

NOVEL METAPHORS IN INDONESIAN POLITICAL DISCOURSE ON COVID-19 PANDEMIC HANDLING

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Abstract

Metaphor is a part of human cognition that plays an important role in human knowledge and experience. This study aims at examining novel metaphors based on the metaphorical language used by Indonesia's state leader, President Joko Widodo, in his speeches on COVID-19 and their functions for pandemic handling and post-pandemic preparedness in Indonesia. Data were speeches produced during the first and second waves of the pandemic and taken from official website of Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia. The metaphors identified in the speeches were analysed using Critical Metaphor Analysis proposed by Charteris-Black (2004, 2011, 2021). The identified novel metaphors were categorized under the following seven source domains: breakfast, computer, crater, test, teacher, momentum, wheel, and fire. The identified metaphors could be classified into three types of novel metaphor: linguistic structural metaphors, metaphors with new target domains, and new mapping metaphors. Results of analysis revealed that the metaphors of examination/test, teacher, and fire were high in frequency. As for the function, those novel metaphors could be interpreted as Jokowi's way to reflect changing realities and motivate actions. Overall, the use of metaphors implied Jokowi's priority responses toward pandemic, i.e. to persuade the importance of solidarity and collectivity, strong sense of perseverance and resilience, as well as mutual cooperation. This study is expected to give insight that government leaders employ metaphors as appropriate to situational context as the metaphors they can be effective in shaping public opinion and winning public support for health measures and policymaking in time of crises.

Keywords: *Critical Metaphor Analysis, Metaphor novel, COVID-19 pandemic, Political discourse*

INTRODUCTION

Metaphor in political discourse is one of the linguistic devices that politicians prefer employing to persuade and manipulate the public (Wilson, 2015). Charteris-Black argues that metaphors retain informative and persuasive functions, both to evaluate policies and to estimate the level of trust and integrity of politicians since metaphors use language that is intended to activate subconscious emotional associations (2004: 2). In other words, metaphors are very persuasive to shape beliefs, attitudes, and values in society. Quoting Demata, with language that is so integral to politics, metaphors become the key in building the reality and ontology of national politics because they can strengthen the values and image of the nation in the consciousness of its citizens (Demata, 2019).

In a metaphor, a word or phrase is used to describe or represent something that is different but has an analogous relationship. The analogy or comparison made between the two entities in the semantic realm of metaphor is not necessarily valid, nevertheless, the metaphor can still be used strategically in political discourse to frame references to fit the speaker's arguments (Hakim & Medina, 2017; Partington & Taylor, 2018). With regard to choices of metaphor framework in political discourse, conventional metaphors are prone to be employed more than novel metaphors due to their social commonality which do not require more cognitive processes (Charteris-Black, 2011; Hunt, 2021). The values in conventional metaphors are processed automatically and can unconsciously enter and be accepted as a shared value system (Charteris-Black, 2004). However, in the context of handling the COVID-19 pandemic, novel metaphors and unconventional creative expressions are important for shaping people's cognition by conveying complex handling actions in a more easily understood way (Wicke & Bolognesi, 2020). Charteris-Black(2021) strengthens this argument by stating that the choice of new metaphors during the pandemic plays an important role in shaping public opinion and framing political issues in innovative ways. The concept of a new or novel metaphor refers to a metaphor that relies on the underlying conceptual metaphor but expresses a combination of words that are surprising or have original meanings even though their linguistic form is less original" (Musolff, 2016: 16). Musolff further claims that novel metaphors serve to create a sense of novelty and freshness in political discourse and help engage and persuade audiences in ways that more conventional metaphors may not (Musolff, 2016). Therefore, novel metaphors are fresh and innovative in their application to specific political issues or ideas, create vivid and memorable descriptions of complex issues, and can be used to convey emotions, values, and ideas in compelling and persuasive ways (Charteris-Black, 2006; Musolff, 2016).

As novel metaphors are supposed to be distinct in comparison to conventional metaphors, Charteris-Black (2006) proposes four classification of types of novel metaphors; (1) new linguistic structure or metaphor that uses a new or innovative linguistic structure, (2) new source domain for metaphor that refers to a new or unexpected source domain, (3) new target domain where the metaphor is applied to a new or unexpected target domain, and (4) new mapping, namely a metaphor that creates a new and innovative mapping between the source domain and the target domain. In the context of the use of metaphors in political discourse of pandemic handling, various studies on the speeches of state leaders reveal the dominance of the use of war metaphors as in (Atuhura, 2022; Berrocal et al., 2021; Degani,

2023; Musolff, 2022; Rajandran, 2020). The results of Neshkovska&Trajkova's(2020) study on the pandemic management speeches of four state leaders, Boris Johnson, Donald Trump, Angela Merkel, and Emanuel Macron, also strengthened the dominance of military and war metaphors in the pandemic rhetoric of state leaders. On the other hand, Semino(2021) criticized the use of war metaphors. She emphasized that war metaphors should be avoided and replaced with more persuasive one, that is fire metaphors considering the negative connotation of fire is hot and burning, but it plays an important role in human life at the same time. From these various studies, we observe that metaphors in political speeches on handling the pandemic tend to be aggressive and conventional. Novel and euphemistic metaphors have not been studied when the choice of linguistic strategy by state leader determines the failure or success of pandemic communication. Thus, this study is aimed at filling this gap by highlighting new metaphors in the discourse speech on pandemic management handling of Indonesia's state leader, President Joko Widodo (henceforth Jokowi). To broaden the scope, the study also investigates the underlying functions and purposes of these novel metaphors in the speeches.

METHOD

The method used in this research is a case study. According to (Gustafsson, 2017) case study can be defined as an intensive study about a person, a group of people or a unit, which is aimed to generalize over several units (Gustafsson, 2017). Furthermore, Cousin (in (Gustafsson, 2017) stated that the case study method is not aimed to analyse cases, but it is a good way to define cases and to explore a setting in order to understand it. In other words, a case study not only explores a case, but is able to explain and explore the case so that it can be widely understood. This case study aims to identify the alignment between student learning needs and the learning model applied.

This study is qualitative in orientation. To identify and analyse metaphors we followed Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) developed by Charteris-Black (2004, 2011). CMA is basically a corpus-based approach which can still be well applied in studies with qualitative orientation (Imani, 2022). CMA is comprised of three stages of analysis: Metaphor Identification, Metaphor Interpretation, and Metaphor Explanation. The data for this study were transcriptions of six speeches extracted from speeches during the period of August 2020 to August 2021 which were taken from the official website of the Indonesian

Cabinet Secretariat (Humas Setkab, 2020; Humas Setkab, 2021). Data were presented in the following details:

Table 1 Number of Words and Metaphorical Expressions

No	Date of Speech	Number of Words	Metaphorical Expressions
1	14/08/2020	2485	58
2	01/08/2020	470	21
3	31/12/2020	390	34
4	19/05/2021	3416	19
5	30/06/2021	1532	7
6	16/08/2021	2759	178

Due to data size that is manageable, the six speeches were downloaded from the website and then converted into text files manually. Table 1 presents data on the number of words that could be compared with the metaphorical expressions contained in them. At the level of identifying novel metaphors in the data, we combined *metaphor keywords* as proposed by Charteris-Black or *metaphorical words* within the Pragglejaz Group (2007) framework. Conceptually, both referred to words used with metaphorical meanings which must be distinguished from metaphors and metaphorical expressions (Imani, 2022). This is in line with Zibin and Hamdan (2019: 244) who say that if a word contains meaning that is not basic, then the word can be identified as a metaphorical expression. The metaphor keywords found in this study are *pandemic* and *crisis*. Nevertheless, there are other metaphorical words which were used to define/collate the impact and vividness of metaphorical images. These metaphors are collected into themes with conceptual metaphors in the form of 'X is Y' (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Following the convention of metaphor, italics indicate linguistic metaphors and conceptual metaphors (Musolff, 2016). Meanwhile, metaphorical similes that frame several aspects of the effects and impacts of the pandemic are the constructions [*pandemic* + *as*], [*pandemic* + *as it were*]. Metaphorical interpretation is carried out to reveal three aspects a: (1) the pandemic and the results of its handling, (2) the expected attitudes/behaviours, (3) the actors involved.

FINDINGS

Jokowi's chosen metaphor was euphemistic and contained persuasive power to frame behaviour and attitudes in facing the pandemic, as well as presenting scenarios for utilizing the pandemic through analogies from everyday life, culture, and other fields.

Linguistic Structural Metaphor

The metaphor for handling the pandemic was manifested through the selection of a new linguistic structural metaphor from the noun phrase *Sarapan saya angka-angka* (*I have numbers as my breakfast*).

- (1) *Saya hanya mengulangi lagi, karena setiap pagi sarapan saya itu angka-angka.* (19/05/2021).

I just repeat it again, because every morning *I have numbers as my breakfast*.

- (2) *Ini angka-angka seperti ini yang setiap hari setiap pagi masuk ke saya. Saya enggak pernah sarapan tapi sarapannya angka-angka* (30/06/2021).

These are the numbers that come to me every morning. *I never have breakfast, but I have numbers as my breakfast*.

The metaphor in (1) had the first person grammatical subject I. When Jokowi stated that his breakfast every morning is numbers, he implied that he continued monitoring the situation of the pandemic and developments current economy. The argumentative logic of the metaphor is as follows: the increase or decrease in the number of positive cases in Indonesia is his main concern as the highest leader and responsible and methodical decision maker. Jokowi described his activities as strength, responsibility, and internal authority in responding to phenomena that he considers to be extraordinarily large, emphasizing the importance of reducing numbers with caution. Jokowi repeated this argument on June 30, 2021, in (2) where the function of *I + number for my breakfast* metaphor is one of the key tools in conveying the reality of the pandemic and the extreme steps he personally takes. The metaphor in this point of view has a novel structure that is used to report the measures by the highest authority. This analogy deliberately legitimizes the actions requested by the speaker in his speech: designing preventive measures against the virus, monitoring the number of daily cases, ensuring economic conditions, etc.

New Target Domain Metaphor

In his speech on (14/08/2020) Jokowi, used the word crisis (14 times) and not pandemic. This choice of words is part of Jokowi's discourse strategy to represent the multidimensional crisis due to the pandemic. In addition, Jokowi's new target domain, which had never been used in the language community, increased awareness of the pressure of its meaning (Charteris-Black, 2004; p. 22). The metaphors were computer, teacher, and momentum. All three are less commonly used by state leaders in the context of a pandemic situation but were chosen by Jokowi as persuasive devices as can be seen in (3-4).

- (3) The (economic) decline of many large countries can be an opportunity and momentum for us to catch up. *Like a computer, the economy of all countries is currently stuck, hanging. All countries must go through the process of shutting down the computer for a moment, having to restart, having to reboot.* And all countries have the opportunity to reset all their systems.

The conceptual metaphor that can be drawn from the new metaphorical expression of sentence (3) is the source domain economic resources with the target domain of computer system. This metaphor frames one aspect, namely the economic challenges during the pandemic with a simple analogy between managing a computer system and facing economic challenges. This metaphor implies that global economy at that time was in the state of complex system like a computer. If it crashes, the system must undergo a momentary shutdown process (restart, reboot, reset/reset all its systems), rebooted or reset so that it can be used again. The content of the persuasive message is the effort for economic resilience and attempts for innovation during the crisis by utilizing the economic decline of the world's major countries. By emphasizing the need to reboot and reset the economic system, this metaphor becomes a way to influence individual and societal cognition on how to respond to the crisis by utilizing it. This means that this metaphor becomes a tool to shape discourse and influence public perception of economic opportunities. Therefore, it is important to recognize its strengths and limitations in shaping perceptions and influencing attitudes towards the pandemic.

In addition to being a persuasive strategy, this metaphor has the potential to be Jokowi's defensive strategy in his powerlessness to determine the direction of economic policy and his dream of reviving the Indonesian economy through economic diversification (Setijadi, 2021)(Setijadi, 2021). The Metaphor of the *Economy is a computer* also simplifies the picture of the complexity of economic problems that can only be controlled through rearrangement (resetting) when conditions are influenced by many unpredictable variables. The application of this metaphor simplifies the complex reality of the pandemic because it does not sufficiently capture the complex network of factors that influence pandemic conditions and form a binary framework for crisis policy choices, such as prioritizing the economy over health or vice versa. The depiction of economic conditions as a problematic system represented economic reality in which Jokowi was incapable to guarantee the success of its repair. The conceptual metaphor of a computer is a novel metaphor which played exceedingly important role in negotiating and popularizing the audience's

understanding of a poorly understood phenomenon, namely handling the economy during a crisis.

(4) Jangan sia-siakan *pelajaran yang diberikan oleh krisis*.

(5) Don't ignore *the lessons given by the crisis*.

The conceptual metaphor in (4) involves the source domain of the lesson (concrete as something experienced and felt) and the target domain (something that provides lessons/teacher). The crisis in sentence (4) is a pandemic that has given rise to a health, economic, and social crisis. Because the crisis is considered as or a source of learning from difficult experiences or challenges, the conceptual metaphor that can be drawn is that the crisis is a teacher. This metaphor was intended to be a persuasive strategy so that the Indonesian people view and respond to the crisis as an opportunity for growth and progress, not a bearer of bad impacts or losses (*Do not ignore the lessons given by the crisis*). The teacher metaphor was chosen through calculations of the Indonesian cultural context by referring to the central role of teachers in teaching and learning from which this metaphor was expected to resonate appropriately. Nonetheless, the metaphor was ineffective in capturing the complexity and multifaceted nature of the pandemic. In the example above, Jokowi explained the power of moral intuition (Charteris-Black, 2021) using teacher metaphor. This metaphor framed the challenging situation as a teacher as well as a very prominent moral foundation that provided insight for the public about the nature of the pandemic and how to respond to it. The situation of pandemic for community at large resulted more suffering, misery, fear than good lessons to their life regardless. Thus, temporal relevance of this metaphor was low since it was not relevant to the dynamics of the pandemic which continued to change (worsen) in the following year (2021). From here it appeared that the metaphor was used to shape people's cognition of the nature of the pandemic. On the other hand, this metaphor is one of the strategies to legitimize or challenge power relations. The metaphorical image of *Crisis is a teacher* could be interpreted as Jokowi's way of challenging the power of traditional authorities and institutions that tended to be convoluted in their bureaucratic processes and forming the policies and practices for handling the pandemic that he aspired. Furthermore, a metaphor that is very important to discuss because it characterized Jokowi's discourse in his speech (08/14/2020) found in the metaphor cluster (5). The object of *ploughing*, namely the *momentum of the crisis*, is underlined.

Initial Cluster	Jangan sia-siakan pelajaran yang diberikan oleh krisis. Jangan biarkan krisis membuahkan kemunduran. Justru <i>momentum krisis</i> ini harus kita <i>bajak</i> untuk melakukan lompatan kemajuan. Do not waste the lessons from the crisis. Do not let the crisis result in a setback. In fact, <i>we must plough the momentum of this crisis to make a leap of progress.</i>
Middle Cluster	<i>Saatnya kita bajak momentum krisis ini untuk melakukan lompatan-lompatan besar.</i> <i>It is time to plough the momentum of crisis to make giant leaps.</i>
Final Cluster	<i>Kita harus bajak momentum krisis ini. Kita harus serentak dan serempak memanfaatkan momentum ini. Menjadikan Indonesia setara dengan negara-negara maju. Menjadikan Indonesia Maju yang kita cita-citakan.</i> We must plough the momentum of this crisis. We must simultaneously and in unison take advantage of this momentum. Making Indonesia equal to developed countries. Making Indonesia Advanced as we aspire to be.

The metaphorical cluster above could be read that what was ploughed or utilized is ‘momentum’ and ‘crisis’ so that the source domain was the momentum of the crisis (experienced and felt by the Indonesian nation). The epistemological basis for this metaphor as a novel metaphor was that empty fields must be ploughed (or utilized) so that they could be planted based on time and according to the weather. Thus, this first crisis period was conceptualized as the right period for major changes. The metaphor that can be drawn is that the *Indonesian nation is ploughing the momentum of crisis*. Through the framing of the crisis as a field/media that can be managed, this metaphor implied a persuasive strategy to encourage the strength of determination and empower the participatory role of individuals and society in managing the crisis. Crisis as momentum and grand strategy (economic, legal, governmental, social, cultural, including health and education) were conceptualized as two things that required control. Both were represented as having a type of great power that could be controlled and processed by human being (Indonesian Nation).

At the same time, it is important to examine the implications and underlying insights of the positive and negative aspects of the ploughing metaphor. The positive aspect referred to the imperative to use the pandemic as a momentum for improved performance and achievement. For example, re-managing public health, improving the national economy, or the resilience of individuals and nations in the face of crisis. The ploughing metaphor also implied that individuals and societies had the potential to adapt and grow in difficult times that contribute to personal and collective development (*don't let the crisis lead to setbacks*). Conversely, the metaphor did not describe the various losses caused by the pandemic,

including loss of life, economic hardship, and mental health challenges that seemed to minimize the severity of the situation. Likewise, the nature of the social agent 'we' who were exploiting (ploughing) was also not clearly stated. Referring to Fairclough's perspective on our inclusivity, there is always an ambivalence and harmony between the exclusive and inclusive word 'WE' which is politically advantageous as a statement of national representation (Fairclough, 2000: 27). So, the pronoun *Kita* 'WE' could be interpreted as (1) Jokowi as the holder of the highest state power in the name of the Indonesian nation, (2) Jokowi and his government, and all elements of the Indonesian nation. This metaphor revealed Jokowi's implicit personal ambition to revive the nation's economy and make Indonesia equal to the developed countries he aspired to by mobilizing *Kita* 'WE' (the government and all elements of the nation). Thus, pandemic had become a political opportunity for Jokowi. Although it had had a detrimental impact, the crisis had given Jokowi the opportunity to realize his long-planned economic and political reform agenda. Quoting Fairclough, metaphor is an evidence that linguistic phenomena can be an instrument to hide the underlying power relations where cognitive suppression becomes a form of social repression (2000). Mixed metaphor was also found in 2020 year-end message speech as presented in utterances (6) and (7).

- (6) The Indonesian nation, we, are also not free from this difficult trial, this very difficult test. But we must be grateful, thank God, we are able to face it with fortitude. We can still stand firm in carrying out the wheel of life. (12/31/2020)
- (7) All countries around the world are facing the same test. This test is not easy for the world and is not easy for Indonesia. (08/16/2022)

The metaphorical expression in (6) and (7) frame hardships as test and life as spinning wheel in which wheel as source domain and life as target domain occurred with two distinct source domains, test and wheel. The mixed metaphor in (6) becomes a persuasive linguistic tool to create emotional effect to face hardship and form resilience. Both metaphors were motivated by shared experience and culture by framing how to deal with them metaphorically through the projection of a knowledge scheme abstracted from universal aspects of the pandemic.

The metaphor was motivated by Jokowi's personal experience as a member of a cultural group of society and his adaptation to the structure or substructure of Javanese and Muslim Indonesian culture that instilled resources of patience and gratitude despite suffering. In the political context of handling the pandemic, metaphors (6) and (7) form a narrative that influences public emotions through the choice of using quasi-religious language. The choice

of the words "challenges" and "test" had political connotations as it could refer to broader challenges or crises, including political conditions. The contrast between the words trial and gratitude is intended to shape public attitudes about the national situation and build a narrative of hardship that requires strong policies and leadership. The metaphorical expression of being able to stand upright running the wheels of life can be interpreted as an effort to ease concerns and build a narrative about resilience and sustainability in government or national life. Meanwhile, the pronoun deixis we inclusively referred to Jokowi and the Indonesian nation as actors involved in building national unity in facing the pandemic. The emphasis on the gratitude word alhamdulillah contained a political dimension because of the quasi-religious language constitutes a persuasive strategy which plays a role in constructing a leadership narrative that is connected to religious and cultural values in Indonesia. The political effect of the words capable and steadfastness forms a positive perception of government performance and increases public support for steps to deal with the pandemic.

Combination of Fire and Light Metaphors

The metaphor of fire was used in speech of welcoming the 74th Independence of the Republic of Indonesia (16/08/2021) and the speech at the General Session of the MPR and DPR (16/08/2021) in data (8) - (9). In both examples of simile metaphors, fire as the source domain was compared to the importance of solidarity and mutual cooperation which were the target domains.

- (8) I believe that the spirit of togetherness and mutual cooperation inherited from the nation's founders will always be embedded in our souls, like a blazing fire, especially when our nation and country are facing trials and challenges.

Sentence (8) was a response to the gloomy situation currently being faced by the country. The metaphorical simile expression like a blazing fire becomes a rhetorical strategy to mobilize society that reflected a certain understanding and representation of togetherness and mutual cooperation. The fire metaphor became persuasive strategy for the nation's resilience and courage to face the challenges. Political implications of this metaphor emphasized the values of togetherness as an indication of a government approach.

- (9) *Crisis, recession, and pandemic are like fire.* If possible, we avoid them, but if they still happen, there are many things we can learn. Fire does burn, but it also illuminates. If controlled, it inspires and motivates. It hurts, but at the same time it also strengthens. We want this pandemic to enlighten us to be self-aware, improve ourselves, and strengthen ourselves, in facing future challenges.

In (9) there is a simile of fire as analogical metaphor. The metaphor of fire collocated in the words burning and illuminating, painful and strengthening which are types of prototypical dualism for expressing key concepts of fire in religion. For both metaphors, Jokowi referred to the fundamental didactic role of religion, namely that the metaphor of fire plays a strong role in evaluating behavior and its relationship to character development. In the Qur'an, fire and light are two of the four most productive source domains for metaphors, while in the Bible fire and darkness are strong source domains and appear in many important events (Charteris-Black, 2004)). In accordance with Semino's opinion regarding the effectiveness of metaphors (2021), fire is a metaphor as a source domain that is widely accessible, can be mapped precisely and can be clearly applied from the source domain to the target domain. Fire is also clearly visible or rich in real images, familiar to everyday human life, diverse in type (e.g. forest fires, house fires, burning garbage, cooking), does not have many elements and participants (e.g. arsonists, burning trees, firefighters, victims), and has a clear evolution (cause, beginning, middle, end, and effect). Therefore, the metaphor of fire was an experiential area that is suitable for metaphorical exploitation.

On the other hand, the burning, destructive, and uncontrollable nature of fire makes the metaphor of fire an appropriate political persuasion device because fire inspires awe as used in religious texts and in exercising political power (Charteris Black, 2017). The metaphor of fire also legitimizes the intervention of strict law enforcement in responding to social problems (Hart, 2017). The metaphor of fire is a logical choice for Jokowi as his rhetorical purpose benefited him. In this speech, the metaphor of the novel Pandemic is like fire is combined with Pandemic is light (from our metaphorical expression, the pandemic illuminates). Here, the metaphor highlights the attribute of fire that shaded light and this was contrasted with burning and illuminating. The framework of fire becomes part of the argument to convince resilience to the pandemic and self-reflection so as to ease the emotions facing the uncertainty of the pandemic (from FV facing challenges in the future). Here light provides insight into how metaphors can communicate Jokowi's different views on the gloomy pandemic. The use of a single source domain that is complex and diverse is Jokowi's way of creating text coherence by making enlightening with self-awareness, improving oneself, and strengthening oneself equal. This conceptual complexity forms a source domain that through analogy, both elements and their relationships, is mapped to the target domain of political entities as stated below. 'We have also successfully overcome the recession and

crises that came one after another on the journey after Indonesia's independence. Each test strengthened the social, political, and economic foundations of the Indonesian nation. Each stage provided learning and at the same time brought improvements to our lives’.

Through this new metaphor, listeners/readers can understand the implications, namely that success in the test is very important to strengthen the social, political, and economic foundations so that each stage of the test must be successfully passed. Although metaphors are often used to describe complex and foreign situations (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), such as the emergence of a new disease due to COVID-19 and their use strengthens the trend of representing disease through metaphors (Ribeiro et al., 2018) not all metaphors are in accordance with the conditions of society. Jokowi’s metaphor of controlled, inspiring and motivating and illuminating fire were anachronistic because they ignored vulnerable groups of people who lived in hard conditions. Therefore, the metaphor of fire and light showed a contrasting humanistic message. The metaphor also functioned as a political tool which provided opportunity for Jokowi to further consolidate power.

New Mapping

Charteris-Black (2011) emphasizes that it is important for politicians to innovate in language. New mapping can help audiences better understand their world through a fresh and unexpected metaphorical lens. The metaphor used by Jokowi was not new for ordinary life and very contextualized in Javanese culture but they were creative for the context of pandemic handling.

Metaphor of the Candradimuka Crater

The metaphor of the Candradimuka crater is found in a series of sentences in the speech text (16/08/2021) which is presented in the clustering of the *pandemic is candradimuka crater* (10).

Initial Cluster Pandemic is like candradimuka crater that tests, teaches, and sharpens at once.

Middle Cluster The pandemic has placed a heavy burden on us, a burden full of risks, and has forced us to face and manage it.

Final Cluster All pillars of our lives are tested; all pillars of our strength are sharpened. Our fortitude, patience, resilience, togetherness, intelligence, and speed are all tested and sharpened at the same time. Tests and sharpening are two sides of the same coin that cannot be separated.

The metaphor cluster in (10) showed the interaction of three interrelated lexical chains, namely the metaphor of the rite of adulthood, a series of terms taken from the lexical

field for teaching and learning, and competition. This chain of teaching and learning interacted with the metaphorical chain of the rite of maturity and sports. The Indonesian people were asked to be steadfast, patient, strong in facing the pandemic because this attitude would open wider opportunities to improve nation quality. The tone of this advice reminded us of the figure of Gatotkaca in the Mahabharata epic who was reborn as a knight with strong muscles and iron bones after undergoing a maturation process in a mystical crater called Candradimuka. The content of the cultural aspect was that this crater was where Gatotkaca was processed and formed into a mature human figure, of course through a journey of difficulty and discomfort, which was represented by the heat in the crater. We could see this in the symbolism of experience in the words ‘testing, which teaches, and at the same time sharpening (initial cluster) – the use of the noun phrase ‘Candradimuka crater’ and shows evidence of the conceptual metaphor Pandemic was Candradimuka crater. This metaphor was a persuasive tool to generate confidence and enthusiasm to resolve the pandemic which frames a common experience rooted in the shared of Indonesians, especially Javanese. This framing was actually anachronistic since Jokowi framed to mature state institutions, not the wider community who were suffering from the various impacts of the pandemic.

The metaphor in the final cluster emphasized the need for patience and continuous effort in an indefinite period of time through Fortitude, patience, resilience, togetherness, and our assumptions, and our speed, are all tested and honed at the same time. Likewise, the metaphorical expression of winning the arena was a deliberate rhetorical attempt to take advantage of the atmosphere at that time: the fear of not being able to survive, the doubts, and the uncertainty of the fight against the pandemic that implies the conceptual metaphor of the Indonesian nation as the winner of the match. This sports metaphor has similarities with the war metaphor, namely positioning the pandemic as an opponent and a contrast between winning and losing. The effect of this metaphorical interaction is cumulative and forms a persuasive strategy aimed at justifying Jokowi's idea of the need for radical changes in lifestyle attitudes, as well as evoking the feeling that the best thing in dealing with the pandemic is patience and steadfastness as a willingness to sacrifice for the common future. Semino and Masci emphasize that the metaphor of sports in political discourse aims to simplify problems that are based on the complexity of ideological and ethical issues, while politics is presented as a relatively simple realm with clear participants (1996:250). In the metaphor of the Indonesian nation as the winner of the match, the participants were clearly

stated (the Indonesian nation), the goal was certain (to win), and the expected results were clear (victory).

The verb teach as a metaphor implies that the pandemic has taught society valuable lessons, making it a teacher who provides knowledge and insight that emphasizes the importance of shared health. In addition, the word “strengthening” as a metaphor emphasizes the pandemic’s ability to improve or strengthen institutions and social capital. This metaphor frames the pandemic as a constructive force that makes society stronger and more cohesive, rather than as a destructive event that weakens social structures. The metaphorical language used in the sentence shapes the audience’s perception of the pandemic and its impact on society. By depicting the Pandemic as a teacher that strengthens institutions and social capital, Jokowi highlights the positive aspects of the pandemic’s legacy, such as increased health awareness and strengthened social ties. The teacher metaphor was also a form of simplifying the complex idea of the pandemic by aligning it with real experiences to make the message easier to understand for the wider audience. In this case, the metaphor helps convey the abstract concept of the impact of the pandemic in a simpler way. Its metaphorical language functions to influence public perception and cognition, emphasizing the importance of health as a strengthening of institutions and social capital. In addition, the metaphor as a persuasive strategy is intended to instil confidence in the resilience and cohesion of society which has the potential to influence public attitudes and behaviour in responding to the pandemic. On the other hand, this metaphor provides an argumentative advantage to Jokowi when he wants to manage the pandemic from a threat to an opportunity. Rather than having to struggle to demonstrate and support his invitation with facts and data in a limited speech time, Jokowi invites his listeners to understand conceptual items (teachers and reinforcers) that carry social, emotional and aesthetic values that influence the interpretation of speech (10). This conceptual simplicity forms a source domain whose elements and relationships are mapped to the target domain through discursively constructed argumentative strategies.

Thus, listeners/ readers can understand the implications as important as social solidarity (Disease is a common problem, and being healthy is a common agenda), as well as the socio-political elements of the nation whose existence is threatened. If this is recognized as valid in pandemic governance, then making metaphors as one way to raise the spirit of resolving the pandemic as a common agenda will clearly make much more sense than assuming that metaphors have no logical consequences and therefore no practical consequences that can be taken seriously. On the other hand, the value of the meaning of this

metaphor also allows Jokowi to answer various assessments that the government has not implemented strategic steps in responding to the pandemic. Metaphors themselves become a tool to promote political concepts of handling the pandemics that are potentially problematic without causing social risk.

Jokowi's novel conceptual metaphor functions as a linguistic device to direct the audience to see things from a different perspective, which can open new insights and trigger a deeper understanding of the abstract concept of a pandemic. The novel metaphor also contributes as a persuasive strategy, namely a cognitive tool to abstract and build compliance with pandemic management policies and the readiness of the Indonesian people post-pandemic. This is in line with Ferrari's view (2007) that novel metaphors can be a fundamental argumentative feature as an important tool to overcome persuasion problems in texts. Such unconventional metaphors not only facilitate communication but also have an impact on people's judgments and influence social construction (Guliashvili, 2021; Stojan & Mijić, 2019).

DISCUSSION

Novel metaphors could have an exceptionally strong “framing” power that forced the recipient to interpret the target concept in terms of the source concept that ideologically tended to hide all alternative perspectives and can even turn into a “self-fulfilling prophecy mechanism” (Goatly, 2007; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 2003; Musolff, 2022). From the findings above, seven domains of metaphor sources could be mapped, namely BREAKFAST, COMPUTER, CRATER, TEACHER, EXAM, MOMENTUM, WHEEL, and FIRE. Jokowi's metaphor in context could be interpreted in several aspects. First, the new metaphor functioned to regulate the top-down relationship in handling the pandemic. Repetition of key messages, utilization of emotions and national identity, framing of messages were used to describe the pandemic situation according to Jokowi's narrative. They functioned as a cognitive mechanism which signalled society forms of behaviour and attitudes towards the pandemic.

Second, the results of the metaphor data analysis reveal Jokowi's view that the pandemic is a learning and test that promises success if 'implemented' (handled) with togetherness (mutual cooperation), patience, and perseverance through arguments in a context that is partly framed in complex metaphors. Persuasive and competitive strategies to deal with the pandemic (for example regarding vaccines) were completely legitimate because the

government and people were fully involved actors. Novel metaphors functioned as a guide to describe attitudes and actions in the future which at that time were still uncertain.

Third, the collection of metaphors reveals Jokowi's perception that linguistically the success of handling the pandemic depends more on the strength and resilience of character, not a combination of demographic characteristics, circumstances, and medical care that frame the priority of the economy over health. If Musolff's findings state that metaphors can reveal the veil of racist ideology (Musolff, 2016), this study found that metaphors reveal the ideology underlying Jokowi's approach to the pandemic. The metaphor *examination* could indicate an ideology that emphasized the need for determination, perseverance, and adaptation in responding to the pandemic. This framework, in addition to encouraging a focus on public health measures and community support, also led to a focus on individual achievement and competition, rather than collective action. The context of individual achievement and competition referred to Jokowi as a second-term president who strived to prove his ambition and achievements. In addition, conceptual metaphors and analogy metaphors (similes) were also used to describe situations or policies. All of these aspects were conveyed in a way that can be easily understood by the audience and are in accordance with Wodak's opinion (2015). Thus, Jokowi's metaphors conveyed a scenario where the meaning contained framed the goal. Finally, it is important to note that this study is yetto cover the level of analysis in CMA comprehensively. Although the metaphor identification stage had been carried out through metaphor keywords and metaphorical words to determine the accuracy of metaphorical expressions, the implementation of pre-metaphor analysis could reduce the level of subjectivity.

CONCLUSION

Although not all new metaphors in Jokowi's speech showed creative and innovative metaphorical inspiration, the metaphors were selected carefully. Overall, Jokowi's metaphors functioned informatively and persuasively to both evaluate policies and to estimate Jokowi's level of trust and integrity in terms of handling the pandemic and post-pandemic preparedness. The metaphORIZATION of the pandemic was linguistic strategy to frame the expected results, expected attitudes/behaviours, and fundamental goals: to emphasize the seriousness of the pandemic situation, encourage collective action, and support Jokowi's economic agenda.

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