

Indonesian Metaphorical Conceptualizations of Anger: Does Anger Taste Delicious or Disgusting?¹

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Introduction

Metaphor is a figurative speech used to characterize one thing or idea in terms of another. *I'm running out of time*, *My heart sank when I heard the news* and *How could she marry a snake like that!* are some familiar examples of English metaphors. Indonesian also has its own metaphorical expressions. Some of conventional Indonesian metaphors include *Dia menjadi kambing hitam dalam kasus itu* 'He became the scapegoat in that case', *Jatuhnya harga saham membuat dia bangkrut* 'The fall in stock price made him bankrupt' and *Kata-katanya membuat aku meledak* 'His words made me blow up'.

Lakoff and Johnson (1987) found that metaphor, as a rhetorical device, is not merely a matter of extraordinary language. It is pervasive in daily life, not only in language but also grounded in our actions and thoughts. Further, they state that our entire conceptual system is pivotally metaphorical in nature and it governs our intellect and everyday functioning without our being aware of it.

According to Ortony and Fainsilber (1987), metaphor allows one to convey a simpler and more comprehensible experience to describe a relatively unfamiliar and abstract one. The way we perceive and experience our world might be similar or different from one culture to another. This enables us too describe abstract ideas similarly or differently. As a result, each language may produce similar or different conceptual metaphors as reflection of how the speakers view their world.

Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) claim that metaphorical structures are mappings across conceptual domains, thus each mapping is a fixed set of correspondences between entities from both a source domain (the concrete domain) and a target domain (the abstract domain). Further, they propose that daily expressions in English such as *He was filled with anger*, *She couldn't contain her joy*, *She was brimming with rage* are conceptualized specifically under THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTION metaphors. EMOTION, as the target domain, which is an abstract idea and is intangible in nature, is mapped onto THE BODY, the source domain, which is more tangible, and it becomes the CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTION.

In the following section, I discuss about metaphors of emotion and show that metaphors can be either universal or culturally grounded. Further, I elucidate a contrast between some of Indonesian and English ANGER conceptual metaphors, which are proposed by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), in order to examine which concepts have universality as opposed to cultural variations in nature by mapping entities from both the source domain and target domain. Finally, I draw some conclusions relating to how Indonesian speakers view ANGER by underlining the most interesting cultural metaphors in Indonesian. There are many such cultural metaphors in Indonesian, however, due to the lack of space, I present only representative examples.

The Metaphors of Emotion

As an internal state, emotion tends to have an elusive and transient quality as expressed by literal language (Ortony and Fainsilber, 1987). Thus, to express all feelings or emotion, one will tend to use metaphors.

Many studies on different languages have been done to see how their conceptual metaphors of emotion would work. The findings show that there are universalities in conceptual metaphors as well as cross-cultural variations, as proposed by Kövecses (2008).

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The following examples are emotion metaphors from Mandarin, English and Hungarian. Although all these languages come from different language families, they all share the conceptual metaphor HAPPY IS UP (Kövecses, 2008). Here, HAPPY as an abstract and elusive kind of emotion is mapped onto UP, a higher vertical level, which is perceptible to our sight, measurable and so on:

Mandarin:

Ta hen gao-xing (sic).
He very high-spirit
He is very high-spirited/happy

English:

That boosted my spirits.
I'm feeling up.

Hungarian:

Ez a film feldobott
This the film up-threw-me
This film give me a high
This film made me happy.

Kövecses (2008) postulates that several distinct languages share several conceptual metaphors for particular emotion concepts. According to him, the HAPPY IS UP metaphor is a universal or near-universal metaphor because when we are happy we tend to be up, jump up and down, moving around and be active². The aforementioned examples reflect this theory.

Apart from being universal, languages of the world also have some culturally grounded metaphors. This happens because languages have characteristic of reflecting various human experiences when they view the world they live in (Kövecses 2008). Ning Yu (1995) claims that a metaphor that Mandarin has but English does not is HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART:

xin-hua nu-fang (sic).
Heart-flower wildly-bloom
Burst with joy

Interestingly, Indonesian shares almost similar metaphorical concept with Chinese but using different type of organ, which is liver, instead of heart. The concept is HAPPINESS IS BLOSSOMING LIVER:

Hatinya berbunga-bunga mendengar berita itu
liver-NYA BER-RED-flower MEN-listen news that
Her/his heart was blooming to hear the news

According to Ning Yu (1995), the English cultural metaphorical concept BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND, exemplified by *I was flying high, We were on the clouds, I was just soaring with happiness*, does not exist in Chinese.

Conceptualization of Anger in Indonesian

There are several English ANGER conceptual metaphors postulated by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) which are similar to Indonesian conceptual metaphors. ANGER IS HEAT is one of them. This general conceptual metaphor has two varieties in English, i.e. one that can be employed to solids and the other one that can be employed to fluids. When ANGER IS HEAT is employed to solids, the metaphorical concept becomes ANGER IS FIRE. For instance:

- (1) a. "Boy, I'm burned up!"

² It should be noted, however, that this notion proposed by Kövecses (2008) can also be identified with annoyance, impatience, or even anger.

- b. "She was doing a slow burn."

The metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER IS FIRE also exists in Indonesian. Similarly to English, this conceptualized metaphor is frequently used in Indonesian. The following examples show that ANGER as the target domain is mapped onto FIRE, the source domain:

- (2) a. Si lelaki masih terbakar, bukan sebab berahi, tetapi amarah.³
The man was still being burnt, not by his lust, but anger.
- b. Tetapi ia tidak mau hangus terbakar oleh kemarahannya⁴
But he didn't want to get burnt by his anger.

As mentioned earlier, the metaphorical concept of ANGER IS FIRE is also applied to fluid and when it is, the concept becomes ANGER IS HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, where the ANGER now becomes HEAT OF A LIQUID and the person who gets angry is THE CONTAINER. Following are some expressions in English:

- (3) a. "She's boiling with anger."
b. "I've reached the boiling point."

Similar to the ANGER IS FIRE metaphorical concept, Indonesian shares the ANGER IS HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphors as English does:

- (4) a. Sekarang kemarahanku benar-benar meluap.⁵
My anger was really boiling over now.
- b. Amarah di kepala Lusi begitu mendidih⁶
The anger inside of Lusi's head was boiling.

Further, Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:196) propose that one of the common cultural models of English metaphors is the physiological effects of anger: THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF ANGER ARE INCREASED BODY HEAT, INCREASED INTERNAL PRESSURE (BLOOD PRESSURE, MUSCULAR PRESSURE), AGITATION AND INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION. Indonesian particularly shares this concept as well. The following expressions are examples of this:

- (5) a. Tubuhnya menggigil seakan tak kuasa menampung amarahnya yang meluap.⁷
His body was shivering as if he couldn't hold his anger that's boiling over now.
- b. Darah Dono mendidih saat melihat anak itu menaruh mobil-mobilan di atas kepala Bapak dan tertawa terkekeh-kekeh.⁸
Dono's blood was boiling to see that boy put the car toy on his father's head and laughed loudly.
- c. Kemarahan akan bisa menjadikan mata gelap dan pikiran buntu.⁹
[The] Anger can darken your sight and block your mind.

The next conceptual metaphor that Indonesian and English share is ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL. Here, ANGER is mapped onto ANIMAL. In English, we will find the following expressions:

- (6) a. "He unleashed his anger."
b. "He has a ferocious temper."

³ 'Kekasih Bulan Sepenggal' (JFS)

⁴ <http://adbm2.wordpress.com/2008/09/>

⁵ 'Drupadi' (JFS)

⁶ 'Bunga Mawar Nek Suni' (JFS)

⁷ 'Sejak Kematian Kakak' (JFS)

⁸ 'Bapak Si Dono' (JFS)

⁹ 'Pengendalian Emosi' (<http://www.iloveblue.com/printnews.php?jenis=article&pid=2524>)

Indonesian does have a general conceptual metaphor for ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL. The following are examples:

- (7) a. Amarah lebih ganas dari pada api lebih berbahaya dari pada gempa bumi.¹⁰
Anger is more ferocious than fire, it is more dangerous than earthquake.
- b. Amarah liar kakaknya itu menjadi-jadi.¹¹
Her sister's anger became wilder.

In addition, Indonesian also has a cultural metaphorical concept subordinate to the general metaphorical concept ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, i.e. ANGER IS A SNAKE. The following are the examples:

- (7.1) ANGER IS A SNAKE:
- a. Ketika kemarahan mulai merayap, topeng yang dikenakan berubah menjadi merah muda dan selanjutnya merah.¹²
When the anger started to slither, the mask being worn changed into pink and later red.
- b. Siapapun kamu, perempuan manapun, aku bersumpah mengutukimu, dalam setiap tarikan nafas ini." aku mendesis dalam kemarahan.¹³
Whoever you are, whichever kind of woman you are, I swear I will curse you in every breath I take," I hissed angrily.

Another metaphorical conception of ANGER identified in American English is ANGER IS BURDEN (Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987). The following are some examples:

- (8) a. "After I lost my temper, I felt lighter."
b. "He carries his anger around with him."

In Indonesian, ANGER is also conceptualized as burden:

- (9) a. Akhirnya cukup ringan beban amarah yang beberapa hari ini terasa berat membebani diriku.¹⁴
Finally, the burden of anger that weighed me down for the last couple of days now feels much lighter.
- b. Kita dipaksa untuk memikul beban kemarahan itu, sampai akhirnya marah itu hilang, baru kita terlepas dari beban itu.¹⁵
We're forced to carry the burden of anger until it has gone, then we'll be free from it.

There is, also, a metaphorical concept that is more culturally grounded in English rather than Indonesian, i.e. ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE) (Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987:205). In English we will find the following expressions that support the aforementioned metaphorical concept:

- (10) a. "She fought back her anger."
b. "He surrendered to his anger."

¹⁰ 'Oase Di Tengah Gurun Kehidupan' (<http://www.untuksemua.com/lounge/oase-di-tengah-gurun-kehidupan-2391/>)

¹¹ 'Perempuan Yang Masih Ingin Berani Memulai Mimpi' (<http://www.dudung.net/artikel-islami/perempuan-yang-masih-ingin-berani-memulai-mimpi.html>)

¹² 'Ini Bukan Topeng Biasa' (<http://www.inilah.com/berita/citizen-journalism/2008/08/08/42757/ini-bukan-topeng-biasa/>)

¹³ (<http://www.kabarindonesia.com/beritaprint.php?id=20080920145701>)

¹⁴ 'Gusarku' (<http://cintafaiz.wordpress.com/2010/01/31/gusarku/>)

¹⁵ 'Marahan Godaan Puasa' (<http://eshape.blogspot.com/2008/09/marahan-godaan-puasa.html>)

In contrast, in Indonesian, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE) is not the main cultural conceptual metaphor, but it rather becomes a subordinate metaphorical concept of ANGER IS A PERSON. Interestingly, we can deliver or befriend with it. Further, it can dance as well. The following are the examples of both the cultural conceptual metaphor of ANGER IS A PERSON and its subordinate conceptual metaphor, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT:

(11) ANGER IS A PERSON:

- a. Kerumitan yang melahirkan amarah suci kaum muda.¹⁶
It was a complication that delivered the holy anger of young generation.
- b. Ketika kita sanggup bersahabat dengan kemarahan kita, kita sedang menguatkan diri untuk lebih tegar menghadapi hidup.¹⁷
When we can befriend our anger, we strengthen ourselves to get stronger facing our life.
- c. Semua amarah menari menertawakan kita yang terbakar...¹⁸
All anger danced, laughing at us who were burnt (by the anger itself).

(11.1) ANGER IS AN OPPONENT:

- a. Ia terdiam sebentar menyadari bahwa suaranya juga dikuasai amarah.¹⁹
He then became quiet for a moment, realizing that anger had taken control over his voice.
- b. Jangan menyerah pada kemarahan.²⁰
Don't surrender to your anger.
- c. [...] sehingga ia bisa juga mengalahkan amarah dalam dirinya, [...] ²¹
so that he also could conquer his anger.

There are other cultural conceptual metaphors in Indonesian that English does not have. Some of these concepts carry many entities from the source domain onto the target domain. The most representative cultural concepts include ANGER IS AN ENTITY, ANGER IS MUSICAL NOTE, ANGER IS A WEAPON ANGER IS A PLANT, ANGER IS CONTAGIOUS ILLNESS and ANGER IS FOOD.

(12) ANGER is considered as an ENTITY in Indonesian. We can keep it, throw it or hide it. Following are the examples:

- a. Menyimpan amarah dan dendam sungguh tidak ada gunanya²²
Keeping anger and revenge are completely useless.
- b. Membuang kemarahan dan bersiap menerima cinta baru.²³
Throwing away your anger and be ready to open up with new love.
- c. Tami menyembunyikan amarah di kamar terkecil hatinya, sementara bapaknya mencoba menjelaskan duduk perkara kepada pihak keamanan, tetapi sia-sia.²⁴
Tami hid her anger in a little room of her heart, meanwhile her father tried to explain the main problem to the security, but it was pointless.

¹⁶ 'Amarah Suci Kaum Muda' (<http://www.yudhiearyono.com/?p=5>)

¹⁷ 'Merangkul Kemarahan' (<http://www.infoanda.com/linksfollow.php?lh=Ww1WBFZTAwcL>)

¹⁸ 'Pertengkaran Kemarin' (<http://caniaray.blogdetik.com/2010/03/25/pertengkaran-kemarin/>)

¹⁹ 'Saman' by Ayu Utami. 1998. Penerbit Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.

²⁰ 'Cara Untuk Menarik Perhatian Wanita' (<http://www.artikelpria.com/2009/09/12/cara-untuk-menarik-perhatian-wanita.html>)

²¹ 'Laki-laki Pamarah' (<http://sosbud.kompasiana.com/2009/04/09/laki-laki-pemarah/>)

²² 'Stress Yang Merusak Tubuh' (JFS)

²³ 'Three On Thirty: Memperbaiki Komunikasi Dengan Suami'

([http://keluargasusindra.multiply.com/journal/item/17/THREE_ON_THIRTY_SOLUSI_MEMPERBAIKI_KOMUNIKASI_DENGAN_SUA MI](http://keluargasusindra.multiply.com/journal/item/17/THREE_ON_THIRTY_SOLUSI_MEMPERBAIKI_KOMUNIKASI_DENGAN_SUA_MI))

²⁴ 'Rencana Pembunuhan' (JFS)

- (13) Apparently, Indonesian speakers can sing out their anger. We can see the examples below for the metaphorical concept of ANGER IS MUSICAL NOTE:
- Kuteriakkan lagu kemarahan kutelenjangi pikiranku²⁵
I screamed the song of anger, I undressed my mind
 - Nada yang mencuat dari balik narasi Keesing adalah kemarahan dan kejengkelan terhadap dosa-dosa kolonial Belanda.²⁶
The tone sprang from behind the Keesing narration was anger and upset towards colonial Dutch's sins.
 - Semua nyanyian kemarahan dan perhatian itu tidak ditanggapi oleh Samantha.²⁷
Samantha did not respond to those all songs of anger and attention.
- (14) ANGER IS A WEAPON:
- Sungguh tak seimbang, warga Mberning yang hanya bersenjatakan kemarahan mesti berhadapan dengan mesiu dan panser.²⁸
It was really unfair, the Mberning people were only armed with their anger while they had to face ammunition and armored vehicles.
 - Kemarahan melukai diri sendiri juga orang lain²⁹
Anger can hurt you and others too.
 - Semuanya itu adalah hal-hal yang dapat memicu kemarahan.³⁰
All these things can trigger your anger.
- (15) In the ANGER IS A PLANT metaphorical concept, it can be fertilized, takes root and grow:
- Direktur Lingkar Madani Ray Rangkuti menilai, sikap SBY dalam kasus Bibit-Chandra semakin memupuk kemarahan publik.³¹
Director of Lingkar Madani, Ray Rangkuti, thought that SBY's attitude towards Bibit-Chandra case would fertilize the public anger.
 - Kemarahan juga berakar pada keinginan, kesombongan, hasutan dan kecurigaan.³²
Anger also takes root in desires, arrogance, provocation and suspicion.
 - Kemarahan tumbuh semakin berkobar jika disiram minyak emosi [...].³³
Anger will grow flaring up if it is watered by fuel oil of emotion
- (16) ANGER as a CONTAGIOUS ILLNESS can be transmitted to others or become a plague:
- Kemarahan pada remaja dapat menular pada orangtua.³⁴
The anger in teenagers can be transmitted to their parents.
 - Masyarakat terpuruk dalam wabah kemarahan.³⁵
The society was buried in a plague of anger.
 - [...] bukankah makin kita mengeraskan suara maka kemarahan makin merajalela ?³⁶
because when we enhance our voice then our anger will break out?

²⁵ 'Topeng' (<http://atasnamasajak.wordpress.com/2009/07/13/topeng/>)

²⁶ 'Dari Balik Sebuah Sangkar' (JFS)

²⁷ 'Kuntulanak 3: Setiap Kisah Memiliki Akhir' by Ve Handoyo, 2008. Penerbit GagasMedia.

²⁸ 'Mberning' (JFS)

²⁹ 'Sekelumit Kemarahan' (<http://nyanabhadra.wordpress.com/2007/04/02/sekelumit-kemarahan/>)

³⁰ 'Tips Atasi Marah Ala Wahita' (<http://ramaditya.multiply.com/journal/item/55>)

³¹ <http://www.suarapembaruan.com/News/2009/11/24/Utama/ut01.htm>

³² 'Akar Kemarahan' (http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=239511837875)

³³ 'Mengendalikan Kemarahan' (<http://juliusdays.wordpress.com/2010/01/12/mengendalikan-kemarahan/>)

³⁴ 'Mengontrol Kemarahan Pada Remaja' (<http://ifan.web.id/news/detail/23/>)

³⁵ 'Kemarahan Yang Beradab' (<http://www.hamline.edu/apakabar/basisdata/2001/11/13/0034.html>)

³⁶ 'Marah, Cinta dan Bahasa Hati' (<http://sosbud.kompasiana.com/2009/04/04/marah-cinta-dan-bahasa-hati/>)

- (17) Distinctively, Indonesian speakers consider ANGER as FOOD. In the ANGER IS FOOD metaphorical concept, one can swallow it, feel full of it or vomit it:
- a. Tapi kutelan kemarahanku meski tidak kuperbaiki apa yang susah payah sudah kuatur.³⁷
But I swallowed my anger even though I didn't fix things that I had organized with all my might.
 - b. Marah bikin kenyang.³⁸
Anger made me full.
 - c. Ia memuntahkan kemarahan kepada bekas pembantunya di pos kantor Sekretariat Negara itu.³⁹
He vomited his anger to his ex-assistant when they both still worked in Secretary of State office.

All the aforementioned metaphorical concepts show that Indonesian has more cultural varieties. It should be considered, however, that other languages under the same language family may share similar cultural concepts as Indonesian does. Further, it will require a deep and comprehensive research to substantiate it.

Conclusion

It is interesting to see how metaphors can be universally conceptualized or culturally grounded. This shows how rich a language is in many ways. Indonesian shares several universal concepts as with English, such as ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, and ANGER IS BURDEN. As for ANGER AS AN OPPONENT, it rather becomes a subordinate concept of ANGER IS A PERSON in Indonesian. Further, Indonesian also has its own cultural variations of metaphors. The cultural variations that I have established here are ANGER IS AN ENTITY, ANGER IS MUSICAL NOTE, ANGER IS A WEAPON ANGER IS A PLANT, ANGER IS CONTAGIOUS ILLNESS and ANGER IS FOOD.

The aforementioned concepts show that Anger is both (near) universal and cultural specific. This fact supports Kövecses's (2008) theory on universality and cultural variations of metaphorical concepts in languages. Further, based on these cultural variations of metaphors, I have demonstrated that Indonesian speakers handle their anger in different ways: they do see the dangerous side of it that there are times they need to conquer it. Despite the fact that most of the times Indonesian speakers prefer to suppress their anger inside by swallowing it or befriend it, they will either vomit it or choose to become its opponent when they cannot handle it anymore.

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³⁷ 'Wanita Lain Ayah' (JFS)

³⁸ <http://twitter.com/cdiorisa/status/9136754056>

³⁹ 'Pasang Surut Bursa Presiden' (<http://www.hamline.edu/apakabar/basisdata/1999/10/12/0110.html>)