achievements and his controversial discourse type, research on his discourse – especially metaphor as a rather new field in discourse studies – is quite scarce. Hence this study was motivated to bridge the felt gap in the literature on Dr. Mahathir's discourse as well as to contribute to the literature on metaphor in political business discourse.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Political Speeches

While discourse analysis focuses on various types of discourse (political, academic, and technical) as well as various forms of discourse (oral, written, formal, and informal), one of the most studied discourse types in recent years has been political leaders' speeches (Ghazali, 2004; Mio *et al.*, 2005; Lu and Ahrens, 2008). The importance of political leaders' discourse – presidents and prime ministers – is due to their important voices as the highest decision-making powers in their countries. In fact, it is by studying political leaders' discourse that we can have a better understanding of the reasons for their success or failure against opposite ideologies and powers. Furthermore, studies on political leaders' discourse provide us with a rich source of information regarding public opinion, cultural background and social values in a society, as well as the ideal image of a political leader in a country. From among different types of discourse, speeches are considered as one of the most influential discourse types because of their wide range of potential audience as well as their fast spread, both of which are due to the wide coverage of the mass media in today's world. Political speech is defined as a “relatively autonomous discourse produced orally by a politician in front of an audience the purpose of which is primarily persuasion rather than information or entertainment” (Dedaić, 2006:700). Duranti (2006) also argues that the ultimate goal of a political speech is to persuade ‘the audience’ to provide their whole-hearted and unconditional support of the speaker. Thus, it can be said that the main purpose of a political speech is basically to convince the audience that the orator's opinions are reasonable, and to persuade the audience to accept the orator's proposal(s). Every speech is designed with a specific audience in mind, including their potentially differing views from that of the speaker. In fact a political speech is a well-thought carefully-worded piece of writing presented in front of an audience with the main purpose of persuasion. Another purpose of political discourse, in general, and thus political speeches, in particular, is ‘image-making’. As Simon-Vandenberg (1996:390) states a desirable image from a politician's point of view is one which includes features such as ‘knowledgeability, honesty, trustworthiness, accountability, sense of purpose and humaneness’. Needless to say that not only politicians try to create a desirable and positive self-image, but they also try to create a negative image of their opponents, opposite ideologies, or rivals. Van Dijk (2006:734) calls this image-building function of political discourse ‘ideological square’ defined as “emphasizing our good things, emphasizing their bad things, de-emphasizing our bad things, and de-emphasizing their good things”.

2.2 Ideology and Power

Every speech or text is produced with a set of predetermined ideologies and power relations, which are mostly unclear at surface and require more in-depth analysis. Hence, one of the missions of discourse studies has been defined as identifying the ideologies behind text (Fairclough, 1992; Wodak *et al.*, 1999; Charteris-Black, 2004). Ideology can be generally defined as “a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or values” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009), or “a set of beliefs, perceptions, assumptions, and values that provide members of a group with an understanding and explanation of their world” (Beard, 2005:118). Mullins (1972) lists four characteristics for ideology: (1) power is more important than cognitions, (2) ideologies, they are capable of guiding individuals' evaluations, (3) they provide guidance through action, and (4) they must be logically coherent.

Ideologies not only have general social functions but also more specifically political functions in the field of politics, which Van Dijk (2006) calls ‘political ideologies’. For instance, socialism is more obviously a political ideology than a teacher's professional ideology in the field of education. Thus, one way of classifying ideologies – as well as discourses – is by the specific social field in which they function. That is, we have political, educational, legal, and religious ideologies, among others (Van Dijk, 2006). It is in fact political ideology that interests CDA studies on political discourse. Wodak and Meyer (2009:8) mention two features for political ideologies. Firstly, political ideologies are more ‘the hidden and latent type’ rather than the ideologies on the surface. Secondly, political ideologies represent struggle between opposite (dominant and/or dominated) ideologies and powers. In this sense, each party depends on ‘discourse’ as a powerful means of communication to publicize their own ideologies, challenge the opposite ideologies, and influence their society's or community's ideologies.

The second central concept in political discourse studies is power that is why the language of those in power in a society or community is of the most interest to discourse analysts and researchers. In fact they look for the way discourse is used to bring about social domination, or in other words – as mentioned above – the challenges between those in power and those who resist this domination for they believe that those in power are abusing this power (Van Dijk, 2009). Power is a systematic element of society and text is considered as a manifestation of social action determined by social structure. Power does not necessarily derive from language but language can be used to challenge power, subvert it, or alter the distribution of power for long or short term because language provides a finely articulated vehicle for establishing differences in power in hierarchical social structure (Wodak and Meyer, 2009).

The traditional notion of power is different from the modern notion of power. While in the past, power was achieved by forcing people to accept an ideology, Ghazali (2004) defines modern power as the ability to influence and control people not by force but by mind management. This mind management occurs through the use of discourse to influence, convince, and persuade people. In this sense, power controls the social beliefs, attitudes and behaviors of people of a certain society. Politicians have always been looking for power. Thus politics is all about winning power over opposite ideologies, and discourse is the main tool in the hand of politicians to achieve this power. Thus politicians turn to powerful discourse. Some of the powerful linguistic devices are: metaphors, pronouns, modality, and vocabulary choice.

2.3 Metaphors

During the last two decades, metaphor has been increasingly used as one of the popular discourse features to identify the ideological stance and power relations underlying political discourse. This seems to be due to the popularity of metaphor in political discourse and the significant roles that have been assigned to it. For instance, Mio *et al.* (2005) in a study on 36 presidents (17 of high charisma and 19 of low charisma) conclude that one of the features of charismatic presidents is that they used twice as many metaphors as non-charismatic presidents to inspire their audience/followers. They refer to some of the most memorable and inspirational political speeches of the past century, including Martin Luther King Jr.'s 'I have a dream' speech, Winston Churchill's 'Iron curtain' speech, and George H. W. Bush's 'Thousand points of light', all of which were built on metaphors and designed to inspire followers (2005:288). Furthermore, Santibáñez (2010:974) lists some other roles of metaphorical expressions in political contexts such as "to catch the attention of the audience, to describe a political situation, to attack the opponent, and to clarify or evade an issue". In the same line, another identified common role of metaphor is creating self vs. other image. For instance, Sandikcioglu (2000) investigated metaphors from the Time and Newsweek magazines from around the period of the 1991 Gulf War, and argued that they demonstrated a world polarized into 'the Orient vs. the West, Us vs. Them' (Sandikcioglu, 2000:300). Chiang and Duann (2007) also in a study on three newspapers discussed how metaphors are used to construct ideological self vs. other image. Another common image-building function of metaphors is portraying the role of government and that of the people or Government vs. Public image. As Kennedy (2000:255-256) states metaphors such as 'politics is a theater' encourage people to have a passive and active role simultaneously: "passive in the sense of watching from the sidelines as engaged actors make the real decisions, but active in the limited sense of participating in the process of government by supporting the decisions of that government". Similarly, Hobbs (2008:36) states that "metaphors that equate politics or war with a game reduce citizens to spectators whose role is limited to cheering the team to victory". As De Leonardis (2008:39) argues, Medical metaphors put the government at a high position to cure the economic and social diseases; and the people are only expected to trust the government's policies and submit to them and avoid criticizing the government for they lack the sufficient knowledge and skills.

As explained above, it seems that the use of metaphors influences the audience's perception of a concept and thus their decision-making. In an interesting study, Morris *et al.* (2007) compared how two metaphors used for stock market trends would influence the audience's perception. In this study, a group of participants was exposed to metaphors such as 'climbed up' that compared stock market to a living agent; while the other group of participants was exposed to non-living metaphors such as 'swept up'. The former group reasoned that since living things move with intention toward destinations, thus those stock market trends would continue along their current trajectory the following day, whereas the latter group did not make this inference.

While common roles of metaphors have been the focus of some studies, their cultural aspects have been the focus of some others. For instance, Charteris-Black (2004) conveyed a vast study on the metaphor 'Building' in various British and American political discourses. He states that the metaphor 'Building' in the Western political culture highlights 'progress towards long-

term social goals', and has a strong positive connotation, and calls for patience and cooperation (Charteris-Black, 2004:71). However, Lu and Ahrens (2008) in a study compared 'Building' metaphor in the political speeches of Taiwanese presidents holding two opposite ideologies regarding joining China or being independent. They found out that the meaning of this metaphor was different from the findings in Charteris-Black's study. In American and British societies the metaphor 'Building' refers to 'country's construction', which is 'understood as something to be carried out in the future' and requires contribution of people and political leaders as the 'builders'. Whereas, in Taiwan this metaphor refers to the country's Chinese history and past glory; and thus is used more by Chinese Nationalist Party and is tried to be avoided by anti-Chinese Party (Lu and Ahrens, 2008).

Besides common roles of metaphors and their cultural aspects, identifying common metaphor domains and the ideological stances behind them have also been the focus of some research on political speeches. For instance, Sport/Game and War metaphors have been identified as two of the dominant metaphor domains in political speeches (Howe, 1988; Steinert, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2004; Hobbs, 2008). In this regard Charteris-Black (2004:125-126) provides a comprehensive comparison of Sport and War: regardless of their differences "both involve control of territory; both involve gains and losses (i.e. numbers killed or injured in war and numbers of goals or points scored in sport); success in both requires strength and team spirit; and they both require extensive training". Thus some of the ideological stances behind War and Sport metaphors are the importance of team spirit, unity, and cooperation among members, as well as taking immediate action against challenges. However, in this sense, War metaphors seem to be more intense than Sport/Game metaphors; and thus convey more severe damages and as a result require more urgent actions (Steinert, 2003).

Finally, the usage of metaphors can be event- or history-related that is as a result of political or social changes in a country, new metaphors might be created and used. For instance, according to Wee (2001) the particular metaphor of 'marriage' has been used in Malaysia-Singapore relationship and possible re-merger of the two countries only after the separation of Singapore from Malaysia. As Wee (2001) argues there is no metaphorical marriage in the first place if there is no metaphorical divorce. Then he explains how this metaphor has been manipulated by politicians. In every marriage and divorce there are husband and wife roles (with husband having a more dominant and powerful role). While Singapore has been treated as the metaphorical wife by Malaysian politicians to refer to their more powerful status, a Singaporean politician has taken advantage of this metaphor to assign the responsibility of separation between the two countries to Malaysia (Wee, 2001).

2.4 Dr. Mahathir

David and Dumanig (2011) studied Dr. Mahathir's public speeches (1982-2007) on unity among diverse ethnic groups in Malaysia. The findings reveal that the main goal behind Dr. Mahathir's discourse was to create a sense of oneness and a sense of nationhood among the various ethnic groups in the country. The findings also reveal that Dr. Mahathir used different discourse strategies to encourage national unity, one of which was using the inclusive pronoun 'We' to refer to all ethnic groups when talking about success to show that the success of the country belongs to all.

Ghazali (2004) in another study on Dr. Mahathir's speeches at UMNO General Assembly from 1982-1996 identifies different discourse strategies used by Dr. Mahathir for various purposes. Firstly, Dr. Mahathir used non-technical terms in the section of economy to communicate with the audience in the 1980s. However, as the audience members became more sophisticated in the 1990s, his discourse changed too and he used more technical terms. Secondly, Dr. Mahathir used euphemism in the 1980s when he dealt with the issue of bribery. However, his speech became more direct in the 1990s, which might be an indicative of his strengthened position. Thirdly, Dr. Mahathir used shared values and attitudes with the audience in order to create solidarity with them and motivating them to adopt his attitudes and values. Lastly, Dr. Mahathir tried to create solidarity with both Muslim Malays and non-Muslim communities by reassuring them of their statuses in the country.

Haque and Hassan Khan (2004) in a study on Dr. Mahathir's speeches on Muslim identity reveal that in addition to setting the foundation for Muslim identity against the West negative idea of Muslims, Dr. Mahathir has also been outspoken and bold enough to point out the weaknesses of the Muslim communities of the world.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

This study was a critical metaphor analysis of Dr. Mahathir's metaphors in his business speeches (10 national and 15 international) in the year 2000 to understand how differently 'economic development' as the main topic in both speech types was represented by metaphors across national and international audience, and the reason for this difference.

In order to understand 'how' and 'why' Dr. Mahathir's metaphors were different across national and international audience while presenting the same topic, we drew upon Charteris-Black's (2004) three-layer Critical Metaphor Analysis Approach: metaphor identification, interpretation, and explanation. Metaphor identification was used to answer 'how' Dr. Mahathir's metaphors were different across national and international audience, while the reason for this difference was answered through metaphor interpretation and explanation.

Metaphor identification was performed by two raters. Prior to metaphor identification a session was attended by both raters and the ideal and dead metaphors were discussed. For instance, the metaphor 'warm welcome' that is commonly used at the beginning of most speeches as a friendly greeting does not seem to reflect any special ideologies. Hence it was considered as a language habit or dead metaphor and was excluded from the findings.

At metaphor interpretation, firstly conceptual metaphors were identified by grouping the identified candidate metaphors. Then, metaphors' purposes were determined based on the existing discourse features in the speeches such as pronouns, adjectives, and modalities. Finally, at metaphor explanation, the ideologies and power relations behind the metaphors were identified by referring to Dr. Mahathir's policies and the historical context of the speeches to justify metaphor uses across the audience.

4.0 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

After a close reading of 25 of Dr. Mahathir's speeches (a corpus of 60079 words) delivered in English in the year 2000, a total of 349 metaphors (109 metaphors for national and 240 metaphors for international speeches) were identified, with 'economic development' as the main metaphor topic across both national and international speeches.

4.1 Economic Development

The most frequent metaphor topic across Dr. Mahathir's both national and international speeches was 'economic development'. This finding suggests that 'economic development' was probably Dr. Mahathir's main ambition and top priority in the year 2000 as the year under this study. Economic development was portrayed by a variety of metaphors in national and international speeches, some of which were rather identical across national and international speeches such as 'Journey, Building, Climbing, and Machine' metaphors; while others were more specifically used in one speech type. For instance, 'Music, Plant, and Cake' metaphors were mainly used to address the national audience (Malaysian people and local businesses), while 'War, Unfair Game, and Miracle' metaphors were especially used to address the international audience (Asian and Southeast Asian countries). The complete list of the identified metaphorical expressions in the six metaphor domains of 'War, Unfair Game, and Miracle' (used in international speeches) as well as 'Music, Plant, and Cake' (used in national speeches) is given in Appendix A.

Tables 1 and 2 respectively present a summary of the metaphor domains in national speeches, and in international speeches.

Table 1 Metaphor domains in national speeches

Domain	Conceptual metaphor	Metaphorical keywords × Frequency
Plant	Economy is a plant	(reap maximum benefit; reap×2); (nurture); (upward growth×2); (budding); (flowers); (bloom); (fruits); (deeply rooted)
Cake	Economy is a cake	(economic cake×2; a piece of cake); (economic pie×2; apple pie); (recipe); (ingredients)
Music	Society is music	(set the tone); (struck a responsive chord in the hearts and minds of Malaysians)

As can be seen, Table 1 illustrates the three metaphor domains of ‘Cake, Plant, and Music’ used in national speeches, together with their identified conceptual metaphors, and their respective metaphorical keywords and frequencies. As Table 2 illustrates, the most frequent metaphor domain was Plant Domain with 10 metaphorical expressions (Appendix A) composed of 11 metaphorical keywords of 8 types. The second most frequent metaphor domain was Cake Domain with 7 metaphorical expressions (Appendix A) composed of 8 metaphorical keywords of 4 types; followed by Music Domain with 2 metaphorical expressions (Appendix A) composed of 2 metaphorical keywords of 2 types.

Table 2 Metaphor domains in international speeches

Domain	Conceptual metaphor	Metaphorical keywords × Frequency
War	Economic development is a war	(parade); (lay down weapons; oil weapon; weapon×3); (off guard); (combat); (armed to the teeth); (fight tooth and nail; fight against); (will soon fall flat on our faces and have it rubbed in the mud); (bring to heel); (bring a nation down on its knees; bring people to their knees); (ganging up; ganged up on us); (bullied); (economy was shot to pieces); (the barrel of a gun); (global battlefield); (a borderless world means nowhere to hide, no place to seek protection); (attack); (007)
Unfair Game	Economic development is an unfair game	(free play); (they just pull out); (a zero-sum game×2; a dangerous game; a minus-sum game; game); (on a level playing field×2; playing field is not even level); (market players; players) (cards)
Miracle	Economic development is a miracle	(miracle×4)

As can be seen, Table 2 illustrates the three metaphor domains of ‘War, Unfair Game, and Miracle’ used in international speeches, together with their identified conceptual metaphors, and their respective metaphorical keywords and frequencies. As Table 1 illustrates, the most frequent metaphor domain was War Domain with 23 metaphorical expressions (Appendix A) composed of 24 metaphorical keywords of 17 types. The second most frequent metaphor domain in international speech was Unfair Game Domain with 12 metaphorical expressions (Appendix A) composed of 13 metaphorical keywords of 6 types; followed by Miracle Domain with 2 metaphorical expressions (Appendix A) composed of 4 metaphorical keywords of the same type ‘miracle’.

4.2 Metaphors Addressed to the National Audience

Plant metaphors were the most frequently used metaphors in the national speeches. This metaphor implies an upward slow-paced process calling for Malaysians’ patience. A plant also needs a gardener/farmer to nurture it and to protect it from dangers at all times, even if it is strong and sturdy. Hence this metaphor implies an image of the government as a *responsible* and *accountable* authority (Simon-Vandenberg, 1996) persuading Malaysians to trust in and cooperate with the government’s policies. Furthermore, plants are living organisms characterized by slow yet continuous upward growth (Morris *et al.*, 2007). Thus, it seems that this metaphor has a reassuring tone for those who are worried about the slow pace of economic development and might be questioning the government’s economic policies. Finally, Plant metaphors imply fruits (benefits) promising Malaysians that they will be rewarded (by economic achievements) for their patience, cooperation with, and trust in the government’s policies. Nevertheless, Dr. Mahathir states “we should not rest on our laurels” to indicate that economic fruits are not everlasting persuading local businesses to expand their businesses for further economic achievements.

Cake/Pie metaphors represent feast, celebration, prosperity and at the same time fair treatment, as by expending economic development everyone will get a bigger share of the economic pie/cake. Hence, Cake/Pie metaphor is mainly used as an incentive to encourage Malaysians to cooperate with, and trust in the government’s policies. Dr. Mahathir states: “New Economic Policy (NEP) ensures that Bumiputeras enjoy their fair share of the economic pie” and in another speech he mentions: “New Economic Policy is a policy to restructure the economy so as to give the Malays and other Bumiputeras a fair share of the economic cake”. Furthermore, a cake/pie needs the right recipe implying that the government’s policies are the right recipe. Thus, cake/pie metaphors provide an image of the government as a *fair* and *trustworthy* authority (Simon-Vandenberg, 1996).

Music metaphors refer to harmony in society. As Dr. Mahathir mentions Malaysia is a multiracial country with different races controlling different sectors; hence lack of harmony among different races and sectors results in chaos and causes negative economic consequences. Hence, music metaphors strongly convey the ideology of requiring a harmonious society to achieve

economic development. Furthermore, as Dr. Mahathir mentions in Malaysia politicians set the tone in terms of the race relations that again emphasizes the necessity of the right leadership.

4.3 Metaphors Addressed to the International Audience

Miracle metaphors refer to an impossible action or a very difficult issue. Miracle metaphors refer to the economic gap between the West and the East (Sandikcioglu, 2000) and the improbability to transcend this gap. Dr. Mahathir refers to the story of Prophet Moses' miracle of parting the Red Sea, and compares it with the West-Asia gap. He argues that in order to transcend this gap, the West needs to assist the Asian poor countries to achieve economic development; however he is not very optimistic and believes that this is like a miracle. While this metaphor invites Asian countries in general (and Southeast Asian countries in particular) to stop relying on miracles and be more realistic, Unfair Game and War metaphors persuade unity and solidarity among Asian countries, especially Southeast Asian nations, as follows.

Unfair Game metaphors also refer to the gap between the developed and developing countries. Game metaphors imply a competition between two sides; hence winning of one side means losing of the other side as in a game there is usually one winner (Charteris-Black, 2004). Furthermore, each side in a game is composed of a group who join their efforts to achieve the same objective. Thus, the winning of either side benefits all the group members, and similarly the failure of the other side means the failure of all group members. This metaphor vividly portrays the Southeast Asian financial crisis of the 1997, which affected the economy of the whole region. Moreover, an unfair game implies the violation of rules or business etiquettes. In this sense, this metaphor refers to the currency traders whom Dr. Mahathir introduces as the main cause of the financial crisis of the 1997. In sum, unfair game metaphors call for solidarity and unity among the Southeast Asian countries as only by joining their forces they can become strong enough to compete in the global economic scene as well as to face future challenges similar to the financial crisis of the 1990s.

War metaphors are quite similar to Unfair Game metaphors (Charteris-Balck, 2004); however they are more intense than Game metaphors (Steinert, 2003; Hobbs, 2008). Furthermore, while a game is a competition between two sides to win better economic conditions and/or opportunities, a war is a struggle to survive (Charteris-Black, 2004). Hence, losing a war implies more severe impacts on the economic conditions than losing a game. Steinert (2003) argues how War metaphors are used to convey high emotion, especially fear and aggressiveness. Thus, War metaphors persuade high levels of audience participation to achieve a goal. Steinert (2003: 266) states that "War is the supreme 'populist moment', the perfect situation to enlist the greatest possible number, preferably the whole nation, to work for a shared goal, thereby causing us to forget small discrepancies and even opposing interests". In other words, War metaphors persuade a close bond and unity among the audience as a result of the conveyed fear of being dominated. War metaphors generally imply unfair competitions, damages, domination, and surrender. Thus, War metaphors, as compared with Game metaphors, imply that a more urgent action needs to be taken by the neighboring countries against the economic challenges of future. Thus it seems that War metaphors are a serious call for unity and solidarity in the region to avoid being economically dominated whose damages would be insurmountable. Table 3 illustrates conceptual metaphors and the business ideologies behind them as discussed above.

Table 3 Conceptual metaphors and their ideologies

Conceptual metaphor	Business Ideologies
Economy is a plant	Economic development is slow-paced and needs patience Government is the right gardener to nurture the economic plant People need to trust in/cooperate with the government's policies There are rewards for people's patience/trust/cooperation Everyone will enjoy the economic fruits
Economy is cake/pie	Government's New Economic Policy is the right recipe People need to trust in/cooperate with the government's policies There are rewards for people's cooperation/trust All races will have a fair share of the economic cake
Society is music	Economic development requires harmony among all races Government is the right composer to create a harmonious society
Economic development is a miracle	The developing countries must stop relying on the developed countries' assistance to achieve economic development; Economic development is not easily achieved
Economic development is an unfair game	Asian countries must be united to increase their economic power to win the economic game
Economic development is a war	Southeast Asian countries must be united to achieve economic development and to stop economic challenges in the region; Urgent actions must be taken against mega-mergers, currency traders, and those who violate business etiquettes for their own benefits

5.0 DISCUSSION

As the literature suggests, in addressing the national audience, one of the main purposes of Dr. Mahathir's discourse is persuading a sense of belonging and oneness among his people (David and Dumanig, 2011; Ghazali, 2004). As he states, in Malaysia different sectors are controlled by different races; hence harmony among them is required to achieve economic development. As the findings in this study also reveal, Dr. Mahathir tries to persuade national harmony as the first purpose behind his metaphors. Music metaphors clearly convey the desired national unity. Harmony is the main concept behind Music metaphors. Music is composed of various notes or musical sounds that are put together to create melody. While each note is quite different from the others in terms of pitch, timbre, loudness, and duration; their combination in a specific pattern (or scale) creates a pleasant sound called music. However, if the same notes are played without proper combination they would create annoying and unpleasant noise. In this sense, people are considered as notes, each with different opinions, ideologies, cultural and social backgrounds. If each group of people follows their own ambitions without considering the rest of the society, there will be chaos and disorder in the society. Thus each group has to play their part towards achieving the overall goals of the society by putting aside their differences and being united.

Besides persuading national unity and harmony, the second purpose of Dr. Mahathir's metaphors seems to be creating a desirable image of the government as a knowledgeable, responsible, accountable, trustworthy and fair authority (Simon-Vandenberg, 1996), and at the same time an image of the public people as supporters of the government's policies (Kennedy, 2000; Hobbs, 2008; and De Leonardis, 2008). This image is conveyed via Music, Plant, and Cake metaphors. Music metaphors portray the government as a music composer or supervisor and the people as notes. According to Dr. Mahathir, in Malaysia politicians set the tone in terms of race relations. Thus, while the people are pictured as notes, the government is portrayed as the composer who has the specialized knowledge of composing music by arranging the notes in a specific pattern. Furthermore, this image is conveyed by Plant metaphors, which portray the government as the gardener who is responsible for nurturing and nourishing the economic development tree. Finally, this image is conceptualized by Cake metaphors, which not only picture the government as a fair distributor of the economic cake, but also depict the government's policies as the right recipe. Thus the desirable image of the government in Dr. Mahathir's metaphors is a knowledgeable (Music metaphor); responsible and accountable (Plant metaphor); as well as fair and trustworthy (Cake metaphor) authority (Simon-Vandenberg, 1996:390).

Hence, the people are persuaded to act as the supporters of the government's policies. In other words, people are required to trust in and cooperate with the government's policies to achieve the desired economic development (Kennedy, 2000; Hobbs, 2008; and De Leonardis, 2008).

The third purpose of Dr. Mahathir's metaphors in national speeches seems to be providing incentives and motivation for people to act in order to achieve economic prosperity. This prosperity is conveyed by Plant and Cake metaphors. As Kövecses (2010:19) argues people cultivate plants for a variety of purposes; one of which is eating their fruits. In this sense, economic development is conceptualized as fruits obtained from the people's contribution and the government's policies. Although, yielding fruit requires plenty of care, attention, and hard work from the government and the people, the result is sweet and pleasant. Cake metaphors also conceptualize economic prosperity as cakes or pies are associated with feasts and celebrations. Hence, economic development brings prosperity to everyone or as Dr. Mahathir states 'everyone will get a bigger and fair share of the expanding economic cake', or will 'obtain fruits from the growing economic tree'. However, he subtly reminds them that these fruits are not everlasting in order to encourage Malaysians in their efforts to achieve further economic development. Particularly, he persuades local businesses to be more explorative and to be open to new business trends (such as Knowledge Economy) as it is only through the venture into the unknown that new opportunities are provided.

The fourth purpose of Dr. Mahathir's metaphors seems to be justifying the pace of economic development and reassuring the people. Considering the pace of the economic development, Dr. Mahathir calls for patience in response to those who expect immediate results, and reassures those who are worried about the future economic development. This purpose is fulfilled by using Plant metaphors as growing a plant is a slow-paced process (Charteris-Black, 2004) and as he states "a thousand ideas must contend and a hundred flowers must bloom" before achieving the desired economic development. Furthermore, Plant metaphors also have a reassuring tone as a plant is characterized by slow yet continuous upward growth (Morris *et al.*, 2007) as far as it is nourished and nurtured, or provided with sunshine, water, etc.

In addressing the international audience, the main purpose behind Dr. Mahathir's speeches seems to be creating regional solidarity among Southeast Asian countries. In order to achieve this purpose, his metaphors play the following roles. Firstly, the metaphors used by Dr. Mahathir conceptualize the huge economic gap between the developed and developing countries or the West-East gap (Sandikcioglu, 2000). As the leader of a developing Asian country, Dr. Mahathir is concerned about the huge gap between the developed and developing countries. This gap is especially conveyed by Miracle metaphors: "Prophet Moses parted the Red Sea. It required a miracle to pull off that feat. A series of such miracles are required to transcend the global divide between the developed and developing countries. It would take a miracle to prevent a massive widening of the knowledge and the economic gap between the rich and the poor in the years ahead". Then Dr. Mahathir maintains that a close cooperation between the developed and developing countries is required to bridge this gap. Even he justifies that bridging this gap would be mutually beneficial for the West and the East as empowering the developed countries of the East provides a richer market for the West. However, he concludes that the West does not show any interests in this regard. Thus, the only way for Asian countries in general – and Southeast Asian countries in particular – to achieve the desired economic development is unity and solidarity among them instead of relying on the West.

Besides highlighting the enormous gap between the West and the East; Dr. Mahathir tries to persuade solidarity among Asian (especially Southeast Asian) countries by creating a sense belonging, presupposing similarities, and implying shared values and attitudes among his audience (Ghazali, 2004). This sense of belonging and shared values among Asian especially Southeast Asian countries is conveyed by Game and War metaphors. As Charteris-Black (2004) argues a game conveys teamwork or close cooperation among those with similar values and goals against their rivals to win a situation. Then, Unfair Game metaphor emphasizes this shared values and sense of belonging even more as the rivals do not seem to abide by the game rules or ethics. Thus this is a game between those who believe in market ethics on one side and those who do not on the other side; between those who believe in fair competition to achieve economic development on one side and those who do anything for their own benefits on the other side. Thus Game or especially Unfair Game metaphors seem to persuade unity and similarity among all the countries that share the same values such as believing in market ethics and fair competition.

Finally, Dr. Mahathir's metaphors seem to persuade unity and solidarity among Asian especially Southeast Asian countries by warning against the challenges that endanger them. This warning is especially implied by Unfair Game and War metaphors. A war and an unfair game have many features in common: both refer to a struggle between two sides to survive; and both convey lack of fair competition as well as ignoring and disobeying market ethics and rules. However, War metaphor is a stronger metaphor than Unfair Game in the sense that War conveys high emotions such as fear and aggressiveness (Steinert, 2003).

Furthermore War is a struggle to survive; while a Game is a competition to win (Charteris-Black, 2004). War and Unfair Game refer to the economic challenges that have endangered the region over the past decades as well as the economic challenges that might be endangering the region in the future. As Dr. Mahathir mentions, this War or Game is not equal and the developing countries have no chance of surviving this War if they want to face the challenges alone. Thus, they need to be united to be powerful enough to resist the future challenges. This unity involves sharing their knowledge and technological advances, sharing their experiences of their past challenges, as well as sharing their resources and forces to form a strong front in an unbalanced economic competition world. It should be noted that as the speeches imply, Dr. Mahathir does not mean that business with the West should be stopped as he believes that all of the countries are together in this journey and nobody is alone; but he believes that in this relationship both sides (East and West) must have equal voice in determining the future of the market, and making decisions regarding the global economic trend.

6.0 CONCLUSION

In conclusion Dr. Mahathir used different metaphor domains across national and international audience with different purposes, tones, and ideological stances.

In terms of purpose, metaphors of Music, Plant, and Cake were mainly used in national speeches in order to (a) persuade national harmony and unity among different races in Malaysia; (b) create an image of the government as a knowledgeable, responsible, accountable, fair, and trustworthy authority which needs to be supported and obeyed by people; (c) incentivize Malaysians to do their best to achieve the economic development; and (d) reassure the people about the pace of the economic development. In international speeches, metaphors of War, Unfair Game, and Miracle were mainly used with the purpose of creating regional unity and solidarity. In this regard, these metaphors were used in order to (a) represent the huge gap between the West and the East; (b) create a sense of belonging as well as shared values among Southeast Asian countries; and (c) create an urgent sense of action and unity.

In terms of tone, metaphors in national speeches generally had four main tones: persuasive (persuading people's cooperation and harmony), authoritative (providing an image of the government as the rightful authority to be obeyed by people), incentivizing (motivating people and local business respectively to cooperate with the government's policies and to expand their efforts towards achieving national economic development), and reassuring (reassuring people about the pace of economic development); while metaphors in international speeches were more concerned and alerting (about the huge and widening West-East economic gap as well as the future economic challenges).

In terms of ideological stances behind metaphors, metaphors in national speeches seem to reflect the following ideologies: (a) national harmony and people's support of the government's policies are the main two requirements to achieve economic development; (b) a strong leadership is required to direct the society; and (c) people need incentives and reassurance in order to show cooperation and support towards the government's policies. Metaphors in international speeches seem to reflect the following ideologies: solidarity and unity with the neighboring countries as well as being alert against the possible economic challenges are the two main elements to achieve economic development and to survive in the competitive economic world of today.

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Appendix A

List of Metaphorical Expressions in Dr. Mahathir's Business Speeches

International Speeches:

War Domain

1. The **attack** on the Ringgit
2. The Asia Pacific countries will **parade** their selected IT and Multimedia winners to the global community
3. We have to equip ourselves and build our strength because the failure to do so is tantamount to **laying down our weapons** and surrendering our collective destinies
4. Japan had caught the West **off guard**
5. Design a strategy to **combat** the forces causing the problem
6. We will **fight tooth and nail** to defend our country and the prosperity of our people
7. **Armed to the teeth glared** at each other
8. We were told we will soon fall flat on our faces and have it **rubbed in the mud** as well
9. For these big powers who regard oil as a legitimate **weapon** of foreign policy
10. Oil and gas will always remain a political instrument and the powerful countries and their mega oil companies will always avail themselves of this potent **weapon**
11. To bring them to **heel** is perfectly alright
12. Using the oil **weapon**
13. To bring a nation down on its **knees** in the old days
14. It is primitive to **bring** people to their **knees** by impoverishing them
15. The rich countries of the North **are ganging up**
16. **Fight** against
17. Since they have **ganged up on us**, we should at least form our own forum
18. We will not dominate it but we certainly will not be **bullied**
19. Which had had its economy **shot to pieces** by World War II was to have a fixed exchange rate
20. Power comes not from the **barrel** of a gun, but from the checkbook The Asian Financial crisis has brought to the forefront the risks and challenges that globalization poses to developing countries, particularly small open economies such as Malaysia
21. On the global **battlefield**
22. None of national oil companies are big enough to take on the merged giants or to qualify to be one of the new sisters. And so they need to hide behind their national boundaries. But now comes the idea of globalization: a borderless world. A borderless world means **nowhere to hide, no place to seek protection**
23. Who wants a brave new world without rules, where businesses are free to do as they please, where, like **007** they have a license to kill?

Unfair Game Domain

1. On a **level playing field** offered by the IT and Multimedia industries, Malaysian companies and individuals could still **pull away** from the pack even though we are relative latecomers in this field
2. If market forces are allowed **free play** then oligopolies may end up as monopolies
3. When the **players** in the market feel uncomfortable **they just pull out**
4. We recognize that some progress has been made to address the issue of transparency and disclosure as well as indirect regulation of **market players**
5. Non-traditional **players**
6. While the proponents of globalization may argue that it is **not a zero-sum game**
7. In a **level playing field**
8. Speculations became a **dangerous game** for the rich countries
9. In this case the **playing field is not even level**
10. It was not even a **zero-sum game**. It was a **minus-sum game** for they destroyed what we had built over decades to make a relatively small profit for themselves
11. At this stage of the **game** in Malaysia
12. Unfortunately for the poor and the backward, in the days ahead the **cards** are even **more stacked** against them

Miracle Domain

1. Prophet Moses parted the Red Sea. It required a **miracle** to pull off that feat. A series of such **miracles** are required to transcend the global divide between the developed and developing countries. It would take a **miracle** to prevent a massive widening of the knowledge and the economic gap between the rich and the poor in the years ahead
2. **Miracle** economies of East Asia

National Speeches**Cake Domain**

1. In the formative stage, we have recognized and put in place the crucial **ingredients** that shall spur the development of small and medium sized enterprises
2. UMNO came up with the New Economic Policy to give the Malays and other Bumiputeras a fair share of the **economic cake**
3. UMNO decided to enlarge the **economic cake** and distributing the enlarged portion more to Malays while apportioning some also to the Chinese and Indian
4. The K-economy should be a **piece of cake**, and an ever expanding one at that
5. New Economic Policy (NEP) ensure that the Bumiputeras enjoy their fair share of the **economic pie** by ensuring that a bigger portion of an expanded **economic pie** goes to the Bumiputeras
6. The reasons why the IMF policy **recipe** failed in Asia are now well-known
7. The global media laud it (global mega-mergers) as if it is **the next best thing to motherhood and apple pie**

Plant Domain

1. **Reap maximum benefits** from the presence of companies like Ericsson
2. the **fruits** of our labor
3. He tried to **nurture** and promote these traditions
4. These traditions are **deeply rooted** in the psyche of Bank Negara and PNB staff
5. The Malaysian port sector is expected to resume its **upward growth**
6. The aviation industry poised to resume their **upward growth**
7. Assist the **budding SMEs** in Malaysia
8. **Reap** more profits
9. **Reap** profound benefits for both sides
10. Before a full national consensus is reached, a thousand ideas must contend **and a hundred flowers must bloom**

Music Domain

1. In Malaysia the politicians set the **tone** in terms of the race relations
2. Vision 2020 which **struck a responsive chord in the hearts and minds** of Malaysians of all stations, creeds and political affiliations