

METAPHORS: UNIVERSAL, SPESIFIC, AND PUBLIC

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Abstract:Metaphors in a written discourse such as in letters using *bahasa Indonesia* can be derived from the metaphorical expressions used by the writers to the editors, showing conceptualization which is based on what they experience, feel, and think in their life. This paper aims at finding out the universality of the concepts shown by the metaphors and the users using the metaphors. Using nonparticipant observation with note-taking technique, the data are collected and chosen purposively. With distributional, referential, reflective introspective, and abductive inferential methods, the data are analyzed. The results indicate that metaphors can be grouped into universal, specific, and public ones due to the universality, specification of the concepts conveyed in, and the users using them. This implies that *bahasa Indonesia* conveys similar concepts as other languages in the world do which is caused by the experiences from different time and places encountered by Indonesians living in an agricultural country.

Key Words: metaphors, metaphorical expressions, universal metaphors, specific metaphors, public metaphors

Abstrak:Metafora dalam wacana surat pembaca yang ditulis dalam bahasa Indonesia dapat diformulasikan dari ungkapan-ungkapan metaforis, yaitu: ungkapan yang menunjukkan konseptualisasi yang didasarkan pada apa yang dialami, dirasakan, dan dipikirkan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Dengan metode *nonparticipant observation* dengan teknik catat, data dikumpulkan dan dipilih secara purposif. Dengan metode distribusional, referensial, refleksif introspektif, dan inferensi abduktif, data dianalisis. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa metafora dalam wacana surat pembaca dapat dikelompokkan menjadi metafora universal, spesifik, dan publik yang didasarkan pada keuniversalan dan kekhususan konsep dan penggunaannya. Ini menandakan bahwa bahasa Indonesia menunjukkan konsep-konsep yang serupa seperti yang terjadi dalam bahasa lain di dunia. Kekhususan metafora dalam bahasa Indonesia disebabkan oleh pengalaman yang berbeda yang dialami oleh masyarakat Indonesia yang hidup di negara yang secara tipikal pertanian.

Kata Kunci: metafora, ungkapan metaforis, keuniversalan konsep, metafora universal, metafora spesifik, metafora publik

Metaphor in letters to the editors written in *bahasa Indonesia* is a kind of abstraction of a concept in the form of clause formulated from the expressions indicating conceptualization. Conceptualization represents second-order meaning like the meaning proposed by Kittay (1986). The metaphors indicate an understanding that there is a concept called target explained by another concept called source. For example, a

construction +TAGIHAN ADALAH TALI+ (+DEBT IS A ROPE+) is formulated based on the metaphorical expression as follows.

1. pelanggan akan terjeratdengan tagihan tersebut
'the customer will be fallen into a trap in debt'

The word *terjerat* 'trapped' has semantic features [+condition], [+caught], [+rope], [-can move], [-free]. To show the distribution of the word, some counter data are presented as follows.

- (1a) *terjerat tali*
'snared in a rope'
(1b) *terjerat benang*
'snared in a thread'
(1c) *terjerat kabel*
'wired'
(1d) *terjerat air**
'snared in water*'
(1e) *terjerat tanaman menjalar*
'snared in a creeping plant'
(1f) *terjerat pohon**
'snared in a tree*'

Based on the examples (1a) to (1f), it can be inferred that the word *terjerat* can be combined with the words having features [+concrete], [+can be used to catch]. However, in (1), the word *terjerat* is combined with the word *tagihan* having a feature of [-concrete]. This indicates that there is conceptualization towards '*tagihan*' considered as a concrete object that can trap humans. The construction that can be formulated is +TAGIHAN INTERNET ADALAH ENTITAS YANG MENJERAT+(+INTERNET BILL /DEBT IS A TRAPPING ENTITY+). The ground that can connect the concept *tagihan* and the concept of trapping entity, i.e. 'troubling'.

The expression in (1) is considered metaphorical since the word *terjerat* 'fall into a trap' is combined with the word *tagihan* 'debt'. If the word *terjerat* is combined with the word *tali* 'a rope', the expression is not metaphorical. The word

terjerat covers a concept of *tali* since an entity which can be used to catch is a rope / wire / thread. Thus, the expression (1) above can be inferred that it has two levels of meaning, i.e. literal meaning – meaning derived from the combination of components in a construction, and the second-order meaning which refers to a metaphorical force conveyed in the metaphorical expression, i.e. emotion or attitude conveyed in the expression indicating a reason used by the language user choosing more on metaphorical expression than the literal one.

Metaphor is firstly studied and initiated by Aristotle through his work *Poetics* (Punter, 2007:12), viewing the metaphors as a sign of an absolute language mastery of an individual, characterizing certain competency which cannot be learned by other people (Punter, 2007:11). Metaphor in Aristotle's view is different from that discussed in this paper. In this article, metaphor is viewed not only as a part of language but also a proof of the system of conceptualization among human beings. Besides, metaphor is not an individual property of someone as stated by Aristotle, which is not learned by other people, but it shows a capacity of any individuals who are normal biologically and mentally, used in everyday life; and it is not a frozen lingual form used in a certain genre of discourse.

In this paper, it is stated that what distinguishes the metaphorical expressions from the literal ones is the meaning load of the metaphorical expression which requires people to understand more than what they can understand from the literal meaning (Neisser, 2003:31). Croft and Cruse (2004) added that to recognize metaphors requires double interpretation of both violation of the literal meaning and anomaly. The interpretation meant in this paper is not only violation and anomaly but also

conceptualization process conveyed in the construction.

Mey (1993:60) defines metaphors as a life view, since metaphors represent thought and experience in daily life showing a way of thinking influenced by the environment where a person lives. Interpretation of metaphors is based on the semantic features as the property of the source domains corresponding with the concept in the target domains. From this point of view, metaphor is interpreted semantically to show the correspondence between the source domains and the target domains (Nakamoto, 2005). However, this paper does not only use semantic analysis describing the components of meaning of the expressions but also showing the conceptualization process which occurs in the metaphors formulated from the metaphorical expressions associated with the contexts referring to the physical situation, social situation, and mental situation triggering the use of language. Theories used in this paper are based on those proposed by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), revised and published in 2003 --after two decades, which still keeps the initial concepts on conceptual metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (2003:3) state that metaphors reflect what people think, feel, and experience in everyday life. To support the conceptual metaphor theory, this paper uses blending and embodiment theories. Black supported by Ungerer and Schmid (1996:118) states that metaphor functions as a cognitive tool. According to those who believe in this view, metaphor is fundamental in language, thought, and experience (Gibbs, 1994; Gibbs & Steen, 1999; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999; Johnson, 1987; Sweetser, 1990 dalam Gibbs, 2006).

Another expert supporting the idea is Saeed (2003:342) who states that language is a mental area and linguistic competence is

supported by special form of knowledge. With this point of view, metaphor is believed not only a tool for expressing ideas through language, but it is a tool for thinking of something. Therefore, language is a window showing how human constructs his ideas.

Metaphor variation according to Kovecses (2008) is based on two dimensions namely the differences happening across cultures and within cultures. The differences across cultures can bring out metaphor variation. Metaphor variation can be found in different forms. A culture may use several source domains to explain the same concept of the target domain. Kovecses (2008) gives an example as follows. To show happiness, Chinese culture uses metaphor 'flower in the heart', while English culture uses orientational metaphors like 'up or down'. The difference inside the same culture can be caused by various dimensions, namely: social, regional, ethnic, stylistic, sub-cultural, diachronic, and individual (Kovecses, 2008:58). Furthermore, Kovecses explains that social differences can be grouped in terms of sex, age, and social stratum. The metaphorical expressions used by males when they are speaking about female are different from those used by females when talking about males.

Punter (2007:46) shows the existence of public metaphor, i.e. the metaphors dynamically existing in social life of the society. In this view, public metaphors can be a strong aspect which is very important due to its control mechanism that can be a pathway to save a power (Punter, 2007:47). Based on Punter's idea (2007), the writer can explain that metaphor is not only a human cognitive tool as individual but also as society or the public about what they experience, feel, and think, encountered in their social life.

Letters to the editors can be categorized into public discourse directed to the public,

either government institution or private one. This implies that metaphorical expressions used in the letters to the editors are not only for showing a concept system formed by an individual person but also a person representing the community or group of certain geography or government. The letters to the editors is one of the rubrics in mass media having effective control power. This can be seen from the quick response given by the party that becomes the target of the letters to the editors. A complaint which is written in the letters is an example. When metaphorical expressions used for complaining can get an immediate response, it can be concluded that metaphorical expressions are effective for persuading people to do something as the users want. This implies that metaphorical expressions have an effective power control.

As human beings, people have the same basic needs for living. To fulfill their needs, they have to communicate and interact with other people using language. Language they use can reflect what they think, experience, and feel. Therefore, what people think, experience, and feel in one region may happen in another region. This can be identified from the expressions they use. As stated above, metaphors are formulated based on the expressions indicating conceptualization, which consist of two domains namely target and source.

If observed thoroughly, the concepts categorized as target domains indicate universality since they may be universal in other languages. However, the concepts in source domains can be categorized specific since they are used specifically by the society due to the experiences happening to them. The experiences trigger the consciousness of the users to transfer one concept to another when needed. Therefore, diversity or variation of the concepts in the source domains may happen since they bring out understanding to explain or to

ease for understanding the concepts of the target domains. Since this research is focused on the metaphors formulated from the metaphorical expressions in the letters to the editors, the metaphors found can be categorized into public ones due to their users as the public, namely: the writers of the letters to the editors representing the society or the public. The question that may arise is what kind of universality and variation may be manifested by the metaphors in the letters to the editors. Besides, what kind of public concept is manifested in the metaphors. Based on those questions, this paper is aimed at finding the universal, specific, and public concepts conveyed in the metaphors found in the letters to the editors written in *bahasa Indonesia* in order to show the universal, specific, and public concepts which are commonly used in *bahasa Indonesia*, which can support the theory of conceptual metaphors, language relativity, and meaning system of metaphors.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is qualitative research in nature, since this research requires explanatory analysis to explore the universality, specification, and public load of the metaphors found in the letters to the editors. Data were collected and selected purposively from the expressions found in the letters to the editors chosen randomly from the daily newspaper in *bahasa Indonesia*. The method used for presenting the data is nonparticipant observation, the method applied by observing the expressions used by the writers of the letters to the editors without interacting with the users of the expressions. To make the analysis easier, in presenting the data, note-taking and file-compiling techniques are used to support nonparticipant observation technique. Then, classification was

conducted to categorize the metaphors found. The analysis is conducted by using referential, distributional, reflective introspective methods (Sudaryanto, 1993), and abductive inferential one (Krippendorff, 2004). The referential method is used in the initial analysis for showing the concepts referred to by the expressions used as the data, which is then continued with distributional, reflective introspective and abductive inferential methods for showing conceptualization conveyed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Universal Metaphors

Universal metaphors refer to the type of metaphors classified according to the concepts assumed universally happening in human language. This is due to the natural characteristics of language and human needs which can be considered universal. The universal concepts that exist in human language are those referring to the characteristics of a human being as an individual or as a physical, psychological, and social figure, and concept referring to the human needs. The concepts categorized universal are based on the concepts of target domains of the metaphors.

Metaphors indicate a conceptualization capacity owned by humans, as stated by Lakoff (1987:280), consisting of the capacity to construct a symbolic structure corresponding with the pre-conceptual structure existing in the daily life. The symbolic structure is the basic level of the concept and the concept which is schematically pertained in the mind. The second capacity is the capacity for projecting the structure metaphorically in the physical domains to abstract ones conditioned by the relation between physical domains and abstract ones. The third capacity refers to the capacity of forming complex concept and general categories using image schema-used as a device for construction. This

capacity may also be able to form a symbolic structure of the complex events into a taxonomy with superordinate and subordinate categories.

Based on the analysis, the target domains which can be categorized universal, consist of *uang* 'money', *korupsi* 'corruption', *lingkungan* 'environment', *pendidikan* 'education', *pemerintahan* 'government', *masalah* 'problem', *ideologi* 'ideology', *budaya* 'culture', *hukum* 'law', *politik* 'politics', *kehidupan* 'life', *perasaan* 'feeling', *informasi* 'information', *promosi* 'promotion', *layanan bank* 'bank services', *waktu* 'time', *kemiskinan* 'poverty', and *pikiran* 'thought'. Those categories represent the problems faced by Indonesians in this era.

The following presentation will show how Indonesian problems are described in the letters to the editors through metaphors formulated from the expressions found in the letters to the editors. Due to space limitation, only several examples are discussed.

Universal Metaphor Uang 'Money'

The concept *uang* 'money' can be categorized as universal since it is used as a means for meeting human needs. The concept *uang* 'money' is manifested in 20 forms formulated from the metaphorical expressions found in the data. The universal concept of *uang* 'money' is realized in the forms of *uang insentif* 'incentive', *dana pinjaman* 'loans', *pajak* 'tax', *tagihan* 'bill', *hutang* 'debt', *tunjangan profesi* 'professional fee', *hadiah* 'prize', *dana program penanggulangan kemiskinan* 'fund for a program for decreasing poverty', and *uang kas negara* 'federal treasure'. The representation of the concepts shows that concept of money is used by humans for meeting their needs by making transaction and interaction with other people as individuals or representatives of an

institution. For example, *uang kas negara* 'federal treasure' is a kind of money owned by the federal institution for running and maintaining the institution. If the government does not have the money, the government will depend on the loans from the donors. Money is a very basic need for enhancing life. Experience dealing with money may not only happen to Indonesians but also other societies in the world having different languages. Therefore, the concept of money can be categorized as very important in formulating metaphors.

Every universal concept has its own variation reflected in the use of different entities in the source domains for explaining the concepts in the target domains as stated above. The same universal concept may be understood by different entities. From different entities, the variation of the metaphors can be elaborated. Metaphor variation is determined by an entity as a concept of the source domain used for understanding a concept of the target domain. The variation of the metaphor may happen within the culture or across the culture of the society (Kovecses, 2006). In this research, it is found that metaphor variation happens in Indonesian culture. For example, metaphor *tagihan* 'bill' as a concept of the target domain having a concept variation of the source domain, i.e. *luka bengkak* 'swollen injury' and *makhluk hidup* 'living creature'. The difference of the source domain concepts is due to the fact that the users of the metaphors have a different experience in facing the happenings in having bills. For example, when the amount of bill is rising significantly differently from that in the previous months, the concept of the source domain used for conceptualizing the target domain **bill** is different. See the following example.

2. *tagihan TelkomselFlash* saya begitu *bengkaknya*

'my TelkomselFlash bill was so high'

The word *bengkaknya* 'swollen' has semantic features [+process], [changing], [+rising], [+rapidly], [+a part / the whole body], [+living], [+animate], [+concrete]. To show how the word *bengkak* 'swollen' is used, some counter data are presented.

- (2a) *bagian tubuhnya bengkak*
'a part of his body is swollen'
(2b) *tubuhnya bengkak*
'His body is swollen'
(2c) *besinya bengkak**
'His iron is swollen*'
(2d) *kayunya bengkak**
'His log is swollen*'

Based on the examples (2a) to (2d), it can be inferred that the word *bengkak* can only be combined with the word having [+living] and [+concrete] features. However, in (2), the word *bengkak* is combined with the word *tagihan* 'bill' having [-concrete] feature. This indicates that there is a conceptualization process towards the concept of *tagihan* 'bill' which is considered as the concept of *luka bengkak* 'swollen injury'. There is a construction formulated +TAGIHAN ADALAH BAGIAN / SELURUHNYA TUBUH YANG BENGGAK+ (A DEBT IS A PART / WHOLE BODY SWOLLEN+). There is a similarity or ground which can connect the concept of *tagihan* and the concept of *bagian / seluruhnya tubuh bengkak*, i.e. 'changing / rising rapidly'.

The entity *luka bengkak* 'swollen injury' is a concept variation used to explain the universal concept *uang* 'money' represented by *tagihan internet* 'internet bill'. However, when the experience having a bill is different, the concept of the source domain used is also different. The following is an example how a bill can trouble someone. The use of the word *terjerat* has been presented in (1) above.

3. *pelanggan akan terjerat dengan tagihan tersebut*

'the customer will be trapped by the bill'

The word *terjerat* 'trapped' indicates a concept of *tali* 'rope' since one of its characteristics is it is used for trapping. The entity *tali* 'rope' is used to explain the universal concept of *uang* 'money' represented by *tagihan pulsa* 'cellphone voucher bill'. Therefore, from the entity used in the source domain of the metaphor *uang* 'money', several variations have been found, namely +UANG ADALAH BENDA CAIR+ (+MONEY IS A LIQUID+), +UANG ADALAH BANJIR+ (+MONEY IS A FLOOD+), +UANG ADALAH RODA+ (+MONEY IS A WHEEL+), +UANG ADALAH TANAMAN+ (+MONEY IS A PLANT+), +UANG ADALAH HASIL TAMBANG+ (+MONEY IS A MINE+), +UANG ADALAH LUKA BENGGAK+ (+MONEY IS A SWOLLEN INJURY+), +UANG ADALAH TALI+ (+MONEY IS A ROPE+), +UANG ADALAH MAKHLUK BERNYAWA+ (+MONEY IS AN ANIMATE ENTITY+), +UANG ADALAH BENDA TERAPUNG+ (+MONEY IS A FLOATING OBJECT+), +UANG ADALAH MAKHLUK BERKAKI+ (+MONEY IS A LEGGED CREATURE+), +UANG ADALAH ROKET+ (+MONEY IS A ROCKET+), +UANG ADALAH PUPUK+ (+MONEY IS A FERTILIZER+), +UANG ADALAH TUBUH SEKSI / MAKANAN YANG LEZAT+ (+MONEY IS A SEXY BODY / DELICIOUS FOOD+).

The variations of the metaphors above happen because the experiences encountered by humans about *uang* 'money' are different from time to time, or from one occasion to another.

**Universal Metaphor Korupsi
'Corruption'**

Korupsi 'corruption' is a concept which can be categorized as universal, since it happens in any language or society or country. It is explained through different concepts of the source domain. *Korupsi* 'corruption' is manifested lexically which directly can be found in the metaphors formulated. The variations of the concept of the source domain found in the data are *hama* 'plant disease', *galon air* 'water container', *ikan kakap* 'kakap fish', *gurita* 'octopus', and *penyakit* 'disease'. The metaphors indicate a concept of *merusak* '-devastating', *hilang sebagian atau seluruhnya* 'loss of part- or whole', *ukuran yang besar* 'big size', and *membahayakan* 'dangerous'. For instance, in the construction +KORUPSI ADALAH PENYAKIT+ (+CORRUPTION IS DISEASE+), the entity *penyakit* 'disease' as the concept variation used to explain corruption is formulated from the following metaphorical expressions.

4. *budaya korupsi yang sulit diberantas*
'corruption culture which is difficult to be destroyed'
5. *pemberantasan korupsi*
'corruption destruction',
6. *memberantas korupsi*
'destroying corruption'.

The word *berantas* 'destroy' is found in the expressions of examples (4 to 6), has the features of [+process], [+destroying], [+concrete], [+living]. To show its distribution, some counter data are presented as follows.

- (4a) *penyakit menular yang sulit diberantas*
'a contagious disease difficult to destroy'
- (4b) *hama yang sulit diberantas*
'a plant disease difficult to destroy'

Based on the examples (4a) and (4b), it can be inferred that the word *berantas* can only be combined with the main noun *penyakit* 'disease' having the feature of [+living], [+a kind of disease], [+concrete],

while in (4), the word is combined with the word *korupsi* having [-concrete] feature. This indicates that the word *korupsi* 'corruption' is considered as a disease which is difficult to be destroyed. From the word *berantas*, a construction +*KORUPSI ADALAH HAMA*+ (+CORRUPTION IS A PLANT DISEASE) can be formulated. The entity *hama* 'plant disease' is used to explain the concept of corruption having destroying and damaging characteristics, which are difficult to wipe out because of its fast and massive damaging power. The use of the entity *hama* (plant disease) as the source domain in explaining the universal concept of corruption as the target domain may be local or specific due to different environments causing different experiences encountered by humans in different regions or areas. As agricultural society, Indonesians have embodied experience in agriculture, and *hama* 'plant disease' is one of the entities found in the planting system.

Universal Metaphor Lingkungan 'Environment'

Lingkungan 'environment' is a concept which can be categorized as universal since *lingkungan* 'environment' is a place where humans live. Humans live in the natural or social environment that can make their life comfortable or not for enhancing it. The universal concept *lingkungan* 'environment' is represented by different concepts of the source domain found in the data. The concept *lingkungan* 'environment' is represented by *bumi* 'the earth', *kota* 'city', *sungai* 'river', *alam* 'nature', *bencana* 'disaster', *tempat parkir* 'parking area', and *kendaraan* 'vehicle'. The universal concepts are represented differently among other things by *tempat sampah raksasa* 'giant trash container', *manusia dengan sifat buruknya* 'humans with bad character', *mulut* 'mouth', *kolam ikan* 'fish pond', *sahabat* 'close friend', *binatang*

buas 'fierce animal', *benang* 'thread', *binatang liar* 'wild animal', and *banjir* 'flood'. For instance, the construction +*BENGAWAN SOLO ADALAH MANUSIA ANGGUKUH DAN JAHAT*+ (+BENGAWAN SOLO RIVER IS AN ARROGANT AND EVIL HUMAN+) has a concept of the target domain Bengawan Solo 'river' and a concept of the source domain *manusia angkuh dan jahat* 'an arrogant and evil person'. The entity *manusia yang angkuh dan jahat* is a concept variation used to explain a universal *sungai* 'river' formulated from the following expression.

7. *Bengawan Solo dengan angkuhnya menghajar dan menghantam*
'Bengawan Solo arrogantly attacked and hit'.

The expression *angkuhnya menghajar dan menghantam* 'arrogantly attacked and hit' has some semantic features like [+attribut], [+human], [-good character], [+living], [+concrete]. To show the distribution of the expression, some counter data are presented as follows.

- (7a) Orang itu dengan *angkuhnya* menghajar dan menghantam siapa saja yang ada di dekatnya.
'Arrogantly, the person attacked and hit anyone near him'.
- (7b) Binatang itu dengan *angkuhnya* menghajar dan menghantam siapa saja yang ada di dekatnya*
'Arrogantly, the animal attacked and hit anyone near it'*

The example (7b) indicates that there is a meaning addition in the word *angkuhnya* 'arrogant', i.e. the features [-human], [+living], [+animal]. The metaphorical force of the word *angkuhnya* is indicated by the distribution showing that the word is not only combined with the word having semantic feature [+human], but it can also be combined with the word having semantic

feature [+animal] and [+river]. This indicates that there is a conceptualization towards *sungai* 'river' having human's bad character namely 'arrogant'. From (7), it can be formed +SUNGAI (BENGAWAN SOLO) ADALAH MANUSIA ANGKUH DAN JAHAT+ (+BENGAWAN SOLO RIVER IS AN ARROGANT AND EVIL HUMAN+). There is a ground connecting the concept of river and arrogant and evil human, i.e. 'being cruel'. The entity *manusia* 'human' is selected since it is used for explaining the universal concept *sungai* (river) due to its bad characters.

Universal Metaphor Hukum 'Laws'

Living with other people, humans need laws that can regulate their life to reach justice and prosperity that can create peace in this world. The concept of laws is universal since laws are needed universally by human beings. The concept of laws is manifested in different concepts that can be inferred from the metaphorical expressions in the data. Each representation is explained by different entities which can be inferred from the data. The representation of the concept *hukum* as a concept of the target domain among other things includes *pranata hukum* 'law institution', *lembaga penegak hukum* 'institution of law enforcement', *aparatur hukum negara* 'federal law apparatus', *hukum* 'law', *kebenaran* 'truth', *keadilan* 'justice', *pasal-pasal dan vonis pengadilan* 'articles and sentence of justice', *kasus hukum* 'legal cases', dan *KPK* 'Commission of Corruption Watch'. The concepts of the source domains used for conceptualization among other things include *pisau* 'knife', *sarang* 'nest', *kolam ikan* 'fish pond', *bangunan* 'building', *suara* 'noise', *tiang* 'pillar', *komoditi* 'commodity', *tali* 'rope', *tubuh yang sakit / lemah* 'weak body', *mobil yang rusak* 'broken car', *tubuh yang berkoreng* 'scabby body', *permainan*

'game', *barang dagangan* 'commodity', *bangunan dari kayu* 'wooden building', *bangkai* 'cadaver', dan *batu di tengah jalan* 'rock in the street'. For example, a construction +PRANATA HUKUM ADALAH PISAU YANG TUMPUL+ (+LAW INSTITUTION IS A DULL KNIFE+) has a concept of the target domain *pranata hukum* 'law institution' and the source domain *pisau yang tumpul* 'dull knife'. The entity *pisau* 'knife' is a concept variation used for explaining a concept *pranata hukum* that can be inferred from the following expression.

(8) *tumpul pranata hukum tersebut.*

'the dull law institution'

The word *tumpul* 'dull' indicates features [+cutting gadget], [-well functioned], [+concrete]. The entity *pisau yang tumpul* 'dull knife' is used for understanding a concept *pranata hukum* 'law institution' due to its characteristics, i.e. not functioning well. Due to some limitation, the following examples will not be elaborated further.

Universal Metaphor Perasaan 'Feeling'

The concept *perasaan* 'feeling' is represented by a concept that can be inferred from the expressions found in the data. Each representation is explained with different concepts of the source domain like *hati* 'heart', *simpati masyarakat* 'people sympathy / interest', *semangat* 'spirit', *sikap* 'attitude', *emosi* 'emotion', *dukungan* 'support', *mental* 'mental', *hubungan perasaan* 'relationship', *dugaan* 'prejudice', *ikatan silaturahmi* 'socialties', *partisipasi* 'participation', *ancaman* 'threat', *kasih sayang* 'love', and *persepsi* 'perception'. The concepts are used for explaining the source domains such as *ruang* 'space', *barang berharga* 'valueable things', *makhluk hidup* 'living creatures', *tali* 'rope', *benda mudah pecah* 'fragile objects', *mobil*

'car', *entitas hidup* 'living entity', *makhluk berkepala* 'headed creatures', *makhluk bergetar* 'vibrating creatures', *benda keras* 'hard things', *benih* 'seed', *air* 'water', *api* 'fire', *binatang liar* 'wild animal', *lem* 'glue', *tiang* 'pillar', and *jalan* 'road'. For example, metaphor +SEMANGAT ADALAH TALI+ (+SPIRIT IS A ROPE+) has a concept of the target domain *semangat* 'spirit' and the concept of the source domain *tali* 'a rope' which is used to represent the concept of the target domain. The entity *tali* 'rope' is a concept variation used for explaining the concept of *semangat* 'spirit' which can be inferred from the expression

(9) *semangat mereka kendur*
'their spirit is weak'

The entity *tali* 'rope' derived from the word *kendur* 'loose' is used for explaining a concept of *semangat* 'spirit' due to its characteristic, i.e. that can be loose and tight.

Universal Metaphor Waktu 'Time'

Waktu 'time' is a concept which is universal since all people know time. The concept of time is explained by using different entities which can be found in the metaphors +WAKTU ADALAH JALAN+ (+TIME IS A ROAD+), +WAKTU ADALAH BANGUNAN YANG BERDAMPINGAN+ (+TIME IS A BUILDING STANDING SIDE BY SIDE WITH ANOTHER BUILDING+) . For example, metaphor +WAKTU ADALAH BANGUNAN YANG BERDAMPINGAN+ (+TIME IS A BUILDING STANDING SIDE BY SIDE WITH ANOTHER BUILDING+) has a concept of the source domain "a building standing side by side with another building" formulated from the metaphorical expression

(10) *mepetnya waktu sosialisasi*

'the closeness of the time for socialization'

The entity "two buildings standing side by side" derived from the word *mepetnya* 'the closeness' is a concept variation used for explaining the concept of time which can be inferred from the expression *mepetnya waktu* 'the closeness of the time' which can be the basis for formulating the metaphor +WAKTU ADALAH BANGUNAN YANG BERDAMPINGAN+. The entity *gedung yang berdampingan* 'two buildings standing side by side' is used for explaining the concept of *waktu* 'time' because of their characteristic, namely the ability of being set side by side.

Universal Metaphor Kemiskinan 'Poverty'

Kemiskinan 'poverty' is a universal concept referring to the situation which shows that people can not fulfill their basic needs for living. Poverty can be categorized as universal since it probably happens to any country in the world. The difference is the degree of the poverty. There is a country having severe poverty, while others have light one. Poverty in African countries is more severe than that in other countries. Ethiopia is an example.

The universal concept of poverty is represented by some concepts that can be inferred from the metaphorical expressions found in the data. It is represented by the concepts of the target domain such as *kemiskinan* 'poverty', *persoalan kemiskinan* 'poverty problem', *penanggulangan kemiskinan* 'fighting against poverty', *angka kemiskinan* 'poverty rate', *program pengentasan kemiskinan* 'poverty elevation program', and represented by the concepts of the source domain like *himpitan* 'pressure', *tali yang melilit* 'tightening rope', *roda* 'wheel', *tanaman belukar* 'bushes', *benda tenggelam* 'sinking object'. For example, the metaphor +KEMISKINAN ADALAH BATU BESAR YANG MENGHIMPIT+ (+POVERTY IS A BIG ROCK

PRESSING THE BODY+) has a concept of the target domain of poverty; and the concept of the source domain of a big rock pressing the body. The entity of a big rock pressing the body is a concept variation used for explaining the concept of poverty which can be inferred from the expression

(11) *dihimpit kemiskinan*

‘pressed / hit by poverty’

The big rock pressing is used for explaining for the concept of poverty due to its characteristics of causing pain. Another example showing that poverty is conceptualized as a difficult problem is conveyed by the metaphor +*PERSOALAN KEMISKINAN ADALAH TALI YANG MELILIT*+ (+A POVERTY PROBLEM IS A TIGHTENING ROPE+). The entity *tali yang melilit* is a variation concept used for explaining the concept of poverty problem inferred from the following expression.

(12) *dililit persoalan kemiskinan*

‘tightened by poverty’

It is used for explaining the concept of poverty due to its characteristics, namely losing freedom. Poverty is a nation’s problem which is universal and has the characteristics of being difficult to elevate even though there are always a lot of programs carried out by the government, for example the programs represented in the metaphor +*PENANGGULANGAN KEMISKINAN ADALAH RODA*+ (+POVERTY ERADICATION IS A WHEEL+). This metaphor indicates a program for minimizing poverty conceptualized that the program done by the government is always running. The concept of wheel is used for explaining the concept of program due to its characteristic of moving. Therefore, the program for elevating poverty is a program which is maintained to be continuing for getting rid of the poverty problem in the world. The entity of wheel is a concept variation used for explaining the concept for

preventing poverty from becoming severe that can be inferred from the following expression.

(13) *program penanggulangan kemiskinan yang digulirkan*

‘poverty protection program moved’

The entity of wheel is used for explaining the concept of the program for protecting poverty due to its characteristics, namely ability to run or move. The trouble in solving the poverty problem is explained by the metaphor +*ANGKA KEMISKINAN ADALAH BALON DI ATAS AIR*+ (+A POVERTY RATE IS A FLOATING BALLOON+), conceptualizing the poverty rate like a balloon floating on the water. This can be imagined when there is an entity such as balloon floating on the water sunk; what happens is that the balloon is always floating. The conceptualization explains how difficult it is to decrease the poverty rate. The entity of balloon is a concept variation used for explaining the concept of poverty rate that can be inferred from the following expression.

(14) *angka kemiskinan begitu sulit ditekan*

‘the poverty rate is difficult to decrease’.

The entity of the floating balloon is used for explaining the concept of the poverty rate due to its characteristics, namely being difficult to decrease.

Universal Metaphor Pikiran ‘Thought’

Pikiran ‘thought’ is a universal concept since it is a characteristic distinguishing humans from animals. With their power of reasoning, humans have ideas and communicate them to others. The universal concept of thought is represented by some concepts which can be inferred from the metaphorical expressions found in the data. Each representation is considered as the concept of the target domain such as *cara pikir* ‘way of thinking’, *pandangan-pandangan*

'views', *pikiran* 'thought', *opini publik* 'public opinion', represented by the concept of the source domain among other things: *tulisan / lukisan* 'writing or painting', *tiang* 'pillar', *air* 'water', *benda yang bisa digerakkan* 'moving objects'. For example, the metaphor +PANDANGAN-PANDANGAN ADALAH TIANG+ (+VIEWS ARE PILLARS+), indicating that the views are conceptualized as pillars. The entity of pillar is a concept variation used for explaining the concept of views inferred from the expression

- (15) *pandangan-pandangan miring yang tercipta.*
'sloping views created'

The entity *tiang* is used to explain the concept of views due to its characteristic: it can slop or stand firm.

Specific Metaphors

Specific metaphors refer to metaphor variation classified according to the concepts of the source domain used for explaining the concepts of the target domain as the components of the universal metaphor. The concept of the source domain is the entity existing in the surrounding where *bahasa Indonesia* exists. Since the natural environment is specific, the metaphor components used are specific too. This concept supports the language relativity theory stating that language relatively depends on the nature surrounding it.

An environment is a place where humans live. Humans strongly depend on it. The dependence on the environment can cause experiences to be felt and stored in the mind called schemas. The experiences become metaphor variation found in the data indicating uncomfortable experiences or showing uneasiness, unsafety, the feeling of loss, and ugliness. The concepts can be found in *luka* 'injury', *banjir* 'flood',

bangunan kayu yang lapuk 'rotten wooden building', *hama* 'plant disease', *binatang buas* 'furious animal', *jamur* 'mushroom', *ubuh berkoreng* 'scabby body'. The metaphor specifics shown by the concepts found in the letters to the editors are the experiences categorized as having bad characteristics. For example, *bangunan kayu yang lapuk* 'rotten wooden building' is an entity having ugly performance, not functioning well since it is rotten. The followings are the examples of the specific metaphors in *bahasa Indonesia*. Metaphor +KPK ADALAH BANGUNAN KAYU YANG LAPUK+ (+KPK IS A ROTTEN WOODEN BUILDING+)

The metaphor is formulated based on the following expression.

- (16) *bangunan KPK selama ini masih kokoh dan kuat seolah pelan-pelan kok digerogoti dari luar dalam.*
'KPK building has been very strong so far, but as if it were bitten repeatedly from inside and outside'

The word *digerogoti* 'bitten repeatedly' indicates the concept of deteriorating. The word becomes the basis of formulating the metaphor +KPK ADALAH BANGUNAN KAYU LAPUK+. The building can deteriorate because of the termites. The conceptualization of the building is like the conceptualization of KPK since both have the same characteristic: they can deteriorate from the inside. The correspondence connecting the concept of the source domain "the rotten wooden building" and the target domain "KPK" can be proven through a visual experience: we can see how a building is being destroyed slowly by ceaselessly relentless bites of termites.

The conceptualization of KPK vis-a-vis the wooden building indicates the concept *mudah rusak* 'easily deteriorated' because the quality of the institution of the law enforcement against corruption, which

specifically happens in Indonesia. This associates with Indonesia as the most corrupted country. Therefore, corruption is the biggest problem in Indonesia. The government makes efforts to find a solution that makes KPK established for having a specific mission that can destroy corruption in Indonesia. The characteristic of the case makes the metaphor specific. Metaphor +PERSOALAN KEMISKINAN ADALAH TALI YANG MELILIT+ (+POVERTY PROBLEM IS A TIGHTENING ROPE+)

This metaphor is formulated based on the following expression.

(17) *dunia masih tengah dililit persoalan kemiskinan.*

‘the world is still being aggravated by the poverty problem’

The word *dililit* indicates a concept of being tightened, difficult to move. The word is the basis of formulating the metaphor above. A rope has many functions; one of them is to tighten or to wind around an object, making the object unable to move. The conceptualization on the basis of a rope tightening an object is like the conceptualization of a poverty problem; – both make an entity unable to move freely. The correspondence connecting the target domain with the source domain of the rope winding around an object is proven by a visual experience of witnessing a creature wound around by a rope or a snake, making it unable to move, and also by a painful physical experience when the body is wound around by a rope. A debt problem is a specific concept occurring in developing countries. Metaphor +PRIVATISASI LEMBAGA PENDIDIKAN ADALAH RAYAP+ (+EDUCATION INSTITUTION PRIVATIZATION IS A TERMITE+)

The construction is formulated based on the following expression.

(18) *privatisasi lembaga pendidikan semakin menggerogoti lembaga pendidikan Indonesia.*

‘the privatization of education institution is gnawing Indonesian education institution’

The word *menggerogoti* ‘gnawing’ in (18) indicates a concept of destroying or decaying. This word is the basis of formulating metaphor +PRIVATISASI LEMBAGA PENDIDIKAN ADALAH RAYAP+. This metaphor indicates that a termite is biting repeatedly a wooden building until it is deteriorated. The conceptualization towards a termite is like the conceptualization towards the privatization of the education institution due to its characteristic that is being able to destroy. The correspondence of the target domain and the source domain can prove that visual experience witnesses a termite biting repeatedly a wooden building until it is broken. The concept of termite used for explaining the concept of privatization is specific due to embodied experience commonly happening in tropical countries like Indonesia.

Public Metaphors

Public metaphor refers to one that is formulated from the concepts which can be categorized based on its users, i.e. the public. It refers to the expressions used by individuals or social groups or institutions in communicating with other parties as the speakers or hearers in public domains. The followings are the examples of the public metaphors found in the letters to the editors in *bahasa Indonesia*.

The metaphorical expression in (19) is used by the representative of the Red Cross institution for showing its responsibility in helping the victims or casualties of the natural disaster.

(19) *PMI Cabang Kabupaten Cilacap menyalurkan bantuan berupa 300 tikar, ..*

'The Red Cross of Cilacap reGENCY distributed 300 sleeping mats'

The expression *menyalurkan bantuan* 'distributing necessities' is the basis of formulating the metaphor +BANTUAN ADALAH BENDA CAIR+ (+A HELP IS LIQUID+). This metaphor is used by the Red Cross of Cilacap Regency to report its activity in donating all the casualties' needs. The metaphor formulated is based on the metaphorical expression mentioned above that can be categorized into a public metaphor since it is used for reporting the public responsibility of an institution.

The metaphor used by the customer of the government services can be found in the following example.

(20) *Ketika saya pulang tiba-tiba datang tukang parkir liar yang minta uang parkir Rp. 1.000 untuk kendaraan roda dua dan Rp.2.000 untuk mobil.*

'when going home, suddenly an illegal parking personnel came asking Rp. 1,000 for a motorcycle and Rp. 2,000 for a car'.

The expression *tukang parkir liar* 'illegal parking personnel' can be the basis of formulating the metaphor +TUKANG PARKIR ADALAH BINATANG LIAR+ (+A PARKING PERSONNEL IS A WILD ANIMAL+). The metaphorical expression is used by the writer of the letters to the editors as the customer of the public services for reporting what he experienced when he parked his car in the area of TIC building. There are still some other examples indicating the users of the public services concerned with guiding and counseling, water, and tax.

The metaphor used by the consumers of the product offered can be found in the following example.

(21) *jatah kuota saya yang 3 GB rupanya telah disunat secara sepihak oleh Telkomsel*
'my quota 3 GB was cut by Telkomsel'

The expression *telah disunat* 'was cut' indicates that there is a loss experienced by the writer, that is the loss of the quota. The metaphorical expression is the basis of formulating the +PULSA ADALAH MANUSIA YANG DISUNAT+ (A CELL-PHONE VOUCHER IS A HUMAN CIRCUMSIZED+). The metaphor is used for complaining the lost experienced by the buyer of the product.

The metaphor used by the writer can be found in the following example.

(22) *bisakah hukum diperdagangkan?*

'Can law be traded?'

The expression *hukum diperdagangkan* 'law is traded' can be the basis of formulating the +HUKUM ADALAH KOMODITI+ (LAW IS COMMODITY+). This metaphor is used by the writer for teasing the law enforcement institution in handling legal cases. There is a violation observed by the writer of the letters to the editors, so that he or she uses the expression. The expressions are exposed to the public for the violations happened concerning the legal processes.

Literally, a commodity is goods traded openly in public places like stores or shops or malls. In the places, people can buy and sell anything they want to fulfill their living necessities. Besides, in the places the legal cases can not be found even bought. Beside legal cases, education is also a problem that is observed by the writer of the letters to the editors. When education becomes a business, it is felt by him that a kind of practice breaks justice principles, because it can cause the cost of the education to be very expensive for lower working people or the poor that they cannot afford it. On the other hand, getting proper education is the right for every citizen as stated in Undang-undang Dasar 1945 (Indonesian Constitutions). Some other examples of public metaphors are dealing with environment, poverty, the govern-

ment's fairness in treating the society in giving donation for improvement program of the lower working people, corruption in Kendal regency, political problem, function of KPK, civil servant candidate recruitment and selection, BRI bank services, Telkomsel internet, traffic jam, etc.

The kinds of the metaphors discussed indicate that people are creative in using language especially in using metaphors. With metaphors, people use language not only for communication but also for representing thoughts, feelings, and experiences. In the metaphors, people conceptualize a concept used for categorizing entities they have in their life. Metaphors represent their experience in their interaction and communication with other people to fulfill their needs. Since, humans have universal needs, the topics explained by other concepts tend to be universal. This may imply that in *bahasa Indonesia* we can also find universal metaphors that reflect *Indonesian* experiences as other people in other languages experience. As humans, Indonesian people have the same basic needs and characteristics. What people experience is always changing due to time and places. The changes influence the use of metaphorical expressions that may vary in any languages. In *bahasa Indonesia*, the variation of the metaphors is caused by the experience encountered by Indonesians and the typology of Indonesia as a developing and agricultural country. This implies that *bahasa Indonesia* conveys similar concepts as other languages in the world do. The specificity of the metaphors in *bahasa Indonesia* is caused by the experiences due to different time and places encountered by Indonesians living in a typically agricultural country. The public aspect is caused by the role of the writers as the members of Indonesian country and the universe.

CONCLUSION

The explanation above can be concluded that the metaphors in the letters to the editors can be categorized into universal, specific, and public. They are universal since their concepts are related with human needs in general. They may be found in human languages in the world. They are specific since the concepts used for explaining the target vary according to the embodied experience of the society. In terms of its users, metaphor can be categorized into public metaphor, since it is used by its users to show their experiences encountered not only as individuals but also as the public. Therefore, the experiences represented in the metaphors may represent the public experiences. This implies that *bahasa Indonesia* conveys similar concepts as other languages in the world do. The specificity of the metaphors in *bahasa Indonesia* is caused by the experiences due to different time and places encountered by Indonesians living in a typically agricultural country.

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