

# Indonesian culture-specific metaphorical conceptualizations of ANGER, LOVE, and HATE: A cultural-cognitive approach

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This study explores and links cultural and cognitive motivations of conceptual metaphors for the emotions of ANGER, LOVE, and HATE in Indonesian. The inexhaustive data retrieved for this study exhibits cultural saliency shaped by the Indonesian worldview and beliefs. The conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) in combination with Heider's (1991) cognitive flow of emotion framework and Schmitt's (2005) qualitative method are employed for analysis. It is found that there are emotion-specific conceptualizations for the aforementioned emotions, namely, ANGER IS FOOD, ANGER IS A SONG, LOVE IS A YARN, and HATE IS A DISEASE. The first two are culturally motivated, whereas the latter is more cognitively conceptualized. The three emotions share the same master metaphors. Stomach and uterus as the seat of some emotions are also discussed.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

A myriad of studies on metaphor, starting from language viewpoint to cognition, emotion, and human bodily senses, have revealed that it is more ubiquitous than many may have once thought (see Ortony 1993; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Yu 1998; Kövecses 2000a; Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2011; Citron & Goldberg 2014; Citron et al. 2019; Lacey, Stilla & Sathian 2012). Metaphors are apparently deeply rooted and structured in our cognition, reflected in our language and action and somehow shaped by culture.

Prior to conceptualizing bodily experiences, we undergo occurrences and observe them consciously and subconsciously under the influence of the cultural context in which we live. Following this process, our cognition starts to organize and conceptualize our knowledge by means of category structures and prototype effects (see Ungerer & Schmid 1996). This conceptual structure becomes meaningful because it is embodied. The main reason for this is that we, humans, use our body as our axis for our perceptions (see Lakoff & Johnson 1999). Our sensory and bodily experiences become the basic gestalt to make sense of abstract concepts, such as emotion.

While in some cultures, emotions are embraced and expressed openly, Indonesians tend to mask their emotions, especially intense and strong ones, by smiling, and this can be confusing and lead to misunderstanding. This behavior is shaped by culture (see Heider 1991) and it does not mean that a behavior automatically aligns with the metaphors Indonesians use in discourse. However, this can be taken as a starting point to determine how Indonesians would actually express themselves in words about their emotions, especially those that they find difficult to express, such as ANGER, LOVE, and HATE (see Heider 1991). This study examines the following questions: Does it mean that ANGER, LOVE, and HATE in Indonesian are difficult to express, since they are considered strong emotions in the Indonesian context? Should they feel the need to express it in words, how

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would Indonesians conceptualize their emotions in metaphors? Are there any cultural motivations that shape their metaphorical conceptualizations in expressing the aforementioned emotions?

This paper is an updated and modified elaboration of Yuditha (2013). Some metaphorical conceptualizations are discussed in more depth, while others are not included in this version. This study therefore focuses more on culture-specific emotion metaphorical expressions and their conceptualizations in contemporary Indonesian as an attempt to determine the underlying cultural and/or cognitive motivations. Some examples from classic Malay/Indonesian texts, where the data are available, are used to investigate how innate certain conceptual metaphors are in Indonesian.

To understand the motivations of the metaphorical conceptualizations discussed herein, this study employs Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), Heider's (1991) Indonesian cognitive flow of emotion framework and the qualitative method proposed by Schmitt (2005).

Postulations on the conceptual metaphors of the emotions under study are provided along with some metaphorical expression examples taken from the Malay Concordance Project, as well as some other sources, to examine the cultural saliency and motivations behind them. Although statistical studies on conceptual metaphor can in general establish how pervasive metaphorical expressions are by quantifying usage occurrences in the discourse, such type of study tends not to capture or cover the richness of the novel or historical metaphorical expressions articulated by the speakers when the expression occurrences are not so productive or frequent. On the other hand, the current study does not emphasize frequencies of tokens in a given sample,<sup>2</sup> but elaborates on and/or gauges the possibilities of entity variation mapping between the source and target domains in Indonesian discourse through the conceptual metaphors themselves.

The results suggest that there are culturally motivated emotion-specific conceptualizations for ANGER, LOVE, and HATE in Indonesian, namely ANGER IS A FOOD and ANGER IS A SONG, LOVE IS A YARN, and HATE IS A DISEASE. Furthermore, there are also master metaphors that are shared by the aforementioned emotions, namely LOVE and HATE share the same source domain (PLANT), and all three emotions share two master conceptualizations, that is, personification of emotion and EMOTION IS A POSSESSION.

## 2. Metaphor, emotion, and culture

Scholars have found that some languages share similar universal conceptual metaphors in terms of emotions. Interestingly, there are also culture-specific metaphors belonging only to a certain language. These are unique and perhaps cannot be applied to other languages. This section examines the types of metaphors as a basic comprehension to further discuss culture-specific metaphors in Indonesian related to emotion. Moreover, metaphors are a product of thought and emotion, which is defined by culture.

### 2.1. Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) define three categories of conceptual metaphors: ontological, orientational, and structural. Overlapping could occur between two or even all three

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<sup>2</sup> Rajeg (2013) has discussed Indonesian metaphors on emotion using a quantitative methodology introduced by Stefanowitsch (2006) called *Metaphorical Pattern Analysis* (MPA) using massive data to analyze.

conceptual metaphors under one metaphorical conceptualization, depending on how productive the conceptual metaphor is in a language.

The ontological metaphor is when abstract concepts are conceptualized or identified in terms of more familiar concrete entities, substances, or any physical objects. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) suggest that the most distinct ontological metaphor is personification. With personification, we can map both other objects and abstract concepts as a human being. Consider the expressions below in English and Indonesian:

(1) English:

*I like onions, but they don't like me.*

From the above expression, we know that onions cannot like or dislike someone because they are not a human being or an animal who can display emotion. What happens is that when peeled, onions release an enzyme that can irritate our eyes to the point of crying. We equalize the experience of having someone not liking us and/or hurting us to the point that we cry like we would when peeling the onions.

(2) Indonesian:

<i>Bulan</i>	<i>ter-senyum</i>	<i>dengan</i>	<i>manis.</i>
moon	INV-smile	with	sweet

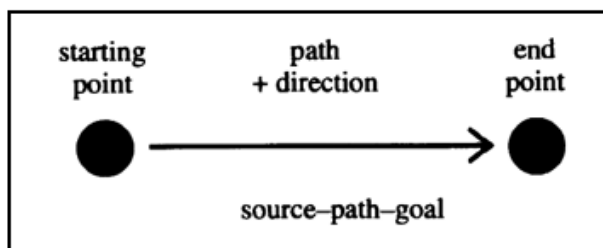
‘The moon is smiling sweetly.’

With the moon metaphor in example (2), there is a nuance the metaphorical expressions would like to convey, that is, the moon is shining brightly and perhaps it is a full moon, the sky is clear, and it makes us happy. We would also feel happy and smile back when we see someone smiling at us; therefore, we map that feeling and behavioral reaction onto the moon. The fact that the moon's smile is perceived as sweet demonstrates another layer of metaphor that involves synesthesia, that is, a blending of human perception; in this case, between sight and taste (cf. Shen & Gil 2008). Martina (2018) claims that when compounded with a behavioral verb, the word *manis* “sweet” in Indonesian, denotes “interesting” and “good.”<sup>3</sup> She asserts not only is the word *manis* used to describe taste, but also used to express one's physical, attitude, and/or behavioral state.

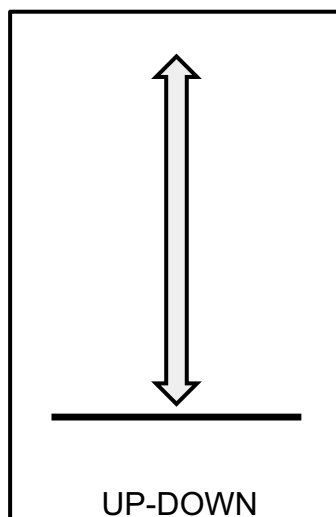
The second type of conceptual metaphor is an orientational metaphor. We learn spatial concepts through our physical experiences that make us comprehend different spatial concepts such as UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK, IN-OUT, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, and so on. It is a frequent physical functioning and it sometimes becomes subconscious. For instance, we mostly are not conscious when we carry out the UP spatial movement such as getting up from sitting on a chair. However, the subconscious motoric movements we frequently make have become a conceptual structure that helps us to understand abstract domains, such as space, time, and even emotions in terms of orientation. The orientational metaphor also carries spatial image schemas, as illustrated in Figures 1 and 2.

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<sup>3</sup> For further discussion on the word *manis* in Indonesian and its semantic classifications, see Martina (2018).



**Figure 1. SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema (Saslaw 1996:217)**



**Figure 2. UP-DOWN image schema as proposed by Saslow (1996:217)**

When we map our emotions onto spatial abstract domains, it gives us some orientational metaphors (see Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Some examples from English are provided below with the UP-DOWN conceptualization.

(3) English:

- (a) *I'm feeling up.*
- (b) *That boosted my spirits.*
- (c) *My spirits rose.*

These expressions are classified under the HAPPINESS IS UP metaphorical conceptualization. As a comparison, Indonesians would express themselves as follows.

(4) Indonesian:

*Aku melayang bahagia.*<sup>4</sup>  
1SG drift happy

'I'm drifting (in the sky) out of happiness.'

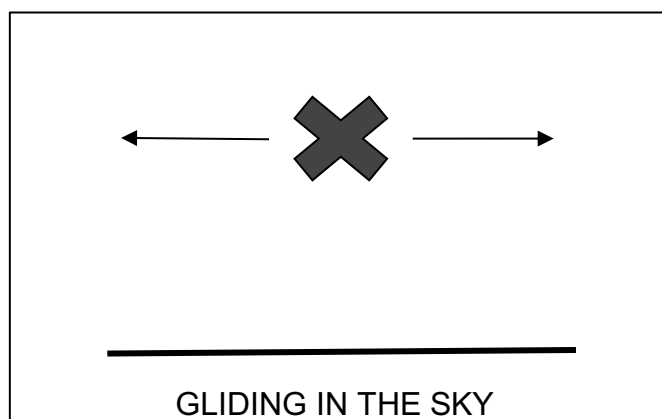
<sup>4</sup> <http://ahfarahman.weebly.com/tentang-uswah/aku-bermimpi-indah-pagi-ini>

(5) Indonesian:

*Bahagia itu seperti terbang. Terbang tanpa sayap.*<sup>5</sup>  
 happy that like fly fly without wings

‘Happiness is like flying. Flying without wings.’

In the above example, *bahagia* “happy” is mapped onto *melayang* “to fly in the sky without moving or flapping the wings,” among other meanings (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia; KBBI:2016), as one of the expressions of HAPPINESS IS A GLIDING OBJECT IN THE SKY metaphorical conceptualization.<sup>6</sup> The spatial orientation being employed is UP, and the image schema involved is that the feeling does not make one immediately move vertically like that of English *I’m feeling up*, but one gradually elevates themselves into a higher position and it also denotes a lighter sense in terms of weight. The suggested image schema that could be applied to the HAPPINESS IS GLIDING OBJECT IN THE SKY metaphorical conceptualization is illustrated in Figure 3.



**Figure 3. HAPPINESS IS GLIDING OBJECT IN THE SKY image schema**

When the spatial orientation and image schema are applied on BAHAGIA, the conceptual mapping is that one is so light that they would take off from the ground, gradually fly vertically into the sky, and after reaching a certain point, steadily float in the sky. Therefore, the impression the expression wants to demonstrate is that when one feels BAHAGIA, the happiness they feel gives some sense of lightness and is constantly elevated, but also denotes an ungrounded and/or dreamy state of mind.

Some experts suggest that culture plays a significant role in shaping metaphorical conceptualizations and, thereby, their metaphorical and linguistic expressions (cf. Kövecses 2000a). For example, the mapping of HAPPINESS onto UP in English is also shaped and filtered by English culture. English speakers believe that UP is GOOD. Therefore, it can be assumed that the Indonesian metaphorical concept of HAPPINESS IS GLIDING IN THE SKY is motivated by some cultural aspects, which requires further investigation.

The last type of conceptual metaphor is called a structural metaphor. This type usually has a set of entailments from a true human experience as the source domain and maps them onto the target domain. Thus, the linguistic expressions employed to describe the

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.hipwee.com/narasi/bahagaia-itu-seperti-terbang-tanpa-sayap/>

<sup>6</sup> See Rajeg 2013 for more discussion on HAPPINESS metaphorical conceptualization in Indonesian

source domain are similarly employed to describe the target domain. In English, under the ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor, we can find the following expressions related to WAR.

(6) English:

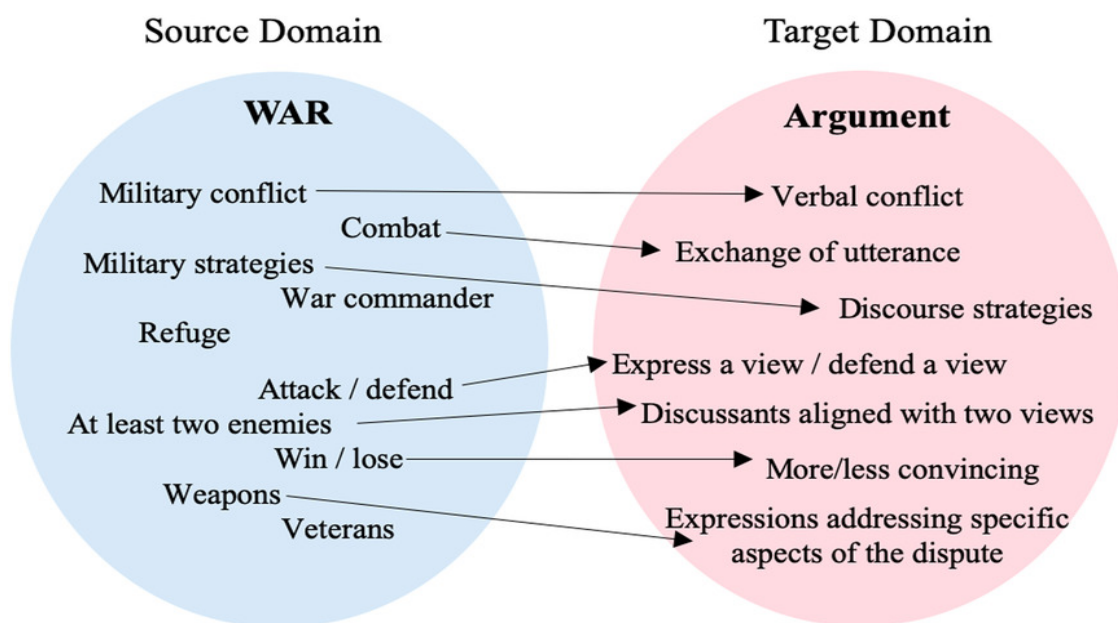
- (a) *We have a serious **conflict** at the border.*
- (b) *They **attacked** us severely in the field.*
- (c) *We have to **win** this war!*

These expressions are now mapped on the abstract domain, ARGUMENT, below.

(7) English:

- (a) *We have a serious **conflict** with their company.*
- (b) *They **attacked** our vision and mission.*
- (c) *We have to **win** this debate!*

Therefore, the entailment in the ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor, such as “conflict,” “attack,” and “win,” among others, is similarly structured between both source and target domain as illustrated in Figure 4.



**Figure 4. ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual mapping (following Lee 2019:887)**

Under the ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor, once we talk about argument in war terms, we take actions accordingly; that is, we will try to win the argument by planning some strategies and anticipations, and attack the counter-arguments at the right time. However, other languages may have different metaphorical conceptualizations for ARGUMENT shaped by their own cultural worldview.

Generally, ontological, orientational, and structural metaphors are grounded in our experience and we make correlations between the two. Since our experiences are shaped by our social reality and it is defined by our culture to make sense of our world so that we can function socially, it is therefore only natural that our conception of physical reality, emotions attached to it, and the way we talk about it are affected by culture.

## 2.2. Emotion and metaphor

Studies of cognition traditionally exclude emotion when relating to information processing. Izard (2009) argues there has been a misconception that emotion is periodic and the human mind is purely logical and immune to emotion. Furthermore, there has been a hesitancy to recognize that emotion drives cognition and action.

However, more current studies on cognitive neuroscience demonstrate that cognition and emotion are dependent. Although emotion feels less logical, one would have to go through some cognitive processing before experiencing an emotion (see Phelps 2006; Pessoa 2008). Interestingly, some recent neuroscience studies on metaphors and emotions demonstrate that metaphorical sentences can invite people to engage emotionally (Citron & Goldberg 2014), stimulate affective brain responses (Citron et al. 2016), and could trigger stronger emotional responses compared to their literal counterparts (Citron et al. 2019). Therefore, the use of metaphorical expressions in any given discourse may affect emotions and vice versa. This confirms Davitz's (2016) postulation on metaphor production that the tendency to use figurative language becomes higher when one describes one's emotions in comparison to other domains.

Metaphor can not only prompt the affective part of the human brain, but also our reasoning. Thibodeau and Boroditsky's (2011, 2013) experimental studies reveal that metaphor can powerfully influence reasoning and decision-making. From their experiments, they concluded that after being exposed to even the subtlest metaphorical cue, participants are prompted to solve social problems and gather information that leads to well-informed decision-making, including decisions related to their political beliefs. Interestingly, they found that metaphorical framing effects work covertly. Furthermore, their experimental studies demonstrated that metaphor plays a more prominent role in our reasoning pathways than most people would expect.

The aforementioned studies on emotion and reasoning demonstrate that although metaphor takes shape in the form of language, it undergoes a deep cognitive process and plays a prominent role in our decision-making. This individualistic cognitive processing is guided by a given cultural worldview. The correlation between culture and metaphor and how it results in culture-specific conceptual metaphors are elaborated in the following section.

## 2.3. Culture and metaphor

Despite the existence of universal metaphors on emotions (Kövecses 2000b; Kövecses, Palmer, & Dirven 2003; Kövecses et al. 2015; among others), scholars also find that many languages have their own culture-specific metaphors (cf. e.g. Shaver et al. 1992; Matsuki 1995; Ansah 2014). For example, while English speakers see ANGER as an opponent to struggle with and perhaps needs to be conquered and defeated (see Lakoff & Johnson 1980), Indonesian speakers view it as a person that needs to be befriended and accepted (see section 5.1.2 for further elaboration). Regarding how culture affects emotion, Klineberg (1935:278) states:

The first and most obvious way in which culture may affect the emotions is by determining what situations will give rise to them. Depending upon its cultural context, the same external occurrence may arouse diametrically opposite responses in two different societies.

In other words, two different cultures may cognitively and culturally process emotions quite differently when perceiving the same stimuli. Further, Heider (1991), who studies

the cognitive flow of emotion in Indonesian languages, suggests that it is filtered by cultural definitions of events and rules, as illustrated in Figure 5 below.

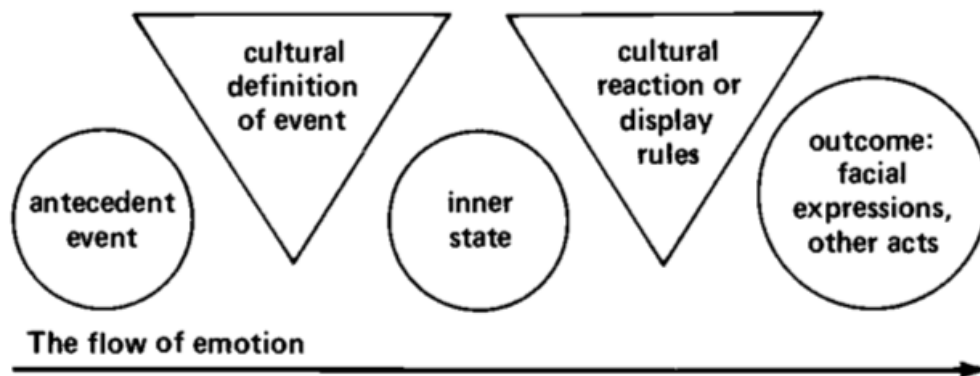


Figure 5. Flow of Emotion Framework (Heider 1991:7)

Thus, in a situation such as the death of family members, Batak people would expressively sing some mourning songs continuously during the funeral ceremony, called *mengandung*. The songs are usually about good deeds of the departed (see Tindaon et al. 2016). By contrast, Javanese would try to suppress their sadness, or any other strong negative emotion, by hiding it behind a smile. This intends to demonstrate self-control and good behavior (see Anderson 1972; Heider 1991). This behavior may not be unique to the Javanese ethnic group. A good example is my American colleague's upsetting experience when sending some relief to Acehese people post the tsunami disaster in 2014. She expressed her astonishment, frustration, and anger about how Acehese still could smile and laugh right after the disaster. She could not handle seeing so much destruction and casualties but the locals received, welcomed and talked to her with a smile as if nothing had happened, while at the same time they lost their loved ones (Boroditsky p.c. 2015). Her experience can be counted as a grounded example of Klineberg (1935) and Heider's (1991) assertions on how culture shapes our worldview, the way we think and feel, and ultimately how we express our thoughts and emotions.

Therefore, since different cultural groups could have different ways of displaying their facial expressions and gestures when it comes to a certain emotion, it would be only natural if they also speak about the experience and express it in metaphors differently; that is, one culture may elaborate the emotional spectrum while the other tries to suppress it and both are expressed in their languages. An example of metaphorical expressions from Javanese on suppressing emotions, particularly ANGER, is presented below.

(8) Javanese:

*mbok di-rem emosi-né*  
 please PASS-take.a.brake emotion-POSS

'Please, stop your anger.'/'Hold yourself together, please.'

(Rahardian & Nirmala 2018:13)

In Javanese, *émosi* means ANGER. From the above expression, ANGER is an entity that is moving fast, which could be out of control, and it therefore needs to be slowed down or stopped. The above expression demonstrates how Javanese speakers prefer to have or maintain self-control in a given emotional circumstance. Interestingly, when someone expresses ANGER, they are conceptualized as an animal with horns:



(9) Javanese:

*Aja mlebu. Bapak-é jik metu sungu-né.*  
 don't go.in father-PTCL still go.out horn-POSS

*Ndak kowé di-senén-i.*  
 later 2SG PASS-anger-APP

'Don't go in. Father still has horns. You'd get enraged (by him).'

(Rahardian 2017:63)

In the above metaphorical expression, we can see the implication that when one unleashes their ANGER, they lose self-control, a behavior that Javanese would classify as that of an animal. By degrading one's behavior into that of a beast through metaphorical expression, it helps cultural members to control their behaviors.

In the same vein, Matsumoto et al. (2006) and Matsumoto, Yoo, and Chung (2010) postulate that since each culture has its own complex social coordination within its hierarchy, strong emotions such as ANGER could potentially harm and break social bonds, damage physical and psychological states, and ignite confrontation. Therefore, each culture has its own ways of minimizing destructive emotions like anger, especially toward cultural members of higher status, and one of the means to do this is through linguistic expression of anger. Moreover, since the basic emotions are universal by nature, it is not surprising that languages have universal metaphors (see Kövecses 2005; Lv & Zang 2012; among others). However, Matsumoto, Yoo, and Chung (2010) suggest that while many cultures live in different environments, resources, social aspects, history, worldview, and beliefs, to survive as a group, the way they try to minimize potential damaging emotions such as anger may vary from one culture to another depending on the worldview and beliefs they hold.

### 3. Cultural models of metaphors for emotions

Quinn and Holland (1987) termed what Matsumoto, Yoo, and Chung (2010) described as a cultural model. They define cultural models as "presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behavior in it" (1987:4). Quinn and Holland (1987:4) find that American cultural comprehension of marriage is weighted between its benefits and difficulties. The study reveals that the selection of potential metaphors in a given culture is dependent on the cultural models shared by its members (Yu 1998). Therefore, it is clear that culture shapes the way we view our experiences and process the thoughts and emotions that accompany them, the way we talk about them, and ultimately the way we produce culture-specific metaphorical expressions, facial expressions, gestures, and so on.

Wierzbicka (1986:5) asserts that while it is true that limitless human emotions can be depicted and expressed in many languages, "[but] each language has its own set of ready-made emotion words, designating those emotions that the members of a given culture recognize as particularly salient." However, not only are culture-specific metaphors interesting, but how culture plays an important role in shaping metaphors in a language and in the end shape how people act upon it are also worthy of attention. Some thought provoking studies that support the aforementioned notion are discussed below.

In Japanese, ANGER is located in the bowel area. Matsuki (1995) highlights the importance of *hara* (the bowel area) as a container of emotion, especially regarding *ikari* or anger. She emphasizes that in Japanese culture, it is very important to keep or control

one's *ikari* in *hara* for it consists of truth, real intentions, and the real self (*honne* in Japanese). Interestingly, *honne* is often contrasted with *tatemae*, also known as one's social face. The *hara* conceptualization has been deeply embedded in Japanese culture throughout the ages. There also seems to be a clear mapping of whom Japanese people could openly show their anger to. Based on their study of scenarios, Scherer et al. (1988) find that Japanese students are more easily angered by unknown others than by problems existing in their relationship with known others. They also speculate interaction of people belonging to the same social network are controlled by strong cultural rules and rules are involved in masking anger.

For many years, it was believed that emotions, and presumably also the perception of emotions, are universal. The basic argument is that basic emotion is needed for coping and survival (see Wang et al. 2019). Yuditha (2015) conducted an experimental study on the perception of emotions based on Ekman's (1999) basic emotion categorizations with Javanese and Dutch speakers. The results indicate that Dutch speakers are better at recognizing facial expressions compared to Javanese speakers. Further, the latter tend to confuse some emotional expressions and misinterpret them as other emotions. The study concludes that culture shapes our perception as well as our expression of emotions.

Siahaan (2008) finds that the liver is the seat of thought and emotion in the Indonesian language and there is a cultural model behind the choice of organ. This cultural model was motivated first by an old ritual of liver divination in some ethnic groups in the Indonesia archipelago and second, many Indonesian ethnic religions believe that the living soul is located in the liver. These motivations prompt the liver conceptualization as the seat of life and soul, and later as the seat of thought and emotion in Indonesian culture. However, this may not be the only case. There are languages of Indonesia that use the abdomen and/or other body parts as the seat of emotion and thought (see Fox, 2018 for more discussion) and this, again, is shaped through their cultural beliefs. The current study finds that besides *hati* "liver," the stomach and uterus are the seat of emotions, especially the negative ones, such as ANGER and HATE.

#### 4. Method

This study employs the CMT proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), CMT is a conceptual mapping between source domain, that is, concrete objects or experience that are tangible to our senses and perception, and target domain, the abstract concept that would usually be difficult to express, such as emotion. The entities between source and target domains are mapped, grouped, and categorized to extrapolate the conceptual metaphors they are under (see Figure 4). During the analysis, Heider's (1991) Indonesian cognitive flow of emotion framework (see Figure 5) and the qualitative methodologies proposed by Schmitt (2005) are utilized to capture whether there are some cultural motivations behind these conceptualizations besides merely the cognitive motivations.

#### 5. Data

The data for this study are both primary and secondary. To be able to determine cultural motivations in expressing the emotions under investigation, the classic metaphorical expressions were correlated to the contemporary ones. The metaphorical expressions come from various online sources. Data were collected from classic Malay using the Malay Concordance Project (MCP; <https://mcp.anu.edu.au/>) and a live linguistic concordance tool ([www.webcorp.org.uk](http://www.webcorp.org.uk)) for contemporary Indonesian. The latter helped control the writing styles, that is, formal versus informal by choosing the websites that contain the relevant data. Samples were obtained using the key words for the emotions

under investigation and their morphological variations; for example, CINTA and KECINTAAN were categorized based on the entities they carry to determine the metaphorical conceptualization they are actually under. The discussion does not focus on robustness of the data but more on recognizing Indonesian speakers' perception of the emotions under investigation through metaphors filtered by their cultural worldview.

## 6. The Indonesian conceptual metaphors of emotions

In this section, the metaphorical expressions and conceptualizations of KEMARAHAN *anger*, CINTA *love*, and KEBENCIAN *hate* are explored. Each of the emotions has its own specific conceptualizations, that is, ANGER IS A FOOD and ANGER IS A SONG, LOVE IS A YARN, and HATE IS A DISEASE. It is argued that the first two conceptual metaphors are culturally motivated, while the latter is less so. Further, LOVE and HATE share the same source domain, that is, PLANT, which is also culturally motivated. In addition, all three emotions share two master conceptualizations, that is, EMOTION personification and EMOTION IS A POSSESSION. Additionally, the data reveal that the stomach is the seat of ANGER emotion and the uterus is the seat of both ANGER and HATE. A thorough discussion on the aforementioned conceptual metaphors together with the examples of the expressions is provided below.

### 6.1. Anger<sup>7</sup>

In the Malay/Indonesian context, *marah* “anger/angry” always becomes an interesting subject. As previously mentioned, there has been a stereotype that Indonesians mask their emotions, especially intense ones, by smiling, and this is apparently true for anger, as illustrated with Javanese above. Based on anthropological findings on emotions in Indonesian, Minangkabau, and Javanese cultures, Heider (1991) finds that *marah* “anger,” as well as *malu* “shame,” is extremely deep-seated in Indonesian culture. It is worth noting that although *marah* is commonly suppressed, diverted, controlled, managed, and masked, there is nonetheless a huge vocabulary describing the spectrum of anger.<sup>8</sup> Heider finds that Indonesians are more expressive when it comes to anger, especially when they are hurt by others. The antecedents of ANGER in Indonesian are problems within the family, particularly with their children, unfulfilled obligations, ridicule, and opposition (1991:262). The results or outcomes of these causes are violence and verbal attacks. According to Sukyadi (2006), physiological attributes of ANGER in Indonesian are fast heartbeat, high-tone voice, silence, reddened face and eyes, physical violence, shaking body, and teeth grinding. Some of these attributes are expressed in Indonesian ANGER metaphorical expressions (see Rajeg 2013); however, these are not discussed herein.

Yuditha (2010, 2013), finds that Indonesians have more unique ways to conceptualize ANGER, that is, the ANGER IS FOOD metaphor. The expressions used to express ANGER are related to eating activities, such as to have breakfast with, or to vomit anger, among others. The other metaphorical conceptualizations she proposed are ANGER IS FOOD,

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<sup>7</sup> Rajeg (2013, 2019) classifies several ANGER metaphorical conceptualizations in Indonesian through a quantitative study as ANGER IS SUBSTANCE IN A (PRESSURIZED) CONTAINER, ANGER IS LIQUID/FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS HOT/COLD, ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS HIGH/LOW and ANGER IS NATURAL FORCE. However, they will not be discussed in this section.

<sup>8</sup> A prominent word that belongs to the ANGER cluster in Indonesian is *amuk* ‘amok’, which was borrowed into English and many other languages worldwide.

ANGER IS A SONG, ANGER IS A VALUABLE/NON-VALUABLE OBJECT and ANGER PERSONIFICATION. However, the classification for ANGER IS A VALUABLE/NON-VALUABLE OBJECT is reclassified in the current study as ANGER IS A POSSESSION. Further, this section elaborates four conceptual metaphors: ANGER IS FOOD, ANGER IS A SOUND, ANGER IS A POSSESSION, and ANGER personification.

The ANGER IS FOOD metaphor is an interesting conceptualization. Overall, the metaphorical expressions show that one has breakfast with ANGER, swallows, vomits, or is sated with it. This suggests that food culture becomes the motivation for this conceptualization. The conceptual metaphor indicates that the seat of ANGER emotion in Indonesian is in the stomach.

Regarding the ANGER IS A SOUND metaphor, the conceptualization has gone through a blended mapping of two human senses, that is, vision and auditory. It is then employed as a source domain to conceptualize ANGER. Further, the ANGER IS A SOUND metaphor has a sub-conceptualization, that is, ANGER IS A SONG.

The metaphor of ANGER as a possession is conceptualized as an object that can increase or decrease by amount, which demonstrates the intensity of the emotion. Furthermore, the entities presented demonstrate that ANGER is an unwanted possession, that it either needs to be thrown away, hidden, or buried, suggesting a detachment from the possessor.

Expressions of ANGER personification have a rich variation of entities, that is, the emotion carries many human properties, such as being born, laughing, dancing, to be embraced like a best friend, among others. Interestingly, ANGER personification takes the uterus as the seat of emotion, proven by the word *melahirkan* “to give birth to” as the entity. Indonesian collective culture could have been the motivation behind this conceptualization. Furthermore, the ANGER IS AN OPPONENT metaphor, is only as a sub-conceptualization of the ANGER personification.

Regarding the latter, although personification is universal rather than culture-specific, the Indonesian metaphorical expressions are rather unique since they not only treat ANGER as an opponent that needs to be conquered, but also as a best friend, which is not commonly found in other languages. The aforementioned unique metaphorical conceptualizations of ANGER are elaborated below.

### **6.1.1 Anger is food**

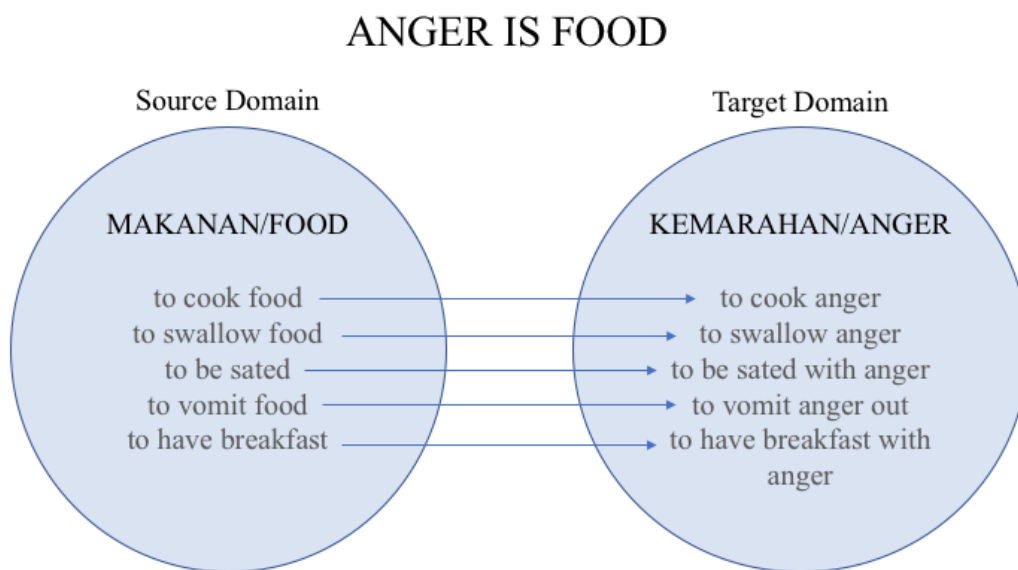
Montanari (2006:xi) asserts “food is culture when produced, prepared and eaten.” Food is deeply cherished in many cultures because it is one of the most important essentials in our lives. In some cultures, food is respected and becomes a cultural symbol of traditions. Food also represents levels of society and reinforces the connection between society members through the processes of ingredient selection, cooking, presentation, and consumption. The Indonesian cultural model of food is closely related to traditional ceremonies. Traditional food is often a cultural symbol representing cultural values and local wisdom throughout the archipelago. Thus, it is only natural that the local languages and even the national language, Indonesian, have metaphorical conceptualizations of FOOD.

Indonesians believe that food is both good and sacred. This is demonstrated by rituals to honor food found in the ethnic groups within the archipelago (see Manan et al. 2022 and Hariyanto 2017). One should never throw leftovers away, but keep them instead for a meal the following day. They also think that it is necessary to pay respect to those who put effort into cultivation and preparation. Hence, it becomes their motivation to appreciate the farmers and the food available in their kitchens. In line with this local

wisdom, wasting food or regurgitation for no reason was once believed to be a very dishonorable act. If one feels nausea, one is encouraged to swallow it back to avoid losing face.

When the anger emotion is mapped onto the activities above, the notions that one will perceive are that one must repress the feeling, since it is regarded as a negative emotion in Indonesian culture. However, when one cannot contain it any longer, the metaphorical expression depicts regurgitation. Further evidence relating to the importance of the FOOD source domain is the usage of one lexeme explicitly representing a type of meal, for example *sarapan* “breakfast.” *Sarapan* is one of the most important activities in Indonesian culture.<sup>11</sup> To have *sarapan* means to start the day with something good, thus it is common to find Indonesians having a full meal equally as large as, say, lunch. This metaphor is not randomly chosen to express an anger metaphor by saying that *aku sarapan kemarahan* “I had anger for breakfast,” meaning that that person has started their day with something negative as someone had passed their anger to them and to start a day with something unexpected is strongly unfavorable in Indonesian culture.

The conceptual metaphor employed for ANGER IS FOOD is a structural metaphor. The conceptual mapping between FOOD as the source domain and ANGER as the target domain carries entities such as *dimasak* “to be cooked,” *telan* “to swallow,” *kenyang* “to be satiated/full,” *memuntahkan* “to vomit,” and *sarapan* “breakfast,” mostly the core activities we engage in when we eat our food. A structural metaphor with such mapping is provided in Figure 6.



**Figure 6. ANGER IS FOOD metaphorical conceptualization**

Some examples of the ANGER IS FOOD conceptualization with its entities are listed below:

(10) Indonesian:

<i>Selayaknya</i>	<i>kentang,</i>	<i>emosi</i>	<b><i>ke-marah-an</i></b>	<i>kita</i>	<i>pun</i>	<i>perlu</i>
just.like	potato	emotion	CIRC-angry-AN	1PL.INCL	PTCL	need
<b><i>“di-masak”</i></b>	<i>dengan</i>	<i>baik,</i>	<i>agar</i>	<i>men-jadi</i>	<i>sikap</i>	
PASS-cook	with	good	so.that	TR-become	attitude	
<i>pemahaman</i>	<i>yang</i>	<b><i>matang</i></b>	<i>dan</i>	<i>bijak.</i> <sup>9</sup>		
comprehension	REL	cooked	and	wise		

‘Just like cooking potatoes, our anger needs to be ‘cooked’ well, so that it becomes a mature and wise comprehension.’

Example (10) above suggests that ANGER is a wild and raw ingredient that needs to be cooked well so that one can have a mature and wise comprehension. The word *matang* “cooked” carries several meanings. Based on the hierarchical list, KBBI (2006) lists the meaning as follows: 1) “to be ripe,” as in fruits that are ripe and ready to be picked. 2) “To be cooked,” as in a state of well-doneness of food that has been well cooked and ready to be consumed. 3) “To be well considered or contemplated.” 4) “To be mature,” as in human psychological and physical development. 5) “To be well-done or finished,” as in educating and/or preparing someone. Furthermore, example (10) couples ANGER with another cooking ingredient, that is, potato, which provides a clear conceptual mapping for ANGER IS FOOD. Finally, from the *matang* “cooked” entity, it is suggested from the expression that well-cooked ANGER is a well-done, softened emotion, demonstrating maturity and wisdom.

To suppress ANGER, one will swallow it. This characterizes self-control. The example also suggests that the seat of ANGER emotion in Indonesian is not limited only to the liver but can also be in the stomach, as in example (11) below.

(11) Indonesian:

<i>Tapi</i>	<b><i>ku-telan</i></b>	<b><i>ke-marah-an-ku</i></b>	<i>meski</i>	<i>tidak</i>	
but	1SG-swallow	CIRC-angry-AN-1SG	although	NEG	
<i>ku-perbaik-i</i>	<i>apa yang</i>	<i>susah</i>	<i>payah</i>	<i>sudah</i>	<i>ku-atur.</i>
1SG-improve-APP	what REL	difficult	terrible	PFCT	1SG-arrange

‘But I swallowed my anger even though I didn’t fix things that I had organized with all my might.’

Example (12) shows that ANGER is again coupled with *gorengan* “fried snacks” and that the person feels *kenyang* “sated” from both. Although the expression does not explicitly mention the stomach as the location of the emotion, it is sufficient to observe the conceptual mapping between ANGER and *gorengan* as food entities and *kenyang* as the feeling of having enough ANGER and the fried snack.

(12) Indonesian:

<i>Aku</i>	<b><i>kenyang</i></b>	<b><i>marah</i></b>	<i>dan</i>	<i>kenyang</i>	<i>goreng-an.</i> <sup>10</sup>
1SG	be.sated	angry	and	be.sated	fry-AN

‘I feel full of anger and fried snacks.’

<sup>9</sup> <https://kolom.kontan.co.id/news/509/memasak-emosi-marah>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.kompasiana.com/yatmi.rejeki/55fbc44ccf92736b082bc459/cemburu-buta?page=2>

Furthermore, example (13) expresses that one would vomit ANGER when they cannot contain it anymore. Again, the stomach is implicitly indicated as the seat of ANGER because it is where we would vomit our digested food from.

(13) Indonesian:

<i>Mereka</i>	<b><i>me-muntah-kan</i></b>	<b><i>ke-marah-an</i></b>	<i>kepada</i>	<i>orang-orang</i>
3PL	TR-vomit-CAUS	CIRC-angry-AN	to	person<RED>
<i>sekitar</i>	<i>mereka dengan</i>	<i>teriak, jeritan,</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>intimidasi.</i> <sup>11</sup>
around	3PL with	yell scream	and	intimidation

‘They vomited anger on the people around them with yelling, screaming, and intimidation.’

(14) Indonesian:

<i>Capek banget tiap hari dapat sarapan</i>	<b><i>ke-marah-an</i></b>
be.tired very every day get breakfast	CIRC-angry-AN
<i>terus... apa mau-nya dan aku gak tau ...</i>	
continue what want-DET and 1SG NEG know	

‘I’m so fed-up, I get anger as my breakfast every day... what does she want and I don’t even know it...’

The ANGER IS FOOD metaphorical conceptualization is interesting in at least two aspects. First, from the aspect of processing emotion, ANGER is conceptualized as a raw ingredient that needs to be cooked or processed into another state to express maturity and wisdom, but when one swallows ANGER, it conveys self-control. Additionally, we would feel good when we feel sated by, assumingly, a good breakfast that we have consumed; however, when it is mapped onto ANGER, it conveys the opposite feeling, perhaps it feels like it leaves a bad taste in one’s mouth.

Second, from the aspect of the locus of ANGER. The ANGER IS FOOD metaphor suggests that the seat of ANGER is located in the stomach because it is where we digest our food.

Siahaan (2008) argues that the cultural seat of thought and emotion in Indonesian is in the liver. With this finding, it could be proposed that not only is the liver the seat for emotion, especially ANGER in this case, but also the stomach. Whether the stomach can also be the locus of other emotions besides ANGER requires further investigation, which is beyond the scope of this study. In the discussion of ANGER personification (section 6.1.4), the seat of ANGER is in the uterus. The same parallel is observed with HATE personification (section 6.3.4).

### 6.1.2 Anger is a sound<sup>12</sup>

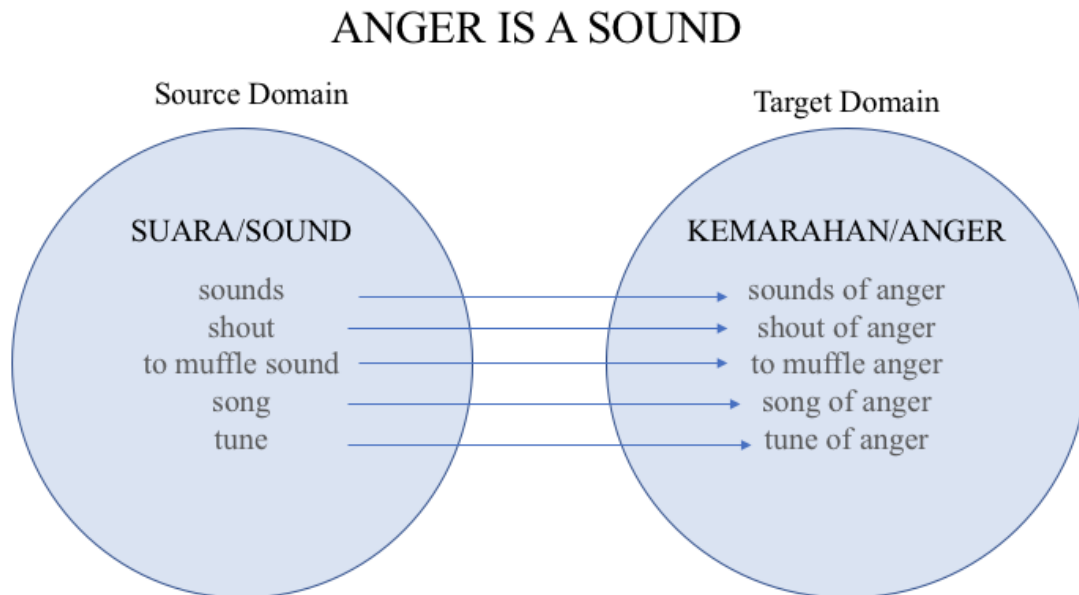
In Indonesian discourse, ANGER can also be perceived as a SOUND with SINGING as its sub-conceptualization; however, we discuss ANGER IS A SOUND first as the umbrella conceptualization for the latter.

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.kompasiana.com/framicappucino/622f69fd80a65a65675df2d3/3-profil-kemarahan-kita-ada-di-bagian-mana>

<sup>12</sup> Ogarkova & Soriano (2013) find that an ANGER IS A SOUND metaphorical conceptualization exists in English, Russian and Spanish. It has audible expression through vocal changes, such as intensity – expressed with ‘muted anger’ or frequency ‘shrill fury’, however, they do not report that ANGER could be conceptualized as SONG in those three languages, unlike in Indonesian.

As Lakoff and Johnson (1999) postulate, our sensory experiences are concrete and help us to make sense of abstract concepts. Without embodied experiences, we find it difficult to communicate and share abstract concepts. Based on this notion, it is suggested that the pathway of the ANGER IS A SOUND conceptualization in Indonesian has gone through three stages. First, a mapping of verticality-spatial positioning, which comes from our vision perception, is applied. Cian (2017) suggests that since this type of positioning is deeply ingrained in our cognition<sup>13</sup>, it is employed for various metaphorical conceptualizations, such as power, direction, and rationality/emotions, among others. The next stage is the mapping of verticality-spatial positioning on human auditory perception as source domain. By doing this, human visual and auditory perceptions are blended to conceptualize the SOUND we hear or listen to in our surroundings. Hence, we have expressions such as *high-pitched tone* and *low voice* in English, and *suara melengking* “shrill sound,” *dia memekik kegirangan* “she squealed with joy,” *suara rendah* “low sound” in Indonesian to express HIGH or LOW sound. Finally, the coupling of visual and auditory associations is mapped on ANGER as the target domain. When ANGER is loud or high-pitched, it is being expressed openly. However, when ANGER sounds low, it indicates that it is being suppressed.

In Indonesian, the ANGER IS A SOUND metaphorical conceptualization carries *suara-suara kemarahan* “sounds of anger,” *teriakan kemarahan* “shout of anger,” and *meredam kemarahan* “to muffle anger” as its entities, with ANGER IS A SONG as its sub-conceptualization. The entities of the ANGER IS A SONG metaphor are *lagu kemarahan* and *nyanyian kemarahan*, which both translate as “anger song,” and *nada kemarahan* “tune of anger.” The conceptual mapping of ANGER IS A SOUND metaphor and its sub-conceptualization, ANGER IS A SONG is illustrated in Figure 7.



**Figure 7. ANGER IS A SOUND conceptual metaphor**

<sup>13</sup> Marmolejo-Ramos & Elosúa et al. (2013) find that vertical positioning is higher in saliency when it comes to expressing abstract concepts, such as emotion and power, compared to horizontal positioning.



Examples of the ANGER IS A SOUND metaphor are presented below. Note that example (15) implicitly describes that the sound of anger is loud because the protagonist needs to close her ears.

(15) Indonesian:

<i>Dia</i>	<i>menutup</i>	<i>telinganya</i>	<i>rapat-rapat.</i>	<i>Dia</i>	<i>tidak</i>	<i>ingin</i>
3	TR.close	ear-POSS	tight<RED>	3	NEG	want
<i>men-dengar</i>	<i>suara-suara</i>	<i>ke-marah-an.</i> <sup>14</sup>				
TR-hear	sound<RED>	CIRC-angry-AN				

‘She closed her ears tightly. She didn’t want to listen to the sound of anger.’

The following example shows how ANGER is represented in a shout, which also conveys the intensity of ANGER.

(16) Indonesian:

<i>Lengking-an</i>	<i>vokal tinggi</i>	<i>pun</i>	<i>di-ganti</i>	<i>dengan</i>
shrill-AN	vocal high	PTCL	PASS-change	with
<i>teriak-an</i>	<i>ke-marah-an.</i> <sup>15</sup>			
scream-AN	CIRC-angry-AN			

‘The high-pitched shrill was replaced by screams of anger.’

When ANGER needs to be silenced or suppressed, the word *meredam* “to muffle sound” is used. The expression implies that ANGER is very loud, and when it is muffled, it implies that silence means peace for the emotion has gone.

(17) Indonesian:

<i>Orang</i>	<i>cenderung</i>	<i>me-redam</i>	<i>ke-marah-an</i>	<i>dengan</i>
person	tend	TR-muffle	CIRC-angry-AN	with
<i>me-laku-kan</i>	<i>banyak</i>	<i>aktivitas</i>	<i>untuk</i>	
TR-do-CAUS	plenty	activity	for	
<i>mem-buat</i>	<i>dia</i>	<i>lupa.</i> <sup>16</sup>		
TR-make	3	forget		

‘People tend to muffle their anger by doing many activities to make them forget [about their source of anger].’

ANGER IS A SOUND has a sub-conceptualization in Indonesian, that is, ANGER IS A SONG. In Jakartan colloquial dialect, for example, when someone talks grumpily mumbling to themselves and their friends or family members would ask each other what with the matter is with them, one would say, “dia lagi nyanyi” (lit. “he is singing”), which metaphorically means, “he’s angry.” This expression is commonly used in Jakartan dialect discourse.

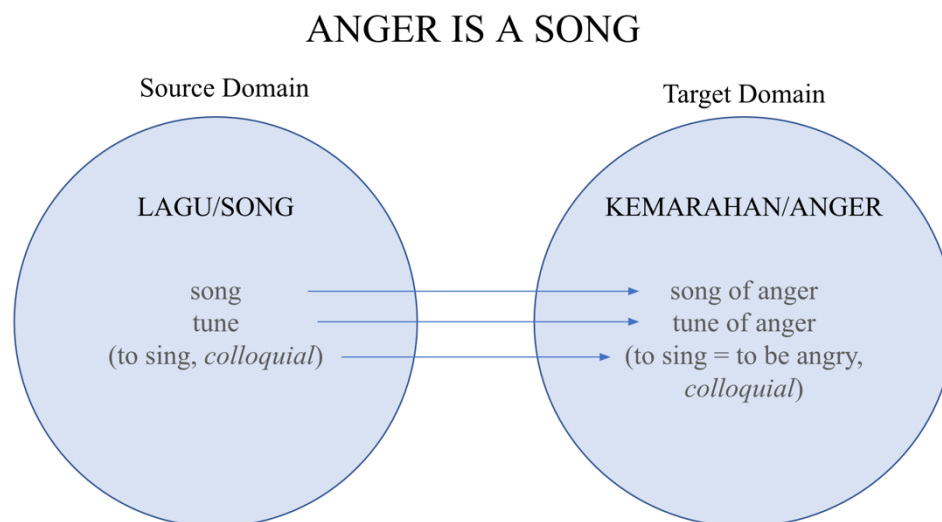
<sup>14</sup> <http://www.gurusiana.id/read/sribudihandayani074810gurusianaaid/article/jejak-jejak-sahabat-bagian-2-365016#!>

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/1124039/histori-rock-indonesia-grunge-dan-rombongan-bawah-tanah>

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.liputan6.com/health/read/4664725/mengendalikan-marah-bisa-lewat-bantuan-fisik-dan-spiritualitas-bagaimana-caranya>

A song has a spectrum of intonation between high and low in order and it has patterns of musical notes. When someone is angry, they would talk within the same spectrum, that is, a high and low intensity of sound with certain patterns. Hence, when ANGER is sung, it indicates an orderly constrained ANGER, not a randomly explosive emotion but one that is under control so that it is expressed properly and appropriately.

The conceptual metaphor that ANGER IS A SONG uses is a structural metaphor. The entities mapped between the source domain and the target domain this are *lagu* and *nyanyian* “song”<sup>17</sup>, *nada* “tune,” respectively. The conceptual mapping of ANGER IS A SONG is presented in Figure 8.



**Figure 8. ANGER IS A SONG metaphorical conceptualization**

Examples of the ANGER IS A SONG conceptual metaphor are provided below.

(18) Indonesian:

*Ku-teriak-kan lagu ke-marah-an, ku-telanjang-i pikiran-ku.*  
 1SG-scream-CAUS song CIRC-angry-AN 1SG-get.naked-APP thought-1SG  
 ‘I screamed the song of anger; I undressed my mind.’

(19) Indonesian:

*Nada yang men-cuat dari balik narasi Keesing adalah*  
 tone REL TR-stick.out from return narration Keesing COP  
*ke-marah-an dan kejengkelan<sup>18</sup> terhadap dosa-dosa kolonial Belanda.*  
 CIRC-angry-AN and annoyedness toward sin<RED> colonial Dutch  
 ‘The tone that sprang from behind the Keesing narration was anger and upset  
 toward the colonial Dutch’s sins.’

<sup>17</sup> Indonesian has two lexemes that mean ‘song’ in English, i.e. ‘lagu’ and ‘nyanyian’.

<sup>18</sup> *Kejengkelan* is a spectrum form of ANGER in Indonesian, which is loosely translated as ‘upsetness’.

(20) Indonesian:

*Semua nyanyi-an ke-marah-an dan perhatian itu tidak*  
 all sing-AN CIRC-angry-AN and attention that NEG  
*di-tanggap-i oleh Samantha.*  
 PASS-respond-APP by Samantha

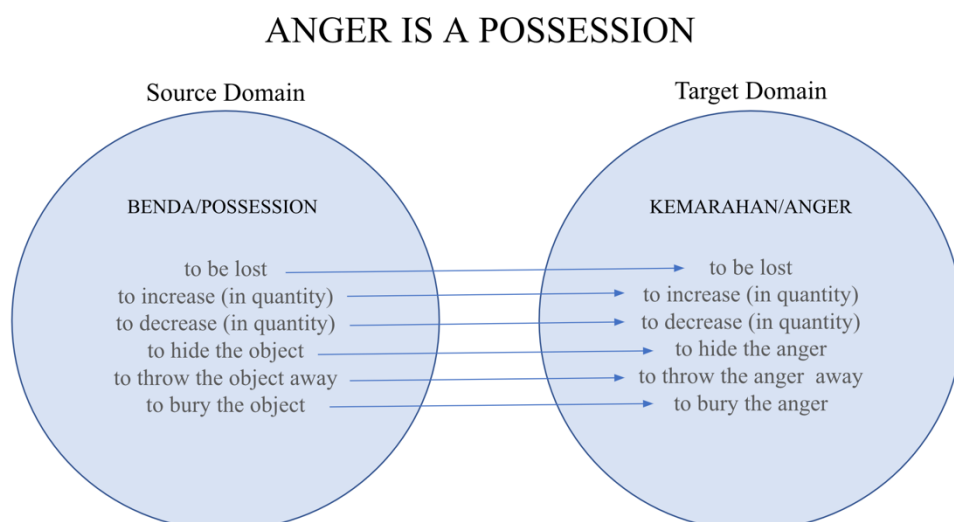
‘Samantha did not respond to all those songs of anger and attention.’

The above discussion demonstrates how the complex Indonesian ANGER IS A SOUND metaphorical conceptualization comes into existence. By coupling visual and auditory perceptions, Indonesians use gestalt perception to conceptualize ANGER. Furthermore, it is not only about loudness, intensity of sound, and/or how much power one would put into effort to express ANGER, but the conceptualization also creatively expands to ANGER IS A SONG so as to express orderly constrained ANGER. Since ANGER tends to be loud in Indonesian because it represents intensity and power, one needs to muffle it to phase the anger out.

### 6.1.3 Anger is a possession

The ANGER IS A POSSESSION metaphorical conceptualization is perhaps one of the oldest and most salient conceptualizations compared to the other ANGER conceptualizations in Malay/Indonesian language. The oldest expressions can be found as far back as the late 1300s in the MCP archive. Looking at the present time, there are more entities from the ANGER IS A POSSESSION metaphorical conceptualization in contemporary Indonesian such as *hilang* “to be lost/missing,” *bertambah* “to increase,” *berkurang* “to decrease,” *menyembunyikan* “to hide,” *membuang* “to throw away,” and *memendam* “to bury.” The oldest expressions that still exist in contemporary Indonesian use *hilang*, *bertambah* and *berkurang*, which denote intensity of the emotion. The expressions presented here imply that ANGER is an unwanted possession, and the possessor makes an effort to detach themselves from the emotion.

The type of metaphor employed for ANGER IS A POSSESSION is a structural metaphor. The conceptual mapping between POSSESSION and ANGER as the source and target domain, respectively, is illustrated in Figure 9.



**Figure 9.** ANGER IS A POSSESSION metaphorical conceptualization

The above demonstrate some ownership of the possessor toward their anger. For instance, when we say that we lose an object, it implies that we own it, or we throw an object away when we no longer need it. Furthermore, the possessive indicator *nya* also establishes the state of ownership in the context. Some linguistic examples of the ANGER IS A POSSESSION metaphor are presented below.

(21) Malay:

... *maka*            ***marah-nya***    *pun*    ***hilang-lah***,    *kepada*            *hati-nya*  
therefore            anger-POSS    PTCL    be.lost-EMPH    to                    liver-POSS

*kasih-an*            *me-lihat*            *laku*                    *Khojah Astur itu...*<sup>19</sup>  
compassion-AN    TR-see                    behavior                    Khojah Astur that

‘... then his anger was lost, he felt pity to see Khojah Astur’s behavior...’

The entity of OBJECT mapped on ANGER in (21) is *hilang* “to be lost.” Indonesians still use this metaphorical expression when they want to express that they no longer feel angry. For comparison, the following metaphorical expression (22) indicates that the same entity persists in contemporary Indonesian.

(22) Indonesian:

*Setelah* ***marah-nya***    ***hilang*** *yang*    *timbul*    *adalah*            *penyesalan...*<sup>20</sup>  
after    anger-POSS    be.lost REL    emerge COP                    regret

‘After his anger was gone, what surfaced now is regret...’

Another metaphorical expression under the same conceptualization from the MCP that is still actively used includes the word *bertambah* “to increase,” which is a property of an object, as one of the entities. The word *bertambah* expresses a stronger intensity of the ANGER emotion, which is depicted in example (23).

(23) Malay:

*maka*            ***ber-tambah-tambah-lah***    ***marah-nya***    *akan*    *Amir Hamzah...*<sup>21</sup>  
therefore    ITR-increase<RED>-EMPH    anger-POSS    toward Amir Hamzah

‘... therefore his anger toward Amir Hamzah was increasing...’

Example (24), also from contemporary Indonesian, shows that ANGER is an object whose amount can decrease, indicating that the intensity of the emotion lessens.

(24) Indonesian:

*Setelah* *saya*    *mem-baca*            *banyak buku*,    *perlahan*            *saya*  
after    1SG    TR-read                    plenty book    slowly                    1SG

*mulai*    ***ber-kurang***    ***marah-nya***.<sup>22</sup>  
start    ITR-decrease    anger-DET

‘After I started to read more books, my anger started to decrease.’

Further, if one’s anger does not disappear or decrease, one can still hide it in “the smallest room in one’s liver (heart)” to express suppressing it from being seen by others. The

<sup>19</sup> Hikayat Bayan Budiman

<sup>20</sup> <https://aljaami.wordpress.com/2011/03/26/al-hilm-menahan-diri-untuk-melampiaskan-amarah-walaupun-mampu/>

<sup>21</sup> Hikayat Amir Hamzah

<sup>22</sup> <https://andalsoftware.com/services/articles/self-development/articleid/187/mengapa-atasan-suka-marah>

expression below demonstrates that openly showing anger is beyond question. The phrase “the smallest room in one’s liver (heart)” wants to convey her mental state that she herself does not want to feel or even acknowledge that she is angry and only give it the smallest possible room in her emotional space.

(25) Indonesian:

*Tami menyembunyi-kan amarah di kamar ter-kecil hati-nya*  
 Tami TR.hide-CAUS anger in room SUP-small liver-POSS

‘Tami hid her anger in the smallest room in her liver (heart)...’

(Yuditha 2013:9)

Besides hiding it in the smallest room in one’s liver, or in one’s heart in English translation, one could throw away the ANGER, as if it were no longer a useful object, to express detachment from and distance from the unwanted object, as in example (27) below.

(26) Indonesian:

*Mem-buang ke-marah-an dan ber-siap menerima cinta baru.*  
 TR-throw CIRC-angry-AN and ITR-ready TR.receive love new

‘Throw (your) anger and get ready to receive new love.’<sup>23</sup>

Another way to indicate detachment from ANGER is to bury it under the ground, expressed with *memendam* “to bury” as the entity (example 27). However, the following expression also indicates hiding the ANGER in a secret place where no one would see or find it, whereas the example above indicates open detachment.

(27) Indonesian:

*Pasti-lah Marwan sedang memendam marah, atau karena ia*  
 exact-EMPH Marwan PROG TR.bury angry or because he

*tak mau me-rasa-kan malu di depan-ku*  
 NEG want TR-taste-CAUS shame in front-1SG

‘Certainly, it’s either Marwan is now burying his anger or he doesn’t want to be ashamed in front of me.’

(Yuditha 2013:9)

The word *memendam* “to bury” means to bury and hide an object under the ground. When we want to bury something, it is either because we do not want to see it and/or we do not want others to see it. The metaphorical expression implies displaying anger openly is not a choice. Examples (25), (26), and (27), with the entities *menyembunyikan* “to hide,” *membuang* “to throw away,” and *memendam* “to bury,” respectively, give a strong indication of emotional diversion from the person as the axis to avoid it and detach from it.

Since ANGER is often masked, it is plausible that the reason behind this is that expressing ANGER openly is considered a lack of self-control in Indonesian culture. As indicated by

<sup>23</sup> Three On Thirty: Memperbaiki Komunikasi Dengan Suami’

[http://keluargasusindra.multiply.com/journal/item/17/THREE\\_ON\\_THIRTY\\_SOLUSI\\_MEMPERBAIKI\\_KOMUNIKASI\\_DENGAN\\_SUAMI](http://keluargasusindra.multiply.com/journal/item/17/THREE_ON_THIRTY_SOLUSI_MEMPERBAIKI_KOMUNIKASI_DENGAN_SUAMI)

the expressions with the aforementioned three entities, the possessor prefers to detach themselves from the emotion. It could also be hypothesized that suppressing, diverting, or throwing ANGER away is necessary to avoid SHAME, since not being able to control anger is regarded as a shameful behavior. This hypothetical pathway fits with Heider's (1991) finding that ANGER and SHAME are focal and ingrained in Indonesian culture. However, it would be interesting to investigate whether ANGER and SHAME have a causality correlation related to the production of metaphorical expressions in Indonesian.

#### 6.1.4 Anger personification

The ANGER personification is an ontological metaphor. Many human properties are found under this conceptualization, perhaps more specific compared to other languages. In Indonesian, the ANGER personification is productive; it employs many human properties in the metaphorical expressions. In American English we find ANGER IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE (Kövecses et al. 2015); however, in Indonesian, the metaphor is only a subordinate of ANGER PERSONIFICATION, that is, ANGER is perceived as a whole person. For instance, it is not unusual to find metaphorical expressions where ANGER is conceptualized as a person one can be friends with or an enemy.

Yuditha (2010, 2012, 2013) identified various unique entities in Indonesian, such as *melahirkan* "to give birth to," *merangkul* "to put one's arm around someone's shoulder," *bersahabat* "to be best friends with," *dikuasai* "to be dominated," *menari* "to dance," and *tertawa* "to laugh." In short, ANGER can perform some motoric skills, even complex ones. The aforementioned entities demonstrate that ANGER is conceptualized as a human being with human properties, not only limited to being an opponent who needs to be conquered (cf. Lakoff & Kövecses 1987). Therefore, this study proposes that the cultural motivation behind the ANGER personification with all aforementioned entities is driven by Indonesian collective culture, in which a holistic way of thinking is preferred. Such culture is likely shaped by the Indonesian rice culture, where collaboration in farming rice among families within a neighborhood is enforced.<sup>24</sup>

Based on a large-scale psychological study of rice and wheat societies in China, Talhelm et al. (2014) revealed that people from rice culture are more interdependent and have a holistic way of thinking, whereas wheat culture societies are more independent and use analytical thinking. One of the basic reasons for the different behaviors and patterns of thinking is that the former requires the society members to work together to handle the planting, maintaining the harvesting, and the complex irrigation system. Families would take turns planting and to use the irrigation system; therefore, intense cooperation is necessary. This condition forms a tight reciprocal relationship, and disagreements are actively discouraged. On the other hand, independency and individuality are more embraced in the wheat culture society since they do not have to collaborate to farm and harvest wheat. The different traditions in agriculture affect both societies, psychologically and culturally, up to the present day.

The entities of ANGER personification in Indonesian support the view of the collective sense of Indonesian speakers that they would prefer to avoid conflicts, even with their own anger. Although they do not exhibit robustness in occurrences by statistics, this does

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<sup>24</sup> Since the rice culture can be found in western and central part of Indonesia, therefore we can safely hypothesize that the interdependent and holistic way of thinking can be mostly found in these areas. It might be less so in eastern part of Indonesia since they do not have to collaborate together to produce staple food.

not mean that this is not meaningful in the Indonesian context. The various entities employed under this conceptualization indicate that it is pervasive enough in Indonesian.

Some linguistic examples of ANGER personification are presented below:

(28) Indonesian:

*Kerumitan yang me-lahir-kan amarah suci kaum muda.*  
 complication REL TR-be.born-CAUS anger holy group youth  
 ‘It was a complication that gave birth to the holy anger of the young generation.’  
 (Yuditha 2013:9)

Example (28) indicates that ANGER is born or delivered like an offspring, which perhaps does not make sense in some European languages that have an ANGER IS AN OPPONENT metaphor, who needs to be conquered. The cultural value in the above expression is in Indonesians’ minds; ANGER would take a long time to mature until it is born or delivered. The entity of *melahirkan* “to give birth to” implies that the ANGER is located in the uterus since it is the location where a baby grows.

As the examples below demonstrate, ANGER also needs to be acknowledged, accepted, and embraced without a constant fight, expressed with the word *merangkul* “to put one’s arm around someone else’s shoulder,” as an act of close relationship. The word *merangkul* is a human property.<sup>25</sup>

(29) Indonesian:

*Di per-muka-an, pria tampak-nya me-rangkul ke-marah-an*  
 in CIRC-face-AN man appear-DET TR-put CIRC-angry-AN  
*mereka dan meng-guna-kan-nya untuk keuntungan mereka.*<sup>26</sup>  
 3PL and TR-use-CAUS-DET for benefit 3PL  
 ‘On the surface, men appear to put their arm around their anger’s shoulder (to embrace their anger) and to use it for their own benefit.’

(30) Indonesian:

*Tidak apa-apa untuk me-rangkul ke-marah-an: tapi*  
 no what<RED> for TR-side.hug CIRC-angry-AN but  
*kemudian lepas-kan.*<sup>27</sup>  
 later loose-CAUS  
 ‘It’s okay to put your arm around your anger’s shoulder (to embrace the anger), but then let (it) go.’

One can befriend one’s anger, expressed with the word *bersahabat* “to be best friend with,” suggesting that we need to handle our ANGER in a friendly way instead of conquering it. Example (31) demonstrates this notion.

<sup>25</sup> Although many animals can perform this, however, we do not discuss emotions being conceptualized as animals in this paper. Therefore, this particular entity is classified as a human property here.

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.fimela.com/lifestyle/read/4520977/menurut-penelitian-perempuan-lebih-bisa-mengendalikan-rasa-marah-daripada-pria-ini-penjelasan-nya>

<sup>27</sup> <https://ichi.pro/id/tidak-apa-apa-untuk-merangkul-kemarahan-tapi-kemudian-lepaskan-109194434790455>

(31) Indonesian:

<i>Ketika</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>sanggup</i>	<i>ber-sahabat</i>	<i>dengan</i>
when	1PL.INCL	capable	ITR-best.friend	with
<i>ke-marah-an</i>	<i>kita,</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>sedang</i>	<i>menguat-kan</i>
CIRC-angry-AN	1PL.INCL	1PL.INCL	PROG	TR.strong-CAUS
<i>diri</i>	<i>untuk</i>	<i>lebih</i>	<i>tegar</i>	<i>meng-hadap-i</i>
self	for	more	tough	TR-face-APP
				<i>hidup.</i> <sup>28</sup>
				life

‘When we can be a best friend with our anger, we toughen ourselves to be stronger facing our life.’

However, ANGER can also be someone who teasingly dances and laughs at you, perhaps to tempt you to be burned by it, expressed by *menari* “to dance” and *menertawakan* “to laugh at”:

(32) Indonesian:

<i>Semua</i>	<i>amarah</i>	<i>menari</i>	<i>menertawa-kan</i>	<i>kita</i>
all	anger	TR.dance	TR.laugh.at-CAUS	1PL.INCL
<i>yang</i>	<i>ter-bakar...</i> <sup>29</sup>			
REL	INV-burn			

‘All of the anger danced, laughed at us who were burned (by the anger itself).’

In addition, there are metaphorical expressions that can be categorized under ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE) conceptualization, but only as a sub-conceptual metaphor of anger personification. This conceptualization is not culturally specific to Indonesian, as many languages from different language families, such as American English, Spanish, Turkish and Hungarian, also share the same metaphorical conceptualization (see Kövecses 2015). Examples of this are described as follows:

(33) Indonesian:

<i>Ia</i>	<i>ter-diam</i>	<i>sebentar</i>	<i>menyadar-i</i>	<i>bahwa</i>	<i>suara-nya</i>
3SG	INV-silent	a.moment	TR.aware.of-APP	that	voice-POSS
<i>juga</i>	<i>di-kuasa-i</i>	<i>amarah.</i>			
also	PASS-overpower-APPL	anger			

‘He then became quiet for a moment, realizing that anger had taken control over his voice.’

(34) Indonesian:

<i>Jangan</i>	<i>menyerah</i>	<i>pada</i>	<i>ke-marah-an.</i> <sup>30</sup>
don’t	TR.surrender	toward	CIRC-angry-AN

‘Don’t surrender/yield to anger.’

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.infoanda.com/linksfollow.php?lh=WwlWBFZTAwL>

<sup>29</sup> ‘Pertengkaran Kemarin’ <http://caniaray.blogdetik.com/2010/03/25/pertengkaran-kemarin/>

<sup>30</sup> ‘Cara Untuk Menarik Perhatian Wanita’ (<http://www.artikelpria.com/2009/09/12/cara-untuk-menarik-perhatian-wanita.html>)



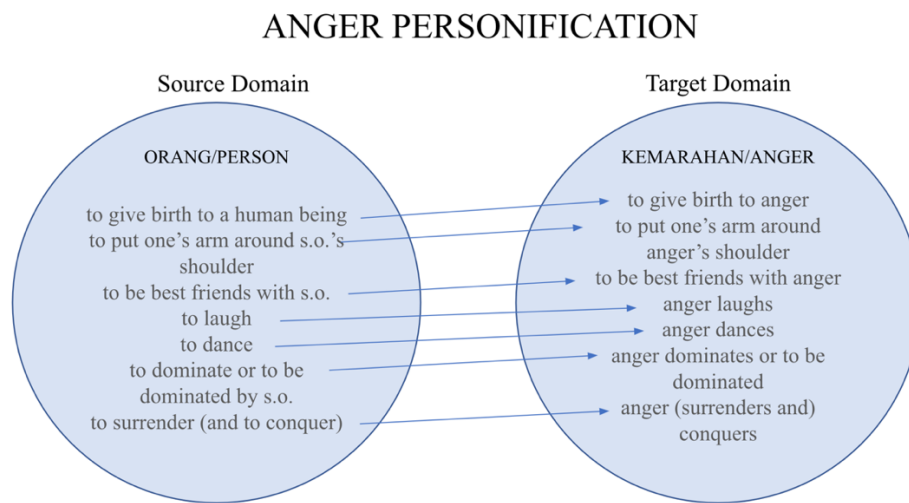
(35) Indonesian:

[...] *sehingga ia bisa juga mengalah-kan amarah*  
 so.that 3SG can also TR.be.defeated-CAUS anger

*dalam diri-nya* [...] <sup>31</sup>  
 inside self-POSS

‘[...] so that he also could conquer his anger inside of him.’

The conceptual mapping for the ANGER personification conceptualization and its sub-conceptualization, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE) is illustrated in Figure 10.



**Figure 10. ANGER Personification**

The above discussion establishes that it is plausible that collective culture motivated the development of the ANGER personification. The entities demonstrate that in Indonesian, ANGER can be given birth to and be someone's best friend, although it can also be an opponent at times. ANGER also laughs and dances. Overall, it is obvious that ANGER is conceptualized as a person who can perform some complex motoric skills. The linguistic expressions reveal that Indonesians are encouraged to accept ANGER and to cooperate with their anger in a more positive manner than to fight against it, certainly to avoid conflicts.

Additionally, ANGER is seated in the uterus, instead of the stomach, as in the ANGER IS FOOD metaphor, or the liver like most emotions in Indonesian. Although it is not explicitly expressed as in the HATE personification, one can be “pregnant” with HATE; the word *melahirkan* “to give birth to” under ANGER personification indicates that one has been pregnant with ANGER, and this implies the locus of the emotion. It also implies that ANGER does not suddenly explode, as in the conceptualization in American English (see Kövecses et al., 2015), but rather involves a painful process of delivery.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Laki-laki Pemarah’ (<http://sosbud.kompasiana.com/2009/04/09/laki-laki-pemarah/>)

## 6.2 Love<sup>32</sup>

In Indonesian, three words can be roughly translated as LOVE in English: CINTA, KASIH, and SAYANG. The origin of the word CINTA comes from Sanskrit चिन्ता, with the root *cint*, which denotes “to think, to have a sorrowful thought,” “care,” “reflection,” and even “anxiety” (see Apte 1965)<sup>33</sup>. Based on Heider’s (1991) cognitive mapping study on emotions, CINTA in Indonesian is closer to “sadness” than “happiness” than that of English and it also denotes “sacrifice” instead of consummation (also see Goddard 1996:454). Heider also highlights that CINTA is characterized by “pity” or “compassion.” Therefore, it is possible to speculate on the cluster of thoughts CINTA once encompassed in Sanskrit before being borrowed. For example, “to have a sorrowful thought” and “care,” and perhaps “anxiety” act as antecedents in Indonesian, in which it gives emotions as its outcomes implying “pity,” “sadness,” and “sacrifice,” and also denotes “care.”

The aforementioned mental/emotional states give rise to the choices of culture-specific metaphorical conceptualizations of CINTA in Indonesian. LOVE IS A YARN, LOVE IS A PLANT, LOVE IS A VALUABLE POSSESSION, and LOVE IS PERSONIFICATION are elaborated below. Most of the entities found in the conceptual mapping of the four metaphors indicate that LOVE is delicate and should therefore be done with “care” and requires “sacrifice” to maintain it.

The LOVE IS A YARN metaphor is most likely motivated by Indonesian historical *Ikat* culture. *Ikat* is a dyeing technique that uses resist on yarns before dyeing and weaving to create certain patterns (see Barney 1989; Buckley 2012). LOVE is conceptualized as a fragile yarn that needs to be handled carefully and thoughtfully. To have a relationship means to knit or braid the yarn, and it implies a serious amount of time being taken. When the relationship ends, the yarn is snapped. The entity that describes the moment is *putus* “to get snapped,” and can be found even in everyday colloquial Jakartan. LOVE can also fade away, which is demonstrated by the entity *luntur* “color-fade” it indicates a relatively long period of time

Indonesian agriculture seems to have motivated the development of the LOVE IS A PLANT metaphor. However, the conceptualization does not merely involve the structural metaphor; it has taken four phases, involving an orientational metaphor in the initial phase. Furthermore, LOVE as a plant grows shoots and has flowers. It also needs to be fertilized or it withers. Taking care of LOVE as a plant also implies one’s carefulness and thoughtfulness, similar to the LOVE IS A YARN metaphor.

The LOVE IS A VALUABLE POSSESSION metaphor demonstrates the quality of the LOVE itself as an object. The expressions that express whether one deserves or is entitled to LOVE imply that the emotion is a valuable possession. Under this conceptualization, LOVE can be made fake, comparable to faked valuable objects, to express an insincere feeling. Lastly, LOVE as a possession can be buried to express a hidden love. The liver is the seat of LOVE for this conceptualization.

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<sup>32</sup> There are other Indonesian metaphorical conceptualizations on CINTA proposed by Rajeg (2013), i.e. LOVE IS AN ACCIDENTAL MOVEMENT, LOVE IS A BONDING, LOVE IS A STORY, LOVE IS A VERBAL EXPRESSION, LOVE IS A COLORFUL OBJECT and LOVE IS A DIVINE OBJECT. However, they will not be reviewed here.

<sup>33</sup> According to The Practical Sanskrit-English dictionary written by Apte (1965), the word *cinta* has no close meaning to its English equivalent ‘love’ at all. The meanings of *cinta* in Sanskrit are 1) thought, thinking, 2) sad or sorrowful thought, care, anxiety, 3) reflection, consideration, 4) anxiety.

Analogous to the ANGER personification, the LOVE personification carries many human properties as its entities. LOVE is associated as a person who is blind, uses touch to find their way, walks, caresses, embraces, and more. LOVE is conceptualized as a person who can perform some motoric skills.

The words for the LOVE examined herein are *cinta* and *kecintaan*. The four metaphorical conceptualizations are discussed in detail below.

### 6.2.1 Love is a yarn

Indonesia is known to have a long-standing *Ikat* culture. It is a resist-dye technique to produce a textile with vibrant colors and designs and it is a part of the larger *Ikat* tradition of Southeast Asian culture. Buckley (2012) asserts that *Ikat* tradition plays an important role in other aspects of traditions, such as markers of status, decorations for ritual spaces, and ritual gifts for birth, marriage, and death. Some scholars have also noted similarities between the motifs and *Ikat* techniques between different regions of Southeast Asia and hypothesized that it comes from one source (Barnes 1989; Maxwell 2003). Buckley (2012) further notes that the current research on *Ikat* weaving history demonstrates that *Ikat* traditions may have originated in Neolithic times.

With such a long history and tradition of *Ikat* weaving, it is plausible that weaving activities are mapped onto a delicate abstract concept, such as love, for the following reason. When people work on their *Ikat*, they do so carefully and perhaps with a little anxiety. Since making *Ikat* is very complex and delicate, they need to have a background cultural knowledge of the meaning of patterns that they are using. This allows so little room for mistakes. Therefore, they have to work on it carefully and thoughtfully. It also implies length is mapped on time since weaving *Ikat* can take a significant amount of time to achieve a fine result. Additionally, the word CINTA denotes “care,” “reflection,” and even “anxiety” from the Sanskrit borrowed word, *cint*; working on *Ikat* requires these mental states. Therefore, the mental properties between the source domain YARN to the target domain LOVE are easily associated and it triggers the LOVE metaphorical conceptualization in contemporary Indonesian.

As a yarn, CINTA can bind two people together. When they start weaving their string of love, they are ready to become involved in a deeper and more complex relationship. When the relationship is broken, the yarn of love is torn. The lexemes carried by this metaphorical conceptualization are *putus* “to be snapped,” *jalinan* “braid,” specifically for yarn, *merajut* “to knit,” *benang* “yarn<sup>27</sup>,” *jaring* “net,” *ikatan* “bond,” *terjerat* “to be entangled,” and *luntur* “color-fade,” a term used for the way the colors fade or graduate in the cloth or *Ikat* wrap. The linguistic expressions are presented below.

(36) Indonesian:

<i>Bila</i>	<i>cinta</i>	<i>menipis</i>	<i>jangan</i>	<i>buru-buru</i>	<i>putus!</i> <sup>34</sup>
if	love	TR.thin	do.not	rushly<RED>	snap

‘If your love is going thinner, don’t break up immediately!’

In colloquial Jakartan, when two people separate from each other, the expression *kita putus*, which literally means “we are snapped (from one another),” is used.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> <https://www.bicaraperempuan.com/cinta-menipis-jangan-putus/>

<sup>35</sup> In comparison, in English, relationships seem to be perceived as a solid object because they can break.

(37) Colloquial Jakartan:

*Udah nggak usah sok khawatir! Kita putus aja.*  
 PST NEG need pretend worried 1PL.INCL be.snapped just

‘Come on, you don’t need to pretend that you’re worried! Let’s just break up.’

(Kusnianti 2020)

Examples of working on love using YARN as the conceptual metaphor are presented below.

(38) Indonesian:

*Tahun ini kami ingin semakin*  
 year this 1PL.EXCL want the.more

*me-rekat-kan jalin-an cinta kami.*  
 TR-stick-CAUS braid-AN love 1PL.EXCL

‘We want to tighten our braid of love this year.’/

‘We hope that our relationship is getting more serious and deeper this year.’

(39) Indonesian:

*Me-rajut cinta dan men-jalin kasih*<sup>36</sup>  
 TR-knit love and TR-braid compassion

‘Knitting love and braiding compassion.’

(40) Indonesian:

*Setiap benang-benang cinta yang di-rajut akan*  
 one-every yarn<RED> love REL PASS-knit FUT

*meng-hubung-kan satu dengan lainnya men-jadi*  
 TR-relate-CAUS one with other-DET TR-become

*suatu bentuk cinta yang indah...*<sup>37</sup>  
 CLF shape love REL beautiful

‘Every yarn of love that was knitted will tie one another such that it forms a beautiful love.’

(41) Indonesian:

*Ku-akhir-i, ku-robek jaring cinta kita sebelum tumbuh*<sup>38</sup>  
 1SG-end-APP 1SG-tear net love 1PL.INCL before grow

‘I ended it; I tore our net of love before it even grew.’

(42) Indonesian:

*Gembok besi menanda-kan kekal-nya ikat-an cinta*  
 padlock iron TR.sign-CAUS eternal-DET tie-AN love

*sepasang manusia.*  
 one.pair human

‘The iron padlock represents the eternal binding of love between a pair of lovers.’

<sup>36</sup> <https://muditacenter.com/merajut-cinta-dan-menjalin-kasih/>

<sup>37</sup> <https://muditacenter.com/merajut-cinta-dan-menjalin-kasih/>

<sup>38</sup> <https://cuteabis.com/>

(43) Indonesian:

*Lepas dari web series itu, Marthino Lio seakan ter-jerat*  
 loose from web series that Marthino Lio as.if INV-tangle

*cinlok alias cinta lokasi dengan Delia Husein.*<sup>39</sup>  
 location.love alias love location with Delia Husein

‘After finishing the web series, Marthino Lio seemed to get tangled in a place of love with Delia Husein.’

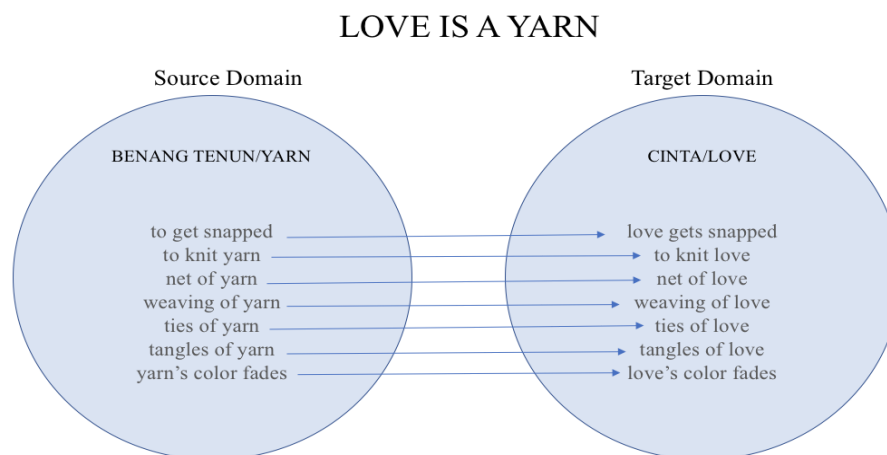
(44) Indonesian:

*Cinta yang tadi-nya begitu mem-bara pada awal*  
 love REL earlier-DET so.that TR-ember toward beginning

*hubung-an bisa perlahan luntur tanpa di-sadar-i.*<sup>40</sup>  
 connect-AN can slowly color.fade without PASS-aware-APP

‘Love that was once burning hot in the beginning of relationship can slowly fade away without (you) realizing it.’

Clearly, given the conceptual mapping between entities of the source and target domains, the type of conceptual metaphor employed in LOVE IS A YARN is a structural metaphor. The mapping between the source and target domains is illustrated in Figure 11.



**Figure 11. LOVE IS A YARN metaphorical conceptualization**

It can be concluded that Indonesian *Ikat* culture is sufficiently salient to give rise to the LOVE IS A YARN metaphorical conceptualization in the Indonesian language. From the expressions presented above, LOVE is perceived as a delicate and fine object as a yarn that needs to be handled carefully and thoughtfully to prevent it from being snapped or broken. Furthermore, the length of weaving and/or knitting *Ikat* is mapped on time, suggesting that love takes time in Indonesian culture.

### 6.2.2 Love is a plant

Indonesian culture is deeply rooted in agriculture. We cannot discuss agriculture without discussing rice plantations within the Indonesian context. Rice culture has a long-standing

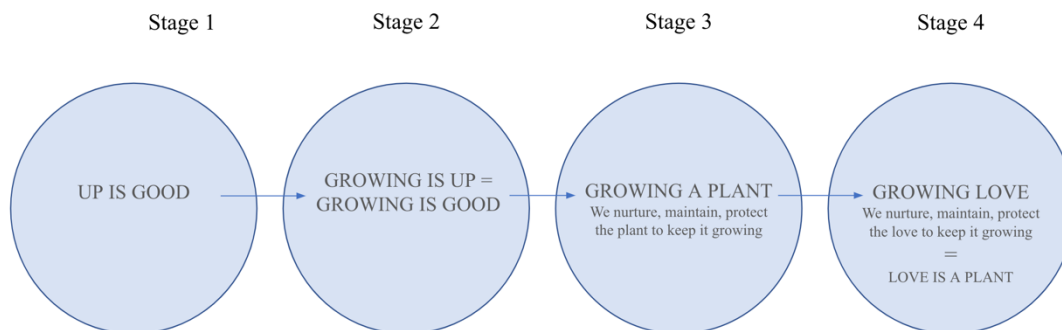
<sup>39</sup> <https://hot.detik.com/celeb/d-5720326/dari-web-series-marthino-lio-terjerat-cinta-dan-nikahi-delia-husein>

<sup>40</sup> <https://www.fimela.com/lifestyle/read/3994983/4-tanda-lunturnya-cinta-dalam-hubungan-yang-tadinya-baik-baik-saja>

history along with the spread of Austronesian people to this archipelago and some other regions up to Madagascar to the West and to the Polynesian islands to the East (see Blench 2009). Deng et al. (2020), examined the archaeological evidence of domesticated rice cultivation in the Sulawesi dating back at least 3,500 years, which was culturally sourced in the Yangtze River basin in mainland China. Compared to hunting and foraging, farming is very demanding labor; it requires thorough calculation of planning and knowledge, starting from sowing the seeds, weeding, harvesting, processing, and storing the harvest (Naithani, 2021). It definitely requires a sense of nurturing and patience since it takes time and unceasing attention to ensure the harvest is successful.

Under the LOVE IS A PLANT metaphor,<sup>41</sup> the aforementioned sense of nurturing is also mapped onto LOVE. It requires caretaking and patience, which indicates time and effort<sup>42</sup>, and even sacrifice to maintain and protect the growth of LOVE, as we would do to take care of plants. The physical growth of a plant conceptualizes the emotional growth between a couple.

The conceptual mapping of the LOVE IS A PLANT metaphor couples the orientational and structural metaphors. This conceptualization takes a similar pathway as that of the ANGER IS A SOUND metaphor. In the first stage, the orientational metaphor, that is, UP IS GOOD is employed to move on the next stage, that is, GROWING IS UP (therefore, GROWING IS GOOD). The third stage is GROWING A PLANT, where we nurture, maintain, and protect the plant to keep it growing and it involves effort and planning, such as fertilizing it to maintain its growth and protecting it from malnutrition or even withering. The last stage is this structural knowledge is mapped onto the abstract concept, which in this case is LOVE. The pathways of the LOVE IS A PLANT metaphorical conceptualization are illustrated in Figure 12.



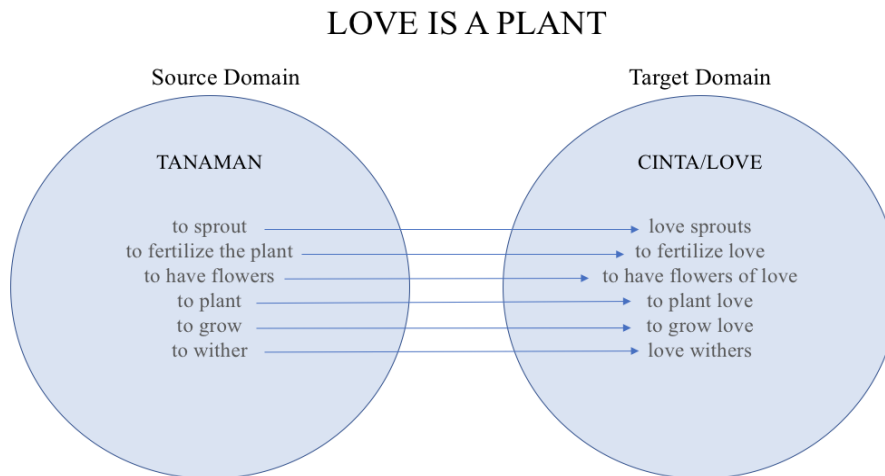
**Figure 12. LOVE IS A PLANT Metaphorical Conceptualization Pathway**

Focusing on the structural metaphor, Figure 13 presents the entity mapping between PLANT and LOVE as the source and target domains, respectively. The entities are *bersemi*

<sup>41</sup> The PLANT source domain is mutually shared by LOVE and HATE. We will see in section 6.3.2 that HATE is associated as a bad PLANT.

<sup>42</sup> Most Indonesians take their relationship for years until they formally announce it through a marriage, which indicates caretaking and patience. A marriage between two people means also a marriage of two big families. The idea is to make sure that the divorce is discouraged. Talhelm et al. (2014) affirm that people from rice cultures give priorities to preserve relationships and avoid conflict and as a suggestive result, they feel reluctant to get divorced. Talhelm et al. (2014) further find that the divorce still happens in rice cultures but the statistics show that the number is still rather low compared to that of wheat cultures.

“to sprout,” *dipupuk* “to be fertilized,” *bunga-bunga cinta* “flowers of love,” *menanamkan* “to plant,” *menumbuhkan* “to make a plant grow,” *berbunga* “to flower,” and *layu* “to wither.”



**Figure 13. LOVE IS A PLANT metaphorical conceptualization**

The conceptual mapping of the LOVE IS A PLANT metaphor is depicted in the linguistic examples below.

(45) Indonesian:

Sama-sama tinggal di Jakarta mem-buat **cinta** mereka semakin **ber-semi**.<sup>43</sup>  
 same<RED> live in Jakarta TR-make love 3PL the.more ITR-spring  
 ‘Living in Jakarta [in the same city] makes their love sprout.’

Example (45) demonstrates that LOVE takes time to grow. LOVE also needs to be fertilized to maintain its growth, as described by example (46), and hopefully it flowers, as illustrated by examples (47) and (48).

(46) Indonesian:

*Perasaan cinta terus di-pupuk terus*.<sup>44</sup>  
 feeling love continue PASS-fertilize continue  
 ‘The love continues being fertilized.’/  
 ‘The love should be continuously nurtured.’

(47) Indonesian:

*Itu-lah bunga-bunga cinta*.<sup>45</sup>  
 that-EMPH flower<RED> love  
 ‘Those are flowers of love.’

<sup>43</sup> <https://www.kompasiana.com/sehatihsan/54fd653ea33311791550fe10/revisi-biografi-ibu-bangsa-hasri-ainun-habibie?page=2>

<sup>44</sup> <https://samaggi-phala.or.id/naskah-dhamma/akhiri-kebencian/>

<sup>45</sup> <https://lovepsychotest.blogspot.com/2008/02/bunga-bunga-cinta-di-dalam-hati.html>

(48) Indonesian:

*Cinta* adalah satu-satunya *bunga* yang dapat  
love COP the.only flower REL able

*tumbuh dan ber-bunga* tanpa *bantu-an* *musim*.<sup>46</sup>  
grow and ITR-blossom without help-AN season

‘Love is the only flower that can grow and blossom regardless of any season.’

To grow or plant LOVE means to have love in one’s liver. Here, the liver becomes the soil where it grows. Since the liver is the seat of thought and emotion in Indonesian, this suggests that when growing love, one will involve not only their emotion but also their mind.

(49) Indonesian:

*Saling* memandang atau ber-tatap mata setidaknya  
each.other TR.stare or ITR-look.at eye at.least

2 hingga 3 menit bisa *menumbuh-kan cinta* di hati masing-masing.  
2 to 3 minute can TR.grow-CAUS love in liver each<RED><sup>47</sup>

‘Looking at each other or looking into each other’s eyes for at least about 2 to 3 minutes can grow love in both livers (lit.).’

(50) Indonesian:

*Sebab* orang yang *menanam-kan* rasa *cinta* dan  
because person REL TR.plant-CAUS taste love and

*keyakinan* yang erat pada kalbu-nya akan di-balas  
certainty REL tight toward feeling-POSS FUT PASS-respond

*karena-nya*.<sup>48</sup>  
because-DET

‘For one who plants their love and faith deep in their heart will get what they deserves in the end.’

Example (51) supports the notion that LOVE IS A PLANT, where LOVE is associated with a PLANT that once has withered but started to grow again.

(51) Indonesian:

*Semoga* *cinta* yang dulu pernah *layu* bisa *ber-semi*  
hopefully love REL earlier ever wither can ITR-spring

*kembali seperti rasa-ku* pada-mu.<sup>49</sup>  
return like taste-1SG toward-2SG

‘Hopefully the love that once withered could spring again like my feelings for you.’

The LOVE IS A PLANT metaphorical conceptualization in Indonesian is rich and pervasive. The above discussion attempts to demonstrate that the deep agricultural tradition in

<sup>46</sup> <https://sepositif.com/50-kata-kata-bunga-yang-mekar-dan-layu-pada-waktunya/>

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.liputan6.com/health/read/3815807/cara-sederhana-bikin-pasangan-makin-cinta>

<sup>48</sup> <https://berandamadina.wordpress.com/2010/03/26/>

<sup>49</sup> <https://www.hipwee.com/narasi/semoga-cinta-yang-dulu-pernah-layu-bisa-bersemi-kembali-seperti-rasaku-padamu/>



Indonesia regarding planting could have motivated this conceptualization. The examples demonstrate the mental state of taking care of LOVE, starting from planting and growing it, fertilizing it to maintain its growth, and protecting it. When it is not taken care of, it withers. In addition, the metaphor implies one's effort and sacrifice to nurture, maintain and protect the LOVE to keep it growing.

### 6.2.3 Love is a valuable possession

LOVE IS A VALUABLE POSSESSION is formed from a structural metaphor. Similar to ANGER IS A POSSESSION, it has some shared entities, such as *hilang* "to be lost," *bertambah* "to increase (in quantity)" and *berkurang* "to decrease (in quantity)" to describe the intensity of the emotion. Traditionally, to express falling in love with someone, Malays/Indonesians speakers would say *menaruh hati* "to place one's liver before someone," which means "to put one's seat of thought and emotion before someone." However, since the globalized usage of English, modern Indonesians prefer to use the loan phrase, that is, *jatuh cinta* "to fall in love."

The entities from this conceptualization are *palsu* "counterfeit," (*alat*) *pertaruhan* "(stake of) gambling," *pantas* "worthy," *berhak* "deserve," *menaruh cinta* "to place love (in someone), and *memendam cinta* "to bury love." Although it is suggested that the ANGER personification is motivated by the Indonesian collective worldview, the LOVE personification has fewer clues to indicate this. However, since LOVE shares the personification master metaphor with ANGER and HATE, the same motivation may drive the LOVE personification to employ more human properties akin to the other emotion personifications. Some examples of the LOVE IS A VALUABLE POSSESSION conceptualization are presented below:

(52) Indonesian:

... *Karena esensi-nya hanya cinta palsu.*<sup>50</sup>  
 because essence-DET only love counterfeit

'Because the essence of it is only about a counterfeit love.'

The word *palsu* "counterfeit/fake" is usually applied to label fake valuable objects. When applied to LOVE, it describes a love that seems like a true love in the beginning, just like a counterfeit object would look the same as the original at a glance, but underneath it is an ingenuine and unfaithful love.

LOVE could be a valuable stake used for gambling. The expression is as follows:

(53) Indonesian:

*Per-sahabat-an sering kali ber-tukar men-jadi*  
 CIRC-best.friend-AN often time ITR-exchange TR-become  
*per-musuh-an apabila cinta men-jadi per-taruh-an.*<sup>51</sup>  
 CIRC-enemy-AN if love TR-become CIRC-put-AN

'Friendship often becomes hostility if love becomes (the object of) gambling.'

<sup>50</sup> <https://www.inews.id/lifestyle/muslim/hukum-hari-valentine-menurut-islam/2>

<sup>51</sup> <http://nurnabilahkudus.blogspot.com/>

The above example conveys the notion that friends can become enemies when they happen to fall in love with the same person and they start to “gamble” over who is going to win that person, suggesting that LOVE is a valuable stake in gambling.

In the same vein, the fact that one could be worthy or entitled to receive love also demonstrates how valuable LOVE is, and it is expressed by the following example.

(54) Indonesian:

*Sebaliknya, orang yang di-cinta-I karena 34las ann*  
 contrarily person REL PASS-love-APP because reason

*pantas atau di-anggap ber-hak menerima cinta*  
 suitable or PASS-consider ITR-right TR.receive love

*selalu menimbulkan keraguan...<sup>52</sup>*  
 always TR.rise-CAUS doubt

‘On the contrary, the person who’s being loved for the reason whether they are worthy or considered that they deserve to receive the love will always raise doubts.’

Historically, to express when someone falls in love, *menaruh hati*<sup>53</sup> “to place one’s liver (before someone else’s),” is used, not *jatuh cinta* “fall in love,” which has been actively used in contemporary Indonesian. KBBI retains this expression in its list with the same meaning, that is *menaruh hati* as “to like or love someone.” This shows that the metaphorical expression maintains its semantic aspect throughout time, but nowadays, it becomes less popular and can only be found in song lyrics or literature. By expressing that one *menaruh hati*, it means that one places their thought and emotion before the subject of their love.

(55) Indonesian:

*Lantas mengapa ku masih menaruh hati<sup>54</sup>*  
 then why 1SG still TR.place liver

‘Then why do I still place my heart (in you)/fall in love with you?’

Another variation is *menaruh cinta*<sup>55</sup> “to place love (before someone).” This variation is more common today compared to the former.

<sup>52</sup> <https://lifestyle.kompas.com/read/2010/07/14/1323066/~Psikologi?page=all>

<sup>53</sup> This expression goes back as far as the 1390s found in Hikayat Amir Hamzah literature (Ahmad, 1987), according to MCP. The metaphorical expressions using the word *menaruh* ‘to place (something) on/at’ combined with emotions are actually one of the oldest expressions in Malay language (cf. MCP).

<sup>54</sup> <https://www.sonora.id/read/422627224/lirik-lagu-lantas-juicy-luicy-lantas-mengapa-ku-masih-menaruh-hati>

<sup>55</sup> This expression can be found in the MCP as well dated back in the 1820s.

(56) Indonesian:

*Orang yang di dalam hati-nya menaruh cinta,*  
 person REL in inside liver-POSS TR.place love  
*pasti akan ada pe-rasa-an cemburu.*<sup>56</sup>  
 certain FUT exist CIRC-taste-AN jealous

‘Someone who places their love inside the heart would certainly feel jealous.’

When one cannot and/or should not express their love, they would bury it. This expression involves spatial conceptualization (see Figure 2). The entity for this metaphorical expression is *memendam* “to bury,” as described in the example below.

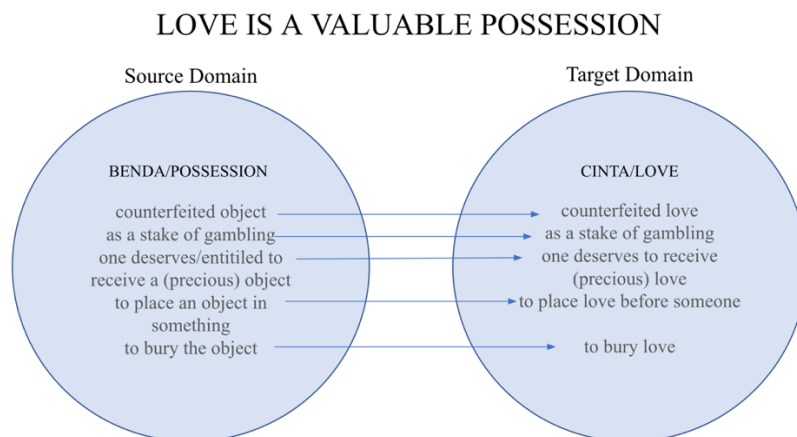
(57) Indonesian:

*Bagaimana rasa-nya memendam cinta selama 62*  
 how taste-DET TR.bury love as.long 62  
*tahun lama-nya?*<sup>57</sup>  
 year long-DET

‘How does it feel to bury love for 62 long years?’

The above expression demonstrates the detachment of the possessor from the emotion, with the notion of a hidden love.

In summary, LOVE is associated with a valuable possession, the amount of which can be increased or decreased, can be counterfeited (only very valuable and expensive objects tend to be faked), and only a worthy and entitled person deserves to receive it and have it as their possession. The LOVE IS A VALUABLE POSSESSION metaphor and its conceptual mapping are illustrated in Figure 14.



**Figure 14. LOVE IS A VALUABLE POSSESSION metaphorical conceptualization**

<sup>56</sup> <https://yoursay.suara.com/lifestyle/2021/09/24/112852/walau-terkesan-cuek-ini-4-tanda-cowok-kamu-benar-benar-sayang>

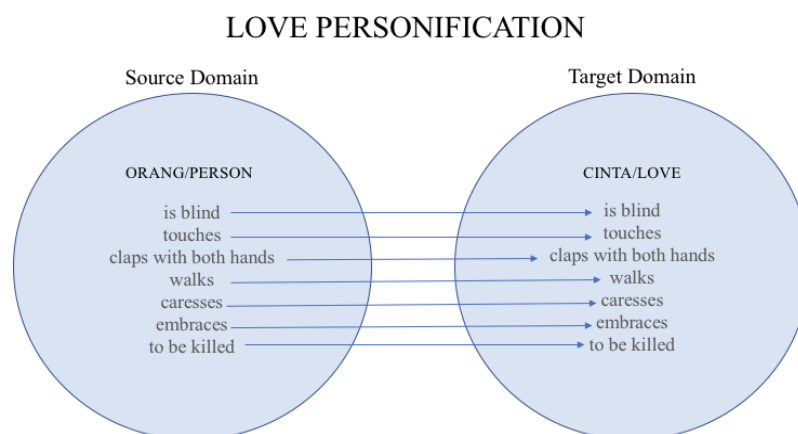
<sup>57</sup> <https://kumparan.com/cinta-rahasia/kisah-seorang-pria-yang-memendam-rasa-cintanya-selama-62-tahun-1vfHqTXnAua>

Additionally, the seat of the LOVE emotion is in the liver. In Indonesian, the expression *menaruh hati* “to place one’s liver (before someone else)” traditionally means to fall in love, that one would put their seat of thought and emotion in the subject of love. However, when one does not want to show it, they hide it by burying it, like a hidden treasure.

#### 6.2.4 Love personification

Similar to ANGER personification, LOVE personification is an ontological metaphor because it carries many human properties under the conceptualization. *Cinta* is conceptualized as a gentle person who is *buta* “blind” and *meraba-raba* “to feel around” to find its way, *bertepuk sebelah tangan* “claps with one hand” to express unrequited love, and *berjalan* “walks.” Further, LOVE gives *buaiian* “caresses,” *pelukan* “embraces,” and it could be *membunuh kecintaan* “killed.”

While the expression “love is blind” is rather universal, describing LOVE as having some motoric skills is culturally specific for Indonesian. For instance, it would be unusual to hear expressions in other languages from a different language family that LOVE walks, caresses, and embraces someone, or even touches to find its way. The conceptual mapping for LOVE personification is illustrated in Figure 15.



**Figure 15. LOVE Personification**

Examples of the metaphorical expressions of LOVE personification are presented below.

(58) Indonesian:

*Cinta itu buta makanya suka*  
 love that blind that.why like

*me-raba-raba*<sup>58</sup>

TR-feel.something.with.fingers<RED>

‘Love is blind, that’s why it likes to feel with its fingers.’

In the above example, LOVE is conceptualized as a person who is blind and needs to feel around to find their way. Although the expression “love is blind” is shared by some other languages, in Indonesian, it is extended to a more unique way to establish that LOVE is a

<sup>58</sup> [https://twitter.com/jek\\_\\_\\_/status/1258094316095893509?lang=en](https://twitter.com/jek___/status/1258094316095893509?lang=en)

person by involving the sense of touch, which is a property of humans. Another example that uses a human property for LOVE is presented in the following example.

(59) Indonesian:

*Cinta yang ber-tepuk sebelah tangan.*  
love REL ITR-clap one.halve hand

‘Love that claps with one hand (unrequited love).’

In Indonesian, when one loves someone who does not reciprocate, the above expression is used. How this expression originally came into the Indonesian discourse remains unclear. The expression “clapping with one hand” is known to be a *kōan*, a philosophical question presented by a Zen master for his students to provoke great doubt and practice Zen (see Heine & Wright 2000). Hakuin Ekaku,<sup>59</sup> a Zen master, asked his students the following: “Two hands clap and there is a sound. What is the sound of one hand?” (Heine & Wright 2000:289). In the Indonesian context, when LOVE claps with one hand only, it will not make any sound. The image schema of clapping hands represents a reciprocal action done with two hands that produces a reaction, in this sense, a sound of clapping hands.

LOVE also walks, which is also an attribute of a human being. The following expression conveys that LOVE and INTELLIGENCE need to walk together on the same path, which means when one falls in love, one should not let emotion override logic, but balance it.

(60) Indonesian:

*Cinta dan kecerdasan harus ber-jalan ber-sama, tanpa ada yang harus di-tinggal-kan.*<sup>60</sup>  
love and intelligence must ITR-walk ITR-same without  
COP REL must PASS-leave-CAUS

‘Love and intelligence have to walk together, without leaving one another.’

The metaphorical expression below demonstrates that LOVE can be someone who gives a loving caress and makes one get carried away.

(61) Indonesian:

*Itu-lah jika kita sudah ter-lena dengan buai-an cinta.*<sup>61</sup>  
that-EMPH if 1PL.INCL already INV-be.carried.away  
with caress-AN love

‘That’s what happens if we have already got carried away by Love’s caresses.’

Moreover, LOVE embraces one who is falling in love, which can be observed in the following expression.

<sup>59</sup> Hakuin Ekaku was one of the most influential Japanese Zen Buddhism figures.

<sup>60</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/beritasatu/photos/cinta-dan-kecerdasan-harus-berjalan-bersama-tanpa-ada-yang-harus-ditinggalkan-se/3664411050278497/>

<sup>61</sup> <https://diataskesaksiancinta.blogspot.com/2012/03/tadabur-cinta.html>

(62) Indonesian:

*Luar.biasa indah rasa-nya menurut mereka yang hidup dalam*  
 incredible beautiful taste-DET according 3PL REL live inside

*peluk-an cinta,...*  
 embrace-AN love

‘According to those who live in love’s embrace, it’s incredibly beautiful.’

A strong LOVE cannot be killed. The metaphorical expression is given below.

(63) Indonesian:

*Usia tidak dapat mem-bunuh ke-cinta-an Howells terhadap olahraga.*  
 age NEG able TR-kill CIRC-love-AN Howells toward sports

‘Aging cannot kill Howell’s passion for sports.’

The above discussion demonstrates that LOVE is associated with a gentle person who performs some motoric skills, such as touching, walking, and having gentle gestures, such as caressing and embracing. It is also described as losing its ability to see. With many human properties being employed to conceptualize LOVE personification and that LOVE shares the same master personification metaphor with ANGER and HATE and both are motivated by the Indonesian collective worldview (see ANGER and HATE personification sections for specific discussion), it has been suggested that LOVE personification has the same motivation.

### 6.3 Hate

The HATE metaphor in Indonesian is still under investigation. There are relatively few variations of HATE metaphorical conceptualizations, and of these, their entities are too limited to be analyzed. The current study examines four conceptual metaphors based on their variations of entities, not by occurrence, that is, HATE IS A DISEASE, HATE IS A PLANT, HATE IS A POSSESSION, and HATE personification.

Through the HATE IS A DISEASE conceptual mapping, HATE is conceptualized as a liver disease. From the metaphorical expressions provided, it could be deduced that HATE is a virus that causes the disease, silently gnawing from the inside-out.

The HATE IS A PLANT metaphor happens to be the flip side of the coin of the LOVE IS A PLANT metaphor. The long-standing Indonesian agriculture is suggested as the motivation behind this conceptualization. Through the metaphorical expressions, HATE is conceptualized as a bad PLANT that has to be burned to ashes.

HATE as an POSSESSION has more similar entities to the ANGER IS AN OBJECT metaphor. The metaphorical expressions suggest that HATE is usually buried, implying that HATE exists in one’s heart but it is not openly expressed and throwing it away would be good for everyone.

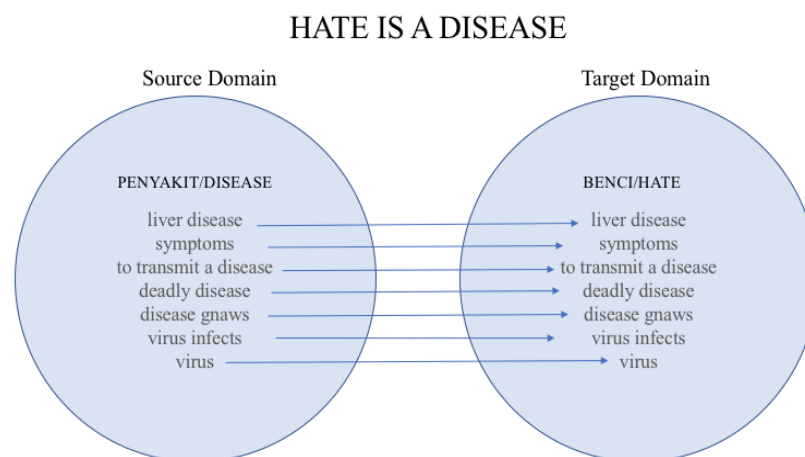
HATE personification carries human properties as its entities. The properties are sufficiently specific that this metaphor is considered culturally specific, such as mengandung and hamil “to be pregnant with,” among others, to express someone who keeps his hateful feeling and lets it grow stronger inside. Furthermore, it is found that uterus is the seat of HATE emotion under this metaphorical conceptualization.

The variations in the word HATE in Indonesian are *benci* and *kebencian*, which are included in the examples provided below.

### 6.3.1 Hate is a disease

The HATE IS A DISEASE metaphorical conceptualization is a structural metaphor. HATE metaphorical expressions are well structured and mapped on the DISEASE domain. In Indonesian speakers' minds, HATE is also perceived as a contagious disease caused by a HATE virus, which can spread and infect one's liver, as the seat of thought and emotion in Indonesian (see section 2), implying that it could make one's mind and soul sick to the point they could lose their good side. Therefore, when HATE is perceived or mapped as a contagious and even deadly disease that can infect one's liver, one's mind and emotion will also be infected by HATE.

HATE IS A DISEASE uses a structural metaphor. The entities in the metaphorical conceptualization are *penyakit hati* "liver disease," *gejala* "symptom," *menulari kebencian* "to transmit hate," *penyakit yang mematikan* "deadly disease" and *menggerogoti* "to gnaw." HATE is also conceptualized as a virus that can cause a disease. In this study, HATE IS A VIRUS is discussed under HATE IS A DISEASE because viruses can be the cause of a disease<sup>62</sup>, *virus menular* "infectious virus" and *virus kebencian* "hate virus," as illustrated in Figure 16.



**Figure 16. HATE IS A DISEASE metaphorical conceptualization**

Example (64) explicitly states that HATE is a liver disease, while example (65) describes that the emotion has symptoms, and example (66) shows that our HATE is contagious to other people and can be deadly (see example 67).

(64) Indonesian:

*Benci adalah penyakit hati.*<sup>63</sup>  
 hate COP disease liver  
 'Hate is a liver (heart) disease.'

<sup>62</sup> Certainly, the HATE IS A VIRUS can be a rich discussion on its own. However, it will need 1) a further investigation and 2) whether the entities it carries are at least as rich as the HATE IS A DISEASE metaphor to stand alone.

<sup>63</sup> <https://id.pinterest.com/pin/419257046560122448/>

(65) Indonesian:

*Meski ada gejala ke-benci-an terhadap kaum LGBT,*  
though exist symptom CIRC-hate-AN toward community LGBT

*Turki di-anggap sebagai negara yang paling toleran terhadap*  
Turkey PASS-consider as state REL most tolerant toward

*komunitas LGBT.<sup>64</sup>*  
community LGBT

‘Although there are symptoms of hate toward the LGBT community, Turkey is still considered as the most tolerant country for the LGBT community.’

(66) Indonesian:

*Misal-nya, menular-i ke-benci-an kita*  
example-DET TR.contiguous-APP CIRC-hate-AN 1PL.INCL

*kepada orang lain<sup>65</sup>*  
toward person other

‘For example, transmitting our hate to others.’

(67) Indonesian:

*Ke-benci-an adalah penyakit yang me-mati-kan ke-baik-an.<sup>66</sup>*  
CIRC-hate-AN COP illness REL TR-dead-CAUS CIRC-good-AN

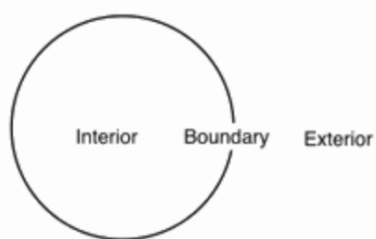
‘Hate is a disease that kills kindness.’

However, the HATE emotion could also be a very small creature that could gnaw slowly inside until the person who becomes the host of the HATE emotion is corroded inside-out.

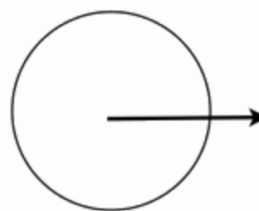
(68) Indonesian:

*Ke-benci-an akan meng-gerogot-i diri.<sup>67</sup>*  
CIRC-hate-AN FUT TR-gnaw.on-APP self

‘Hate will gnaw on you./Hate will eat you inside-out.’



**Figure 17. Interior-Exterior  
Image Schema**



**Figure 18. Interior-Exterior  
Image Schema pathway**

<sup>64</sup> <https://international.sindonews.com/berita/1131554/43/seorang-psk-waria-dimutilasi-dan-dibakar-di-jalanan-istanbul>

<sup>65</sup> <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2010/08/25/11483791/~Beranda~Etiket>

<sup>66</sup> [https://www.kompasiana.com/septiana\\_vina/54f82cc8a33311191c8b53d5/katakata-bijak-yang-tidak-bijaksana](https://www.kompasiana.com/septiana_vina/54f82cc8a33311191c8b53d5/katakata-bijak-yang-tidak-bijaksana)

<sup>67</sup> <https://www.kompasiana.com/tjiptadinataeffendi21may43/57dcffd80e937394668ef29e/jangan-biarkan-kebencian-menggerogoti-diri>



The above metaphorical expression carries an orientational metaphor, that is, containment schema, where the human becomes the container of the HATE emotion and that it could slowly destroy its container, that is, the human itself, if it is not dealt with. In Indonesian, the word *menggerogoti* “to gnaw” is often used to describe the way certain diseases ruin the human body from the inside-out. It suggests that Indonesians have the same kind of mental image about the HATE emotion with the conceptual mapping.

(69) Indonesian:

<i>Jangan</i>	<i>biar-kan</i>	<i>virus</i>	<i>ke-benci-an</i>	<i>menular</i> . <sup>68</sup>
do.not	let-CAUS	virus	CIRC-hate-AN	TR.contaminate

‘Don’t let the hate virus contaminate (you).’

(70) Indonesian:

<i>Kita</i>	<i>juga</i>	<i>harus</i>	<i>ber-juang</i>	<i>me-lawan</i>	<i>virus</i>	<i>yang</i>
1PL.INCL	also	has	ITR-fight	TR-fight.against	virus	REL

<i>tak</i>	<i>kalah</i>	<i>mem-bahaya-kan-nya,</i>	<i>yaitu</i>	<i>virus</i>	<i>ke-benci-an</i> ,... <sup>69</sup>
NEG	lose	TR-danger-CAUS-DET	that.is	virus	CIRC-hate-AN

‘We also have to keep fighting against a virus that is also dangerous, the virus of hate.’

Plausible motivations for why the virus was chosen as the source of the disease rather than other organisms, such as bacteria are as follows. First, a viral disease can be transmitted quickly and spread widely. The HATE emotion behaves similarly; it could be transmitted fast through social and mass media and it affects many people. Second, the spread of viruses could be unnoticed and before one knows it, they are already infected. It is similar to HATE in the Indonesian mind. Third, almost all viruses cause diseases while some bacteria are beneficial for human health. Indonesian speakers believe that HATE is not at all beneficial for human mental health because it could be dangerous not only to the one who cultivates the feeling but also for those who become the object of their HATE.

### 6.3.2 Hate is a plant

Section 6.2.2 discussed the LOVE IS A PLANT conceptual metaphor and found that LOVE is a plant that needs to be planted, nurtured, and fertilized so that it keeps growing, and how a long tradition of agriculture could play a role in shaping the metaphorical conceptualization in Indonesian. The same motivation, that is, agriculture, could also give rise to the HATE IS A PLANT conceptual metaphor. However, while LOVE is associated with a good plant, HATE is associated with the opposite. The linguistic examples below demonstrate that the plant of HATE is harmful.

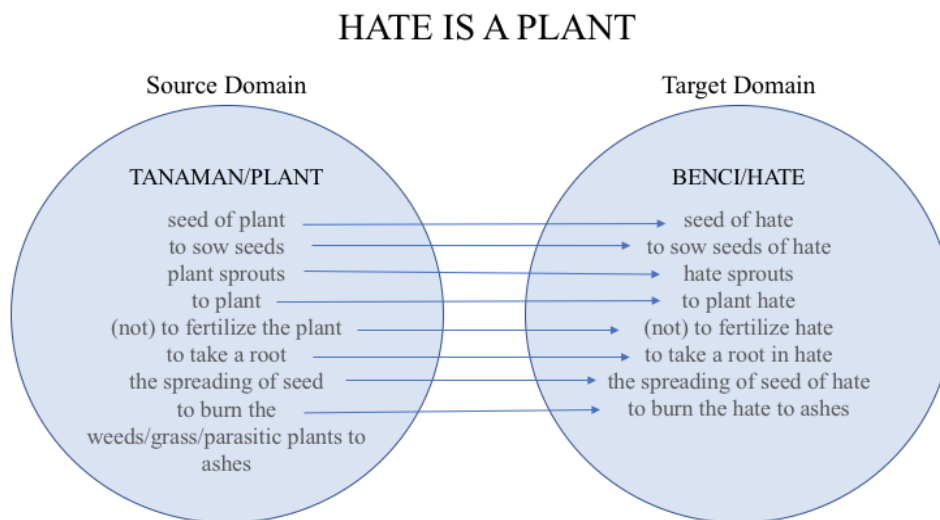
The entities of the HATE IS A PLANT metaphor are similar to those of the LOVE IS A PLANT metaphor. The only difference is that HATE as a plant should be exterminated completely through burning, *membasmi* in Indonesian (KBBI:2006).

The entities conceptually mapped between PLANT and HATE are quite productive. The HATE IS A PLANT conceptual mapping includes: *benih kebencian* “seed of hate,” *menabur benih kebencian* “to sow seeds of hate,” *kebencian bersemi* “hate sprouts,” *menanam kebencian* “to plant hate,” *(tidak) memupuk kebencian* “to fertilize hate,” *berakar pada*

<sup>68</sup> <https://berita168.com/zakir-rasyidin-polisikan-jonru-ginting-dengan-bawa-20-lembar-postingan/>

<sup>69</sup> <https://www.kompas.id/baca/opini/2021/09/11/virus-kebencian/>

*kebencian* “take root in hate,” *penyebaran kebencian* “the sowing of hate,” and *membasmi kebencian*, which “to burn the grass (and other parasitic plants) to ashes” (KBBI, 2006). Based on the aforementioned entities HATE is conceptualized under harmful plant category such as weeds, wild grass, and/or other parasitic plants. When HATE is described as a seed, it indicates that it is a small entity that may grow. The conceptual mapping between the PLANT and the HATE target domains is illustrated in Figure 19.



**Figure 19. HATE IS A PLANT metaphorical conceptualization**

*Benih* “seed” as a chosen entity can imply that HATE is initially a small object and spread widely by an agent. Planting HATE in someone’s liver, as a seat of thought and emotion in Indonesian culture, suggests that when HATE is introduced in someone’s head or heart, it is done with a gentle action, not by force. Furthermore, HATE takes roots and grows deeply; it takes a part of the plant to describe the depth and unseen growth of HATE. HATE IS A PLANT in Indonesian focuses more on the seeds themselves, the spread of the seeds, the planting of the HATE, and the burning of the HATE plant to ashes. What is not established is the growth of the HATE nor whether the plant is being nurtured, maintained, or protected to keep it from withering.

Examples that carry the HATE IS A PLANT metaphorical conceptualization are listed below. Examples (72), (73), and (74) indicate that HATE can be spread like seeds.

(71) Indonesian:

<i>Ketika</i>	<i>pe-rasa-an</i>	<i>marah terlalu</i>	<i>lama di-pendam,</i>		
when	CIRC-taste-AN	anger too	long	PASS-bury	
<i>biasanya</i>	<i>akan</i>	<i>men-jadi</i>	<i>bibit</i>	<i>ke-benci-an</i>	<i>yang bisa</i>
usually	FUT	TR-become	seed	CIRC-hate-AN	REL can
<i>menimbul-kan</i>		<i>dendam</i> <sup>70</sup>			
TR.emerge-CAUS		grudge			

‘When the feeling of anger has been too long being buried, usually it would be seeds of hate that can build a grudge.’

<sup>70</sup> <https://kumparan.com/millennial/3-dampak-terlalu-lama-memendam-kebencian-1sTYdpIkBF/2>

(72) Indonesian:

*Siapa yang menabur benih ke-benci-an, hasil-nya akan*  
 who REL TR.sow seed CIRC-hate-AN result-DET FUT

*menuai kekerasan.*<sup>71</sup>  
 TR.harvest violence

‘Whoever spreads the seeds of hate, it would give results of harvesting violence.’

(73) Indonesian:

*Peneliti Wahid Institute, Alamsyah M Dja'far, me-nilai*  
 scientist Wahid Institute Alamsyah M Dja'far TR-value

*marak-nya penyebar-an ke-benci-an me-lalu-i*  
 increase-DET CIRC.sow-AN CIRC-hate-AN TR-pass.by-APP

*media sosial ini sebagai gejala intoleransi.*<sup>72</sup>  
 media social this as symptom intolerance

‘Alamsyah M Dja’far, a scientist from the Wahid Institute, observed the increase of hate sowed through social media as a symptom of intolerance.’

To plant HATE is to make someone hate someone or something (see example 74). When a PLANT is planted, one would plant the roots. This implies a possible deep but unseen growth of HATE if the planting is successful. This corresponds with example (76) below. Further, to fertilize the HATE is not implied, suggesting that there is nothing good growing out of it, which is expressed in example (75).

(74) Indonesian:

*Pertanyaan kunci-nya adalah: apa-kah ke-resah-an*  
 question key-DET COP what-QM CIRC-restless-AN

*tersebut dapat di-guna-kan sebagai celah bagi*  
 mentioned able PASS-use-CAUS as gap for

*pembicara untuk menanam ke-benci-an?*<sup>73</sup>  
 speaker for TR.plant CIRC-hate-AN

‘The key question is whether the restlessness can be used as an opportunity for the speaker to plant some hate?’

<sup>71</sup> <https://www.kompasiana.com/pasundan/550ab3b3813311f017b1e120/siapa-yang-menabur-benih-kebencian-hasilnya-akan-menuai-kekerasan>

<sup>72</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-38247580>

<sup>73</sup> <https://www.remotivi.or.id/mediapedia/544/memantau-ujaran-kebencian-yang-berbahaya-sebuah-panduan>

(75) Indonesian:

<i>Kisah</i>	<i>Haman</i>	<i>meng-ajar-kan</i>	<i>kepada kita</i>	<i>untuk</i>
story	Haman	TR-teach-CAUS	toward 1PL.INCL	for
<i>tidak</i>	<b><i>memupuk</i></b>	<b><i>ke-benci-an</i></b>	<i>sekalipun</i>	<i>kita</i>
NEG	TR.fertilize	CIRC-hate-AN	eventhough	1PL.INCL
				<i>ber-beda.</i> <sup>74</sup>
				ITR-different

‘Haman’s story teaches us not to fertilize hate, even though we are different (from each other).’

(76) Indonesian:

<i>Ini</i>	<i>adalah</i>	<i>tindak-an</i>	<i>pem-bunuh-an massal,</i>	
this	COP	step-AN	CIRC-kill-AN	massive
<i>dilakukan</i>		<i>terhadap</i>	<i>Muslim,</i>	<i>terhadap</i>
PASS-behave-CAUS		toward	Moslem	toward
<i>warga</i>	<i>London,</i>	<i>dan</i>	<b><i>ber-akar</i></b>	<i>pada</i>
citizen	London	and	ITR-root	at
				<b><i>ke-benci-an</i></b>
				yang
				CIRC-hate-AN
				REL
<i>tak</i>	<i>ter-ungkap-kan.</i> <sup>75</sup>			
NEG	INV-reveal-CAUS			

‘It was an act of mass killing done to Muslims (people), to London citizens, and it took root in a hidden hatred.’

Example (77) demonstrates that HATE can also sprout, which indicates the time taken in a slow manner, similar to the LOVE IS A PLANT with the same entity.

(77) Indonesian:

<i>energi</i>	<i>yang</i>	<i>seharusnya</i>	<i>dapat</i>	<i>di-manfaat-kan</i>
energy	REL	should.be	able	PASS-benefit-CAUS
<i>untuk</i>	<i>be-kerja,</i>	<i>sejak</i>	<b><i>ke-benci-an</i></b>	<i>di-biar-kan</i>
for	ITR-work	since	CIRC-hate-AN	PASS-let-CAUS
<b><i>ber-semi</i></b>	<i>dalam hati</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>pikir-an,</i>	<i>maka</i>
ITR-sprout	in liver	and	think-AN	therefore
<i>energi</i>	<i>akan</i>	<i>ter-kuras</i>	<i>habis.</i> <sup>76</sup>	
energy	FUT	ITR-drain	finished	

‘... energy that was supposed to be used for doing some work will be drained since you let the hate sprout in your heart and mind.’

Example (78) indicates that HATE is an unwanted PLANT that needs to be burned to ashes. According to KBBI (2006), *membasmi* means “to burn grass to ashes.” The word *membasmi* is agriculture specific. Traditionally, it is done until the grass and other parasitic plants become ashes. It is the main word meaning to kill any harmful plants by burning. It is a part of an older tradition of agriculture, which is more commonly known as slash-and-burn or swidden, mostly done just before the rainy season. It is an ancient

<sup>74</sup> <https://perkantas.net/renungan/mengalahkan-ujaran-kebencian/>

<sup>75</sup> <https://dunia.tempo.co/read/1470480/pembunuhan-satu-keluarga-muslim-kanada-bermotif-kebencian-agama/full&view=ok>

<sup>76</sup> <https://www.kompasiana.com/tjiptadinataeffendi21may43/61cc4e6d9bdc404bd62ab853/kebencian-mengerogoti-kita-lahir-batin>

technique used by people in Southeast Asia to open a field for plantation. This practice began when the communities shifted from hunting-gathering to agriculture, which took place around the Neolithic period (see Hunt & Rabett 2014). The idea is that once the area is cleared after burning, the rain will help the bio-remnants of the burned plants make the soil fertile and ready for a new season of plantation (see Adimihardja (1991) for a description of the slash-and-burn practice in one local tribe in Indonesia).

Example (78) also expresses that burning the HATE to ashes has to be done until it reaches its deepest roots, indicating that the roots are dangerous if they are not destroyed. This metaphorical expression indicates that HATE is so harmful and that it has to be burned completely to prevent it from regrowing.

(78) Indonesian:

<i>Bukan</i>	<i>untuk</i>	<i>semata</i>	<i>men-jaga</i>	<i>toleransi</i>	<i>yang</i>	<i>indah</i>
NEG	for	only	TR-guard	tolerance	REL	beautiful
<i>di</i>	<i>per-muka-an,</i>	<i>tapi</i>	<i>mem-basmi</i>	<i>ke-benci-an</i>		
in	CIRC-face-AN	but	TR-burn.grass	CIRC-hate-AN		
<i>hingga</i>	<i>akar</i>	<i>yang</i>	<i>ter-dalam.</i>			
to	root	REL	SUP-deep			

‘Not only to maintain the beautiful tolerance on the surface, but also to burn (lit.) the hate completely down to its deepest root.’

The above discussion established that agriculture could be the motivation behind the HATE IS A PLANT conceptual metaphor, particularly give the LOVE IS A PLANT metaphor.

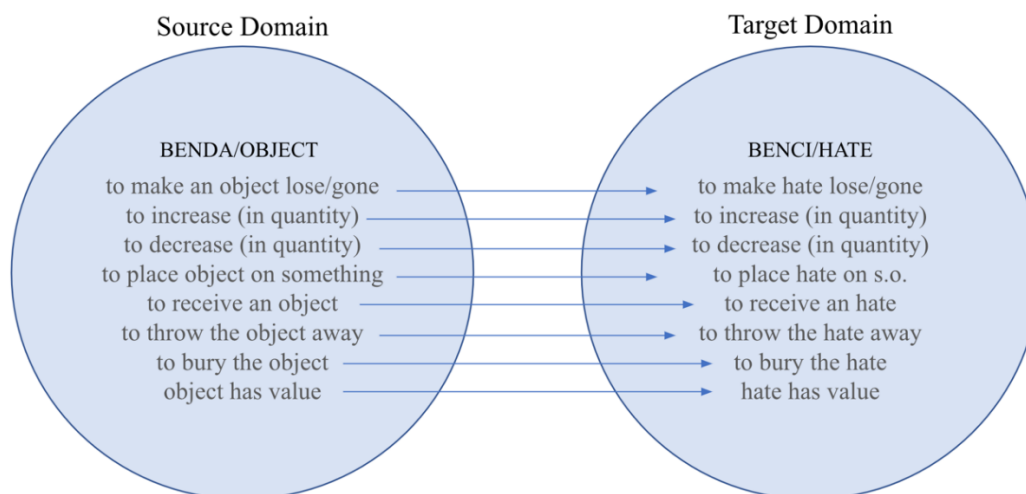
There are no linguistic expressions describing that the growth of HATE as a plant should be nurtured, maintained and protected, represented by the word *menumbuhkan* “to make something grow.” The above examples indicate the opposite, that is, by being conceptualized as a plant, it implies that HATE grows on its own but it is unwanted and harmful. Hence, the entity *membasmi* “to burn grass (and other harmful plants) to ashes,” even down to its deepest roots, is used under the HATE IS A PLANT conceptualization. Specifically, the “root” entity demonstrates that HATE has a potential to be a hidden danger without being shown or seen, akin to the root itself, that it could be hidden deep under the ground and has a potential to (re)grow if it is not killed.

### 6.3.3 Hate is a possession

The conceptual mapping of the HATE IS A POSSESSION metaphor is more similar to that of the ANGER IS A POSSESSION metaphor than to the LOVE IS A VALUABLE POSSESSION metaphor, probably because ANGER and HATE are perceived as negative emotions. Similar ANGER, HATE can increase or decrease, which conveys its intensity, and one can direct HATE at someone or conversely receive it from someone.

The entities found in the HATE IS A POSSESSION conceptual metaphor are *berkurang* “to decrease,” *bertambah* “to increase,” *menaruh* “to place sth,” *menerima* “to receive,” *dihilangkan* “to be made lost/gone,” *memendam* “to bury,” and *nilai kebencian* “value of hate,” which are illustrated in Figure 20.

## HATE IS A POSSESSION



**Figure 20. HATE IS A POSSESSION metaphorical conceptualization**

Examples (79) and (80) show that HATE can increase or decrease by amount, which conceptualizes its intensity.

(79) Indonesian:

*Jika mereka sudah ber-temu, mungkin ke-benci-an ber-kurang.*<sup>77</sup>  
 if 3PL PST ITR-meet maybe CIRC-hate-AN ITR-decrease  
 ‘If they met, perhaps (their) hate (would) decrease.’

(80) Indonesian:

<i>Ke-benci-an</i>	<i>ber-tambah</i>	<i>kepada</i>	<i>Opung</i>		
CIRC-hate-AN	ITR-increase	toward	uncle		
<i>Luhut, karena dia di-percaya Presiden Jokowi</i>					
Luhut because 3 PASS-trust president Jokowi					
<i>untuk menyelesaikan banyak urusan, yang</i>					
for TR.finish-CAUS plenty affair REL					
<i>nyata-nya dia mampu.</i> <sup>78</sup>					
real-DET 3 capable					

‘Hate increases toward Uncle Luhut since he is entrusted by President Jokowi to tackle many affairs and he shows that he has the capacity.’

Example (81) demonstrates that HATE is a possession that can be placed with someone else. Conversely, in example (83), one can be in the position of receiving it.

<sup>77</sup> <https://www.islamramah.co/2018/08/1539/kebencian-faktor-intoleransi.html>

<sup>78</sup> <https://redaksiindonesia.com/read/mereka-membenci-luhut-binsar-panjaitan>

(81) Indonesian:

*Kalau kita sudah menaruh ke-benci-an pada*  
 if 1PL.INCL PST TR.place CIRC-hate-AN toward  
*seseorang, kita bisa buta akan hal baik yang*  
 someone 1PL.INCL can blind toward thing kind REL  
*sedang di-per-juang-kan-nya.*<sup>79</sup>  
 PROG PASS-CIRC-fight-CAUS-DET

‘If we already place our hate in someone, we won’t be able to see good things that they’re fighting for.’

(82) Indonesian:

*Memang menerima ke-benci-an dari orang*  
 indeed TR.receive CIRC-hate-AN from person  
*lain itu tidak menyenangkan. Terutama ketika*  
 different that NEG TR.pleasant-CAUS especially when  
*kamu tak mengenal orang tersebut.*<sup>80</sup>  
 2SG NEG TR.know.someone person mentioned

‘Indeed, receiving hate from others is unpleasant, especially when you don’t know them.’

Example (83) depicts HATE as an unwanted possession that needs to be made to disappear from one’s liver. The liver is conceptualized as a container or a storage of HATE emotion. In addition, the expression also shows an act of detachment of the possessor from their possession, that is, HATE.

(83) Indonesian:

*Semestinya ke-benci-an wajib di-hilang-kan*  
 be.supposed.to CIRC-hate-AN mandatory PASS-be.lost-CAUS  
*dari hati se-orang yang beriman*  
 from liver one-person REL ITR-faith

‘Hate is supposed to be made to disappear from the heart of the faithful.’

As well as making HATE disappear, example (84) demonstrates another act of detachment with the word *memendam* “to bury” and example (85) with the word *membuang* “to throw away.” Both entities contain spatial image schema, that is, vertical and horizontal spatial positioning, respectively.

<sup>79</sup> <https://twitter.com/dsuperboy/status/905832630850949121>

<sup>80</sup> <https://kumparan.com/hello-ladies/5-cara-menghadapi-orang-yang-membenci-kita-menurut-ahli-cek-1wqZF2s4PnM>

(84) Indonesian:

*Aku-i*                    *bahwa*    *Anda*                    *memendam*    *ke-benci-an*    *dan*  
 confess-APP            that            2.HON            TR.bury            CIRC-hate-AN    and

*ber-usaha-lah*                    *menerima*                    *pe-rasa-an*                    *ini*.<sup>81</sup>  
 ITR-effort- EMPH                    TR.accept                    CIRC-taste-AN,                    this

‘Admit it that you bury hate and please try to accept this feeling.’

(85) Indonesian:

*Mem-buang*            *ke-benci-an*,    *amarah*,                    *dan*  
 TR-throw                    CIRC-hate-AN    anger                    and

*ke-kecewa-an*                    *sama*    *dengan*                    *men-datang-kan*  
 CIRC-disappoint-AN                    same    with                    TR-arrive-CAUS

*berkat*    *Tuhan*    *atas*    *hidup*    *kita*.<sup>82</sup>  
 blessing    God    above    life    1PL.INCL

‘Throwing hate, anger, and disappointment away is similar to inviting God’s blessings in our life.’

Lastly, example (86) expresses that HATE has monetary value.

(86) Indonesian:

*Berapa*                    *nilai*    *duka*                    *dan*    *benci*?<sup>83</sup>  
 how.much                    value    sorrow                    and    hate

‘What is the value of sorrow and hate?’

From the above examples, the HATE IS A POSSESSION metaphor shares the most entities with the ANGER IS A POSSESSION metaphor. The words *berkurang* “to decrease” and *bertambah* “to increase” are used to express the intensity of the emotion. These two words literally express the amount of HATE as an object in possession. The other entities that indicate that HATE is a possession are *menaruh* “to place an object on/at something,” which demonstrates that one aims their HATE at someone else in a careful manner or in a less aggressive way. This is similar to the LOVE IS A POSSESSION metaphorical expression with the same entity, *menerima* “to receive an object,” which becomes one’s possession. *Membuang* “to throw something away,” suggests one’s detachment from the emotion. *Memendam* “to bury” implies that one still has an attachment with the emotion but wants to hide it.

#### 6.3.4 Hate personification

As an ontological metaphor in Indonesian, personified HATE has unique and interesting entities. Akin to the ANGER and LOVE personifications, entities also carry human properties. For instance, HATE is conceptualized as a person who can invite other things, in this case awful things, to come. The word *mengundang* “to invite” means to invite a person to visit. HATE is also conceptualized as an enemy in warfare. Interestingly, one can be pregnant with HATE, suggesting that the emotion slowly grows larger inside one’s abdomen. The examples also suggest that the seat of HATE is in the uterus, not the liver.

<sup>81</sup> <https://www.thefastcode.com/id-idr/wiki/Mengatasi-Kebencian-terhadap-Seseorang>

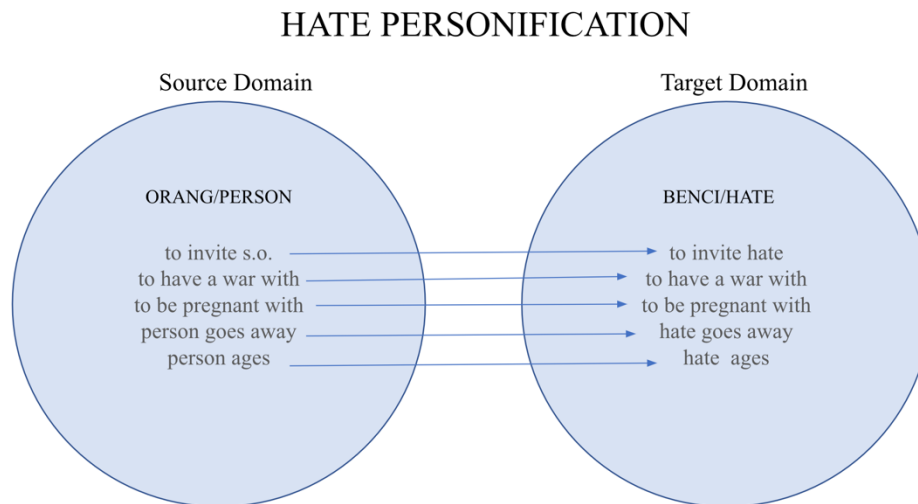
<sup>82</sup> <https://gbika.org/membuang-amarah-mendatangkan-berkat-tuhan/>

<sup>83</sup> [https://www.smule.com/song/dede-loo-ost-pendekar-harum-bumi-dan-langit-karaoke-lyrics/489852598\\_3014375/arrangement](https://www.smule.com/song/dede-loo-ost-pendekar-harum-bumi-dan-langit-karaoke-lyrics/489852598_3014375/arrangement)



The entities that HATE personification carries are *mengundang* “to invite,” *memerangi kebencian* “to go to war against hate,” *mengandung kebencian* and *hamil kebencian* “to be pregnant with hate,” *kebencian pergi* “hate departs,” and *berumur* “to age.”

The conceptual mapping between entities of both source and target domains for HATE personification is presented below.



**Figure 21. HATE Personification**

The entity *mengundang* “to invite” particularly belongs to human property, and it is found in example (87), which suggests that HATE shares this property.

(87) Indonesian:

*Selain itu ke-benci-an dapat meng-undang datang-nya*  
 apart.from that CIRC-hate-AN able TR-invite arrive-DET

*keburukan-keburukan*<sup>84</sup>

CIRC-awful-AN<RED>

‘Besides that, hate could invite awful things to come.’ (literal) /

‘Besides that, hate could make awful things happen.’

In example (88), HATE is conceptualized as an enemy in a war that needs to be conquered.

(88) Indonesian:

*Seruan global memerang-i ke-benci-an di*  
 exclamation global TR.war-APP CIRC-hate-AN LOC

*dunia maya itu datang dari Selandia Baru*<sup>85</sup>  
 world virtual that come from Zealand New

‘The global call to fight against hate in the virtual world came from New Zealand.’

<sup>84</sup> <https://bincangsyariah.com/kalam/kebencian-dapat-menghalangi-ampunan-allah/>

<sup>85</sup> <https://www.merdeka.com/dunia/seruan-global-memerangi-kebencian-di-dunia-maya-itu-datang-dari-selandia-baru.html>

As previously mentioned above, one can be pregnant with HATE, which indicates that HATE as a human being slowly grows inside of one's uterus as the seat of HATE emotion, which is similar to ANGER personification. However, there are no expressions using the word *melahirkan* "to give birth to" in the HATE personification. Being pregnant with HATE also implies the amount of time it takes to grow.

(89) Indonesian:

*Kritik boleh tapi jangan mengandung ke-benci-an.*<sup>86</sup>  
critique may but do.not TR.uterus CIRC-hate-AN

'You may criticize others but don't let it be pregnant with hate.' (literal) /

'You may criticize others but don't let it contain hate.'

(90) Indonesian:

*Hamil ke-benci-an akan me-lahir-kan ke-tidak-adil-an*<sup>87</sup>  
pregnant CIRC-hate-AN FUT TR-be.born-CAUS CIRC-NEG-fair-AN

'Being pregnant with hate will deliver injustice.'

To describe that someone no longer feels HATE, it is conceptualized as a person who has left or gone away, as represented by example (91) below.

(91) Indonesian:

*Jika ke-benci-an pergi maka sinar cinta akan ter-lihat kembali.*<sup>88</sup>  
if CIRC-hate-AN goes so light love FUT INV-see return

'If the hate goes away, then the light of love will be seen again.'

Lastly, HATE in Indonesian can age, indicating that it has a lifespan that can be either long or short.

(92) Indonesian:

*Tidak bisa di-pungkir-i bahwa ke-benci-an itu*  
NEG can PASS-deny-APP that CIRC-hate-AN that

*bisa ber-umur pendek atau-pun ber-tahan lama,*  
can ITR-age short or-PTCL ITR-withstand long

*bahkan se-umur hidup*<sup>89</sup>  
even one-age alive

'It cannot be denied that hate could be short-lived or stands against time, even taking a lifetime.'

Similar to ANGER and LOVE personification, the HATE metaphorical conceptualization demonstrates that the emotion seems to be detached from the possessor of the emotion. Interestingly, while ANGER is conceptualized as someone who one should receive and be best friends with, there are no similar metaphorical expressions under the HATE personification. The *berumur* "to have age" entity suggests that HATE can have a lifespan,

<sup>86</sup> <https://radarsurabaya.jawapos.com/nasional/12/02/2021/kritik-boleh-tapi-jangan-mengandung-kebencian/>

<sup>87</sup> <https://www.kompasiana.com/huzairi97705/615389d306310e79a02a2492/hamil-kebencian-akan-melahirkan-ketidakadilan>

<sup>88</sup> <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/784822672553648097/>

<sup>89</sup> <https://www.askara.co/read/2021/10/23/22628/entah-allah-maupun-manusia-pernah-memiliki-rasa-benci>

either a short or long one. This seems to be consistent with the *mengandung* and *hamil* “to be pregnant with” entities, which also indicates a certain period of time for HATE to grow. With the latter, it suggests that the seat of HATE emotion in the Indonesian language is located in the uterus, akin to that of ANGER personification.

## 7. Discussion

This study attempted to demonstrate that culture plays a significant role in shaping our experience and perception of emotion, which leads to expression of emotion in the form of metaphors. It also addressed the questions such as whether ANGER, LOVE, and HATE in Indonesian are difficult to express, since they are considered strong emotions, whether they feel the need to express it in conceptual metaphors, and whether there are any cultural motivations that shape their metaphorical conceptualizations in expressing these emotions.

To answer the questions raised in the introduction, it can be concluded that the conceptual metaphors to express ANGER, LOVE, and HATE discussed in this paper demonstrate that expressing them in simple and direct expressions does not suffice in a given discourse. Further, this study expands the conceptual metaphors employed to express the three emotions under investigation. The conceptual metaphors employed by the emotions, that is, specific conceptual and master metaphors are further examined. The specific conceptual metaphors are ANGER IS FOOD, ANGER IS A SOUND, LOVE IS A YARN, and HATE IS A DISEASE and the master metaphors are EMOTION IS A POSSESSION, PERSONIFICATION and EMOTION IS A PLANT. Lastly, although some conceptual metaphors are cognitive, some are influenced by cultural beliefs. This section summarizes the ANGER, LOVE and HATE metaphorical conceptualizations discussed herein.

### 7.1 Specific conceptual metaphor for emotion

#### 7.1.1 ANGER as food and a sound

It is interesting that ANGER is conceptualized as food and sound. Indonesia is famous for its ethnic cuisines and many traditional ceremonies involving food culture. As for sound as its source domain, this study proposed that the high-and-low intonation of sound be employed to map ANGER.

Under ANGER IS FOOD, ANGER is perceived as an unpleasant food that one has to swallow to express receiving anger in unexpected times and vomit it when one can no longer hold ANGER in one’s abdomen. This is contrary to Indonesians’ common expectation that eating is fun. Plausibly, since ANGER is considered an unpleasant emotion, it is coupled with the unpleasant side of eating activity, such as vomiting, among others.

Further, when ANGER is conceptualized as sound, although the entities are not as varied as other metaphorical conceptualizations, the metaphor has undergone complex conceptual mapping. It is a mixture of verticality and spatial positioning, which is perceived through human vision and human hearing.

#### 7.1.2 LOVE as a yarn

It has been proposed that the historical tradition of *Ikat* is the motivation behind the conceptualization of LOVE IS A YARN metaphor. The entities used to express “hues” of LOVE are the same entities used in the *Ikat* culture domain. When weaving *Ikat* into a beautiful cloth, it should be done with caring and reflective thoughts since the yarns are fragile. It also denotes the time it takes to finish the weaving. The culture also shapes how LOVE is perceived and felt in the Indonesian mind. Through the cognitive mapping of

emotions in Indonesia, Heider (1991) finds that LOVE has more sadness than happiness because it is influenced by “pity” and “compassion,” which is the opposite of LOVE in English. It is also suggested that the borrowed concept of *cint* from Sanskrit could have molded the way Indonesians would perceive love, since it originally means “to have a sorrowful thought,” “care,” “reflection,” and “anxiety.” Some of the subsets of the emotions and thoughts from both cognitive emotion mapping from Heider and the borrowed Sanskrit word combined are employed to give rise to LOVE IS A YARN conceptual metaphor.

### 7.1.3 HATE as a disease

HATE is conceptualized as a disease in Indonesian, specifically a liver disease. It has been suggested that viruses could be one of the causes of the disease. The current study also posits that there are at least three plausible motivations behind this conceptualization. First, just like viruses, HATE could spread quickly and widely. Second, the transmission of HATE can be unnoticed, just like how viruses are transmitted. Third, viruses may have been subconsciously chosen and not, for example, bacteria, because there are no good viruses, whereas we still can find good bacteria that are beneficial for us. However, this motivation depends on whether this conceptualization is younger or older than our knowledge on viruses and bacteria. Further research is needed to confirm this.

## 7.2 Master conceptual metaphors for emotion

### 7.2.1 Emotion as (valuable) possession

The master conceptualization of EMOTION IS A VALUABLE/NON-VALUABLE POSSESSION demonstrates that emotions are not to be expressed openly by default. This study proposes that Indonesian speakers treat their emotion as a concrete substance that can be kept, hidden, or buried when they want to suppress it. On the contrary, when they do not want to keep it for themselves or do not want to share it with others, they throw it away. The linguistic expressions provided herein demonstrate a detachment from unwanted emotion. The linguistic examples also reveal an ownership of the possessor, which becomes a crucial aspect of analysis.

The entities found in the conceptual mapping such as *menyembunyikan* “to hide” and *memendam* “to bury” refer to what Lakoff (1987) postulates as vertical orientation of image schema<sup>90</sup>, that the unpleasant emotion should be placed as low as possible. Anger and hate emotions have more expressions with the entities described above, while love is more oriented toward the quality of the object. The specific entity for quality from the LOVE metaphor is *palsu* “counterfeit” and the worthiness of someone to receive love.

### 7.2.2 Personification

Since the human body becomes our primary axis to perceive the world we live in, personification is perhaps the oldest conceptual metaphor that arose in the languages of the world. However, the metaphorical expressions could vary from one language to another. Emotion personification in Indonesian, ANGER has more human properties, such as laughing, dancing, walking, being pregnant with, giving birth to, and so on. Certainly, not all three emotions share the same entities. Those used to conceptualize a specific emotion describe a specific kind of personification.

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<sup>90</sup> The image schema is an embodied preconceptual structure that establishes the pattern of comprehension and reasoning.

The current study proposes that the emotion personification is motivated by Indonesian collective culture, which is driven by rice culture, characterized by a highly interdependent relationship and strong holistic way of thinking. The combination of both discourages Indonesians from having open conflicts or disagreements and makes them instead cooperate. This dynamic could be clearly observed in the ANGER personification, where ANGER is conceptualized as a best friend that we need to embrace, not in the sense of losing oneself to it, but making peace with it.

### 7.2.3 Emotion as a plant<sup>91</sup>

Of the three emotions under investigation, LOVE and HATE share the same source domain, that is, PLANT. While LOVE is conceptualized as a good plant that needs to be nurtured, maintained, and protected, HATE is conceptualized as a bad plant that needs to be burned to ashes. The fact that HATE is also conceptualized as a PLANT just as LOVE is in Indonesian leads to the following hypotheses: 1) Agriculture is very ubiquitous in Indonesian culture, 2) emotions take time to grow, either toward higher or lower levels. Regarding LOVE and HATE emotions, when LOVE grows, it is considered good, whereas when HATE grows deeper roots, it is considered alarming.

## 8. Conclusion

The three emotions, ANGER, LOVE, and HATE, have rich specific conceptualizations, that is, LOVE is conceptualized as FOOD and a SOUND, LOVE as a yarn, and HATE as a disease. Indonesian food and *Ikat* cultures are proposed to be the motivation for the LOVE IS FOOD and LOVE AS A YARN metaphorical conceptualization, respectively. Furthermore, the emotions also share master metaphors. LOVE and HATE share the same source domain, that is, PLANT, signifying how salient agriculture is in the Indonesian context. However, the perception for each emotion is different, that is, LOVE is a good plant but HATE is a bad plant. In the same vein, the three emotions are also conceptualized as personification and as an object, either possessed or valuable, as the master metaphor. As for emotion personification, this study posits that Indonesian collective culture could be the motivation for this conceptualization. Further investigations are needed to verify this.

In addition, in some metaphorical expressions from the ANGER IS FOOD, ANGER, and HATE personifications, the seat of ANGER and HATE is in the abdomen area, instead of the liver. From the aforementioned examples, in Indonesian, ANGER is located in the stomach and uterus, whereas HATE gestates in the uterus only. These findings could provide an alternative proposal for the seat of thought and emotion in Indonesian, in that it is plausible that the seat of some emotions could be in other organs, such as the stomach and uterus, rather than the liver. It is possible that organs other than the liver are also involved in negative emotions. This is not inconceivable, since some languages in Indonesia, such as Dobu (see Kuehling 2018), center their thoughts and emotions in the whole abdominal area.

Emotion is a complex abstract concept. We have the need to express it as closely to as we feel and perceive it in our mind, and this will require a more complex endeavor. We can conclude that metaphors bridge this need. However, metaphor not only maps our past bodily and perceptive experiences with the abstract concepts we want to convey, it goes

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<sup>91</sup> Although ANGER as a plant is not discussed in this paper, it does not mean that the linguistic expressions are null. The entities are not as various as LOVE and HATE and it is not productive. Therefore, it will be difficult to make an analysis.

deeper; culture plays a significant role in language perception and expression, and where emotions are located in the human body. The core of this discussion is that the pervasive nature of metaphor is deeply structured by our cognition and shaped by the culture we live in. This study suggests that this is the case.

### Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	AN	abstract noun
APP	applicative	CAUS	causative
CIRC	circumfix	CLF	classifier
COP	copula	DET	determiner
EMPH	emphasis	EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future	INCL	inclusive
INV	involuntative	ITR	intransitive
NEG	negation	PASS	passive voice
PL	plural	POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive	PST	past
PTCL	particle	QM	question marker
RED	reduplication	REL	relative
SG	singular	SUP	superlative
TR	transitive		

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