Tessa Yuditha

Max Planck Institute for Anthropology Evolutionary
Jakarta Field Station

Indonesian Metaphorical Conceptualizations of ANGER, LOVE and HATE: An Overview[1]

Introduction

Metaphor appears to be more potent than many may have once thought. For more than three decades, research findings have shown that metaphor is not just ornamentation used in literature, but it is apparently embedded in our cognition, and reflected in our language and action. Both our reasoning and emotion are conceptualized and structured metaphorically (Lakoff and Johnson, 1987)[2].

But what is a metaphor? Lakoff (1993:203) states that "the locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way we conceptualize one domain in terms of another". We use it to describe abstract concepts such as ideas, thoughts and emotions, with concrete ones, i.e. tangible and corporeal substances we experience on a daily basis in order for others to comprehend what we are trying to convey.

It could be said that emotions – which are experienced personally – are remarkably intangible, obscure and subjective in nature. Thus, metaphor is a convenient tool that helps to depict vividly the emotions one is experiencing to others. Davitz (1969) demonstrates that the tendency of figurative language usage becomes higher when one describes his emotions in comparison to other domains. The aforementioned studies demonstrate that metaphor plays a prominent role in our cognition more than most people think. It governs not only our reasoning and emotions but surprisingly our actions as well.

Despite the fact that metaphor is not extraordinary, for it exists in all languages of the world and less suitable for special genre as a start, nonetheless some specific metaphors may be 'unique' when compared to other languages, such as English. This study consisting of a brief background how metaphor, emotion and culture are closely and influentially interwoven, the methodology being employed to examine Indonesian metaphorical conceptualizations, both master and specific conceptualizations for ANGER, LOVE and HATE emotions.

1. Metaphor, Emotion and Culture

Emotion, metaphor and culture are inseparable. They influence and interact with one another and this gives rise to their links in development. Through metaphors in the form of a language,

[1] I would like to thank John Bowden for his tremendous advice during the writing of this paper. I would also like to express my gratitude to my colleagues at JFS for their support and cooperation. Without them this paper would not have been possible to write.

[2] Prior to conceptualizing bodily experiences, we undergo occurrences then look and contemplate them under the influence of the cultural context in which we live. Following that process, our cognition starts to organize and conceptualize our knowledge by means of category structures and prototype effects. This conceptual structure becomes meaningful for it is embodied. We undertake concrete experiences before abstract ones and when we come across with the latter, we conceptualize them in order to comprehend them better by using the preconceptual structure, a gestalt, named *Idealized Cognitive Models* (Lakoff, 1987).

one can scrutinize how a culture views an abstract domain, such as emotion and relates such abstract domains to daily folk contexts. The relations between them shape the mind of their speakers and guide them to view their world.

Emotion, like many other human characteristics, is a mental state in which our cognition has important functions, such as interpreting the events in which it is involved. While emotions may be universally experienced by humans, it seems fairly clear that emotions are profoundly affected by cultures. Thus, when one intends to express his feelings, he would convey it with literal language for much simpler messages or use metaphors for more complex and detailed information. When he uses the metaphor, he will use both universal, since emotion is universal, and cultural models he has been exposed to underlying the given information.

With regard to metaphor, its conceptualization, and their relation to culture, Yu (1998:43) further states that metaphors are grounded in our embodied experience, and that the "bodily experience can only tell what possible metaphors are. Whether these potential metaphors are actually selected in a given culture is largely dependent upon the cultural models[3] shared by individuals living in this culture". Hence, her postulation supports the fact that there are cultural variations for the metaphor of emotions.

2. The Universal and Cultural-Specific Metaphors for Emotions.

Metaphor evidently has both universal and cultural specific conceptualizations. There are reasons why this phenomenon takes place. The discussion is as follows.

Cognitive linguistic studies on emotion show that metaphor can be similarly expressed and understood across cultures for it enlightens and structures human experience. This phenomenon is called *universality* of conceptual metaphor (Kövecses, 2000). Interestingly, the linguistic exemplars can be various under the same metaphorical conceptualization. This is due to how a culture views, takes the abstract domains into account and treat them.

Further, Kövecses, still in the same article, proposes that human physiology can be a basic explanation for universality of metaphorical conceptualizations. He reveals some samples of metaphorical expressions involving human body for ANGER in four different languages belonged to different language families, i.e. English, Japanese, Chinese and Hungarian and demonstrate how al four languages share at least one conceptualization, i.e. ANGER IS HOT LIQUID IN A CONTAINER, where the human body is conceptualized as the container. The aforementioned study suggests a fundamental background of universal metaphorical conceptualizations across languages[4].

Studies on ANGER metaphor published by Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995), Matsuki (1995) and many others have opened our eyes to how culture plays important role in shaping metaphors in one language. Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) have observed that the ANGER metaphor in

[3] Cultural Models as Quinn (1987:4) points out are "presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are popularly shared by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behavior in it"

[4] Kövecses (2000) also points out another possibility of how a metaphorical conceptualization can be universally shared, i.e. it may have been passed on from one culture to another. However, he thinks it is unappealing. I will discuss this later in this paper.

American English and some other Indo-European cultures is derived from the classical-medieval understanding of the *four humors*, represented by four fluids, i.e. phlegm, black bile, yellow bile and blood, which were not only seen to maintain the anger emotion but also vital systems in the human body, i.e. both mental and physiological states. The four humors theory also explains rich emotion metaphors intertwined with physiology, psychology and medicine existing in these languages.

For Japanese, Matsuki (1995) signifies the importance of *hara* (the bowels area) as a container of emotion, especially *ikari* or anger. She emphasizes that in Japanese culture it is very important to keep or control one's *ikari* in *hara* for *hara* consists of truth, real intentions and the real self (called *honne* in Japanese). Interestingly, *honne* is often contrasted with *tatemae*, also known as one's social face. The *hara* conceptualization deeply embedded in Japanese culture throughout ages.

Wierzbicka asserts that while it is true that limitless human emotions can be depicted and expressed in any 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' (1986:5). The aforementioned studies confirm that cultural models fundamentally fosters the speakers to choose the most appropriate metaphors that go in line with their reasoning and cultural circumstances they live in.

2.1 Master Metaphor for Emotion

Emotions can share some characteristics and structures in our cognition. This gives rise to overlapping metaphorical conceptualizations and their linguistic expressions. The best sample for this issue is emotion conceptualizations in English. Kövecses (2008) examines some category structures involved in ANGER and LOVE abstract domains in the language. There are at least four identical metaphorical conceptualizations both emotions employ, i.e. EMOTION IS (PHYSICAL/NATURAL) FORCES, OPPONENT (IN STRUGGLE), AND SOCIAL SUPERIOR, which are also called *master metaphors* (Kövecses, 2008).

Based on the database I have (Yuditha, 2010, 2012) I examined the ANGER, LOVE and HATE emotions in Indonesian and I found a similar case with ANGER and LOVE emotions in English language. I will be exploring the Indonesian master metaphorical conceptualizations for the previously mentioned emotions i.e. EMOTION IS LIQUID, A VALUEABLE/NON VALUABLE OBJECT and PERSONIFICATION.

In addition to existing master metaphors that will be discussed in this paper, I have found that different emotions have their own specific conceptualizations. In English, we will find the following expression natural, 'she's boiling with anger', yet when we replace the lexeme *anger* with *fear*, we will think it sound inappropriate for when we experience fear, we tend to shiver and feel cold, not hot. This fact suggests that each emotion also has its own specific characteristics and distinctly conceptualized by the speakers of a language, as they understand it. It is possible, nevertheless, that in other languages, the anger metaphor overlaps with the fear one, such as in Indonesian. It is natural to say *dia menggigil karena marah* 'she's shivering from her anger'. As I stated above, cultural models plays a significant role in structuring the folk cognition before conceptualizing the abstract domains. The Indonesian emotion-distinct

metaphors that will be described here are ANGER IS A SONG[5] and ANGER IS FOOD, LOVE IS A STRING AND FREEDOM FROM RESTRAINTS and HATE IS CONTROLLABLE ORGANISM and DISEASE.

3. The Methodology for Metaphorical Conceptualization

A metaphor employs a mapping system between abstract domain (TARGET DOMAIN) and concrete domain (SOURCE DOMAIN) with fixed corresponding entities between the two domains. This mapping system is called metaphorical conceptualization (Lakoff, 1987). When being uttered, a metaphor generates two types of expression, i.e. linguistic and metaphorical expressions.

Indonesian metaphorical expressions such as *hatinya penuh dengan amarah* 'his heart is full of anger' and *mereka menanam kebencian di hati kami dengan perbuatan jahat itu* 'they planted the feeling of hate in our heart with that misdeed' are taken into account as linguistic expressions. Both expressions denote metaphorical expressions, i.e. *X be filled up with anger* and *X plant hate in Y* respectively. These metaphorical expressions are constituents of a more general notion within metaphorical conceptualization. The conceptualizations are ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE for the first exemplar and HATE IS A PLANT for the second one. In general, most of metaphorical conceptualizations can have numerous metaphorical expressions consisted of specific lexemes that contribute to the conceptualization itself.

The metaphorical conceptualization underlying the linguistic expressions can be found both in SOURCE DOMAIN and TARGET DOMAIN. One target domain can prompt more than one conceptualization. It is reasonable to occur, since the metaphorical conceptualization can be either universal across languages or culturally specific in nature. The variants of metaphorical conceptualization for one domain also heavily depends on how the speakers regard the abstract domains they are dealing in day-to-day.

There are at least three methodologies employed to study metaphors. Some scholars use the 'introspective method'. This works by collecting conventionalized but cultural-grounded metaphorical expressions existing in a language (e.g. Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987; Kövecses, 2000). This approach, however, is better at dealing just with synchronic description of metaphor, but not with the diachronic progress of metaphor. The next two approaches deal with linguistic corpora. The first one is known as 'source-domain' approach propagated by Alice Deignan (1995). It is very beneficial for those who want to examine particular lexemes belonging to the source domain in order to capture metaphorical meaning they carry. This method works best for embodied metaphors and those containing metonymies. The last approach, proposed by Stefanowitsch (2006), also uses a linguistic corpus to establish metaphorical conceptualizations utilizing particular lexicons comprehensively for their metaphorical and non-metaphorical use from the target domain. This approach is called *Metaphorical Pattern Analysis* (MPA). He elucidates the MPA approach as follows:

> "A metaphorical pattern is a multi-word expression from a given source domain (SD) into which a specific lexical item from a given target domain (TD) has been inserted." (2006:8)

[5] In the previous study (see Yuditha, 2010), I proposed a conceptual metaphor for anger as a musical tone. However, in line with the progress of my study, I have got some findings leading me to a specific conceptualization, i.e. ANGER IS A SONG.

To investigate metaphorical conceptualizations of three emotions, i.e. ANGER, LOVE AND HATE in Indonesia, I have been using the MPA approach for emotions belong to abstract domain which is also referred as target domain in the conceptual mapping system.

Indonesian has formal and informal registers in its discourse. In order to capture all dimensions of the conceptualization underlying the metaphorical expressions, I decided to balance my database by controlling the sources. I retrieved contemporary metaphorical expressions from various materials, such as *kompas.com*, *tempo.co.id* and *suaramerdeka.com* for formal language and *blogger.com* and *wordpress.com* for less formal styles. The citations provided on the internet were taken by using www.webcorp.org.uk[6] as a live linguistic concordance tool. For literary sources, such as novels and short stories, I use the database of The Figurative Language Project of Jakarta Field Station, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.

4. The Indonesian Conceptual Metaphors of Emotions

4.1. The master metaphorical conceptualizations of emotion as liquid, a valuable/non valuable object and personification

4.1.1. Emotion as liquid.

The ANGER, LOVE and HATE emotions under investigation share the master conceptualization EMOTION IS LIQUID. However, unlike the other two emotions, anger is conceptualized as hot liquid in a container. On the other hand, LOVE and HATE have FLOWING LIQUID as their metaphorical conceptualization. Indonesian speakers see emotions as liquid since they share characteristics such as not having a shape of their own, but taking the shape of their containers. In the case of the emotions, the container is the human body. Further, it has watercourse and inconstant flows, suggesting that its primary characteristic is erratic, which is mapped straightforwardly onto the emotion abstract domain.

4.1.1.a. Marah/Kemarahan as liquid

Anger is conceptualized as HOT LIQUID with the human body as its container. When one gets angry, the liquid in one's body slowly becomes hot and reaches one's head as it escalates. When the intensity of anger increases, it will come to its boiling point then it overflows, as shown in the linguistic examples below. When the latter occurs, the anger has been openly and straightforwardly expressed. The entities carried from this conceptualization are *meluap* 'to spill', *mendidih* 'to boil', *titik didih* 'boiling points', *sumber* 'spring'.

1. a. *Sekarang kemarahanku benar-benar meluap*.
now KE.AN-angry–CIRC-1SG true-true ME- overflow
*'*My anger was really boiling over now.'

b. *Amarah di kepala Lusi begitu mendidih*
anger LOC head Lusi like.that MEN-boil
'The anger inside of Lusi's head was boiling*.'*

[6] WebCorp was created and is operated and maintained by the Research and Development Unit for English Studies (RDUES) in the School of English at Birmingham City University.

Indonesians sometimes use *darah*[7] or 'blood' as the metonymic liquid embedded in the metaphor. *Darah* can boil but while no citations from the database describe blood being spilled, as a native speaker of Indonesian I can affirm that this would be a perfectly acceptable metaphor.

c. *Darah Dono mendidih saat melihat anak itu*
Blood Dono MEN-boil moment MEN-see child that
menaruh mobil- mobilan di atas kepala Bapak dan tertawa
MEN-put car- car-AN LOC up head father and TER-laugh
terkekeh-kekeh.
TER-roar.with.laughter
'Dono's blood was boiling when he saw that kid putting the car toy on his father's head while laughing out loud*.'*

It is interesting that when one cannot suppress his anger any longer, this can give rise to physiological interferences such as blinded eyes, inaccurate perception and shivers. These expressions are illustrated as follows:

d. *Tubuhnya menggigil seakan tak kuasa menampung*
body-NYA MEN-shiver SE-FUT NEG power MEN-collect
amarahnya yang meluap.[8]
anger-NYA REL MEN-overflow
'His body was shivering as if he couldn't hold his anger that's boiling over now.'

e. *Kemarahan akan bisa menjadikan mata*
KE.AN-anger–CIRC FUT can MEN.KAN-become–CIRC eye
gelap dan pikiran buntu.
dark and think-AN blocked
'Anger can darken your sight and block your mind.'

Lakoff and Kövecses (1987:196) propose that one of the common cultural models of English metaphors concerns 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 cultural models of anger can also refer to these physiological effects of anger.

4.1.1.b. Cinta/Kecintaan as liquid

In English, one can utter the following expression 'I'm hungry for love'. The word 'hungry' here is an entity of a bigger notion that LOVE IS FOOD in English. Interestingly, Indonesian speakers would say *'Aku haus akan cinta'* 'I thirst for love' to convey the idea that s/he desires this particular emotion rather than expressing it as food. This expression is very pervasive in Indonesian culture. Further, under the metaphorical conceptualization LOVE IS FLOWING LIQUID, *cinta* is described as spring that flows and needs to be channeled. Yet,

[7] American English also uses 'blood boils' expression to show how anger becomes intense (see Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987 for more details).

[8] Regardless the fact that *mengigil* or 'to shiver' is likely used to describe fear in some other language, say English, it is fairly natural to use it for an anger expression in Indonesian.

cinta is not always pictured as a liquid flowing smoothly but it can also be ocean waves pounding on the shore to describe how strong the intensity is. I don't characterize *cinta* as plain water since there are some other entities belong to LIQUID source domain describing love, such as *kental* or 'viscous' and *luntur* or 'color-fade' existing in the database, which all show characteristics of liquid. Due to limited space I will provide the linguistic examplars with *haus* 'thirst'*, sumber* 'spring' and *menyalurkan* 'to channel' below:

2.a. *... Dan rasa haus akan cinta.*
and taste thirsty FUT love
...' and the thirst for love.'

b. *Cinta itu sumber inspirasi.*
Love that spring inspiration
'Love is a spring of inspiration'

c. *Bila kita bermusik tanpa tujuan apa-apa, kecuali*
if 1PL BER-music without direct-AN what-what except
menyalurkan bakat dan kecintaan akan musik kita
MEN-channel talent and KE.AN-love-CIRC FUT music 1PL-INCLSV
bisa tampil all out *dalam membagikan keindahan musik*
can appear all out in MEN-share-KAN KE.AN-beautiful music
pada orang lain
to person different
'If we play music without any purposes but channel our talent and loving for the music itself, we would be able to perform all out to others.'

4.1.1.c. Benci/Kebencian as liquid

With the same metaphorical conceptualization as *cinta*, i.e. FLOWING LIQUID, *benci* abstract domain has entities that almost resemble those of the *cinta* abstract domain. HATE IS FLOWING LIQUID entails a more specific metaphorical conceptualization, HATE IS WATERCOURSE, carrying entities such as *sumber* 'spring'*, arus utama* 'main stream'*, bermuara* 'to end in estuary'*.* The entities given suggesting that *benci* as a watercourse starts flowing from its spring, goes as main streams and ends its currents at the estuary.

3.a. *Kekerasan antar group tersebut bermuara dari*
KE.AN-hard between group TER-mention BER-estuary from
kebencian.
KE.AN-Hate-CIRC
The violence between the groups started from hatred

b. *Dia menambahkan bahwa tuduhan palsu dan kebencian*
3SG MEN-add-KAN that accuse-AN counterfeit and KE.AN-hate
adalah arus utama yang tersebar luas
exist-LAH current prominent REL TER-spread wide
di masyarakat Barat.
LOC society West
'He added that the counterfeit (fake) accusition and hate are the main stream

spreading out in the West society.'

c. *Saya berbikir begitu mudahnya kita menjadi sumber*
1SG BER-think like.that easy-NYA we MEN-become spring
kebencian,...
KE.AN-hate-CIRC
'I think, it's so easy for us to be the spring of hate,...'

4.1.3. Emotion as a valuable/non valuable object

The master conceptualization of EMOTION IS A VALUABLE/NON VALUABLE OBJECT does not happen for granted. Indonesian speakers treat their emotion as a concrete substance which can be kept, hidden, buried, when they want to suppress them. On the contrary, when they do not want to keep it or they want to share it with others, they either own, pile, address it to someone else, give or throw it away. The choice of wording shows the level of anger they are feeling. For instance, when one says that he keeps his anger, it means he keeps it with him. Further, when he expresses that he hides it or buries it, he is intentionally suppressing the feeling. 'To hide' and 'to bury' give us different perceptions. We may hide an object in any secret places that others cannot easily find it, either above or under the ground level. Nevertheless, when we bury it, we must make some efforts to dig the ground and go into a deeper level to make sure that no one can even see or find it.

The aforementioned metaphorical expressions refers to what Lakoff (1987) postulates as *vertical orientation of image schema*. The image schema is a embodied preconceptual structure that establishes our the pattern of comprehension and reasoning. Aside from the given evidence that Indonesian speakers conceptualize emotions as a valueable/non valuable object, they also embed the vertical orientation schema in the conceptual metaphor in order to give a more vivid description about the level of emotional intensity and expressiveness.The anger and hate emotions have more expressions with the entities I described above, while love is more into quality of the object. The specific entities for quality from this conceptualization is *palsu* 'counterfeit' and *berharga* 'precious or priceless'.

4.1.3.a. Marah/Kemarahan as a valueable/non valuable object

The entities from the target domain VALUABLE/NON VALUABLE OBJECT for the anger target domain existing in the database are *hilang* 'disappear', *menyembunyikan* 'to hide', *memendam* 'to be buried', *menunjukkan* 'to show'. The linguistic expressions are provided below:

4.a. *Tami menyembunyikan amarah di kamar terkecil hatinya,..*
Tami MEN.KAN-hide-CIRC anger LOC room TER-small heart-NYA
'Tami hid her anger in the smallest room in her heart…'

b. *Pastilah Marwan sedang memendam marah, atau karena ia*
Exact-LAH Marwan PROG MEN-bury angry or because he
tak mau merasakan malu di depanku.
NEG want MEN.KAN-taste-CIRC shame LOC front-1SG
'Certainly, it's either Marwan is now burying his anger or he doesn't want to be embarrassed in front of me.'

c. *Kemarahan yang jujur lebih berharga ketimbang*
KE.AN-angry-CIRC REL honest more BER-price KE-weigh KE.AN-
keramahan yang dibuat- buat.
friendly-CIRC REL DI-make-make
'An honest anger is more precious than an artificial one.'

4.1.3.b. Cinta/Kecintaan as a valuable/non valuable object

Aside from the fact that *cinta* can be given a counterfeit or precious. As previously mentioned, the characterestics show the quality of love. When one has a precious love, it can be a stake, a valued object that has been wagered with the possibility of being lost. The receiver of love is also taken into account whether s/he is worthy for it. The metaphorical lexemes from this conceptualization are *palsu* 'counterfeit', *pertaruhan* 'stake', *pantas* 'worthy', *berhak* 'deserve', *murahan* 'cheap', among others Here are some examplars for the LOVE IS VALUABLE/NON VALUABLE OBJECT conceptualization:

5.a. *... Karena esensinya hanya cinta palsu.*
because essence-NYA only love counterfeit
'Because the essence of it is only about a counterfeit love.'

b. *Persahabatan sering kali bertukar menjadi*
PER.AN-best.friend.CIRC often time BER-exchange MEN-become
permusuhan apabila cinta menjadi pertaruhan.
PER.AN-enemy-CIRC if love MEN-become PER.AN-put-CIRC
'Friendship is often exchanged with hostility if love at stake.'

c. *Sebaliknya, orang yang dicintai karena alasan pantas*
SE-turn.around-NYA person REL DI-love-I because reason suitable
atau dianggap berhak menerima cinta selalu
or DI-consider BER-right MEN-receive love always
menimbulkan keraguan…
MEN.KAN-rise- CIRC KE.AN-doubt-CIRC
'On the contrary, the person who's being loved for the reason whether s/he is worthy or considered that s/he deserves to receive the love will always raise doubts...'

4.1.3.c. Benci/Kebencian as a valuable/non valuable object

It may be bizzare to hear one says that 'hate is bestowed' in some other language, but it is not in Indonesian, despite the fact its infrequent occurence in daily conversation. Similar to anger, hate is a mental state that is suggestedly kept, hidden or even buried. One may wrap it with something else to cover it. The entities under this conceptualization are *memiliki* 'to own', *menyimpan* 'to keep', *membungkus* 'to wrap', *menganugerahkan* 'to bestow' and *nilai* 'value'.

6.a. *Kebencian adalah rasa yang juga dianugerahkan oleh*
KE.AN-hate-CIRC exist-LAH taste REL also DI-bestow-KAN by
Allah.

God
'Hate is also the feeling bestowed by God.'

b. *S[a]y[a]* *hampir* *yakin* *99% juga* *kalau* *itu* *adalah*
1SG almost convinced 99% also TOP that exist-LAH
benci *dan kebencian* *y[an]g* *remeh.temeh,* *sepele, tak* *berharge…*
hate and KE.AN-hate-CIRC REL belittle.INTENS trivial NEG BER-price
'I also almost certain about 99% that it is about trifling, trivial, worthless hate…'

c. *Berapa* *nilai* *duka* *dan* *benci?*
how.much value sorrow and hate
'What is the value of sorrow and hate?'

4.1.4 Personification

Personification is perhaps the oldest conceptual metaphor that ever existed in the languages of the world, since the human body is the first concrete object we learn about from the age of birth. Our body becomes our first concrete object of experience. This kind of metaphor is called an ontological metaphor. Through personification, we map many human characteristics onto abstract domain, which in this case is emotion. I will discuss this specific type of metaphor for ANGER, LOVE and HATE emotions below.

4.1.4.a. Marah/Kemarahan as a person (Personification)

In Indonesian, the personification of anger is quite pervasive. Anger can be a friend who or enemy. One can even give a birth to it. It can dance, laugh or simply be naïve in nature. The cultural model that Indonesians hold is that one must suppress his angry feeling by becoming its friend (*teman*) and know its characters and reasons why it exists. When anger dances (*menari*) and laughs (*tertawa*), it tries to raise the angry feeling in someone and bring it into the open through teasing. The metaphorical conceptualization of ANGER IS A PERSON (PERSONIFICATION) also yields some entities such as *melahirkan* 'to give a birth to', *datang* 'to arrive', *menyapa* 'to greet', *membekap* 'to smother', among others. Below are some linguistic examples:

7.a. *Kerumitan* *yang* *melahirkan* *amarah* *suci kaum*
KE.AN-complicated REL MEN.KAN-deliver-CIRC anger holy group
muda.
youth.
'It was a complication that delivered the holy anger of young generation.'

b. *Ketika* *kita* *sanggup* *bersahabat* *dengan*
when 1PL-EXCLSV able BER-best.friend with
kemarahan *kita,* *kita* *sedang* *untuk* *lebih*
KE.AN-angry-CIRC 1PL-EXCLSV 1PL-EXCLSV PROG for more
menguatkan *diri tegar* *menghadapi* *hidup.*
MEN.KAN-strong-CIRC self stiff MEN.I-face-CIRC life
'When we can befriend our anger, we strengthen ourselves to get stronger facing our life.'

c. *Semua amarah* *menari* *menertawakan* *kita*
all anger MEN-dance MEN.KAN-laugh-CIRC 1SG-EXCLSV
yang terbakar…
REL TER-burn
'All anger danced, laughing at us who were burnt (by the anger itself).'

In English, the metaphorical conceptualization ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE) becomes a major cultural conceptual metaphor. While ANGER IS A PERSON can be a metaphor used in Indonesian, the relationship between the person feeling ANGER and its personification is conceived differently by speakers of each language. To an English speaker, ANGER is an opponent that can be vanquished, but to an Indonesian ANGER is more of a flirtatious tease who needs to be cajoled. Nevertheless, the ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE) conceptualization does also exist in Indonesian but only as a sub-conceptual metaphor of anger personification. Following are the linguistics examples:

8.a. *Ia* *terdiam* *sebentar* *menyadari* *bahwa* *suaranya*
2SG TER-silent a.moment MEN.I-aware-CIRC REL voice-NYA
juga *dikuasai* *amarah.*
also DI-power-I anger
'He then became quiet for a moment, realizing that anger had taken control over his voice.'

b. *Jangan* *menyerah* *pada* *kemarahan.*
don't MEN-hand.over LOC KE.AN-anger-CIRC
'Don't surrender to your anger.'

c. *[…] sehingga* *ia bisa juga mengalahkan* *amarah* *dalam dirinya, […]*
so.that he can also MEN.KAN-defeat-CIRC anger inside self-NYA
'so that he also could conquer his anger.'

4.1.4.b. Cinta/Kecintaan as a person (personification)

Cinta, as personification, is often described as someone who does actions related to space such as *datang* 'to approach' and *pergi* 'to depart'. It also opens a way for those who experience it and helps them when needing it. The entities expressed in the linguistic utterances are *membuka jalan* 'to open a way', *membantu pasangan* 'to help couples' and *memberi* 'to give'. Interestingly, Indonesians describe one-sided love as someone who claps with only one hand *(bertepuk sebelah tangan*) and when his love is rejected, he may kill *(membunuh*) it. Further, when love gets stale, he may find a way to resurrect (*membangkitkan*) it.

9.a. *Cinta yang* *bertepuk sebelah tangan.*
Love REL BER-clap SE-halve hand
'Love that claps with one hand (Unrequited love).'

b. *Usia tidak dapat membunuh* *kecintaan* *Howells terhadap olahraga.*
age NEG can MEN-kill KE.AN-love-CIRC Howells TER-face sports

'Aging cannot kill Howell's passion towards sports.'

c. *Luar.biasa indah rasanya menurut mereka yang hidup dalam*
Incredible beautiful taste-NYA MEN-follow 3PL REL life inside
pelukan cinta,…
embrace-AN love
'According to those who live in love's embrace, it's incredibly beautiful.'

4.1.4.c. Benci/Kebencian as a person (personification)

The personification of BENCI in Indonesian is depicted as a person who comes over voluntarily. One may give a birth to invite it in or follow it. Instead of dancing and singing like the anger conceptualization of personification, BENCI wraps itself when one wants it camouflaged. However, it can barge through when one cannot suppress the feeling any longer. The linguistic expressions are provided below.

10.a. *Komisi.Pemberantasan.Korupsi akan melahirkan*
Commission.of.Corruption.Eradication will MEN.KAN-be.born.CIRC
kebencian terhadap institusi polisi.
KE.AN-hate-CIRC TER-face institution police
'The Corruption Eradication Commission will give birth to hatred towards the police.'

b. *… pemahaman buat siapa saja yang sudah salah.kaprah*
PEN.AN-understand-CIRC for who only REL already misunderstand
memandang kebencian.
MEN-look.at KE.AN-hate-CIRC
'… understanding for anyone else who misunderstand hatred when looking at it *.'*

c. *Aku menunggungya, t[e]lah me[n]unggunya jauh sebelum*
1SG MEN-wait-NYA PFCT MEN-wait-NYA far SE-not.yet
kebencian ini menyeruak.
KE.AN-hate- CIRC this MEN- barge.through
'I've been waiting and waiting long before this hatred barged through.'

4.2.1. The Emotion-specific Metaphor

In this section, I will show some conceptualizations that are specifically mapped onto each of the emotions under investigation. They evince the similarities of particular characteristics belonging to the source domains with those of each emotion. There is only a small number or even none of the conceptualizations being shared between them. Nevertheless, they are all predominantly specific conceptual metaphors for each emotion. Another thing that we take into account is that the following emotion-specific metaphors are not simply chosen at random but based on Indonesian cultural models the speakers are exposed to.

The emotion-specific metaphorical conceptualizations I will explore in the following are MARAH/KEMARAHAN IS A SONG AND FOOD, CINTA/KECINTAAN IS A STRING AND FREEDOM and BENCI/KEBENCIAN IS A CONTROLLABLE ORGANISM AND A DISEASE.

4.2.1.1 *Marah/Kemarahan* as a Song and Food

It will be unexceptional to conceptualize anger as a burning fire that consumes one or an object that one wants to keep or dispose when s/he is feeling it. Indonesian speakers have some more attractive way to convey this particular abstract domain. They conceptualize MARAH/KEMARAHAN as a song that they can sing out and food that they can swallow. The descriptions of these specific conceptualizations of metaphor are presented below.

4.2.1.1.a *Marah/Kemarahan* as a song

When we hear a person is singing, we would think that s/he is joyful and having a good mood, rather than thinking that s/he is burning by his/her anger. However, it is not the same case in Indonesian. Indonesian speakers use their auditory perception to conceptualize anger in their cognition. A song has a range of intonation levels from the highest to the lowest one. This simple knowledge is mapped onto the anger abstract domain to depict the intensity level of anger one is experiencing[9]. The examples below illustrate ANGER IS A SONG:

11.a. *Kuteriakkan* *lagu kemarahan,* *kutelenjangi*
1SG-scream-KAN song KE.AN-angry-CIRC 1SG-get.naked-I
pikiranku.
think-AN- 1SG
'I screamed the song of anger, I undressed my mind.'

b. *Nada yang mencuat* *dari* *balik* *narasi* *Keesing adalah*
tone REL MEN-stick.out from return narration Keesing exist-LAH
kemarahan *dan* *kejengkelan* *terhadap dosa-dosa* *kolonial*
KE.AN-angry-CIRC and KE.AN-annoyed-CIRC TER-face sin-sin colonial
Belanda.
Dutch
'The tone sprang from behind the Keesing narration was anger and upset towards colonial Dutch's sins. '

c. *Semua nyanyian kemarahan* *dan perhatian* *itu* *tidak*
all sing-AN KE.AN-angry-CIRC and PER.AN-heart-CIRC that NEG
ditanggapi *oleh* *Samantha.*
DI-perceptive-I by Samantha
'Samantha did not respond to all those songs of anger and attention.'

4.2.1.1.b. Marah/Kemarahan as Food[10]

[9] There is one everyday expression used when a person is angry, i.e. *dia nyanyi* 's/he sings'. In order to differentiate the literal from figurative meanings of singing, Indonesians would tend to use a reduplication for the verb *nyanyi* 'to sing' to describe a repetitive action (we tend to sing several songs at one period of time) and use the original form to convey the abstract domain, i.e. anger. Unquestionably, a context will also be needed to understand the expression, such as adverbs of place or tense, usually using *sudah* 'already'.

[10] The conventional expressions for FOOD metaphor are so pervasive that they apply to almost every segment of Indonesian speakers' life. Relating to emotions, feeling or even health, one can use the following expression to convey that, say, he does not feel well: *badanku nggak enak rasanya* 'my body is not tasty/delicious', if we must translate it literally. The lexemes such as *enak* 'tasty/delicious' or *nggak/tidak* 'not tasty/delicious' can be used in almost aspects of activities, starting from one's feeling to an official meeting ambiance.

Montanari (2006) asserts in his introduction, “food is culture when produced, prepared and eaten.” Food is deeply embedded in each and every culture for it is the most essential facet of every living creature’s life. They all need food to keep on living. Food also represents society levels and reinforces the connection between society members through the process of ingredient selection, cooking process to the table representation. Indonesian cultural model of food is closely related to traditional ceremonies. Traditional food often becomes a cultural symbol standing for cultural values and local wisdom throughout the archipelago. Thus, it will be natural if the local languages and even the national language, Indonesian, have a metaphorical conceptualization of FOOD.

Indonesian speakers believe that food is good and sacred, thus one should never throw the leftovers away, but keep it instead for their meal on the following day. They also think that they have to pay respect for those who put efforts for cultivation and it becomes their motivation to appreciate the farmers and the food available in their kitchen. In line with these local wisdoms, wasting food or regurgitation for no reason was actually once believed to be a very dishonorable attitude. If one feels nausea, s/he would be encouraged to swallow it back or s/he would lose his/her face.

When the anger emotion is mapped onto the activities above, the notions that one will perceive s/he must repress the feeling since it is regarded as negative emotion in Indonesian culture. However, when one cannot do it any longer, the metaphorical expression depicting regurgitation. Another evidence relating to the importance of the FOOD source domain is a usage of one lexeme explicitly representing a type of the meals, i.e. *sarapan* ‘breakfast’. *Sarapan* is one of the most important cultural activities in Indonesian culture[11]. To have *sarapan* means to start the day with something good, thus it is common to find Indonesians having a full meal as equally large as, say, lunch. This metaphor was not randomly chosen by the Indonesian speakers to express an anger metaphor for by saying that *aku sarapan kemarahan* ‘I had anger as my breakfast’ meaning that that person has started his day with something negative for someone has passed their anger to him and to start a day with something unexpected is strongly unfavorable in Indonesian culture. Below are some linguistic examples of the ANGER IS FOOD conceptualization:

12.a. *Tapi kutelan* *kemarahanku* *meski* *tidak*
But 1SG-swallow KE.AN-angry-CIRC-1SG although NEG
kuperbaiki *apa* *yang susah payah sudah* *kuatur.*
1SG-PER.I-good-CIRC what REL difficult terrible PFCT 1SG-arange
‘But I swallowed my anger even though I didn’t fix things that I had organized with all my might.’

b. *Marah bikin kenyang.*
angry make full
‘Anger made me full.’

c. *Ia memuntahkan kemarahan kepada bekas*

[11] Some local cultures have myths about *sarapan*, i.e. in Javanese culture, the people believe that abdomen is the seat of soul. Thus, having breakfast is highly encouraged to one’s soul which in this case is represented by his abdomen.

3SG MEN.KAN-vomit-CIRC KE.AN-angry-CIRC to.LOC second.hand
pembantunya di pos kantor Sekretariat.Negara itu.
PEN-help-NYA LOC post office State.Secretary that
'He vomited his anger over his ex-assistant when they both still worked in Secretary of State office.'

d. *Capek banget tiap hari dapat sarapan kemarahan terus ...*
be.tired very every day get breakfast KE.AN-angry-CIRC continue
apa mau nya dan aku gak tau ...
what want NYA and 1SG NEG know
'I'm so fed-up, I get anger as my breakfast every day... what does she wants and I don't even know it...

4.2.1.2. Cinta/Kecintaan as a string and freedom from restraint

The following conceptualizations of LOVE IS A STRING and LOVE IS FREEDOM FROM RESTRAINT may be universal across languages, but they are emotion-specific in Indonesian, which means, they are unlikely shared with other emotions. They have little variations on metaphorical expression, however, they are frequently uttered on daily discourse.

4.2.1.2.a. Cinta/Kecintaan as a string

As a string, *cinta* can bind two people together. When they start weaving their string of love, it means they are ready to get involved in a deeper and more complex relationship. When the relationship is broken, the string of love is shorn. The lexemes carried from this metaphorical conceptualization are *jalinan* 'braid', *mengikat* 'to tie up', and *ikatan* 'bond'. The linguistic expressions are presented below.

13.a. *Tahun ini kami ingin semakin merekatkan jalinan*
year this 1PL.EXCLSV want.to SE-more MEN.KAN-stick-CIRC weave-AN
cinta kami.
love 1PL.EXCLSV
'We want to tighten our weaving of love this year.'

b. *Dia bersumpah untuk tidak menulis lagu soal putus cinta...*
2SG BER-oath for NEG MEN-write song matter snap love
'He swore not to write songs about love that has been shorn apart...'

c. *... gembok besi menandakan kekalnya ikatan cinta sepasang manusia.*
Padlock iron MEN.KAN-sign-CIRC eternal-NYA tie-AN love SE-pair human
'The iron padlock represents the eternal binding of love between a pair of lovers.'

4.2.1.2.b. Cinta/Kecintaan as freedom from restraint

This conceptualization is perhaps also the most universal across languages. Indonesian speakers regard love is freedom from restraints to idealize a circumstance of loving unconditionally and sincerelly, although usually the ones who are expected to do so mostly are women to their spouse. In some cases, this conceptualization is combined with the LOVE IS A VALUABLE/NON VALUABLE OBJECT. The examples of conceptual metaphor are given below.

14.a *Dalam mencinta yang terjadi adalah cinta bersyarat atau*
inside MEN-love REL TER-become exist-LAH love BER-condition or
tidak bersyarat.
NEG BER-condition
'When loving someone, what will happen is s/he has conditional or unconditional love.'

b. *Apakah memang perlu cinta tanpa syarat dizam[a]n ini?*
what-KAH indeed need love without condition LOC-period this
'Do we really need unconditional love in this century?'

c. *… Cinta yang dia persembahkan adalah cinta tanpa syarat.*
Love REL 3SG PER.KAN-worship-CIRC exist-LAH love without condition
'The love that he offers is the unconditional love.'

4.2.1.3. *Benci/Kebencian* as a Controllable Organism and a Disease

The most specific metaphorical conceptualizations that Indonesian speakers employ to depict BENCI/KEBENCIAN are A CONTROLLABLE ORGANISM and A DISEASE. As a controllable organism, the hate emotion can be controlled and the person who is experiencing it is the master of the feeling. Further, as A DISEASE, the Indonesian speakers illustrate it as a contagious illness that one must take a precaution of. A detailed discussion is provided as follows.

4.2.1.3.a. *Benci/Kebencian* as a Controllable Organism

As a controllable organism, BENCI/KEBENCIAN can be caught, managed, controlled or evicted and eliminated. The person experiencing it is regarded as the master of his hate emotion. The lexemes elucidate how the Indonesian speakers act towards the feeling when encountering it: *master* 'master', *kendali* 'to rein', *tangkap* 'to catch', *mengelola* 'to manage', *mengusir* 'to evict', *eliminasi* 'eliminate' Here are some of the linguistic exemplars:

15.a *Kita semua adalah master atas perasaan kebencian*
1SG.INCLSV all exist-LAH master above PE.AN-taste KE.AN-hate
itu sendiri.
that SE-self
'We all are the masters of our own feeling of hate.'

b. *Memang sulit mengendalikan kebencian.*
Indeed difficult MEN.KAN-reins-CIRC KE.AN-hate-CIRC
'Indeed, it is hard to rein the feeling of hate.'

c. *Kemana hendak [a]kan kau tangkap rasa benci yang selalu membuat kamar*
to.which intend FUT 2SG catch taste hate REL always MEN-make room
hatimu gelap, Kekasihku.
heart-2SG dark lover-1SG
'Where are you going to catch the feeling of hate that always makes the chamber of your heart darkened, my Love.'

4.2.1.3.b. Benci/Kebencian as A Disease

Indonesian speakers see BENCI/KEBENCIAN as a contagious illness that one can spread out or get infected by. When one does, the hate illness can gnaw one's heart's and mind's health. It is also specifically described as the *hati* 'liver' disease, whereas *hati* is considered as the seat of mental states, i.e. emotion and reasoning, in Indonesian (Siahaan, 2008). Some expressions illustrating the HATE IS A DISEASE conceptualization are presented below.

16.a. *Kita semua dijauhkan dari penyakit hati yang bernama*
1PL.INCLSV all DI-far-KAN from PEN-sick liver REL BER-name
kebencian.
KE.AN-hate-CIRC
'We all are being sent away from a heart (liver) disease named hatred.'

b. … *karena rasa benci kerap menggerogoti kesehatan hati*
because taste hate often MEN.I-gnaw.on-CIRC KE.AN-health-CIRC heart
dan pikiran.
and think-AN
'…because hatred often gnaws on our heart's and mind's health.'

c. … *yang kita buat ketika kita berusaha menularkan*
REL 1PL-INCLSV make when 1PL-INCLSV BER-effort MEN.KAN-infect-CIRC
Kebencian ke orang lain.
KE.AN-hate-CIRC to person other
'…the one that we make when we're trying to infect others with our hatred.'

Calque

Some seeming metaphorical expressions in Indonesian would appear to have been calqued from English. Interestingly, these do not seem to be related to any wider metaphorical schema in Indonesian that occurs anywhere other than the calque itself. Expressions such as *dia jatuh cinta* 's/he fell in love' and *kami buang-buang waktu* 'we're wasting time' are examples of this. While the English expressions these are calqued from appear to be components of more general conceptual metaphors CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION and TIME IS MONEY respectively, the Indonesian expressions do not relate to other similar expressions with similar conceptualizations. In comparison with 's/he feel in love' expression, Indonesian speakers used to express '*to fall in love'* as *'menaruh hati' or 'memberi hati'*, 'to put down one's heart' or 'to give one's heart'. These expressions fit well with the conceptualization LOVE IS VALUABLE/NON VALUABLE OBJECT.

The metaphorical expressions I have described above suggest that there is high possibility for a metaphor to be transmitted across languages. Indonesian has been receptive to many foreign lexicons through code-switching and translation from other languages, such as Sanskrit, Portuguese, Chinese dialects, Dutch and even English. Further, given the history of language contacts in the archipelago, It is plausible for folk understanding can be shared. Once it has, the metaphorical conceptualization embedded in it will also be transmitted. This fact can be

challenging to what Kövecses thinks that it is least possible despite the fact that it 'cannot be completely excluded as possible explanation (2000:169).'

Conclusion

Although some of the metaphors outlined here for Indonesian may be specific to Indonesian and thus in some way 'special', in many ways there is nothing really 'special' about metaphor itself. Metaphor is pervasive and common in all languages. The pervasive nature of metaphor is structured by our cognition and shaped by the culture we live in. Having provided the master metaphorical conceptualizations and emotion-specific ones for MARAH/KEMARAHAN, CINTA/KECINTAAN, BENCI/KEBENCIAN abstract domains in Indonesian, hereby I confirm that the aforementioned metaphorical expressions are culturally embedded.

In this paper, the Indonesian master conceptualizations I have established for the emotions are EMOTION IS LIQUID, EMOTION IS A VALUABLE/NON VALUABLE OBJECT, and EMOTION IS A PERSON (PERSONIFICATION). Indonesian speakers regard emotions as liquid for its volatility as its primary characteristic, among others. The fluid characteristic shows the intensity level of emotion. Further, when they treat emotions under study as valuable or non valuable object, they provide an image schema of vertical orientation by describing the way they keep their emotion, i.e. above or under the ground level. As for the metaphorical conceptualization of personification, the emotions under investigation, Indonesian speakers evidently map almost all the characteristics of human onto the emotion abstract domains. Interestingly, in spite of the fact that Indonesian shares the same conceptual metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE) with English, its speakers regard it as a sub-concept metaphor rather than a major one.

As for the emotion-specific conceptualizations of the aforementioned emotions, Indonesian has ANGER IS A SONG and ANGER IS FOOD, LOVE IS A STRING AND FREEDOM FROM RESTRAINTS and HATE IS A CONTROLLABLE ORGANISM and A DISEASE. As a song, anger is depicted to have a range of intonation levels from the highest to the lowest one to illustrate the intensity level of the emotion, while as for the food, the conceptualization is that one must repress the feeling since it is regarded as negative emotion in Indonesian culture and when one cannot do it any longer, the metaphorical expression of depicting regurgitation is given. Further, for LOVE IS A STRING AND FREEDOM FROM RESTRAINTS, Indonesians refer the love abstract domain as a string that can bind two people in a relationship and it is also considered as a circumstance of loving unconditionally and sincerelly. Interstingly, the hate abstract domain is regarded as a controllable organism and a disease in Indonesian. As a controllable organism, the feeling of hate is controlled and the person who is experiencing it is the master of the feeling. However, when he perceives the feeling as a disease, he takes it as a contagious illness that he must take a precaution of.

I also have established a possibility that metaphor can be transmitted from one to another by providing some recent metaphorical expressions in contemporary Indonesian and suggested that the transmission can be done through all means of language transfer such as code-switching and translation from one language to another. However, to see the development process of metaphorical conceptualization being transferred between cultures, it will need a deep and thorough study.

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