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**EXPLORATION OF METAPHORS USED BY INDONESIAN LEGISLATORS AND  
POLITICAL ELITES IN THE INDONESIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL DOMAIN**

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**FEBRUARY 2014**

**MARA UNTUNG RITONGA, 2014**

Mara Untung Ritonga asserts her moral right to be identified as the author of this thesis

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I was very fortunate to have met so many wonderful people who have supported me and made these years at Aston University U.K. so amazing. This thesis would not be possible without the guidance and inspiration of many of the LSS staffs of Aston University. First and foremost, my deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. Urszula Clark, to Dr. Carol Marley as my co-supervisor and to my advisor Prof. Malcolm Coulthard. I would like to extend my special thanks to Dr. Urszula Clark for having paid close attention to every stage of my research and for pushing me to do better. She has influenced my intellectual development and helped me see the big picture of metaphors as a matter of thought and discourse. She has taught me to look at the data from various perspectives and to write convincingly. Whenever I was stuck in the middle of my thinking, I would knock on her office's door. She was always willing to spend time listening to my confused thoughts and to guide me in the right direction. She helped me with every aspect of this thesis, as well as with the academic life at Aston University U.K.

I am also grateful to my co-supervisor, Dr. Carol Marley, for her tireless support, encouragement, advice, feedback, patience, understanding, which were more than a co-supervisor could ever do for her student. She has showed me the way to find value in things that I found un-extraordinary in my thesis. Her fruitful discussion and commentary about this thesis have led me to ideas to shape metaphors which are specific to the Indonesian political discourse. Her amazing insights, patience and kindness kept me going through the highs and lows of a graduate student life. I have also benefited from the talks with other faculty members, particularly with my research advisor, Prof. Malcolm Coulthard, who was a wonderful advisor to me during my first years at Aston University. His contribution to this work and to my intellectual development and understanding of linguistics in general was enormous. He encouraged me to focus on writing my thesis from the beginning and he supported me by giving me a chance to present my research in his research method sessions. The discussions on various topics in the current linguistic research with him made my vision much clearer and wide-open.

I am also grateful to other LSS faculty members of Aston University and graduate students who have each contributed in substantive ways to my development at Aston University U.K. My special thanks go to Prof Gertrud Reershemius for her useful insights, knowledge and generosity in lecturing on the literature review and narrative methodology. The lectures have enriched my research and writing abilities. Sarah Hayes and David Pollard have always been very kind and helpful to me about anything in relation to my research. They taught me how to deal with software such as EndNote, NVivo and with recording data, which greatly contributed to my research. Whenever I had problems, particularly concerning the computer programmes and software, they were always ready to help. I often came to their office and enjoyed consulting them about anything. I was also so lucky to have a great research administrator, Dan Thomson, who was really helpful in providing any documentation I needed as an international student. Without him my life and education at Aston University would have been much more difficult. The CELCA tutors, Alice Eden and Sarah, helped me improve my English and writing abilities. Also my special thanks goes to Klaus Thiele, a nice graduate friend, for the fruitful discussions about metaphors and corpus.

I would also like to thank my graduate friends in LSS at Aston University. I cannot mention all of them, but some of them are: Sabina, Inta, Inna, Ira, Klaus, Naseem, Sarah, Andrew and some people outside of the department, particularly my Indonesian friends who were studying and living in Birmingham U.K: Razi, Mila, Harfi, Firdaus, Bli Gede, Eko, Halim, Imron and Lina, as well as my international room-mates: Phil, Contos and William. I am deeply indebted to them for their cheer and friendship. I enjoyed sharing invaluable times with them all these years.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to my sponsor, the Directorate General of Indonesian Higher Education, for funding this study. Without the funding I would have never made my dream come true. I am also grateful to the State University of Medan (Unimed) where I work, particularly to Prof. Dr. Syawal Gultom, M.Pd (former Rector), Prof. Dr. Ibnu Hajar Damanik, M.Si (Rector) and Prof. Slamet Triyono and Dr. Zainuddin, Dr. Liswanto and Prof. Sumarno, Prof. Chairil Ansyari, Dr. Isda Pramuniati and Drs. Azhar Umar, M.Pd. They greatly supported and contributed to the administration process of my studies. I would also like to thank my colleagues in the Faculty of Languages and Arts Unimed, particularly to

Dr. Abdurrahman A.S, Dr. Wisman, Dr. Musyhito, Syamsul, Syahnan, Suprakisno, and H. Galingging for their encouragement and discussions.

Finally, I thank my wife, children, parents, brothers and sisters for their love and support. I would like to thank my father, H. Maulup Ritonga, my brothers, H. Jhon Tafbu Ritonga, Hamdan Ritonga, Tan Sri Susin, Damron Halomoan Ritonga, and my sisters, Hj. Masliani Ritonga, Zahara Ritonga and Ayu Kencana Dewi Ritonga for encouraging me to study in the U.K. My special thanks to my wife, Dewi Sartika Ayu and my children, Fatimah Sarah Fathin Fadillah Ritonga, Aslam Naufal Arrahman Ritonga and Akmal Rafif Fadillah Ritonga, for standing by me, and for their understanding and patience through the stress of completing my studies. Their love gave my life a new meaning. Thank you from the bottom of my heart for being my family. This thesis is dedicated to them.

## Exploration of Metaphor Used by Legislators and Political Elites in the Indonesian Sociopolitical Domain

### THESIS SUMMARY

This thesis examines the ways Indonesian politicians exploit the rhetorical power of metaphors in the Indonesian political discourse. The research applies the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Metaphorical Frame Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis to textual and oral data. The corpus comprises: 150 political news articles from two newspapers (*Harian Kompas* and *Harian Waspada*, 2010-2011 edition), 30 recordings of two television news and talk-show programmes (TV-One and Metro-TV), and 20 interviews with four legislators, two educated persons and two laymen. For this study, a corpus of written *bahasa Indonesia* was also compiled, which comprises 150 texts of approximately 439,472 tokens. The data analysis shows the potential power of metaphors in relation to how politicians communicate the results of their thinking, reasoning and meaning-making through language and discourse and its social consequences.

The data analysis firstly revealed 1155 metaphors. These metaphors were then classified into the categories of conventional metaphor, cognitive function of metaphor, metaphorical mapping and metaphor variation. The degree of conventionality of metaphors is established based on the sum of expressions in each group of metaphors. Secondly, the analysis revealed that metaphor variation is influenced by the broader Indonesian cultural context and the natural and physical environment, such as the social dimension, the regional, style and the individual. The mapping system of metaphor is unidirectionality. Thirdly, the data show that metaphoric thought pervades political discourse in relation to its uses as: (1) a felicitous tool for the rhetoric of political leaders, (2) part of meaning-making that keeps the discourse contexts alive and active, and (3) the degree to which metaphor and discourse shape the conceptual structures of politicians' rhetoric.

Fourthly, the analysis of data revealed that the Indonesian political discourse attempts to create both distance and solidarity towards general and specific social categories accomplished via metaphorical and frame references to the conceptualisations of *us/them*. The result of the analysis shows that metaphor and frame are excellent indicators of the *us-them* categories which work dialectically in the discourse. The acts of categorisation via metaphors and frames at both textual and conceptual level activate asymmetrical concepts and contribute to social and political hierarchical constructs, i.e. WEAKNESS vs. POWER, STUDENT vs. TEACHER, GHOST vs. CHOSEN WARRIOR, and so on. This analysis underscores the dynamic nature of categories by documenting metaphorical transfers between, i.e. ENEMY, DISEASE, BUSINESS, MYSTERIOUS OBJECT and CORRUPTION, LAW, POLITICS and CASE. The metaphorical transfers showed that politicians try to dictate how they categorise each other in order to mobilise audiences to act on behalf of their ideologies and to create distance and solidarity.

**Key Words:** *metaphor, mapping system, frame, discourse, social categories, politicians*

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# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

### 1. Background to the thesis

This research investigates the use of metaphors by Indonesian legislators and political elites in the sociopolitical domain. The background to the research relates to the deployment of metaphor within political discourse and the reporting of political events in the mass media since the Reform Era. The Reform Era began in 1998, and was a transformation of political power from the military or New Order regime (President Soeharto)<sup>1</sup> to a civil one. There are three essential aspects which characterise the Reform Era: the restoration of a democratic political system, freedom of speech and freedom of press. In the process of this restoration, several political reforms were set in motion via amendments to the 1945 constitution of Indonesia<sup>2</sup>. The amendments have resulted in changes to all branches of government: the Legislative Branch (parliament), the Executive Branch and the Judicial Branch (see Chapter 2). Since the Reform Era, the role of parliament has significantly increased, particularly with regards to budgeting, supervising government, passing laws and legalising constitutions. The election system also changed; in the New Order the parliament elected the president and vice president, governor, major and local head district. By contrast, in the Reform Era the president and vice president are elected by citizens for a five-year term. The citizens also vote for the governor, major and local head district. Another important aspect in the general election is that Non-Government Organisations are allowed to monitor the elections.

In the Reform Era, people have rights, such as to get information, express opinions, protest, have different political affiliations, and so on. Soedibyo (2006) argues that a country can be considered democratic or not democratic depending on its press activities. The press

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<sup>1</sup> President Soeharto governed (1968-1998), however, he took a political and military command since 1965 (war on communist). During his regime the parliament functioned as a rubber stamp of the government. He also controlled the press. His dictatorship power lasted until 1998.

<sup>2</sup> The 1945 constitution of Indonesia was drafted on 18 August 1945 after Indonesia proclaimed its freedom from Japan. The 1945 constitution was never amended during the era of President Soeharto.

can function as a means of promoting the democratic principles and contributing to the creation of heated social, cultural and political tension. Some media scholars argue that press freedom is relative (e.g., Toety, 2007; Hidayat, et. al., 2000) and thereby, the press cannot be free from internal and external influences. One of the influences can be seen through the media's tendency in presenting the news. Currently, the media in Indonesia tend to use a free and easy language, without euphemisms, full of hyperboles and metaphors. This tendency is perhaps influenced by a bankruptcy of state regulation and is removed by the domination of market regulation. The market regulation prioritises interesting news for readers, viewers, advertisers and stakeholders.

Wodak and Meyer (2001) argue that political discourse is commonly implicit or hidden. Therefore, an explanation or interpretation is needed to expose the implicit aspects, such as the discourse of parliamentary debate about the corruption case of *the bailout of Bank Century*<sup>3</sup> presented in the media. The Democratic Party launched its attack with a *manuver politik ikan teri* (teri fish/tiny fish political maneuver) against the coalition parties in the parliament. The coalition parties reacted to the attack with a *manuver politik ikan salmon* (salmon fish political maneuver). Both expressions have implicit meanings manifested through the words *ikan teri* (teri fish), which refers to small parties, and *ikan salmon* (salmon fish), which refers to a majority party. Norris (2000) states that politics is concerned with the power to make decisions, to control resources and to control other people. One of the ways to understand how power is exercised is to look at the features of the language used by politicians. Politicians commonly choose their words carefully. They believe in the power of language (Beard, 2000), “language as thought control” (Derrida, 2001: 76), as “a shaper of thought” (Evans & Green, 2006: 119) and as “a window into the mind” (Langacker, 1991: 10).

In addition to selective language features, politicians also build a team, hire professionals for political campaigns and cooperate with the media. They study some issues and understand how to talk about them. They even do research on how best to express their ideas. These aspects can be seen in the UK-based research; for example, Maitland and Wilson

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<sup>3</sup> *Bank Century* is the name of bank bailed out in 2009. The bailout process was indicated as a corruption action. The case is still under investigation by the court and the parliament.

(1987) and Wilson (1990), mainly focus on personal pronouns employed by three British politicians and investigate the pragmatic manipulation of pronouns within various political contexts. Beard (2000) also describes how British politicians use metaphor and metonymy in framing their political propaganda in the media and on the business agenda. Arroyo (2000) explains the manipulation of personal deixis in Spanish political electoral debate. Those studies show how pronominal choices reflect the thinking and attitude of politicians toward particular political topics and political personalities.

Politicians commonly make use of media and use planned lexical choices. The expressions *manuver politik ikan teri* and *manuver politik ikan salmon* above illustrate that there is a struggle over meanings in the political discourse. This situation often inevitably leads to a contradictory or conflicting situation. Based on the writer's observation, the conflict among the participants of the discourse is not just about representations of political debate; it is about the use of power and influence to construct public opinion. One of the ways to achieve this is through metaphoric thought. Although figurative language including metaphor decorate the media in Indonesia, metaphor use in formal situations can be considered as a new trend of language use which is opposed to the *Pusat Bahasa* (Indonesian Language Centre)'s policy<sup>4</sup> (see Badudu, 1995; Sugono, 2011). This institution applies prescriptive principles and denotational theory to search for meanings, and that is how symbols of language relate to a reality. According to this institution, the metonymical and metaphorical sentences: *Indonesia sedang sakit* (Indonesia is sick), *Indonesia menangis* (Indonesia is crying), *Polisi memburu teroris* (Police hunt the terrorists) are grammatically true, but semantically unacceptable in the formal context of *bahasa Indonesia*, except for the literary works.

There are two elements that can be assumed in relation to metaphors used by legislators and political elites. Firstly, metaphor is an instrument of power or a political tool

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<sup>4</sup> *Pusat Bahasa* (The Indonesian Language Centre) is a government institution that is responsible for the problems of language planning and policy in terms of the use of *bahasa Indonesia*, regional (ethnic) languages, and foreign languages (Sugono, 2011). This institution is under the Department of Ministry of Education and Culture. The head office of this institution is called *Pusat Bahasa* and is located in Jakarta, while the branch office is called *Balai Bahasa* and is located in the region of Indonesia (see [www.wikipedia.com](http://www.wikipedia.com)). The people who work there are civil servants whose background is mostly in the field of linguistics. One of the examples of a regulation of this institution is the use of *bahasa Indonesia* in formal and informal situations. Mass media is a formal place like the office, school, etc and therefore, should use formal (frozen style) *bahasa Indonesia*. Metaphor is perceived as an informal language style used in literary works and daily life (informal situations).

through discourse. Secondly, metaphor is aimed to reveal their ideas, attitude, values and as part of rhetorical strategies, to get their point across and reach their goals as political speakers. The data for this investigation is composed of political news in the form of textual data taken from newspapers (*Harian Kompas* and *Harian Waspada*, the 2010-2011 edition), oral data from televisions (TV-One and Metro-TV) and interviews. The selection of the media is based on their popularity, quality, independency and widespread availability to the public. This research also entailed the creation of a corpus taken from articles written in *bahasa Indonesia* uploaded from both *Harian Kompas* and *Harian Waspada* newspapers. The construction of a corpus aimed to provide authentic data and thus to replace the traditional ways of collecting data introspectively.

The theoretical framework of this research is firmly based on critical approaches to language as social interaction. The analysis will primarily draw on three important strands of critical socio-political research: Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), Metaphorical Frame Analysis (MFA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The CMT and MFA applied in this research stem from cognitive linguistics, which particularly originate in George Lakoff & Mark Johnson (1980/2003). According to Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003), metaphor and metonymy are not just figures of speech, but they actually play a primary role in human cognitive activities and shape our understanding of the world around us. They assert that although we may not be explicitly speaking in metaphors, we are mostly thinking in terms of metaphor. Furthermore, metaphoric thought delves deep into the human conceptual level of consciousness and, in turn, influences speech at textual level. Lakoff (2004) then develops the CMT by the Metaphorical Frame Analysis (MFA) in his analysis of political discourse. So, MFA is a combination of metaphor and frame analysis. The “manuver politik ikan teri” and “manuver politik ikan salmon” mentioned before are one of the frames termed as A FISH WAR EVENT FRAME. Kövecses (2006: 64) defines frame as “a structured mental representation of a conceptual category”.

This research incorporates CDA to expose the role of metaphors in political discourse by looking at the public discourse in which they are disseminated. Some CDA scholars describe CDA as reflecting a heightened sensitivity to the ways political elites exploit language to construct and to produce asymmetrical and oppressive social hierarchies of

power (see e.g., van Dijk, 1997, 2000; Fairclough, 1989; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Recently, CDA research on political discourse in the media has tended to analyse explicitly hidden political move[s] on the part of political elites so that conventionalised hierarchies may be challenged and eventually dismantled (van Dijk, 2000; Lauerbach & Fetzer, 2008; Leeuwen, 2008; Meadows, 2005). Fairclough & Wodak (1997: 273) explain that discourse and society are locked in a dialectical relationship: “every instance of language use makes a contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations”.

Given those approaches, it appears that CMT and CDA share common assumptions. One of the common threads relates to the perspective that human social interaction, especially via linguistic discourse, is a site of the political struggle for resources (Fairclough, 1989; Wodak and Meyer, 2001). CMT and CDA also share the notion of acknowledgement of the potential influence of power to shape discourse and society. CMT and CDA are concerned with the surface evidence of implicit conceptualisation. Charteris-Black (2004) brought the two approaches together by making the instinctive connection with his term “Critical Metaphor Analysis”. Charteris Black’s critical metaphor analysis aims to explore conventionalised social hierarchies as they appear in linguistic references to conceptual metaphors (Charteris Black, 2004: 34).

### **1.1 Rationale for conducting the research**

Metaphor is a popular means of simplifying complex concepts. It enables us to make sense of abstract concepts by drawing parallels to concepts that are more easily accessible to us. Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003: 56) argue that we typically conceptualise the nonphysical in terms of the physical. Lakoff and Johnson initiated the new study of metaphor over thirty years ago. Since then, many scholars from a variety of disciplines have contributed to this work over the years and have produced new important results in the study of metaphor (e.g., Naomi, 1987, 1991; Leonard, 1988; Steen, 1994, 1997, 2007; Ning Yu, 1995, 1998; Gibbs, 1999, 2005; Tunner, 2000; Zonoto, Shopia et al, 2008). However, the study of metaphor remains underdeveloped in Indonesia. It should be noted that, in the Indonesian linguistic study, metaphor is still regarded as figurative language. *Pusat Bahasa* and Indonesian objectivist linguists (e.g., Badudu, 1995; Ramlan, 1985; Kridalaksana, 1993; Tarigan, 1992; Parera, 1994; Samsuri, 1995; Chair, 2000) view metaphor as a linguistic

phenomenon or “a matter of extraordinary” rather than “ordinary language”, “a matter of word” rather than “thought and action” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003: 3). Their views have placed metaphor in an isolated area as a seasoning language exploited by poets and rhetoricians.

The objectivist linguists and *Pusat Bahasa*'s views regulate the language policy in connection to metaphor use in formal situations. This policy gave rise to the polemical situation among *Pusat Bahasa*, cognitive linguists, and media. They argue that the views of *Pusat Bahasa* is contradictory to the use of *bahasa Indonesia* descriptively. Currently, metaphors have decorated the media which disobeyed the language policy. Obviously, this disobedience is not on purpose. Perhaps, the people do not find any other ways to express their ideas and pick out metaphors without any conscious effort: “Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not as a matter of extraordinary language, but as a matter of thought and action” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003: 3). Metaphor is regarded as a creative way to express ideas and opinions in spoken and written language. A number of cognitive linguists have examined the function of metaphor in everyday life, such as Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003), Langacker (1990), Kövecses (2002), Gibbs (1999), etc. Thus, metaphor is capable of boiling elusive matters down to a handy, expedient level.

Although metaphors are used in the media, like in political genres, business, health, social, culture, education, etc, there is still very little research on metaphor in the Indonesian context. Siregar (2000, 2001) discusses metaphors of politics, metaphors of culture and metaphors of power in his papers. However, his discussion is too short and he only treats metaphors as a cognitive device. In Indonesia, politics is the most heated discourse compared to other discourses. This situation enables legislators and political elites to frequently appear in the media. Political discourse in the media is mediated and implicit. One of the implicit things is motivated by metaphors. Metaphor is a way of speaking implicitly (Gibbs, 1999), an instrument of power and a cognitive instrument that creates reality (Tunmer, 2000). In addition, there is a term in politics that thing cannot be said openly though everybody knows the thing. This is why it is important to conduct research on metaphors in political discourse – to uncover the hidden political discourse so that it becomes understandable to the readers or the public.

## **1.2 The Scope of the study**

Media roles and press activities also take part in influencing and constructing public opinion. However, this research does not discuss the media roles and press activities and does not apply the studies of media and communication either. A short description of the press in Indonesia is given to provide a historical background to the Reform Era. This limitation is aimed to specify the analysis of metaphor and its role in political discourse. This research focuses on the features of language in discourse and deals with political discourse because politics has become of interest to the public since the Reform Era. Political discourse was selected through ten topics: politics, graft or corruption, law enforcement, cases or scandals, government (president), legislators, corruptors, democracy, general election and political party. The selection of the topics is based on the most frequently monitored topics in the media output.

This research identifies metaphors which underlie political discourse in Indonesia in a particular period of time, in specific genres, produced by specific groups of people in specific contexts. The discussion of metaphor encompasses: classification of metaphor, conventional metaphor, the cognitive function of metaphor, metaphorical mappings, metaphor variation, metaphorical entailment, metaphorical hiding and highlighting. As those metaphors are bound within politics and discourse contexts, this research discusses the role of metaphor and how language is framed in the discourse.

## **1.3 Research Questions**

This research is aimed to answer the following questions:

1. What metaphors do legislators and political elites use in the Indonesian socio-political domain?
2. What are the dimensions of variation of metaphor and the causes of variation in the Indonesian sociopolitical contexts?
3. How do legislators and political elites frame their language? And why?
4. What is the role of metaphor in the Indonesian political discourse?

#### 1.4 Aim and Objectives

This research is aimed to investigate metaphors used by legislators and political elites in the sociopolitical domain. There are three essential aims which can be attained through the investigation of metaphors: (1) an effort to establish a current study of metaphor in the Indonesian context, (2) to uncover the implicit political discourse, and (3) to comprehend the heated Indonesian political discourse. The effort to establish a current study of metaphor is related to *Pusat Bahasa* and to the Indonesian objectivist linguists' views on metaphor. They suggested using metaphors and other tropes in informal situations and literary works, such as novels, poetry, film, and so on. The rule of *bahasa Indonesia* usage and a good language attitude has been introduced for a long time by *Pusat Bahasa*. *Pusat Bahasa* suggests that the natives should use a frozen style of *bahasa Indonesia*, such as in the office, school, government, books, mass media and so on. As a result, metaphor is placed in a remote area and it is not an important part of the linguistic study in Indonesia.

This research tries to show that metaphor is not an ornamental language, but it is ubiquitous and can be found in everyday life and language, including in political discourse. Metaphor is as important tool of cognition which encourages interpretation, gives maximum meaning with a minimum of words and enlivens ordinary language. For example, the sentences *Tsunami in the Democratic Party* and *The Democratic Party's ambition was Hiroshima, after the bombing* are compared to *Problems in the Democratic Party* and *The Democratic Party's way to get out from the problems*. The words *tsunami*, *ambition*, *Hiroshima*, *bombing*, etc belong to ordinary language and there is no need for a special talent to create it or understand it. Journalists or reporters commonly avoid using the same words over and over and always in the same way in reporting the news. Thus, they pick *Tsunami in the Democratic Party* effortlessly for their headlines to attract the hearers or readers. This research uses cognitive semantics and CMT theory to establish a modern study of metaphor in Indonesian linguistics.

This research takes the view that metaphor is a part of social interaction, is a matter of language and discourse, not just a matter of thought and action. It has been known that political discourse is mediated and implicit and metaphor is a way of speaking implicitly. One of the ways to make it explicit is by explaining and interpreting the language features in

the form of texts and talks. Discourse is explanatory and had an interpretation feature (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). In this sense, the metaphorical discussion is linked to the discourse function. By doing so, the role of metaphors in political discourse can be exposed. Based on the writer's observation, the high tension of political situations in Indonesia is not just influenced by the matters of media roles, but also by the differences in language use between the more powerful groups and the less powerful ones. One of the language differences is the language frame. The participants in the discourse mostly do not use one coherent set of frames. The various frames are presumed to inevitably lead to the horizontal and vertical conflict among the participants in the discourse. Thus, in order to better to specify the analysis, the objectives of this research are:

1. To classify the metaphors used by legislators and political elites in the Indonesian socio-political domain.
2. To explore variation of metaphors, to find the causes of variation and to explain how all of them are related.
3. To explain how legislators and political elites frame their language and why they frame the language in that way.
4. To identify the role of metaphors in the Indonesian political discourse.

Thus, this research may give benefit practically and theoretically. This research identifies metaphors and language frames that underlie political discourse in Indonesia. Comprehensive explanations of metaphors and discourse are given in detail based on the CMT, MFA and CDA approaches, in the ways politicians make use of the power of metaphor and discourse to influence and construct public opinion. Discussing these aspects is useful for readers to know about the Indonesian political discourse or for those who are interested in studying Indonesian politics and metaphors. Particularly useful for political elites or power structures, this research may contribute to improving their knowledge of language and discourse.

# CHAPTER 2

## **Historical Background of Metaphor Used in the Indonesian Political Transformation towards Political Discourse Practices in the Mass Media**

### **2.0 Introduction**

The goal of this chapter is to describe the transformation of political power in the Reform Era. Chapter 1 has provided a short description of the Reform Era and its effects on politics, democracy, press and language use. Chapter 2 provides more details about these aspects, to better understand political discourse and metaphors in the Indonesian context. The discussion begins with the Reform Era in section 2.1. Section 2.2 describes the changes in the Indonesian political system. Section 2.3 explains how mass media works in the Indonesian political context. A historical background of metaphor use in culture and political discourse is given in section 2.4. Section 2.5 discusses a study of metaphor in Indonesian linguistics. Finally, section 2.6 presents a summary of chapter 2.

### **2.1 The Reform Era**

The Reform Era is a transformation of political power from the military or New Order Regime (Soeharto) to a civil one. The transformation directly involves the restoration of the democratic political system. Indonesia had restored its democracy for many times since its independence (1945): liberal democracy (1950-1957), guided democracy (1957-1965), transition (1965-1966), New Order (1966-1998) and Reform Era (1998-present). Actually, the fall of Soeharto in 1998 can be traced from the events starting in 1996. That is, when forces opposed to New Order began to rally around Megawati Soekarno Putri, the head of PDI party<sup>5</sup> and the daughter of founding president Soekarno. Soeharto attempted to have Megawati removed as head of the PDI Party in a back-room deal. Student activists loyal to Megawati occupied the headquarters of PDI in Jakarta. This culminated with the event known

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<sup>5</sup> PDI: Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Party). There were only three political parties in the New Order: Golkar (Party of Functional Groups), PDI and PPP (United Development Party).

as “Black Saturday” on July 27, and the Indonesian military broke up the demonstrations. These actions, along with increasing concerns over human rights violations, such as in East Timor and Aceh, began to unsettle Soeharto's normally friendly relations with Asian, Western and European nations. These further worsened when the 1997 Asian crisis reached Indonesia, highlighting the corruption, nepotism and collusion of the New Order.

The economic instability of the crisis affected much of the country, which is illustrated by the increased prices for staple foods and goods and the lowered standards of living and quality of life. The growing dissatisfaction with Soeharto's authoritarian rule and the rapid erosion of the economy led university students to directly protest against the New Order. Between 1997-1998, massive riots broke out in Indonesia. In 1998, Soeharto made the decision to stand before the parliament for re-election and he won the elections<sup>6</sup>. The result was considered so outrageous that university students occupied the parliament. Soeharto soon stood down from the presidency and named Jusuf Habibie (a vice-president) as his successor.

Habibie took the presidential oath of office on 21 May 1998. He governed Indonesia between 1998-1999. In his year in administration, he undertook many political reforms. Some of them were: passing the Political Parties Law which allowed people to form new political parties excluding three political parties as in the New Order, passing the Regional Autonomy Law, liberating the press and releasing the political prisoners. He also presided the 1999 legislative election, the first free election since the 1955 Legislative Election. This election was supervised by the independent General Elections Commission (KPU) instead of an election commission composed of government officers as had been the case during the New Order. President Habibie also surprised many and angered some with his call for a referendum on the future of East Timor. The inhabitants of East Timor voted to break away from Indonesian rule and become an independent nation. This territorial loss to Indonesia broke Habibie's popularity and political alliances.

Following Habibie's presidency, Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati Soekarno Putri served as presidents. President Abdurrahman Wahid was in office between 1999-2001. He

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<sup>6</sup> In the New Order, the president and vice-president were elected by the House. The House was famously called a rubber-stamp assembly for Soeharto and its representatives were called “5D”: *datang, duduk, dengar, diam, dan duit* (come, sit, listen, be silent and money).

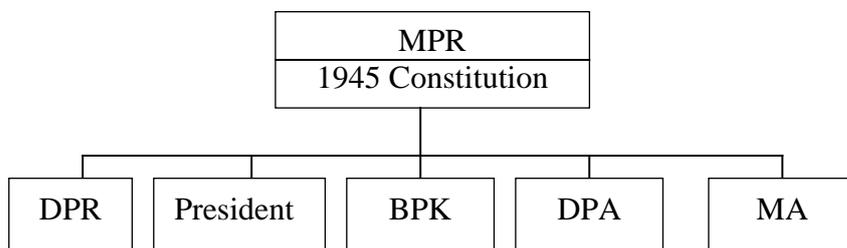
was impeached by the House on 23 July 2001 and was replaced by his vice-president Megawati Soekarno Putri (2001-2004). In the 2004 presidential elections, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) was elected. He built a coalition power which brought together figures from the military, business community and conservative Islam. This coalition aimed to re-stabilise the office of the Presidency. In 2009 president election, he was elected again with more than 60% votes nationwide in the first round.

## **2.2 The Changes in the Indonesian political system**

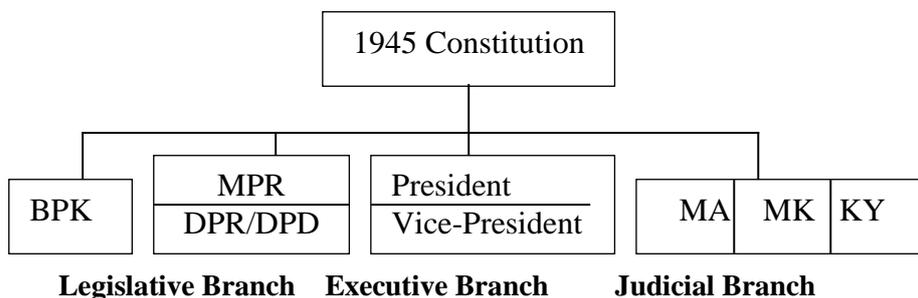
Following the Indonesian riots of 1998 and the resignation of Soeharto, several political reforms were set in motion via the amendments to the 1945 constitution of Indonesia. The amendments have resulted in changes to all branches of government, their roles and characteristics. In the aftermath of the reforms, the political system of Indonesia was organised in the framework of a presidential representative democratic republic with a multi-party system. The president is both the head of state and the head of government. Executive Power is exercised by the president and Legislative Power is vested in both government and two People's Representative Councils: People's Representative Council (DPR) and People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). The judiciary is independent of the executive and the legislative. The 1945 constitution provided for the separation of the executive, the legislative and the judicial power. However, in the development of Indonesian politics, the government has been described as "a presidential system with parliamentary characteristics". That is, when President Susilo Bambang Yhudoyono formed the coalition parties in the parliament and the cabinet and, in this way, adopted a characteristic of the parliamentary system.

A constitutional reform process took place from 1999 to 2002, with four constitutional amendments producing important changes. Among them are the following: the president and vice-president may serve a maximum of two consecutive five-year terms, the MPR becomes a bicameral parliament with the creation of the Regional Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah/DPD). DPR is a primary legislative institution which has gained considerable power and is increasingly assertive in the oversight of the executive branch. The figure 1.0 below shows the Indonesian political system before and after the constitutional amendments.

**Figure 1.0 (a): The Political System during the New Order (Soeharto)**



**(b): The Political System after the changes – amendments to the 1945 constitution**



MPR = People’s Consultative Assembly      MA = Supreme Court  
 DPR = People’s Representative Council      MK = Constitutional Court  
 BPK = Supreme Audit Agency      KY = Judicial Commission  
 DPD = Regional Representative Council      DPA = Supreme Advisory Council

(Source: taken from the amendments to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, 2005)

The Attorney General and the Chiefs of the Indonesian National Armed Force (army and police) are appointed by the president and approved by DPR. Although the attorney general, the armed forces and the police are structural officials under the president, they have an independent position regulated by the constitution. Alongside the judicial branch, the ‘Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi/KPK’ (Commission for the Eradication of Corruption) is established. This institution is a government agency which specifically deals with corruption, bribery or graft actions. Its duties include investigating and prosecuting corruption cases and monitoring the governance of the state. It has the authority to request meetings and reports in the course of its investigations. It can also authorise wiretaps, impose travel bans and request financial information about defendants, freeze financial transactions and request assistance from other law enforcement agencies. DPR elects the Chief of KPK.

### **2.2.1 People's Representative Council (DPR)**

Having served as rubberstamp bodies in the past, DPR have gained considerable power and are increasingly assertive in the oversight of the executive branch. The People's Representative Council (DPR) is a primary legislative institution, which originally included 462 members elected through a mixed proportional/district representational system and 38 appointed members of the armed forces (TNI) and the police (POLRI). That is, of the 500 seats: 462 were elected, while 38 seats were reserved for the military/police faction, such as in the 1995 election. But, in the 2004 election, all 550 seats were elected. Then, in the 2009 election the seats increased to 560. There are now no military/police officers in the parliament. In *bahasa Indonesia* daily talk, a member of the parliament is usually called a 'legislator or anggota DPR' (a member of DPR).

DPR has three main functions; legislation, budgeting and oversight. DPR draws up and passes laws of its own, as well as discusses and approves government regulations in lieu of law and proposals from DPD. Together with the president, DPR produces the annual budget, taking into consideration the views of DPD. DPR also has the right to question the president and other government officials. The Parliament building is located in the capital city of Indonesia, in provinces and local districts. The parliament at national level is called DPR. At provincial or regional level it is called *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah-I/DPDR* (Provincial People's Representative Council-I) and at the local level it is termed DPDR-II.

### **2.3 Mass Media in Indonesian political contexts**

"Media is power and politics is also power" is the best sentence to describe their functions and roles in deploying knowledge, information, values, oversight and control as expressed in (1-2) below.

(1) "I fear the newspapers more than a hundred thousand bayonets".  
(Napoleon Bonaparte)

(2) To promote freedom and tolerance in democracy is not the freedom to fight for tolerance. (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Jakarta Post, 2006: p1)

An ideal mass media is the one that can independently play its role in articulating the issues to be resolved, providing an open forum where all factions can debate and seek the best way out. Mass media should not just function as a watchdog, but also as a guide dog. However, it is quite hard to find such an ideal media. To picture Indonesian press, imagine a portrait gallery, each picture showing fluctuating situations between freedom and constraint, for example in the Soeharto's regime. Soeharto's press control went through three phases: 1) censorship by journalists and editors, 2) involved control by coaxing and warnings and 3) bridling, through threat, the publishing licences and licence cancellation (Hidayat, et. al., 2000). As a result, the press was shackled in the uniformity of its contents, features and language. For three decades the Indonesian press was used to cover up scandals, mismanagement and to hide facts and ignore unpleasant realities (Soedibyo, 2006). News coverage was based on what the authorities said. The press had the function to simply report and support the regime's sublime plans for national development.

The Reform Era gave rise to the freedom of press and expression. No censorship, banning or bridling is applied to the National Press. These major reforms provoked euphoria in the media. Journalism recruits increased by thousands, and hundreds of new newspapers, magazines and televisions appeared. According to Press Board records, in December 1999 there were 818 publishers in Jakarta, all operating without censorship (Soedibyo, 2006). By 2002, newspapers reached over 40 per cent of the adult population of the country (Toety, 2007). The television market has also expanded, to include some fourteen national commercial networks, which compete with the public television (TVRI). The current trends are digital multimedia and "news on demand" from online newsportals. This created intense competition, which is dictated by customers or market interest.

Although the Reform Era enlivened the media with its press freedom, it is difficult to find a consensus among journalists or scholars as to whether or not the media can be truly free in Indonesia. Press freedom is relative although each media confidently announces its own particular motto or mission; for instance, *Harian Kompas* claimed it has the 'Mandate of People's Conscience'. In this sense, the word 'free' can have a different meaning in terms of how the media develop. That is, the press freedom becomes blurred when those in authority feel that the media is exerting too much influence, is too critical of government, or is

competing with government as an outlet for sensitive information. Although the regime has already changed and the political domain is open to public, there is no guarantee that the media is free from influences. Some media may have tendencies to present news based on their characteristics and business interest. Other media may feel more at ease to stay close to the authority. Such media commonly use many euphemisms to disguise the real meaning and intent of media reports. For example, instead of reporting that the government has raised the price of fuel, the media has to report that ‘The government has decided to adjust the price of fuel’, and, instead of writing that there were labour protests or conflicts, the media has to note that ‘The factory workers have some disagreements’. Thus, press freedom does not mean that press is free from influences. The power groups have more access to the media than groups with less power. They make use of the media as a means of promoting their good things and denying the bad ones.

## **2.4 Historical background of metaphor use in Indonesian contexts**

### **2.4.1 Metaphors in Indonesian culture and discourse**

The study of metaphor was introduced since Ancient Greece within the discipline known as rhetoric (Ricoeur, 2003). People at the time used metaphors for rhetorical purposes (Evans & Vyvyan, 2006). Metaphor was one of the devices included in the category of “tropes” by the rhetoricians. Aristotle (in Gibbs, 2000) defines metaphor as the act of giving a thing a name that belongs to something else. Metaphor was regarded as the most important form of figurative language use. This view was valid until the 19<sup>th</sup> century and then in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Lakoff and Johnson initiated a new study of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003). They convincingly showed that our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. Metaphor structures and guides how we perceive, how we think and what we do. Their work has been partly defined by cognitive linguistics. Many scholars from a variety of disciplines have since contributed to the study of metaphor over the years and have produced new and important results.

The development of the study of metaphor mentioned above mostly took place in English speaking countries and it was very limited in Asian countries, some examples being *Metaphorical expressions of anger and happiness in English and China* and the

*Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: A Perspective from China* (Ning Yu, 1995, 1998). In Indonesia, the study of metaphor still adopts a traditional view (e.g. Samsuri, 1995). Actually, metaphors had been used in Indonesia for a long time as part of everyday language, not just in poetry and political rhetorics, but also in culture and discourse. People use metaphor as cultural practice in cultural events, such as in a wedding party (Ritonga, 2005). In a wedding party, it is common for the close relatives of the bride to give some advice. The advice is often expressed through metaphor as a way to be more polite and to show how to be an eloquent speaker. Some examples are the expressions (3-4) in Batak Angkola (BA) language<sup>7</sup> in a wedding ceremony below:

(3) *Maranak sapulu pitu, marboru sapulu onom* (Batak Toba).  
(to have 17 sons, to have 16 daughters).

(4) *Aek mangalir, batu so* (Batak Angkola).  
(While the water flows, the stones remain unshaken).

(Source of data is taken from Ritonga, 2005: 45).

Such advice is not only given by Batak ethnics, but also by other ethnics. Example (3) does not really mean that the bride should have a very big family. It is unlikely for people to have 17 sons and 16 daughters. Before there was a government family programme, Batak ethnics had many children: 6, 7 or 12, not 33. Example (3) is a family expectation for the bride to have a prosperous family. For Batak ethnic's conceptualisation, a child brings luck; every child has his/her own fortune. So, many children bring luck and make parents work hard. The expression reflects the CHILD IS LUCK metaphor. Example (4) is a piece of advice for the bride that she should be a person who likes to study during her life, listens to good pieces of advice and is not a talkative person. The word 'Aek' (water) symbolises a person (life), 'mangalir' (flow) symbolises the lesson or advice given. Then, 'batu' (stones) symbolises a person's brain, and 'so' (stop) means 'not working'.

From (4) we can infer why this ethnic group compares or conceptualises the situation 'how water flows in the river with stones in it' to understand life. It is because they make use

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<sup>7</sup> Batak Angkola is one of the ethnic groups in North Sumatera, Indonesia; their language has the same name: Batak Angkola. There are six groups of Batak ethnics: Batak Toba, Mandailing, Angkola, Karo, Simalungun and Pakpak. In relation to the example (4) above, Batak Toba and Batak Angkola have many similarities in their language and therefore, use the same expression to conceptualise the family where CHILD IS LUCK.

of their experience as farmers who are very familiar with the nature of the environment. They live in the countryside, in a mountainous area, they plant rice, breed fish, swim in the river, and so on. That is an example of how they make sense of their experience which Lakoff called the experience of gestalt (Gestalt psychology). The conceptual metaphor of (4) is LIFE IS WATER. Another example is the Dutch language frame in the form of metaphor when colonising Indonesia. The frame was a discursive tool preached by the Dutch to all Muslims and a number of Islamic schools as a preventive way to counter the political movement of Indonesian intellectuals.

(5) Dunia adalah penjara bagi orang yang beriman.

(The earth is a jail for those who have faith)

(source of data is from Ritonga, 2005: 10)

This language framing (5) was effective in making intellectual Indonesian people strengthen their faith and worship in God (heaven), and not to think of ways to fight for freedom (world). As a result, the establishment of the unity of Indonesia was a long process. In the era of imperialism, one of the remarkable Indonesian poets, Chairil Anwar (1922-1949), also used some metaphors in his works, such as “Aku” (March, 1943), “Persetujuan Dengan Bung Karno” (1948), “Diponegoro” (1943), “Krawang Bekasi”(1948), and so on. These works portrayed a heroic spirit and a life tragedy under colonialism and in the aftermath of Indonesian independence. One of his popular poems was “Aku” and one of its lyrics is quoted below:

(6) *Aku ini binatang jalang(...)*

(I am a wild animal)

#### **2.4.2 The Old Order Regime (President Soekarno 1945-1966)**

The first President of Indonesia, Soekarno, is famous for his political oratory. The following examples are taken from his English speech during the Commemoration of the National Reawakening Day of 20 May 1962 in the palace of Jakarta (7) and his comments (8) are reported by the newspaper *Harian Merdeka* (1962).

(7) The spirit of the tiger in the heart of the Indonesian nation is dead, as the result of a hundred years of imperialism (p.4)

(8) *Imperialisme (...) Belanda meninggalkan kotoran-kotoran di seluruh bumi nusantara. Kotoran-kotoran itu harus dibersihkan agar menjadi bangsa yang maju dan mandiri.*

(Imperialism (...) The Dutch have left us their dirt all over Nusantara. We had to clean the dirt to be a great and independent nation).

The phrase ‘spirit of the tiger’ (7) is used metaphorically in order to achieve some artistic and rhetorical effect. Perhaps we would also add that what makes the metaphorical identification of ‘spirit of the tiger’ with ‘dead’ possible is based on the Indonesian people’s struggle for independence. This example may be quite similar to an example of metaphor taken from Kövecses (2002: vii): “Achilles is a lion or Achilles is a lion in the fight”. Achilles as a *lion* is based on the legend in Homer’s epic poem *The Iliad*. It can be inferred that *spirit of the tiger* and *dead* have something in common, namely, their wildness, bravery and strength. Soekarno addressed (8) the Indonesian Army to encourage the spirit of the people to work hard together in order to become a great and more independent nation. The word ‘dirt’ is used metaphorically to highlight what the Dutch had done to the people and the nation of Indonesia during colonialism.

#### **2.4.3 The New Order (President Soeharto 1968-1998)**

President Soeharto ruled Indonesia in a dictatorial way for 30 years. President Soeharto exerted his oppressive power via metaphorical expressions:

(9) *Pancasila and UUD 1945 adalah harga mati.*

(The five basic principles of the Republic of Indonesia and the 1945 constitution are not negotiable things)

*Pancasila* is a foundation of Indonesian state philosophy which comprises five principles: (1) Belief in the one and only God, (2) Just and civilized humanity, (3) The unity of Indonesia, (4) Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising from deliberations amongst representatives and (5) Social justice for all Indonesian people.

President Soekarno promulgated *Pancasila* as a philosophical foundation of the Indonesian state in order to deal with the need to join together the diverse archipelagoes. Soekarno's political philosophy was mainly a fusion of elements of socialism, nationalism and monotheism, whereas the 1945 constitution of Indonesia is the basis for the government of Indonesia. The constitution was written in June, July and August 1945, when Indonesia was emerging from under the Japanese control at the end of World War II. The 1945 constitution then set forth *Pancasila* as the embodiment of basic principles of an independent Indonesian state.

The second president of Indonesia, Soeharto, was a strong supporter of *Pancasila* and the 1945 constitution. In 1983, Soeharto secured a parliamentary resolution which obliged all organisations in Indonesia to adhere to *Pancasila* as a basic principle. He also established the *Pancasila* indoctrination programme that must be regularly attended by all Indonesians, from primary schools to universities and office workers. In practice, however, the vagueness of *Pancasila* was exploited by Soeharto's government to justify their actions and to condemn their opponents as “anti-Pancasila”. Example (9) is a form of indoctrination and a warning to all Indonesian people. *Pancasila* and *UUD 1945* are conceptualised as luxury things, but not for sale. If the phrase *harga mati* (9) is translated word for word, *harga* means ‘price’ and *mati* means ‘dead’. The phrase *harga mati* is actually a shopping term known as ‘fixed price’. However, in this context the phrase *harga mati* does not refer to the shopping term where people still can buy the thing. The meaning of *harga mati* here is of something non-negotiable. Under Soeharto’s regime, anyone who tries to change *Pancasila* and *UUD 1945* was put in the category of “anti-Pancasila”: rebel, communist, enemy of state and betrayer. The punishment for those in these categories could be life imprisonment or the death sentence.

The New Order imposed its control over the media by determining Indonesia’s press to become a “Pancasila press”. During the Soeharto era, there were more than 25 cases of press closures and banning without judicial trial (Soedibyo, 2006). Some of the papers are *Kompas*, *Sinar Harapan*, *Pelita* and *Merdeka*<sup>8</sup>, which reported on the explosive rise of university student movements in 1978. The *Tempo* was banned for five weeks in 1983 for

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<sup>8</sup> *Kompas*, *Prioritas*, *Detik*, *Monitor* and *Editors* are weekly magazines. *Sinar Harapan*, *Pelita*, and *Merdeka* are newspapers.

reporting a riot at *Lapangan Banteng* during the election campaign. The *Prioritas* in 1987 and *Monitor* in 1990 were also banned for various other reasons. A peak of Indonesian press closures was reached on 21 June 1994, when *Tempo*, *Detik* and *Editor* were forbidden to print (Toety, 2007). Example (10) below is a form of Soeharto's control over the press. The metaphorical expression (10) is the word *dikebiri*, mapped onto the word *pers*. The word *dikebiri* in the *bahasa Indonesia* dictionary is a passive verb meaning 'castrated'. In this context, the word *dikebiri* does not refer to a male animal or human, but to the phrase *pers yang bandel* (uncooperative press/bad press). The action 'to castrate' in this sense is to close down the press. Consequently, press distortions appeared, where the press lost its ability to detect fact from fiction, truth from lies and national interests from corrupt elite interests.

(10) *Pers yang bandel dikebiri.*

(The bad press is banned to print)

#### **2.4.4 The Reform Era (1998-present)**

By early 1996, dissatisfaction and complaints about the excessive and arbitrary control of Soeharto were escalating and becoming more wide-spread. However, the government stood firm and did not allow the opening of a wider corridor of freedom, and even the repression continued. By January 1998, political unrest was heating up and there was a sharp increase in violent incidents, one of them being that several students of Trisakti University were killed in May 1998. This situation prompted thousands of students, workers, lecturers and other citizens to occupy the parliament building. However, the Indonesian military at that time effectively shifted their allegiance to protect rather than disperse or arrest the protesters. The key demands were for Soeharto to resign and a genuine commitment to reform and democratisation. Finally, on the historic day of 21 May 1998, Soeharto was forced to step down and the Reform Era began.

The Reform Era has provoked euphoria not only in the mass media, but also in the parliament and society. Differences of opinion, criticism and protests have become a common feature of the Reform Era.

(11) *Korupsi kok berjamaah.*

(How to practise corruption in collective ways)

- (12) *DPR adalah anak TK.*  
(Legislators are kindergarten students)

Example (11) is a social criticism to the power structures who are involved in corruption, as reported by the media. The commitment to eradicate corruption proclaimed by them was just a lip service. The rate of corruption grew significantly and legislation appeared powerless to catch corruptors. Being aware of the situation, the speaker used a metaphorical expression (11) to make sense of corruption. The word *berjamaah* means a group of people gathered together in a religious building for worship or prayer. This activity is usually commanded by an *imam* (a leader of communal prayer). In this context, the word *berjamaah* (congregate) is mapped onto the word *korupsi* (corruption) which results in KORUPSI SEBAGAI IBADAH (Corruption as good deed). This metaphor implies; 1) corruption is done collectively and systematically (discipline) and 2) it is something impossible to catch or prevents people from practising their religion. Example (12) was a comment from President Abdurrahman Wahid about an incident in parliament. The situation was out of control. The legislators slammed chairs, knocked tables, made noise in the microphones and even climbed the tables to protest. At the time, the political communication between the legislators and the president was not very good. Abdurrahman Wahid then metaphorically expressed his criticism to the situation, by stating that legislators are equal to kindergarten students.

## 2.5 A study of metaphor in Indonesian linguistics

In Indonesian linguistics, metaphor is known as a stylistic device or trope, like irony, personification, simile, allegory.

- (13) *Kau seperti bunga dalam hati ku.*  
(You are like a flower in my heart)
- (14) *Pinggul mu seperti harimau yang sedang berjalan.*  
(Your waist is like a walking tiger)

Other examples (15-18) are provided in appendix N. Several Indonesian linguists view metaphor as figurative language only. Tarigan (1992, 1994, 1997) and Ramlan (1985) explain metaphor as one of the types of figurative language used to compare two entities

using the words *seperti* (like), *bagai*, *laksana* (as if). Kridalaksana (1993) also claims that metaphor is based on a comparison between non-human entities and to humans. Badudu (1995) asserts that figurative language is a stylistic device, extraordinary language used to decorate literary works, and thereby, such language should be avoided in formal communication and in scientific works. Consequently, metaphor is placed in an isolated area as an ornamental-seasoning of language and is exploited for effects by poets and politicians.

Examples (13-14) and (15-18, appendix N) use the words *seperti*, *sama* (like, as) to compare two entities and (17) input human qualities to an entity (time) that is not human without using the word *seperti*. Searly (1979) defines metaphor as understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another. This definition is similar to a cognitive linguistic view on metaphor: understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain (Steen, 2006). Cognitive linguists argue that metaphor is not just a figure of speech that plays an important role in our cognitive activities (Pecher & Zwaan, 2005). Metaphor is based on the implicit comparison of two categories (Kövecses, 2006). This contrasts with the simile, where the comparison is overtly signaled by the use of ‘as’ or ‘like’. This means that (13-16, 18) are examples of simile, not of metaphor and (17) is an example of personification.

Although in practice metaphor and simile are often synonymous, in a rigorous sense, their meaning can be understood to be quite different, like in (19) (see appendix N). The dialogue shows how Rika argues about the preposition *seperti* (like, as). The point is not to compare a person (Rika) to a nymph, but to ask the listener (Raka) to consider how to see a person (Rika) as two things (perhaps, performance, characteristics, attitude, etc); a half as a nymph and another half as Rika. Such words would be confusing to find in combination. However, some describe simile as simply a specific type of metaphor (Kövecses, 2003). In this case, the metaphor is the umbrella term for making a comparison between unlike concepts, and the simile describes the trope to make the comparison explicit.

### **2.5.1 Challenges towards establishing a current study of metaphor in Indonesia**

Theoretically, one of the reasons to conduct this research is to establish a current study of metaphor in Indonesia. To develop a current study of metaphor involves some challenges regarding the views of Indonesian objectivist linguists and *Pusat Bahasa*. *Pusat*

*Bahasa* is a government institution which has the authority to rule the language, national language, ethnic and foreign language. The problems are language use problems: formal (frozen style) and informal, true and wrong, language attitude and language planning and preserving (see chapter 1). For example:

(20) *Polisi menangkap 10 kg daun ganja kering*

(The police caught 10 kg of marijuana).

(21) *Polisi memburu teoris* (The police are hunting the terrorists).

(22) *Indonesia sedang sakit* (Indonesia is sick).

(23) *Indonesia menangis* (Indonesia is crying).

(24) *Waktu dan tempat disediakan* (The time and place is prepared).

(source of data: the paper of *Pusat Bahasa*, 2004)

According to *Pusat Bahasa*, the sentences (20-24) are grammatically correct, but semantically unacceptable for they are not logical sentences. The verb *menangkap* (to catch) in (20) is incorrect because the action ‘to catch’ should logically be followed by an animate thing (human or animal) as an object of the sentence, not a material. Its object should be a bearer of 10 kg of marijuana. If the police do not know who the bearer is, the verb *menangkap* has to be changed the verb *menemukan* (find): *Police found 10 kg of marijuana*. The sentence (21) is also illogical because the verb *memburu* (to hunt) should be applied to animals, not to humans. The sentence implies that the human status is at the same level as the animal, which semantically is a very uncommon sentence. Thereby, the verb *memburu* must be changed with the verb *mencari* (seek). The sentences (22-23) are illogical for materials or things do not have the ability to cry and to be sick. To correct the sentences, the words *masyarakat* (society) or *seluruh rakyat* (all Indonesian people) should precede the word *Indonesia* in order to be acceptable sentences. So, the correct sentences are: *Seluruh rakyat Indonesia sedang sakit* (22) and *Masyarakat Indonesia menangis* (23).

Example (24) is the most common utterance to welcome a speaker to a stage in the ceremonial events. *Pusat Bahasa* views *waktu* (time) consists of 24 hours a day, there is nothing we can do to add it to become 25 hours or to reduce it to 23 hours. Then, *tempat* (place) is already prepared to make an event. So, the presenter had better say *Kepada*

*Bapak/Ibu dipersilakan* (Sir or Madam, please welcome) to change (24). These argumentations are based on prescriptive ways using formal semantics, objectivist semantics or logical semantics. This label is usually used for a “family of denotational theory” which uses “logic in semantic analysis” (Saeed, 2004: 268). From this perspective, the meaning of an utterance should correspond to the things or situations it describes. It is a denotational theory to search for the meaning, i.e. how symbols of language relate to a reality, like in examples (20-23). The actions or activities of the subjects (Agents) “to catch or to hunt” (20 & 21) should correspond to the entity which requires living things (animal or human) to be caught or hunted. Again, the subjects (Theme) of (22 & 23) do not match the reality where the action or state of crying and being sick belong to the property of human, animal and plant. Shortly, objectivist semantics employs “correspondence theory” to characterise the relation between signified-signifier or referent-referential (Saeed, 2004: 269).

### **2.5.2 The inconsistent views of *Pusat Bahasa***

Following the *Pusat Bahasa*'s argumentations to the sentences (20-24) above, examples (25-29) which are found in the scientific works below should be treated as the correct sentences. However, *Pusat Bahasa* views that (25-29) are wrong sentences and claims that it is a specific domain of the scientific works where writers are suggested to rather use passive sentences than active ones in scientific works to avoid subjective behaviour (Badudu, 1998; Depdikbud, 2004; Ritonga, 2008). It is for some cases, it is easy for *Pusat Bahasa* to say “this is true and this is wrong” and “this is acceptable and this is unacceptable” without providing a satisfactory explanation for each cases. In that case, there is something like an exception which theoretically seems to be inconsistent. For example:

- (25) *Makalah ini bertujuan untuk menemukan* (This paper aims to find)
- (26) *Penelitian ini membahas masalah* (This research discusses the problems of)
- (27) *Penelitian ini ditujukan untuk* (This research is intended to)
- (28) *Tabel 1 menunjukkan bahwa* (Table 1 shows that)
- (29) *Teori A menjelaskan bahwa* (Theory A explains that)

The explanation about (25-29) as a specific domain of the scientific works is very unsatisfactory. The specific domain intended is the same as literary works. There are no linguists or artists commenting whether words in song lyrics or sentences in a poetry are

wrong and ambiguous. Actually, sentences (25-29) are similar to (20-24) above. The structures (25-29) are also grammatically correct. The difference between (25-29) and (20-24) is the context: scientific works, press and ceremonial events. All subjects in (25-29) do not correspond to the reality where the subjects (Agents) cannot do the jobs assigned to them, only humans have the ability to do the jobs. The subjects of (25-29); *makalah* (paper), *penelitian ini* (this research), *tabel* (table) and *teori* (theory) perform human jobs: to aim, discuss, show, explain, and so on. Therefore, the correction by *Pusat Bahasa* to (20-24) should also be applied to (25-29) for keeping the consistency of the analysis.

Obviously, the objectivist semantic analysis of (20-29) applied by *Pusat Bahasa* cannot satisfy our inquiry about meanings. For semanticists like Jackendoff (1992) and Lakoff (1988), semantic analysis involves discovering the conceptual structures which underlie language. This means that the search for meaning is the search for “mental representation” (Jackendoff, 1992: 72). Cognitive semantics places itself in opposition to objectivist semantics. Cognitive semantics takes the view that we have no access to “a reality independent of human categorisation” (Saeed 2004: 301) and thereby, “the structure of a reality as reflected in language is a product of human mind” (Lakoff, 1988: 125). It implies the condition of truth and falsity of a reality, and the situation and facts it describes must be related to the way an observer construes a situation based on his or her conceptual framework (Langacker, 1991/2001). Lakoff (1988) states that semantic structures alongside with other cognitive domains reflect the mental categories which people have formed from their experience of growing up and acting in the world. It means that the experience forms a thinking framework in human mind, and words are fitted to concepts. Consequently, a human being has a tendency to behave metaphorically.

Some of the examples (20-29) are metaphors and others are metonymies. Metaphor and metonymy include figurative language. Commonly, in reporting news, the press tends to highlight significant issues for its headlines to catch the interest of readers, like (20) The police caught 10 kg of marijuana. The press language is short, clear and accurate. The words ‘10 kg of marijuana’ are intentionally highlighted because this number can shock people who read the news as a significant finding of the police. By doing so, the readers are interested to read or follow the news. Actually, (20) is an uncommon metonymic expression, because the

owner or bearer of 10 kg of marijuana is not close to his/her product (10 kg marijuana) in the headline. The conceptual metonymy (20) is THE PRODUCER FOR THE PRODUCT, where a product should be close to the producer, such as *I love Ferrari's*. But, in (20) the bearer of 10 kg of marijuana is placed in the content of the article, not in the headline news. Naturally, there must be somebody bringing the marijuana. The readers will very soon find out who he or she is by reading the article. If the verb *menangkap* (to catch) is replaced by the verb *menemukan* (to find), it does not have a news value: "whose stuff is this?" The bearer of the stuff becomes unclear.

Examples (20, 22, 23) are metonymic expressions, just like (25-29). In (25-29), the writer or researcher is intentionally hiding in the work to avoid a subjective behaviour and bias. Therefore, he or she tries to use passive sentences more than active ones as a way of emphasising the analytic thinking process in conducting scientific work. Even though we may find active sentences, the writer keeps his/her position as a second or third person by saying 'we', or picking another author's works to comment. This has been a conventional way in the scientific work tradition. Generally, people have shared their knowledge, culture and education about it and know who the writer is from the cover of the work (product), not from the content of the work. The conceptual metonymy (25-29) is THE PRODUCER FOR THE PRODUCT (The author for the work). The work is produced by the author, and the author is close to the product produced, for example; *I read Shakespeare, Does he own any Hemingway? She loves Picasso*, etc. Examples (22 & 23) are also metonymies. The conceptual metonymy is THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION, where the place is closely related to the institution that is located in the place; Indonesia is a country (place) which is close to its people and institution. The sentences (22-23) are similar to the sentences *Jakarta is negotiating with London, George Bush bombed Afghanistan and America does not want any Pearl Harbour*. The italic words in the examples do not refer to the capital city of Indonesia and United Kingdom. They refer to the government of the Republic of Indonesia and the government of United Kingdom, where the centre of administration (institution) is located in the capital city. George Bush refers to the government of the United States of America.

Thus, if we followed the prescriptive views of *Pusat Bahasa*, it would be very hard to apply economic principles to our works and this would look very funny. We should insert a human subject or property to (25-29) in order to be logical and match with the reality or truth condition.

(31) **Penulis** membuat makalah ini dengan tujuan (*The writer makes this paper to*)

(32) Penelitian yang dikerjakan **oleh peneliti** ini membahas masalah

(*The research done by the researcher discusses the problems*)

(33) **Peneliti** mengadakan penelitian ini dengan tujuan

(*The researcher does this research to ...*)

The expression *Police is hunting the terrorists* (21) is metaphorically expressing that a terrorists is conceived as a dangerous wild animal (beast) which likes to attack human beings. In this respect, this criminal action has threatened human life. Therefore, humans need to stop the action and kill or catch the beast by establishing a hunting team and training professional hunters. In this sense, police is conceived as a hunter. The conceptual metaphor for (21) is TERRORIST IS AN ANIMAL (WHICH HARMS HUMAN LIFE) and POLICE IS A HUNTER (TO STOP THE ANIMAL'S ACTION). But, the metaphor is not merely TERRORIST IS AN ANIMAL because VIOLENCE TO HUMAN CIVILISATION IS ANIMALIC BEHAVIOUR. This conceptual thinking can be made more specific, namely TERRORIST IS A PUBLIC/STATE/WORLD ENEMY. So, (21) is intended to emphasise a very specific way of thinking and acting. This elaboration can serve as evidence to reject objectivist semantics views on the denotational theory and the correspondence theory of truth.

Finally, 'Time and place are prepared' (24) is a very simple way of conceiving time for *Pusat Bahasa*. According to the institution, (24) is an illogical sentence as elaborated above. Actually, (24) is entailed from the metaphor TIME IS MONEY. The problem is the different way to conceptualise time. For *Pusat Bahasa*, time consists of 24 hours a day. We agree with this, but the argument which says "there is nothing we can do to increase it or reduce it" is not accepted. It will probably be more satisfactory to provide some examples of the metaphorical concept TIME IS MONEY based on the Indonesian culture. By doing so, it will lead us to an idea about how metaphors function in everyday language. Thus, the metaphorical nature of the concept of time that structures our everyday activities can be traced.

#### TIME IS MONEY

(33) *Waktu ku habis karena kamu.*  
(You are wasting my time)

(34) *Untuk menghemat waktu mu, kau gunakan alat ini.*  
(This tool will save you hours)

Other examples (35-40) are provided in appendix N. Indonesia is perhaps far behind entering a modern industrialisation society because of hundreds of years of imperialism. At the time, people knew and understood time through religion and culture. However, in the independent era, Indonesians studied Western, European and Arabian cultures, such as the concepts ‘time is money’ (West-Europe) and ‘time is a sword’ (Arabian). Almost all the sentences (35-40), except (37) emphasise encyclopaedic knowledge as a result of cultural sharing within and across cultures. Through this sharing, time in the Indonesian culture has become a valuable commodity and a limited resource that people use to accomplish their goals.

Thus, examples (24) and (35-40, appendix N) are taken from the metaphorical concepts “TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE, and TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 9). So, the speaker (24) in the event is possibly paid based on a speaker’s rate and is still associated with time, whether it is a one day seminar or short talks. In that case, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE and thereby, the presenter utters: “Waktu dan tempat disediakan” (Time and place are prepared) for the speaker to know how to use the time given. He or she will organise his/her talks and allocate time for the question session. Because MONEY IS A LIMITED RESOURCE and TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE, then LIMITED RESOURCE IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY. It is concluded that the metaphorical concept TIME IS MONEY, as it is reflected in (24 & 35-40), characterises a coherent system of metaphorical expressions for those concepts.

## 2.6 Summary

The Reform of 1998 has brought full democracy for Indonesians, signalled by the change of the Indonesian political system, freedom of expression and freedom of press. In the Reform Era, mass media expanded significantly and acquired various news features. The

press came to play an important part in developing knowledge and values, and as an observer of power structures. The restoration of the democratic political system has also increased the role of the parliament in budgeting, oversight of the government and passing laws.

As a social and cultural practice, metaphors had been used in Indonesia for a long time. For example, in the *Batak Angkola* wedding ceremony, metaphors are used as a rhetorical device to transfer traditional, social and cultural values. Metaphors are not only used in poetry and literary works, but also in mass media and political discourse. Several examples of metaphor have been discussed in the Old-Order regime, New Order and Reform Era. Although cognitive linguists consider that metaphorical concepts guide, shape and structure the human conceptual system through language, action and thought, the development of the study of metaphor in Indonesian linguistics faces some challenges. Some Indonesian linguists and *Pusat Bahasa* apply the traditional views of metaphor and approach it using formal semantics or objectivist semantics. This view is contrary to cognitive semantics, which claims that the condition of truth and falsity of a real event, situation and fact it describes must be related to the way an observer construes a situation based on his/her conceptual framework. For cognitive semantics, experience forms a mental framework in the human mind, and subsequently words are fitted to concepts. Thus, human beings tend to construct their understanding of the world metaphorically.

# CHAPTER 3

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter is structured as follows: in section 3.1, views on language and meaning from cognitive semantics are discussed. Then, section 3.2 offers an explanation of metaphors. This discussion encompasses metaphorical entailments and highlighting presented in section 3.3. Further, section 3.4 explains Metaphorical Frame Analysis. These discussions are then summarised in section 3.5. Finally, section 3.6 elaborates the collaboration between CMT and CDA in explaining and interpreting political discourse. Section 3.7 provides a summary of the discussion.

### 3.1 Cognitive Semantics

Cognitive semantics is a modern school of semantics that originally emerged in the early '70s (Saeed, 2004). Cognitive semantics searches for meaning and its relation to human cognition (see chapter 2). The interest in human cognition and language dates from the late '70s and the '80s. For example, Fillmore (1977), studied the theory of meaning and frame semantics; Eleanor Rosch (1975, 1978), discussed cognitive psychology, principles of categorisation and family resemblance. Leonard Talmy (1983) also focused in his study on language and cognition and the relationship between grammar and cognition, whereas Ronald Langacker (1987) discussed notions like concept, image and symbol. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980/2003) showed evidence that metaphor is a fundamental mechanism of the mind which can shape human perceptions and actions. Moreover, by the early '90s, there was a growing proliferation of research in this area and more and more researchers identified themselves as 'cognitive linguists'.

The background to the above studies is the dissatisfaction with "formal approaches to language" (Evan & Green, 2006: 3). Cognitive linguists consider that there is no separation between linguistic knowledge and general thinking, and that linguistic behaviour is another part of general cognitive abilities which allow learning and reasoning (Saeed, 2004). Based

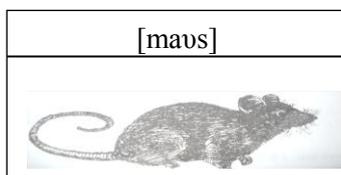
on this view, they make a distinction between formal and functional approaches to language. The formal approach, such as generative grammar (Chomsky, 1988), is related to a certain view of language and cognition: knowledge of language structures and rules forms an autonomous faculty (module), independent of other mental processes of attention, memory and reasoning. This view impinges upon the different levels of analysis: phonology, syntax and semantics form independent modules, for instance, to investigate the syntactic principles without reference to the semantic content. The most important way in the formal approach is to determine the autonomous principles in ways that are formally elegant, conceptually simple and mathematically well-formed.

Unlike the formal approach, cognitive linguists take a functional approach which implies a quite different view of language: 1) the principles of language use embody more general cognitive principles, 2) no adequate account of grammatical rules is possible without taking the meaning elements into account, and 3) they look for principles shared across a range of cognitive domains. In this view, the explanation of the principles of language use must cross the boundaries between levels of analysis. Based on the principles, cognitive linguists base their study particularly on works relating to human cognition, the conceptual system, categorisation and general meaning construction (Fauconnier, 2002; Langacker, 1997).

### **3.1.1 Word meaning and its relation to reality**

The different views on the principles of language use between the formal approach and cognitive linguists give rise to the different views on meanings (see chapter 2). Cognitive semantics takes the view that we have no access to “a reality independent of human categorisation” (Saeed 2004: 301) and thereby, “the structure of a reality as reflected in language is a product of human mind” (Lakoff, 1988: 125). This implies the condition of truth and falsity of a reality; the situation and fact it describes must be relative to the way an observer construes a situation based on his or her conceptual framework (Langacker, 1991/2001). For example, see the form and meaning of ‘mouse’ in figure 1.1 (a-b) below.

**Figure 1.1 (a): A symbolic assembly of form and meaning**



**Figure 1.1(b): Level of Presentation** (taken from Evan & Green, 2006: 7)



Figure 1.1 (a-b) describes the language system, concept, function, structure and its realisation and meanings. One of the functions of language is to express thought and ideas. Language encodes and externalises ideas or thoughts. This is related to the key functions of language: the symbolic function and the interactive function. Language does this by using symbols. Symbols are “bits of language” (Evan & Green, 2006: 6) and have meanings and forms. Langacker (1987) uses the term ‘a symbolic assembly’ to refer to symbols which consist of two parts that are conventionally associated. In other words, the symbolic assembly is a form-meaning pairing. For example, ‘mouse’ is a form which can be a sound [maʊs]. A meaning is “the conventional ideational or semantic content associated with the symbol” (Evan & Green, 2006: 6). These uses reflect the all pervasive human habit of identifying and creating signs in ways of making one thing stands for another. This process of creating and interpreting symbols is sometimes called signification. Ferdinand de Saussure (1974) argues that the study of linguistic meaning is a part of the use of sign systems and this general study is called semiotics. Semioticians investigate the types of relationship that may hold between a sign and the object it represents, or in Ferdinand de Saussure’s terminology between a signifier and its signified. Further, the study of sign systems is distinguished between icon, index and symbols. An icon is where there is a similarity between a sign and what it represents: i.e., between a portrait and its real life object. An index is where the sign is

closely associated with its signified, often in a causal relationship: i.e., smoke is an index of fire. Finally, a symbol is where there is only a conventional link between the sign and its signified: i.e., mourning is symbolised by wearing black clothes in some cultures.

Cognitive semantics assumes that language “reflects patterns of thought” (Evan & Green, 2006: 5). Because language reflects patterns of thought, this means that to study language from this perspective is to study patterns of conceptualisation. Based on these views, linguistics is not just about knowledge of the language, but language itself is a form of knowledge. Consider the form of ‘mouse’ in Figure 1.1 (a): different parts of our brain perceive its shape, species, colour, habitat, smell, its food, etc. The diverse range of perceptual information deriving from the world ‘out there’ is integrated into a single mental image or mental representation in Figure 1.1 (b). This gives rise to the concept of MOUSE. The concept, in turn, derives from perception. So, when we use language and utter the form of ‘mouse’, this symbol corresponds to a conventional meaning, and therefore, connects to its concept rather than directly to a physical object in the external world.

Pecher & Zwaan (2005: 1) support the above view and argue that mental processes such as remembering, thinking and understanding language are based on the physical interactions that people have with their environment. In this respect, contextual factors can also determine the meaning of utterances, like the concept of MOUSE given below.

- (41) *Tikus banyak di lumbung padi desa Melati.*  
(There are **mice** in the rice barn of Melati village)
- (42) *Tikus banyak berkeliaran di Bulog.*  
(Many **mice** stay around at the *Bulog*<sup>9</sup>).
- (43) *Banyak tikus di APBN dan APBD.*  
(There are many **mice** in the national budget and regional budget)

Cognitive semantics describes meaning as a kind of knowledge: linguistic knowledge and encyclopedic knowledge (Saeed, 1997/2004). The physical objects (41-43) are mouse perceived as a kind of small mammal. The word ‘mice’ (41) is a generic one which refers to a

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<sup>9</sup> *Bulog* (The Indonesian Bureau of Logistics) is the state body responsible for food procurement, such as rice, sugar, soy bean, etc

real mouse (animal), but ‘mice’ (42-43) correspond to humans. Although they have different references, they share some conceptual categories or properties, they are a kind of pest for farmers, and they have a destroyer characteristic: stealing, smart, tricky, cunning, live in groups, etc. The symbol of ‘mouse’ (42-43) in the Indonesian political context refers to ‘corruptor’ and ‘corruption practices’. So, the meanings of (42-43) are “Many corruptors stay around at the Bulog (42)” and “Many corruption practices (mark-up) happened in the national and regional budget (43)”. Thus, the symbol of ‘mouse’ corresponds to a conventional meaning, and then connects to its concept rather than directly to a physical object in the external world. In this respect, the meaning of words or utterances can only be given in terms of the speaker’s intended meaning in particular contexts of language use.

In relation to the nature of human interaction with the external world, cognitive semanticists set out to explore the relations and build a theory of conceptual structure that is relevant to humans’ every day life experience (Evan & Green, 2006; Gibbs, 2002). In other words, the nature of the relationships between the conceptual structure and the external world arises from bodily experience. This bodily experience makes a part of conceptual structure be meaningful. In this respect, human experience is also embodied. Therefore, cognitive semantics focuses in its investigation on “bodily basis meaning” (Evan & Green, 2006: 163-164). Kövecses (2006: 10) agreed with these views by claiming that the world, for us, is a “projected” reality that human beings “imaginatively” create. This means that humans can construe the same reality in alternative ways.

Moreover, cognitive semantics claims that meanings are conventionally associated with words and other linguistic units that can be equated with concepts. Jackendoff (1983) points out that our cognitive abilities integrate raw perceptual information into a coherent and well-defined mental image. The meanings are encoded by linguistic symbols that refer to our projected reality. Human conceptualisation is unlimited in scope, whereas language represents “a limited and indeed limiting system for the expression of thought” (Evan & Green, 2006: 166). This can be seen through our frustrated experience of being unable to put an idea into words when writing. We deal with a finite number of words with a limited set of conventional meanings. From these perspectives, Fauconnier (1997) and Tunner (1991) assert

that language merely provides prompts for the construction of a conceptualisation which is far richer than the minimal meaning provided by language.

Cognitive semantics does not reject the view that words have conventional meanings associated with them (Pecher & Zwaan, 2005). A word can have a range of meanings as a result of contexts within which the word occurs. This is also often culturally determined, such as the word *Batak* and *aman* (safe) for a context of corruption as in the examples below (Ritonga, 2005: 20-25).

(44) Jangan menangis! Ada orang *Batak* datang.  
(Don't cry! There is a *Batak* coming)

(45) a. Koruptor *aman* (The corruptor is safe).  
b. Institusi *aman* (The institution is safe).  
c. Hukum *aman* (The law is safe).

Many Indonesians share cultural knowledge regarding the characters or behaviours associated with stereotypical *Bataknese*, like tough, rude, brave, naughty, pickpockets and cannibal. Actually, there are no such meanings in the *bahasa Indonesia* dictionary. It is a cultural stereotype attached by other ethnics, particularly the Javanese. The context of (44) is a Javanese mother's way to stop her crying baby by frightening the baby with (44). Another example is "Awas dompet!" (Watch out your wallet!), which is often uttered by people in Jakarta as a joke to their *Batak* friends. Because the meaning attributions have been popular, it becomes such a pride for *Batak* in certain contexts. For instance, when fighting with one ethnic, a *Bataknese* often bluffs his rival with the utterance "Jangan macam-macam kau, aku ini orang batak!" (Don't try me, I am *Batak* you know!). It is the meanings associated with words which often draw upon complex and sophisticated bodies of knowledge.

The word *aman* (safe) in (45 a-c) has a range of meanings. The interpretation of (45a) is that a corruptor will not come to any harm, but the law can not put the corruptor into jail. Then, (45b) does not mean that the institution will not come to harm, but the institution is safe from finance auditing although the institution is corrupt. Finally, (45c) does not mean

that the law will not come to harm, but that it will not cause harm to the corruptor. In order to understand what the speaker means, we draw upon our encyclopaedic knowledge related to the words *koruptor*, *institusi*, *hukum* (corruptor, institution and law) and our knowledge relating to what it means to be *aman* (safe). This is one of the ways to construct a meaning by selecting a meaning that is appropriate in the context of an utterance. Because meaning construction draws upon encyclopaedic knowledge, it involves inference strategies which relate to “different aspects of conceptual structure, organisation and packaging” (Saeed, 2004: 63). Taylor (2002: 530) provides an example of the conceptual nature of meaning construction which he calls “conceptual blending theory” as given below.

(46) In France, Bill Clinton wouldn't have been harmed by his relationship with Monica Lewinsky.

To account for the meaning of the counterfactual sentence (46), it needs several domains or reality spaces. First, there is a domain of Bill Clinton as the former US president, Monica Lewinsky (a former White House intern) is his intern, they have an affair, their affair is found out and scandal ensues. Second, is a domain of the President of France along with knowledge about French culture where the practice to have extra-marital relationships and private families are deemed as something permissible for French presidents. These two domains are then integrated into the third one as a blended space. That is, a scenario that Clinton is the President of France and his scandal love affair with his intern Monica Lewinsky took place not in USA but in France. In this context, Bill Clinton would not have been politically harmed by his extramarital affair with Lewinsky. The moral value we can get from this blending is that culture and moral sensitivities in relation to extramarital affairs between politicians and members of their staff are extremely different in USA and France.

Thus, there are four principles that show how cognitive semantics deals with meaning: (1) conventionalised conceptual structures, (2) the conceptual structure is embodied or bodily experience, (3) meaning is encyclopaedic knowledge and (4) meaning is determined by contexts and inference strategies. So far, a number of conceptual structures and processes of conceptualisation have been identified in the literature on cognitive linguistics, such as Langacker (1987), Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003), Lakoff (1992/2002), Ortony (1979),

Reddy (1979/1993), Kövecses (2006) and so on. However, they often pay special attention to metaphor. Cognitive linguists agree with the proposal by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that metaphor is an essential element in our categorisation of the world and in our thinking processes. Cognitive linguists comment that an important characteristic of cognitive semantics is the central role assigned to metaphor in thought and language.

### **3.2 Metaphor**

Metaphor had traditionally been viewed as the most important form of figurative language use and it has been studied within the discipline known as rhetoric for over 2000 years. This is called the classical view of metaphor: everyday language contained no metaphors (see, for example, Ricoeur, 2003; Punter, 2007). Another approach to metaphor is the romantic view of imagination in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. This approach is known as the contemporary theory of metaphor or conduit metaphor (Reddy, 1979/1993; Ortony, 1979/1993). According to this view, metaphor is primarily conceptual, conventional and forms part of the ordinary system of thought and language. Metaphor provides evidence of the role of imagination in conceptualising and reasoning, from which follows that all language is metaphorical. It means there is no distinction between literal and figurative language.

Nowadays, however, many cognitive linguists, such as Lakoff, Langacker, Turner, Steen, Kövecses, and others argue that metaphor is ubiquitous in ordinary language. The romantic view which considers metaphor as a very important mode of thinking and talking about the world is accepted by cognitive linguists. However, they distance themselves a little from the romantic position that views all language as metaphorical. Furthermore, they assert that there are also non-metaphorical concepts: see the quotation taken from Lakoff and Turner (1989: 135) below.

Metaphor allows us to understand one domain of experience in term of another. To serve this function, there must be some grounding, some concepts that are not completely understood via metaphor to serve as source domains (Lakoff and Turner, 1989: 135).

Rejecting the traditional views of metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) claim that: 1) metaphor is a property of concepts, not of words, 2) the function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts, not just for aesthetic-artistic purposes, 3) metaphor is often not based on similarity, 4) metaphor is used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people, and 5) metaphor is an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning. So, metaphor is not simply a matter of words or linguistic expressions but of concepts.

### 3.2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) point out that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical. Metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another. In this view, metaphor is seen as derivatively a linguistic phenomenon: “it exists in language only because it exists in thought” (Kövecses, 2005: 8). Metaphor is characterised by conceptual domains (source domain and target domain), that is, a schematic form A is B where A (more abstract concepts) serves as a target domain, which is comprehended through a source domain B (more concrete/physical concepts) as in *Achilles is a lion* (Evan & Green, 2006: 293).

Kövecses (2002: 4) defines the source domain as a conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood in this way is called a target domain. Based on this nature, the term conceptual metaphor is used. Referring to the example *Achilles is a lion*, this metaphor is based on the comparison of two categories and it is not explicitly marked (Aristotle’s time known as an implicit comparison). This contrasts with a simile in which the comparison is overtly signalled by the use of *as* or *like*: *Achilles is as brave as a lion*; *Achilles is brave like a lion*. Grady (1997a, 1999) speaks of ‘perceived resemblance’ to describe the comparison and he names this kind of metaphor a ‘resemblance metaphor’. It is because the resemblance is not physical: Achilles does not actually look like a lion. Instead, it is based on cultural knowledge which holds that lions are courageous and assigns the quality of lions (courage and ferocity) to a human (Achilles) to describe the braveness of Achilles in the fight. Lakoff and Turner (1989) call this an ‘image metaphor’ for the metaphors based on physical resemblance.

Currently, most of the research on the conceptual metaphor tradition has not been primarily concerned with metaphor resemblances, but tends to focus on everyday language – that is, to show the process of understanding in terms of what it could mean for a concept to be metaphorical and for such a concept to structure an everyday activity: for example, the concept ARGUMENT and the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR by Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 4). This metaphor is reflected in human linguistic behaviours when engaging in arguments by using a wide variety of expressions.

### 3.2.2 The Principles of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

#### 3.2.3 Source and Target Domains

It has been a conventional way in cognitive linguistics to write conceptual metaphor with capital letters and small letters in the form of italic for metaphorical expression. Kövecses (2002: 16-25) found that the most frequent source domains for metaphors are: HUMAN BODY (*the heart of the problem*), HEALTH and ILLNESS (*a healthy society*), ANIMALS (*a sly fox*), PLANTS (*a budding theory*), BUILDING and CONSTRUCTIONS (*He is in ruins financially*), MACHINE and TOOLS (*the machine of democracy*), GAMES and SPORT (*He tried to checkmate her*), COOKING and FOOD (*He cooked up a story that nobody believed*), etc. The most common target domains include conceptual categories like EMOTION (*She was deeply moved*), DESIRE (*I am starved for affection*), MORALITY (*I'll pay you back for this*), THOUGHT (*I see your point*), SOCIETY/NATION (*neighboring countries*), POLITICS (*The president plays hardball*), TIME (*Time flies*), etc. The use of these sources is based on our everyday life experience. The examples show that source domains are easier to grasp than target domains.

The reason for this view is that the target concepts are often “higher order concepts” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003: 6): although grounded in more basic experiences, these concepts relate to more complex and abstract experiential structures, for example, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR where ARGUMENT is conceptualised or structured in terms of a battle (verbal battle). This conceptualisation emerges from human experiences, knowledge and culture of arguing, that is, arguments usually follow patterns: what we typically do and do not do when we argue. Since we conceptualise arguments in terms of a battle, this systematically influences the shape that arguments take and the way we

talk: expressions are derived from the vocabulary of war: *attack a position, strategy, indefensible, new line of attack, win, gain ground*, etc. These words form a systematic way of talking about the battling aspects of arguing. Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 7) conclude that metaphorical expressions in our language are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way and structure our everyday activities.

### **3.2.4 The unidirectionality of Metaphorical Domains**

Conceptual metaphors are unidirectional, which means that “metaphors map a structure from a source domain to a target domain, but not vice versa” (Evan & Green, 2006: 296). This system is derived from the nature of the relationship between a source domain and a target domain, that is, to better understand a concept, it is better to use another concept that is more concrete, physical, or tangible such as to conceptualise the concept of LOVE in terms of a JOURNEY, ARGUMENT in terms of WAR, FOOD in terms of IDEAS, etc. Love, argument and idea are all more abstract concepts than journey, war and food. So, while we conceptualise love in terms of a journey, we cannot conventionally structure a journey in terms of love, we cannot talk about ideas as food. This is called the principle of unidirectionality: the “metaphorical process typically goes from the more concrete to the more abstract but not the other way around” (Kövecses, 2002: 6).

Lakoff and Turner (1989) observed that unidirectionality holds even when two different metaphors share the same domains, such as PEOPLE ARE MACHINES and MACHINES ARE PEOPLE. Despite these two metaphors sharing the same two domains, each metaphor involves distinct mappings. The PEOPLE ARE MACHINES metaphor takes mechanical and functional attributes associated with, for example, computers: speed, efficiency, part-whole structure, breakdown, etc to be mapped onto people, while the MACHINES ARE PEOPLE metaphor uses the desire and volition attributes mapped into the machine. This shows that although two metaphors share the same two domains, each metaphor is distinct in nature because it relies upon different mappings.

### **3.2.5 Conceptual Mappings**

The word ‘to understand’ in the definition of metaphor means, to characterise the relationship between two concepts in the metaphorical process. This conceptual

correspondence is technically called ‘mapping’: that is, a conceptual domain B is mapped onto a conceptual domain A. A and B are a way of thinking and its linguistic realisation is a way of talking. The mapping system becomes essential to support the proposition of metaphor: “metaphors are propositional” (Lakoff, 1992: 16). In this sense, mapping is a set of ontological correspondences that characterise epistemic correspondences by mapping knowledge about concepts in a source domain onto the knowledge about concepts in a target domain. This is the way to reason regarding our knowledge about concepts of both domains. Sweetser (1990), for instance, used a mapping system in her study about semantic changes in the field of English sense perception verbs. She claims that the paths of semantic change are one-way and lead from the external (socio-physical) domain to our internal (emotional, psychological) domain and these two domains are linked by means of metaphor. In case of perception verbs, the source domain is the vocabulary of physical perception and the target domain is the vocabulary of external self and sensations.

Unlike Sweetser, Lakoff and Johnson’s LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor has a tightly structured mapping (1980/2003: 44). In this metaphorical mapping, there are ontological correspondences, according to which entities in the domain of love (the lovers, their common goals, their difficulties, the love relationship, etc) systematically correspond to entities in the domain of journey (the travellers, the vehicle, the destination, etc). The layout of the correspondences or mappings for LOVE IS A JOURNEY is presented below:

*Source: JOURNEY*

*Target: LOVE*

the travellers	→	the lovers
the vehicle	→	the love relationship itself
the journey	→	events in the relationship
the distance covered	→	the progress made
the obstacles encountered	→	the difficulties experienced
decisions about which way to go	→	choices about what to do
the destination of the journey	→	the goal (s) of the relationship

(Source data: taken from Lakoff & Johnson in Kövecses, 2002: 7)

The LOVE IS A JOURNEY mapping has a set of ontological correspondences that characterise the epistemic correspondences by mapping the knowledge about *journey* onto

the knowledge about *love*. Such correspondences allow us to reason about love using the knowledge about journey. For example, the expression *we are stuck* is understood as being about the relationship. *We are stuck* can be used for travel, evoking the knowledge about travel, that is, can vary from person to person. The ontological correspondences that constitute the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor map the ontology of travel onto the ontology of love. By doing so, they map this scenario about travelling onto a corresponding love scenario in which the corresponding alternatives for actions are seen as quoted below. The capitalised expressions represent entities in the ontology of travel:

TWO TRAVELLERS are in a VEHICLE, TRAVELLING WITH COMMON DESTINATIONS. The VEHICLE encounters some IMPEDIMENTS and gets stuck, that is, becomes nonfunctional. If the travellers do nothing, they will not REACH THEIR DESTINATIONS. There is a limited number of alternatives for action.

(Lakoff and Johnson 1992 in Geeraerts, 2008: 190).

### 3.2.6 Types of Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) do not classify conceptual metaphors systematically, although they explain some types of metaphors in separate chapters like conventional metaphor, orientational metaphor, ontological metaphor and image schema. Grady (1997a) divides metaphors in primary metaphors and compound metaphors. Grady's division stems from the "invariance aspects of metaphors" or metaphorical systems which group or form a larger system of metaphors (Lakoff, 1987: 36) and "a generic-level metaphor" (Lakoff and Turner, 1987: 17). A more appropriate classification of metaphors is undertaken by Kövecses (2002; 29-39). He classifies metaphors according to their degree of conventionality, cognitive function, nature and generality.

### 3.2.7 The Conventionality of Metaphor

The most common way to classify metaphor is according to their degree of conventionality. That is, by analysing how ordinary people use metaphor for everyday purposes. Kövecses (2006: 127) points out that conventionality does not refer to the arbitrary relationship between the linguistic form and the meaning, but it refers to the fact that a linguistic expression or a conceptual metaphor is well-established and well-entrenched in the

usage of a linguistic community. Lakoff (1987, 1990, and 1993) describes the aspects of conventionality for native speakers of English, as they naturally and effortlessly conceptualise argument, love, social organisations, life, etc in terms of war, journey, plant, etc for their everyday purposes. Example:

ARGUMENT IS WAR: I defended my argument.

LOVE IS A JOURNEY: We'll have to go our separate ways.

THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS: We have to construct a new theory.

SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS ARE PLANTS: The company is growing fast.

LIFE IS A JOURNEY: He had a head start in life.

(Lakoff and Johnson, 1990)

Kövecses (2002: 3) shows that native speakers of English have a coherently organised knowledge about *journey* on which they rely upon in understanding *life*, as shown in the quotation below:

People might say that they try to give their children an education so they **will get a good start in life**. If their children act out, they hope that **they are going through a stage** and that **they will get over it**. Parents hope that their children won't be burdened with financial worries or ill health and, if they face such difficulties, that they will be able to overcome them. Parents hope that their children **will have a long life and span** and that **they will go far in life**. But they also know that their children, as all **mortals, will reach the end of the road**. (Kövecses, 2002: 3)

The bold sentences in the quotation show that native speakers of English often talk and think about life in terms of a journey. In this case, the conventionality is applied both to conceptual metaphors and to their linguistic manifestations. If there are conventional metaphors, there must also be unconventional or less conventional ones, like novel metaphors or poetic metaphors. For example:

LIFE IS A JOURNEY

(a) He had a head start in life.

(b) Two roads diverged in a wood, and I took the one less traveled by, and that has made all the difference (Poem of Robert Frost in Kövecses, 2002: 31).

The expressions (a-b) manifest the same conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The expressions *head start in life, going through a stage, reach the end of the road, get over it* are all highly conventional for the native speakers of English to talk about some aspects of life (a). The expression (b) *two roads diverged and took the one (road) less traveled by* are unconventional linguistic expressions for the conventional LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor because such expressions are not “worn out, clichéd linguistic expressions to talk about life in English” (Kövecses, 2002: 31). Similarly, the Shakespearean lines: “All the world is a stage /And all the men and women merely players /They have their exits and their entrances” are unconventional expressions compared to “*steal the show, be in the spotlight and play a role in something*” for the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A PLAY (Kövecses, 2006: 127).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) suggest that the unconventionality is not necessarily tied to poetic or literary language. Many creative speakers can produce novel metaphorical expressions based on conventional conceptual metaphors, such as the American politician Ross Perot’s metaphor LIFE IS A SPORTING GAME: *We are buying a front row box seat and we are not even getting to see a bad show from the bleachers* (Kövecses, 2006: 31). He used this expression to comment upon the nation’s high medical cost in the US. It is a conventional metaphor for life, using unconventional linguistic expressions. Again, LOVE IS A JOURNEY is fairly conventional in English versus LOVE IS A COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART which is not conventional or is less conventional (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003). In the Indonesian context, examples of such conventional and unconventional ways to talk about life are:

- (47) a. Hidup adalah perjuangan (Life is a struggle).
- b. Hidup adalah perbuatan (Life is action).

The expression (47a) is more conventional to conceptualise life for the speakers of Indonesia who encourage the spirit of Indonesia to free itself from the colonial rule, like the expressions *hidup atau mati* (life or death), *patah tumbuh-hilang berganti* (if something breaks, it grows back), and *pantang mundur* (never give up). The expression (b) comes from Sutrisno Bachir (the leader of a political party) and was used in his political campaign advertised in the media. It is a less conventional way to talk about life. Thus, ‘life’ or ‘love’

can be metaphorically conceptualised in many ways. Perhaps most people comprehend their love or life through conventional metaphors because these source domains provide a sufficiently comprehensive and coherent notion of the concept. However, when people cannot make sense of their love or life in a coherent way, they may employ unconventional or less conventional source domains. This offers us new ways and possibilities in the form of new, unconventional conceptual metaphors, in order to understand the world around us.

### **3.2.7.1 Structural Metaphors**

The aspect of the cognitive function of metaphor is the use of structure of B to understand A by means of conceptual mappings between elements of A and elements of B. For example, in the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor of Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003), the structure of the conversation takes the aspects of the structure of a war and the participants, either their perceptions or actions are engaged in a war. It is the way of understanding a conversation as being an argument. It is conceived as a part of the concept WAR via a mapping and the corresponding structure conversation. Because the metaphorical concept is systematic, the language we use to talk about the aspect of the concept is also systematic. Thus, the elaboration above has provided a basic overall structure for understanding argumentation in terms of war. Most structural metaphors provide the kind of structuring and understanding for their target concepts. Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 63) conclude that conceptual metaphors are grounded in experience and not only our conception of an argument, but also the way we carry it out is grounded in our knowledge and experience.

### **3.2.7.2 Ontological Metaphors**

The principle of the source and target domain of metaphor is derived from the nature of human experience in identifying and categorising all things around us. When things are not clearly distinguished or bounded, we still categorise them by the up-down orientation, front-back, on-off, near-far, centre-periphery, etc. We also categorise other things like mind, emotion, feeling, anger, love, desire, politics, etc as objects, entities, substances, containers, states, etc. In this respect, the cognitive side operates to understand these vague or abstract concepts in terms of more delineated concepts. For example, we do not really know what the mind is; we also do not know exactly how the mind of woman is, but we often find sentences

like *mind is a machine*, *mind is a computer*, *mind is a brittle object*, *my mind is rusty this morning*, etc. This is the function of ontological metaphor: to give or provide “existential status for the target concepts” (Kövecses, 2006: 128). In other words, abstract experiences receive a more concrete status via ontological metaphors.

Thus, we can use metaphors for various purposes: to refer to, to quantify, to identify particular aspects of it, etc as the inflation metaphor below. By viewing inflation (abstract) as an entity, we can understand it better (more concrete), that is, act with respect to it, see it as a cause, identify it, refer to it and quantify it.

#### INFLATION IS AN ENTITY

Inflation is lowering our standard of living.

If there is much more inflation, we will never survive.

We need to combat inflation.

Inflation makes me sick.

(Source: Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003: 26)

### 3.2.7.3 Orientational Metaphors

Unlike structured metaphors where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another, the orientational metaphor “organises a whole system of concepts with respect to one another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 14). Thus, this kind of metaphor does not structure one concept in terms of another, but instead “provides a coherent organisation for a large set of concepts” in our conceptual system (Kövecses, 2006: 128). So, orientational metaphors are used to make several metaphors coherent with one another – for instance, the conceptual metaphors CONTROL IS UP: *I’m on top of the situation*, MORAL IS UP: *He is an upstanding citizen*, HAPPY IS UP: *She’s feeling up*, etc. In this regard, *health*, *morality*, *happy*, *rationality*, *consciousness*, *control*, etc are all perceived as good things; they are all metaphorically oriented UP-WARD or there is a spatial orientation, whereas their opposites are metaphorically DOWN – for example, the conceptual metaphors SICK IS DOWN: *I am coming down with the flu*, SAD IS DOWN: *I am feeling down*, UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN: *She sank into a coma*, etc. Therefore, this kind of metaphor can be termed as ‘coherent metaphor’ because certain target concepts tend to be conceptualised in a uniform manner.

The orientational metaphor gives a spatial orientation which is not arbitrary, but rooted in human physical and cultural experiences. Cognitive linguists, like Lakoff, Johnson, Langacker, etc claim that metaphors have an experiential basis. With regard to spatial orientation such as RATIONAL IS UP, EMOTION IS DOWN, MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN, etc, Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 20) show the relationship among metaphors via the experiential basis in diagram/figure 1.2 below:

**Figure 1.2 Experiential Bases of Metaphors (1 and 2)**



(Source: Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003: 20)

The representation of figure 1.2 is a way of emphasising the inseparability between metaphors and their experiential basis. Two parts of each metaphor are linked via the experiential basis to serve the purpose of understanding. The figure represents two concepts: quantity and verticality. Quantity consists of a scale that has MORE and LESS, whereas verticality consists of one that has UP and DOWN. In this respect, quantity is understood in terms of verticality which is derived from the experience of a correlation between quantity and verticality, that is, when issues of quantity arise, issues of verticality also commonly

arise. In other words, we understand the changes in quantity in terms of the changes in verticality. So, the conceptual metaphors MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN are understood in this way that MORE is understood as UP and LESS as DOWN. This understanding is at the basis of a specific correlation: when the quantity or amount of a substance increases (MORE), the level of the substance rises (UP) and when the quantity of a substance decreases (LESS), the level of the substance goes down (DOWN).

Regarding the spatial orientation above, one ethnic group in an isolated area of Jambi, Indonesia, called *suku anak dalam*, viewing the future very differently from most Indonesians (the future is in front of us). They conceive that the future is more in the back: everything should be related to their ancestors as a respectful behaviour to get blessing for their life. It is believed that the blessing from the ancestors could give prosperity in terms of cultivating the field, holding a party, hunting for food, building a house, etc. In *bahasa Indonesia* it is common to use a spatial orientation; *tinggi-rendah* (high-low) for metaphors; MORAL ADALAH TINGGI (MORAL IS HIGH/UP): *Dia memiliki moral yang tinggi* (He/She has high moral) and TIDAK BERMORAL ADALAH RENDAH (IMMORAL IS DOWN/LOW): *Moralnya rendah* (His morality is low). In *bahasa Indonesia* the words *tinggi* and *rendah* are not prepositions, but adjectives. Again, we do not conceive CONSCIOUS IS UP and UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN explicitly like English. In *bahasa Indonesia* the words *bangun* or *siuman* (wake up): *Dia bangun* (He wakes/gets up), *Dia tertidur* (He fell asleep, He dropped off to sleep) cannot be attached by any preposition. Such a sentence is usually realised by prefixes, like ‘ter-’ in *tertidur* (drop off to sleep) and *terbangun* (wake up). Thus, the concepts of spatial orientation which arises from the physical and cultural experiences are not definitive, but suggestive and plausible.

### 3.3 Metaphorical Entailments

The TIME IS MONEY metaphor can be to a large extent form a great chain of metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003): work or job related to money (e.g. I work to get money). But in the sentences: *I have invested a lot of time in her. You must meet me at 7 o'clock. I waste time to talk with such a man. We should finish this job on time. How many hours do you work a day? Thank you for your time*, etc; show that time is a valuable commodity in human culture. It is also a limited resource that people use to accomplish their

goals. Here, time becomes an expensive thing and thereby, time relates to money. As a result, the concept of work has developed in modern industrialised societies and work is typically associated with the time it takes to do it. Time is precisely quantified and it is common to pay people by the hour, day, week, or month. Every workplace has working hours. Practices related to TIME IS MONEY in human culture have developed, such as telephone message units, hotel room rates, interest on loans, hourly wages, car rentals, etc.

The above description shows that we have a rich knowledge about more delineated concepts (source) to understand the abstract concept of TIME (target). We understand and experience time as something that can be spent, wasted, budgeted, invested wisely or poorly, saved, used up, run out of, given, lost, etc. Kövecses (2002: 93-104) points out that when this rich knowledge about elements is mapped onto target domains, we have metaphorical entailment. The metaphorical concepts TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE and TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY have subcategorisation relationships that is money is a limited resource and limited resources are valuable commodities. These subcategorisation relationships characterise entailment links among metaphors. TIME IS MONEY entails that TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE, which entails that TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY. Thus, if a concept is structured by more than one metaphor, it gives rise to metaphorical entailment, overlapping metaphors and metaphor coherence.

### 3.3.1 Metaphor Highlighting and Hiding

Metaphorical highlighting applies to the target domain. Highlighting is intended to focus on one or some aspects of the target concepts. Different metaphors highlight different aspects of the same target concept and at the same time hide other aspects (Kövecses, 2002: 79-81).

#### AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY

So far, we haven't *covered much ground*. (progress, content)

This is a *roundabout* argument. (directness)

We need to *go into this further* in order to *see clearly* what's involved. (progress, obviousness)

#### AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER

You have all the right ideas *in* your argument, but the argument is *still not transparent*. (content, progress, clarity)

These ideas form the *solid core* of the argument. (strength, basicness)

#### AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING

We've got a *foundation* for the argument, now we need a *solid framework*. (basicness, strength, structure)

We have *now constructed most of the argument*. (progress, content)

(Source: Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003: 99)

These metaphors focus on and highlight a number of aspects of the concept of argument. They address the issues of progress, content, directness, obviousness, clarity, strength, structure and basicness in arguing. As can be seen, metaphors highlight certain aspects of an argument and at the same time hide other aspects of it. For example, when the ARGUMENT metaphor highlights the progress made in arguing, it simultaneously hides other aspects like *directness*, *clarity*, *strength*, *basicness* and *structure*. Let us simply illustrate this: in the midst of a heated argument, we intend to attack our opponent's position and depending our own, in this regard, we may highlight or focus on aspects related to the content, clarity, strength, etc. and hide other aspects, like a weak side of our own. Thus, the reason why a single target concept, ARGUMENT, is understood via several source concepts is that "one source just cannot do the job because our concepts have a number of distinct aspects to them and metaphors address these distinct aspects" (Kövecses, 2002: 107).

### 3.3.2 Personification, Metonymy and Metaphor

In interaction, we often assign human qualities to things that are not human or we use one entity to refer to another one that is related to it. Such activity is called personification or metonymy. Lakoff (1992: 33) claims that these tropes allow us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with non-human entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics and activities. The different processes of these tropes can be seen from the examples below:

(48) *Reformasi melahirkan kebebasan mengungkapkan pendapat.*  
(The Reform Era has given birth to the freedom of speech)

(49) *Korupsi menghancurkan ekonomi Indonesia.*  
(Corruption destroyed Indonesia's economy).

(50) *Indonesia mengecam invasi Israel atas Palestina.*  
(Indonesia condemns Israel's invasion of Palestine)

(51) *Istana Merdeka mengeluarkan pernyataan keras terhadap pelaku unjuk rasa Bank Century.*  
(The Presidential Palace issued a warning to the protesters of *Bank Century*)

### 3.3.2.1 Metonymy

Traditionally, the feature of metonymy is one entity which refers to another related thing. Kövecses (2002: 145) gives a more precise formulation: namely, it is suggested that a vehicle entity can provide mental access to a target entity when the two entities belong to the same domain, or, as Lakoff (1987) calls it, the same idealized cognitive model (ICM). In this respect, metonymy has two domains: the vehicle entity and the target entity. Examples (50) and (51) above are examples of metonymy because the words *Indonesia* and *Istana Merdeka* are being used to refer to an actual person: the person (president) who censures and declares something. The word *Indonesia* refers to a state and *Istana Merdeka* (Presidential Palace) refers to an institution, and they both belong to the same ICM. Indonesia is a place where the event ‘to censure the invasion of Israel’ (THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT) takes place and the Presidential Palace is also a place that is closely related to the institution that is located in the place (THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION). Kövecses (2002: 145) defines metonymy as a cognitive process whereby one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain.

In that sense, metonymy is similar to metaphor: both are conceptual in nature and the conceptual metonymy is revealed by metonymic linguistic expressions. Kövecses (2002: 143-160) highlights the major similarities and differences between metaphor and metonymy. Firstly, metonymy is based on contiguity, whereas metaphor is based on similarity. Given the difference between similarity and contiguity, Ray Gibbs (1999) determines whether it is a metonymic expression or a metaphoric one using the “is like” test. The meaningful one is metaphor and the unacceptable one is metonymy.

The *creampuff* was knocked out in the first round of the fight. (metaphor)

We need a new *glove* to play third base. (metonymy)

Compare to:

The boxer is like a *creampuff*. (metaphor)

\*The third baseman is like a *glove*. (metonymy)

(Source of data Kövecses, 2002: 146)

*Secondly*, metonymy involves a single domain, whereas metaphor involves two distant domains (abstract and concrete). For example, the concept of LOVE is distant from

that of a journey (LOVE IS A JOURNEY). In the metonymy, two elements or entities are closely related to each other in a conceptual space. For example, the producer is closely related to the product made (THE PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT, e.g. I love *Ferraris*). *Thirdly*, metonymy is largely used to provide access to a single target entity within a single domain; metaphor is primarily used to understand a whole system of entities in terms of another system. *Finally*, metonymy occurs between concepts, as well as between linguistic forms and concepts and between linguistic forms and things/events in the world; metaphor occurs between concepts.

### 3.3.2.2 Personification

In case of personification, we are seeing something non-human as human, such as the words *reformasi* (48) and *korupsi* (49). In such cases there are no actual human beings referred to. Here *reformasi* and *korupsi* are personified. Personification is not a single unified general process (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003: 33). Personification picks out different aspects of a person or ways of looking at a person.

- (52) *Korupsi menghancurkan system ekonomi Indonesia.*  
(Corruption destroyed the economy of Indonesia)
- (53) *Korupsi menambah jumlah angka kemiskinan.*  
(Corruption has increased poverty)
- (54) *Musuh terbesar bangsa Indonesia sekarang ini ialah korupsi.*  
(The biggest enemy of Indonesians right now is corruption).
- (55) *Korupsi telah menyerang sendi-sendi ekonomi Indonesia.*  
(Corruption has attacked the foundations of Indonesian economy)
- (56) *Praktik korupsi telah mencoreng wajah Indonesia di dunia internasional.*  
(Corruption practices ruined the image of Indonesia in the world)
- (57) *Korupsi telah melahirkan generasi muda yang oportunis di negeri ini.*  
(Corruption has given birth to an opportunist generation)
- (58) *Korupsi telah merampok hak-hak rakyat Indonesia.*  
(Corruption has robbed the rights of Indonesians)

All instances of the word *korupsi* above are personified and underlie metaphorical expressions. The conceptual metaphor of the above examples is KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK (CORRUPTION AS A PUBLIC ENEMY). However, the metaphor is not merely KORUPSI SEBAGAI ORANG (CORRUPTION AS A PERSON). It is more specific, namely KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK. This does not only give us a very specific way of thinking, but also a way of acting towards it. We think of *korupsi* as an adversary that can attack us, hurt us, steal from us and even destroy us. Therefore, this metaphor gives rise to and justifies political, legal and economic actions on the part of our government: declaring war on *korupsi*, setting targets, installing a new chain of command, etc. So, this metaphor at least gives us a coherent account of why we are suffering from these losses. In that case, personification and metaphor have something in common, that is, they allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms.

### **3.4 Metaphorical Frame Analysis: politics and framing**

When discussing metaphor and frame, one needs to clearly define the terminology: conceptual metaphor, metaphorical expressions, linguistic expressions, language frame, and metaphorical frame. Conceptual metaphor has two conceptual domains (source and target), and one domain is used to understand another domain. Therefore, it is called conceptual metaphor. We know that a sentence is a metaphor because it contains a metaphorical expression. The metaphorical expression is also called a linguistic expression as a way of talking and conceptual metaphor as a way of thinking. Language frame and metaphorical frame refer to metaphor based on frame. Frames are “structured mental representations of a conceptual category” which consists of a number of elements (Kövecses, 2006: 78).

Fillmore (1982) introduces a frame analysis in the semantic theory to search for word meanings, make new words and assemble the meanings of elements in a text into the global meaning of the text. One of his examples is the COMPETITION frame which contains a number of elements: competition, participants, place, prize, rank, score and venue. These elements are also connected by particular events, like lose, win, defeat, etc. In this regard, it can be said that a frame involves more than feature lists to describe the meanings based on the conceptual categories. Rosch (1978) also introduces this kind of study, namely the theory of the prototype. Some linguistic scholars then developed Rosch’s prototype theory of

categorisation with different names, such as script, scenario, scene, idealised cognitive model, schema and frame (see Fillmore, 1975, 1977, 1982, 1985a; Fillmore & Atkins, 1992; Andor, 1985). For example, George Yule (1996/2000: 85-87) defines ‘schema’ as pre-existing knowledge structure in the memory. If there is a fixed, static pattern to the schema, it is sometimes called a frame. A frame shared by everyone within a social group would be something like a prototypical version.

Some cognitive scholars describe frames as a schematisation of experience which does not correspond to a reality as it is, but reflects the knowledge that humans make use of in using language (Kövecses, 2006). In this view, frames are a basic mode of knowledge representation which are continually updated and modified as a result of ongoing human experience. They argue that the meaning of a word depends on the kind of frame within which we conceptualise it. Lakoff (2007: 2) argues that language always comes with what is called “framing”. Every word is defined in relation to a conceptual framework. Lakoff gives an example of frame in the quotation below:

The phrase "Tax relief" began coming out of the White House starting on the very day of Bush's inauguration. It got picked up by the newspapers as if it were a neutral term, which it is not. First, you have the frame for "relief." For there to be relief, there has to be an affliction, an afflicted party, somebody who administers the relief, and an act in which you are relieved of the affliction. The reliever is the hero, and anybody who tries to stop them is the bad guy intent on keeping the affliction going. So, add "tax" to "relief" and you get a metaphor that taxation is an affliction, and anybody against relieving this affliction is a villain (Lakoff, 2007: 4)

In this quotation, it is seen that metaphor is based on a frame that makes people see taxation in a new light: tax cuts are absolutely necessary and the moral thing to do. In this respect, choosing and using metaphor divides politicians and citizens into good guys and bad guys by assigning people with opposing views particular roles in the frame. Lakoff inserts the frame analysis to explain the conceptual metaphor TAXATION IS AFFLICTION. He combines frames and metaphors, forming a metaphorical frame analysis to explain political discourse (Lakoff, 1997, 2002, 2007). This combination is based on the relationship between concepts or elements of frame and metaphor which are termed as “mappings across frames” (Kövecses, 2006: 115) – for example, a set of mappings of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, where particular elements of the JOURNEY frame correspond to particular

elements of the LIFE frame. Kövecses (2006: 139) argues that frames can be based on conceptual metaphors in which particular target concepts are framed by particular source concepts. In that case, frames are evoked by particular meanings of words and one can focus on the particular elements of frames. Frames can also impose a certain perspective upon a situation. Example:

- (59) “When the people win, politics usually loses” (Arnold Schwarzenegger)
- (60) “One way to fight evil is to fight it with kindness and love and compassion” (President George W. Bush)
- (61) “She’s just a sort of bigoted woman” (BBC, PM. Gordon Brown)
- (62) “Bersama Kita Bisa”: *Together we can* (President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono)

Lakoff (2003) discussed overarching frames in American politics. Example (59) is taken from Lakoff:

“In Arnold Schwarzenegger’s acceptance speech in California governor election, he said, “When the people win, politics usually loses”. What’s that about? Well, he knows that he’s going to face a Democratic legislature, so what he has done is frame himself and also Republican politicians as the people, while framing Democratic politicians as usual-in advance. The Democratic legislatures won’t know what hit them. They are automatically framed as enemies of people” (Lakoff in News Center, 23 October 2003).

Despite the controversy of the events behind the 11 September 2001 attack (WTC), George Walker Bush succeeded in getting the world’s sympathy with his frame (60). In this respect, Osama Bin Laden is framed as evil and America is conceived as a kind nation, full of love and compassion. However, such a frame does not only mean that America can fight evil, but also more than that – that it can ask for the world’s sympathy, particularly its allies’ (multinational army) kindness, love and compassion to join with this fight. This is aimed to legalise their action to do war. As Osama is the leader of the Alqaida organisation, the frame *evil* does not only attach to him and his organisation, but also to a wider scope: the Muslim community all over the world. As a result, the world views on Islam changes, becoming very negative: people hate Islam and the Islamophobia grows in the world. Finally, George W. Bush and his allies have a strong desire to attack Afghanistan and Iraq, where Saddam Hussein is also framed as a monster, producing biological weapons and protecting Alqaida terrorists.

The sentence in Example (61) was uttered by Gordon Brown in Bolton in 2009, as part of his political campaign for the prime minister elections in the UK. The phrase *a sort of bigoted woman* is perceived as an insult: unpleasant woman, narrow-minded woman, unreasonable belief (a religion bigot), etc. Although Gordon Brown directly apologised to the old woman, this did not change the situation. He did not win the vote in Bolton. The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, uttered “Bersama Kita Bisa” (Together We Can) of Example (62) in his second run for the presidential elections. This frame has brought him and his party the majority win. This frame is to invite people to join in overcoming corruption and law enforcement.

Based on these examples, it can be concluded that frame has an important role in the way we speak, understand the world and deal with important issues we encounter in our lives. Politicians choose different frames in their campaign to obtain different effects, that is to influence and convince people according to their purposes and truth. Kövecses (2006: 94) reveals that politics is a domain where alternative framings and reframings are rife. He argues that politics commonly uses the cognitive device of “metaphor-based reframing” (Kövecses, 2006: 152). The choice of a particular frame may divide members of a society into subcultures, political camps and so on.

Many frames are shared across people, who turn the frames into cultural products, like in example (62). President Obama’s slogan “Together We Can” is reframed by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (62), applying it to the Indonesian socio-cultural context and referring to fighting corruption. Another example of a cultural frame is the frame ‘ibu tiri’ (step-mother) discussed by Ritonga (2005). This frame describes the meaning of ‘ibu tiri’ on the basis of socio-cultural concepts in Indonesia. Some connotative meanings are attached to the concept of IBU TIRI: cruel, evil, angry, pretending to love step children in front of her husband, discriminated actions between her own children and the step children, etc. This means we do not see a step-mother from the relationship aspect: every woman who marries my father is my mother. So, a step-mother is still a step-mother with negative attributes attached to her. The sons who have a step-mother also use different terms for the birth mother and the step-mother. ‘Mama’, ‘Umi’, ‘Bunda’, ‘Emak’, ‘Mak’, ‘Mamak’ etc, are some terms for a birth mother and ‘Ibu’ and ‘Tante’ (madam and aunt) are used for the step-mother. This

shows that distinctions are made between the two terms in order to describe the specific relationship.

Thus, frames are also shared cultural knowledge. Smaller or larger groups of people may share a large number of frames. In political discourse, frames and reframings are rife. Reframing is an action to shift an issue away from its conventional location within one set of shared assumptions and to reconstrue it within a different set of knowledge. Metaphor based on frame, explained by Lakoff (2002) and Kövecses (2006), shows that frame is a human schematic experience which relates to other terms: categorisation, source domain of metaphor, conceptual framework and prototype.

### **3.5 Summary**

Cognitive linguists make a distinction between formal and functional approaches to language. Cognitive scholars adopt a functional approach which implies a rather different view of language: 1) the principles of language use embody more general cognitive principles, 2) no adequate account of grammatical rules is possible without taking the meaning elements into account and 3) they look for principles shared across a range of cognitive domains. In this view, the explanation of the principles of language use must cross boundaries between levels of analysis. Based on these principles, in their studies, cognitive linguists pay close attention to human cognition, the conceptual system, categorisation and general meaning construction. Language reflects patterns of thought and thus, to study language from the cognitive semantics perspective is to study patterns of conceptualisation. Language allows one to explore and examine cognitive functions, providing insights into the nature, structure and organisation of thoughts and ideas.

Cognitive semantics rejects the objectivist semantics views on the relationship between meaning and reality, using the following arguments: we have no access to a reality independent of human categorisation and therefore, the structure of reality as reflected in language is a product of human mind. Cognitive semantics investigates meanings based on four principles: (1) conventionalised conceptual structures, (2) conceptual structure is

embodied in our bodily experience, (3) meaning is encyclopaedic knowledge and (4) meaning is determined by contexts and inference strategies.

Metaphor has traditionally been viewed as the most important form of figurative language use. Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) argue that metaphor is an essential element in the human categorisation of the world and in the human thinking process. They assert that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language, but also in thought and action. Metaphor is defined as understanding and expressing one conceptual domain in terms of another. Metaphor has two conceptual domains: source and target domain, formulated as “A is B”. Metaphor is characterised by a set of mappings of a structure from a source domain to a target domain, but not vice versa (unidirectional). The mapping is a set of ontological correspondences that characterise epistemic correspondences by mapping knowledge about concepts in a source domain onto knowledge about concepts in a target domain. Kövecses (2002) classifies conceptual metaphors based on their degree of conventionality, cognitive function, nature and generality. This classification results in the following types of metaphors: (1) conventional metaphor, (2) structural metaphor, (3) orientational metaphor, (4) ontological metaphor, (5) metaphorical entailment and (6) metaphor highlighting and hiding.

Metaphor is related to other tropes, such as metonymy and personification by assigning human qualities to things that are not human or by using one entity to refer to another one that is related to it. Lakoff (1992) claims that tropes allow us to comprehend a wide variety of non-human experiences in terms of human motivations, characteristics and activities. However, each trope uses different processes in comparing the two things. Metonymy is similar to metaphor, both are conceptual in nature and the conceptual metonymy is revealed by metonymic linguistic expressions. The difference is that metonymy is based on contiguity, that is, on elements that are part of the same ICM, while metaphor is based on similarity. Metonymy involves a single domain, whereas metaphor compares two distant domains (abstract and concrete). Personification and metaphor have a certain degree of similarity, as they allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms.

Frames are structured mental representations of an area of human experience. They represent a large part of human knowledge about the world. Cognitive scholars describe frames as a schematisation of experience which does not correspond to a reality as it is, but reflects the knowledge that humans employ when using language. From this perspective, frames are a basic mode of knowledge representation, continually updated and modified as a result of ongoing human experience. The scholars argue that the meaning of a word depends on the kind of frame within which it is conceptualised. Lakoff applies frame analysis to metaphors, calling the process “Metaphorical Frame Analysis”. He argues that language always produces what is called ‘framing’. Every word is defined in relation to a conceptual framework. Politics commonly uses the cognitive device of metaphor-based reframing. Frames play an important part in the way we speak, understand the world and deal with important issues we encounter in our lives. Politicians choose different frames to achieve different effects, in order to influence and convince people according to their purposes and truth. In the domain of politics, alternative framings and reframings are rife. The choice of a particular frame may divide members of a society into subcultures, political camps and so on. The frames that we employ are not only of a cognitive nature, but they are also cultural constructs. A wide variety of frames are shared across different groups, which turn the frames into cultural products.

### **3.6 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Studies Metaphors**

CDA is a critical linguistic approach which views “language as a social practice” (Wodak, 2001: 1). Wodak (2002) states that CDA is a multidisciplinary approach which involves a variety of theories, especially social theories on the one hand and linguistic theories on the other. CDA studies metaphors to view the function of figurative thought and language in political discourse, such as the Nazi’s discourse and American political discourse. The research on the Nazi’s discourse, particularly the translations of *Mein Kampf* and Hitler’s speeches, has intensified from the 1990’s; the texts of Nazi discourse analysed came from the period shortly before and during World War II (e.g. Steiner, 1979; Michael and Doerr, 2002; Neiven, 2002; Deissler, 2003). Several studies about metaphors in *Mein Kampf* are also discussed by cognitive scholars (e.g. Kenneth Burke, 1984, Hawkins, 2001; Rash, 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Chilton, 2005; Musolff, 2007; Charteris-Black, 2005; and Goatly,

2007). They directed their analysis so as to explore the function of figurative thought and language in Nazi ideology and in racism more generally.

Kenneth Burke (1984) showed that metaphor is not just a mere stylistic ornament, but it has potential power to influence and construct public opinion. In her essay ‘The Rhetoric of Hitler’s Battle’, she explained Hitler’s technique of projecting or mapping a religious concept as an “effective weapon of propaganda”, i.e. the devil, onto a visible, concrete form of people with a certain kind of blood (Burke, 1984: 63). The mapping results in the metaphor DEVIL/JEW AS A CURE FOR GERMANY’S NATIONAL ILLNESS. Hawkins (2001: 32) also analysed the Nazi’s discourse and showed a manipulated categorisation which is called an “iconographic reference”, i.e. the use of simplistic images of human experiences that are associated with familiar values. This simplistic image is aimed at establishing a powerful conceptual link between the referent and a particular value judgment. Hawkins portrayed Hitler’s characterisation of Jews as “black parasites” with three “iconographic frames of reference”: *colour* (of skin), the *Great Chain of Being* and the *Human Body* (2001: 36, 38, 40). Unlike Hawkins, Charteris-Black (2005) described the Jews as *parasites in the Great Chain of Being hierarchy* which he interpreted as a negative model, whereas Chilton (2005: 7-8) stressed the importance of the emergent conceptual structure arising from metaphors in Hitler’s text. He showed that the ideological meaning between the biological and social categorisation of the frames “parasite, sponger and like a bacillus” are synonymic references. His discussion results in the metaphors JEW AS PARASITE and BLACK PARASITE AS JEW.

Lakoff identified some issues related to American politics, cultural models and the positive characteristics of American people in his research on metaphor roles in the US political discourse. He introduced some conceptual metaphors: HERO and VILLAIN, WAR AS A FAIRY TALE (Gulf War; part 1, 1991, part 2, 2003), MORAL POLITICS: Conservative versus Liberals (1995, 2001), 11 September METAPHOR OF TERROR (2001) and the Framing the debate metaphor: it’s all GOP (2004). Lakoff (2002, 2004) describes a conflicting metaphor to conceptualise politics in political discourse, such as the NATION AS FAMILY metaphor, which is articulated in the phrases *founding fathers*, *Uncle Sam*, *Big Brother* and *sending our boys to war*. This metaphor encompasses two models of family life

which each entail a certain type of parent-child relationship. The ideal government is conceptualised either as a *Strict Father* or as a *Nurturant Parent*; the citizens are seen as the *Children*. The preference for one model directly influences an individual's view of, for example, a social security frame. A *Strict Father* model frames 'social security' which evokes the suppression of individual self-discipline, self-reliance and ambition, whereas for a *Nurturant Parent* frame it prompts support for those born under less fortunate social circumstances. Based on several publications of Lakoff, he described that political powers to control the discourse and social cognition are mostly accomplished via metaphorical and metonymical references to human conceptualisation (e.g. metaphorical mappings between the SADDAM and TERRORIST domains and SADDAM and MONSTER).

Summing up the above studies, it can be said that metaphor and discourse shape the conceptual structures of the world-views and provide the reasons why the rhetorics of political leaders is successful. CMT shows an influential analysis of metaphorical thinking at conceptual level, in which words and their meanings are related to the categorisation and human conceptual framework. The CMT offers verbal evidence for an underlying system of ideas or ideologies, like the frames 'parasites', 'sponger', 'monster', 'villain', 'fairy tale', a strict father, etc. CDA investigates the meanings of words through textual analysis, which takes social, political and cultural contexts into account. Thus, it is used to expose "conventionalised social hierarchies", as implicitly reflected in the conceptual metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2004: 28-34). In this regard, CDA and CMT share a common view on the perspective that human social interaction, especially via linguistic discourse, is a site of the political struggle for resource. Lakoff's conceptual metaphor SADDAM AS MONSTER, KUWAIT AS VICTIM, IRAQ AS VILLAIN and AMERICA AS HERO are social actions constructed in the discourse which argues for reasons to go to war. These conceptual metaphors have their function through discourse because discourse and society are locked in a dialectical relationship: "every instance of language use makes its own small contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations" (Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 273).

CDA and CMT are not conflicting theories, but they complement each other. Both approaches are concerned with the surfaced evidence of implicit conceptualisation and share

the acknowledgment of the potential influential power of language to shape society. The different views of the metaphor's roles in political discourse depend on the researcher's interest and purpose. CDA scholars may focus more in their analysis on the ways that social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts (e.g. Van Dijk, 1991, 1993, 1997, and 2009). There are also scholars who pay considerable attention to the corpus-based study of metaphors and metonymy in political discourse, such as Sandikcioglu (2000), Stefanowitsch (2006), and Zanotto (2008).

### **3.6.1 Characteristics of CDA**

CDA scholars stress that CDA is not a single theory with a specific methodology, but it is derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds and it is oriented towards very different data and methodologies (Weiss and Wodak, 2003). For instance, gender issues, racism, media discourse, political discourse, etc are textually interpreted and explained by CDA. However, the investigation of the subjects can differ greatly depending on the aims of the research, methodology, departments and scholars who applied CDA. Van Dijk (1998: 353) focuses CDA as analytical research on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society. Johnson (2007: 32-33) claims that discourse is a powerful force that frames social interaction and at the same time is framed by social interaction. O'Halloran (2003: 2) states that the concern in CDA is to analyse the connection between texts and their socio-cultural contexts as expressions of ideological discursive practices.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 80) summarise the main tenets of CDA: 1) CDA addresses social problems, 2) power relations are discursive, 3) discourse constitutes society and culture, 4) discourse does ideological work, 5) discourse is historical, 6) the link between text and society is mediated, 7) discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, and 8) discourse is a form of social action. Unlike Fairclough and Wodak, Johnstone (2002: 9) describes the characteristics of discourse as follows:

1. Discourse is shaped by the world, and discourse shapes the world.
2. Discourse is shaped by language, and discourse shapes language.
3. Discourse is shaped by participants, and discourse shapes participants.

4. Discourse is shaped by prior discourse, and discourse shapes the possibilities for future discourse.
5. Discourse is shaped by its medium, and discourse shapes the possibilities of its medium.
6. Discourse is shaped by purpose, and discourse shapes possible purposes.

Nowadays, CDA takes particular interest in the relationship between language and power, which considers “more or less overt relations of struggle and conflict” (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 2). Wodak, Meyer and Johnstone do not include context as one of the characteristics of discourse. Context is an inseparable aspect in interpreting and explaining a discourse. In the study of language and discourse, context may refer to verbal context or co-text and non-verbal or social context. Martin and David Rose (2003) used the terms ‘linguistic context or internal context’ and ‘social context or external context’. The internal context refers to verbal interaction, such as preceding or following words, sentences, speech acts, etc. The social context refers to things outside the texts, unspoken or unwritten. Thus, within the aims or characteristics of CDA mentioned above, it can be noticed that CDA is not a specific direction of research and does not have a unitary theoretical framework. Consequently, this leads to many types of CDA which can theoretically and analytically be quite diverse. For example, the critical analysis of conversations is very different from an analysis of news reports in the press, seminars, teaching at school, etc. However, these have provided necessary insights into understanding how to connect different forms of discourse with a sound theoretical analysis.

### **3.6.2 Ideological Discourse**

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state that discourse acts at an ideological level. The ideological aspect is one of the ways to “establish and maintain unequal power relations” (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 10). However, the ideologies are often very implicitly embedded in many discourses. Many scholars have tried to identify ideologies in the discourse. Thompson (1990) links ideology to social forms and processes by means of symbolic forms that circulate in the social world. He views the study of ideology as a study of the ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds. The social forms are linked to the social contexts and are investigated within symbolic forms which are employed and deployed. The investigation is aimed at determining whether such forms establish or sustain relations of domination.

Van Dijk (2006) argues that the analysis of ideologies in the discourse should be seen as a specific type of socio-political analysis of discourse. He sets ideology in a multidisciplinary framework, that is, combining a social, cognitive and discursive component as in the quotation below:

“Ideologies are sociocognitively defined as shared representations of social groups and more specifically as the ‘axiomatic’ principles of such representations. As the basis of a social group’s self-image, ideologies organize its identity, actions, aims, norms and values, and resources as well as its relation to other social groups. Ideologies are distinct from the sociocognitive basis of broader cultural communities, within which different ideological groups shared fundamental beliefs such as their cultural knowledge. Ideologies are expressed and generally reproduced in the social practices of their members, and more particularly acquired, confirmed, changed, and perpetuated through discourse” (Van Dijk, 2006: 115)

Political parties, labour organisations and feminism, for instance, have their own ideology as a representation of what they feel, desire, imagine and aim. The expressions of those entities are systematically linked to the structural units, levels and strategies of texts and talks embedded in social, political and cultural contexts (Wodak, 1989; Van Dijk, 2006). For example, Sandikcioglu (2000) studied the Orientalist ideologies which used *us/them* as a mutually-exclusive thinking and as asymmetrical concepts. The concepts placed European worldviews in a superordinate position in relation to non-European ones. Santa Ana (1999) investigated politically-motivated metaphors in mass media which presented the debate on ‘anti-immigration legislation’ in the state of California. He concluded that the *us/them* thinking is an excellent indicator in the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANT AS ANIMAL.

The studies of Sandikcioglu and Santa Ana above show a combination between the socio-cultural (*European vs. non-European, immigrant vs. indigenous people*) and the discursive component (the polarisation *us/them*). In this sense, the discourse presents social realities produced by agents/actors who are inextricably bound to ideology and other contextual factors. In the other situation, the public may have sceptical thoughts, they may not believe in the discourse, such as the speech of the President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yhodoyono “Pedang Keadilan” (Sword of Justice) presented on TV-One (5 December 2010).

(63) “(...) Saya dan pemerintah mempunyai komitmen yang tinggi menghunus pedang keadilan untuk memberantas korupsi dan mafia peradilan, siapa pun itu. Komitmen ini ditujukan untuk menciptakan pemerintahan yang bersih. Namun, bagaimana untuk menciptakan pemerintahan yang bersih bila sapu yang digunakan untuk membersihkan kotoran itu kotor (...)”

“(...) I and the government have a high commitment to reinforce law (sword of justice) for anyone who is involved in the practices of corruption and law mafia. This commitment is to establish a good and clean government. But how to have a clean government if the broom used to clean the dirt is dirty?”

In Example (63), corruption and mafia practices are conceptualised as an enemy and a dirty action. The enemy and dirty action are elements in the *pedang keadilan* (the sword of justice) which point to the conceptual metaphors; KORUPSI DAN MAFIA SEBAGAI MUSUH (Corruption and mafia as enemies) and KORUPSI DAN MAFIA SEBAGAI TINDAKAN KOTOR (Corruption and Mafia as dirty actions). These metaphors are embedded in the ideological aspects of the speech which is polarised in the form *us/them*. That is, SAYA ‘I’, PEMERINTAH ‘GOVERNMENT’ (*us*) vs. SIAPA PUN ‘ANYONE’, MAFIA and KORUPTOR ‘CORRUPTOR’ (*them*). These references are associated with a social position (‘I’ refers to the President of Indonesia and to the Indonesian government). In that case, the point of ideological discourse analysis is not only to “discover underlying ideologies, but also to link the structures of discourse systematically with the structures of ideologies” (Van Dijk, 1997: 143), that is, describing/attributing positive action – *in groups*: emphasis, assertion, topicalisation and *out groups*: de-emphasis, denial and underestimation. So, *Saya* (I) and *pemerintah* (government) is a personal attribution conveyed explicitly as a high prominent position (*us/in groups*). The *in groups* are confirmed as a clean person and a clean institution whereas *koruptor*, *mafia* and *siapa pun* as out groups (*them*) are considered a dirty person or enemy.

The polarisation *us/them* is combined with the metaphorical words (63) *pedang keadilan* (the sword of justice) which refer to the president and his government, whereas *sapu* (broom), *kotoran* (dirt) and *kotor* (dirty) refer to the apparatus (police, judiciary, court and politicians). The TV-One then presented a political talkshow which commented upon the speech of the president. A politician in the talk viewed that the speech was just creating a

positive image and a kind of political scapegoat. TV-One repeated the politician's comments in its report about corruption and mafia issues. Consequently, the public did not believe in the government's commitment to eradicate corruption and law mafia practices. In that case, the politician's comments, perpetuated through the ideological discourse, may serve to sustain or challenge social positions, particularly in relation to dominance.

### 3.6.3 Power and Dominance Enactment

For CDA, language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it. This explains why the critical linguistics often chooses the perspective of those who suffer, and critically analyses the language use of those in power, who are responsible for the existence of inequalities and who also have the means and opportunity to improve the conditions (Wodak, 2001: 10).

Referring to example (63), the word *pedang* (sword) is a common word. However, when the word *keadilan* (justice) is added to *pedang*; *pedang keadilan* (sword of justice) would have different meanings; moreover, the word is pronounced by a powerful person (president). *Pedang keadilan* is a metaphorical expression which refers to the power and authority of the president used to reinforce the law. In this regard, the word gains its power by the use that powerful people make of it. However, the word may lose its effect when it does not fit a reality. The politicians produced a counter-discourse which highlighted some unresolved issues of corruption cases. They see that the president's speech (63) is just a political-lip service. Whose words should the public or the audience believe or accept?

In the Indonesian context, people tend to ask the question “who says it” rather than “what is said or how it is said”. In this sense, the individual's social status is primary and his word is secondary. Ironically, when the rightness comes from a low class or a less powerful person, it is usually ignored. However, when the same thing comes from powerful persons/groups, the audiences or the public give responses and may believe it. Unlike the particular groups that have power, they will consult the power and resources they have. They consider the effects if they create an argumentation on this topic and plan a strategy or just ignore it. In the light of that matter, Wodak (2001: 11) states that power is about relations of difference and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures. Max Weber

(1977) describes such practices as ‘rationalisation’ where social action is no longer oriented towards meanings, values and beliefs, but towards strategies, no longer towards the questions ‘Is it true? ‘Is it good?’ but towards the questions ‘Does it work?’, ‘Does it achieve the purpose?’. This has become a common practice that makes discourse a social practice (Wodak, 2001) and a recontextualisation of social practice (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

One of the particular interests of CDA is the relationship between language and power (Anthonissen, 2001; Wodak & Weiss, 2003). This is how language functions in manipulating power, exercising power, organising social institutions or constituting and transmitting knowledge. Wodak (2001: 11) points out that power is signalled not only by grammatical forms within a text, but also by a person’s control of a social occasion by means of the genre of a text. Van Dijk (1997, 2001) pays more attention to ‘top-down’ relations of dominance than to ‘bottom-up’ relations of resistance, compliance and acceptance. He comments that power and even power abuse are jointly produced, i.e. when dominated groups are persuaded, by whatever means, that dominance is ‘natural’ or otherwise legitimate. Van Dijk (1993, 2001) defines dominance as the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic and gender inequality.

In politics and media studies, the sense of power is related to the ability to control and access social resources, members of groups and other groups (Norris, 2000; Fetzer, 2007). The reproduction process of power relations through discourse varies: direct or overt support, enactment, representation, legitimation, denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance. Actually, everybody within social groups/the community has power of different scales or sizes. The scales are a measurement of the resources and ability that groups have and that are used to control other people or groups. So, power is defined in terms of control which may pertain to “cognition and action” (Van Dijk, 1999: 355). A powerful group may limit the freedom of action of others and also influence their minds. Action is controlled by our minds, and if we are able to influence people’s minds, i.e. their knowledge or opinions, we may indirectly control (some) of their actions (Van Dijk, 1999: 355). Therefore, the types of power are different according to various resources employed to exercise power, like coercive power, persuasive power, etc. Naturally, each power group has the intention to control other groups or institutions (more or less) in specific situations or social domains in order to

establish a dominated group. They do so in order to maintain power, resources, image and social inequality. Power and dominance are usually organised and institutionalised, i.e. integrated in law, rules, norms, habits, consensus, and so on.

Power also relates to the ability to access the social resources, such as force, money, fame, knowledge, status, and media. Generally, the less powerful groups do not have much political access to the media and tend to be passive targets in text and talk. Compared to the members of a powerful group, they have exclusive access to one or more types of public discourse. They can even influence or determine the forms of discourse and genre in media reports. In that case, the forms of power should be spelled out through the discursive production and reproduction of power abuse and dominance and its consequences on social inequality (Johnstone, 2002). Such social power relations are based on the preferential access to or control over resources by the dominant groups. Discourse exercises power that contributes to the structuring of power relations in a society (Wodak, 2001), that is how power is anchored in the social reality, who exercises it, over whom and by what means it is exercised.

In relation to the texts and contexts, several studies have shown that as part of exercising power, the groups exert control not only over content, but also over the structures of text and talk. In the context of courts, a judge may require direct answers (Yes or No) from a defendant, not a personal story or argument (Wodak, 1984a, 1986). The police may use force to get a confession from a defendant. In political debates, a more popular and powerful contestant from a major party may be more free to use a person deixis, interruption and to change the topic than a less powerful contestant from a minority party (Ritonga, 2007). Fairclough (2001) exposes the networks of dominance, difference and resistance. Van Dijk (1999, 2001) stresses that text and talk do not always and directly enact or embody overall power relations between groups: it is always the context that may interfere with, reinforce or otherwise transform such relationships. Discourse, media and politics are interrelated and inter-influenced. As politics is power, it is impossible to exercise power without knowledge and its effects (Foucault, 1972, 1977). This knowledge is manifested in the representation of the discourse and therefore, it is impossible to hold power without having a well-functioning, appropriate discourse.

### 3.6.4 The Discursive Construction of Legitimation and Purpose

Discourse is characterised by a “high degree of implicitness” (Fetzer, 2007: 13). This means that discourse can never be 100% explicit, either in “representing social actors”, or regarding the social goals of the discourse (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 23). In another situation, it has been seen that discourse and context are dynamic, situated, planned, manipulated and fabricated. In the range of such implicitness and under such conditions, it is rather difficult to prove social actions or discursive actions in some absolute senses, purposeful or not. The same action may be constructed in a particular context as oriented towards a specific goal. On another occasion, it is performed for the sake of satisfaction or popularity. In that case, how can we identify the legitimation in a discourse? It is rather difficult to determine whether a discourse is legitimate or not, particularly in the Indonesian context, because the concepts of presenting or exercising legitimation through discourse have various forms which vary from one group to another. As discourse has become a popular means of power, every single thing in the discourse should be taken into account. Hence, one of the aims of CDA is “to demystify discourses by deciphering” not only ideologies, but also their legitimation and purpose (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 10). This means considering the contextual aspects of producing legitimation and purpose, such as the questions: “why should we do this? Why should we do this in this way?” (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 105).

Van Leeuwen (2008: 125) argues that legitimation is not inherent in action, but it is discursively constructed in order to explain why social practices exist and why they take the forms they do. He identifies four major categories of legitimation: 1) authorisation, 2) moral evaluation, 3) rationalisation, and 4) mythopoesis. These categories are employed in relation to how persons are named and referred to linguistically, what traits, characteristics of activities, qualities and features are attributed to them and by what means legitimation is achieved. For example:

- (a) Magnus sat down. Because the teacher said they had to (Personal authority).
  - (b) Dr. Juan believes it may be a good idea to spend some time with the child in class (expert authority).
  - (c) The majority of teachers keep records of their progress (authority of conformity).
- (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 106-109)

These examples show some ways in which a speaker (a, b, c) marks different attitudes towards the factuality of the propositions. In terms of the semantic category, these are called “evidentiality” (Saeed, 2003: 131), which allows a speaker to communicate her/his attitude to the source of her/his information, that is whether the statement relies on personal first-hand knowledge or it is acquired from another source and perhaps mentioning a credible source. The speaker does this as a way of convincing the hearer by referring to the source of information which serves as evidence. Basically, “to convince and to legitimate” are two different things, they are not synonyms. We can say that an action is legitimate or not if it is “allowed by law, constitution, rule, knowledge (scientific procedures) and social convention” (Oxford dictionary, 2003).

Referring to the above examples (a-c), can we say that because the teacher (authority) tells pupils to sit that the action ‘sit’ of Magnus and others (they) is legitimate (legal)? Yes, because it is allowed by custom. The sentences in (b) and (c) also receive the answer “Yes”, (b) because Dr. Juan is a doctor, inferred as an expert and (c) we should do the same thing, as they do. In turn, if we do not do the same, we delegitimise their authority. Such analyses can make all utterances legitimate by giving the reasons why things should/must be done and should/must be done in this way and they delegitimise what should/must not be done. This kind of analysis is rather unsuitable to analyse the aspect of legitimation in the discourse. Let us take two excerpts: the speech of President Bush (64) studied by Meadows (2006) and the speech of President Susilo Bambang Yhudoyono (65) to analyse the aspects of legitimation. President G.W. Bush legitimised the US aggressive policies by addressing a ‘ruthless and cold-blooded’ frame to his enemy and President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono legitimised his persuasive policy by using the ‘etika demokrasi’ (the ethics of democracy) frame or the DEMOKRASI SEBAGAI ETIKA (Democracy as ethics) metaphor before the opposition parties.

(64) And we’re facing an enemy that is ruthless and cold-blooded, an enemy that actually has a philosophy, and the philosophy is so opposite of ours, it is the exact opposite of what America stands for. (President Bush, 13 October 2005)

(65) Aksi protes yang dipertunjukkan selama ini sudah jauh menyimpang dari etika demokrasi. Pemerintahan ini dijalankan atas dasar koalisi kebangsaan. Menghasut dan memfitnah akan meruntuhkan koalisi dan kerja keras kita selama ini (President Susilo Bambang Yhudoyono, 23 September 2010)

(The protest actions performed so far have diverted the way from the ethics of democracy. This government is run on the basis of a coalition (*koalisi kebangsaan*). Agitating and slandering will lead to the collapse of this coalition and of our hard work)

The excerpts (64 & 65) show the distinct lines of division between the *us/them* polarisation: ‘opposite’ and ‘exact opposite’ (64) and ‘pemerintahan’ (government), ‘kita’ (we), ‘koalisi’ and ‘aksi protes’ (protest action) in (65). The terms ‘opposite’ and ‘exact opposite’ (64) indicate the contrast between *us* and *them*: ‘ruthless’ and ‘cold-blooded’, which are attributed to the enemy. The polarisation *us* takes the opposing behaviours of *them*, which are warm and merciful. The phrase ‘what America stands for’ is a vague expression which gives space for the speakers and audiences to share or fill in. The purpose of the utterance is to inform the audience that Americans are not just watching at home and the enemy is acting outdoors.

The excerpt (65) combines legitimization of coercive power, moral evaluation and rationalisation. Coercive power is embedded in *us*: *pemerintahan ini* (this government) and *kita* (us) which refer to himself (president) and the coalition parties in the parliament and the presidential cabinet. The phrase *etika demokrasi* (the ethic of democracy) and *menghasut dan memfitnah* (agitate and slander) are attributed to some coalition members (them) who supported the protest actions. The expressions imply a moral politics (moral evaluation). The phrase *meruntuhkan koalisi* (to collapse the coalition) and *kerja keras kita* (our hard work) are a rationalisation aspect and have two implications: 1) to draw solidarity from the coalition parties in order not to attack the government and 2) the president’s party is the majority and the ruling party which can withdraw from the coalition. This action is a threat for the coalition members which have ministers in the presidential cabinet.

The discursive construction of legitimization and purpose in (64-65) may not work if President Bush and President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono failed to cultivate the beliefs of the audience about these issues. This exists at the level of purpose and in the ideology of the discourse. Wodak (2001) argues that discourse analysis is not only about the analysis of the allocation of meaning *post festum*, but also about the analysis of the production of reality, which is performed by discourse and conveyed by active people. A discourse maker normally

takes account of several things, such as for what purpose, who becomes the target, why it should be produced, why it should be produced in this way and when the best time is to produce it. These will also affect the texts and talks in its production. In addition, responses and interpretations from participants (challenge or accept) should take into account the future discourse and prepare for it (Johnstone, 2002, Fetzer, 2007). The discursive construction of purpose is also often aimed to divert public interest from the ongoing heated issue to another issue. The dominated groups use such a strategy when the issue does not benefit them. However, the diverted issue should have the same newsworthiness. By doing this, the heated issue is missing, is forgotten by people and replaced by another issue.

### **3.7 Summary**

Numerous scholars have investigated whether metaphor plays an important role in discourse. Many CDA scholars have explored George Lakoff's conceptual metaphor theory (1980/2003) in political discourse, such as the Nazi's discourse, American political discourse, immigrant discourse, and so on. They aim to analyse the function of figurative thought and language in the discourse. Their investigation stems from the assumption that politicians exploit the rhetorical power of metaphor in order to attain their own political aims. Metaphor becomes a potential political tool used to shape the discourse and to construct public opinions, e.g. in Kennet Burke (1984), who found some conceptual mappings from Hitler's rhetorical speech which result in the metaphor DEVIL/JEW AS CURE FOR GERMANY'S NATIONAL ILLNESS. Hawkins (2001: 32) shows the manipulated categorisation "iconographic frames of reference": *colour* (of skin), the *Great Chain of Being* and the *Human Body*. His discussion results in the metaphor BLACK PARASITE AS A JEW. There are many other scholars who conducted research on metaphors in discourse, like Charteris-Black (2005), Chilton (2002), Goatly (2007), Lakoff (2002, 2004). One of the conclusions that can be drawn from their studies is that metaphoric thought delves deep into our conceptual level of consciousness and in turn influences our speech at textual level.

Their studies combine CMT and CDA approaches in order to interpret political discourse. This combination is possible because both approaches are concerned with the surfaced evidence of implicit conceptualisation and share the acknowledgment of the influential power of language to shape society. They share a common view on the perspective

that human social interaction, especially via linguistic discourse, is a site of the political struggle for resources. Lakoff's conceptual metaphors SADDAM AS A MONSTER, KUWAIT AS A VICTIM, for instance, have their function not only at conceptual level, but also through discourse, because discourse and society are closely related. In this sense, metaphor contributes to the reproduction and/or the transformation of society and culture, including power relations.

CDA scholars emphasise a number of characteristics of CDA. Some of them are: 1) CDA is an interdisciplinary study, 2) CDA is derived from rather different theoretical backgrounds and oriented towards very different data and methodologies, 3) CDA allows us to consider a wide variety of areas from different perspectives, 4) CDA views discourse as a social practice that implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and situation, institution and social structure which frame it, 5) CDA represents an analytical study on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society, 6) CDA aims to analyse the connection between texts and their socio-cultural contexts as expressions of ideological discursive practices, and 7) CDA is particularly interested in the relationship between language and power.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state that discourse has an ideological function. The ideological feature is one of the ways to establish and maintain unequal power relations. Van Dijk (2006) argues that the analysis of ideologies in the discourse should be seen as a specific type of socio-political analysis of discourse. Sandikcioglu (2000) and Santa Ana (1999) showed examples to analyse ideological aspects in the discourse. Sandikcioglu (2000) studied the Orientalist ideologies which use *us/them* as a mutually-exclusive thinking pattern and as asymmetrical concepts. Santa Ana (1999) studied the immigrant ideology. He concluded that the *us/them* thinking is an indicator of the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANT AS AN ANIMAL. Both studies demonstrated how members of the social groups typically emphasised their own good deeds and the bad deeds of other groups. Ideologies are expressed and generally reproduced in the social practices of their group members and more particularly acquired, confirmed, changed and perpetuated through discourse.

Discourse exercises power, showing how power is anchored in social reality: who exercises it, over whom, and by what means it is exercised. Therefore, power is perceived as

relations of differences in a society and is related to the ability to control and access social resources. This is done to maintain power, resources, image and social inequality. Therefore, rationalisation aspects are needed to exercise power and dominance in the discourse. The reproduction process of power relations through discourse varies: direct or overt support, enactment, representation, legitimation, denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance. Therefore, different types of power are defined according to various resources employed to exercise power, such as coercive power, persuasive power, oppressive power, and so on.

CDA considers the contextual aspects of the production of legitimation and purpose in the discourse. The discursive construction of legitimation and purpose is contextually situated, planned, fabricated and manipulated for many purposes: either in the process of its production or in the forms of texts and talks. The explanation about President Bush's speech in (64) and President Susilo Bambang Yhudoyono's speech (65) showed that metaphor works in the production of legitimation and purpose indexed by the social categories of *us/them*. The discursive construction of legitimation and purpose may not work if the speakers or discourse makers fail to cultivate the beliefs of the audience about the issues. A discourse maker normally takes account of several things, such as for what purpose, who becomes the target, why it should be produced, why it should be produced in this way and when the best time to produce it is. The discursive construction of purpose is often aimed to divert public interest from the ongoing heated issue to another issue. The dominated groups use such strategies when the issue does not benefit them.

# CHAPTER 4

## Research Methods and Data Collection

### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology used for data collection. This research employed a mixed method approach, drawing upon both quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative methodology was undertaken by corpus linguistics discussed in section 4.1. Section 4.2 discusses qualitative methodology used to collect: audio-visual recordings from Indonesian television channels and interviews. Section 4.3 discusses how the ten most frequently used metaphors from across the data as a whole were identified.

### 4.1 Corpus Linguistics

A corpus can be described as a collection of pieces of language that are selected and ordered according to explicit linguistic criteria in order to be used as a sample of language (see, Sinclair, 1996, 2004). Sinclair (2004) defines corpus linguistics as a study of language by looking at large collections of electronic texts. A corpus method is different from a random collection of texts or archive whose components are unlikely to have been assembled with such goals in mind (McEnery, Xiao, and Tono, 2006). As a result, the natural and authentic data of language use is purely obtained without using an intuition approach. One of the essential qualities of a corpus is to include machine-readability, authenticity and representativeness (McEnery, Xiao and Tono, 2006). Thus, this research employs corpus linguistics as a whole system of methods and principles about how to apply corpora in language studies. It is true that corpus linguistics has a theoretical basis. However, the theoretical basis is not merely theoretical in itself. A qualitative methodology also has a theoretical basis and a set of rules and principles, for example: how to conduct interviews, how to design a questionnaire, how to select respondents, etc. This is still called a methodology upon which theories may be constructed. So, the same is valid for corpus linguistics. Many of them use the terms ‘approach’ (e.g. Stefanowitsch and Th. Gries, 2006) and ‘approach and methodology’ (e.g. Tognini and Bonelli, 2001) to describe corpus linguistics.

The data for the exploration of metaphors underlie political discourse in Indonesia collected from newspaper articles, TV-news and talk-shows and interview. Due to the fact that there is no corpus software in *bahasa Indonesia* either in the written or the spoken language, a licence had to be requested to use the WordSmith tool corpus version 5.0 to create a corpus of written data in *bahasa Indonesia*. In this regard, this corpus only deals with textual data taken from newspapers: *Harian Kompas* and *Harian Waspada* (the edition 2010-2011). This corpus begins on 10 January until 10 December 2011. The articles in the newspapers comprise the issues of politics, corruption, law enforcement, president (government), parliament, case/scandals, corruptors, democracy, political parties, and election. The selection of the topics is based on the most frequently monitored topics in media output. During the reform era (1998-2011), the aforementioned topics have represented a public concern, particularly in relation to overcoming the problems of corruption, law enforcement, the democratic and political system. To begin the analysis, the entire corpus was given a close-reading and specifically scrutinised for utterances which referenced metaphorical expressions at the textual level and conceptual level as presented in table 1 below.

**Table 1: The word ‘korupsi’ (corruption/graft) in *Harian Kompas-Waspada***

N	Concordance
1	."Saya masih optimistis,keterpurukan negeri ini akibat korupsi lama-lama memicu kesadaran public bahwa kita harus
2	setidaknya ada dua hal yang penting dilakukan untuk memberantas korupsi.Pertama,perlu terapi kejut pemberantasan korupsi kelas
3	memberantas korupsi.Pertama,perlu terapi kejut pemberantasan korupsi kelas kakap yang selama ini dinanti public,seperti kasus
4	tekanan public terhadap Presiden,KPK,kejaksaan dan pengadilan."Korupsi tetap saja tumbuh subur karena tidak ada konsistensi dan
5	pemerintah.Publik dipaksa percaya bahwa upaya pemberantasan korupsi hanya retorik tanpa komitmen nyata.Korupsi sudah menjadi
6	upaya pemberantasan korupsi hanya retorik tanpa komitmen nyata.Korupsi sudah menjadi alat tawar politik antarelite,"katanya.Dalam
7	Kamis, 16 Juni 2011 JAKARTA, KOMPAS-Ketua Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) Busyro Muqoddas (tengah), didampingi Wakil Ketua
8	Kamis, 16 Juni 2011 JAKARTA, KOMPAS-Ketua Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) Busyro Muqoddas (tengah), didampingi Wakil Ketua
9	Kamis, 16 Juni 2011 JAKARTA, KOMPAS-Ketua Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) Busyro Muqoddas (tengah), didampingi Wakil Ketua
10	berharap pemimpin negeri ini memenuhi janjinya untuk memerangi korupsi. Selesaikan kasus besar yang selama ini mandek, seperti
11	ini mandek, seperti kasus Bank Century, mafia pajak, dan dugaan korupsi yang melibatkan mantan Bendahara Umum Partai
12	merebaknya ekstremisme juga tidak terselesaikan. Kasus korupsi umumnya tidak selesai kendati Yudhoyoo berjanji aka
13	Yudhoyoo berjanji aka berdiri paling depan dalam pemberantasan korupsi. Pada kasus terakhir yang melibatkan mantan Bendahar o
14	merebaknya ekstremisme juga tidak terselesaikan. Kasus korupsi umumnya tidak selesai kendati Yudhoyoo berjanji aka
15	Yudhoyoo berjanji aka berdiri paling depan dalam pemberantasan korupsi. Pada kasus terakhir yang melibatkan mantan Bendahara
16	iluminasi (pencerahan), artinya pencanangan pemberantasan korupsi bukan sekadar retorika politik untuk menjaga komitmen
17	bahwa pemerintah sekarang ini merupakan bagian dari korupsi? Belum pernah Indonesia berada pada titik nadir serendah
18	pemerintah yang sekarang ini bukan merupakan bagian dari korupsi, yang tentu berkaitan dengan mafia hukum yang
19	Indonesia, pembunuhan yang dilakukan mantan pimpinan KPK, korupsi pajak di Kementrian Transmigrasi dan Tenaga Kerja serta
20	berunjuk rasa di depan Gedung Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK), Jalan Rasuna Said, Kuningan, Jakarta, Senin
21	. Mereka menuntut KPK agar segera mengusut tuntas dugaan korupsi dana APBD untuk proyek pemasangan alat telekomunikasi
22	merugikan negara tidak kurang dari Rp 3,5 miliar. Perkara korupsi ini sendiri telah menjerat Muhadjir Albaar dan Dirut PT
23	Bumi Yohanes Tendean. "KPK harus segera mengambil alih kasus korupsi ini dari kepolisian dan kejaksaan Maluku Utara karena ada

However, this corpus does not have grammatical and semantic annotations in dealing with metaphorical expressions as Stefanowitsch, et. al. (2006) has done so far. It is because

the conceptual metaphors or the conceptual mappings are not linked to specific linguistic forms. In particular, they do not all contain lexical items from the target domains. Thereby, the strategies for identifying linguistic expressions underlying conceptual mappings from non-annotated corpora are undertaken by: 1) manual search, 2) searching for source domain vocabulary and 3) searching for sentences containing metaphorical expressions from both the source and target domains.

The manual search was performed after the data had been uploaded in the corpus. Then, particular words were typed in a search word tool in the corpus to identify the frequency of the words that appear in the texts. The next step is to view the words in the form of concordance and read them carefully. This task is meant to figure out the metaphorical expressions in the corpus. Metaphorical expressions always contain lexical items which trigger a conceptual metaphor from its source domains. The next step is to search for source domain vocabulary through the lexical items which trigger metaphorical expressions. Searching for source domain vocabulary is aimed at finding the potential source domains for the target domains. As this research collects data from ten topics, corruption, politics, president, law enforcement, etc are determined to be the target domains for metaphors. Thus, searching for the source domain is based on the keywords from the texts in the corpus which are dealing with the target domains topics. Finally, sentences containing metaphorical expressions from both source and target domains are searched for. Two strategies (1-2) mentioned above are combined to find sentences containing lexical items from the source and target domains. This search is meant to identify the expressions underlying conceptual mappings through word lists and concordance. For example, the frequency of occurrence of the word 'korupsi' (corruption) in table 1 above is 2464 of 439.472 tokens.

Analysing the word *korupsi* in the concordance in table 1, it can be noticed that it has a number of lexical items which are used to understand *korupsi*. The word *korupsi* serves as the target domain (A), which is understood in many ways: *musuh* (enemy: *pemberantasan korupsi/corruption eradication*), *penyakit* (disease: shock therapy), *tanaman* (plants: *tumbuh subur/grow well*), and so on as its source domains (B), for example, the expression *pertama perlu terapi kejut pemberantasan korupsi kelas* (firstly, a shock therapy is needed for the great corruption/graft eradication). The selected source domains and metaphorical

expressions from the exhausted lists in the corpus are grouped manually. By grouping the source domain vocabulary, we obtain the conceptual metaphors KORUSPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK/NEGARA (Corruption as public/state enemy), KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT MASYARAKAT (Corruption as social disease), KORUPSI SEBAGAI TANAMAN (Corruption as plant), and so on.

#### **4.1.1 Textual Data (Newspapers)**

Textual data is taken from articles in newspapers: *Harian Kompas* and *Harian Waspada* (the edition 2010-2011). The textual data is used to make up corpus in *bahasa Indonesia*, such as presented in table 1 above. The complete corpus totalled 150 text and 439.472 words. Literally, the number of printed publications has significantly increased since the Reform Era of 1998 (see chapter 2). By 2002, newspaper readership had risen to over 40 per cent of the adult population of the country. Although the number of printed media, particularly newspapers, has grown, *Harian Kompas* is still the most popular newspaper at national level (Jakarta) alongside *Republika* and *Media Indonesia*. *Harian Kompas* is an independent widespread written newspaper available to the public all over Indonesia. Many institutions, politicians, elites, businessmen and academicians subscribe to this newspaper for the quality and accuracy of the news, particularly the political news. *Harian Kompas* has more various types of news and more pages (36 pages) than other newspapers. Therefore, the present study selected this newspaper for its political news at national level.

Another newspaper is a local newspaper, namely *Harian Waspada* published in Medan, the province of Sumatera Utara. This newspaper is the oldest newspaper in Medan (first published on 11 January 1947), compared to other local newspapers, such as *Analisa*, *Medan Pos*, *Suara Indonesia Baru*, *Sumut Pos*, *Pos Metro* and *Tribun*. *Harian Waspada* is more independent, more popular and is the most widespread written newspaper available to the public. The number of articles collected was randomised using a sampling technique, which led to 150 articles from 500 issues (250 from each newspapers), as presented in table 2 below.

**Table 2: List of Textual Data from *Harian Kompas* and *Harian Waspada***

NO	Topics	No. of Samples of articles	Proportion (%)
1	Corruption issues	25	16.67
2	Politics	25	16.67
3	Law enforcement	20	13.33
4	President/Government	15	10
5	Legislators	10	6.66
6	Cases/Scandals	15	10
7	Corruptors	10	6.66
8	Political Party	10	6.66
9	Elections	10	6.66
10	Democracy	10	6.66
<b>Total</b>		<b>150</b>	<b>100%</b>

As it has been explained in the previous section, the analysis is begun by a close-reading and specifically scrutinised to the entire corpus for utterances which referenced metaphorical expressions at the textual level and conceptual level. This way is conducted in three steps: (1) manual search, (2) searching for source domain vocabulary and (3) searching for sentences containing metaphorical expressions from both the source and target domains. As this research collects data from ten topics, corruption, politics, president, law enforcement, etc are determined to be the target domains for metaphors. Thus, through 150 articles it identifies 750 metaphorical expressions as presented in table 3 below.

**Table 3: Metaphor distribution in newspaper articles in 2010-2011**

TOPICS	HARIAN KOMPAS	HARIAN WASPADA
Politics	70	55
President	46	30
Government	33	15
Legislatures	61	40
Political Party	35	20
Elections	31	15
Law	52	35
Corruption Cases/Scandals	80	45
Corruptors	25	20
Democracy	27	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>290 = 750 metaphors</b>

It is admitted that the corpus application in this research is very simple due to the lack of a corpus in *bahasa Indonesia*. This study builds a small corpus in *bahasa Indonesia* with 150 texts of approximately 439.472 tokens. The corpus is equally divided into ten topics, such as politics (1741 words), corruption (2462 words), law enforcement (2013 words), president (2025) and legislators (1831 words). The purpose of the corpus is to provide authentic data and to replace the traditional ways of collecting data introspectively. A corpus methodology will help to show metaphorical use as language evidence specific to Indonesian contexts. Not all scholars share the same views that corpus linguistics is a methodology rather than an independent branch of linguistics. The works of Stefanowitsch, Deignan, Martin, Semino, etc (*Corpus-Based Approach to Metaphor and Metonymy*, 2006), for instance, even use corpus to analyse conceptual metaphor (ex. Argument is War), conduit metaphor and conceptual mappings.

#### **4.2 Qualitative Methodology: Oral Data (audio-visual recording)**

Oral data are those data which are in the code of spoken language generated by people in the “natural context of verbal behaviour” (Steen, 2007: 111). The sources of data are chosen from political news and political talk-shows on two Indonesian television channels which are shown every Wednesday on Metro-TV, and on Monday, Tuesday and Friday on TV-One. These programmes have been selected due to their high ratings for political news given by the viewers. The topics of both programmes are comprised in the ten topics mentioned before. In addition to observing the programmes, the news and talk-shows were also recorded to find the data needed, that is, 10 pieces of recorded data from Metro-TV and 20 from TV-One as presented in table 4 below.

TV-One and Metro-TV are broadcasting for 24 hours a day and are the most popular television channels in reporting political news, political interviews and political talk-shows. The metaphor data are taken from the programmes *Apa khabar Indonesia* and *Jakarta/Indonesia Lawyer Club* (TV-One) and *Suara Anda* and *Dialog Today* (Metro-TV). These are broadcasted every day for 40 minutes at 7.00-8.00 pm (including commercial advertisements). The *Jakarta/Indonesia Lawyer Club* is a political talk-show programme for 4 hours, plus advertisements. The *Dialogue Today* presents many topical talks in the programme (1 hour).

**Table 4: Metaphor distribution on Television Channels in 2010-2011**

<b>TOPICS</b>	<b>TV-ONE (20 recordings)</b>	<b>METRO-TV (10 recordings)</b>
Corruption	40	32
Politics	25	21
Law	20	16
Legislatures	17	20
President	12	15
Government	7	10
Political Party	9	6
Elections	6	6
Democracy	5	6
Cases/Scandal	15	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>148 = 304 metaphors</b>

The observed and recorded data is only about politics (see appendix I and J). The range of oral data sources are collected using the purposive sampling technique. Purposive samples are often determined on the basis of theoretical saturation, that is, the point in data collection when new data no longer brings additional insights to the research questions (Siregar B.U, 2001). This technique is mostly applied in the qualitative method. The purposive sample is used to reach a target sample quickly.

#### **4.2.1 Interviews (oral data)**

For the purposes of this research, interviews were also conducted to find the interviewees's opinion about the Indonesian political situation. I conducted 20 interviews during one year (2010-2011) with legislators, academicians and laypeople as presented in table 5 below.

**Table 5: Interview data containing metaphors (2010-211)**

TOPICS	RESPONDENTS					
	DPR-RI	DPRD	Academicians		Laypersons	
	Jakarta	Medan	Jakarta	Medan	Jakarta	Medan
Corruption	15	3	8	3	2	0
Legislative (DPR/DPRD)	8	4	4	2	2	1
Executive (Pemerintah)	3	1	2	1	0	0
Law enforcement	2	1	3	2	0	1
Elections (pre/leg/govr, etc)	2	1	4	1	1	0
Politics	5	2	3	2	0	0
Political party	2	1	4	1	1	0
TV/Newspapers (news, etc)	1	0	1	1	0	0
<b>Total = 101</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>

There are between 2 and 4 informants from each region: Jakarta and Medan. The interview topics are the ten topics mentioned before (see appendices J and Q). The selection criteria for the respondents are age, education, frequency of reading newspapers and watching television, and popularity. The respondents' ages are between 35-55, male-female and level of education is high-school, graduates and post-graduates. For legislators, the particular criteria are different in terms of their popularity and mobility. The legislators chosen to be interviewed are those who often show up in mass media proclaiming ideas or criticisms. These criteria is applied for DPR-RI (Jakarta). The criteria for the legislators in DPRD-I (Medan) are: they have to be active or popular at local level (province), that is, they often give interviews in the local media. Academicians and laypeople are those who are active (spend at least 2-3 hours) in watching news and reading newspapers. Other criteria for academicians are: they often write their opinions or criticisms in the newspapers.

Further, the forms describing the criteria, research ethics, informant consent and request letters are provided (see appendix L). Then, these documents were sent to the respondents. After having received the responses from the respondents, I selected four legislators, two academicians and two laypeople (Jakarta-Medan) by considering the closest criteria which have been determined. Finally, I contacted them to confirm their availability to

be interviewed. Taking into account the informants' professions and the different regions, time, cost, and so on, the researcher applied a semi-structured interview. This semi-structured interview is preferable because this kind of interview is the most commonly adopted format in the research of this nature. According to Green & Thorogood (2004), research interviews vary greatly in terms of the extent to which the researcher directs the interview, the topics covered and how they are discussed: for example, structured interview, informal interview and semi-structured interview.

A "structured interview" follows a relatively rigid format with a high degree of control and direction from the researcher, leading to comparable answers across respondents, while an "informal interview", at the other end of the continuum, proceeds more like a natural conversation and data are gathered opportunistically (Green & Thorogood, 2004: 80). They assert that in a semi-structured interview, the researcher "sets the agenda in terms of the topics covered". Green & Thorogood (2004: 83) argue that semi-structured interviews have several advantages, some of them being: they provide deep and probing accounts of a respondent's experiences, interactive and reflexive nature in that a participant's responses can influence the direction and focus of the interview and can be generative in helping the participants think about the issues. In line with this view, Fielding (1993) comments that this type of interview is more flexible and it has been identified as the ideal method for research, particularly when dealing with sensitive subject matters.

In relation to the semi-structured interview conducted in this research and to accommodate the above-mentioned views, the researcher provided some topic guides to get more data from the respondents. The topic guides are useful to guide the researcher (interviewer) to the subject areas to be covered during the interview. It encourages longer, narrative answers and it is flexible in that it allows for the issues raised by the respondents to be followed up and incorporated into the future interviews. The topic guides begin with very broad (general questions) before moving on to questions which are more specific to the areas of interest. For a more detailed elaboration, uncovering motivations, considerations of alternative views and to stimulate further thought, more narrowly focused questions may need to be incorporated. The questions are designed in the form of open-ended questions. Due to the sensitive nature of the topics that may be discussed throughout the interview, the

researcher built a rapport with the interviewees. Therefore, from the initial stages of the interview, the purpose of the interview is reiterated and reminds the interviewees of their right to stop at any time in order to make the interview process as comfortable as possible. To maintain the good rapport with the interviewees, a presentation of oneself as “judgmental, showing disapproval or disagreement” is avoided (Green & Thorogood, 2004: 97).

### 4.3 Textual and Oral Data containing metaphors

The textual and oral data described so far are utterances containing metaphorical expressions found in the three sources of data of this research. This will show the interplay between the textual and oral data as shown in table 6 below.

**Table 6: Metaphor data in texts and talks in the Indonesian political context**

Textual Data			Oral Data			Total
Topics	Newspapers	Total	Interviews	Sum	TV-news & Talk Show Programs	
Politics President Government Legislatures Political Party Election Law Corruption Case/Scandal Corruptors Democracy	150 articles  Period: Oct 2010 - Aug 2011	750	8 respondents 20 interviews  Period: Oct 2010 - Aug 2011	101	Suara Anda Apa Khabar Indonesia Jakarta Lawyer Club Dialog today 30 recordings	304
<b>Total: 1155 metaphorical expressions</b>						

Tables 6 shows more metaphorical expressions in texts than in talks. Based on the result of six interviews with laymen, 8 metaphors were added, 42 metaphors from academicians, 51 metaphors from legislators, 304 metaphors from TV-news and talk-show programmes and 750 metaphors from newspapers. The total sums of data differences are natural, as more data are taken from textual data (500 issues with 150 articles) than from oral data. In addition, the different total sums may be due to the process of production of metaphorical expressions in written and spoken language. In the interviews and talk-show programmes, the interviewees and speakers directly express their comments regarding the

issues (face to face interaction). This situation is different from the newspapers, where the interaction is indirect or mediated by the language of journalists, who have more time to compose or organise the language. Due to the political issues about which the respondents (laypeople) are asked, they may find difficulties in expressing their opinions metaphorically.

# CHAPTER 5

## CLASSIFICATION OF METAPHORS, METAPHORICAL MAPPINGS AND METAPHOR VARIATION

### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter starts by grouping metaphors based on their source and target domains in section 5.1. Section 5.2 explains the classification of metaphors. Section 5.3. discusses the cognitive function of metaphors. The systematic mappings of conceptual metaphors are explained in section 5.4. Then, section 5.5 provides a summary. Section 5.6 discusses the cultural variation of metaphors. Section 5.7 explains other metaphor variation through metaphorical entailments and metaphorical highlighting and hiding. Finally, the discussion is summarised in section 5.8.

### 5.1 Groups of metaphors in political discourse

CMT, MFA and CDA approaches (see chapter 3) are applied to analyse metaphors in Indonesian political discourse. Firstly, CMT and corpus are used to identify metaphors in the collected data. The next step is to determine conceptual metaphors and sets of mappings between source and target domains. The ten topics (politics, corruption, law enforcement, etc) mentioned in the previous section (4.1.1) are the target domains. An example of metaphorical breakdown (66) is given below:

(66) Koalisi ‘Kebangsaan’ di parlemen dan kabinet *disutradarai* oleh Partai Demokrat. Adapun *konflik* yang sedang terjadi di tubuh koalisi tersebut dipicu oleh *peran-peran antagonis* beberapa anggota koalisi.

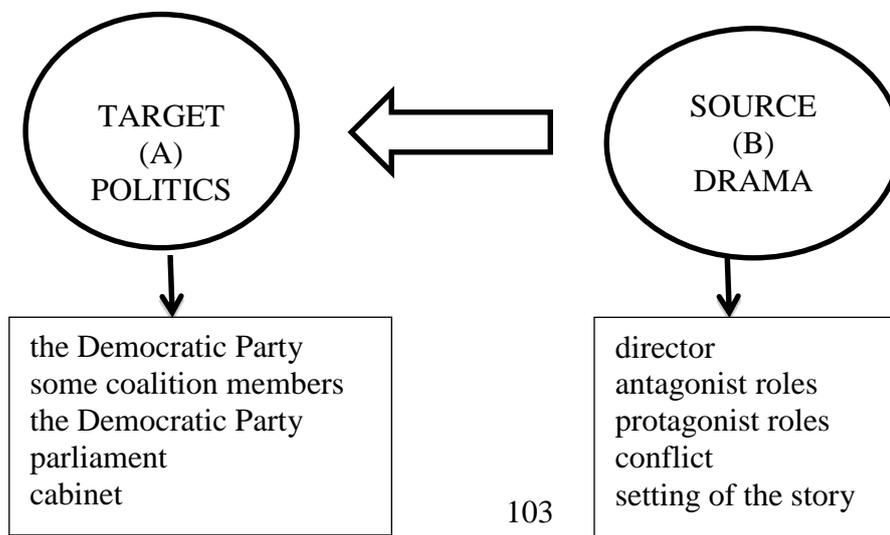
(The coalition of ‘Kebangsaan’ in the parliament and cabinet was *directed* by the Democratic Party. The *conflicts* arising in the coalition were triggered by the *antagonistic roles* of some coalition members)

It has been a common way to write a statement of conceptual metaphor in small capitals and to use italics for metaphorical expressions (see. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003;

Kövecses, 2002). However, sentences in (66) intentionally present a specific case, as only particular words are written in italics to identify lexical items which trigger metaphorical expressions. The expressions *disutradarai* (directed), *konflik* (conflicts) and *peran-peran antagonis* (antagonistic roles) in (66) are common words used in a film, drama or theatre. However, none of the words refer to a film, drama or theatre in (66), but they refer to *Partai Demokrat* (Democratic Party), *beberapa anggota koalisi* (some coalition members) and *situasi yang sedang terjadi di parlemen* (situation happening in the parliament).

Thus, when we hear (66) in the appropriate context, we will interpret it as being about ‘politik’ (politics), not about a film or drama, for we know that the speaker of (66) has in mind not a real play director, an antagonist and a protagonist, but a politician, and it is not a film conflict, but a political debate or a conflict of opinion. In this context, the words *Partai Demokrat* obviously refer to a protagonist actor and *beberapa anggota koalisi* are the antagonistic actors. This mapping is achieved via the word *konflik* (conflict). The words *parlemen* (parliament) and *kabinet* (cabinet) refer to the setting of the story. As politics is understood in terms of drama, film or theatre (source B), the abstract concept *politik* (target A) becomes more concrete. Since politics is understood in such a way, we have the conceptual metaphor POLITIK SEBAGAI DRAMA/SANDIWARA (Politics as drama/theatre). The systematic correspondence or mapping between source concepts in this metaphor is described in diagram 1 below. In diagram (1), the source domain B is used to understand the target domain (A). The relationship between the constituent elements of B and A is described via the conceptual mapping between the constituent elements of B and A (see chapter 3).

**Diagram 1: The systematic correspondence or mapping between concepts of metaphor**



The next step is to classify metaphors according to their domains, degree of conventionality and cognitive function (see chapter 3). In this classification, all metaphors are grouped or listed. For example, based on the source and target domains, the conceptual metaphor POLITIK SEBAGAI DRAMA/SANDIWARA (Politics as drama/theatre) above is grouped in the category metaphors of politics. However, in other topics, some blending metaphorical concepts are found, such as law and legislators, which are understood in terms of drama or theatre. For example, the expression *ada drama hukum yang dimainkan hakim dan politisi dalam kasus Nazaruddin* (There is a law drama played by a judge and politicians in the case of Nazaruddin). One of the ways to find out which expressions are more conventional is by counting metaphorical expressions based on the collection of data. This results in the following types of metaphor: a) conventional metaphor, b) less conventional metaphor and c) individual or novel metaphor. Further, conceptual metaphors are divided based on the cognitive function of metaphors that the speakers perform. In this respect, three kinds of conceptual metaphors can be distinguished; a) structural metaphor, b) ontological metaphor and c) orientational metaphor (see chapter 3).

There are 1155 metaphors collected from sources of data (see chapter 4, table 3-6). The target domains for metaphors are taken from ten topics: corruption, politics, law, legislators, government (president), cases (scandals), corruptors, democracy, political party and election. Based on the data, the target domain of corruption, for instance, is illustrated in several source domains, i.e. *musuh* (enemy), *penyakit* (disease), *tindak kejahatan* (criminal action), *bisnis politik* (political business), *kotoran* (dirt), *kanker* (cancer), *sistem jaringan* (network system), *aksi kolektif sistemik dari atas-bawah* (a top-down systemic collective action), *virus, wabah* (germs), *tanaman* (plants), *budaya* (culture), *uforia* (euphoria), *perusak ekonomi* (economic destroyer), *perusak akhlak dan moral bangsa* (a destroyer of the morals and attitude of the nation), *tindakan yang dilarang agama* (action forbidden by religion), *buah-buahan* (fruits), and so on. Through these source domains, we get the conceptual metaphors KORUSPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH, BUDAYA, PENYAKIT, TINDAKAN KRIMINAL, UPORIA, AKSI SISTEMIK ATAS-BAWAH, and so on (Corruption as enemy, culture, disease, criminal action, euphoria, a top-down systemic action, etc). For example:

(67) KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT SOSIAL (Corruption as social disease)

*Penyakit korupsi terus menggerogoti bangsa ini tidak saja di level atas, tapi sudah mewabah sampai ke pelosok negeri ini untuk beramai-ramai melakukan korupsi. Jika gejala ini terus dibiarkan, bangsa, negara ini akan bangkrut dan hancur...”*

(A politician in the Jakarta Lawyer Club, TV-One, 15 December 2010)

*(The disease of corruption continues to eat this nation at the national level and has spread its endemic germs to all regions in ways of practising corruption collectively. If we do not do anything to stop this symptom, the nation and the state will be bankrupt and will collapse).*

Politik (politics) also has many source domains, such as *bisnis* (business), *kekuasaan* (power), *moral/etika* (morals/ethics), *drama/teater* (drama/theatre), *pertarungan* (war), *permainan* (game), *hukum* (law), *mesin* (machine), *kendaraan* (vehicle), and so on. Example:

(68) POLITIK SEBAGAI MESIN (Politics as machine)

*Mesin politik* hanya bekerja di level atas tidak di akar rumput.

*Mesin politik* Partai Demokrat rusak akibat kadernya banyak tersandung masalah korupsi.

Minyak apa yang dipakai PKS sehingga *mesin politiknya* berjalan mulus?

*(The political machine* just works at the top level, not in the grassroots).

*(The political machine* of the Democratic Party broke down because the members of this party were involved in corruption).

*(What oil* does the PKS Party use to make its *political machine* work smoothly?)

The metaphors KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT SOSIAL (67) and POLITIK SEBAGAI MESIN (68) are examples of group metaphors based on their source domains. All metaphorical expressions from each kind of conceptual metaphor are listed and counted. However, many metaphors use the same source domains, such as *bisnis* which is used to understand corruption, politics, law and cases. For example: KORUPSI SEBAGAI BISNIS POLITIK (Corruption as political business), POLITIK SEBAGAI BISNIS (Politics as business), HUKUM SEBAGAI KOMUDITAS BISNIS (Law as business commodity) and KASUS SEBAGAI BISNIS (Case as business). In that case, the metaphorical expressions are

also counted because they come from different metaphors or blending metaphors. Based on the source and target domains, metaphors are grouped as presented in Table 7 below.

**Table 7: Group of conceptual metaphors in the Indonesian political context**

<b>CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS</b>	<b>N</b>
CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF CORRUPTION	384
CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF POLITICS	192
BLENDING CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF INDONESIAN POLITICS	181
CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT	133
CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF CASE/SCANDAL	62
CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF DPR/DPRD	52
CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF GOVERNMENT/PRESIDENT	38
CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF DEMOCRACY	35
CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF ELECTION	32
CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF POLITICAL PARTY	31
CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF CORRUPTOR	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>1155</b>

Every conceptual metaphor has two conceptual domains and is manifested through a linguistic expression called a metaphorical expression. The metaphorical expression is the way of talking and the conceptual metaphor is the way of thinking (see chapters 3 and 4). For example, the conceptual metaphor of *korupsi* (table 7) has 384 expressions which are counted based on textual data and oral data. The group of the conceptual metaphor of corruption has more metaphorical expressions than other conceptual metaphors. All groups of conceptual metaphors are then classified based on their degree of conventionality and cognitive function.

## **5.2 The Conventionality of Metaphor**

### **5.2.1 *Metaphora Korupsi* (Metaphors of Corruption/Graft/Bribery)**

A major way of classifying metaphors is according to their degree of conventionality. The term ‘conventional’ is used in the sense of how well-established and well-entrenched are metaphors for the speakers of a language (Kövecses, 2002); i.e. LIFE IS A JOURNEY (He

had a *head start* in life), LOVE IS A JOURNEY (We'll have to *go our separate ways*), ARGUMENT IS WAR (I *defended* my argument), and so on. According to Kövecses, those metaphors are highly conventionalised for the speakers of English. The speakers of English use them “naturally and effortlessly for their normal and everyday purpose” (Kövecses, 2002: 30). However, we do not know whether this statement was derived from the interviews with speakers of English, from English text collections or from questionnaires.

The degree of conventionality of metaphors underlying political discourse in Indonesia does not suggest that particular conceptual metaphors and their expressions are highly conventional, less conventional and unconventional for the speakers of Indonesia. Although this research provides data in the form of text and talk, the language used in the data is situated in a particular time frame (one year), it is limited quantitatively, there are particular topics and people, which is not strong enough to judge the degree of conventionality of metaphors. Thus, the degree of conventionality is taken from a comparison of data in each group of metaphors. For example, the conceptual metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH (Corruption as enemy) is a group of metaphors of corruption. The linguistic manifestation of this metaphor is deeply entrenched and well-established compared to KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT (Corruption as disease). The speakers in the discourse, i.e legislators, politicians or journalists use these metaphors naturally and effortlessly. In this respect, the scale of conventionality is counted based on the source domains and the linguistic expressions.

The concept of KORUPSI may be understood in many ways as shown in table 8 below. KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK (table 8) is more conventionalised (23%) from 384 than KORUPSI SEBAGAI BUDAYA (18%). The third highest conventionalised is KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT/VIRUS (16%), and then, KORUPSI SEBAGAI TANAMAN with 9%. The fifth highest conventionalised is KORUPSI SEBAGAI BISNIS POLITIK (5.9%), which is close to KORUPSI SEBAGAI TINDAK KEJAHATAN (5.7%), KORUPSI SEBAGAI TINDAKAN KOLEKTIF (5.4%) and KORUPSI SEBAGAI AKSI SISTEMIK DARI ATAS-BAWAH (4.6%). Those metaphors are highly conventionalised: they are well-established or even clichéd. The speakers would not in fact even notice that they use metaphors when using the expressions *berantas* (eradicate), *basmi* (wipe out),

*korupsi telah menyerang* (corruption has attacked), *bersihkan* (clean), *penyakit* (disease), *virus*, *wabah* (germ), *subur* (fertilised), *membudaya* (be a culture), *aksi sistemik* (systemic action), etc in connection with ‘korupsi’ (corruption). They are straightforward as: *Korupsi adalah musuh kita bersama* (Corruption is our enemy), *Korupsi adalah penyakit* (Corruption is a disease), *Korupsi adalah aksi kolektif sehingga sulit untuk dihapuskan* (Corruption is a collective action with the result that it is difficult to wipe out), *Korupsi adalah tindak kriminal* (Corruption is a criminal action) and *Korupsi adalah bisnis politik antarpolitisi, pejabat, penegak hukum, dan pengusaha* (Corruption is a political business across politicians, elites, law officers and businessmen).

**Table 8: Conceptual metaphors of ‘KORUPSI’ (corruption/graft/bribery)**

THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF ‘KORUPSI’	N
KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK (Corruption as public enemy)	90
KORUPSI SEBAGAI BUDAYA (Corruption as culture)	70
KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT/VIRUS (Corruption as disease/virus)	63
KORUPSI SEBAGAI TANAMAN (Corruption as plant)	35
KORUPSI SEBAGAI BISNIS POLITIK (Corruption as political business)	23
KORUPSI SEBAGAI TINDAK KEJAHATAN (Corruption as criminal action)	22
KORUPSI SEBAGAI TINDAKAN KOLEKTIF (Corruption as collective action)	21
KORUPSI SEBAGAI AKSI SITEMIK DARI ATAS-BAWAH (Corruption as top-down systemic action)	18
KORUPSI SEBAGAI PERUSAK EKONOMI/AKHLAK/MORAL BANGSA (Corruption as destroyer of economic/attitude/morality of the nation)	10
KORUPSI SEBAGAI PEMBAKANGAN TERHADAP AGAMA/HUKUM (Corruption as ignorant behaviour towards religion/the constitution)	9
KORUPSI SEBAGAI AIB/NODA (Corruption as dirt/stain/disgrace)	7
KORUPSI SEBAGAI JEBAKAN (Corruption as trap)	6
KORUPSI SEBAGAI SISTEM JARINGAN (Corruption as network system)	4
KORUPSI SEBAGAI UPORIA (Corruption as euphoria)	3
KORUPSI SEBAGAI ALAT PEMERSATU BANGSA (Corruption as a tool for uniting the nation)	2
KORUPSI SEBAGAI MAKANAN/BUAH/HEWAN (Corruption as food/fruit/animal)	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>

The lexical items of the whole conceptual metaphors have semantic relations. The semantic relations enable us to link or associate the metaphorical expressions of *korupsi*. One of the examples is given below (69) and the others (70 & 71) are provided in appendix N.

(69) KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT/VIRUS (Corruption as disease/virus)

*Korupsi adalah penyakit kanker yang mematikan karena itu perlu penanganan yang cepat, tepat, dan akurat.*

*Banyak Kepala Daerah baru yang terjangkit demam korupsi.*

*Pemerintah harus mengamputasi penyakit korupsi itu agar virus dan wabahnya tidak menyebar ke mana-mana.*

*Penyakit korupsi telah membuat gubernur yang baru saja terpilih itu menginap di hotel prodeo<sup>10</sup>.*

*(Corruption is a deadly cancer disease and thereby it is necessary to treat it quickly, rightly and accurately)*

*(Many new governors are contiguous to the fever of corruption)*

*(The government should amputate the disease of corruption so that the virus and germs do not spread to other areas)*

*(The disease of corruption has made a newly elected governor stay at the prodeo hotel/prison)*

The semantic relations among the lexical items of the conceptual metaphors of *korupsi* are facilitated by the relationship between the source and the target domains. For example, KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK has lexical relations not only within the metaphor itself, but also with some lexical items in KORUPSI SEBAGAI TINDAK KEJAHATAN, PENYAKIT, BUDAYA, AKSI SISTEMIK DARI ATAS-BAWAH, TANAMAN and TINDAKAN KOLEKTIF (table 8). The lexical items are *musuh* (enemy), *subur* (fertilised), *mewabah* (contaminate), *virus*, *budaya* (culture), *membahayakan* (endanger), *bisnis* (business) and *struktur* (structure). *Korupsi* is conceptualised in this way because corruption spreads its germs to corrupt people's mind, behaviour, morality and attitude. The virus of corruption changes human civilisation which is addicted to stealing and robbing the properties and money of the state. People pay taxes to the state, so it is called the people's money. This means the corruptors steal the people's money and rob them of their rights to achieve prosperity.

Stealing and robbing are criminal actions. Such behaviours grow well (fertilised) in the society and become a new trend in business, in order to become rich instantly. For the business to be safe, the practices of corruption should be well-established. It has a systemic

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<sup>10</sup> *Hotel Prodeo* is a term used to mean 'prison' or 'jail'. This term is specifically used to make a distinction between corruptors or rich people and poor people or common people when it comes to 'jail'. The rich can pay the jail officers to decorate their jail like a hotel room and this is what the term 'hotel prodeo' refers to.

structure and the action is done collectively. This condition threatens and endangers the country because corruption is so strong that it is difficult to eradicate. One of the ways to fight corruption is by conceptualising it as a public enemy (see appendix N no. 70). This metaphor is deeply entrenched as a way of thinking about the abstract domain of corruption, while the conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions are well-established, clichéd as ways of talking about the abstract domain.

However, both conceptual metaphors and their linguistic expressions can be more or less conventional and even unconventional. For example, there is a conventional way of thinking about corruption in terms of enemy, disease and culture. On the other hand, there are also unconventional ways of talking about the same domains. The conceptual metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI ALAT PEMERSATU BANGSA (Corruption as a tool for uniting the nation) is an unconventional way of talking about the abstract domain of corruption (2 expressions, see table 8). The other unconventional ways are KORUPSI SEBAGAI MAKANAN (Corruption as food) and KORUPSI SEBAGAI UPORIA (Corruption as euphoria). These conceptual metaphors are less conventionalised than KORUPSI SEBAGAI SISTEM JARINGAN (Corruption as a network system) and KORUPSI SEBAGAI JEBAKAN (Corruption as a trap). The examples of these metaphors can be seen in the appendix N no. 72-74).

### **5.2.2 *Metaphora Politik* (Metaphors of Politics)**

The corpus shows 1741 examples of the word *politik*. The behaviour of the texts in the form of concordance can be seen in appendix A. There are 192 metaphors of politics shown in table 9 below. These metaphors portray how the speakers of Indonesia think and talk about politics. The highly conventionalised conceptual metaphor in the group of metaphors of politics is RAKYAT SEBAGAI KOMODITAS POLITIK (People as a political commodity), that is 50 expressions or 26% out of 192. In addition to this metaphor, politics is also understood in terms of BISNIS ('business', 20%), HUKUM ('law', 16%), KEKUASAAN ('power', 11%), KEKUATAN ('strength', 7%), DRAMA/TEATER ('drama, theatre', 5%), MESIN ('machine', 4%), and TEMPERATUR ('temperature', 3%). These are all highly conventionalised ways of conceptualising politics.

In table 9 there are two unconventional metaphors and four less conventional ones, that is POLITIK SEBAGAI EDUKASI (Politics as education: 2 expressions) and POLITIK SEBAGAI PERJALANAN (Politics as journey: 1 expression). Both metaphors actually use rich concepts to talk and think about politics, but in this research the concepts are not supported with sufficient linguistic expressions as a way of talking about the abstract domain of *politik*.

**Table 9: Conceptual metaphors of politics**

<b>THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF 'POLITIK'</b>	<b>N</b>
RAKYAT SEBAGAI KOMODITAS POLITIK (People as political commodity)	50
POLITIK SEBAGAI BISNIS (Politics as business)	40
POLITIK SEBAGAI HUKUM (Politics as law)	31
POLITIK SEBAGAI KEKUASAN (Politics as power)	23
POLITIK SEBAGAI KEKUATAN (Politics as strength)	13
POLITIK SEBAGAI DRAMA/TEATER (Politics as drama/theatre)	9
POLITIK SEBAGAI KENDERAAN/MESIN (Politics as vehicle/machine)	8
POLITIK SEBAGAI TEMPERATUR (Politics as temperature)	7
POLITIK SEBAGAI MORAL/ETIKA (Politics as morals/ethics)	6
POLITIK SEBAGAI MAINAN (Politics as game)	3
POLITIK SEBAGAI OLAH RAGA (Politics as sport)	3
POLITIK SEBAGAI EDUKASI (Politics as education)	2
POLITIK SEBAGAI PERJALANAN (Politics as journey)	1
POLITIK SEBAGAI MANUSIA (Politics as human)	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>192</b>

This is the same with POLITIK SEBAGAI OLAH RAGA (Politics as sport: 3 expressions), POLITIK SEBAGAI MAINAN (Politics as game: 3) and POLITIK SEBAGAI MORAL/ETIKA (Politics as morals/ethics: 6). This nature is different from Lakoff's works about American politics where those kinds of metaphor are rich, well-entrenched and well established (1992, 2001, 2002). For example:

(75) POLITIK SEBAGAI PERJALANAN (Politics as journey)

Karena terlibat kasus korupsi, karir politisinya terpaksa *berhenti di tengah jalan*.  
(Having been involved in a corruption case, his/her political career *stopped in the middle of the way*)

(76) POLITIK SEBAGAI EDUKASI (Politics as education)

*Kampanye politik* yang digelar selama pemilu sama sekali *tidak mendidik masyarakat*.

Sudah selayaknya *rakyat mendapat pendidikan politik* pada pesta demokrasi, bukan ajang bagi-bagi sembako.

(The *political campaigns* in the elections *did not educate people at all*)

(Instead of distributing basic foodstuffs and goods, the people should have received *political education* in the general elections)

The political campaign does not aim to educate people, but to fool them by distributing food and supplies of goods (76). POLITIK SEBAGAI PERJALANAN (Politics as journey) in (75) uses linguistic expressions from the vehicle domain (Politics as vehicle), which is the journey domain that has not been conventionalised for the speakers of Indonesian. Other examples (77-81) can be found in appendix N. The less conventional expressions, such as *boneka politik* (a political doll) and *mainan politik Senayan*<sup>11</sup> (a political game in Senayan), are found in (78-79). The expressions are used in connection with a candidate in the governor elections to break the voters. Then, *mainan politik Senayan* is used to describe the bad performance of politicians in handling a corruption case of *Bank Century*. Politics should be moral, ethical and responsible entities (79). However, the situation is different (79), as reflected by the expressions *money politik* (money politics) and *etika dan moral politik yang bobrok* (the worst political morality and ethics) in connection with the conceptual metaphor POLITIK SEBAGAI MORAL/ETIKA (Politics as morals/ethics).

### 5.2.3 *Metapora DPR-RI/DPRD* (Metaphors of DPR-RI/DPRD)

‘DPR-RI’ and ‘DPRD’ (see chapter 2) in *bahasa Indonesia* can refer to a political institution (parliament) and a legislator. For example, A: “*Dia bekerja di mana?*” B: “*Di DPR*” (A: “Where does he work?” B: “At the *DPR*). In this dialogue, ‘DPR’ refers to the parliament building. In the other context, ‘DPR’ may refer to a legislator, such as, A: “*Siapa?*” B: “*DPR*” (A: “Who?” B: “*DPR*”). To overcome this ambiguous reference, this thesis uses the terms ‘DPR’, which refers to parliament and ‘anggota DPR’, which refers to individuals (legislators). Thus, the metaphors of *DPR-RI* and *DPRD* are metaphors of parliament and

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<sup>11</sup> Senayan is an area in Jakarta. The parliament building is located in Senayan. The term ‘politik Senayan’ refers to the legislators in the parliament. Other terms used in this thesis are ‘Badut-badut Senayan’ (clowns of Senayan) and ‘Tikus Senayan’ (Mouse of Senayan), which also refer to legislators.

legislators. There are 52 metaphorical expressions about parliament and legislators (see table 10, appendix O). According to this highly conventionalised expression, people understand parliament in terms of RUMAH RAKYAT (People's home), that is 33% out of 52. The expressions that people use to understand the parliament are, for example, *wacana rumah rakyat* (a discourse of the House of People), *tempat rakyat mengadu* (a place for people to express opinion), *gedung rakyat* (House of people), *boleh datang kapan saja* (can come any time), etc. All linguistic expressions are deeply entrenched ways of thinking about the parliament.

However, the people's perception may change when they see or watch their representatives (legislators) perform badly or get involved in corruption, love affairs and political scandals. Such situations make people view the legislators in many ways. They cannot make sense of the legislators in a coherent way and often employ less conventional or unconventional linguistic expressions. For example, the metaphors DPR SEBAGAI BADUT-BADUT SENAYAN 'Legislators as clowns of Senayan' (1), ANAK TK 'kindergarten student' (1), BANDIT BERDASI 'a bandit with a tie' (1), TIKUS 'mouse' (3) and BEGAL/RAMPOK 'robber' (2) are unconventional ways of talking of the abstract domains of DPR. Those metaphors are a criticism to the legislators.

The less conventional metaphors are DPR SEBAGAI PASAR ('Parliament as market', 17%), PEMBOHONG ('liar', 11%), PELAKON SINETRON ('actors in a televised serial drama', 13%) and WAJAH DEMOKRASI ('a portrait of democracy', 9%). The people see parliament not as an honourable institution, but as a market. This conceptualisation is based on their experience when they watched the members of parliament practices of trading constitutions, political bidding, budgeting lobbies and crowd in parliament. In addition, the legislators are understood in terms of an animal, *tikus* (mouse), which is used in connection with corruption. The expression is well-established in the Indonesian everyday life, and since the Reform Era, the 'mouse' has become a symbol of corruption. In this context, a mouse is conceptualised metaphorically as a smart person: tricky and agile, who gnaws and steals. These attributions enable them to conceptualise legislators in terms of BEGAL/RAMPOK (robber) and BANDIT BERDASI (a bandit with a tie). Thus, although they are less conventional and reflect unconventional ways of thinking and talking about the abstract

domain of legislators, they are still realised as ways of making sense of the experiences in different fashions. Examples of these metaphors are provided in appendix N (82-84).

#### **5.2.4 *Metapora Pemerintah* (Metaphors of Government)**

The word *pemerintah* (government) in this thesis refers to two concepts: government or state and president. Such references are common in the metonymy where the producer should be close to the product: PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT and PLACE FOR INSTITUTION (see chapter 3). Compared to other conceptual metaphors, the metaphors of government have a few expressions, that is 38 (see table 11, appendix O). There are three highly conventionalised conceptual metaphors in this group of metaphor. Firstly, the president is understood in terms of SELBRITI ('celebrity', 31%). Secondly, the president is understood in terms of DHUAFA<sup>12</sup> (26%) and thirdly in terms of SIMBOL NEGARA ('a symbol of state', 18%). Such an understanding is derived from the fact that people often see the president appearing on television, i.e. holding a press-conference, singing, attending a meeting, and so on. Some people view this as a mark of self-esteem and political promotion.

The president also often complained about his salary, his life safety from the terrorist reigns, law enforcement and mass media. Some politicians see the president's complaint in a different light by making a charity box with the text 'Coin for the President' placed near the parliament building. As a result, people see the president in terms of *dhuafa*. The president also faced a lot of protest actions. Some protesters burnt the pictures of the president and vice-president. They even carried a real buffalo during the protests with the president and vice-president's pictures attached on the buffalo's head. These insulting actions (the charity box and the protest actions) prompted people to view the president again as a symbol of the state.

Objectively, PEMERINTAH SEBAGAI ORANG TUA (Government as parents) should be highly conventionalised (13%). In the Western/European culture, this metaphor is highly conventionalised: "STATE IS FAMILY/FATHER and PEOPLE ARE CHILDREN" (see Lakoff, 1992, 2002). This is related to the roles and functions of the government, which

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<sup>12</sup> The word 'dhuafa' is an Arabic word which means a person who has good faith, but is jobless. In Islam it is suggested to help such a person.

has to protect, nurture and maintain the prosperity of the people. As the president is the head of the state, he is obviously the father of the country. In the Indonesian context, the functions and the roles of the father may be practiced poorly, so that the linguistic expressions as ways of thinking and talking about abstract domains become less conventional. In addition, the president is understood in terms of PANGlima PERANG, ‘a commander in chief’ (7%) to eradicate corruption and to reinforce the law. The linguistic expressions are also less conventional because the people did not see the facts. Even the television channels repeated the president’s statement to remember his words, as (85) below (see also example 86-87, appendix N). There is only one unconventional linguistic expression in this group of metaphors which views the government in terms of *lumbung makanan*, ‘food storage’ (1). This is a novel metaphor which states that corruption happened in the government’s bureaucracy. For example:

- (85) PRESIDEN SEBAGAI PANGlima PERANG DALAM PEMBERANTASAN KORUPSI  
(The president as a commander in chief in the war against corruption)

*Saya berdiri di baris terdepan menghunus pedang keadilan untuk pemberantasan korupsi....  
Di bawah kepemimpinan saya, siapa pun yang melanggar hukum, jika sudah terbukti bersalah, akan ditindak tanpa pandang bulu.*

(I stood in the front line raising a ‘sword of justice’ to eradicate corruption)  
(Under my administration, anyone who breaks the law will be punished without exception)

### 5.2.5 *Metaphora Hukum* (Metaphors of law)

The conceptual metaphors of law included are highly conventional alongside the metaphors of corruption (384) and politics (192). There are 133 linguistic expressions in this group of metaphors (see table 12, appendix O). The linguistic expressions are constructed in a way that is consistent with the life experiences of thinking and talking about the abstract domains of corruption, politics and law. When people feel there is an unfair treatment before the law because of the lack of money to pay a lawyer or to bribe a judge, when they watch or read in the news that the juries, judges and police practise ‘cases trading’, they then metaphorically conceptualise law in terms of BISNIS, ‘business’ (23%) out of 133. For example, the expressions *Hukum bisa dibeli* (we can buy law), *Hukum hanya berlaku untuk*

*orang miskin* (Law is only effective for the poor ones) result in the conceptual metaphor HUKUM SEBAGAI BISNIS (law as business).

People also know that law tends to be politicised, manipulated, dramatised, cut like a bonsai tree, bullied and treated unfairly, such as *Hukum kita tajam ke bawah, tapi tumpul ke atas* (our law is sharp (very effective) at the bottom (laypeople), but it is not sharp at the top (elites)), *Hukum direkayasa* (law is fabricated-manipulated), *Pasal hukum yang menjerat tersangka sudah dibonsai* (the articles of law applied to the defendant were made to look like a bonsai tree), and so on. As a result, they understand law in many ways, such as in terms of POLITIK ('politics', 20%), SENJATA, ('weapon', 17%), PERTARUNGAN SOSIAL ('a social fight/war', 9.7%), ORANG SAKIT ('a sick person', 9%), TANAMAN BONSAI ('bonsai tree', 7.5%), KEKUASAAN ('power', 6%), MAINAN ('a toy/game', 3.7%) and SANDIWARA ('drama/theatre', 2%). There is only one unconventional expression, that is HUKUM SEBAGAI OLAH RAGA (law as sport) with one linguistic expression (see examples 88-89 in appendix N).

### **5.2.6 Metaphora Kasus/Skandal (Metaphors of case/scandal)**

Case or scandal refer to specific cases of corruption. There are 2700 instances of *kasus* (case) found in the corpus (see table E, appendix A). The word *kasus* relates to cases of law, scandal, bribery and corruption, such as, the *Bank Century* case, the *Nazaruddin* case, the *Wisma Atlit* case, and so on. 'Case' becomes a target domain, not law as a target, for example the expression *Hukum kita tajam ke bawah, tetapi tumpul ke atas* (Our law is sharp (very powerful) at the bottom (laypeople), but it is not sharp at the top (elites)). This expression results in the conceptual metaphor HUKUM SEBAGAI SENJATA (Law as weapon). *Kasus Nazaruddin*<sup>13</sup> *menguncang Partai Demokrat* (The Nazaruddin case shook the Democrat Party). In this expression, 'case' is viewed as a dangerous object, which results in the conceptual metaphor KASUS SEBAGAI OBJECT YANG BERBAHAYA (Case as a dangerous object). In this respect, the case metaphor is entailed from the law metaphor (metaphorical entailment is discussed in section 5.7).

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<sup>13</sup> Nazaruddin is a legislator and a treasure of the Democrat Party. He was involved in some cases of corruption, like the case of *Wisma Atlit*, *Hambalang*, etc.

There are 62 linguistic expressions in the group of metaphors of case (see table 13, appendix O). People understand case or scandal in many ways, for example when a big case of corruption involving some politicians or power structures had been exposed to the public, the court started to open the case; then the public waited to see how the case ended, but the case did not have the end story because of many things. Such an experience makes people understand the case in different ways, like in the expression *Kasusnya sudah dipeti-es kan* (His case has been kept in the ice-box/container), which means the case will not be opened. In this respect, the case is metaphorically conceptualised in terms of OBJEK DALAM WADAH ('as an object in a container', 13%) out of 62. Because the case was already put in the ice box, the jury may be doubtful or afraid of reopening the case and consequently the case remained a mystery. Other expressions such as *Kasus BLBI<sup>14</sup> hilang ditelan zaman* (The BLBI case was "swallowed by the era" (missing), *Kasus Century bakal meledak dan mengguncang kembali pemerintahan SBY<sup>15</sup>* (The Century case is going to blow up and shake SBY's administration), *Badai menerjang Demokrat* (The storm struck the Democrats), *SBY merasa malu dan geram karena kasus-kasus yang berada di depan mata tidak bisa diselesaikan* (SBY was irritated and ashamed because many cases around could not be overcome), *Kejujuran SBY dan Partai Demokrat dipertanyakan dalam kasus Nazaruddin* (The Nazaruddin case led to big questions regarding the good will of SBY and the Democratic party), and so on.

These linguistic expressions are ways of understanding the case in terms of OBJEK MISTERI ('a mysterious object', 16%), OBJEK YANG DAPAT MELEDAK (TERBAKAR) 'a flammable object' (8%), BADAI (TSUNAMI) 'a storm-tsunami' (6%), OBJEK YANG MEMALUKAN ('an embarrassing object', 6%) and MASALAH PSIKOLOGI ('a psychological problem', 10%). In the other situations, such as when a defendant of the case tells or explains about the case: how it happens, whoever is involved in the case, and the like, things are metaphorically conceptualised as *nyanyian* (singing). In this context, *nyanyian* is just a term which is not actually singing, but information told by a defendant. In the law, the term is a *whistleblower*. So, the singer is perceived as a whistleblower. For example, the expressions *Nyanyian Nazaruddin selama pelariannya ke Singapura dan Kolombia*

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<sup>14</sup> BLBI stands for Bank Liquidasi Bank Indonesia (a number of banks are liquidated by *Bank Indonesia*).  
<sup>15</sup> SBY stands for Susilo Bambang Yhudoyono (see also chapters 2 and 3)

*mengguncang SBY, Anas<sup>16</sup>, dan Partai Demokrat* (The singings of Nazaruddin (information told by Nazaruddin) during his escape to Singapore and Colombia shook SBY, Anas and the Democratic Party) and *Gayus<sup>17</sup>! Teruslah bernyanyi agar semua orang tahu* (Gayus! Keep singing (talking) in order for all people to know). These linguistic expressions are well-established, even clichéd as ways of understanding the case in terms of NYANYIAN (11%).

In addition, the case is also metaphorically conceptualised in terms of PERJALANAN ('journey', 4%) and BISNIS ('business', 24%). The linguistic expressions of these metaphors are *Kasusnya berhenti di tengah jalan* (His case stopped in the middle of the way), *Kasus Mafia Pajak masih dalam perjalanan* (The case of tax mafia is still on the way), *Kasus Nazaruddin dijadikan konsumsi bisnis dan politik* (The Nazaruddin case is intentionally turned into a political and business consumption) and *Para pengacara menawarkan jasa untuk menangani kasus Nazaruddin* (The lawyers offered their services to handle the Nazaruddin case). Some other conventional expressions are provided in appendix N, examples 90-93).

### **5.2.7 *Metaphora Koruptor* (Metaphors of Corruptors)**

The corpus shows there are 227 instances of *koruptor* (corruptor), whereas there are 2464 occurrences of *korupsi* (corruption). The linguistic expressions of *koruptor* found in this study are also few, as shown in table 14 below. This probably gives us a picture about the massive corruption practices in this country on the one hand and the complexity of combating corruption on the other. There is extensive news coverage about corruption practices, but very few corruptors are put in jail. The law metaphors highlighted that law is conceptualised as a sick person, as business and as a weapon. The sick person is a weak person and it is impossible to assign him a case to catch corruptors, as shown by the expressions, *Hukum kita sakit* (Our law is sick), *Hukum kita lemah* (Our law is weak) and *Uang membuat hukum kita tak berdaya* (Money made our law powerless).

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<sup>16</sup> Anas is the general chief of the Democratic Party. His full name is Anas Urbaningrum, but people usually call him Anas or AU.

<sup>17</sup> Gayus is a civil servant in the tax department who is involved in corruption. In this thesis, the Gayus case refers to the case of tax corruption and to the tax mafia.

**Table 14: Conceptual metaphors of corruptor**

<b>THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF CORRUPTORS</b>	<b>N</b>
KORUPTOR SEBAGAI ORANG SERAKAH (Corruptors as greedy persons)	6
KORUPTOR SEBAGAI TERORIS/KAFIR (Corruptors as terrorists/atheists)	3
KORUPTOR SEBAGAI HANTU (Corruptors as ghosts)	2
KORUPTOR SEBAGAI MAFIA (Corruptors as mafia)	2
KORUPTOR SEBAGAI HEWAN (Corruptors as animals)	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>

Most of the expressions are voiced by the anticorruption society, by religious organisations and by Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW). The highly conventional linguistic expressions understand corruptors in terms of ORANG-ORANG SERAKAH ('greedy persons', 6). There are some linguistic expressions which portray corruptors as animals: *monyet* (monkey), *buaya* (crocodile), *tikus* (mouse), *pengumpul harta kekayaan* (a treasure collector), *orang yang haus akan kekayaan* (a person thirsty for richness) and *orang yang tidak punya malu* (no shy person). A greedy person is a person who is never satisfied, symbolised by a monkey and a crocodile. Both animals like to heap or collect their food (a treasure collector). The monkey always feels hungry and keeps searching for food. The monkey is also not shy. For example:

(94) KORUPTOR SEBAGAI ORANG YANG SERAKAH (Corruptors as greedy persons)

Bersihkan *buaya-buaya koruptor* dari negeri ini!  
*Tikus-tikus korupsi* menggerogoti uang rakyat.  
*Urat malu koruptor sudah putus* tak mau berhenti untuk korupsi.  
*Peti kekayaan koruptor makin menumpuk sampai beranak cucu.*  
*Keserakahan koruptor* telah membuat rakyat makin melarat.

(Clean *crocodiles* (corruptors) from this country!)  
(The *mice* (corruptors) are gnawing at (robbing) the people's money)  
(There is no word 'shy' for corruptors *and they will never stop being corrupt*)  
(*The treasure boxes of corruptors are enough for their generations*)  
(*The corruptors' greed has made people suffer*)

In addition, ‘corruptor’ is also metaphorically conceptualised as TERORIS/ KAFIR (a terrorist/atheist). Perhaps, people cannot make sense of their experiences in a coherent way and employ unconventional expressions to understand the abstract domain of *koruptor*, that is, viewing terrorists as corruptors that have the same impact on the innocent people and both of them are public, state and international enemies. Corruptors do not bomb people to death, but they impoverish people. In this sense, people view poverty as a symbol of death and hopelessness. Here is the connection between terrorists and corruptors. This conceptualisation is the same as in the conceptual metaphor KORUPTOR SEBAGAI KAFIR (Corruptor as an infidel/atheist or pagan person), as in the expression *Koruptor tidak dishalatkan jika meninggal* (It is not compulsory to pray for a corruptor when he dies). This is not a conventional expression. The expression was voiced by the Islamic organisation when discussing corruption with President of SBY. In the Islamic religion, people are obliged to pray for a dead Muslim. Corruptor is also understood in terms of MAFIA (2). This metaphor contains unconventional linguistic expressions because the terms *mafia hukum* (the mafia of law), *mafia peradilan* (the mafia of justice) and *mafia pajak* (the mafia of taxes) have been highly conventional expressions in the previous discourse (see the discourses of metaphor of corruption and law), for example:

(95) KORUPTOR SEBAGAI MAFIA (Corruptor as mafia)

*Mafia-mafia koruptor* sangat kuat dan sulit diberantas.  
*Aksi mafia korupsi* sangat rafi sampai tak terjamah hukum.

(*The mafias of corruption* are very strong and difficult to wipe out)  
(*The actions of the mafia of corruption* are very good and untouchable by the law)

### 5.2.8 *Metaphora Demokrasi dan Pemilu* (Metaphors of Democracy and Election)

#### A. Metaphors of Democracy

The behaviour of the texts in the form of concordance (see table F, appendix A) shows some lexical items which trigger conceptual metaphors of democracy. For example, the words or phrases *dewasa* (adult), *matang* (matured), *masih belajar* (still learning), etc are used in connection with democracy. There are 35 expressions in the metaphors of democracy as presented in table 15 (appendix O). During the regime of Soeharto (see chapter 2), protest

actions and criticism were prohibited. Democracy was controlled by an oppressive government. But since the Reform Era (see chapter 2), the situation has changed. The freedom gives rise to new ways to understand democracy. This means that democracy is a way to get power either through an election (a safe way) or through protest actions (political and social powers). Based on such experiences, democracy is conceptualised in terms of PERTARUNGAN KEKUASAAN ('a fight/war for power', 11 expressions). This metaphor is highly conventional in the group of metaphors of democracy.

However, the ways of fighting for power in the name of democracy often cause victims, break public properties, disturb other people's rights and use dirty language to express opinions. These are not a good model of democracy. Learning from these situations, some people reunderstand democracy in terms of KEBEBASAN ('freedom', 8), PELAJARAN ('lesson', 7), REMAJA ('teenager/human', 6) and BUAH/MAKANAN ('fruit/food', 3). Some expressions which trigger conceptual metaphors of democracy are: *Perbedaan pendapat itu biasa dalam demokrasi, kita bebas dalam menyampaikan pendapat* (The opinion differences are common in democracy, we are free to express our opinions), *Kita masih belajar dalam berdemokrasi* (We are still learning the ways of doing democracy), *Kita belum dewasa dalam berdemokrasi* (We are immature to do the democracy) and *Kita belum matang dalam memaknai demokrasi* (We are unripe/uncooked (not ready) to make sense of democracy). Through these expressions, people make sense of democracy in a coherent way. When they are wrong to apply democracy and democracy has negative effects on them, they make sense of democracy as a human being (teenager), uncooked food and lesson. For example:

(96) DEMOKRASI SEBAGAI REMAJA (Democracy as human teenager)

Konflik antara DPR dan President menunjukkan bahwa *kita belum dewasa dalam berdemokrasi*.

*Ketidakdewasaan kita dalam berdemokrasi tampak pada saat pesta demokrasi.*

(The conflicts between the legislators and the president indicated that *we are not adult yet (immature) to practise democracy*)

(*Our immaturity in democracy emerged in the general election*)

## B. Metaphors of Election

There are two terms for ‘election’ in Indonesian politics: *Pemilu* and *Pemilukada*. There are two kinds of *pemilu* (general election): presidential elections and legislative (parliament) elections. *Pemilukada* is a regional and local election for the governor, major and head of district. There are 323 occurrences of *pemilu* and 3 occurrences of *pemilukada* in the corpus. Based on the data, there are 32 linguistic expressions which trigger conceptual metaphors of election (see table 16, appendix O) articulated in the phrases *pesta demokrasi* (democratic fiesta), *kompetisi* (competition), *bagi-bagi Sembako* (to distribute basic food stuffs and goods), *mengalahkan* (to defeat), *pendidikan politik* (political education), etc. The metaphor PEMILU SEBAGAI PESTA RAKYAT/DEMOKRASI (Election as people/democratic fiesta) is highly conventional (13). Some people were happy to get food goods, and money from the candidates.

It has been very common on the Election Day that all candidates organise attractive parades and political campaigns. In the political campaigns they organise some music entertainment. The candidates generally hire some singers from Jakarta to attract the folk, such as reflected in the expressions *Rakyat menyambut gembira pesta demokrasi* (The people happily welcomed the democratic fiesta), *Dalam memeriahkan pesta rakyat, Partai Gerindra menghadirkan beberapa artis papan atas ibu kota* (The Gerindra Party presented the top singers from Jakarta to cheer up the folk) and *Beberapa artis ibu kota menghibur jutaan massa pendukung Partai Demokrat* (Several singers from Jakarta entertained a million supporters of the Democratic Party). In Indonesia, such situations are normally seen in wedding parties or farmer harvest parties.

In addition to the entertainment, the folk also get basic food stuffs and goods from all candidates, i.e., rice, sugar, palm oil, clothes and even money to show their generosity. An example are the expressions *Setiap rumah dapat jatah 10 kg beras dari kandidat* (Every house gets 10 kg of rice from a candidate) and *Pemilukada sebentar lagi, banjir bantuan akan mengucur deras* (*Pemilukada* is approaching and the donation is going to flow intensely). These expressions are ways of understanding the elections in terms of BANJIR BANTUAN (9). In this context the word *banjir* does not refer to a real flood (natural disaster), but the word metaphorically means a great deal of donation flowing like a flood.

Although many people like the elections, some perceive them as an uneducated political campaign. They understand elections in term of PROSES PEMBODOHAN (3), ‘a deception process’: *Pembagian Sembako itu sebagai proses pembodohan, bukan pencerahan* (The distribution of food and goods was a process of deception, not of enlightening) and *Rakyat memilih calon tertentu bukan karena track recordnya, tapi karena uang dan sembako* (People voted for certain candidates not because of their track records, but because of their money and food).

All candidates in the elections will devise a number of strategies and tricks and to win the competition. The following expressions describe the elections as a competition and vehicle: *Kandidat 1 kalah akibat serangan pajar yang dilancarkan kandidat nomor 2 sehari sebelum pemilihan* (The second candidate defeated the first candidate by distributing food and money to the voters a day before the election), *Jalan menuju kursi kekuasaan masih panjang* (It is still a long way to reaching power), *Kalau mau jadi DPR, president, gubernur, ya harus melalui pemilihan* (If you want to be a legislator, president, governor, you should join in the elections). In this respect, the election is understood in terms of KOMPETISI, ‘competition’ (2) and KENDERAAN MENUJU KEKUASAAN, ‘a vehicle to power’ (5). Examples of these metaphors are provided in appendix N (97-99).

### **5.2.9 Metaphora Partai Politik (Metaphors of Political Party)**

There are 256 occurrences of *political party or parpol* (political party) found in the corpus (see table H, appendix A). Most of the words refer to the eight biggest political parties in Indonesia. There are 31 expressions which trigger the conceptual metaphors of political party (see table 17, appendix O). There are three highly conventional conceptual metaphors in this group of metaphors, that is, the expressions which understand *political party* in terms of SUAKA ‘asylum’ (11), KENDERAAN ‘vehicle’ (8) and KEKUASAAN/KEKUATAN ‘power/strength’ (7). The word *asylum* in this context refers to individuals who are involved in law cases or are engaged in corruption. They try to find protection in big political parties. Therefore, such individuals are called asylum seekers. The asylum seekers usually give some donation to have a position in the party. For example, the expression *Para koruptor berlindung di partai penguasa* (Corruptors stayed in the ruling party) makes people understand the party in terms of SUAKA (asylum).

The asylum seekers do this for their safety because the party protects them. In this sense, the party is also understood in terms of KEKUSAAN/KEKUATAN (power/strength). Expressions such as *Hukum tak berani menyentuh koruptor yang berlindung di partai penguasa* (The law cannot touch corruptors staying in the ruling party) and *Partai Demokrat sengaja menyimpan tersangka korupsi Nazaruddin* (The Democratic Party intentionally keeps a corruptor, Nazaruddin). The less conventional metaphors are the metaphors which understand the political party in terms of MESIN, ‘machine’ (3) and TANAMAN, ‘plant’ (2). The expressions *Mesin partai tidak berpungsi* (The machine of the party does not work) and *Tidak ada upaya partai untuk memperbaiki mesin politiknya di masyarakat* (The party does not try to fix its political machine in the society) result in the PARTAI POLITIK SEBAGAI MESIN (Political party as machine) metaphor, whereas the expressions *Mesin partai hanya bekerja di tingkat akar rumput saja* (The machine of the party works in the grassroots only) and *Basis partai yang baik itu di tingkat cabang dan ranting, bukan di pusat* (The loyal constituents of the party are at branch level, not in the central office) result in the PARTAI POLITIK SEBAGAI TANAMAN (Political party as plant) metaphor. Examples of both metaphors are given in appendix N (100-102).

### **5.3 The Cognitive Function of Metaphor**

#### **5.3.1 Structural Metaphor**

The cognitive function of metaphor enables speakers to understand the targets A by means of the structure of sources B. This understanding is achieved through conceptual mappings between elements of B and elements of A. Three conceptual metaphors will be elaborated as examples of the structural metaphors 1) metaphor of corruption, 2) metaphor of politics and 3) metaphor of case.

##### **1. The structural metaphor of corruption**

The concept of *korupsi* is structured according to *sebuah jaringan penyakit* (a disease network) which results in the conceptual metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT (Corruption as disease). This metaphor is structured in terms of some basic elements: cause and effect, contamination and treatment. There is a background condition that applies to this way of understanding *korupsi*: an unhealthy environment is as a dirty environment, a dirty environment is as society’s culture and such an environment is conducive to the

dissemination of germs and viruses, the germs and viruses become endemic in attacking the society, the attack results in an ill society, the ill society reflects the government and the people responsible, the disease is as a public/state enemy and the enemy is destroyed to save the country. The basic elements and background conditions are examples of the rich knowledge structure of the sources (B) which are used to understand some parts of the target concept (A) of *korupsi*. The structural metaphor of corruption is described in figure 1.3 below.

**Figure 1.3 The structural metaphors of corruption as disease**

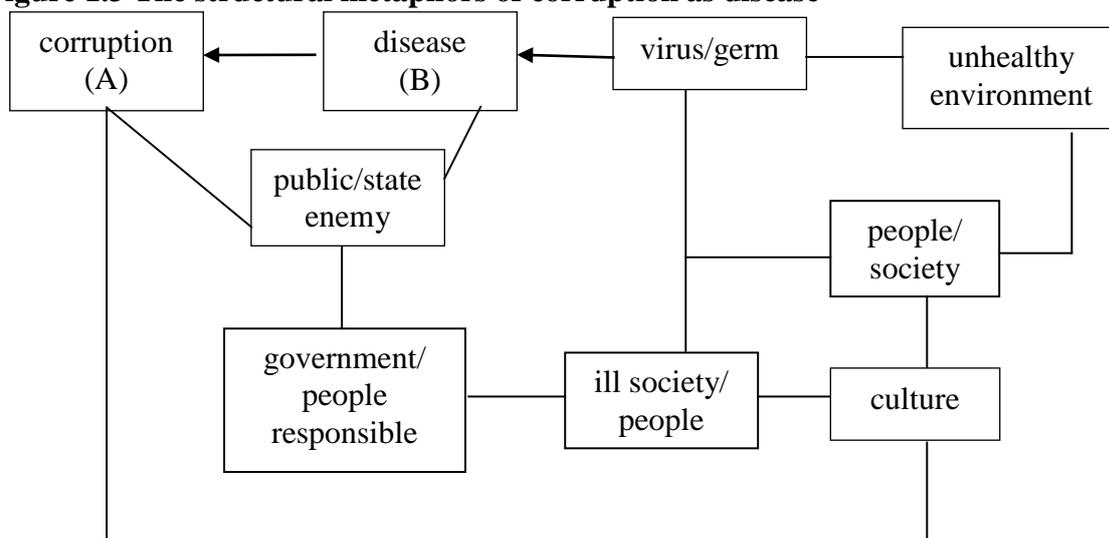


Figure 1.3 shows the relationship between (B) and (A), which enables people to understand corruption in terms of PENYAKIT (disease), VIRUS, BUDAYA (culture), AKSI SISTEMIK (systemic action) and MUSUH PUBLIK (public enemy). In addition, corruption can also be conceptualised in terms of KANKER KRONIS (a chronic cancer) to describe the state of the disease that attacks society. One of the examples is given below (103) and others (104-106) are provided in appendix N.

(103) KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT, VIRUS, KANKER (Corruption as disease/virus/cancer)

*Virus penyakit korupsi berkembang pesat bak jamur di musim hujan.  
 Penyakit korupsi telah menggerogoti bangsa ini.  
 Korupsi sudah menjadi penyakit kanker kronis yang akan mematikan negara ini.  
 Korupsi harus dibersihkan dari republik ini.*

(The virus of the corruption disease is growing rapidly like mushrooms in the rainy season)  
 (The disease of corruption has eaten up this nation)  
 (Corruption has become a chronic cancer that will destroy the country)  
 (Corruption has to be wiped out from this republic)

## 2. The structural metaphors of politics

**Figure 1.4 The structural metaphor of politics as business**

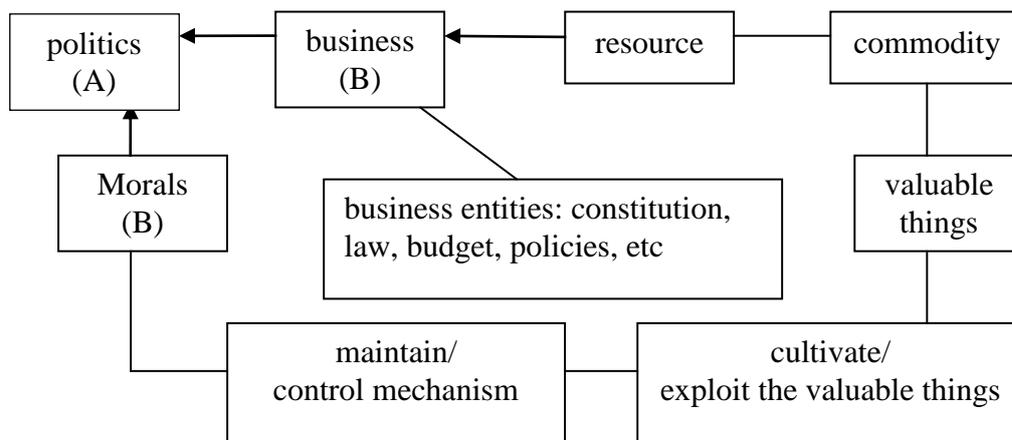


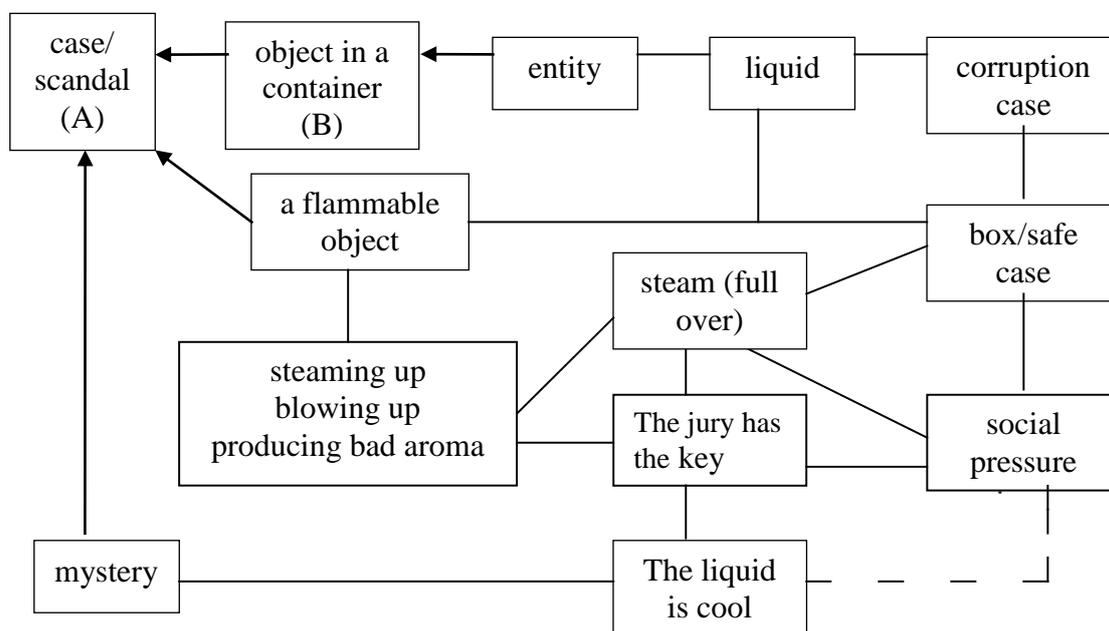
Figure 1.4 describes the concept of *politik*, which is structured in many ways. One of them is according to *bisnis* (business) and *moral* (morals). Given the POLITIK SEBAGAI BISNIS (Politics as business) metaphor, we understand politics in the following ways: politics is understood in terms of basic elements: *sumber* (resource), *komuditas* (commodity) and *benda berharga/bernilai* (a valuable thing). The background condition that applies to this way of understanding politics is the following: politics is a resource, the resource is a commodity, the commodity is a limited resource, the limited resource is a valuable thing, and because the limited resource is a valuable commodity, politics is also a valuable commodity, the valuable commodity is a business, then politics is business too, a moral aspect is needed to maintain the limited resource, the parliament runs the business and the government is a business partner and a business rival. This rich knowledge structure of (B) is used to understand some parts of the target concept of *politik* (A).

The relationship between (B) and (A) in figure 1.4 enables people to understand politics in terms of BISNIS (business) and MORAL (morals). Therefore, we have the conceptual metaphors POLITIK SEBAGAI BISNIS (Politics as business) and POLITIK SEBAGAI MORAL (Politics as morals). POLITIK SEBAGAI BISNIS may entail other metaphors, such as; RAKYAT SEBAGAI KOMUDITAS POLITIK (People as political commodity), HUKUM (KONSTITUSI) SEBAGAI BISNIS POLITIK (Law (constitution) as political business), PEMERINTAH SEBAGAI REKAN BISNIS DALAM POLITIK (Government as a business partner in politics) and PEMERINTAH SEBAGAI SAINGAN BISNIS DALAM POLITIK (Government as a business rival in politics). Two examples of these metaphors (107-108) are provided in appendix N.

### 3. The structural metaphor of case/scandal

One of the concepts of a case is structured according to the object and liquid in the container. Through the metaphor KASUS/SKANDAL SEBAGAI OBJEK DALAM WADAH (Case/Scandal as object in a container), we understand the case in the following ways: the case is understood in terms of some basic elements: *entitas* (entity), *uap* (steam), *kunci* (key) and *peti* (box or case). There is a background condition that applies to this way of understanding the case: the case is an entity, the entity is an object put in a container, the object is liquid, the container is a box or a safe, the object in the box is a corruption case, corruption is a liquid object, the liquid object can steam, blow up and produce a bad aroma under several conditions – for example, the media reports a case, the case becomes a law case, but the law institution keeps the case in a safety box on purpose, the public makes social pressure on the court that handles the case, the case becomes a hot liquid or steam in the box, the more intense the social pressure exerted, the higher the level of the steam in the box, the steam in the box spills over and produces a bad aroma, the box is a flammable object, the key of the box is with the jury, the box can blow up if the jury does not open the box, in turn, if there is no social pressure, the liquid in the box is cool and the case remains a mystery. The structural metaphor of case as an object in a container is presented in figure 1.5 below.

**Figure 1.5 The structural metaphor of case as an object in a container**



Such rich knowledge of the structure of (B) is useful to understand some parts of the target concept of *kasus/skandal* (A). Figure 1.5 above describes the structural metaphor of case where the relation between B and A makes people understand the case in terms of OBJEK DALAM WADAH (object in a container), OBJEK MISTERI (a mysterious object) and OBJEK YANG DAPAT TERBAKAR/MELEDAK (a flammable object). One of the examples is presented below (109) and others (110-111) can be seen in appendix N.

(109) KASUS/SKANDAL SEBAGAI OBJEK DALAM WADAH (Case/Scandal as an object in a container)

*Kasus-kasus grand korupsi dipeti-eskan.  
 Kasus BLBI disimpan dalam sebuah kotak yang aman.  
 (The cases of grand corruption are put in the ice box/case)  
 (The BLBI case was kept in a safe box)*

### 5.3.2 Ontological Metaphor

So far we have discussed the abstract concepts of corruption, politics and case. By viewing the abstract concepts as a disease network, a resource and an object, we can

understand them a little better (they become more concrete). This is useful for people to be able to act with respect to them, see them as a cause, identify them, refer to them and quantify them. For instance, when people see corruption as a disease that can threaten their lives, they will treat corruption as an enemy, and the enemy has to be fought in order to survive. This is the functioning of the ontological metaphor which provides the ontological or existential status for the target domains (see chapter 3). Example:

(112) KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT (Corruption as disease)

*Penyakit korupsi melumpuhkan ekonomi negara ini.  
 Virus korupsi menyebar ke semua level birokrasi pemerintah.  
 Penyakit kanker kronis korupsi harus segera diobati untuk menyelamatkan bangsa ini dari penderitaan dan keterpurukan ekonomi.*

*(The disease of corruption destroyed this country's economy)  
 (The virus of corruption spread to all levels of government bureaucracy)  
 (The chronic cancer of the disease of corruption must be cured very soon to save the nation from grief and the economic crisis)*

The ontological metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT (112) enables the speakers of Indonesian to see more sharply delineated the status of *korupsi* as disease, virus and cancer. These may threaten the safety of the nation and destroy its economy like in the description of the conceptual mapping (A-B) in table 18 below.

**Table 18: The ontological structure of the corruption as disease metaphor**

SOURCE DOMAINS	TARGET DOMAINS
PHYSICAL OBJECT	→ NONPHYSICAL OR ABSTRACT ENTITIES (e.g. disease, virus, germ, etc) EVENTS (destroying the country's economy) ACTIONS (curing the disease)
SUBSTANCE	→ ACTIVITIES (observing the spreading of the disease (virus, germ and cancer)
CONTAINER	→ UNDELINEATED PHYSICAL OBJECTS (saving the nation from grief) → PHYSICAL AND NONPHYSICAL SURFACE (economic collapse, chronic cancer, the visual field) → STATES (suffering from the corruption disease)

Table 18 shows that we can use this metaphor for specific actions: to refer to it, to quantify it and to identify aspects of the experience that have been more delineated. For example, by conceiving *korupsi* as a disease, we can conceptualise it as ‘our possession’. Then, we can linguistically refer to *korupsi* as *korupsi kami* (our corruption), *korupsi bangsa ini* (corruption of this nation) or *korupsi mereka telah membuat kita menderita* (Their acts of corruption have made us suffer).

### 5.3.3 Orientational Metaphor

Orientational metaphors organise a whole system of concepts with respect to another. This kind of metaphor aims to make several metaphors coherent with one another (see chapter 3) by applying a polar-position or spatial-orientation: up-down and central-peripheral, like HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003). The orientational metaphor in the Indonesian context makes use of semantic relations (synonyms and antonyms) to link one metaphor to another. For example, *baik* (good) is synonym with *sehat* (healthy), *aman* (safe) and *menang* (win). The antonyms of these words are *jelek/buruk* (bad), *sakit* (sick), *bahaya* (danger) and *kalah* (lose). By doing so, we can divide the orientational metaphors (corruption, politics, law, democracy, legislator, government, political party and corruptor), which are linked by the synonym-antonym relationship: *baik vs. Jelek/buruk* and *sehat vs. Sakit*, whereas the election and case are linked by *menang* (win) *vs. kalah* (lose) and *aman* (safe) *vs. bahaya* (danger).

The synonym-antonym orientations for KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT (Corruption as disease) are the following: for instance, the concept KORUPSI is oriented PENYAKIT leading to the expressions *Korupsi di Indonesia makin parah* (Corruption in Indonesia is getting worse) and *Tingkat korupsi di Indonesia menunjukkan gejala kanker kronis* (The level of corruption in Indonesia has indicated a chronic cancer symptom). The expressions *makin parah* (get worse) and *gejala kanker kronis* (a chronic cancer symptom) refer to the state of disease (corruption). The synonym-antonym orientations that apply to the concept of *korupsi* are *sehat* (health) and *sakit* (sick). The *sehat vs. sakit* relationship can provide a coherent concept with another under the following condition: korupsi-koruptor (corruption-corruptor) is a sick person and antikorupsi-antikoruptor (anticorruption-anticorruptor) is a healthy person, being corrupted is being sick and being anticorruption-

corruptor is being healthy, sick is bad and healthy is good, corruption-corruptor is bad and anticorruption-anticorruptor is good.

The synonym-antonym of sick-healthy and good-bad orientation metaphors are also coherent with the concepts of NEGARA and PEMERINTAH (State and government). The state or government is metaphorically conceptualised as a person, society and family. Thus, we have the conceptual metaphor NEGARA SEBAGAI KELUARGA, ORGANISASI SOSIAL and MANUSIA (State as a family, a social organisation and as a human). If some members of the family or of the social organisation are involved in corruption, they are sick/ill persons or the society is sick/ill, like in the expressions *Bangsa kita dijangkiti penyakit korupsi* (Our nation is contaminated by the disease of corruption), *Bangsa Indonesia tidak imun terhadap korupsi* (This nation is not immune to corruption) and *Kapan sehatnya bangsa ini kalau korupsi dibiarkan berkembang biak?* (When will this nation be healthy if we let corruption breed?). As the ill society is the government responsible, the disease is conceptualised as an adversary (enemy). In this respect, the sick-healthy orientation is coherent with the conceptual metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK/NEGARA (Corruption as a public/state enemy) as discussed in the previous section, that is, the enemy is a bad thing and in turn, not having this enemy is a good thing.

The coherent aspects of the concept linked by the orientational metaphors contribute to the coherence alongside the metaphors as described in table 19 below:

**Table 19: The synonym-antonym orientation for metaphors**

<b>Good-Bad and Healthy-Sick</b>	<b>Linguistic Expressions</b>
KORUPSI (Corruption)	<i>Dampak buruk penyakit korupsi</i>
POLITIK (Politics)	Indonesia sedang <i>demam politik</i>
DPR (Legislatures)	Moral sebagian anggota DPR <i>bobrok</i> .
PEMERINTAH/PRESIDEN (Government/President)	Indonesia <i>sedang sakit</i> .
HUKUM (Law)	Penagakan hukum kita dalam kondisi <i>lemah syawat</i> .
KORUPTOR (Corruptors)	<i>Nafsu serakah koruptor</i> membuat rakyat <i>menderita</i> .
DEMOKRASI (Democracy)	Mari berdemokrasi dengan cara yang <i>sehat, beretika, dan santun</i> .
PARPOL (Political party)	Citra parpol di mata masyarakat <i>makin memburuk</i> .
<b>Win-Lose and Safe-Danger</b>	<b>Linguistic Expressions</b>
KASUS/SKANDAL (Case/Scandal)	<i>Kasus Nazaruddin</i> membawa <i>bencana</i> bagi Partai Demokrat. Yusril menang dalam kasus

	Sinmimbakum.
PEMILIHAN (Election)	Beberapa <i>kontestan pemilu</i> selalu tidak terima akan kekalahannya dan melakukan <i>protes</i> ke KPU.

The italic words in table 19 refer to the synonym-antonym orientation: good-bad, healthy-sick, win-lose and safe-danger. The translations of the expressions in table 19 are orderly given below:

- (a) The bad effect of the disease of corruption.
- (b) Indonesia gets the fever of politics.
- (c) Several legislators have bad morals.
- (d) Indonesia is sick.
- (e) Our law enforcement is in an impotency condition.
- (f) The greed of corruptors have made people suffer.
- (g) Let us do democracy in healthy (good), ethical and polite ways.
- (h) People see that the image of political parties is getting worse.
- (i) The Nazaruddin case is a disaster for the Democratic Party. Yusril won in the Sinmimbakum case.
- (j) Some candidates in the election did not accept their loss and protest in the Election Commission (KPU).

#### 5.4 The Systematic mappings of metaphor

The relationship between the constituent elements of A and B in metaphors is achieved via a set of mapping. This mapping system is used to describe analogical reasoning and inferences (see chapter 3). For example;

##### (113) POLITIK SEBAGAI DRAMA/SANDIWARA (Politics as drama/theatre)

Koalisi kebangsaan di parlemen dan kabinet *disutradarai* oleh Partai Demokrat, Golkar, dan PKS.

*Konflik* ditubuh koalisi dipicu oleh *peran antagonis* beberapa anggota koalisi.

Rakyat sebagai *penonton* dari *setiap lakon yang dimainkan* DPR dan pemerintah.

Debat panas antara Demokrat dan Golkar di media merupakan *tontonan yang menarik* dan *lucu* bagi masyarakat.

Ada *aktor intelektual dibalik layar* dari peserta koalisi yang ditugaskan untuk mengguncang pemerintahan SBY.

(The coalition of ‘kebangsaan’ in the parliament and cabinet is *directed* by the Democratic Party, Golkar and PKS)

(The *conflicts* in the coalition are triggered by the *antagonistic roles* of the members of the coalition)

(The people are an *audience* to every act played by the legislators and the president)

(The heated debates between the Democratic Party and Golkar Party in the media are an *interesting* and *funny play* for the society)

(There were *intellectual actors behind the screen* from the members of the coalition to shake SBY's administration)

No occurrence of the word *politik* is found in (113). However, when we hear the sentences in the appropriate context, we will interpret them as being about politics. The political situation is described using the genre of drama or theatre. This interpretation is transferred from the sets of correspondence of constituent elements in (B) and (A). The constituent elements of DRAMA/SANDIWARA are: directors (the Democratic Party, Golkar Party and PKS), cast (members of coalition, legislators and intellectual actors), antagonists (members of coalitions and intellectual actors), audiences (people and society), background story (conflicts in the coalition and heated debates), setting (parliament, cabinet and media) and climax (shaking SBY's administration). There are 14 kinds of conceptual metaphors of politics. One of the conceptual metaphors is POLITIK SEBAGAI DRAMA (Politics as drama) presented in table 20 below. The layout of the correspondences or mapping for other metaphors are also shown and the rest are provided in the appendix O (table 21 (d-j)).

**Table 20: The systematic mapping of Politics as drama/theatre**

SOURCE: DRAMA/THEATRE	TARGET: POLITICS
the directors	→ three political parties
the cast	→ the politicians
the audiences	→ people, society
the story began	→ the coalition was established
the background of the story	→ the political conflicts in the coalition
the setting	→ the places of the conflicts
the conflict	→ the heated political debates in the coalition
the climax	→ shaking the SBY's administration

**Table 21 (a): The mappings of Corruption as disease**

<b>THE SYSTEMATIC MAPPINGS</b>	
<b>Aspects of Source (B): PENYAKIT</b>	<b>Aspects of Target (A): KORUPSI</b>
the germ, virus of the disease	→ the corruption practices
the persons infected by the virus/germ	→ the corruptors, patients
the kinds of virus/disease	→ the kinds of corruption
the unclean or dirty environment	→ the reproduction of corruption
the disease infected areas	→ the fields of corruption practices (bureaucracies, institutions)
the structure of virus/ disease	→ the sytemic organisation of corruption
the network of disease	→ the network of corruption
the effect of disease	→ the effect of corruption
the endemic disease	→ the collective corruption actions
the disease attacks/spreads	→ corruption creates the ill society/state
the disease is cured	→ the corruption practices are eradicated
the antivirus/disease	→ the anticorruption

**Table 21 (b): The mappings of Case as Mysterious Object metaphor**

<b>THE SYSTEMATIC MAPPINGS</b>	
<b>Aspects of Source (B): OBJEK MISTERI</b>	<b>Aspects of Target (A): KASUS/SKANDAL</b>
the mysterious objects	→ the cases/scandals (politics and law)
the objects are put in the safe boxes	→ the cases are not opened (locked)
the missing objects	→ the cases are kept away from the public
the public does not talk about the missing objects	→ the cases remain safe

**Table 21 (c): The mappings of Politics as business**

<b>THE SYSTEMATIC MAPPINGS</b>	
<b>Aspects of Source (B): BISNIS</b>	<b>Aspects of Target (A): POLITIK</b>
the materials (ideas, opinions)	→ the resources
the commodity productions	→ the political agenda, political instruments
the business commodity	→ the political business
the marketing commodities	→ the political promotion, manoeuver, etc
the things to sell	→ the policies and political functions (legalising, supervising, budgeting, etc)
the business transactions	→ the political bidding, lobbies, sell-buy constitution, political deals, etc.
the business profits	→ the political interests and goals
the business established	→ the political power constructed
the business expanded	→ the political power and ideology legitimated

the customers	→	the people, government, media and institutions
the profit increased	→	the social trust in politics increased
the business cost	→	the political cost

The sets of mappings of each metaphor show that the main mapping system of metaphors in the Indonesian context is unidirectionality, that is, the source and the target domains are not reversible. For example, the speakers of Indonesian do not talk about disease as corruption, business as politics, people party as election or mysterious object as case. This shows that the metaphorical process typically goes from the more concrete to the more abstract, but not the other way around. However, there is a unique mapping found in the metaphor of politics and in the metaphor of law: POLITIK SEBAGAI HUKUM (Politics as law) and HUKUM SEBAGAI POLITIK (Law as politics). These metaphors employ abstract concepts to understand another abstract concept. We do not know exactly whether LAW is more abstract than POLITICS and vice versa. This is a typical case which may result from the metaphorical entailments. This case possibly occurs when people see the same phenomena happen in politics and in the law enforcement process in Indonesia. They use the same linguistic expressions because they do not find another expression to make sense of their experiences as in the following examples:

(114) POLITIK SEBAGAI HUKUM (Politics as law)

*Politik dijadikan panglima dalam proses penegakan hukum.  
Kekuatan politik membebaskan koruptor dari jeratan hukum.*

*(Politics is made to be a commander in chief in the law enforcement process/  
Political power is used to reinforce the law)  
(The power of politics can free the corruptors from the punishment)*

(115) HUKUM SEBAGAI POLITIK (Law as politics)

*Hukum kok dipolitisasi (Why the law is politicised)  
Ini putusan politik, bukan putusan hukum.  
(This is a political decision, not a law)*

## 5.5 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to investigate the metaphors used by legislators and political elites in the Indonesian socio-political domain. It was found that the metaphors they use can be conventional, less conventional and unconventional conceptual metaphors. During the research process, 1155 metaphors were identified and grouped into ten conceptual categories: corruption, politics, legislators/parliament, government/president, law, case/scandal, corruptor, democracy, election and political party. The types of conceptual metaphors were classified according to their source domains, degree of conventionality and cognitive function. Contrary to Kövecses's (2002) ways of determining conventional linguistic expressions, the degree of conventionality of metaphors in the Indonesian context was assessed based on the data. However, this research does not claim that the metaphors are conventional for the speakers of Indonesian because the use of metaphors and their linguistic manifestations are bound in the political contexts and particularly in time. In addition, to make such a claim, a larger corpus is needed. Thus, the conventionality is explored and analysed quantitatively for each group of metaphors. For example, the metaphors of corruption have 384 linguistic manifestations. KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK/NEGARA (Corruption as public/state enemy) is highly conventional in the group of metaphors of corruption compared to other metaphors, such as KORUPSI SEBAGAI BUDAYA, PENYAKIT and BISNIS POLITIK (Corruption as culture, disease and political business). KORUPSI SEBAGAI TINDAKAN KOLEKTIF, TINDAK KEJAHATAN and AKSI SISTEMIK ATAS-BAWAH (Corruption as a collective, criminal and top-down systemic action) are less conventional than KORUPSI SEBAGAI BUDAYA, whereas KORUPSI SEBAGAI ALAT PEMERSATU BANGSA, UPORIA and MAKANAN/BUAH (Corruption as a tool for uniting the nation, euphoria and food/fruit) are unconventional or novel metaphors in the group of metaphors of corruption.

The degree of conventionality of metaphors shows that people understand corruption, politics, legislators in many ways. RAKYAT SEBAGAI KOMODITAS POLITIK (People as political commodity) serves as a highly conventional metaphor in the group of metaphors of politics, followed by POLITIK SEBAGAI BISNIS, KEKUASAAN (Politics as business, power), and so on. There are five unconventional metaphors in this group: POLITIK SEBAGAI PERJALANAN, MANUSIA, EDUKASI, MAINAN and OLAH RAGA (Politics

as journey, human, education, game/toy and sport). In American politics, these metaphors are highly conventional (see Lakoff, 2002, 2004), but in Indonesia, they are unconventional metaphors. This implies that culture, experience and knowledge influence how people think and talk about politics. These aspects are also found in other groups of metaphors, i.e. president, legislators, law, case, democracy, etc.

People use unconventional expressions because they do not find other ways to understand corruption, politics, legislators, president, corruptors, etc. The unconventional expressions are forms to counter the facts or reality, for example: the highly conventional metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK/NEGARA (Corruption as public/state enemy) contradicts the unconventional metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI ALAT PEMERSATU BANGSA (Corruption as a tool for uniting the nation); POLITIK SEBAGAI MORAL (Politics as morals) is in contrast with POLITIK SEBAGAI MAINAN (Politics as game/toy), PRESIDEN SEBAGAI LAMBANG NEGARA (President as symbol of state) vs. PRESIDEN SEBAGAI DHUAFA (President as dhuafa), DPR SEBAGAI TEMPAT RAKYAT MENGADU (Parliament/legislators as place for people to ask for help) vs. DPR SEBAGAI BADUT-BADUT SENAYAN, TIKUS and RAMPOK (Legislator as clown of Senayan, mouse and robber).

The cognitive function of the conceptual metaphors explains the functions of metaphor for the speakers of Indonesian in thinking and talking about politics. Three metaphors are given as examples (corruption, politics and cases), and are identified through structural metaphors, ontological metaphors and orientational metaphors. The concept, metaphorically structured in terms of another, is generally abstract and vague. The abstract concepts gain a more delineated status via the ontological metaphor. The abstract concepts should be treated in a coherent way via the orientational metaphor. The orientational metaphors in the Indonesian context apply a synonym/antonym orientation to link all metaphors: bad-good or healthy-sick, win-lose and safe-dangerous. The cognitive function of these metaphors enables speakers to understand the target domain A by means of the structures of source domain B. This understanding is achieved through conceptual mappings between elements of B and elements of A, as presented in tables 20-21a-c. The mapping system of metaphors is unidirectionality, which means that the source and target domains are not reversible.

## 5.6 The Dimensions of variation of metaphor

What are dimensions of variation of metaphor and the causes of variation in the Indonesian context? This section firstly discusses some aspects of the universality of conceptual metaphors. Secondly, it explores the cultural variation of metaphors cross-culturally and within cultures, and thirdly, it focuses on the dimension variations of metaphors in the Indonesian context, on the regional, social, style and individual dimension. Other possible variations of metaphor are analysed in the metaphor entailment and metaphor hiding and highlighting.

### 5.6.1 The universality of conceptual metaphors

The dimension of variation of a conceptual metaphor can be the result of borrowing concepts across and within cultures or it can happen by accident. Some cognitive scholars have tried to find some aspects of the universality and variation by comparing conceptual metaphors in one language to conceptual metaphors in other languages. For instance, Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) searched for metaphors for anger and happiness in English and in Japanese, Ning Yu (1998) also compared the concepts of happiness and anger in Chinese and English, Taylor and Mbense (1998) discussed such concepts in the Zulu language. Kövecses (2001, 2002) claimed that the concepts of happiness and anger were also found in Hungarian. These works are aimed at emphasising the aspects of universality and variation of conceptual metaphors across and within cultures.

Naturally, all languages have words to express happiness and anger which may be different from one another. For example, the concept of HAPPINESS in English is usually oriented towards the 'UP' and 'LIGHT' polar positions or they have a spatial orientation, i.e. HAPPINESS IS UP, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT and HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND. Do these conceptual metaphors exist in *bahasa Indonesia*? Genetically, English and *bahasa Indonesia* are unrelated languages. *Bahasa Indonesia* is a simple language, it is not inflected and grammatically, the noun, adjective and adverb may occupy the predicate function of a sentence without an auxiliary like in English. An example are the sentences *Dia guru* (She is a teacher), *Dia sakit* (She is sick) and *Dia di rumah* (She is at home). In addition, the prepositions *atas* (up) and *bawah* (down) are not lexical items which trigger conceptual metaphors in *bahasa Indonesia*. By its simplicity, the metaphors for happiness and anger in

*bahasa Indonesia* are manifested by lexical items, such as verbs - *melompat* (jump), *tambah* (add/plus), *kurang* (minus), *tersenyum* (smile), and the adverb *sangat* (very). These words are related to plus-minus and the intensity of the happiness. In addition, the metaphors for happiness and anger can also be oriented by synonyms and antonyms: *baik* (good) for happiness and *buruk* (bad) for anger. In this sense, we understand happiness and anger in terms of EMOSI ALAMIAH MANUSIA (a human natural emotion), for example:

(116) KEBAHAGIAN SEBAGAI EMOSI ALAMIAH MANUSIA (Happiness as human natural emotion)

*Dia sangat bahagia* (He is very happy)

*Dia kurang bahagia* (He is less happy/He is rather happy)

*Dia tambah bahagia* (He is happier/He becomes very happy)

*Dia melompat kegirangan* (He is jumping with joy)

*Dia tersenyum bahagia* (He smiles happily)

Thus, English and *bahasa Indonesia* conceptualise happiness metaphorically in different ways, but there is a similar concept where happiness is oriented towards the ‘up’ position. This may happen by accident, not as a result of borrowing the concept or metaphor from English. Let us take another example which has been familiar to the people, that is the metaphor TIME IS MONEY. Say this metaphor is universal, but the universality concept of this metaphor is the result of borrowing. We knew time is money since the independence day through education, books, mass media and industrial business. However, the ‘time is money’ concept is commonly related to the payment system (salary, wage, bills, service, etc), not to the behaviour or culture of the people. Arriving late to a meeting, for instance, is a very common behaviour in Indonesia. This behaviour may be a cultural factor where the concept time is money does not come from *bahasa Indonesia* and does not have its roots in the culture of Indonesia. Thus, since metaphors relate to the human conceptual system and the meaning-making process through language, it would be relative for the concepts of conceptual metaphors to be universal. The people’s mind, language and thoughts about the ways of the world are much influenced by the knowledge background, education and culture.

Therefore, the universality of conceptual metaphors is discussed in this study in order to find the similarities and differences in the group of metaphors in the Indonesian context.

Thus, the conceptual metaphors of corruption, corruptor, politics, etc are treated as a specific case of metaphors in Indonesia. Even though there is an Anti-Corruption Day celebrated on 9 September in the world, this does not mean that the conceptual metaphors of corruption are universal for corrupt countries. The Chinese, for instance, impose the death sentence to the serious corruptors. Unfortunately, there is no research about the conceptual metaphors of corruption in Chinese. Intuitively, we may guess that Chinese may categorise corruption as an incredible criminal action. So, the death sentence is applied to give a shock therapy to stop corruption in the country. In Indonesia, KORUPTOR SEBAGAI TERORIS (Corruptor as terrorist) is one of the specific cases of conceptualising the corruptors (see section 5.2.7). Although the corruptors are viewed as terrorists, Indonesia only imposes the death sentence to terrorists, but not to corruptors.

However, America and Indonesia have something in common to understand politics. Americans perceive politics as a resource, power, sport, game, business and war, such as in the examples *The president plays hardball, they forced the opposition out of the House, and Saving Kuwait from Iraq is a political and war business* (see Lakoff, 1992, 2001). These expressions also exist in *bahasa Indonesia* and thereby, we have the metaphors POLITIK SEBAGAI KEKUASAAN (power), OLAH RAGA (sport), MAINAN (game), and DRAMA (drama). As politics has to do with the exercise of power, political power is conceptualised as a physical force. Many aspects are involved in the ways of exercising power. Therefore, politics is also understood in terms of sport, drama and business. In this respect, it can be said that the differences or similarities and variations of conceptual metaphors are not a matter of universality, but of sharing concepts and knowledge across and within cultures. Different languages and cultures result in different concepts and thoughts (Sapir-Whorf, 1956) and thereby, metaphor cannot be universal since the languages, culture and education of people are different.

### **5.6.2 The cultural variation of metaphors**

The cultural variation of metaphors generally involves two cultural dimensions: the cross-cultural dimension and the intra-cultural dimension (within culture). The cross-cultural dimension refers to the broader context of the foreign culture, like the global culture that takes part in a cultural penetration and influences the political system of a country. Related to

this, the present study found some slight variations particularly in the metaphors of politics, political party, election and democracy between America and Indonesia. This is because Indonesia adopts some aspects of the U.S. politics, for example the metaphors POLITICS IS POWER, BUSINESS, SPORT, DRAMA and TOYS, but POLITICS IS GAMBLING does not exist in Indonesia. Indonesia and America may share the same view to understand a political party in terms of vehicle and machine, like in POLITICAL PARTY IS A VEHICLE/MACHINE. However, Indonesia does not have the metaphor POLITICAL PARTY IS A FAMILY like in the U.S. politics about the Democrats and Republicans (Lakoff, 2003, 2004). Indonesia and America also view the elections as a kind of competition and thereby, we have the ELECTION AS A RACE metaphor. However, the ELECTION IS A FUND RAISING metaphor in the U.S. has a culturally reversed meaning in Indonesia with ELECTION AS FLOOD RELIEF or DISTRIBUTING FOOD SUPPLIES FOR THE PEOPLE. We also have ELECTION AS PEOPLE/DEMOCRATIC CELEBRATION which does not exist in the U.S. (see section 5.2.8). The cultural variation of metaphors between America and Indonesia above is a result of the cross-cultural dimension.

The variation within culture refers to a regional and intra-cultural context. Indonesia is very rich in ethnic culture and languages which live together with the national cultures (Indonesian culture) and the national language (*bahasa Indonesia*). The primary sources of the national culture and language are taken from all ethnic cultures and languages in the Indonesian islands. For example, PEMIMPIN/PRESIDEN SEBAGAI PANUTAN RAKYAT (Leader/President as the best model for people) is taken from the Javanese concept of leader. It is called “Ing ngarso sun tu ludo, Ing madya mangun karso, Tut Wuri Handayani” (a leader should have a wise attitude, should be respectful, merciful, helpful and show a good model for his people). This concept is deeply rooted in the Javanese culture and folk tales. Java is the majority ethnic group in Indonesia. This cultural concept then moved across to other islands, such as Sumatera, Borneo (Kalimantan), Sulawesi, Maluku and Papua. Even, the expression “Tut Wuri Handayani” becomes a national education symbol and it is written on the school uniform. The concept is accepted by other ethnics and then becomes a national concept.

We know from works in sociolinguistics, sociology and anthropology that languages are not monolithic but display varieties that reflect divergences in human experiences. For instance, the 695 members of parliament are coming from each island of Indonesia. The heterogeneous culture, ethnic groups, language and education background of Indonesia may give rise to metaphor variations (commonly varieties of language), which are culturally translated to *bahasa Indonesia*. In this respect, metaphors can vary within cultures. The variation can occur along a number of dimensions, including the social, regional, ethnic, stylistic, subcultural, diachronic and individual dimension (see Kövecses, 2000a). Having in view that this research is undertaken in a particular time frame, in a specific context and genre and it is produced by particular people, the dimension of metaphor variation discussed above encompasses the social, regional, stylistic and individual dimensions.

### **5.6.3 The Social Dimension**

Do social status, gender, age and a powerful party influence the differences in metaphor use in political discourse? Some of these social factors produce variation in metaphorical conceptualisation. The female legislators and male legislators for instance, seem to be operative in several distinct cases: the ways female legislators talk about the issues of corruption, politics, law enforcement, case, etc and the ways male legislators talk about those issues. The female legislators use persuasive expressions by inserting the manner of Indonesian women, i.e. tender, polite, and motherly into the expressions. In addition, they also tend to avoid expressions which may trigger heated political situations and make an unpleasant impression to the hearers. Such ways reflect the introverted character of Indonesian women, which is manifested in the expressions *tanggung jawab kita* (our responsibility), *moral yang harus diperbaiki* (to improve morality), *tidak berdaya* (weak) and *malu* (shame), used in connection with corruption, politics, law enforcement and case.

In turn, the male legislators show an extroverted character, are brave and aggressive. They are commonly involved in heated argumentation in the media and parliament about those issues. They react actively to the issues which are disadvantageous to them, such as to defend, engage in political aggression and produce a counter discourse. For example, the expressions *berantas* (eradicate), *orgasme politik yang terhenti* (a delay/stopped political orgasm), *tebang-pilih* (selective catch) and *mengkambinghitamkan* (to find a scapegoat) are

used in relation to the issues mentioned above. These linguistic expressions give rise to the metaphor variation as in the excerpts (117 & 120) below and others (females; 118, 119 and males; 121, 122), which are provided in appendix N.

**The female legislator metaphorical expressions:**

- (117) KORUPSI SEBAGAI TANGGUNG JAWAB BERSAMA (Corruption as our common responsibility)

*Kasus Century sebagai PR kita. Kita bantu KPK menangani kasus tersebut karena korupsi sudah menjadi tanggung jawab kita bersama.*

(The corruption case of *Century* is as our homework. We help KPK handle the case because corruption has become our common responsibility)

**The male legislator metaphorical expressions:**

- (120) KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PEMERINTAH (Corruption as government enemy)

*Pemerintah harus punya komitmen yang tegas dalam pemberantasan kasus korupsi Bank Century.*

(The government must have a strong commitment to eradicate the corruption case of *Bank Century*)

All linguistic expressions in (117 & 120) and (118-122, appendix N) are oral data from interviews and television channels. The topic in the expressions is corruption in the bailout of *Bank Century*, which gives rise to some metaphor variations and linguistic variations. The different use of linguistic expressions changes the focus of some aspects of argumentations about the case of *Bank Century* (117 & 120). As a result, the generic metaphors of corruption, politics, law enforcement and case, i.e. KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH NEGARA/PUBLIK (Corruption as state/public enemy) and KASUS SEBAGAI OBJEK MISTERIUS (Case as mysterious object) vary to become KORUPSI SEBAGAI TANGGUNG JAWAB BERSAMA (Corruption as our common responsibility) and KORUPSI SEBAGAI KOMITMEN MORAL PEMERINTAH (Corruption as government moral commitment). The female legislators corrected the generic metaphor POLITICS AS

MORAL to be POLITICS AS MORAL IMPROVEMENT (118, appendix N). The female legislator also viewed law not as a sick person but as a weak person (119, appendix N).

A male legislator from a powerful party used the metaphor variation POLITICS AS SEXUAL ACTIVITY (121, appendix N) from the generic metaphor POLITICS AS WAR. The variation appeared because the male legislator digressed from a common way to talk about politics in terms of war (verbal battle), like in the expression, *orgasme politik yang tertunda/terhenti* (an incomplete political orgasm). This expression actually has a negative sense: “jerk off”, which is addressed to a few members of the coalition parties in the parliament. The generic metaphor LAW AS POWER varies to become LAW AS UNFAIR ACTION in (122, appendix N). In another situation, a male legislator from the Golkar Party expressed a heated criticism to the government via the metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PEMERINTAH (Corruptor as government enemy). This is a specific metaphor as a variation from the generic metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK/NEGARA (Corruption as public/state enemy).

The bailout of *Bank Century* was categorised as a serious corruption case which involved the power structures and the ruling party (Democratic Party). The legislator exploited this background to attack the government. A male legislator from the Democratic Party responded to this attack, as a way of finding a scapegoat. As a result, the metaphor of case varies from the generic one, KASUS SEBAGAI OBJEK DALAM WADAH/OBJEK MISTERI (Case as object in a container/mysterious object), and becomes KASUS SEBAGAI KAMBING HITAM POLITIK (Case as a political scapegoat object). Another social dimension is from a social observer and a Muslim leader who produce metaphor variations for corruption: KORUPSI SEBAGAI ALAT PEMERSATU BANGSA (Corruption as tool for uniting the nation) and KORUPSI SEBAGAI TINDAKAN TERORISME (Corruption as terrorist action). Thus, the social dimension is one of the factors which influence metaphor variations in the Indonesian political context.

#### **5.6.4 The Regional Dimension**

The ideological concept of *Bineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) is the national ideology in Indonesian politics. This concept was originally from the Sanskrit language

which significantly influenced the Javanese language. This ideology is framed to integrate all tribes and ethnic groups of Indonesia. This ideology inspires metaphor variations, for instance PEMIMPIN SEBAGAI Satria Piningit (A leader as a chosen knight warrior). This metaphor is taken from a Javanese fairy tale about a leader who is culturally believed to be a chosen knight warrior to lead and save the country. Other ethnic groups challenge this perception using the national ideology of *Bineka Tunggal Ika* reflected in PEMIMPIN SEBAGAI Panutan yang dipilih oleh seluruh rakyat Indonesia (A leader as a role model elected by all Indonesian people). Both metaphors come from the generic metaphor PEMIMPIN SEBAGAI Orang Tua (A leader as a parent), which stems from NEGARA SEBAGAI Keluarga (State as family). Both variations are influenced by the regional dimension, that is language often develops new metaphors when it is moved by some of its speakers to a part of the Indonesian island which is different from where it was originally spoken.

This research found only very few metaphor variations influenced by the regional dimension because almost all data are in *bahasa Indonesia*, not in ethnic languages. The ways to access the original metaphorical expressions are through ethnic groups and the regions or villages where the speakers are from. For example, the words *sampan*, *biduk* (row), *harajaon* (kingdom) and *perut buncit* (a bloated stomach) are used in connection with political party, election and corruptor respectively. These lexical items result in metaphor variations, like in examples (123-125) in appendix N). The words *sampan* and *biduk* (123) belong to Indonesian Malay ethnics who mostly live near the sea. They view politics as *sampan*, *biduk* (row) based on their work experience as fishermen. Since *bahasa Indonesia* comes from the Malay language<sup>18</sup>, the words are understood by the speakers of Indonesian. The word *harajaon* (kingdom) in (124) is originally spoken by the *Batak* ethnics and then it is translated into *bahasa Indonesia*. The concept of *harajaon* was introduced by a Batakness politician in the media to talk about regional and local elections (*Pemilukada*). The word *buncit* (bloated) in (125) is also from the Malay language and refers to a man. In the context of (125), this word

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<sup>18</sup> Malay is one of the ethnic groups in the island of Indonesia, such as *Melayu Deli* (North Sumatera), *Melayu Riau* (Riau island), *Betawi* (Batavia, Jakarta), Kalimantan (Borneo), etc. In the kingdom era, the Malay language was used as a lingua franca by traders, sailors, etc in their business activity. Further, the Malay dialect of Riau was chosen conventionally by the youth of Indonesia to be *bahasa Indonesia* on 28 October 1928. The event happened in the colonialism era and was known as Sumpah Pemuda (Youth Pledge). This language choice was aimed at uniting all tribes in Indonesia.

refers to a person who is engaged in corruption and thus, corruption is viewed as food. If the person eats a lot of food, they get a bloated stomach.

### 5.6.5 The Style Dimension

The style dimension of metaphor variations is determined by the contextual discourse, such as the topic, speakers, audience, setting and medium. All of these may influence the ways of choosing and using metaphors in political discourse. The metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI ALAT PEMERSATU BANGSA (Corruption as a tool for uniting the nation) as explained in the previous section (5.2.1) was one of the examples for the style dimension. A political observer (a participant in the Jakarta Lawyers Club, topic: *Badai Menerjang Demokrat*, TV-One, Sept, 2011, ) produced this metaphor to talk about the corruption case of Nazaruddin (see footnote 11, p.100).

(126) KORUPSI SEBAGAI ALAT PEMERSATU BANGSA (Corruption as a tool for uniting the nation)

*Siapa yang akan menjalankan roda pemerintahan jika presiden, menteri, DPR, gubernur, walikota, dsb ditangkap?  
Jangan gara-gara semangat ingin memberantas korupsi, negara ini hancur!  
Semuanya bersikap saling menyandera.*

(Who would administrate the government if the president, ministers, legislators, governors, mayors, etc. were imprisoned?)  
(Don't destroy this country because of the spirit to wage war on corruption!)  
(All corruptors keep each other's secrets)

The speaker of (126) views that the efforts to wage war on corruption are a failure because all corruptors keep each other's secrets. This metaphor (126) is a way of making sense of the experience, i.e. in order to get a project, a good position, one should bribe the power structures: top, medium and down. The individuals in the power structures form a network (see KORUPSI SEBAGAI SISTEM JARINGAN (Corruption as network system) and KORUPSI SEBAGAI TINDAKAN SISTEMIK ATAS-BAWAH (Corruption as top-down systemic action). A serious corruption act usually involves many people, i.e. bureaucrats, politicians, judges and businessmen. Thus, if they were all imprisoned, many positions in the bureaucracies would be vacant. As a result, the administration system is not

effective. This is what the speaker of (126) intends to say to the audience in his talk, but, he expresses it metaphorically.

The Nazaruddin corruption case also motivates a metaphor variation from the generic metaphor of case: KASUS SEBAGAI OBJEK DALAM WADAH/MISTERI (see section 5.2.6). The metaphor variation is based on the statements of Nazaruddin during his escape abroad, conceptualised as *singing* (whistle blowers). For example:

(127) KASUS SEBAGAI OBJEK NYANYIAN (Case as ‘singing’ (whistle blower) object)

*Nyanyian-nyanyian Nazaruddin itu perlu dibuktikan kebenarannya.*

*Nyanyian Nazaruddin memanasakan telinga Ketum Anas.*

*Banyak orang yang terlibat dalam nyanyian Nazaruddin.*

(It is important to prove the truth of all information told by Nazaruddin)

(All information from Nazaruddin has irritated the General Chief of the Democratic Party, Anas)

(Nazaruddin disclosed many names of individuals involved in the corruption case)

The *singing* in the context of the case of Nazaruddin does not refer to the actual song, but to the statements of Nazaruddin about the chronology of corruption during his escape and while he was in jail. This word is a law term called ‘whistle blower’. Other metaphor variations from the Nazaruddin case can be seen in appendix N (examples 128-129), which are variations from the generic metaphors POLITIK SEBAGAI BISNIS (Politics as business) and KASUS SEBAGAI OBJECT DALAM WADAH (Case as object in a container). The business entities or sectors can be destroyed by natural disasters, such as tsunami and storm, such as in (129). Another style dimension is taken from the metaphor of law. For example:

(130) PENEGAKAN HUKUM SEBAGAI SANDIWARA POLITIK (Law enforcement as political drama/theatre)

Jelas sekali bahwa ada *sandiwara politik yang dimainkan* sehingga kasus Nazaruddin berlarut-larut, direkayasa dan dijadikan polemik.

(Obviously, there is a *political drama performed so that the case of Nazaruddin takes a long time, manipulates the process and creates polemical situations*)

The metaphor (130) is a variation of the generic metaphor HUKUM SEBAGAI BISNIS (see 5.2.5). Some of the terms known in the context of business are transaction, payment, bargaining, good and service. The Nazaruddin case is a long business transaction as a result of a bargaining process. In this context, ‘goods and services’ are conceptualised as lawyers, juries, mass media and eyewitnesses which are needed to pay. The bargaining process of the case is conceptualised as a political drama, full of polemics and politicised. Thus, the long business transaction means that there are so many goods and services to pay that it takes a long time to complete the transaction. Thus, based on some examples given, it shows that the style dimension may influence metaphor variations in two ways: variations in the linguistic expressions and variations in the conceptual metaphors.

#### **5.6.6 The Individual Dimension**

Metaphor may also vary from person to person and it often depends on each person’s major concern and interest in the topics. For instance, when a legislator in the commission of education and culture talks about non-professional topics, like law or corruption, he/she often employs metaphors derived from his/her professional life. A legislator in the commission of economy and finance may use different metaphors on these issues. A cultural and social observer who is always invited in the talk of *Jakarta Lawyers club* (TV-ONE) also uses different metaphors about the issues. He or she views corruption as culture, which is different from both legislators. One legislator views corruption as a political business and another one sees corruption as an ill society . However, the audiences may not be able to gain much from these metaphors because they do not have the necessary expertise to make sense of the legislator’s or the cultural and social observer’s metaphors based on their professional activities.

Another source of individual variation in the use of metaphor is personal history. Kövecses (2002) shows some examples of metaphors used by American politicians who like sports based on a 1996 issue of *Time*, such as Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, Al Gore, and Jack Kemp. They conceptualised a variety of political issues in terms of the source domains of sports. For instance, Bill Clinton has been an enthusiastic golfer for a long time and he

understood politics in terms of sport, which results in the POLITICS IS SPORT metaphor: “*Let’s not take our eyes off the ball. I ask for your support, not on a partisan basis, but to rebuild the American economy*” (Kövecses, 2002: 194). Thus, Bill Clinton’s personal history in sports may influence the choice of metaphors. With respect to the personal history, this thesis does not cover a personal history because it is hard to match the speaker’s activities with the actual metaphors, that is, how to find a remarkable fit that indicates a close correlation between the personal history and the metaphors used by individuals. For example, metaphor (131) below was expressed by a female legislator who was suspected of corruption.

(131) KORUPSI SEBAGAI BUAH-BUAHAN (Corruption as fruits)

Tolong berikan *apel Malang* kepada Bos Besar.  
Ketua Besar minta *semangka Palembang dan apel Washington*.

(Please give<sup>19</sup> *Malang apples* to the big boss)  
(The big chief asks for *Palembang watermelon and Washington apples*)

The public knows well that the speaker of (131) was an actress, Miss Indonesia and a master’s degree graduate. She may like fruits (apple or watermelon), but she is not a fruit seller. In that case, the personal history of the speaker (131) does not influence the choice of metaphor. The metaphor variation (131) is derived from her concern or interest to make special terms as a secret symbol/ code to avoid the use of vulgar language in ways of practicing corruption. The fruits (131) are not actual fruits, but just terms which mean:

‘apel Malang’	= uang rupiah (money in Rupiah (Rp) currency)
‘apel Washington’	= uang dollar (money in the U.S dollar currency)
‘semangka Palembang’	= uang rupiah & dollar (money in Rp. & the U.S.\$)
‘Bos Besar’ (Big Boss)	= the elite members in the parliament
‘Ketua Besar (Big Chief)	= the chief of the political party

The fruits (131) refer to money in Rupiah and Dollar currency which is used to make the project of <sup>20</sup>*wisma atlit* (athletic building) in Palembang run smoothly. The individual

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<sup>19</sup> ‘Apel Malang’ is an apple fruit which is planted in Malang, East Java, Indonesia. Malang is famous for its apples. ‘Semangka Palembang’ is a watermelon fruit that is planted in Palembang, South Sumatera, Indonesia. Thus, ‘apel Malang’ is an apple from Malang and ‘semangka Palembang’ is a watermelon from Palembang.

who received the money is termed ‘big boss’ and big chief’ who needed money in *Rupiah* and Dollar currency. The fruit terms do not just refer to money, but also to where the building of *wisma atlit* takes place (Palembang). Thus, the terms ‘semangka palembang’ mean the building project of *wisma atlit* in Palembang. Thus, the metaphor variation (131) is taken from the less general metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI MAKANAN, ‘Corruption as food’ (see section 5.2.1), but the aspect of requiring the secret codes to keep the practice of corruption safe is an additional element.

Another metaphor variation of corruptor is also derived from the speaker’s concern and interest, viewing corruptors in terms of animals and invisible creatures (ghosts), as in (132) below:

(132) KORUPTOR SEBAGAI HEWAN/HANTU (Corruptor as animals/ghosts)

Bersihkan *buaya-buaya koruptor* dari negeri ini!  
*Tikus-tikus koruptor* berkeliaran di banggar DPR.  
*Hukum* tak mampu menyentuh *hantu-hantu yang bergentayangan*.

(Clean *buaya-buaya koruptor* (big corruptors) from this country!)  
(*Tikus-tikus koruptor* (smart corruptors) are hanging around in parliament)  
(Law cannot touch the *ghosts hanging around*/law cannot catch corruptors)

The speaker of (132) is a politician. He assigns the animal quality-manner (crocodile and mouse) to humans and even the ghost quality to humans. The crocodile is a greedy animal and the mouse is a clever and nice smelling animal that likes to gnaw at food, boards and the things in the house. Both animals symbolise corruptors which have a strong power and unsatisfied feeling (crocodile), is smart and knows well how to engage in corruption acts (mouse). The ghost is an invisible creature. The quality of the ghost is assigned to corruptors (human quality) as a way of making sense: “to catch a corruptor is as difficult as to catch a ghost”. The metaphor variation (132) is based on the generic metaphor KORUPTOR SEBAGAI MANUSIA SERAKAH, ‘Corruptors as greedy humans’ (see section 5.2.1).

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<sup>20</sup> ‘Wisma Atlit’ (athletic building) was a project to build a sport arena for Sea Games in Palembang, which was indicated as a corruption act. ‘Big Boss’ and ‘Big Chief’ refer to the political elites who organised the project.

In addition to metaphor variations of corruption, the metaphors of case also vary from person to person. Examples of these metaphors are provided in appendix N (133-134). The metaphors are taken from the generic metaphors KASUS SEBAGAI OBJEK DALAM WADAH, ‘Case as object in a container’ and KASUS SEBAGAI OBJEK MISTERI, ‘Case as mysterious object’ (see section 5.2.6). The metaphor (133) puts another object, “masuk angin” (catch a cold), into the container, which refers to the person who is involved in corruption. Indonesia practises an open court system. Someone’s case is open to public discussion in mass media. The aspect of state and event (134) is added to the mysterious object. In this respect, the public talks about the cases, but the case cannot be sorted out and it is intentionally manipulated and politicised. Based on this experience, the significant cases of corruption are commonly dismissed. The speaker of (134) compares the status of the case to a natural principle of the river that finally flows into the sea.

Other metaphor variations are the metaphors of law (135), politics (136), democracy (137) and government (138) provided in appendix N. Metaphor (135) comes from the generic metaphor HUKUM SEBAGAI ORANG SAKIT (Law as a sick person). The state of being sick is added (*mati suri*, ‘suspended animation’) to strengthen the meaning of the sick person, emphasising that it is impossible to reinforce the law. Metaphor (136) is based on two generic metaphors: POLITIK SEBAGAI KEKUATAN (Politics as power) and POLITIK SEBAGAI PERTARUNGAN (Politics as war). The words *ikan teri* (teri/tiny fish) refers to some small parties and *ikan salmon* (salmon fish) refers to a majority party which is engaged in a political debate in the parliament. In this case, the quality of the animal (fish) is added to the quality of politics.

The metaphor variation (137) stems from the generic metaphor DEMOKRASI SEBAGAI KEBEBASAN (Democracy as freedom). This metaphor adds a liquid object (water) and its quality, such as *keran* (tap), referring to a controlling instrument for the democracy; *dibuka selebar-lebarnya* (widely opened/turned on) refers to the freedom of expression, and *kebablasan* (uncontrollable) refers to the ways the freedom applies: in an anarchic, impolite and unethical way. Thus, when the tap is widely turned on (no control), the water is flowing heavily (the freedom is out of control), which may cause flooding (massive anarchic protest actions). The variation in (138) is from the generic metaphors

PEMERINTAH SEBAGAI ORANG TUA/KELUARGA (Government as parent/family) and PEMERINTAH SEBAGAI LUMBUNG MAKANAN (Government as a food granary). These metaphors focus on the functions of parents or family being similar to the function of the government for its people. However, the parents or family described in (138) are a bad or criminal family that likes to do corruption and bribery acts as a source of income to support family life.

## **5.7 Metaphorical Entailments and Metaphorical highlighting and hiding**

### **5.7.1 Metaphorical Entailments**

Another cause of the variation is represented by metaphorical entailments. Metaphorical entailments are motivated by making use of the additional rich knowledge about a source mapped onto a target (see chapter 3). The metaphorical entailments are aimed to link all concepts structuring metaphors and to establish a cross metaphorical correspondence or shared metaphorical entailments. This section will give three examples of metaphorical entailments: corruption, politics and law.

#### **1. Metaphors of corruption**

The most prevalent conventional conceptual metaphor in the group of metaphors of corruption is KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK/NEGARA, ‘Corruption as public/state enemy’ (see section 5.2.1). This metaphor entails other metaphors of corruption by making use of the rich knowledge about source concepts to understand corruption. It means that the speakers of Indonesian do not have to conceptualise corruption in terms of enemy. The concept of corruption can vary from culture to culture. Although the purpose of eradicating or attacking corruption is seen as serving the highest understanding, the ways to conceive it and achieve the communication goals can be different. For example, we understand the enemy in the following ways: the enemy produces victims, is eager to attack, destroys, kills, colonises, robs and makes people suffer; the enemy also has power, is a domestic and international leader. However, we also have additional knowledge about the enemy, which digresses from the constituent elements of the enemy, such as disease, culture, business, plant, food, disgrace, stain and euphoria. In this case, we make use of additional pieces of knowledge about the enemy to make sense of some possible features of corruption.

Although the pieces of knowledge about the sources move away from the constituent elements of enemy, some aspects of its elements are related to some aspects of elements of disease, business and culture. The aspects of disease relate to some aspects of culture, stain, disgrace, food, and so on. Examples of these metaphors are given in appendix N (139-142). All metaphorical expressions come from different metaphors. The expressions *musuh terbesar* ‘biggest enemy’ (139), *diserang*, ‘attacked’ *meresahkan* ‘worried’ (140), *diberantas*, ‘eradicate’, *dilawan* ‘fought’ (141), and *dibasmi* ‘wiped out’ (142) are from the KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH (Corruption as enemy) conceptual metaphor, whereas the words *penyakit korupsi* ‘corruption disease’, *jenis penyakit ini* ‘this kind of disease’, *obatnya* ‘its medicine’, *virus* and *kanker kronis* ‘a chronic cancer’ (140), *penyakit masyarakat* ‘social illness’ (141) and *urat malu* ‘shame nerve/fibres’, *putus* ‘cut’, *tidak sehat* ‘unhealthy’ (142) are from the KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT (Corruption as disease) conceptual metaphor. The expressions *budaya* ‘culture’, *budaya korupsi* ‘corrupt culture’, *permissif* ‘permissive’, *uphoria* ‘euphoria’, *budaya yang tidak baik* ‘not good culture’, *budaya antikorupsi* ‘anticorruption culture’ (141), *mengakar* ‘hold firmly or rooted’ (140) and *malu* ‘shame’ (142) are from the KORUPSI SEBAGAI BUDAYA (Corruption as culture) conceptual metaphor. Finally, the words *memperjualbelikan* ‘trading’, *tawar-menawar* ‘bidding/bargaining’ and *praktik bisnis* ‘business practice’ (142) belong to the KORUPSI SEBAGAI BISNIS (Corruption as business) conceptual metaphor.

All metaphors above are originally structured from the single concept of KORUPSI which forms complex coherence patterns across metaphors via the extensive network of the KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH metaphor. The correspondences among source and target domains are based on the shared entailment as shown below:

KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH (Corruption as enemy)

An enemy can attack

Therefore, CORRUPTION CAN ATTACK

KORUPSI SEBAGAI PENYAKIT (Corruption as disease)

A disease can contaminate (attack)

Therefore, CORRUPTION CAN CONTAMINATE (ATTACK)

KORUPSI SEBAGAI BUDAYA (Corruption as culture)

A culture can bring about the worst effects

Therefore, CORRUPTION CAN BRING ABOUT THE WORST EFFECTS

## KORUPSI SEBAGAI BISNIS (Corruption as business)

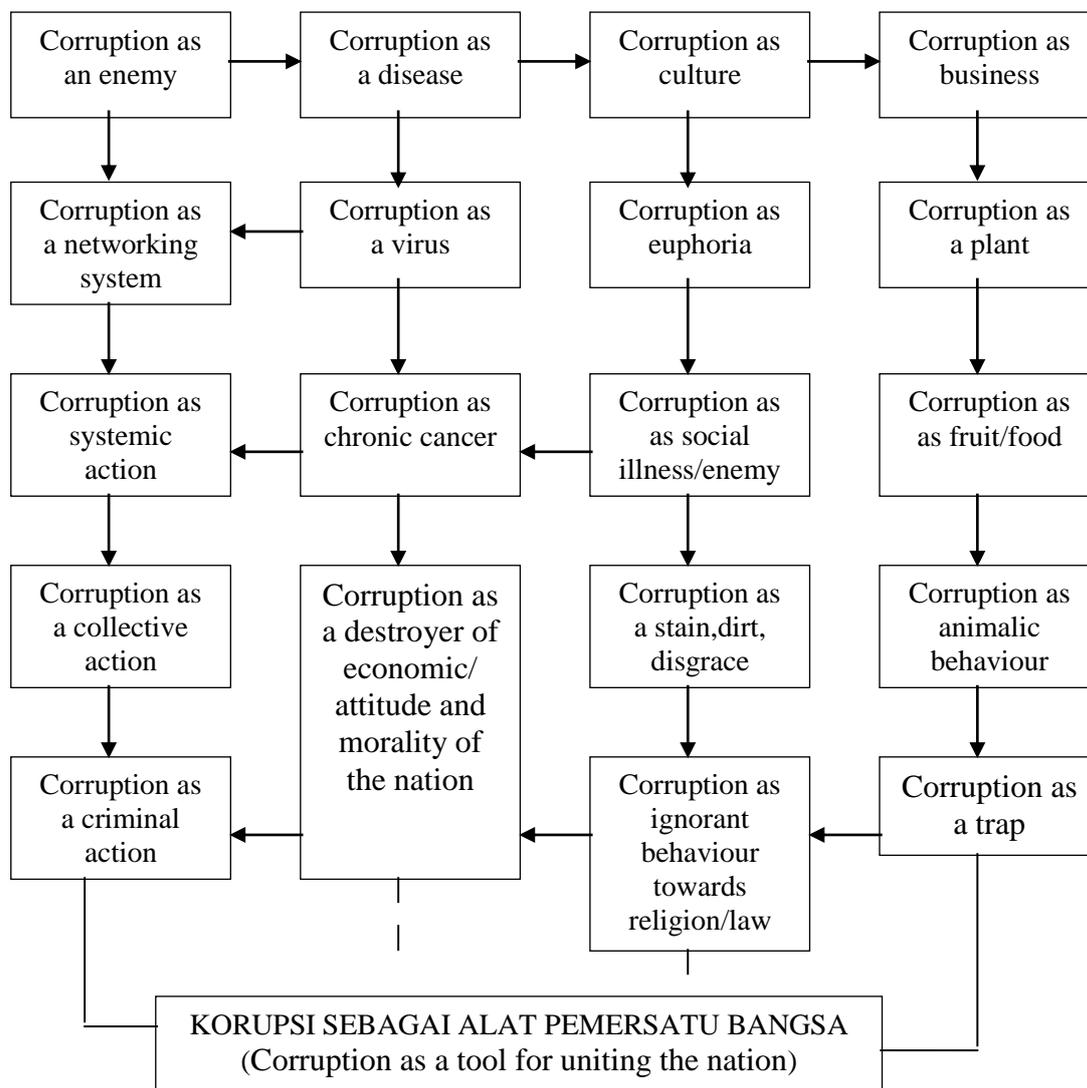
A business can give prosperity

Therefore, CORRUPTION CAN GIVE PROSPERITY

The shared entailments show that if a concept is structured by more than one metaphor, it gives rise to metaphorical entailment, overlapping metaphors and metaphor coherence. The correspondences of the constituent elements are not only alongside the domain 'enemy' to the domain 'disease' and from 'the disease to culture', but also inside the structural elements of enemy, disease and culture. This can also give rise to the metaphorical entailments as shown in detail in figure 1.6 below. Figure 1.6 describes the great chain of metaphorical entailments of corruption where cyclic corruption in Indonesia is conceptualised as enemy, disease, cultural and business chain. If a part of the cycle is unchained, it will break up the entailment relationships. The unchained connectors in the figure will impact on a disintegrated nation as the opposite of KORUPSI SEBAGAI ALAT PEMERSATU BANGSA (Corruption as a tool for uniting the nation).

KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH (Corruption as enemy) has constituent elements: power, alliance, reigns and attacks. These elements can also be understood as organisation, network and collective action (figure 1.6). The organisation may have structure, network, a top-down level and it is established systematically. Such an enemy may attack collectively - for example, the expressions: *KPK kesulitan menangani ribuan kasus korupsi* (KPK is experiencing difficulties to handle thousands of corruption cases), *KPK dan institusi hukum tak mampu memutus mata rantai korupsi yang tersusun rapi* (KPK and law institutions cannot cut the chains of corruption), *Pemerintah sulit membongkar jaringan korupsi* (The government finds it difficult to break through the network of corruption). Because of the structural element relationships, we have the metaphors KORUPSI SEBAGAI AKSI KOLEKTIF DARI ATAS-BAWAH (Corruption as a top-down collective action), KORUPSI SEBAGAI AKSI SISTEMIK (Corruption as systemic action) and KORUPSI SEBAGAI SISTEM JARINGAN (Corruption as a networking system).

### The great chain of metaphorical entailments of corruption



**Note:** → : a connector which describes the entailment relationship  
 : \_ \_ \_ : indirect entailment relationships  
 : \_\_\_\_\_ : an integrated line

## 2. Metaphorical Entailments of Politics

The highly conventional metaphors in the group of metaphors of politics are the metaphors which conceptualise politics in terms of commodity, business, power, law, moral and machine, such as POLITIK SEBAGAI BISNIS, POLITIK SEBAGAI KEKUASAAN, POLITIK SEBAGAI HUKUM and POLITIK SEBAGAI MORAL. The structures of these metaphors (see p.117-118) show entailment relationships. The additional structure of the metaphors is a machine element which functions as a means of exercising power. Based on

the structured relationships, POLITIK SEBAGAI SUMBER (Politics as a resource) entails POLITIK SEBAGAI SUMBER TERBATAS (Politics as a limited resource), which entails POLITIK SEBAGAI KOMODITAS BERNILAI (Politics as a valuable commodity). The metaphor POLITIK SEBAGAI KOMODITAS BERNILAI entails POLITIK SEBAGAI BISNIS, and then entails POLITIK SEBAGAI KEKUASAAN, POLITIK SEBAGAI HUKUM, POLITIK SEBAGAI MORAL, and POLITIK SEBAGAI MESIN.

However, we do not just understand politics in terms of all these things. There are many other ways in which we conceive politics, like in the excerpts taken from TV One and Metro-TV news (143-146) in appendix N. All metaphorical expressions (143-146) come from different metaphors. The expressions *sedang adu kekuatan* ‘display of forces’ (143), *bertikai* ‘dispute’ (144), *menghantam* ‘beat’, *dilanda konflik* ‘hit by conflict’, *pertikaian* ‘dispute’ *perebutan kekuasaan* ‘struggle for power’ (145), *menyerang* ‘attack’, *memojokkan* ‘put into the corner’, *posisi* ‘position’, *strategi politik* ‘political strategy’ and *mengalahkan* ‘to defeat’ (146) are from the POLITIK SEBAGAI PERTARUNGAN KEKUASAAN (Politics as fight for power or Politics as war) conceptual metaphor, whereas the words *lambannya* ‘slow’ (143), *masih menemui jalan buntu* ‘meet a dead-end street’ *dicapai* ‘to be reached’ (144), *mulai-sampai* ‘arrive’ and *menjelang* ‘up-coming’ (145) belong to the POLITIK SEBAGAI PERJALANAN (Politics as journey) conceptual metaphor. The expressions *tanggung jawab moral* ‘moral responsibility’ (143), *moral dan etika DPR* ‘morals and ethics of DPR and *moral politisi* ‘morality of politicians’ are from the POLITIK SEBAGAI MORAL metaphor. The words *suhu politik* ‘political temperature’, *kian memanas* ‘higher tension’ (144), *panas* ‘hot’, *sepi* ‘quiet’, *sejuk* ‘cool’, *segar* ‘fresh’ (145) and *terlalu dini* ‘too early’ (146) belong to the POLITIK SEBAGAI TEMPERATUR/IKLIM (Politics as temperature/climate) conceptual metaphor.

Further, the expressions *tawar-menawar politik* ‘political bidding’ (144), *praktik jual-beli undang-undang* ‘trading constitution practice’, *biaya vitamin DPR* ‘cost of vitamins for legislators’, *anggaran* ‘budget’, *pembangunan toilet* ‘to build a toilet’ and *bernilai Rp. 2 milyar* ‘cost of Rp. 2 billion’ (145) are from the POLITIK SEBAGAI BISNIS metaphor, whereas the words *senang bermain-main* ‘enjoy playing with’ (144) and *barang mainan politik* ‘political toys’ (146) are from the POLITIK SEBAGAI MAINAN (Politics as

game/toy) metaphor. The conceptual metaphor POLITIK SEBAGAI MESIN has one expression, *mesin politik* ‘political machine’ (144). The words *mengambil hati rakyat* ‘to be generous to the people’ (144), *demi kepentingan rakyat* ‘on behalf of the people’ and *komoditas politik* ‘political commodity’ (145) are belong to the RAKYAT SEBAGAI KOMUDITAS POLITIK (People as political commodity) metaphor.

Finally, POLITIK SEBAGAI PENDIDIKAN (Politics as education) has three expressions: *studi banding* ‘excursion study’, *pendidikan politik* ‘political education’ and *tidak baik untuk ditiru* ‘bad example’ in (145). The words *bola* ‘ball’ (145), *mengalahkan* ‘to defeat’, *strategi* ‘strategy’ and *kompetisi* ‘competition’ (146) belong to the POLITIK SEBAGAI OLAH RAGA (Politics as sport) metaphor. Finally, the expressions *topeng* ‘mask’, *tersibak* ‘exposed’, *sandiwara politik* ‘political drama’, *diperankan politisi Demokrat* ‘played by the Democrat politicians’ *panggung politik* ‘political stage’ and *tidak pernah sepi* ‘always crowd’ (145) are from the POLITIK SEBAGAI SANDIWARA/DRAMA (Politics as drama/theatre) metaphor. Thus, all metaphors share entailments through their linguistic expressions.

### 3 Metaphorical Entailments of Law

It has been seen that the entailment process has obviously begun from the highly conventional metaphors. For instance, the conceptual metaphor HUKUM SEBAGAI BISNIS (Law as business) is entailed by other metaphors. For example, we understand two basic elements of law: resource and commodity. There is a background condition that applies to this way of understanding the law: law has resources – constitution, articles, verdicts and other law instruments, the resources are products of law, the products of law are viewed as commodity, the commodity is a valuable thing, the valuable thing is a business, because law has a valuable commodity, the law has a business commodity, therefore, law is a business, the customers of the law are clients. For example:

(147) HUKUM SEBAGAI BISNIS (Law as business)

Jika *Judikatif* juga ikut *memperjualbelikan hukum*, siapa lagi yang bisa diharapkan untuk memberantas praktik korupsi di negeri ini?

*Hukum bisa dibeli* dan membuat pengadilan jadi surga bagi koruptor.

(If *judicial boards* also join with the practice of trading constitution, who else can we expect to wage war on corruption in this country?)  
(*People can buy the law* and turn the court into a heaven for corruptors)

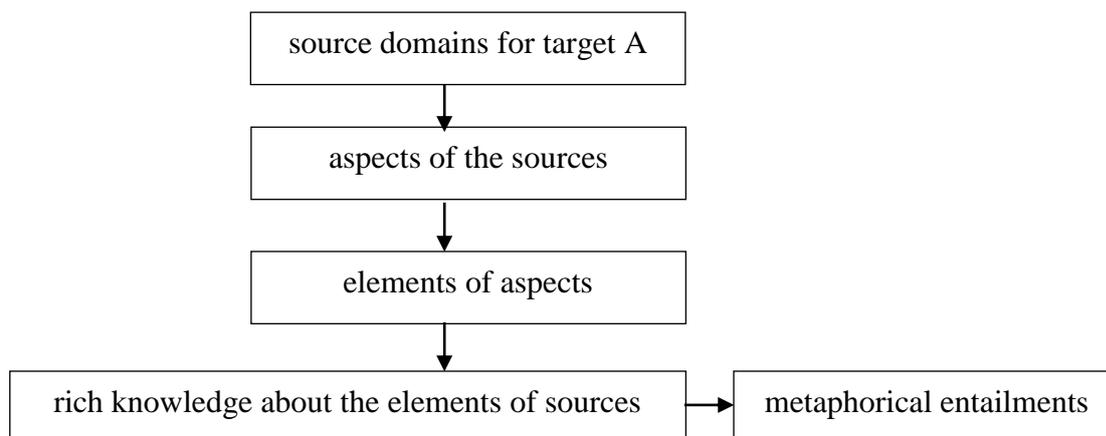
However, we do not just understand law in terms of business. People may make some elements or entities rich in ways of cultivating the business. For example: the corruption case of Nazaruddin who escaped abroad reported by the media. His deportation from Colombia cost Indonesia more than Rp 3 billion. The public heard the news and predicted that he engaged in serious corruption acts and should have got 5 to 10 years in prison. But the fact was different, it was hard for the jury to impose the punishment. They claimed that Nazaruddin was only responsible for Rp 4 billion and it was not as a corruption action, but as a gratification. In this respect, the public prediction of the punishment was a failure. Taking this experience, many people comment that Nazaruddin got a discount price by cutting several law articles and turning the article into *a bonsai tree*". Therefore, we have the metaphor HUKUM SEBAGAI TANAMAN BONSAI (Law as bonsai tree).

In this case, HUKUM SEBAGAI BISNIS entails the HUKUM SEBAGAI TANAMAN BONSAI metaphor. Given these two metaphors, the speakers of Indonesia have more knowledge about source domains mapped onto a single target domain of law, which are: law is powerful in a poor society, but powerless before Nazaruddin or other elites and rich men, law is not law, but politics, dramatised and made as a game or toy. As law is viewed as business, the business has to provide the best service to the customers (clients) and has to be well-established and managed. To do all the things, law needs power. Power is exercised and collaborates with other powers to get stronger, such as politics, government and police. The collaboration of powers influences the product of law in many ways: politics, drama, a frightening tool and a toy. Under such conditions, law is not an independent entity which depends on other powers and goals. The law can malfunction or can become powerless. In this respect, law is viewed as a human being, that is, powerless is weak and weak is a sick person. Thereby, law is a sick person. Examples (148-152) in appendix N describe the relationships between the constituent elements above. Thus, the metaphorical entailments of law are as follows: the metaphor HUKUM SEBAGAI BISNIS entails HUKUM SEBAGAI TANAMAN BONSAI, which entails HUKUM SEBAGAI POLITIK

that entails HUKUM SEBAGAI KEKUASAAN, which entails HUKUM SEBAGAI SANDIWARA/DRAMA that entails HUKUM SEBAGAI MAINAN, which entails HUKUM SEBAGAI ORANG SAKIT that entails HUKUM SEBAGAI PERTARUNGAN SOSIAL.

Based on the discussion on the metaphors of corruption, politics, law and case, it can be said that these metaphors share the entailments about business as their source domains: KORUPSI SEBAGAI KOMODITAS BISNIS, POLITIK SEBAGAI BISNIS, HUKUM SEBAGAI BISNIS and KASUS SEBAGAI BISNIS. This sharing process is facilitated by the correspondences alongside some constituent and structured elements of the different groups of metaphors. The relationship depends on how much and what knowledge is carried over from source B to target A. This is related to certain aspects of B and A that are involved in the mapping as described in figure 1.7 below.

**Figure 1.7: The rich knowledge about the source which triggers metaphorical entailments**



Note: → indicates the relationships among the sources, aspects, elements, and the rich knowledge about the elements of the sources.

### 5.7.2 Metaphorical Highlighting and Hiding

Unlike the metaphorical entailments which utilise the source domains to a great extent, the metaphorical highlighting and hiding applies to the target domain. Highlighting is meant to focus on one or some aspects of the target concepts. When a metaphor highlights some aspects of the same target, the other aspects of the concept are out of focus or hidden. This principle follows the metaphorical concept as partial, not total understanding. If it were total, one concept would actually be the other, whereas metaphor itself is a way of

understanding one concept in terms of another. In this sense, highlighting and hiding are not two separate concepts. Highlighting necessarily goes together with hiding (see chapter 3). For example:

(153) KORUPSI SEBAGAI BUAH-BUAHAN (Corruption as fruit)

Tolong berikan *apel Malang* kepada Bos Besar dan apel Washington juga ya!  
Ketua Besar minta *semangka Palembang*.

(Please give *Malang apples* and *Washington apples* to the big boss, okay!)  
(The big chief asks for *Palembang watermelon*)

(154) KORUPSI SEBAGAI PERILAKU HEWAN (Corruption as animal behaviour)

Selama *ayam masih mau makan jagung*, omong kosong *korupsi* bisa diberantas.  
Mana mungkin *tikus bisa kurus berada di lumbung padi*.

(*As long as chicken still want to eat corn* ' (people like corruption), it is nonsense to eradicate *corruption*)

(It is impossible for *a mouse to get thin in the rice barn* (someone will steal if we give him/her a chance to do it)

(155) KORUPSI SEBAGAI ALAT UNTUK MEMPERCEPAT SUATU URUSAN  
(Corruption as a tool for accelerating the business)

Sudah Ibu berikan *minyak pelumas* yang diminta Bos Besar?  
Anggota DPRD *dapat fee* agar APBD yang diajukan gubernur *cepat disahkan*.

(Have you given *the oil machine* to the Big Boss?)  
(The governor gave the legislators a fee to pass the budget proposal)

(156) KORUPSI SEBAGAI TINDAK KRIMINAL (Corruption as criminal action)

*Korupsi telah menghancurkan* ekonomi, moral, dan budaya bangsa.  
Negara ini *bisa bankrut* jika *praktik korupsi* tidak diberantas.  
(*Corruption has destroyed* the nation's economy, morals and culture)  
(This state *can go bankrupt* if *corruption* is allowed to grow)

These metaphors focus on or highlight a number of aspects of the concept of corruption. Metaphor (153) addresses *the secret codes* to avoid vulgar language in practising corruption (see p. 140-141). Then, metaphor (154) addresses *the situation* of corruption which is conceptualised as animals: *ayam and tikus* (chicken and mouse) and their food *jagung-padi* (corn and rice). These animals stand for corruptors and their food stands for

money. Metaphor (155) focuses on the things used to *accelerate the corruption activities*: *minyak pelumas* (oil machine) and fee stand for the money used to bribe. Finally, (156) highlights *the negative effects* of corruption acts: *menghancurkan* (destroy) and *bangkrut* (bankrupt). Thus, when the KORUPSI metaphor highlights the secret codes in ways of communicating the corruption practices, it simultaneously hides other aspects like situation, things to accelerate and the negative effects of corruption.

Other examples are the metaphors of democracy (157-160) that can be seen in appendix N. Metaphors (157-160) highlight a number of aspects of the concepts of democracy. They address the issues of materials: uncooked and raw (157), controls: against, rob and legalise (158), purpose: threat and perpetuate (159) and understanding: still learning and to study democracy (160). Thus, when the DEMOKRASI metaphor highlights the issues of purpose, it simultaneously hides other aspects like *controls*, *understanding* and *materials* of democracy.

## 5.8 Summary

This chapter analysed the dimensions of variation and the causes of variation of metaphor in the Indonesian context. There are two factors underlying the variation of metaphor and the causes of variation in the Indonesian context: the broader cultural context and the natural and physical environment. The discussion of these aspects has shown that the source concepts used to understand the target domains, i.e. corruption, politics, law, and so on by the speakers of Indonesia are too wide. These bring about the social and cultural variation of metaphor. The dimension of variation of metaphors can be the result of borrowing concepts across and within the cultures or it can happen by accident. The cultural variations of metaphor involve two cultural dimensions: cross-cultural and intracultural (within-culture). The cross-cultural dimension is related to the broader cultural context, whereas the natural and physical environment is linked to the place where the speakers live. The natural and physical environment shapes the language, primarily its vocabulary. Consequently, it will also shape the metaphors which people employ to understand political party, corruption and election, for instance *sampan*, *biduk* (raw) and *perut buncit* (bloated stomach) are from Malay and *harajaon* (kingdom) is from Batakness. In a certain kind of habitat, the speakers living there will be attuned to things and phenomena for the metaphorical comprehension and the

creation of their conceptual universe. Based on the above-mentioned factors, the cultural variations of metaphors in the Indonesian context can vary across four dimensions: social, regional, stylistic and individual.

Some cognitive scholars tried to find aspects related to the universality and variation of conceptual metaphors across and within the cultures by comparing conceptual metaphors in one language to conceptual metaphors in other languages. This research shows that the differences or similarities and variations of conceptual metaphors are not matters of universality, but they are related to sharing concepts and knowledge across and within cultures. The different languages and cultures generate different concepts and thought (Sapir-Whorf, 1956). Naturally, all languages have words to express, for instance, happiness and anger, politics and election, which may be different from one language to another. For example, the speakers of English and the speakers of Indonesian metaphorically conceptualise happiness in different ways, but a common feature is that happiness is oriented towards the 'up' position. This may happen by accident, not as a result of borrowing the concept or metaphor from English. America and Indonesia also employ similar metaphors to understand politics, such as POLITICS IS POWER, BUSINESS, SPORT, DRAMA and TOYS, but POLITICS IS GAMBLING does not exist in Indonesia. America and Indonesia also view the elections as a competition or a race. However, the metaphor ELECTION IS FUND RAISING in the U.S. has a culturally reversed meaning in Indonesia, with ELECTION AS FLOOD RELIEF or DISTRIBUTING FOOD SUPPLIES FOR THE PEOPLE. Such similarities may exist because Indonesia adopts some concepts from the U.S. politics. Thus, since metaphors relate to the human conceptual system and the meaning-making process through language, it would be relative for the conceptual metaphors to employ universal concepts.

The universality of conceptual metaphor argued by Lakoff (1980/2003) is not intended to generalise that all languages have the same conceptual system when it comes to applying metaphorical concepts. The universality intended here refers to the fact that all languages have metaphorical expressions depending on culture, mind or ideology and language. There are always specific or unique ways in conceptualising the world that people employ through their languages. For example, the underdeveloped countries would not

possibly understand 'mind' in terms of machine, computer, brittle objects, etc, as the advanced or developing countries do, i.e. *My mind does not work today, I need to delete you from my memory, Your love affair strikes my mind*, etc (MIND IS MACHINE, MIND IS COMPUTER and MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT). The underdeveloped countries may not have these concepts because they live far from information, communication and technology. Therefore, they may view the mind in terms of other concepts, based on their culture, knowledge and experience, such as, *Isi ma pikiran i dohot na denggan, ulang sai maraangan-angan* (Batak Angkola language: Do not just dream off, load your mind with good things). In this example, Batak Angkola people view the mind in terms of container (MIND IS CONTAINER). Therefore, the Batak Angkola language does not have words to replace the words *computer*, *window*, and *computer mouse*. These words are constructed through metaphorical concepts. Because they do not have the words, they do not have the same conceptual system in understanding what the mind is.

Other causes of variation are the metaphorical entailments and metaphor highlighting and hiding. Metaphorical entailments are motivated by using the additional rich knowledge about a source, for example CORRUPTION AS STATE/PUBLIC ENEMY has variations as a result of a shared entailment, i.e. CORRUPTION AS DISEASE, CULTURE, PLANT, FOOD, and on on. The metaphorical highlighting and hiding applies to the target domain. Highlighting is meant to focus on one or on some aspects of the target concepts. When a metaphor highlights some aspects of the same target domain, the other aspects of the concept are out of focus or hidden. This kind of metaphor influences the linguistic variations because some lexical items which belong to the source domains of one conceptual metaphor are also used in another one. For example, the metaphors of democracy emphasise a number of aspects of the concepts in terms of fruit, fight for power, freedom and lesson. The single target concept of democracy is understood via several source concepts because only one source is not enough and our concepts have a number of distinct aspects attached to them, which metaphors address.

# CHAPTER 6

## METAPHORICAL FRAMES AND ROLES IN THE INDONESIAN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter addresses two main issues: firstly, the use of frames in political discourse, and secondly, the role of metaphors in political discourse. Section 6.1 presents eight political topics to explore the use of frame in the discourse. The discussion is summarised in section 6.2. Section 6.3 presents seven political topics to explore the role of metaphors in the discourse. The discussion is summarised in section 6.4.

### 6.1 Metaphor-Base-Reframing: a cultural and political discourse conflict

The metaphor variations discussed in chapter 5 indirectly involve the choice of frames. The words framed here are the source domains of metaphor. For example, the word ‘war’ is the source domain for the metaphor POLITICS AS WAR. Frames are structured mental representations of a conceptual category or a schematisation of experience which does not correspond to a reality as it is, but reflects the knowledge that humans make use of in using language (see p.55-59). Metaphor is usually based on a frame (see chapter 3) that makes people see an issue in a new light: i.e. to fight for corruption is absolutely necessary and moral. One of the ways to achieve this is through language framing, that is, corruption is framed in terms of enemy. This frame is called the ENEMY frame. If the word *enemy* is added to the word *corruption*, the metaphor CORRUPTION AS ENEMY results. The combination of frame and metaphor is usually called a metaphorical frame, that is metaphor based reframing. Therefore, a distinction should be made between the writing system and the conceptual frame and conceptual metaphor; the ENEMY CORRUPTION EVENT is for the conceptual frame and CORRUPTION AS ENEMY is for the conceptual metaphor.

As this frame is used to talk about corruption in the media, the subliminal meaning of the ENEMY frame is used in order to make sense of reality: what does the enemy mean? who

is the enemy? and how to fight the enemy. This identification implies the social categories of *us/them* constructed by the participants in the discourse where the *us* category is a good attribution and *them* is a bad attribution. The acts of categorisation are mostly accomplished via metaphorical frames. In this sense, choosing and using metaphorical frames divides the participants or audiences in the discourse into good guys and bad guys by assigning them, according to their opposing views, particular roles in the frame. As a result, the frames used in the discourse contribute to creating a contradictory and conflicting situation. The domain of politics is certainly conducive to such conflicts of opinion and is often extended to the activities of ‘counter discourse’ or ‘war discourse’.

### 6.1.1 Frames of Politics

During the Reform Era (see chapter 2), the public can watch or read political news presented by the media most of the time, such as *Harian Kompas*, *Harian Waspada*, TV-One and Metro-TV. Table 22 below shows the distributions of political news observed for one year (2010-2011).

**Table 22: The distributions of political news during 2010-2011**

Topics	Newspapers		Television	
	Harian Kompas	Harian Waspada	TV-One	Metro-TV
Politics	70	55	25	21
Total	125		46	

The corpus also identified 1856 occurrences of *politik* (politics) with 439.472 tokens (see appendix A). Based on the observation of the data, the word *politik* is framed in many ways, such as *bisnis* (business), *komoditas politik* (political commodity), *moral* (moral), *hukum* (law), *sandiwara* (drama), *teater* (theatre), *dagelan* (folk theatre), *kekuasaan* (power), *panglima* (commander in chief) and *mainan* (toys/game). For example:

(161) RAKYAT SEBAGAI KOMODITAS POLITIK (People as political commodity)

Adapun revisi dan pengesahan undang-undang di DPR *demi kepentingan rakyat*, jangan diartikan *ada praktik jual-beli undang-undang*.  
Eksekutif, legislatif, yudikatif bekerja untuk *melayani rakyat*.

DPR mendesak pemerintah untuk memperhatikan *kesejahteraan rakyat*.

(The parliament revises and legalises constitutions *for the sake of the people*.  
Don't take it as trading constitutions).

(The executive, legislative and judicial branches work to *serve the people*)

(*The Parliament* asked the government *to be concerned with the prosperity of the people*).

Excerpt (161) represents the politicians' statements reported by the media. Politicians commonly frame the issues carefully and take something advantageous and disadvantageous into account. For example, they always put people above everything, as articulated in the phrases *atas nama rakyat* (on behalf of the people), *untuk kesejahteraan rakyat* (for the prosperity of the people), *peduli terhadap nasib rakyat* (care about the people's destiny), and the like. In this sense, they frame *rakyat* (people) as a political commodity. Table 23 below shows the most frequent frames of politics expressed by politicians and the participants in the discourse.

**Table 23: Politicians and other participants' frame of politics**

Political Frames	N
KOMODITAS POLITIK (political commodity) <i>X mengatasnamakan rakyat, demi kepentingan rakyat, membawa aspirasi rakyat, X memperjuangkan nasib rakyat, etc.</i>	50
BISNIS (BUSINESS) <i>ongkos, biaya, mahal, tawar-menawar politik, kepentingan politik, agenda politik, promosi, citra politik, jual – beli undang-undang, etc.</i>	40
HUKUM (LAW) <i>X selalu dijadikan panglima dalam penegakan Y, X upaya politik membantu Y yang Terjerat kasus korupsi, X produk politik, bukan produk hukum, rekayasa politik dibalik Kasus hukum..., unsur politik lebih banyak dalam kasus hukum..daripada unsur hukumnya, etc</i>	31
KEKUASAAN (POWER) <i>X maju merebut kursi kekuasaan..., dominasi kekuasaan politik, ideologi politik...oli-Garki kekuasaan, melanggengkan kekuasaan, etc</i>	23
KEKUATAN (STRENGTH) <i>Putusan X sering dipengaruhi oleh kekuatan politik, X melakukan show of force, kekuatan hukum terganggu oleh kekuatan politik, X menggalang kekuatan untuk....</i>	13

DRAMA/TEATER (DRAMA/THEATRE) <i>aktor-aktor politik memerankan adegan politik..., drama politik, dagelan politik, etc</i>	9
KENDERAAN/MESIN (VEHICLE/MACHINE) <i>mesin politik tidak berjalan, roda politik., mesin parpol rusak..., meng-upgrade diri..etc</i>	8
TEMPERATURE/SUHU (TEMPERATURE/CLIMATE) <i>suhu politik kian memanas..., konflik antara X dan Y-iklim politik yang tidak sehat, perakiraan X tentang temperatur politik meningkat tajam....etc.</i>	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>184</b>

All the words, phrases and sentences (italics) in table 23 are frames used to talk about politics. The mark ‘X’ is the agent/actor/theme and ‘Y’ is the object or recipient. The word *rakyat* (people) in (161) is framed as a political commodity. The word *commodity* is a part of business or an economic term. Table 23 shows the business frame categories: *ongkos* (fare), *biaya* (cost/charge), *tawar-menawar politik* (political bargain), *kepentingan politik* (political interest), *agenda politik* (political agenda), *promosi* (promoting), *citra politik* (political imaging) and *jual-beli undang-undang* (trading constitutions). A political and social observer for instance, applied this business frame to talk about the parliament’s role in a political talk presented by TV-One. Two legislators in the talk disagreed with the frame because the frame put them into the category of bad guys who commercialised their jobs. They corrected this POLITICAL COMMODITY EVENT frame (161) by using the MORAL POLITICS EVENT frame. However, the frame does not change the situation because the public has heard the news about the legislators’ practices of trading constitutions, getting projects, organising the budget, and so on. Such practices are depicted using the COMMERCIAL POLITICS EVENT frame. As the frame was constantly reported by the media, the subliminal meaning of the frame resonated and became the common way for people to talk about politics. For example:

(162) COMMERCIAL POLITICS EVENT

*Ada kepentingan politik di balik kemenangan SBY-Budiono.  
Proses tawar-menawar politik dalam pengesahan undang-undang di DPR  
berjalan alot.  
DPR suka menjalankan politik dagang sapi.*

(There was a *back-room deal* for SBY-Budiono to win the elections)  
(There was a long *political bargain* in the parliament to pass the constitution)  
(The legislators like making *political trading*)

Table 23 shows 40 expressions about politics which are derived from the business frame. The legislators also apply political frames to talk about law, i.e. *political product*, *political support*, *political maneuver*, *political lobby*, *commander in chief*, etc (see appendix N, (163)). As parliament has a legislative function, the legislators tend to mix politics with law. Consequently, they conceive law not as law, but as politics, particularly in the law cases involving political elites or power structures. They often direct the cases on purpose towards a political domain so that the cases become vague and bring the issues to the public discourse. A polemical situation is plotted or created in order to handle the cases. Such a situation slows down the legislative process in the cases and finally the cases are dismissed. They frame *law* in such ways to show that politics is more powerful than law and that law can be enforced if there is a political will of the rulers. Thus, this political frame is used to maintain power and resources which are exercised through language and discourse.

The political frames used by politicians are in contradiction with the MORAL POLITICS frame. The participants in the discourse, such as in the programmes *Jakarta Lawyers Club* (TV-One) and the *Dialogue Today* (Metro-TV) see the issues of *politics* and *politician* in a different light. Both television channels presented the topics “Prahara di Partai Demokrat” (Metro-TV) and “Badai Menerjang Demokrat” (TV-One). The participants in both discourses employed different frames as presented in table 24 below.

**Table 24: Selective frames of ‘politics’ and ‘politician’**

Frames	Social Status of the Speakers/Participants					
	Lawyer	Law obs	DPR	Political obs	Artists	TV
Kekuasaan (power)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bisnis (business)	-	-	-	+	+	+
Sandiwara (drama)	+	+	-	+	+	+
Rekayasa (manipulate)	-	-	-	+	+	+
Hewan (animal; mouse)	-	+	-	+	-	+
Hasrat/nafsu (desire)	-	-	+	+	-	+
Permainan (games/toys)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Badut-badut (clowns)	-	-	-	+	+	+
Buruk (bad)	-	-	-	+	+	+

Note: obs = observer, DPR = legislators, TV-One and Metro –TV.

The mark (+) in table 24 means the participants use the frame and (–) do not use the frame. Television channels have all frames that mean the issues have become a public discourse produced by television channels. This aspect is perceived as the press independence to accommodate all social/public interests. In addition to the oral data (table 24), the corpus also identified some words which refer to legislators and politicians. The most frequent words based on the corpus search are *bisnis* ‘business’ (37 words), *tikus* ‘mouse’ (3), *sandiwara* ‘drama’ (7), *peran* ‘role/cast’ (100), *komoditas* ‘commodity’ (8), *permainan* ‘game/toys’ (24), *rekayasa* ‘manipulate’ (49), *menggerogoti* ‘to gnaw’ (8), *bohong/dusta* ‘lies’ (21), *buruk* ‘bad’ (124), *hasrat/nafsu* ‘desire’ (22) and *kekuasaan* ‘power’ (243). As the frame relates to the conceptual framework, knowledge and ideology, the use of the same frame does not mean that the participants in the discourse share the same ideology or concept of the frames, for instance the words *politikus* (politician), *politisi* (politician) and *badut-badut Senayan* (clowns of Senayan) were introduced by a law observer in the talk show. Many participants laughed when hearing those words, including the writer. During the break the writer (who also attended the talk show) asked three participants about the words. I thought they were laughing because they fully understood the meaning and concept of the words, but they could not explain what the law observer meant by the words. They laughed because it was funny to compare legislators and politicians with ‘mouse’ and ‘clown’ as in the excerpt (164) below. The text in *bahasa Indonesia* is given in appendix N.

(164) MOUSE WITH TIE EVENT

“...Actually, **I** hate to debate with **politicians** or even ‘**politikus**’, even, **police** (audiences are laughing) about the case of corruption involving the **members of parliament**. Don’t you know how it feels like being bitten by a **mouse**, Mr. Karny (the host)? **I** do not want to be bitten by a **mouse**. **I** want to say that it is very difficult to catch **politicians** because **they** are gangsters with a tie that attack and weaken the law institution (KPK). Power makes **politicians** lose their morals. The media has repeatedly reported bad things regarding the **person**, but the **party** does not recall the person from parliament because the party should wait for the decision of KPK about the status of the person in the case. So, politics is not just about power and domination, but also about truth, (...) this truth is difficult to find among the **clowns of Senayan**...”

The excerpt (164) is about the corruption case of Nazaruddin, a legislator from the Democratic Party. It may be the reason why TV-One gave the talk show the title “Badai

Menerjang Demokrat” (Storm striking the Democrats). The word *politisi* (politician) in *bahasa Indonesia* refers to a politician (legislators and political elite). However, the word *politisi* competes in its usage with the word *politikus* which has the same reference as the word *politisi*. In the *bahasa Indonesia* dictionary, *politisi* is the right form and refers to someone’s profession, whereas *politikus* is the wrong form. But, descriptively, most people use *politikus* because they do not know that the word is wrong. Perhaps, there is a reason why the speaker of (164) used this wrong form, that is, by using the MOUSE frame: *a kind of animal, smart, agile, likes to gnaw things and is a pest for farmers*. In this sense, the MOUSE frame is metaphorically conceptualised as a combination of human quality (*politisi*: politician) and animal quality (*tikus*: mouse). The animal quality is semantically associated with the categorisations of a politician: *human* → mouse, *educated human* → smart, *power and dominance* → agility, *to manipulate, fool, trick* → smart and to gnaw and *engage in corruption* → pest.

Obviously, the speaker’s intention was to attune the audience to the meanings of his frame. The word *politikus* is constructed from ‘politik’ and ‘-us’ → *politikus*. The suffix ‘-us’ refers to the polarisation *us/our* which means ‘our’ politics or we understand politics in this way as opposed to others (*them*-politicians). This is a kind of discursive strategy of the speaker to polarise the discourse towards the different roles in the frame (*us-them*), which aims to construct public opinion or influence the audience. Thus, by framing the politicians as TIKUS BERDASI (a mouse with tie) and BADUT-BADUT SENAYAN (clowns of ‘Senayan’) in (164), the speaker made the politicians a target object to shoot. The people (*us*) hate the pests (*them*; politicians/legislators) because they eat the crops (fool and make people suffer). The people (*we*) cannot expect anything from the clowns (*them*), except some funny things. Thus, choosing and using the frames divides the politicians, legislators and participants (public) into good guys and bad guys by placing them with opposing views into a particular role in the frame.

### 6.1.2 Frames of Corruption

The corpus contains 2464 occurrences of the word *korupsi*, 2013 for *hukum* (law) and 2700 for *kasus* (case). The issue of corruption have led to the collapse of Soeharto’s regime (see chapter 2). However, the corruption rate even increased rapidly during the Reform Era.

Since the Reform Era Indonesia has created two new institutions to deal with corruption cases: *KPK* (Corruption Eradication Commission) and <sup>21</sup>*Tipikor* (Criminal Court for Corruption). However, none of the two institutions has obtained significant results yet. The corruption issues still permeate the headlines in the media as presented in table 25 below.

**Table 25: Distribution of the news about corruption and law enforcement**

TOPICS	Newspapers		Television	
	Harian Kompas	Harian Waspada	TV-One	Metro-TV
corruption	80	45	40	32
law enforcement	52	35	20	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>48</b>

*Jakarta/Indonesia Lawyers Club* is one of the most popular talk show programmes on television which specifically addressed the issues of corruption, law and politics. The participants in the talk are mostly politicians, lawyers, government's elites, law observers, social and political observers. In the talk, the politicians commonly talk about corruption in a careful manner and on another occasion they make use of the issue for self-defence, to serve their interests and goals. In a particular context, they supported a general issue which framed corruption as an enemy because it is absolutely necessary and the moral thing to do. They use the same frame which conceptualises corruption by means of Indonesian political frames: politics, military, law and economics, like the words *berantas* (to eradicate), *hapuskan* (to terminate), *lawan* (to fight), *perangi* (to wage war), *bersihkan* (to clean), and so on. These words are common words which frame corruption in terms of war. In this context, war is not actual war, but a verbal battle with arguments about how to stop corruption. This frame is conceived as a neutral or common way of speaking about corruption, that is the issue of corruption is not framed to attack other participants. For example:

(165) 'WAR ON CORRUPTION' FRAME

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<sup>21</sup> *KPK* and *Tipikor* were specifically established to handle corruption cases. *Tipikor* is a specific criminal court for corruption amounting to under one billion. This court is placed at the police offices in every region in Indonesia and its tasks are directly undertaken by the police. *KPK* handles corruption cases amounting to over one billion. The parliament selects the chief of *KPK* by organising a test to determine the suitability of the candidate.

Korupsi adalah musuh kita bersama.  
 Bersihkan korupsi dari bangsa ini!  
 Korupsi merupakan tindak kejahatan yang sangat luar biasa merusak ekonomi,  
 moral, dan akhlak bangsa ini.

(Corruption is everybody's enemy)  
 (Clean this nation of corruption!)  
 (Corruption is a severe criminal action which destroys the morals, the attitude  
 and the economy of this nation)

Politicians know what the meaning of the WAR frame is: the enemy in the war is corruption/corruptor and the corruptor is a bad guy or villain, the people are victims, and a war usually produces a hero. The politicians make use of the frame to show their constituents that they are against corruption and have a commitment to wage war on corruption as in the example above (165), used by a legislator in the talk. This frame is a form of rhetorical strategy to invite the audience or public to take part in the war on corruption on the one hand and to state that the parliament is a hero because it saves the country and the people on the other. Table 26 below shows several frames that politicians and other participants employ to talk about corruption; they are taken from newspapers, television programmes and interviews.

**Table 26: Corruption frames**

<b>CORRUPTION FRAMES</b>	<b>N</b>
MUSUH (enemy) <i>berantas, hapuskan, lawan, serang, bersihkan, etc</i>	91
AKSI KOLEKTIF (collective action) <i>terstruktur rapi, dikoordinir, sistemik, menyeluruh, level atas-bawah, terorganisir, berjemaah, kolektif, etc</i>	70
PENYAKIT(disease) <i>penyakit, virus, wabah, menyerangkan, mengobati, bersihkan, musnahkan, etc</i>	61
BUDAYA (culture) <i>budaya, permisif, uporia, tradisi, lazim, bukan rahasia, mendarah-daging, serakah, etc.</i>	49
TINDAK KEJAHATAN (criminal action) <i>tindak kejahatan yang luar biasa, pidana, hukum mati, menyengsarakan rakyat, meruntuhkan pondasi ekonomi, moral, dan akhlak bangsa, etc.</i>	28
BISNIS POLITIK/TANAMAN/BUAH (political business, plants, fruit) <i>ajang bagi-bagi kue kekuasaan, subur, kebun korupsi, buah korupsi, aroma korupsi, etc</i>	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>314</b>

However, politicians often find a political scapegoat when the war on corruption does not show any significant results. They reframe ‘corruption’ in order to attack the government or the president (see example (166-167), appendix N). The word *pemerintah* (government) in (166) has two references: the president and the government’s bureaucracy, like in the expressions *Pemerintah harus punya komitmen yang jelas dalam upaya pemberantasan korupsi* (The government must have a clear commitment to eradicate corruption), *Berantas suap-menyuap dalam urusan proyek, perpajakan, dan bea-cukai* (Stop bribery practices in projects, taxes and customs!) and *Angka korupsi di ranah ini sangat signifikan* (Those places displayed a significant amount of corruption). These expressions are assumed as having a position to attack which serves as evidence or as “marshall forces” to support the adversary (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003: 81). By reframing ‘corruption’ in a different light, the politicians make sense of reality: why we failed to fight against corruption because the enemy (*them*; president/government) is more powerful than *us* (legislators and people).

**Table 27: Selective frames of corruption**

Frames	Status of the Speakers/Participants				
	DPR	G-officers	Media	Observers	Other
musuh (enemy)	+	+	+	+	-
tindak kejahatan (criminal action)	+	+	+	+	-
aib/noda/malu (stain/dirt/shame)	+	+	+	-	-
penyakit (disease); virus, cancer	+	-	+	+	-
budaya (culture); euphoria, etc	+	-	+	+	-
aksi sistemik atas-bawah (top-down systemic actions)	-	-	+	+	-
sistem jaringan (network system)	-	-	+	+	+
bisnis politik (political business)	-	-	+	+	+
Tanaman (plant); fertilised, grow	+	-	+	+	-
makanan/buah (food/fruit)	-	-	+	+	+
hewan (animal): mouse, crocodile	-	-	+	+	+
aksi kolektif (collective action)	+	-	+	+	-
alat pemersatu bangsa (a united nation instrument)	-	-	+	+	-
a destroyer of the economics, morals and attitude of the nation	+	+	+	+	+

**Note:** G-officers = government (executive) DPR= legislators

The expression (167, appendix N) is implicit and ambiguous: *PKS masih termasuk partai yang bersih dalam korupsi* (The PKS Party is included as a clean party of corruption). The expression is ambiguous and can be interpreted as: clean to engage in corruption, safe,

undetected or clean of corruption. In this respect, the reporter clarified the expression by several questions in order for the audiences not to have contrary interpretations. The legislator used the expression as self-defense which states that PKS is a clean party of corruption, honest and cares about the people's condition). This expression is aimed at promoting the party. The expressions *but the decisions and policies in the parliament are always taken through voting...and so on* (167) are used as excuses.

Table 27 above describes the selective frames used by the participants from six talk-show programmes (TV-One and Metro-TV, 2011) with corruption as a main topic. Examples (165-167) and table 27 show that the speakers use selective frames of corruption from the general issues to a specific one. The WAR ON CORRUPTION frame (165) is reframed to become the ENEMY CORRUPTION frame (166) and then it is reframed to become a more specific one: the STAIN CORRUPTION frame (167). As the frames are evoked by particular meanings of words (see chapter 3), the speakers may use the same or different frames based on the way they conceptualise the words. However, legislators and government officers do not use the frames (table 27) A TOP-DOWN SYSTEMIC ACTION, NETWORK SYSTEM, POLITICAL BUSINESS, and so on, because those frames do not benefit them and threaten their social status, power and position. The legislators and observers use the same frames: DISEASE, CULTURE, PLANT and COLLECTIVE ACTION, which are different from the ones used by government officers. In other contexts, legislators and government officers use the same frames: 'stain/dirt/shame' to express that the issues of corruption have broken their image or self-esteem. The selective frames used by the speakers show the opponent positions between individuals with a higher social status and a lower one. This emphasis inevitably leads to a deep misunderstanding and to socio-political conflicts among the participants in the discourse. The reason is that the observers and the public view corruption in a very different light. They employ the negative stereotypes or prejudice frames, such as: TOP-DOWN SYSTEMIC ACTION, NETWORK SYSTEM, POLITICAL BUSINESS, FOOD, FRUIT, ANIMAL and UNITING TOOL.

These frames are used not only to make sense of corruption, but also to criticise and attack the legislators and government officers. The observers feel they are in an advantageous position where televisions always involve them in such discursive events. Although the

public or laypeople have very few chances to get involved in the discursive events, they rationalise the contexts of corruption by following the legitimation produced by the observers (experts) and the media (that is, because the experts say so). For example:

(168) FRAME IKAN LELE JUMBO (Lele Jumbo fish frame)

“Saya salut dengan kinerja KPK dalam *menjaring para koruptor*, seperti *berternak ikan lele jumbo*<sup>22</sup> saja. Setiap pergi ke beberapa daerah selalu *membawa banyak ikan*. Karena, ke mana pun *jaring ditebarkan*, pasti *banyak ikan kecil* yang masuk. *Ikan-ikan besar sulit ditangkap karena ikan tersebut kuat dan lompat dari jaring*” (JLC, TV-One, October 2011)

(I am proud of the performance of KPK in *netting* (catching) *the corruptors*, like *breeding fish* of ‘lele jumbo’. Every time *KPK* goes to several regions, *KPK* always *brings many fish*. Wherever *KPK* *throws the net*, *many small fish* certainly *get entangled in the net*. *The big fish* are *difficult to catch* because *they are strong and they jump out of the net*)

Many frames are richly structured by the elements they contain. The meaning of sentences that people use to talk about their experiences is always based on the structured frames (see chapter 3). The word *ikan* (fish) in (168) evokes the frame of a kind of sea/river food – there is a fisherman or a fish breeder who makes the food as part of his/her business. So, the word *fish* can only be understood within the frame in which the word *a fish breeder* and/or *a fisherman* is understood. However, in the context of (168), the speaker digresses from the structure of the ‘fish’ frame. *KPK* is actually a law institution, not a fish breeder or a fisherman, but in this context, *KPK* is framed to play the role that large breeding fish areas play. A fish breeder has a net to catch the fish. The corruptors are framed to have the role of fish, *lele jumbo*. The word *ikan kecil* (small fish) refers to a common corruptor (governor, major and head of local council) and the word *ikan besar* (big fish) refers to a grand corruptor. The speaker in (168) frames corruption in such a way to show: (1) massive corruption practices in this country (many small fish), (2) corruption has become a franchise business (breeding fish) and (3) corruption has a network system (net) which is well-organised by a particular group (big fish).

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<sup>22</sup> *Ikan lele jumbo* (fish of ‘lele jumbo’) is a type of freshwater fish. The fish looks like a catfish. It is easy to breed and thereby, many people afford this breeding fish business. We can easily find the fish in restaurants and markets all over Indonesia.

The media reported that between 2009-2011 KPK handled more than 650 cases of corruption involving governors, majors and heads of local councils. The speaker in (168) took the issue and framed corruption in terms of a breeding fish of *lele jumbo*. This frame puts politicians and the government in a shooting target position. Consequently, the public viewed the WAR ON CORRUPTION frame (165) produced by the political structures as just a lip service. Governors, majors and heads of local councils have an affiliation with political parties. To be a governor, major, or head of a local council, someone must take part in elections and the candidate must be at least supported by one political party and one social organisation (see chapter 2). In order for a candidate to get the support, she or he should give some money to the party (see chapter 5, the metaphors POLITICS AS BUSINESS and POLITICAL PARTY AS VEHICLE). Although the frame (168) is expressed implicitly, the frame is intended to criticise the government and the politicians. The politicians and government know the meaning of the frame and thereby, they do not use the same frame to talk about corruption (table 27).

### 6.1.3 Frames of Law

The ways legislators or political elites frame the issues of law cases are different from the lawyers or law practitioners. Particularly the legislators who are in charge of the law commission in parliament inconsistently frame the issues of law. When the issues do not benefit them, they would talk about law as law, not as politics. In turn, they frame law as politics based on their political interests and goals. Let us take two examples: the law case of a corruptor and the law case of a sandal thief which were intensely reported in the media in April 2012. A poor old woman stole five sandals in a supermarket and the jury gave her the sentence of one year in jail, whereas a female legislator who stole more than two billion rupiah in a corruption case was imprisoned for two years only. This phenomenon led to the public's queries about law enforcement in this country. For the first case, the legislators employ a JUSTICE frame and the second one is a CHARACTER ASSASSINATION frame. The pieces of both excerpts in *bahasa Indonesia* (169 & 170) are given in appendix N and the translation of the excerpts is given below.

- (169) “(...) The human's justice is not equal to the justice of God. Everyone is equal before the law. Stealing is against the law and the constitution regulates punishment for thieves (...) A social protest action before the court office demanding the court to free the sandal thief was a blatant violation of the rule

(...) If the court agrees, the court also should do the same to all thieves in jails  
(...)”

(170) “(...) We are very unsatisfied with the jury who imposed the sentence of two years of imprisonment to the suspect, before having complete evidence (...) The jury’s verdict on the case was very much influenced by the media reports and social pressure (...) We hold the principle of presumption of innocence (...) There are such character assassination efforts to destroy the political career of the suspect (...)”

The legislator frames the law cases in a different light (169 & 170). The JUSTICE frame (169) emphasises ‘positive law’ (a rule of law) whereby a jury must treat everyone equally before the law. The word *law* can only be understood within the frame in which the words *government* and *court* are understood. The word *government* evokes the frame of a country where the law rules its people and the people must obey the rule. Therefore, the government establishes the law institutions. Thus, the word *court* evokes the frame of an institution where there are a jury, a judge and lawyers who handle the law cases. Stealing is against the law. The old woman stole five sandals (169). Although she is old and poor, she must be punished according to her crime. As everyone is equal before the law, the action to free the woman is also against the law. The jury is responsible for the law enforcement. That is the JUSTICE frame and the legislator intends to make people understand and obey the rule.

One of the functions of the parliament is supervision (see chapter 2). The legislator notices that the jury did not have strong evidence in the case of corruption involving a female legislator. The legislator argues that the verdict is influenced by the media reports and social pressure that make the jury handle the case quickly. Generally, such a case lasts very long time (see chapter 5, the metaphors POLITICS AS BUSINESS, LAW AS BUSINESS and CASE AS A MYSTERIOUS OBJECT). Therefore, the legislator applies a CHARACTER ASSASSINATION frame (170) to underpin the arguments about the aspects regarding the rule of law: evidence, witness and the presumption of innocence principle. The word *assassination* evokes the frame of a victim: there is a group of people who plot to assassinate the suspect (a female legislator). The good thing about framing the issue in such a way is not only that it generates sympathy from other politicians, but also that it makes the jury reconsider their verdict and the position of the parliament. By doing so, the legislator creates a conflicting situation about the case and indirectly leaves room to negotiate.

Obviously, corruption and stealing are against the law, but the legislators frame the issues in a different light. Consequently, the frames give rise to a contradictory and conflicting situation among the participants in the discourse. TV-One and Metro-TV for instance, presented talk-show programmes and news about the cases (169) and (170). The participants in the talks (*JLC* and *Dialog Today*) and the news of *Suara Anda* (Metro-TV) employed the different frames about law as presented in table 28 below.

**Table 28: selective frames of law**

Frames	Social Status of the Speakers/Participants					
	Lawyers	Law Prac	Politicians	Public	C-obs	Media
Mafia	–	–	+	+	+	+
Bisnis (Business)	–	–	+	+	+	+
Senjata/Pisau (weapon/knife)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sandiwara (drama/theatre)	–	–	+	+	+	+
Adil/keadilan(fair, justice)	+	+	–	–	–	+
Menang/kalah (win/lose)	–	–	+	+	+	+
Orang sakit (a sick person)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Politik (politics)	–	–	+	+	–	+

Note: Prac: practitioners, C-obs: cultural, social and political observers

The words in table 28 are also found in the corpus using a search word tool. There are 453 occurrences of *mafia*<sup>23</sup>, *bisnis* ‘business’ (37), *sandiwara* ‘drama/theatre’ (7), *sakit* ‘sick’ (80), *senjata* ‘weapon’ (22), *pisau* ‘knife’ (15), *perlawananan* ‘fight/struggle’ (33), *keadilan* ‘justice’ (219), *adil* ‘fair’ (40), *menang* ‘win’ (25) and *kalah* ‘lose’ (30). These words are used in connection with the law cases of corruption. There were more than 650 law cases of corruption between 2009-2011 (see p.168). This implies that the growth rate of corruption is following a geometrical progression, whereas the efforts to stop corruption are following an arithmetical progression, one of the reasons for this being that the law does not work. Perhaps this situation makes the participants (table 28) frame the law in several different ways. Table 28 shows that all participants use the same words: *senjata hukum* (law weapon) and *kondisi orang sakit* (a sick person condition) as a neutral way of speaking about the law.

<sup>23</sup> The word ‘mafia’ in this context refers to the corruption practices: mafia of taxes, court or law and budget. The mafia of taxes is a mafia practised in the tax department. The mafia of court refers to the mafia system in the court that involves juries, judges, lawyers, police and politicians. The mafia of budget refers to the legislators.

In this context, the same words that the speakers use (table 28) do not mean they share the whole elements of the frames. They all understand that the law has a power that is exercised by the humans. The humans need a ‘weapon’ to exercise power. However, the humans’ ability is physically limited: one can be sick or healthy (see chapter 5, the metaphor LAW AS SICK PERSON). Therefore, the law cannot meet everybody’s needs in terms of equally distributing the justice, that is the elements related to the ‘weapon’ and ‘sick person’ frames that the speakers may share as neutral ways of speaking about law. In a rigorous sense, the same frames can be employed in many ways: i.e. the frames of LAW WEAPON expressed by a politician, lawyer and a social and political observer below (The text (171) in *bahasa Indonesia* is provided in appendix N).

(171) a. “The *government should not interfere with the court* in handling the corruption cases (...) The court is an independent institution (...) The government must take part in keeping the court’s independence to strengthen *our law weapon* whose *bullet* can target the grand corruptors (...)” (a politician)

b. “*Our law weapon* cannot work effectively because of *many inhibiting factors* (...) The *politicians* are fond of interfering with the court’s verdicts (...) They intentionally lead the law cases towards politics and create polemical discourses in the media” (a lawyer)

c. “*The authorities* of this country make *a traditional law weapon* on purpose and it is used for a selective cut (catch). (*The knife of*) *our law* is very sharp to the bottom/poor and unsharp to the top/rich” (a social-political observer).

The word *weapon* in the context of (171) symbolises *power*. The weapon has power and thereby, the law has power. The word *weapon* in (171: a-c) evokes the frame of different kinds of tools: gun-bullet (a), no categorisation (b) and a traditional weapon: knife or cutter (c). Each speaker (171) uses the LAW WEAPON frame for different purposes: to criticise the government (a), the politicians (b), and the authorities/the power structures (c). Because the speakers frame the issue in different lights, the frames implicitly assign people with opposing views particular roles in the frames: good guys and bad guys. The politician’s frame (a) has three roles; 1) villain or grand corruptor: the government who controls the court, 2) victims: the jury and judge, and 3) heroes: politicians and the public (our law weapon). The politician uses the *us-them* dichotomy in (171, a) which puts himself in a positive light, making him a

good guy and generates the public's sympathy (*our/us*) about saving the victims (to reinforce the law together) from the villains (to imprison the grand corruptors: *them*).

The frame (b) also uses the *us-them* dichotomy which puts politicians in a negative light, as the bad guys (*them*) who inhibited the courts: jury, judge and lawyers (our law weapon: *us*) from doing their jobs. What the lawyer implicitly intends in this frame is: 1) to make the public understand the law enforcement situation, 2) to state that *we* (jury, judge, lawyer) can reinforce the law as long as the politicians (*them*) do not disturb *our* jobs, and 3) to ask the politicians (*them*) not to politicise the law (*us*), whereas the social and political observer's frame (c) makes sense of the injustice of the LAW WEAPON frame (sharp at the bottom (poor) and unsharp at the top (rich) and a selective catch system). By framing the issue in such a way, the speaker frames the authorities as bad guys who abuse their power to create social inequalities before the law (poor: *us* and rich: *them*). Because the speakers (a, b, c) frame the same issue in different ways, the frames inevitably lead to a conflicting situation among the participants in the discourse.

The LAW WEAPON frame (171) motivates other frames which highlight the power of law conditions: *powerless is sick* and *powerful is healthy*. Table 28 shows that all speakers frame the law in terms of 'a sick person condition'. Although they use the same frame, they do not share some elements of the sick person condition frame. The word *sick* evokes the frame of a kind of illness (mental and physical) and a state of illness/disease. The lawyers, law practitioners and politicians select the elements of the frame as a neutral way of speaking about the law (table 28). They use the words *lemah* (weak), *tidak kuat* (not strong), *sakit* (sick) and *tidak mampu* (incapacitate), whereas other speakers prefer to use the words *amputasi* (amputated), *stadium 3* (stage 3), *mati suri* (suspended animation), *koma* (coma), *kronis* (chronic) and *lumpuh* (paralysis) to talk about the law. All the words are used to understand law in terms of a sick person condition. In this sense, law is conceptualised as human – it is impossible to assign the job to a sick human/person.

If these words are used in the sentences with the word *law*: i.e., *Hukum kita lemah* (Our law is weak) vs. *Hukum kita mati suri* (Our law is in suspended animation), *Hukum kita tidak kuat* (Our law is not strong) vs. *Hukum kita koma* (Our law is in a coma), these imply

different meanings. The words *weak* and *suspended animation* in the sentences can only be understood in the meaning in which the phrase *the cause of illness* is understood. This enables the speakers or the public to make sense of the law condition by asking: who makes the law get sick? and for what purpose? what makes the law get sick?, and so on. Consequently, these issues enable the participants to frame and reframe the activities of the same issue in different ways, that is by framing the law in terms of *mafia*, *business*, *drama* and *politics* (table 28). In politics, the frames and reframes related to the same issue are rife (see chapter 4) and this triggers a conflicting or contradictory situation. For example, the JUSTICE frame *everyone is equal before the law* conflicts with the BUSINESS frame: *the jury practices trading constitutions*, DRAMA/THEATRE: *it is difficult to reveal the masks of the jury and politicians*, MAFIA: *the mafia of law controls every law case of grand corruption*, and POLITICS: *the law case involving a political elite is intentionally politicised*. Thus, choosing and using the frames divides the participants in the discourse into good guys and bad guys by assigning them, with opposing views, particular roles in the frame.

#### **6.1.4 Frames of Case**

As we have seen in several earlier examples, each word evokes the entire frame to which it belongs. Many words may belong to a particular frame. The meaning of each word can be characterised in terms of a single schematised frame. Politics in the Indonesian context has a complex network of frames. This research observes that, when debating or arguing about issues of politics, law, corruption, and so on, the participants in the discourse often frame the issues in several different ways. There is a wide variety of reasons why they frame experience in the way they do. Since they want to convince people of their truth concerning the issues, they frame the issues in ways that they believe will influence others. At other times, their emotional attitude regarding the situation in the talks is noticed. This leads them to frame the issues in a particular way by introducing new frames or stressing frames that were previously unstressed in the discussion of the issue. For instance, the politicians usually reframe the issues or ideas expressed in a relatively neutral language: i.e, the JUSTICE and SICK PERSON CONDITION frames. They place the ideas in the frame, such as *weak*, *incapacitate* and *powerless* to talk about the law. These words are a neutral way of speaking about law; however, by means of their choice of the words, the politicians indirectly evoked several frames that allow a significant reinterpretation of the concept expressed by the words

from other participants or the public: i.e., *amputated, coma, chronic, suspended animation, and the like* to make sense of a sick person condition.

This aspect raises an interesting matter: can we reframe a concept in any way we like, i.e., can we relate to it or just place it in a new frame? This research shows that the concepts that the speakers or journalists want to reframe must fit in the new frames, for example, the ideas that the citizens must obey the law or rule and that those who disobey get punishment, but the citizens receive unequal treatments before the law for many reasons (see examples (169-171)). Having this in view, it becomes possible for the speakers to reframe law in many ways or to introduce new frames that relate to the concept of law. The case frame is a new frame whose concept is derived from the concept of law. For example, one of the law frames is understood in terms of business (table 28). The concepts of the frame are: law has power and resource, the resource is a commodity, the commodity is a limited resource, the limited resource is a valuable commodity, the valuable commodity is business, then law is business. As the law is understood in this way, it leads to the dismissal of grand corruption cases. In this regard, the people may see the concepts as the LAW BUSINESS frame and the MISSING OBJECT/CASE frame. The LAW BUSINESS frame highlights the commercial events in the law case and the MISSING OBJECT frame emphasises how a case is missing. As discussed before, the metaphor is based on the frame, thus, we cannot conceptualise the law as a missing object, but we can conceptualise case as missing object (see chapter 5, the metaphors Law as business and Case as missing/mysterious object).

Table 29 below describes many frames that the speakers employ to talk about case. The case here refers to corruption cases.

**Table 29: Frames of Case**

Frames	Social Status of the Speakers/Participants					
	Lawyer	LawPrac	Politicians	C-Obs	Artists	Media
Objek (object)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bisnis (Business)	-	-	-	+	-	+
Misteri (mystery)	-	-	+	+	+	+
Nyanyian (singing)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Membakar (burning)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Malu (shame)	-	-	+	+	+	+
Aliran (flow)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Soal (problems)	+	+	+	+	+	+

The frames (table 29) are taken from two talk-show programmes on television about the corruption cases of *Wisma Atlit* and *Hambalang*. Taking the data (table 29) from the talks enable us to see the effects of using the frames. Actually, the words in table (29) can also be found in the corpus using a search word tool that returns 2007 occurrences of *kasus* (case). Some of the most frequent frames are: *objek/wadah* ‘object/container’ (13 words), *misterius* ‘mysterious’ (9), *nyanyian* ‘singing’ (9), *membakar* ‘burning’ (30), *badai/tsunami* ‘storm/tsunami’ (5), *malu* ‘shame’ (34), *memalukan* ‘embarrassing’ (16), *aliran* ‘flow’ (107), *mengalir* ‘to flow’ (21), *bisnis* ‘business’ (37) and *soal* ‘problem’ (291). Table 29 shows that most of the participants use the same frames: *object*, *singing*, *burning*, *flow* and *problems* as neutral ways of speaking about the case. The law practitioners, politicians and artists do not share the *business*, *shame or embarrassing* and *mystery* frames as ways of speaking about case frame with the cultural and social observers.

How can the participants (table 29) employ different frames to talk about the case? This situation is derived from a concept in which the case is understood in terms of object in a container (see chapter 5, the metaphor Case as object in a container). The word *object* evokes the frame of a material thing (physical substance) which may contain money, business, commodity, liquid, etc. As the case is understood in terms of an object, the word *object* can only be understood within the frame in which *case* is understood. This makes possible for the participants to reframe the case in many ways, for example, the frames created by a politician from the Democratic Party and a politician from the PDIP Party. The English translation of examples (172-173) is given below and the texts in *bahasa Indonesia* are included in Appendix N.

(172) “(...) Nazar, keeps ‘singing’ (speaking/telling) so that all people hear (know) what is actually happening! But, be careful, your ‘singings’ (what you said) can harm you and your family! (a politician from the Democratic Party)

(173) “(...), not all the *singings* (information) told by Nazaruddin were true (...) Why should the *singings* annoy the powerful party? (...) We are here at JLC engaging in a heated debate about the case of corruption involving Nazaruddin (...) While the case would become *Sungai Bengawan Solo* which is at the end flowing to the sea (the case will be dismissed later on) (...)” (a politician from PDIP Party)

The word *nyanyian* (singing) in (172-173) is a term used in the Indonesian context to talk about the case. The word *nyanyian* does not mean actual singing. The meaning of the term is a person who tells someone in authority about something illegal that is happening. In the law, this term is called a ‘whistle-blower’. The examples (172-173) tell about a corruption case involving Nazaruddin, a legislator from the Democratic Party. He escaped abroad a day before *KPK* imposed him the travel ban. As the Democratic Party is the ruling party and is campaigning for the war on corruption, this case inevitably increased political tension, because the opposition parties considered that the Democratic Party intentionally plotted Nazaruddin’s escape. To counter the issue, a politician from the Democratic Party framed the case as (172): PERISTIWA NYANYIAN TERSANGKA (a defendant singing events).

The word *singing* evokes the frame of art and music where there are people who sing and play musical instruments to entertain the audiences. Thus, the word *singing* can only be understood within which the frame of *singer* (a defendant of corruption) is understood, i.e.: what is corrupted, how much is corrupted, who are bribed, how much money is used to bribe, who is involved in corruption, when, where and why. By framing the case in such a way, the politician shows the public that the Democratic Party wants the matter to be clear and the party has no intention to protect Nazaruddin, i.e., *keep telling so that people know/hear* (172). This expression is to prove that the party respects the law. However, the frame also aims to warn Nazaruddin to stop talking about the case: i.e., *be careful, your singing can harm you and your family* (172). It is because the case and information told by Nazaruddin have irritated many politicians in the Democratic Party and have damaged the reputation or image of the party, particularly in the party’s preparation for the up-coming election (2014).

The politician from the PDIP party knows what the meaning of the frame (172) is and he reframes the issue using <sup>24</sup>SUNGAI BENGAWAN SOLO (Bengawan Solo river) which makes use of the principle of the flow of water (173). The word *Sungai Bengawan Solo* evokes the frame of a river in Solo which is big, long and beautiful. Everyone knows that all rivers finally flow in the sea. The speaker (173) intentionally frames the case involving Nazaruddin in terms of the flow of *Sungai Bengawan Solo* to make sense of the big case of

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<sup>24</sup> Sungai Bengawan Solo (Bengawan Solo river) is a famous river in Solo, Jogjakarta (Central Java). A musician wrote a song entitled ‘Sungai Bengawan Solo’ in the colonialism era which evokes the beauty of the river. The song is dedicated to Jogjakarta as a historic and combatant city.

corruption which is usually dismissed. By framing the case in such a way, the speakers frames the Democratic Party as a shooting target: i.e., *why should the singing annoy the powerful party while such a case is usually dismissed?* In this sense, the speaker in (173) describes the Democratic Party as a ‘bad guy’ who is involved in corruption and would use its power to dismiss the case. Thus, it has been seen that the A DEFENDANT SINGING EVENTS (172) and THE FLOW OF BENGAWAN SOLO RIVER (173) frames are derived from the concept of the case as object in a container. Both frames (172-173) are perceived as liquid in a container. The amount of liquid in the container can be increased and decreased. As the information ‘sung’ (blown) by the defendants is broadcast and repeated by the media (172), the intensity of the liquid (flow of the river: 173) in a container increases and is blown up (See chapter 5 the metaphor: Case as flammable object in a container). In this sense, the issue of corruption inevitably leads to a conflicting discourse among the participants.

### 6.1.5 Frames of Government/President

The second term of President Susilo Bambang Yhudoyono (SBY) (2009-present) faced many complaints and protests, particularly regarding the issues of law enforcement, corruption and politics (see tables 22 and 25). The media presented various discourses which highlighted the performance of President SBY. TV-One and Metro-TV, for instance, presented three topics in the talk-show programmes *Politik Pencitraan* (Political imaging), *Konfrensi Pers Presiden* ‘President’s press conference’ (TV-One, March 2011) and *Agenda Presiden* ‘Agenda of President’ (Metro-TV, March 2011). The participants in the discourses employ various frames to talk about or to evaluate the performance of the president/government as shown in table 30 below.

**Table 30: President/Government Frames**

Frames	Social Status of the Speakers/Participants				
	Politicians	P-Dem	L-Prac	C-Obs	Media
Dhuafa	+	-	-	-	+
Selebrity (celebrity)	+	-	-	+	+
Tebar Pesona (imaging)	+	+	+	+	+
Politik Pencitraan (political imaging)	+	-	+	+	+
Mengeluh (complain)	+	-	-	+	+
Grasi (clemency)	+	-	+	+	+

Note: P-Dem: politicians from the Democratic Party

The words or frames in table 30 can also be seen in the corpus, which contains 2025 occurrences of the word *presiden* (president), 1,962 of the word *SBY* and 656 of the word *pemerintah* (government) (see appendix A). Several words which refer to the president or government are: *pencitraan* ‘imaging/self-esteem’ (66 words), *citra* ‘image’ (93), *lagu* ‘song’ (2), *hadiah* ‘gift’ (6) and *grasi* ‘clemency’ (6). There is no occurrence of the word ‘dhuafa’ in the corpus for this word is Arabic. Some words which have semantic relations to the word ‘dhuafa’ in the corpus are: *keluh-mengeluh* ‘complain’ (4), *sumbangan* ‘charity’ (3), *dana* ‘fund’ (608) and *kotak* ‘box’ (14). Table 30 shows that all participants use the same frame *tebar pesona* (imaging) as a neutral way of speaking about the president. This frame is based on the people’s experience with the president who always appears in the media: i.e.,the president sings his own song, takes part in press conferences, visits some places, and the like.

Table 30 shows the dominant frames that the speakers use to talk about the president and the government. The dominant frames can be considered as mainstream views about the president and the government. Therefore, the politicians from the Democratic Party use only one frame (table 30). The Democratic Party is the ruling party and the talks criticised and evaluated the performance of the president (government) to overcome the problems of law enforcement, corruption and politics. In this sense, these frames affect their position or pragmatically threaten their positive image. For example:

(174) “(...) Pemerintah belum mampu untuk menaikkan gaji militer sesuai yang Saudara harapkan, Setiap tahun ada kenaikan gaji meskipun tidak signifikan. Hal itu tidak baik saudara jadikan sebagai alasan untuk mengurangi kinerja saudara (...) Saya juga sudah 7 tahun tidak dapat kenaikan gaji. Tetapi, hal itu tidak mengurangi kinerja saya” (SBY, TV-One, 2 March 2011)

“(...) the government cannot increase the army’s salary as you expected. There is an increasing salary every year although it is not good enough. This issue is not a reason to reduce your work (...) My salary was not increased for 7 years either. However, this does not reduce my work”)

TV-One reported live the president’s speech as in excerpt (174). Some legislators who heard the news designed a charity box labelled “Coin for President”, which was placed in the main hall of the parliament. This action, of course, angered the Democrat politicians, directly increased the political tension alongside the members of the parliament and was extended to a heated political discourse in the media. TV-One, in its talk-show programme (JLC), greeted

the audiences by presenting the news (174), the action of some legislators who placed a charity box in the parliament and other press conferences of President SBY. This introduction was aimed at showing the audiences that the president often complained about some issues. The Democrat politicians viewed this situation in a different light: excerpt (174) does not mean the president asked for a salary increase, but his intention was to motivate the army to work hard. They argued that placing a charity box in the parliament by some legislators was an amoral action.

Other politicians, particularly from the opposition parties, see (174) in different ways. They framed the issues in terms of *celebrity*, *political imaging* (promotion) and *complaint* (table 30). They took the meanings of the sentences *My salary was not increased for seven years either* and *this does not reduce my work* (174) as a complaint and request. Such an interpretation is drawn from the sentences *the government cannot increase your salary* and *Although there is an increasing salary every year* (174). Having in view these meanings, the legislators framed the issue as SUMBANGAN UNTUK DHUAFa (Charity for *dhuafa*). The word *dhuafa* (Arabic) evokes the frame of a poor Muslim who, in the Islamic religion, is suggested to help *dhuafa*, *orphans*, etc by giving some donation. In this context, the word *dhuafa* can only be understood in the context within which the frame of president is understood.

Obviously, people know the charity box is usually placed in the mosques and public spaces, not in the parliament. By framing the issue (174) in a such way, the legislators implicitly divide the participants in the discourse into bad guys and good guys by placing them with opposing views into the particular roles in the frame, that is, the president and the Democrat politicians are rich, but they still need more money from the people and thereby, they are the bad guys. The parliament is the people's representative. The people are poor but they love their president and organise the fund raising (charity box) in the parliament building (House). Therefore, the parliament and the people are the good guys. Of course, the frame angered the Democrat politicians because they know the meaning of the frame and its implications for their constituents and the public. They then produce counter-discourses to challenge the dominant frames about the president (174 and table 30) by explaining the government's progress under President SBY, such as the growth of the economy, good

democracy, security, and so on. The counter-discourses are ways to maintain their power and social status. As a result, the conflict of opinion was extended to a broader conflict in the media discourse.

#### 6.1.6 Frames of Democracy

It has been seen that frames and reframes are a part of the political strategy for propelling marginal discourses, such as (174) into the mainstream news media. For instance, the media repeated the frame (174) over and over. As a result, the subliminal meaning of the frame CHARITY FOR *DHUAFA* is resonated and becomes a way for the TV-commentators to talk about the president and the Democratic Party. The frames in table 30 above are the dominant frames as ways of speaking about the president. Having been framed in such a way, the Democrat politicians reframe the issue by propelling it into the frame of democracy, for example:

(175) “(...) Partai Demokrat adalah partai penguasa dan mayoritas di parlemen. Banyak anggota DPR tidak mengerti apa arti koalisi. Kotak sumbangan ‘Coin for President’ di DPR merupakan ide gila dan tidak bermoral (...) Tindakan ini menunjukkan bahwa ada anggota DPR yang masih mentah dalam berdemokrasi” (a Democrat politician, TV-One, March 2011).

(The Democratic Party is the majority and the ruling party. Many legislators do not understand the meaning of coalition. The charity box labelled ‘Coin for President’ in the parliament was a wild and immoral idea (...) The action implied that the legislators were still immature in the Democracy.

The speaker (175) contests the mainstream views (174) by using the MENTAH DALAM DEMOKRASI (immature in the democracy) frame. The word *democracy* evokes the frame of a political system where there are parties that form a coalition. Then, the word *mentah* (immature) evokes the frame of a physical condition where there are persons (legislators) who still need to study the democracy. In the Indonesian political context, the coalition is formed not only in the parliament but also in the Cabinet. In this sense, the word *democracy* can only be understood in the context within which the frame of coalition is understood. By framing the issue in such a way, the speaker (175) does not only place the members of coalition into the category of immature politicians: *Many legislators do not understand the meaning of coalition*, but also into the uneducated persons (bad guys)

category: *wild and immoral*. Therefore, the frame (175) also implies power abuse, that is the Democratic Party must educate the wild and immoral politicians. This statement is inferred from the expression *The Democratic Party is the majority and the ruling party* (175). This expression is a warrant to the coalition members which means that the Democratic Party may withdraw from the coalition. Consequently, the parties in the coalition should recall their ministers in the Cabinet. This is the way the Democratic Party educates the wild and immoral politicians.

A legislator from the PPP Party as one of the participants in the talk tried to lower the tension by reframing democracy in a different light. He employed two frames: FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION and LESSON as ways of speaking about democracy.

- (176) “Kita tidak tahu kotak sumbangan itu iniatif siapa (tertawa). Dalam demokrasi kita bebas mengungkap pendapat. Kotak Sumbangan itu merupakan cara unik sebagian teman di DPR dalam mengungkapkan pendapat. Diakui memang kita masih belajar dalam berdemokrasi (...) Menurut saya isu ini tidak perlu dibesar-besarkan”.
- (We do not know whose idea was to design the charity box (laughing). In Democracy, we are free to express our opinions. Some friends in the parliament used the charity box as a unique way of expressing opinion. It is admitted that we are still learning democracy (...) I think there is no need to exaggerate the issue)

In frame (176) democracy is understood in terms of freedom and lesson. The word *democracy* in the context (176) evokes the frame of a belief in freedom and equality between people where this belief is manifested in the government system. Then, the word *lesson* (176) evokes the frame of an experience where there are teachers who teach students. In this sense, the word *democracy* can only be understood in the context within which the frames of ‘freedom’ and ‘lesson’ are understood. Thus, the speaker in (176) reframes the issue to challenge the oppressive view (175) by propelling it into the mainstream view that democracy is freedom and equality. The speaker in (176) employs the *us-them* polarisation. However, the polarisation *them* is implicitly expressed (176). By doing so, the speaker in (176) turns the Democratic politicians into a shooting target: the bad guys (*them*) who restrict and control the freedom of expression (*us/our*). The equality aspect of democracy manifests itself in the form of polarisation (*we*): *kita tidak tahu* (we do not know) and *sebagian teman*

*di DPR* (some friends in the parliament). The pronoun *we* in *bahasa Indonesia* has two references: *kita* (we) refers to the in-group and *kami* (we) refers to the exclusive group. In the context (176), the pronoun *kita* (we) refers to the members of parliament (legislators). By choosing this kind of pronoun, the speaker in (176) can frame democracy in terms of a lesson which aims to lower the political tension, that is, the charity box event is a lesson for all of us in the parliament and thereby, we do not do a similar thing in the future. Thus, the speaker in (176) chooses a particular perspective to talk about a situation in democracy and then the hearers are presented with that perspective to understand it.

### **6.1.7 Frames of Political Party**

Generally, the process of choosing and using frames intensifies during election campaigns. In the campaign, every party frames important issues which are popular among the voters. All candidates usually frame the same issues differently. The framing is different because different effects can be achieved with it. Two frames below are examples of the political parties frame about the issue of corruption. The texts in *bahasa Indonesia* can be seen in appendix N (177-178)

(177) Capitalism is not our primary enemy anymore, but corruption. We must fully fight for corruption. Law must be reinforced to wage war on corruption. Everyone is equal before the law. I, we and all of us believe that clearing the government from the practices of corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN) is the wish of all the people of Indonesia. Let us fight corruption! Together We Can! (The Democratic Party)

(178) We were all burdened with hard homework from the former regime, "Soeharto". The National Mandate Party (PAN) is anti-corruption. Corruption must be cleared from this country by imposing grand corruptors a severe penalty as shock therapy. PAN is sure to overcome the problems of corruption which has destroyed the economy of this nation (The National Mandate Party/PAN)

The Democratic Party (177) and the PAN party (178) frame the issue of corruption in terms of an enemy. It is seen that each speaker (177 & 178) frames the same entity (corruption) differently. The frame (177) has a stronger meaning than the frame (178). The Democratic Party propels the entity in the ENEMY frame into the JUSTICE frame which makes it easier to argue the action to wage war on corruption which is justified by the law. As the law has justified the war, it enables the speaker to invite all the people of Indonesia to join

in the war commanded by the Democratic Party, whereas the PAN party propels an unclear entity of the ENEMY frame into the POLITICAL SCAPEGOAT frame and PUNISHMENT frame. The speaker addresses the issue of corruption in the former regime: i.e., *hard homework, corruption must be cleared and a severe penalty*. The frame also implies that the war is the PAN party's own war: i.e., *PAN is sure to overcome corruption (former regime) which destroyed the economy of the nation*.

The Democratic Party poses as a hero, that is war commonly produces a hero and the people love the hero. This interpretation is derived from the *us-them* dichotomy (177), whereby the Democratic Party is placed on the side of the people (I, we and all of us) against *them*. Although the polarisation of *them* is implicit in the text, the voters or audiences know what the Democratic Party means. The Democratic party is attacking the incumbent power and other parties which are incapable of eradicating corruption. This implicit (*them*) polarisation is perceived as a good moral evaluation of the Democratic party to avoid a black political campaign. The media repeated the ENEMY and JUSTICE frames (177) over and over. As the people heard the frames, that subliminal meaning resonated. Once the campaign repeated the words day after day, they ended up in every newspaper, television and radio station. Finally, the frames became the way the TV commentators and journalists talked about corruption.

This situation forced other political parties to talk about corruption based on their own brand, like in example (178) for their campaigns. However, the frame was adopted from the Democratic party's language. The speaker in (178) adopted the Democratic party's central ideas: *enemy, clean government and law enforcement*. Thus, every time they use the words, they reinforce the ideas and help the Democratic Party. Once the frame becomes part of everyday language regarding corruption, the Democratic party's frame becomes physically fixed in the Indonesians' brains. When this happens, the mere facts do not matter, that is, although other parties denied the frame, it still reinforces the ideas and helps the Democratic Party. In turn, if the facts do not fit the frame, the frame remains and the facts are ignored. Since the Democratic Party sees their frame *us* accepted, they have an overwhelming advantage in every political debate. Thus, by framing the issue of corruption in such a way, the Democratic Party collected a majority to win in several ballot posts in Indonesia and

became the third biggest party. This success has frustrated other big parties because the Democratic Party was a new party established in 2000. Examples (177 & 178) show that the frames have different effects. The success of the Democratic Party is not just their media control and it is not just money, lies and dirty tricks. It is their skill in language framing where other political parties do not have ideas about how to overcome the issues of corruption.

## 6.2 Summary

So far, seven topics were addressed in this chapter: politics, corruption, law, case, government/president, democracy and political party. The discussion focuses on the application of frame analysis to the sociopolitical issues and the problematic cultural situations in Indonesian politics. Frames are structured mental representations of a conceptual category, which reflect the knowledge that humans employ in using language. Through some examples given (i.e. COMMERCIAL POLITICAL EVENTS, MOUSE WITH TIE EVENTS, WAR ON CORRUPTION, ENEMY CORRUPTION, CHARACTER ASSASSINATION, JUSTICE, LAW WEAPON, THE FLOW OF *BENGAWAN SOLO* RIVER, CHARITY BOX FOR *DHUAFA*, and so on), it was noticed that each frame is structured by another frame. For example, corruption is a frame understood in terms of another frame: enemy. Such an understanding results in the metaphor CORRUPTION AS ENEMY. Therefore, it can be concluded that metaphor is usually based on a frame that makes people view an issue in a new light. However, there are also people who see corruption in terms of business and food frame (*lele jumbo fish*). In this respect, choosing and using the frames divides politicians and citizens into good guys and bad guys by placing people with opposing views into particular roles in the frame.

The data analysis reveals that politicians, legislators and other participants employ frames in different ways. They may use the same frames as neutral ways of speaking about an issue on the one hand, and they reframe an issue in a different light or produce a new frame on the other. Although they use the same frames, this does not mean they share the whole elements or concepts of the frames. Politicians specifically frame and reframe the ideas expressed in a relatively neutral language: i.e., the LAW WEAPON frame. They place the ideas in the frame, such as *weak*, *incapacitate* and *powerless* to talk about law. These words

are neutral ways of speaking about the law. However, by means of the choice of the words, the politicians indirectly evoke several frames that allow a significant reinterpretation of the concepts as opposed to other participants or the public. In this regard, the LAW WEAPON frame motivates other frames that emphasise the power of law: *powerless is sick* and *powerful is healthy*. The word *sick* evokes the frame of a kind of illness (mental and physical) and a state of illness/disease. Some participants select the elements of the frame as a neutral way of speaking about the law. They use the words *weak*, *sick* and *incapacitate*, whereas other speakers prefer to use the words *amputated*, *stage 3*, *suspended animation*, *coma*, *chronic* and *paralysis*. All these words are employed to understand law in terms of a sick person. In this sense, law is conceptualised as human. Thus, if these words are used in sentences with the word *law*, i.e., *our law is weak* vs. *our law is in suspended animation* and *our law is not strong* vs. *our law is in a coma*, they imply different meanings.

Thus, it can be noticed that the meaning of the sentences used by the people to talk about their experiences are based on the structured frames. The words *weak* and *suspended animation* in the sentences can only be understood in the context within which the phrase *the cause of the illness* is understood. This enables the participants or the public to make sense of the law by asking: who makes the law get sick? And for what purpose? What makes the law get sick?, and so on. Many frames are structured by the elements they contain. Each word evokes the entire frame to which it belongs. Politics, corruption, law, case, government/president, and so on have a complex network of frames: POLITICAL COMMODITY, BUSINESS, POWER, MORALS, DRAMA, etc. This issue raises an interesting question – whether we can reframe a concept in any way we like, i.e., whether we can link it or place it in any new frame. Obviously not, and this research shows that the concepts that the speakers or journalists want to reframe must fit in the new frames. For example, the ideas that the citizens must obey the law, that those who disobey get punishment, and the citizens who receive unequal treatment before the law for many reasons. Thus, it becomes possible for the speakers to reframe the law in many ways or to introduce new frames that relate to the concept of law, i.e., the LAW BUSINESS frame and the MISSING OBJECT/CASE frame. The LAW BUSINESS frame highlights the commercial events in the law case and the MISSING OBJECT frame emphasises how a case is missing.

In the field of politics, alternative framing and reframing are abundant. The choice of a particular frame divides participants in the discourse into political camps. The application of frames to the same issue often inevitably leads to a contradictory or conflicting situation. The application of frame analysis in Indonesian political discourse highlights the politicians' behaviour in debating or arguing about issues related to politics, law, corruption, and so on. They carefully talk about the issues and frame them in several different ways. They understand that the different frames have different effects: i.e., the *CHARITY BOX FOR DHUAF*, which is used to talk about the president. This discussion has shown that there is a wide variety of reasons why politicians frame political issues in the way they do. Since they want to convince people of their truth concerning the issues, they frame them in ways that they believe will influence others. Other times, their emotional attitude regarding the situation in the talks can be noticed. This leads them to reframe the issues in a particular way by introducing new frames or by stressing frames that were previously unstressed in the discussion. Thus, reframing can be defined as shifting an issue away from its conventional 'location' within one set of shared assumptions and reconstruing it within a different set of knowledge. In this regard, the frames merely serve rhetorical purposes for the politicians, and they are selected on the basis of the politician's goals and/or ideology.

### **6.3 The Role of Metaphors in the Indonesian Political Discourse**

So far, the extensive use of metaphors in Indonesian political discourse has been presented (see also chapter 5). This indicates that metaphoric thought pervades political discourse. Metaphoric thought delves deep into our conceptual level of consciousness and, in turn, influences our speech at textual level, that is, although we may not be explicitly speaking in metaphor, we are most certainly thinking in terms of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003). In this sense, metaphor is a form of implicit conceptualisation. In exposing the role and function of metaphor, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) needs to be incorporated into metaphor analysis (see chapter 3). In this regard, if metaphors shape the conceptual structure of the Indonesian public's views, critical analysis can provide particular insights into why the rhetorics of political elites is successful. Therefore, critical analysis has the purpose to expose the conventionalised social hierarchies as they appear in linguistic references to conceptual metaphors or the emerging conceptual metaphors.

CDA and CMT approaches represent social research. Since we are discussing critical approaches to social research in political discourse, there is an assumption that political leaders exploit the rhetorical power of metaphor for their own political ends, that is, metaphor is regarded as a political tool. Following the tradition of CDA and CMT, this section explores the ways political leaders and other participants construct public opinion and create distance and solidarity towards mainstream discourses. These acts are accomplished via metaphorical references to conceptualisations of the social categories of *us-them* on the one hand, and by challenging the dominant discourse on the other. The contesting discourse is a counter discourse produced by groups who suffer from social discrimination. The data for this investigation originated from public statements in the media about corruption, politics (legislators), president (government), law, political party and democracy.

### **6.3.1 The *US-THEM* Dichotomy – The State/Public Enemy Metaphor**

The observation of the news on corruption took place from January 2010 to December 2011 (see table 25: The distribution of news about corruption). The news about corruption was presented transparently by the press and has become a public sphere discourse. *Harian Kompas* for instance, reported that the growth rate of corruption in Indonesia is following an arithmetical progression, whereas the action to eradicate corruption is following a geometrical progression (*Kompas*, 12 February, 2011). TV-One highlighted the issue of corruption by presenting a great deal of corruption cases which *KPK* (law institution) should undertake: more than 650 cases in the last 3 years. Meanwhile, Metro-TV reported that the CPI (Corruption Perception Index) of Indonesia reached 2.8% during 2008-2010, which placed Indonesia in the top ten, out of 178 corrupt countries. The issue of corruption was a mainstream news media item which, of course, irritated the president because it could threaten his social status, power and legitimation. This issue implied that the government was incapable of eradicating corruption. Therefore, the president contested the mainstream news media by propelling the issue of corruption into the state and public enemy discourse reported live on television channels, as in the quotation below:

(179) “(...) Kita sedang menghadapi musuh yang kuat, (...) karena sudah membudaya dan menjadi penyakit yang mematikan sendi-sendi ekonomi, moral, dan akhlak bangsa ini (...) Saya berdiri di baris terdepan dan menghunus pedang keadilan untuk memberantas korupsi. Mari kita ciptakan pemerintahan yang bersih dari korupsi! Namun, bagaimana menciptakan pemerintahan yang bersih,

jika sapu yang digunakan untuk membersihkan kotoran itu kotor? Aparat pemerintah, penegak hukum yang seharusnya melawan korupsi justru menjadi bagian dari korupsi itu sendiri” (President SBY, 17 June 2011)

(We are facing a strong enemy, (...) for it has become a culture and a disease which destroyed the foundation of economy, the morals and attitude of this nation (...) I stand on the front line raising the sword of justice to wage war on corruption. Let us create a clean government from corruption! But, how to create a clean government if the broom used to clean the dirt is dirty? The government officers and law officers which should fight corruption even become a part of corruption themselves.

Excerpt (179) emphasises President SBY’s technique of projecting the concept of ‘enemy’ to shift the issue of corruption towards political and military actions. The concepts related to ‘enemy’, such as ‘strong’, ‘culture’, ‘disease’, ‘destroyer’, and ‘dirty’ are mapped into corruption: government officers and law officers. This conceptualisation results in the metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH NEGARA/PUBLIK (Corruption as state/public enemy). This conceptual mapping is an effective propaganda tool because it suggests the transfer of the enemy’s implications into the political, social and military actions as a desired outcome, that is the destruction of the enemy as a cure for Indonesia’s ills (at the level of the economy, morals and attitude). President SBY produced this discourse to construct public opinion by creating distance and solidarity towards general social categories via metaphorical references to the conceptualisations of *us/them*. Language is as a distinction-making machine which can create both distance and solidarity between two entities (*us/them*) that are characterised by positive traits attributed to *we/us* and negative ones assigned to the *other (them)*. The *us/them* dichotomy has political influences which force human beings to be categorised into one of the two opposing poles, that is president, politicians and people (*we/us*) vs. Corruptors: government officers and law officers (*them*). So, if the enemy (*them*) is strong, what they contaminate is dirty, disease and destroys human beings, and *we* are opposite of *them*, then *we* must be careful and unite to fight the enemy to save the nation.

As the construction of the social categories is accomplished via metaphor, it can be said that metaphor is an excellent indicator of the *us/them* dichotomy. In this sense, metaphor works in the political discourse, like in (179), dialectically between the speaker (president

SBY) and the audience. Categorisation in political discourse is a dynamic and dialectical process (see Nekvapil, et.al., 2004) and audiences often rely on the categorisation as a way to digest some aspects of social interaction in the discourse. They then interpret other participants in the discourse not as individuals, but as members of a particular category of person. President SBY cultivates this kind of knowledge as part of his discursive strategy in order not to mention the legislators or the parliament in the discourse (179). This means that the legislators are members of good social categories (*we/us*). President SBY's technique of projecting the conceptualisation of *us* implies a good person transfer: PRESIDENT = LEGISLATORS. In this regard, the president's discourse does not aim to attack the legislators, but to ask for their solidarity and/or to get political support in the fight against corruption. On the other hand, President SBY exercised his power through the discourse (179) by pronouncing an oppressive action to fight corruption: i.e. *I stand on the front line raising the sword of justice to eradicate corruption* (179). This expression is as a form of military command of the president (government) because the corruption practices are happening in the government and judicial institutions. Structurally, both institutions should respect and obey the president.

The CORRUPTION AS STATE/PUBLIC ENEMY conceptual framework (179) implies that the president and the legislators are heroes, corruptors are villains and the people of Indonesia are victims. The roles of hero, villain and victim are indexed by the distinct categories of *us/them*. The act of categorisation (179) contributed to social and political hierarchical constructs. CDA recognises that political leaders within any society regularly exploit a tendency to categorise and establish binaries, i.e., president/legislators: good guys/“prestige” vs. bad guys/“non-prestige” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 273; Hanks, 2005: 77). This social categorisation fulfils a practical application within the social activity; President SBY (179) intentionally manipulated the social categories for his political purposes, that is, the relational pair *us/them* represents the primary social categories within the good transfer categorisation: PRESIDENT=LEGISLATORS (*us*) is a kind of negotiated discourse between the president and the legislators and it is later manipulated to fulfil strategic political goals: bad guys transform (*them*) into corruption/corruptor: a dirty broom, disease, and destroyers.

### **6.3.2 Student vs. Teacher: the PRESIDENT AS STUDENT metaphor**

The metaphor CORRUPTION AS STATE/PUBLIC ENEMY (179) is plotted to be a mainstream view to make sense of corruption. From excerpt (179) it can be inferred that the president has the political support of the parliament to take the order to fight corruption: “*I stand on the front line to raise the sword of justice to eradicate corruption*”. Pragmatically, this expression implicitly suggests that the president is clean from corruption or that he is anti-corruption. As the media reported the text (179) over and over, the meaning of anti-corruption and the fight against corruption resonated and influenced the gullible hearers or readers to believe the mainstream view. At the same time, there is a need for news media (in their self-professed role as democratic institutions) to offer a fair and balanced perspective on the issue of corruption. In the name of balance, other less powerful groups compelled the news media to leave room in the mainstream discourse of corruption (179) for alternative views. By allowing non-mainstream voices into this space, the struggle over the meaning of the CORRUPTION AS STATE/PUBLIC ENEMY metaphor continues. The groups produced discourses which highlighted the complexities surrounding the issue of corruption which was accomplished via metaphors, such as CORRUPTION AS SYSTEMIC ACTION, COLLECTIVE ACTION, NETWORK SYSTEM, TOOL FOR UNITING THE NATION, and so on (see chapter 5, the group of conceptual metaphors of corruption).

According to these metaphors, the practices of corruption exist in the centre of power. Consequently, the public see the STATE/PUBLIC ENEMY discourse with its *us/them* thinking (179) only as political rhetorics, that is how to fight the enemy (*them*) while *we* are a part of the enemy. In this sense, even a comment meant to specifically comment on *them*, unavoidably comments on the *us* at the same time. This is due to the dialectical nature of dichotomous thinking embodied in *us/them* and it is also triggered by the vague term ‘enemy’ (government and law officers are Indonesians and both institutions are structurally under the president). In fact, the president’s war on corruption does not yield significant results, particularly in the cases of grand corruption involving the power structures and powerful parties, such as the law cases of bailout of *Bank Century* and *Wisma Atlit*. This situation has led to public protests and parliamentary inquiry. The government’s failure to eradicate corruption decorated news media with various headlines, such as ‘Rapor Merah Buat Presiden’ (the red record for the president) presented below:

(180) “Pemerintahan SBY tidak menunjukkan indikasi yang baik dalam hal pemberantasan korupsi (...) Praktik korupsi meningkat dan penegakan hukum tidak berjalan, terutama kasus bail out Bank Century yang diduga melibatkan beberapa partai politik dan pemerintah (...) *kegagalan ini merupakan rapor merah buat presiden (...)*”

(...) There was no good signal from SBY’s administration to eradicate corruption (...) Corruption increased. Law enforcement is not capable of dealing with the *Bank Century* bailout case involving the government and some political parties (...); *the failures are as a red record for the president*)

Television channels (TV-One & Metro-TV) presented political talk-shows discussing the parliamentary inquiry into the failure of the government in eradicating corruption. Excerpt (180) is a political discourse between television and legislators in a political talk-show (TV-One). In (180), the legislators reformulated the *enemy* category (*them*) and the social category (*us*): PRESIDENT=LEGISLATOR in the previous discourse (179), which fitted to their immediate political goals. In this sense, the social categories are entirely malleable and subject to political manipulation. The concept of *rapor merah* (red record) is transferred to the president. The phrase *rapor merah* is a vague expression which takes advantage of the cultural cognitive model shared between the speaker (180) and the audience and invites the audiences to interpret the meaning. Actually, the categorisation of *rapor merah* refers to a student record describing a student achievement where teachers evaluate the student and give points in blue, black and red ink. The blue and black ink mean a good mark and the red one is the worst mark (failure). In this regard, the president is conceptualised as a student and legislators as teachers. One of the functions of the parliament is to supervise the government. This conceptualisation (180) results in the metaphors PRESIDENT AS STUDENT and LEGISLATORS AS TEACHERS.

Pragmatically, the word *merah* ‘red’ (180) in the Indonesian context means ‘stop’ (traffic lights), dirty (a period/bleeding; woman), and brave. As the president gets a red record, it means the president (student) is a failure. As the word *merah* (red) means ‘stop’, the student (president) should be expelled (impeached) from school (presidency). Thus, (180) contains a kind of discursive strategy of the speaker, who expects the audience to understand the meaning of *red record*. Based on the interpretation of the meaning, it can be said that the social categories (president as student, legislators as teachers) of people are defined and

redefined as a disenfranchised regular struggle with the elites for power and resources: legislators (*us*) vs. president (*them*). As *them* is *our* enemy, *we* should teach the enemy to be a good person. This is possibly a reason why CDA scholars perceive language as essentially political, with tangible social consequences. The manipulation of social categories via metaphors at both textual and conceptual level activates asymmetrical concepts which place the parliament (LEGISLATORS AS TEACHERS) in a superordinate position where the student (president) should listen, respect and obey the teachers. In this respect, metaphors operate in the political discourse to assemble and reinforce social and political stereotypes.

The legislator's idea of the 'red record' is reinforced by the media, becoming a mainstream view about the president. As the media repeatedly reported this news, the subliminal meaning of the metaphors LEGISLATORS AS TEACHERS AND PRESIDENT AS STUDENT resonated. The re-contextualisation made by the media through the repeated reports involves not only the transformation of social practice into a discourse about the president, but also the addition of contextually specific legitimations of the social practice. The LEGISLATORS AS TEACHERS metaphor has a personal and institutional authorisation, a model authorisation and moral evaluation to exercise power and legitimation. In this sense, the metaphors which construct public opinion form, to a large extent, a social practice that legitimises the parliament's power and deligitimises the president's power.

### **6.3.3 Asylum Seekers and Tsunami Metaphors**

News stories tend to appear in the press within overarching frames about corruption (179), which shift to a frame about the president (180). It is a kind of counter and re-counter discourse or a "recontextualisation of competing discourse" (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 11). The shifting issue in the discourse shows that there is a struggle over meanings pursued in the media by propelling the marginal discourse into the mainstream news media. Although the discourse of corruption (179-180) endeavours to take a dominant (hegemonic) position, a complete dominance is never fully possible. There is always a gap, through which marginal discourse can break in and take over a more central position, like, for example, the political and social observers discourse (181-182) below broke into the mainstream view that only individuals who were in the centre of power were fully competent to practise and/or organise corruption. The presence of this gap means there is a constant struggle for hegemony. In this regard, the counter and re-counter discourse should not, then, be taken for

a static entity: rather, this constant struggle over meaning emphasises the fluidity of what is predominant and what is dissenting, leaving space for alternative representations to shift into a mainstream space.

(181) “(...) corruption existed in the centre of power. Those (they) who are involved in corruption cases used to seek protection in the political parties. These asylum seekers stayed close to the ruling party and big political parties to save them from the reach of law) (a social-political observer, TV-One, 26 May 2011)

(182) “(...) tsunami was striking the Democratic Party (...) several political elites of the party are engaged in corruption cases (...) the Democratic party’s discourses on the eradication of corruption and anti-corruption were merely a political rhetoric) (TV-One, 6 June 2011).

The *bahasa Indonesia* texts of (181-182) can be found in appendix N. The groups who suffer from social discrimination through the discourse (179-180) contest the main or predominant mainstream news about corruption. The speaker of (181) uses an inverted strategy to challenge the mainstream view, which contends that the *president is taking a command to wage war on corruption* (179) and *legislator is clean from corruption* (legislators as teachers (180)). The inverted response is to argue that *no, in fact it is not because corruption exists in the centre of power* (181). There was a great deal of debate about the social construction of the actors involved in cases of corruption in the previous discourses like *collective action, food chain, business, mouse, clowns*, and so on (see chapter 5 and the frames in chapter 6). Excerpt (181) points to the conceptual metaphor PARTAI POLITIK SEBAGAI SUAKA (Political party as asylum), which presents corruptors as asylum seekers. The word *asylum* evokes protection or safety offered by a government to immigrants or foreigners who have been forced to leave their own countries for political reasons. The seekers hope that the government protects them and allows them to live there. However, in the context of (181), the asylum seekers are not immigrants or foreigners and the place for the seekers is the political party, not the embassy. In this regard, the POLITICAL PARTY AS ASYLUM metaphor operates in the public discourse to assemble and reinforce social stereotypes (CORRUPTOR=ASYLUM SEEKER=IMMIGRANT). The manipulation of social categorisation (*us/them*) via metaphor at both textual and conceptual levels implies that the corruptors (*them*) are not part

of *our* nation (Indonesian) and therefore, *we* should send *them* back to *their* own countries (jail).

As the political party is understood in terms of asylum, the issues of corruption involving legislators have reduced people’s trust in the political parties, for instance, the corruption cases of *Wisma Atlet* and *Hambalang* involving legislators from the Democratic Party. Excerpt (182) is a mainstream news media item which challenges the previous discourses produced by President SBY and by the Democratic Party, which framed corruption in terms of state and public enemy and anti-corruption (see chapter 5 and chapter 6. sections 6.1.1 and 6.3.1). The frequency of reports in relation to the corruption cases involving the legislators from the Democratic Party is displayed in table 31 below.

**Table 31: Television mainstream news about the issue of corruption involving the legislators from the Democratic Party (Aug –Dec 2011)**

NEWS FRAMES	TV-ONE		METRO-TV	
	JKT/I-LC	AKI	SUA	DT
<i>Tsunami di Partai Demokrat</i> (Tsunami in the Democratic Party)	4	7	–	–
<i>Badai Menerjang Partai Demokrat</i> (Storm striking the Democratic Party)	2	2	–	–
<i>Badai Belum Berlalu</i> (The storm has gone away)	2	3	5	2
<i>Prahara di Partai Demokrat</i> (Dispute in the Democratic Party)	–	3	3	1
<i>Konflik di Tubuh Demokrat</i> (The conflicts in the Democratic Party)	3	8	2	1
<i>Angin Puting Beliung melanda Demokrat</i> (Typhoon striking the Democratic Party)	–	4	8	–
<b>Total</b>	11	27	18	4

**Note:** Programmes: JKT/I-LC = Jakarta/Indonesia Lawyer Club AKI = Apa Khabar Indonesia  
SUA = Suara Anda DT = Dialogue Today

Excerpt (182) points to the conceptual metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI TSUNAMI/BENCANA ALAM YANG MENYERANG PARTAI DEMOKRAT (Corruption as tsunami/natural disaster striking the Democratic Party). Table 31 above shows JKT/I-LC mentioning the same expression, “tsunami in the Democratic Party” 4 times and AKI 7 times. In addition, the topic is also addressed in the running text. Both programmes presented the

speakers and participants from the Democratic Party, other political parties, lawyers and social and political observers. As a result, the mainstream news *Tsunami in the Democratic Party*, *Storm striking the Democratic Party* and *The storm has not gone away* become common ways to talk about the problems happening in the Democratic Party. Once televisions see that their mainstream news are accepted, they have an overwhelming advantage by using the same topic in the following programmes. In this sense, the power and legitimation of President SBY and the Democratic Party are deligitimised by the inequality discourse.

As the mainstream news has constructed the Democratic Party in such a way, a speaker (legislator) from the Democratic Party in the talk “Tsunami in the Democratic Party” (TV-One, Sept 2011) has felt he was being attacked before the talk started. The speakers from other political parties knew this situation and made use of the issue as a political commodity for the upcoming election in 2014. They addressed the issue that the Democratic Party protects its elite members who are involved in corruption (Political party as asylum seeker). They came up with the story that the Democratic Party hid the suspects of corruption abroad on purpose. Although the issue was not supported by the facts, the public or audience might believe it based on their experience with serious corruption cases involving the political elites which commonly disappeared. So, the anti-corruption and war on corruption discourses of the Democratic Party were just a matter of political rhetorics (182).

In this context, the speakers from other political parties took over a central position which presented the mainstream view that only the powerful groups were fully competent to engage in corruption. The mainstream view broke the image of the Democratic Party. As the Democratic Party is the ruling party, the mainstream news *Tsunami in the Democratic Party* and *Storm striking the Democratic Party* (table 31) successfully contested the previous marginal discourses on anti-corruption and war on corruption of the Democratic Party. Having tackled inequality in the news media, the Democratic politicians countered the mainstream news media by stating that “The Democratic Party totally lets the court handle the case. We will not interfere with the court at all”. This statement is a kind of moral politics to fix the broken political image of the Democratic Party.

#### 6.3.4 Power vs. Weakness: Bonsai Tree and Amnesty and Clemency Metaphors

The following excerpt (183) is used by a journalist of *Harian Kompas*. However, the journalist did not draw attention to the explicit denunciation, but rather focused on the more hidden evaluative stance. The politicians or journalists may pitch this message ‘high enough’ for their political base or target readership to hear it. However, those (public) whose ears are not attuned to this message may perceive the meaning differently and straightforwardly for politicians or journalists to be accused of discrimination or racism. The phrases *a bonsai tree* and *heaven for corruptors* (183) are forms of covert evaluation, which seemingly uses a neutral meaning, but where in fact a negative message is likely to be heard by the target community. Excerpt (183) in *bahasa Indonesia* can be found in appendix N.

(183) “The jail and the court are a heaven for corruptors. Money and power turn the law articles into a bonsai tree. As a result, they get a huge reduction in the punishment. Their punishment is also curtailed because of the amnesty and clemency shown by the government. Moreover, they come up with a sickness reason which enables them to stay longer in a hospital than in jail (...) Can the lay people, poor and we get this privilege rights like them? This becomes the homework of all of us” (TV-One, October 2011)

As it has been discussed so far, social categories are entirely malleable and subject to political manipulation. One striking example of this fact is found in the metaphorical mapping between the domains of POWER and WEAKNESS (183). The metaphor is a felicitous indicator of the *us/them* dichotomy or categorisation whose relational pair forces human beings to be categorised into one of two opposing poles: power (*them*) vs. weakness (*us*), rich (*them*) vs. poor (*us*). The expressions *Jail and court are heaven for corruptors*, *money and power*, *bonsai tree*, *amnesty and clemency* and *privilege rights* point to the conceptual metaphors HUKUM SEBAGAI BISNIS POLITIK YANG MENGUBAH PENGADILAN DAN PENJARA MENJADI SURGA BAGI KORUPTOR (Law as political business which turns court and jail into a heaven for corruptors), HUKUM SEBAGAI KEKUASAAN YANG EFEKTIF KE BAWAH TETAPI TIDAK EFEKTIF KE ATAS (Law as power which is effective to the bottom (poor) but ineffective to the top (rich)). Both metaphors describe a cultural cognitive model of Indonesian people which implicitly differentiates the social status (rich/power vs. poor/weak). This means that the rich men are close to power and justice and the poor are far from power and injustice. This cultural

cognitive model carries out two functions: (1) to simplify complex political realities to a mutually exclusive thinking such as *us/them*, and (2) to activate asymmetrical primordial concepts which place the rich family in a superordinate position vis-à-vis the poor family.

Based on excerpt (183), which is expressed metaphorically, it can be noticed that from the political discourse it is sensed that it is more difficult to question something communicated implicitly than something explicitly. There is no political party or individual mentioned in excerpt (183). The word *government* in (183) is used euphemistically although many people know that the one who can give amnesty and clemency is the president. TV-One, which is famous for its political programmes, knew that and mentioned this article of *Harian Kompas* (excerpt 183) to the participants in the JLC talk-show programme. TV-One opened the talk by showing the current corruption cases. i.e. *Wisma Atlit* and *Hambalang* involving the legislators from the Democratic Party and the prisoners who were freed because of amnesty and clemency. This report is used to link the statements expressed by the Democratic Party in the previous talk (see the last paragraph of section 6.3.3). As a result, the Democratic Party became a shooting target in the talk. In this regard, the marginal discourse about corruption and law enforcement produced by a newspaper (*Harian Kompas*) journalist is propelled into the television mainstream news. where the bad attribution of social categories assigned to the Democratic Party becomes widespread. The re-contextualisation made by television through repeatedly reporting about this situation involves not just the transformation of social practice into the discourse, but also the addition of contextually specific legitimization of the social practice.

### **6.3.5 Ghost vs. *Satria Piningit* (A Chosen Warrior): a model of discriminatory ideology**

The CORRUPTION AS STATE/PUBLIC ENEMY and LAW/POLITICS AS BUSINESS metaphors which have been discussed so far describe the social categorisation of enemy, such as monkey, mouse, crocodile, clown and mafia (see also chapter 5). The purpose of the enemy's conceptualisation through the *us/them* dichotomy is not to inform the audience about the measurable differences between the Indonesian people watching at home and the *enemy* outdoors. Instead, it intends to generate solidarity between the anti-corruption groups and viewers at home and to create further distance from the enemy (*them/other*). As corruption is close to the centre of power and the power groups have more access to the

media, even a comment (e.g. made by a politician) meant to specifically comment on *them*, unavoidably comments on the *us* at the same time. This means that the enemy is a part of *us* (Indonesian people), he is not from other countries. As a result, political manipulations have to exist to save the corruptors or to minimise their time in prison (e.g. the amnesty and clemency metaphor). Therefore, a politician from the Islamic party in the political talk reformulated the enemy category for his immediate political goals as in excerpt (184) below. The excerpt in *bahasa Indonesia* can be found in appendix N.

(184) “(...) The public’s ear has attuned to the great deal of corruption cases reported by the media. The state’s money was totally corrupt, but we did not know who did it (...) The court could sort out only very few cases and the others disappeared. If there were no ghosts who did it, we and the court could catch them (...) Corruptors were the same as terrorists who transformed nations from bitter foes to strong allies. We had to find a <sup>25</sup>*satria piningit* (a chosen warrior) like in the Javanese puppet tales to catch the ghosts and the terrorists” (a politician, TV One, 9 November 2011)

The above excerpt points to the conceptual metaphor KORUPTOR SEBAGAI HANTU DAN TERORIS YANG HARUS DIMUSNAHKAN OLEH SATRIA PININGIT (Corruptors as ghosts and terrorists which must be wiped out by a chosen warrior). In this metaphor, the speaker propels the category of enemy in the previous discourses, i.e. mouse, mafia, clown, monkey and crocodile into *hantu* (ghost) and *teroris* (terrorists). The speaker intentionally uses the word *terrorist* because Indonesia succeeded in wiping out the terrorist actions in the country. The speaker expects the government to react firmly regarding corruption, just like regarding terrorists. In this sense, corruption and terrorists are bitter foes for Indonesia. Although the synonym *foe* is used instead of *enemy* (184), the reference is identical. Clearly, the speaker’s statement is a positive self-representation that reinforces *us* by highlighting the binary adjectives that precede two contrasting nouns: *bitter* foes vs. *strong* allies. Reworded in terms of *us vs. them*, the sentence in the 5<sup>th</sup> line of the excerpt (184) can also be read: transform nations from the *other (them)* category (distance) to the *us* (solidarity) category.

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<sup>25</sup> *Satria Piningit* (a chosen warrior) is a fairy tale of puppets in the Javanese culture. It tells the story of a chaotic kingdom where outlaw actions happened everywhere. People were suffering and were hopeless. The kingdom’s advisor who has supernatural powers suggested that the king should seek a *satria piningit* chosen by the holy spirit. It was believed that only this warrior could sort out the situation.

The distance and solidarity relational pair are also expressed by the words *ghosts*, *terrorists* and *satria piningit* (a chosen warrior). As the ghosts and terrorists can harm the humans (*us*), *we* should find a *satria piningit* to save *us* from *them*. In addition, the speaker of (184) deliberately matches the word *ghosts* with *satria piningit* in the metaphor to make sense of the discourse on corruption eradication and law enforcement produced so far, which is just a lip service or political rhetorics. Pragmatically, both *ghosts* and *satria piningit* are invisible creatures which are imaginatively created (*ghost* is bad and *satria piningit* is good) and thereby, it is impossible to catch corruptors and eradicate corruption practices. The invisible creature (ghosts) is used in (184) to link with the word *raib* (disappeared) which refers to the case of corruption. As the ghosts are *our* enemy, *we* should be good and strong in order not to be tempted by corruption (ghost/devil). This meaning interpretation is manifested through the figure of *satria piningit*.

Thus, the dichotomic roles of *us/them*, such as ghost, terrorists, monkey, crocodile, mouse, clown and mafia (enemy/*them*) in the Indonesian political discourse are negative yardsticks of discriminatory or racists ideology. These words are iconographic references which are associated with familiar values, i.e. monkey=a greedy animal, mouse=a smart and tricky animal, and so on (see chapter 5). This aims to establish a powerful conceptual link between the referent and a particular value judgment. In this regard, the social categorisation is manipulated to establish social dynamics which privilege certain groupings of experiences and dismiss others. The Ghosts *vs.* *Satria Piningit* metaphor uses planned lexical choices to trigger powerful connections in the minds of the listeners. The role transfer of the enemy (*them*) and good persons categories (*us*) is to mobilise large numbers of individuals to act according to the ideologies of the speaker in (184).

### **6.3.6 Maturity vs. Immaturity: a reflection from the metaphor of democracy**

The discourses which have been discussed so far reflect that choosing and using metaphors divides participants in the discourse into good guys and bad guys by placing them with opposing views into particular roles in the conceptual mappings. The metaphors CORRUPTION AS STATE/PUBLIC ENEMY, LAW/POLITICS AS WAR/BUSINESS/DRAMA/GAME, CASE AS MYSTERIOUS OBJECT, PRESIDENT AS STUDENT and LEGISLATORS AS TEACHERS, JAIL AND COURT AS HEAVEN FOR

CORRUPTORS, and so on indexed the *us/them* dichotomic thinking. The *us/them* dichotomy is a social category attributed to individuals to form social hierarchies in the discourses: i.e. the good categorisation is attributed to *us* and the bad categorisation to *them*. As a result, the act of categorisation forced the participants in the discourse to be categorised in two opposing poles. Such polarised discourses do not only contribute to creating a conflicting or contradictory situation, but also contribute to manifesting domination or hegemony (see chapter 5: the POLITICS AS ANIMAL AND SEXUAL ACTIVITY metaphor: Teri fish vs. Salmon fish).

The political elites then regularly exploit this language function to categorise and establish dichotomies (e.g. power vs. weakness, teacher vs. student, Salmon fish vs. Teri fish). Various social categorisations are intentionally created: i.e. the *enemy* categories: *crocodile, monkey, mafia, mouse, greedy person, ghost* and *terrorists* and the *politician* categories: *clowns, mouse, bandit with tie, actors/actresses, businessmen*, and so on. This aims to organise social activities in ways that best guarantee their continued grasp on political power. As the public heard those words (frames) through the media reports, the social categorisations become iconographic references for the public to talk about politicians and corruptors. The iconographic references imply racist ideologies, impoliteness and disrespectful behaviour which actually constitute a disadvantage for the position of political elites. It is because either elites or non-elites contribute to the continued existence of social asymmetries by their continued participation in them (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 273). This message was reflected in the speech of President SBY in the conference of the Democratic Party in Bogor, broadcast live by the television:

(185) “(...) freedom of expression and opinion differences are a common thing in the era of democracy. Unfortunately, this freedom is often misused by breaking the rules, norms, ethics and politeness. It shows that we are still immature in the democracy (...) The Democratic Party must keep a good image of the party and give good models to the people (...) Play politics with good manners and express the opinions politely!(...)” (President SBY, Metro-TV, 20 November 2011).

Excerpt (185) in *bahasa Indonesia* can be found in appendix N. President SBY addressed his speech (185) to the members of the Democratic Party which was implicitly

expressed. The implicit aspects are present in the passive sentence: *this freedom is often misused*, the vague pronouns of *kita* (we, us or ourselves) and the Democratic Party. In addition, there is no social category of *them* explicitly indexed in (185). On the one hand, excerpt (185) can be textually interpreted: President SBY, a founding father of the Democratic Party, advised the members of the party: *to keep a good image of the party, give a good model to the people, play politics with good manners and express the opinions politely*. However, this advice may also imply a criticism or complaint to the members of the Democratic Party to do the good things and fix the broken image of the party. This interpretation is derived from the previous sentences: *this freedom is often misused* (passive) is linked to the pronoun *we* in (*it shows that we are immature*) and the proper noun *the Democratic Party*. In this sense, President SBY intentionally makes it implicit to invite the audiences (members of the party) to interpret the meaning of his speech. The expression *we are immature in the democracy* is essentially political with tangible social consequences: it means that politics of the members of the Democratic Party should be moral.

By contrast, the expression *kita belum matang dalam demokrasi* (we are immature in the democracy) in (185) points to the metaphor DEMOKRASI SEBAGAI MANUSIA/BUAH/MAKANAN (Democracy as human being/fruit/food). The word *matang* (mature) in *bahasa Indonesia* may refer to an adult person, a riped fruit and a cooked food. This metaphor actually conceptualises the social category indexed by *maturity vs. immaturity*. Contextually, the metaphorical conceptualisation in (185) is connected to the previous mainstream news media about the Democratic Party: i.e. *Tsunami in the Democratic Party*, *Storm striking the Democratic Party*, etc. In this regard, President SBY attributed the *immaturity (them)* in (185) to the opposition parties that made use of the problems happening in the Democratic Party for political goals: i.e. *ghosts, terrorists, monkey, crocodile*, and so on. These iconographic references are racist or discriminatory ideologies and thereby, this is perceived as unethical manners and impolite behaviour. This meaning is manifested in the expression (185) *This freedom is often misused by breaking the rules, norms, ethics and politeness*. In this sense, the individuals who break the rules, norms, ethics and politeness are as the immature categories attributed to *them* (opposition parties). As *we* (the Democratic Party) know that other parties (*them*) are unethical, impolite and rule breakers, *we* should keep *our* party's good image by playing politics with good manners, expressing the opinions

politely and giving good models to the people (185). The expressions imply the maturity categories attributed to *us*.

President SBY implicitly addressed the *us/them* dichotomy in terms of *maturity vs. immaturity* to show that he is not just a founding father of the Democratic Party, but also the president of the Republic of Indonesia. The social hierarchy which is not strongly constructed in the speech is a kind of moral politics of President SBY to nurture the Indonesian people in making sense of democracy and freedom. The implicit categorisation is a neutral way of speaking that balances both solidarity (*us*) and distance (*them*). This interpretation is derived from the vague pronoun *kita* (we) in (185): *It shows that we are immature in the democracy* where the pronoun *we* may refer to all of us, to certain groups or audiences. In this sense, even a comment meant to specifically comment on *them*, unavoidably comments on the *us* at the same time. This is due to the dialectical nature of dichotomous thinking embodied in *us/them*.

#### 6.4 Summary

The present chapter analysed the role of metaphor in Indonesian political discourse and how this role is expressed. Seven examples of political discourse (179-185) containing metaphorical expressions were selected to identify the role of metaphor in discourse, and CMT and CDA were incorporated to explain this role. Both approaches acknowledge the influential power of language in shaping our society. Based on the analyses of seven Indonesian political discourses through examples (179-185), it was investigated how political leaders and other participants construct public opinion and create distance and solidarity towards mainstream discourses. This is accomplished via metaphorical references to conceptualisations of the social categories *us-them* on the one hand, and to the challenging of the dominant discourse on the other: i.e. *US/THEM*: State/Public Enemy metaphor (179). The contesting discourse is a counter discourse produced by groups who suffer from social discrimination. As the media reported the text (179) over and over, the meaning of anti-corruption and the action to fight corruption resonated and influenced the gullible hearers or readers to believe the mainstream view. At the same time, there is a need for news media (in their self-professed role as democratic institutions) to provide a fair and balanced perspective on the issue of corruption. In the name of balance, other less powerful groups compelled the

news media to leave room for alternative views in the mainstream discourse of corruption (179). By allowing non-mainstream voices into this space, the debate over the meaning of the CORRUPTION AS STATE/PUBLIC ENEMY metaphor continues. The groups produced discourses highlighting the complexities around the issue of corruption, accomplished via the metaphors *Student vs. Teacher*: PRESIDENT AS STUDENT (180), Asylum Seekers and Tsunami metaphors (181-182). The metaphor in (180) corrected the transfer of PRESIDENT=LEGISLATOR (179) that reflected solidarity indexed by the social category (*us*), to become PRESIDENT=STUDENT and LEGISLATORS=TEACHERS (180). The metaphors (179-182) are ways to counter and re-counter the discourse or the “recontextualisation of competing discourse” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 11). For example, the issue of corruption (179) is shifted to a frame related to president or government (180).

The shifting issue in the discourse shows that there is a struggle over meanings expressed in the media by propelling the marginal discourse into the mainstream news media. Although the discourses of corruption (179-180) try to adopt a dominant (hegemonic) position, a complete dominance is never possible. There is always a gap, through which marginal discourses can break in and take over a more central position, i.e. the discourses in (181-182). The discourses (181-182) broke the mainstream view that only individuals who were in the centre of power were fully competent to engage in and/or to organise corruption acts. The presence of this gap means that there is a constant struggle for hegemony. In this regard, the counter and re-counter discourse should not be considered a static entity; rather, this constant struggle over meaning emphasises the fluidity of what is predominant and what is dissenting, leaving room for alternative representations to shift into the mainstream space. The discourse in (181) points to the POLITICAL PARTY AS ASYLUM metaphor, which operates in the public discourse to assemble and reinforce social stereotypes (CORRUPTOR=ASYLUM SEEKER=IMMIGRANT). The discourse in (182) contains the metaphor CORRUPTION AS TSUNAMI/NATURAL DISASTER STRIKING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. This metaphor is a television mainstream news item about the Democratic Party, where the power and legitimation of President SBY and the Democratic Party are deligitimised by the inequality discourse.

Metaphor is an indicator of the *us/them* dichotomy, which works dialectically in the political discourse: i.e., *teacher vs. student* (180), *power vs. weakness* (183), *ghost vs. Satria*

*Piningit* (a chosen warrior) in (184), and *maturity vs. immaturity* (185). CDA recognises that political leaders within any society regularly display the tendency to categorise and establish binaries (e.g. *power vs. weakness*). The discourses (180-185) are polarised discourses manifested through social categories indexed by *us/them*, where *us* implies social solidarity and *them* implies social distance (*enemy*). According to the *us/them* relational pair, human beings are categorised into one of two opposing poles: good categories (*us*) and bad categories (*them*). In the discourses (180-185), social categories are entirely subject to political manipulation and thus, social categories of people are defined and redefined as the regular struggle with the elites for power and resources. The act of categorisation via metaphors at both textual and conceptual level activates asymmetrical concepts and generates social and political hierarchical constructs. For example, the metaphors LEGISLATOR AS TEACHER (180), COURT AND JAIL AS HEAVEN FOR CORRUPTORS (183), CORRUPTOR AS GHOST/TERRORIST WHICH MUST BE WIPED OUT BY A CHOSEN WARRIOR (184) and DEMOCRACY AS HUMAN/FOOD/FRUIT (185) place *us* in a superordinate position and *them* in a subordinate position. In this regard, metaphors operate in the political discourse to assemble and reinforce social and political stereotypes. This may explain why CDA scholars perceive language as essentially political, with tangible social consequences.

As the media repeatedly reported the discourses (179-185), the subliminal meanings of the metaphors resonate and become a public discourse. The recontextualisation by the media through the repeated reports involves not just the transformation of social practice into the discourse about the president, legislators, juries and judges, but also the addition of contextually specific legitimations of the social practice. The metaphors (179-184) reflect that corruption is close to the centre of power and the power group has more access to the media. Thus, even a comment (e.g. made by a politician) meant to specifically comment on *them*, unavoidably comments on the *us* at the same time. This is due to the dialectical nature of dichotomous thinking embodied in the *us/them* relation and the vague concept of ‘enemy’. Thus, the enemy is a part of *us* (Indonesian people), he is not from other countries. The dichotomic roles of *us/them*, such as ghost, terrorists, monkey, crocodile, mouse, clown and mafia (*enemy/them*) in the Indonesian political discourse are negative yardsticks of discriminatory or racist ideology. These words are iconographic references associated with

familiar values, i.e. monkey=a greedy animal, mouse=a smart and tricky animal, etc. This aims to establish a powerful conceptual link between the referent and a particular value judgment. In this regard, the social categorisation is manipulated to establish social dynamics which privileges certain groupings of experience and dismisses others.

# CHAPTER 7

## CONCLUSION

### 7.1 Concluding Remarks

This thesis applied CMT, MFA, and CDA approaches to explore the ways legislators and political elites exploit the rhetorical power of metaphors in the Indonesian political discourse in Indonesia. To investigate metaphors, this thesis considered: (1) the transformation of political power in Indonesian politics and the way mass-media works in political discourse, (2) metaphor study in Indonesian linguistics, (3) types of metaphor, (4) the dimensions of metaphor variation, (5) frames, and (6) the role of metaphor in the Indonesian political discourse. Chapter 1 and chapter 2 presented the research background and its relation to metaphor study in Indonesian linguistics. The research background concerned the deployment of metaphors within political discourse and the reporting of political events in the mass-media. Therefore, this research provided a historical background of the Indonesian political context (the restoration of a democratic political system: President Soekarno (Old Order: 1945-1967), President Soeharto (New Order: 1968-1998) and the Reform Era (1998-present)), the status of the press and metaphor use in formal situations. These aspects were illustrated with some examples (3-12 and 20-25), which showed that metaphors were a type of rhetorical practice used to transfer traditional, social, cultural and political values.

Chapter 2 focused on the use of metaphor in formal settings. In this respect, metaphor is perceived as a new symptom of language use which is opposite to the rules and policy promoted by *Pusat Bahasa* (The Indonesian Language Office). The *Pusat Bahasa* applies the denotational or correspondence theory to search for meanings. Because of this view, the development of metaphor study has remained silent in Indonesian linguistics and isolated metaphors in literary works. Contrary to this view, this research aimed to show that the speakers of Indonesia disobey or disregard the language rule of *Pusat Bahasa*, not on purpose, and use metaphors in formal situations. Perhaps they did not find any other ways to

express their ideas and they pick out metaphors effortlessly. Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) state that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language, but also in thought and action, that is, experience forms a thinking framework in the human mind, and then, words are fitted to concepts. Consequently, human beings have the tendency to behave metaphorically.

Chapter 3 explained the theoretical core of this research, which is firmly based on critical approaches to language as social interaction. The exploration of metaphors and their roles in political discourse is primarily set up from three important strands of critical social research. The first is Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003; Kövecses, 2002, 2006; Gibbs, 2005; Vyvyan and Green, 2006). Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) simplifies complex concepts, which enables us to make sense of abstract concepts by drawing parallels to concepts that are more easily accessible to us. Metaphor is characterised by a set of mappings from a source domain to a target domain. Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) argue that metaphor and metonymy are not just poetic expressions, but they play a primary role in shaping our understanding of the world around us. Lakoff discussed metaphor roles in the political discourse of American administration, particularly during the First and Second Gulf Wars (1992, 2003). In these works, he discusses the conceptual metaphor WAR AS FAIRY TALE, where the source domain FAIRY TALE is mapped onto the target domain WAR. The WAR AS FAIRY TALE framework presented to the American audience a hero (the U.S.), a villain (Saddam Hussein), and a victim (in 1992, Kuwait; in 2003, the Iraqi people). Lakoff's analysis and conclusions provide a helpful framework for understanding the motivations behind metaphor. Metaphor is an essential element in the human categorisation of the world and in the human thinking process. Thus, although we may not be explicitly speaking in metaphor, we are most certainly thinking in terms of metaphor.

The second is Metaphorical Frame Analysis (MFA). Frames are structured mental representations of an area of human experience (Kövecses, 2006). Metaphor is always based on a frame that makes people view things in a new light. Lakoff combines frame analysis and conceptual metaphor, which he names 'Metaphorical Frame Analysis' (Lakoff, 2002: 3). He argues that language always comes with what is called 'framing'. In his analysis of political discourse, Lakoff (2002, 2004) showed that there is a struggle between various frames for

conceptualising politics. He describes an overarching *Nation-as-Family* metaphor, articulated in phrases such as *founding fathers*, *Uncle Sam*, *Big Brother*, and *sending our boys to war*. This metaphor encompasses two models of family life, each entailing its own type of parent-child relationship. The ideal government is conceptualised either as a *Strict Father* or as a *Nurturing Parent*: the citizens are seen as the *Children*. A preference for either of these two models influences an individual's view. In Lakoff's analysis, the Republican and the Democratic parties in the USA are struggling to establish which meanings dominate political life in terms of these two frames.

The third is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is a critical linguistic approach which views "language as a social practice" (Wodak, 2001: 1). Discourse and society are locked in a dialectical relationship: "Every instance of language use makes its own small contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 273). The question is *Do metaphors play a role in the discourse?* Many CDA scholars have tried to investigate George Lakoff's conceptual metaphor theory (1980/2003) in the discourse. For instance, Kennet Burke (1984), Hawkins (2001), Chilton (2002), Charteris-Black (2005) and Goatly (2007) aim to investigate the function of figurative thought and language in the discourse.

Chapter 4 discussed the research methodology. The objectives of this research are: (1) to classify the metaphors found in political discourse, (2) to identify the variation of metaphors and the causes of variation and to explain how they are all related, (3) to explain how the legislators and the political elites frame their language and why they frame it in that way, and (4) to identify the roles of metaphor in the political discourse. The data for this investigation comprise political news in the form of textual data taken from newspapers (*Harian Kompas* and *Harian Waspada*, the 2010-2011 edition) and oral data from televisions (TV-One and Metro-TV) and interviews between 2010-2011. This research employs a mixed methodology, whereby quantitative methodology is used to provide the fundamental connection alongside empirical or direct observation and interviews through qualitative methodology with statistics or numerical forms.

For this research, a small corpus was compiled, using WordSmith tool corpus version 5.0 for the written language of *bahasa Indonesia*. The corpus contains 150 texts of approximately 439,472 tokens, taken from newspapers, and represents a way to provide authentic data of metaphors. This corpus does not have grammatical and semantic annotations in dealing with the metaphorical expressions. This limitation is due to the fact that conceptual metaphors or conceptual mappings are not linked to particular linguistic forms. In particular, they do not all contain lexical items from the target domains. The strategies for identifying linguistic expressions containing conceptual mappings from non-annotated corpora are undertaken by: 1) manual searching, 2) searching for source domain vocabulary and 3) searching for sentences containing metaphorical expressions from both the source and target domains.

Chapter 5 considered types of metaphor, the cognitive function of metaphor, metaphorical mappings, metaphor variation, metaphorical entailment, and metaphorical highlighting and hiding. 1,155 metaphors in all were identified collected from textual data (750) and oral data: televisions (304) and interviews (101). These metaphors are used by legislators, political elites and other participants in political discourse. The metaphors were then classified according to their source and target domains, their degree of conventionality and cognitive function. The scale of conventionality of metaphors was assessed based on source domains and their linguistic expressions. The corpus is used in order to trace common source domains: i.e. *enemy, culture, disease, collective action* are common source domains (B) to understand ( $\rightarrow$ ) the target domain (A) of corruption, (B): *business, power, drama, moral, machine*  $\rightarrow$  (A) politics, (B): *house of people, market* and *actors/actresses*  $\rightarrow$  (A) parliament/legislators, (B): *business, power, weapon* and *sick person*  $\rightarrow$  (A) law, etc. The uncommon source domains (B) are *fruit, food, animal, a tool for unifying the nation* and *euphoria*  $\rightarrow$  (A) corruption, (B): *game/toys, education, sport, journey* and *human*  $\rightarrow$  (A) politics, (B): *mouse, clowns* and *robbers*  $\rightarrow$  (A) legislators, (B): *sport, game* and *drama*  $\rightarrow$  (A) law, etc. Based on the source and target domains, the metaphors are grouped into ten conceptual metaphors: (1) corruption consists of 16 conceptual metaphors with 384 expressions, (2) politics: 14 with 192 expressions, (3) law: 10, 133, (4) case/scandal; 9, 62, (5) legislators/parliament: 10, 52, (6) goverment/president: 6, 38, (7) democracy: 5, 35, (8)

elections: 5, 32, (9) political party: 5, 31, and (10) corruptor: 5, 15 and the blending conceptual metaphors: 181.

The term ‘conventional’ refers to how well-established and well-entrenched metaphors are for the speakers of a language (Kövecses, 2002). Contrary to Kövecses (2002)’s ways of determining conventional linguistic expressions, the degree of conventionality of metaphors in this research is established based on the data. The conventionality is taken and counted from each group of metaphors. KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK/NEGARA (Corruption as state/public enemy) is highly conventional (90) in the group of metaphors of corruption compared to other metaphors, such as KORUPSI SEBAGAI BUDAYA (70), PENYAKIT (63) and BISNIS POLITIK (23) (Corruption as culture, disease and political business), etc. POLITIK SEBAGAI KOMODITAS BUSINESS (Politics as business commodity) is highly conventional (50) in the group of metaphors of politics. POLITIK SEBAGAI HUKUM ‘politics as law’ (31), KEKUASAAN ‘power’ (23), KEKUATAN ‘strength’ (13) and DRAMA (9) are less conventional. HUKUM SEBAGAI BISNIS (Law as business) is a highly conventional metaphor in the group of metaphors of law (31). HUKUM SEBAGAI POLITIK, SENJATA, and PERTARUNGAN SOSIAL (Law as politics, weapon and social fight) are less conventional metaphors with (27), (23) and (13) expressions. Other highly conventional metaphors based on their groups are: KASUS SEBAGAI BISNIS HUKUM-POLITIK (Case as political and law business), with 15 out of 62, PRESIDEN SEBAGAI SELEBRITI (President as celebrity), with 12 out of 37, DPR SEBAGAI RUMAH RAKYAT (Parliament as House of People), with 17 out of 52, DEMOKRASI SEBAGAI PERTARUNGAN KEKUASAAN (Democracy as fight for power), with 11 out of 35, PEMILIHAN SEBAGAI PESTA DEMOKRASI (Elections as people celebration ), with 13 out of 32, PARTAI POLITIK SEBAGAI SUAKA (Political party as asylum), with 11 out of 31, and KORUPTOR SEBAGAI ORANG SERAKAH (Corruptors as greedy persons), with 6 out of 15.

The degree of conventionality of metaphors underlying the political discourse in Indonesia reflects the Indonesian cultural and cognitive model. People use unconventional expressions because they do not find other ways to understand corruption, politics, legislators, president, corruptors, etc. The unconventional ways are forms to counter the facts

or reality. For example, the highly conventional metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK/NEGARA (Corruption as public/state enemy) contradicts the unconventional metaphor KORUPSI SEBAGAI ALAT PEMERSATU BANGSA (Corruption as tool for uniting the nation). Other examples are: POLITIK SEBAGAI MORAL (Politics as morals) vs. POLITIK SEBAGAI MAINAN (Politics as game/toy), PRESIDEN SEBAGAI LAMBANG NEGARA (President as symbol of state) vs. PRESIDEN SEBAGAI DHUafa (President as dhuafa), DPR SEBAGAI TEMPAT RAKYAT MENGADU (Parliament/legislators as place for people to ask for help) vs. DPR SEBAGAI BADUT-BADUT SENAYAN, TIKUS and RAMPOK (Legislators as clowns of Senayan, mice and robbers). In addition, the metaphors POLITIK SEBAGAI PERJALANAN, MANUSIA, EDUKASI, MAINAN and OLAH RAGA (Politics as journey, human being, education, game/toy and sport) and PRESIDEN SEBAGAI KEPALA/BAPAK NEGARA (President as father of the country) borrow highly conventional metaphors from the American politics (Lakoff, 2002, 2004), but these metaphors are unconventional in Indonesia. This implies that the culture, experience and the knowledge background influence the ways people think and talk about politics.

The cognitive function of conceptual metaphors provides conceptual links, structural knowledge and coherent experience in ways of thinking and talking. The cognitive function of conceptual metaphors is identified through structural metaphors, ontological metaphors and orientational metaphors. For example, the structural metaphors of *corruption* are structured according to a disease network, *politics* is structured according to business and morals, and *case* according to object and liquid in a container. For example, corruption is structured in terms of some basic elements (cause and effect, contamination and treatment) and a background condition. The concepts are: corruption (A), disease (B), which consists of the following elements: virus/germ, unhealthy environment, people/society culture, ill society, government responsible and a state/public enemy. The elements form a conceptual relation: an unhealthy environment is a dirty environment, a dirty environment is a society/culture and such an environment is conducive to the reproduction of germs and viruses, and so on. The relationship between the source (B) and the target (A) enables people to understand corruption in terms of PENYAKIT (disease), VIRUS, BUDAYA (culture), AKSI SISTEMIK (systemic action) and MUSUH PUBLIK (public enemy).

Ontological metaphor provides the ontological or existential status to the target domains. For example, the abstract concept of *corruption* can be more delineated by understanding it in terms of *disease* through some words such as ‘virus’, ‘spread’, ‘chronic cancer’, ‘destroy’, ‘cure’ and ‘safe’. The cognitive function of the orientational metaphor is to make several metaphors coherent with one another. The orientational metaphors in the Indonesian context apply a synonym and antonym orientation to link all metaphors: bad-good or healthy-sick, win-lose and safe-dangerous (table 19). For example, *corruption is bad vs. anti-corruption is good, a healthy society is an anti-corruption society vs. a sick/ill society is a corrupt society, etc.*

In this study, the mapping system of metaphors is unidirectional, which means that the source and target domains are not reversible (tables: 20-21 a-j). For example, we do not talk about *disease as corruption, business as politics, people fiesta as election or mysterious object as case*. However, there is a unique mapping found in the metaphor of politics and the metaphor of law: POLITIK SEBAGAI HUKUM (Politics as law) and HUKUM SEBAGAI POLITIK (Law as politics). Both metaphors employ abstract concepts to understand another abstract concept. We do not know exactly whether LAW is more abstract than POLITICS and vice versa. This is a typical case which may result from the metaphorical entailments. This may happen when people see the same phenomena happen in politics and in the law enforcement process. They use the same linguistic expressions because they do not find other expressions to make sense of their experiences.

Indonesia’s ethnic languages and culture are heterogeneous. This background condition inevitably influences the production of metaphorical expressions which motivate metaphor variation. There are two factors which motivate metaphor variation and cause variation in the Indonesian context: the broader cultural context and the natural and physical environment. The broader cultural context refers to the cross-cultural and the intra-cultural (within-culture) dimension. The variation dimension of conceptual metaphors can be the result of borrowing concepts across and within the cultures or it can happen by accident. Some cognitive scholars have tried to find some aspects related to the universality and variation by comparing the conceptual metaphors in one language to those in other

languages: i.e., Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), Ning Yu (1998), Taylor and Mbense (1998) and Kövecses (2001, 2002).

This research found that English and *bahasa Indonesia* share a conceptual metaphor: happiness is oriented towards the ‘up’ position. America and Indonesia also use common conceptual metaphors to understand politics, e.g. POLITICS IS POWER, BUSINESS, SPORT, DRAMA and TOYS, but POLITICS IS GAMBLING does not exist in Indonesia. America and Indonesia also view the elections as a competition or race. However, the metaphor ELECTION IS FUND RAISING in the U.S has a culturally reversed meaning in Indonesia, with ELECTION AS FLOOD RELIEF or DISTRIBUTING FOOD SUPPLIES FOR THE PEOPLE. The similar concepts may occur by accident, not as a result of borrowing concepts or metaphors from English. Naturally, all languages have words to express happiness, anger, politics and elections, which may be different from one to another. TIME IS MONEY is a borrowed metaphor for Indonesia, used in relation to the payment system, but not to the social behaviour of people: i.e. arriving late and a delayed flight are common situations in Indonesia. In this regard, metaphorical concepts stem from the culture of the speakers of a language, which reflects their cultural and cognitive model. The differences, similarities and variations of conceptual metaphors are not matters of universality, but they are matters of sharing concepts and knowledge across and within cultures. Different languages and cultures result in different concepts and thought (Sapir-Whorf, 1956).

Another variation is caused by the natural and physical environment related to where the speakers live. The natural and physical environment shapes a language, primarily its vocabulary. Consequently, it will also shape the metaphors, which is reflected in the concepts: *Ing ngarso sun tu ludo*, *Ing madya mangun karso*, *Tut Wuri Handayani* (Javanese), *sampan*, *biduk* (raw) and *perut buncit* (bloated stomach) are from Malay, *harajaon* ‘kingdom’ (Batakese), etc which people use to understand a leader (president), political party, corruption and election. The speakers living in a certain kind of habitat will be attuned to things and phenomena for the metaphorical comprehension and creation of their conceptual universe. The phenomena show that languages are not monolithic, but come in varieties that reflect divergences in human experiences. Based on these factors, the cultural variations of

metaphors in Indonesia vary along four dimensions: social, regional, stylistic and individual. KORUPSI SEBAGAI TANGGUNG JAWAB BERSAMA (Corruption as the responsibility of all of us) and POLITIK SEBAGAI AKTIVITAS SEKSUAL (Politics as sexual activity) are examples of metaphor variation in the social dimension uttered by a female and a male legislator. The female legislator used persuasive expressions (117-119) to talk about corruption. The expressions reflect the introverted character of the female legislator, which is different from the male legislators (extroverted characters). PEMIMPIN SEBAGAI Satria PININGIT (A leader as chosen knight warrior) and NEGARA SEBAGAI KELUARGA (Nation as family) are regional dimensions derived from the ideological concept of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity) and the PEMIMPIN SEBAGAI Satria PININGIT (A leader as chosen knight warrior) metaphor. KORUPSI SEBAGAI ALAT PEMERSATU BANGSA (Corruption as tool for uniting the nation) is a style variation of KORUPSI SEBAGAI AKSI KOLEKTIF DARI ATAS-BAWAH (Corruption as top-down systemic action). KORUPSI SEBAGAI BUAH (Corruption as fruit) is an individual dimension stemming from KORUPSI SEBAGAI SISTEM JARINGAN (Corruption as a network system). Corruption as fruit is a secret code of communication to avoid using a vulgar language in practising corruption. Other causes of variation are the metaphorical entailments and metaphor highlighting and hiding.

Chapter 6 discussed metaphorical frames and the role of metaphor in political discourse. There are seven topics observed as predominant frames which presented new stories about political situations in Indonesia where tended to appear in the press within overarching frames and metaphors: politics, corruption, law, case/scandal, president/government, democracy and political party. The data reveal that politicians and other participants used selective frames and they framed the issues in different ways, such as politics is framed in terms of *business, clown, mouse*, etc. Corruption is framed in terms of *enemy, business, disease, culture, fish*, etc. Law is framed as *business, weapon, sick person*, etc. President is framed in terms of *dhuafa, celebrity*, etc. Case is framed as *a mysterious object, a flow of river, singing* (whistle blower), etc. Democracy is framed in terms of *freedom, human, lesson*, etc. The choice of the frames influences an individual's view – for example, the frame of COMMERCIAL LAW EVENTS, which is articulated in the phrases *trading constitution, a case manipulation, turn articles into a bonsai tree, presumption of*

*innocence*, etc. Such frame reflects two models of individual status: elite (rich) and non-elite (poor). This status has an impact on the just and unjust treatments, whereby the elite tries to get close to the court to get justice and a non-elite should stay away from the court.

Through the discussion about the application of the frames, this research has shown that choosing and using the frames divides politicians and citizens into good guys and bad guys by assigning people with opposing views particular roles in the frame. They understand that the different frames have different effects: i.e., COMMERCIAL POLITICAL EVENTS, MOUSE WITH TIE EVENTS, WAR ON CORRUPTION, ENEMY CORRUPTION, CHARACTER ASSASSINATION, JUSTICE, LAW WEAPON, THE FLOW OF *BENGAWAN SOLO* RIVER, CHARITY BOX FOR *DHUAFA*, LELE JUMBO FISH, IMMATURE DEMOCRACY, etc. They may use the same frames as neutral ways of speaking about an issue on the one hand, and they reframe an issue in a different light or produce a new frame on the other. Although they use the same frames, this does not mean they share the whole elements or concepts of the frames. They frame and reframe the issue expressed in a relatively neutral language: i.e., the LAW WEAPON frame. Politicians make planned lexical choices which place the ideas in the frame, such as *weak*, *incapacitate* and *powerless* to talk about law. These words are neutral ways of speaking about the law. However, by means of the choice of the words, politicians indirectly evoke several frames that allow for a significant reinterpretation of the concept, which is different from the one used by other participants or the public.

Consequently, the LAW WEAPON frame motivates other frames that highlight the power of law: *powerless is sick* and *powerful is healthy*. The word *sick* evokes the frame of a kind of illness (mental and physical) and a stage of the illness/disease. This enables participants to use the words *amputated*, *stage 3*, *suspended animation*, *coma*, *chronic* and *paralysis*. All these words are used to understand law in terms of a sick person. If those words are used in the sentences with the word *law*, i.e. *our law is weak* vs. *our law is in suspended animation* and *our law is not strong* vs. *our law is in a coma*, they imply the different meanings. This shows that the meanings of the sentences are always based on the structured frames. The words *weak* and *suspended animation* can only be understood in the context within which the phrase *the cause of the illness* is understood.

This research has shown that frames are widely structured by the elements they contain. In the frame each word evokes the entire frame to which it belongs. For example, politics, corruption, law, case, government/president, etc. have a complex network of frames: POLITICAL COMMODITY, BUSINESS, POWER, MORAL, DRAMA, etc. This aspect raises an interesting question: can we reframe a concept in any way we like, i.e., can we link it to or place it in any new frame? Obviously not, this research finds that the concepts that the speakers or journalists want to reframe must fit the new frames – for example, the ideas that the citizens must obey the law or rule, that those who disobey are punished, and the citizens who receive unequal treatment before the law for many reasons. Given this, it is possible for the speakers to reframe law in many ways or to introduce new frames that relate to the concept of law, for example, the LAW BUSINESS frame and the MISSING OBJECT/CASE frame. The LAW BUSINESS frame highlights the commercial events in the law case and the MISSING OBJECT frame emphasises the fact that a case is missing.

This research shows that framing and reframing regarding the heated issues in the Indonesian political discourse are ongoing activities in the media. Contradictory or conflicting situations are created for various purposes through reframing or introducing new frames in order to propel and contest the dominant frames in the mainstream news media. The politicians made this to put their position to an advantage. For example, when corruption and law enforcement became the dominant discourse reported by the media, the politicians produced the frames WAR ON ENEMY EVENTS, JUSTICE, POLITICAL SCAPEGOAT, CHARITY BOX FOR A DHUAFI, IMMATURE DEMOCRACY, etc. All frames are used to contest the dominant frames attacking their position. Based on the discussion about the frames, it was found that political elites and legislators frame political issues the way they do for a wide variety of reasons. Since they want to convince people of their truth concerning the issues, they frame them in ways that they believe will influence others, for example, WEAPON OF LAW EVENT. Other times, their emotional attitude vis-à-vis the situation in the talks can be observed. This leads them to reframe the issues in a particular way by introducing new frames or by stressing frames that were previously unstressed in the discussion of the issue, for instance the JUSTICE frame is stressed to become the BUSINESS frame or a new frame is introduced, like the WEAK and STRONG frames. Thus, reframing can be defined as shifting an issue away from its conventional 'location' within a set of

shared assumptions and reconstruing it within a different set of knowledge. In this regard, the frames merely serve rhetorical purposes for the politicians, that is, the frames are selected on the basis of the politicians' goals and/or ideology.

This often makes the difference between frame and conceptual metaphor rather blurry when it comes to specific cases. This happens because in this thesis there are three concepts mixed together in the discussion: conceptual metaphor, frame, (how the media frame the issue), and discourse analysis, for example: POLITICS AS LAW and LAW AS POLITICS. If we discussed the concept of LAW and POLITICS based on the frames and metaphor, there should only be one conceptual metaphor, not two conceptual metaphors. This actually violates the metaphorical mapping system (unidirectionality). However, the mapping principle of the concepts of law and politics cannot be maintained for this case because there are contextual and textual factors when discussing the entire meaning of the texts in the discourse which should be seen through the speaker's intended meaning. Perhaps this is the reason why Lakoff does not include discourse or the pragmatic approach when discussing metaphor and language framing in the US political discourse. Example of law frames are: court, jury, judge, lawyer, defendant or suspect, witness, case, articles, resource, business, etc. These frames do not actually relate to political frames. However, there are some aspects in the concepts of law and politics in the frame that can be shared, that is, law can be reinforced if there is a political will from the power. This means that law should be supported by politics. This aspect is in line with the Indonesian political system where the People's Representative Council (DPR) selects the candidates for the head of court proposed by the government (Executive). In this case, there is a blending concept in law and political frame, particularly in relation to power, resource and business.

As the data have shown, metaphorical thought pervades political discourse in Indonesia. Seven excerpts (179-185) containing metaphorical expressions were analysed to explore the role of metaphors in political discourse. The metaphors are: (1) CORRUPTION AS STATE/PUBLIC ENEMY, (2) PRESIDENT AS STUDENT and LEGISLATORS AS TEACHERS, (3) POLITICAL PARTY AS ASYLUM, (4) CORRUPTION AS TSUNAMI/NATURAL DISASTER STRIKING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, (5) LAW AS POLITICAL BUSINESS WHICH TURNS THE JAIL AND THE COURT INTO A

HEAVEN FOR CORRUPTORS, (6) CORRUPTORS AS GHOSTS AND TERRORISTS WHICH MUST BE WIPED OUT BY A CHOSEN WARRIOR, and (7) DEMOCRACY AS HUMAN/FRUIT/FOOD. These metaphors are incredibly valuable tools for the power groups (political elites) because of the efficiency of their work. They make planned lexical choices which trigger powerful connections in the minds of the listeners, in order to construct public opinion and to create distance and solidarity indexed by the social categories of *us/them*. This shows that power groups are aware of the potential power of metaphorical discourse, and thus make every effort to influence the discourse circulated to the public. One of the findings of the analysis of the excerpts (179-185) is related to a strategic target within the public discourse, that of imagined social categories. This means that every power tries to dictate how we categorise each other. It is aimed to mobilise large numbers of individuals to act on behalf of their ideologies. One efficient method of achieving this is to contextualise the public or audiences into stark polarities, synthesised as the *us/them* dichotomy.

In this analysis, it was found that every group uses metaphors and the *us/them* categories to contest the dominant discourse, such as *us/them*: state/public enemy metaphor (179). The contesting discourse is a counter discourse produced by groups who suffer from social discrimination. They compelled the news media to make room for a fair and balanced perspective on the issue of corruption. By allowing non-mainstream voices into this space, the struggle over the meaning of the state/public enemy metaphor continues, which highlights the complexities around the issue of corruption, as reflected in the *Student vs. Teacher* (180) and the Asylum Seekers and Tsunami metaphors (181-182). The metaphor (180) corrected the transfer of PRESIDENT=LEGISLATOR (179) which is indexed by solidarity (*us*), and it becomes PRESIDENT=STUDENT and LEGISLATORS=TEACHERS (180). In this sense, the issue of corruption (179) is shifted to a frame about president (180), which places legislators in a superordinate position. The metaphors (179-182) are ways to counter and re-counter the discourse or they are a “recontextualisation of competing discourse” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 11).

The competing discourse indicates that there is a struggle over meanings intended in the media by propelling the marginal discourse into the mainstream news media. As a result, a complete dominance or hegemonic position, which is often achieved by power groups, is

never fully possible. There is always a gap, through which marginal discourses can break in and take over a more central position. The presence of this gap means that there is a constant struggle for hegemony. In this regard, the counter and re-counter discourse should not be considered a static entity; this constant struggle over meaning rather emphasises the fluidity of what is predominant and what is dissenting, leaving room for alternative representations to shift into a mainstream space. For example, the excerpts (181-182) broke into the mainstream view that only individuals who were in the centre of power were fully competent to practise and/or organise corruption. Excerpt (181) points to the POLITICAL PARTY AS ASYLUM metaphor, which operates in the public discourse to assemble and reinforce social stereotypes (CORRUPTOR=ASYLUM-SEEKER=IMMIGRANT). Excerpt (182) contains the metaphor CORRUPTION AS TSUNAMI/ NATURAL DISASTER STRIKING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. This metaphor is a television mainstream news item about the Democratic Party where the power and legitimation of President SBY and the Democratic Party are delegitimised by the inequality discourse.

An important finding of this analysis is that metaphor is a felicitous indicator of the *us/them* dichotomy, which works dialectically in the political discourse: i.e., *teacher vs. student*, *power vs. weakness*, *ghost vs. Satria Piningit* (a chosen warrior) and *maturity vs. immaturity*. CDA recognises that political leaders within any society regularly exploit the tendency to categorise and establish binaries (e.g. *power vs. weakness*). Excerpts (180-185) are examples of a polarised discourse manifested through social categories indexed by *us/them*, where *us* implies social solidarity and *them* implies social distance (*enemy*). The *us/them* relational pair forces human beings to be categorised into one of two opposing poles: good categories (*us*) and bad categories (*them*). Social categories are entirely malleable and subject to political manipulation. The social categories of people are defined and re-defined, according to the disenfranchised regular struggle with the elites for power and resources.

The act of categorisation via metaphors at both textual and conceptual level activates asymmetrical concepts and contributes to the creation of social and political hierarchical constructs. For example, the metaphors LEGISLATOR AS TEACHER, COURT AND JAIL AS HEAVEN FOR CORRUPTORS, CORRUPTOR AS GHOST AND TERRORIST WHICH MUST BE WIPED OUT BY A CHOSEN WARRIOR and DEMOCRACY AS

HUMAN/FOOD/FRUIT place *us* in a superordinate position and *them* in a subordinate position. In this regard, metaphors operate in the political discourse to assemble and reinforce social and political stereotypes or a model of discriminatory ideologies. They have their function not only at conceptual level, but also at discourse level. This is possibly a reason why CDA scholars perceive language as essentially political, with tangible social consequences. In this sense, CMT and CDA are concerned with the surfaced evidence of implicit conceptualisation and share the acknowledgment of the potential influential power of language to shape the society. CDA studies metaphor in the discourse to expose conventionalised social hierarchies as they appear in the linguistic references to conceptual metaphors. Based on the analysis of seven excerpts (179-185), the roles of metaphor in political discourse can be distinguished: (1) metaphor is a felicitous tool for the rhetoric of political leaders, (2) metaphor and discourse shape the conceptual structures of the world-views and provide the reasons why the rhetoric of political leaders is successful, and (3) the role of metaphor in the discourse is a part of the meaning-making process that keeps the discourse contexts alive and active.

## **7.2 Future Research**

The present study has examined conceptual metaphors and their roles which underlie political discourse in Indonesia. This research classified conceptual metaphors, metaphor variation and causes of variation, metaphorical entailment, metaphor highlighting and hiding and frames and explained their roles in political discourse. The emerging conceptual metaphors in this research are taken from a particular period of time, they occur in specific genres, and are produced by certain groups of people in specific contexts. Although this research is limited to politics, it represents an original contribution to knowledge and shows critical appreciation of the existing knowledge in the fields relevant to the topic. This research has shown that metaphor is not an instance of extraordinary language, but it is ubiquitous in politics. This study can be used as a reference for possible future research on metaphor in Indonesia, for example on the relationship between metaphor and other tropes and on the application of conceptual metaphor theory to a range of different kinds of discourse, i.e. literature, culture, teaching and learning, and the non-linguistic realisation of metaphor in a variety of areas, like advertisement, arts, political debates and so on.

*Pusat Bahasa* and Indonesian objectivist linguists view metaphor as extraordinary language and restrict metaphor and other figurative language to an isolated area exploited by poets and rhetoricians. In relation to this view, the possible future research which contributes to establishing a modern study of metaphor in Indonesian linguistics is to explore the relationship between metaphor and other tropes. The discussion will lead to the idea of the generalised nature of metaphor theory, that is, metaphor theory is derived from the fact that it attempts to connect what we know about conceptual metaphor with what we know about the working of language, of the human conceptual system, and of culture. Metaphor can provide new insights into how certain language phenomena work, such as polysemy, the development of meaning and how metaphorical meaning emerges. Thus, this will challenge *Pusat Bahasa* and Indonesian objectivist linguists who view metaphorical language and thought as arbitrary and unmotivated. Contrary to this view, metaphorical language and thought obviously arise from everyday life experience.

Many scholars, from a variety of disciplines, such as Locke and Kant, Whorf, Bühler, Max Black, Gibbs, Ortony, Burke, Sandikcioglu, Santa Ana, Stefanowitsch, Chilton, etc., have obtained new and important results in the study of metaphor. Their research shows that the conceptual nature of metaphor is comprehensive and it is an empirically tested theory. The comprehensiveness is derived from the fact that it discusses a large number of issues connected with metaphor. It is an empirically tested theory in that researchers have used a variety of investigations to test the validity of the major claims of Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory. In this regard, Indonesian linguists should not be doubtful to conduct research on metaphor in different areas as a culture-specificness, since Indonesia is rich in culture, ethnic groups and languages.

Metaphor is a key instrument not only in producing new words and expressions, but also in organising human thought. In this sense, metaphor may have useful practical applications: for example, for teaching and learning, particularly for ethnic and foreign language teaching in Indonesia. The non-linguistic realisation of metaphor is a novel thing in Indonesia. So far, international scholars in linguistics also paid little attention to this area. Non-verbal expressions can also be perceived as a metaphor, such as in advertisements, cartoons and the photos of characters. In political debates, mimics, gestures and voice

intonation can also serve as a threat as much as words themselves. Thus, some possible future research has been highlighted and Indonesian linguists are expected to be able to contribute to establishing a modern metaphor study in Indonesia.

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## APPENDIXES OF CORPUS LINGUISTICS: A-H

**Table A: The corpus of politics**

N	Concordance
300	. "Polisi jangan melihat dia (Andi Nurpati) adalah pejabat di partai politik yang sedang berkuasa. Kalau demikian, anggapan bahwa
301	kesan seakan-akan ada rekayasa yang ditumpangkan pada isu politik tertentu atau memojokkan orang atau partai politik tertentu.
302	pada isu politik tertentu atau memojokkan orang atau partai politik tertentu. Ini sudah dilaporkan 16 bulan yang lalu, tepatnya
303	, seusai diskusi di Jakarta, Sabtu (18/6/2011). Oce menilai, secara politik, keluarnya Andi dari Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) lalu
304	aparatus penegak hukum cenderung dapat diintervensi oleh kekuatan politik. Oce tidak terkejut dengan sikap polisi yang lamban
305	di Indonesia bisa berjalan tanpa penegakan hukum jika sistem politik tetap dikuasai oligarki atau kelompok kecil yang bisa
306	kepada calon non-oligarki untuk ikut bertarung sehingga sistem politik diharapkan dapat membuat oligarki tunduk pada hukum.
307	dapat membuat oligarki tunduk pada hukum. Guru Besar Ilmu Politik dari Northwestern University, Chicago, Amerika Serikat,
308	, Jakarta, Jumat (3/6) malam. Ia mengatakan, saat ini sistem politik Indonesia dikuasai oligarki, yang tak tunduk pada hukum.
309	pada hukum. Dia mengatakan, kesempatan mengubah sistem politik yang dikuasai oligarki bisa dilakukan saat pemilihan presiden
310	bisa dilakukan saat pemilihan presiden. Namun, saat ini sistem politik di Indonesia hanya bisa memunculkan orang untuk jadi calon
311	bisa memunculkan orang untuk jadi calon presiden melalui partai politik. Itu berarti distorsi oligarki ditingkatkan secara pasti. Figur
312	naik dari institusi partai harus jadi oligarki dulu mengingat saat ini politik uang yang menentukan dalam satu partai, ujarnya. Kondisi
313	, katanya. Menurut Jeffrey, kekuasaan oligarki dalam sistem politik di Indonesia yang membuat negara ini bisa menerapkan
314	tak bisa menundukkan mereka yang kaya serta berkuasa secara politik. Oligarki, kata Jeffrey, berbeda dengan elite. Dari masa
315	menang pada pemilu, kondisi penguasaan oligarki dalam sistem politik berubah. Memang tidak ada jaminan 100 persen. Namun
316	untuk bertarung, ada peluang untuk mengubah kondisi sistem politik sekarang ini, katanya. Aktivis mahasiswa tahun 1966,
317	hukum. Mereka diistilahkan oligarki putih. Mereka mau sistem politik seperti sekarang ini berubah. (bil) Saling Sandera Macetkan
318	diselesaikan secara hukum. "Semua kasus diselamatkan secara politik, lalu setelah parah, dimunculkan sebuah kasus baru
319	, kata Denny, lcal menyatakan, "Ya sudah kita selesaikan secara politik." Selanjutnya, Denny menjelaskan lagi, "Saya bilang ke Bang
320	lagi, "Saya bilang ke Bang lcal, kasus Gayus bukan masalah politik. Itu masalah hukum." lcal pun berkata, "Okey, kita
321	berkata, "Okey, kita selesaikan masalah Gayus dengan masalah politik dan hukum." "Saya bilang, Ya kita upayakan untuk
322	diwartakan, sejumlah tokoh dengan latar belakang profesi dan politik yang tergabung dalam Geram Hukum) menandatangani

**Table B: The corpus of the President SBY language use**

N	Concordance
28	pejabat itu tidak membuat dunia kiamat. "Saya kira jabatan Wakil Presiden tidak dibutuhkan mutlak, sementara Departemen Keuangan
29	. "Jika kedua beliau ini tidak nonaktif, ini bisa menjadi beban bagi Presiden Yudhoyono. (Jika terbukti keduanya bersalah), Presiden
30	beban bagi Presiden Yudhoyono. (Jika terbukti keduanya bersalah), Presiden Yudhoyono akan terkena dampak reaksi masyarakat luas.
31	Bank Century senilai Rp 6,7 triliun guna menggulingkan posisi Wakil Presiden Boediono. Seperti diberitakan, Boediono, dan juga Menteri
32	. Dikatakan Boni, Idrus memiliki kedekatan dengan Partai Demokrat. Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono sendiri pernah menjadi saksi
33	tanda tanya besar di publik. Ini juga tidak sejalan dengan amanat Presiden SBY bahwa kasus ini harus segera dituntaskan," imbuhnya.
34	Rabu, 13 Oktober 2010   18:47 WIB RUMGAPRES/ABROR RIZKI Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono menghadiri Upacara HUT
35	Lanud Halim Perdanakusuma, Selasa (5/10/2010) pagi. TERKAIT: • Presiden: Ada Nuansa Parlemerter • Presiden: Purnawirawan Harus
36	(5/10/2010) pagi. TERKAIT: • Presiden: Ada Nuansa Parlemerter • Presiden: Purnawirawan Harus Jadi Contoh • Presiden Ingin Mandiri •
37	Nuansa Parlemerter • Presiden: Purnawirawan Harus Jadi Contoh • Presiden Ingin Mandiri • Andrinov: Copot Menteri Berkinerja Buruk •
38	SBY, Aksi di Istana 20 Oktober MANOKWARI, KOMPAS.com - Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono sudah mendengar
39	akan menggulingkannya pada usia setahun pemerintahannya. Namun, Presiden Yudhoyono tidak risau dengan pemberitaan tersebut. Benar,
40	Presiden Yudhoyono tidak risau dengan pemberitaan tersebut. Benar, Presiden sudah mendengar isu adanya gerakan tersebut dari
41	Julian Aldrin Pasha kepada Kompas di sela-sela kunjungan kerja Presiden Yudhoyono menemui korban banjir Wasior di Rumah Sakit
42	Umum Manokwari, Papua Barat, Rabu (13/10/2010) sore. "Benar, Presiden sudah mendengar isu adanya gerakan tersebut dari
43	gerakan tersebut dari pemberitaan media massa hari ini. Akan tetapi, Presiden tidak memberikan komentar, apalagi risau," tandas Julian.
44	memberikan komentar, apalagi risau," tandas Julian. Menurut Julian, Presiden Yudhoyono sangat terbuka dengan kritikan dan koreksi yang
45	Gedung Pengurus Besar Nadhlatul Ulama (PBNU), Julian mengatakan Presiden tidak mempermasalahkannya. "Itu bagian dari warna-warni
46	, Julian mengaku belum mendengar hal itu dibicarakan khusus oleh Presiden. "Sejauh ini, saya belum pernah mendengar atau mendapat
47	ini, saya belum pernah mendengar atau mendapat arahan dari Presiden terkait masalah reshuffle," katanya. Menurut Julian, Presiden
48	dari Presiden terkait masalah reshuffle," katanya. Menurut Julian, Presiden Yudhoyono akan berkunjung ke China hingga akhir Oktober
49	hasil evaluasi setahun kabinet yang katanya akan diumumkan Presiden pada tanggal 20 Oktober. Setahu saya, Presiden akan ke
50	akan diumumkan Presiden pada tanggal 20 Oktober. Setahu saya, Presiden akan ke China dan Vietnam," katanya. Sekretaris Kabinet
51	Vietnam," katanya. Sekretaris Kabinet Dipo Alam juga membenarkan, Presiden Yudhoyono belum membicarakan masalah pergantian

**Table C: The corpus of government**

File Edit View Compute Settings Windows Help

N	Concordance
1	pada track yang benar. Hal ini termasuk mendukung komitmen pemerintah dalam pemberantasan korupsi. Saya siap melaksanakan
2	, bahwa untuk segera mengembalikan kepercayaan masyarakat, pemerintah beserta jajarannya dan DPR harus bekerjasama dalam
3	DPR harus bekerjasama dalam menyelesaikan kasus-kasus tersebut. "Pemerintah dan DPR jangan 'bertele-tele' dalam menyelesaikan
4	konstitusi seperti Rizal Ramli masuk ke tim ekuin, untuk memperkuat pemerintah SBY-AB. Rizal Ramli adalah mantan demonstran ITB yang
5	publik dan menimbulkan kegaduhan nasional yang merusak kredibilitas pemerintah dan merobek kepercayaan rakyat. Keterlibatan Boediono
6	adalah anggota pansus yang mayoritas berasal dari fraksi pendukung pemerintah. Itulah sebabnya, kinerja pansus untuk menyelesaikan
7	cukup berarti dalam kasus ini, ditambah banyaknya partai pendukung pemerintah yang memback up, wajar ini (penyelesaian kasus
8	hilir, terutama soal aliran dananya, sehingga tidak menjadi ganjalan bagi pemerintah dalam melangkah ke depan. Thursday, 04 February 2010
9	. "Saya jamin tidak akan terjadi kekacauan sebagaimana dikhawatirkan pemerintah. Jika terjadi indikasi ke arah kekacauan, Kompak akan
10	Pansus itu dibentuk berdasarkan kompromi politik fraksi-fraksi koalisi pemerintah di DPR, yaitu fraksi Partai Demokrat, fraksi Partai Golongan
11	, Pansus itu kemungkinan besar hanya akan bekerja sesuai keinginan pemerintah yang justru diduga berada dibalik skandal Bank Century.
12	, dan tidak seharusnya pernyataan itu dilontarkan SBY di tengah-tengah pemerintah sedang menggalakkan rangsangan untuk menarik iklim
13	dilontarkan seorang Presiden di tengah-tengah adanya kebijakan pemerintah untuk merangsang iklim Investasi ke Indonesia," ujarnya.
14	dia, proses sosial dalam perayaan hari anti korupsi ikut dimeriahkan pemerintah, jika menganggap perayaan tersebut seagenda pemerintah
15	pemerintah, jika menganggap perayaan tersebut seagenda pemerintah dalam pemberantasan korupsi. "Sebaiknya presiden
16	hasil pilihan semua fraksi di DPR, bukan hanya pilihan fraksi koalisi Pemerintah, jadi biarkan mereka bekerja menjalankan tugasnya lebih
17	, apalagi gerakan itu sejalan dengan program pemerintahan SBY. Pemerintah tidak perlu menghambat keinginan dari siapapun untuk
18	bisa menjadi sarana mendukung gerakan antikorupsi yang dicanangkan pemerintah. Sinyallemen yang dikeluarkan Presiden Susilo Bambang
19	sendiri aksi pemberantasan korupsi itu. "Kami hanya membantu pemerintah," kata mantan Ketua PP Muhammadiyah Syafii Ma'arif.
20	bersikap anti korupsi," tandasnya. Sebaiknya, ia menghimbau, Pemerintah tidak bersikap reaktif apalagi reasioner terhadap kritik
21	yang memberi peluang bagi kontrol sosial dan politik. "Gelagat pemerintah untuk membungkam kritik adalah bentuk authoritarianisme
22	tahu," tambahnya. Partai Golkar telah memutuskan untuk mendukung pemerintah. "Karenanya, kita mengharapkan pemerintah diberi jalan
23	untuk mendukung Pemerintah. "Karenanya, kita mengharapkan pemerintah diberi jalan untuk menjalankan pembangunan
24	dalam Pasal 68 UU 24/2003 tentang MK itu disebutkan hanya pemerintah atau kuasanya yang dapat mengajukan permohonan

concordance collocates plot patterns clusters filenames follow up source text notes 6 of 24 - Clipboard

76 Set | mantan Ketua Kadin (pengusaha) maupun menko kesra (pejabat negara) sangat memadai. Visinya jelas. Adapun kursi menko bisa diisi oleh ekonom konstitusi atau kerakyatan yang sangat strategis untuk mengimbang Item collected.

**Table D: The corpus of law enforcement**

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N	Concordance
1	. Partai hanya melakukan tanggung jawab moral untuk mendorong penegakan hukum," ujar Andi di Gedung DPP Demokrat, Jumat
2	Sri Mulyani, berbicara tentang sebuah kesewenang-wenangan penegakan hukum terhadap terdakwa yang tidak bersalah. Karya
3	," tambahnya. Yusril pun yakin Presiden SBY memiliki komitmen dalam penegakan hukum, khususnya dalam pemberantasan korupsi. Yusril
4	yang ingin melanjutkan kasus Sisminbakum ini. Sebagai lembaga penegakan hukum yang diharapkan masyarakat bisa independen
5	SBY pada periode keduanya ini bisa mempercepat tercapainya penegakan hukum, pemberantasan korupsi, dan kesejahteraan rakyat.
6	harus mendukung upaya pihak mana pun juga yang memperjuangkan penegakan hukum terhadap siapa pun juga, jangan pilih kasih. SBY
7	apatisme rakyat terhadap elite politik. Hal ini dapat dilihat dari minimnya penegakan hukum di Indonesia. Sunday, 06 December 2009 18:07
8	dinilai memburuk oleh 33, 9 persen responden. Demikian pula pada penegakan hukum (33,1 persen) dan keamanan (14,9 persen).
9	merupakan kejahatan konstitusi yang membahayakan demokrasi dan penegakan hukum. Menurut Zaenal Arifin Mochtar, polisi bisa
10	dan penggelapan sudah terjadi secara nyata," tukas Mahfud. Penegakan Hukum Mahfud: Di Mana "Leadership" Presiden? Maria
11	Oligarki Seharusnya Tunduk kepada Hukum Saling Sander Macetkan Penegakan Hukum "Leadership" Kunci Keberhasilan JAKARTA,
12	di bangsa ini. Menurut saya, Presiden itu harusnya ikut campur dalam penegakan hukum. Yang tak boleh itu proses peradilan. "Kebangkrutan
13	itu proses peradilan. "Kebangkrutan aspek hukum ini terjadi karena penegakan hukum tak bergerak. Menurut saya kuncinya satu, leadership
14	Presiden (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) tidak boleh ikut campur dalam penegakan hukum. Menurut saya, Presiden itu harusnya ikut campur
15	hukum. Menurut saya, Presiden itu harusnya ikut campur dalam penegakan hukum. Yang tak boleh itu proses peradilan. Kalau dalam
16	penegakan hukum. Yang tak boleh itu proses peradilan. Kalau dalam penegakan hukum itu justru kewajiban presiden," tutur Mahfud di Wahid
17	. "Jaksa Agung, polisi, dan lain-lain itu hanya pembantu Presiden dalam penegakan hukum. Saya melihat betul setiap kasus hukum selalu
18	negara gagal akan terjadi betul," kata Mahfud. Hilangnya kekuatan penegakan hukum ini, lanjutnya, akan mengakibatkan ketidakadilan dan
19	:00 WIB Jakarta, Kompas - Demokrasi di Indonesia bisa berjalan tanpa penegakan hukum jika sistem politik tetap dikuasai oligarki atau
20	membuat negara ini bisa menerapkan konsep demokratis, tetapi minus penegakan hukum. Hukum hanya bisa menjangkau orang miskin tanpa
21	politik seperti sekarang ini berubah. (bil) Saling Sander Macetkan Penegakan Hukum Aloysius Budi Kurniawan   Laksono Hari W   Sabtu,
22	saat ini sedang dalam bahaya. Hal itu disebabkan banyaknya proses penegakan hukum di Indonesia macet karena terjadi proses
23	hanya menunggu waktu untuk hancur. Untuk mengantisipasi hal ini, penegakan hukum dan ketegasan yang tak pandang bulu harus
24	perhatiannya itu sudah kuno. Jadi, yang dibutuhkan sekarang adalah penegakan hukum dan bukan menabrak-nabrak hukum seperti yang

concordance collocates plot patterns clusters filenames follow up source text notes 6 of 24 - Clipboard

**Table E: Corpus of Scandal**

N	Concordance
25	GIB, terang Effendi, dapat berarti bahwa siapapun yang terlibat dalam <b>skandal</b> kenegaraan Bank Century harus mengatakan sejujurnya,
26	siapapun yang berani memberikan perintah atau arahan terkait <b>skandal</b> Bank Century yang diprediksi banyak melibatkan pejabat
27	, dan karena belum ada yang menyatakan bertanggung jawab atas <b>skandal</b> Century, maka meledakkan teriakan kasar itu sebagai protes
28	Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR) akan benar-benar berhasil membongkar <b>skandal</b> bank tersebut. "Saya terus terang pesimis ini Pansus akan
29	. "Saya terus terang pesimis ini Pansus akan berhasil membongkar <b>skandal</b> pengucuran dana bantuan Bank tersebut, paling-paling hasil
30	bekerja sesuai keinginan pemerintah yang justru diduga berada dibalik <b>skandal</b> Bank Century. "Sama seperti Pansus-Pansus sebelumnya,
31	dari komitmen dan itikad baik semua fraksi di DPR untuk membongkar <b>skandal</b> pengucuran dana bantuan ke Bank tersebut, bukan
32	pihak terhadap kemampuan Pansus Bank Century untuk membongkar <b>skandal</b> bank tersebut akibat terpilihnya Idrus Marham dari fraksi Partai
33	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, orang yang mungkin justru terlibat <b>skandal</b> Bank Century. Menurut Adjie, jika memang Idrus dianggap tak
34	mereka juga akan mendukung kerja pansus dalam membongkar <b>skandal</b> bank tersebut. Ia juga memastikan bahwa partainya akan
35	partainya akan mendukung dihukumnya orang-orang yang terlibat <b>skandal</b> Bank Century, siapapun orangnya. "Kami dari Partai Demokrat
36	rumor, desas-desus, dan meluasnya opini publik bahwa dia terlibat <b>skandal</b> Bank Century? Hari-hari ini aroma korupsi tercium keras dalam
37	Bank Century? Hari-hari ini aroma korupsi tercium keras dalam <b>skandal</b> Bank Century, dan SBY-Partai Demokrat diduga mendapatkan
38	Muhammadiyah yang melahirkan pernyataan bersama untuk tuntaskan <b>skandal</b> Bank Century dan menyeret semua yang terlibat ke proses
39	terhormat, juga rekan-rekan pers, dalam dialog rapat Pansus Angket <b>Skandal</b> Century DPR RI, anggota Pansus Ruhut Sitompul dari Fraksi
40	Partai Demokrat, Ruhut Sitompul kepada wakil ketua panitia angket <b>skandal</b> bank Century, Gayus Lumbuun ditanggapi dingin oleh ketua
41	00:00 Boediono dan Sri Mulyani cari dukungan AHLUWALIA Jakarta - <b>Skandal</b> Bank Century di mata publik merupakan kasus yang telah
42	kata Darmawan yang lulus dengan tesis mengenai krisis ekonomi dan <b>skandal</b> BLBI era Orde Baru. Anda menyatakan ada manuver dari
43	ada manuver dari Boediono dan Sri Mulyani belakangan ini setelah <b>skandal</b> Century kian terkuak? Ya. Begitu. Saya melihat Wapres
44	KSSK Sri Mulyani sadar bahwa posisi mereka terancam akibat <b>skandal</b> Bank Century. Kedua sosok itu kini menggagal manuver dan
45	DPR dimana para gubernur BI waktu itu diproses hukum, dan angka <b>skandal</b> Century jauh lebih besar dari kasus Bank Bali dan aliran dana
46	fasilitas bagi kejahatan keuangan, sebagaimana yang terjadi dengan <b>skandal</b> BLBI Rp650 triliun, Indover, Bahana dan kini Century. Semua
47	keuangan yang terjadi di negeri ini sejak era Orde Baru. Ingat <b>skandal</b> BLBI, Indover, Bahana dan Century. Semua itu kejahatan
48	, ada pelanggaran hukum sebagaimana audit investigatif BPK. <b>Skandal</b> Century ini menyita energi publik dan menimbulkan

**Table F: The corpus of Democracy**

N	Concordance
1	leluhur yang jelas-jelas feodal, otoriter, etatik, dan sentripetal, maka <b>demokrasi</b> hanya menjadi "pemanis bibir" yang isi sesungguhnya tetap
2	nenek moyang itu walau jelas-jelas berseberangan dengan prinsip <b>demokrasi-egaliter</b> yang dituangkan ke dalam butir-butir Pancasila, UUD
3	moyang yang jelas-jelas bertentangan dengan demokrasi itu. Dengan <b>demokrasi</b> , mestinya kita memperlakukan sama semua warga negara,
4	, permasalahannya relatif sederhana. Dengan kita menganut asas <b>demokrasi</b> seperti yang kita salin dari Barat itu, mestinya kita
5	yang kita warisi dari nenek moyang yang jelas-jelas bertentangan dengan <b>demokrasi</b> itu. Dengan demokrasi, mestinya kita memperlakukan sama
6	politik yang sangat komit dalam pemberantasan korupsi. Namun, dalam <b>demokrasi</b> kita mengenal istilah mayoritas dan minoritas, partai kami
7	pemilu atau pemilukada diistilahkan sebagai pesta rakyat dan pesta <b>demokrasi</b> . Yang namanya, pesta, pasti membutuhkan uang yang banya
8	anggaran, mafia anggaran, dan calo anggaran, dsb. R: Ya, dalam era <b>demokrasi</b> sekarang ini apa pun bisa dikatakan. Yang jelasnya saya
9	Indonesia Raya (Gerindra), Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), dan Partai <b>Demokrasi</b> Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P). Menurut Sunarto, rendahnya
10	kita sekaitan dengan masalah anggaran dan pemekaran dalam era <b>demokrasi</b> sekarang ini dengan istilah "ekseku-thieves, legisla-thieves,
11	dan ekonomi di pihak lain. Penerapan Ideologi Mahfud MD menjelaskan, <b>demokrasi</b> yang kita capai sekarang ternyata tidak dimbangi dengan
12	Anam mengajak masyarakat, termasuk warga NU, mengembalikan <b>demokrasi</b> pada semangat yang benar. Kader NU yang tersebar dalam
13	As'ad Said, Indonesia juga mengalami krisis dengan terjadinya defisit <b>demokrasi</b> , yakni fenomena paradoksal berupa meluasnya
14	, bahkan memperkuat diri dalam mebongkar korupsi. Dalam sistem <b>demokrasi</b> yang menempatkan rakyat sebagai pemegang kedaulatan,
15	hipotetis reaksi politik yang negative terhadap NKRI, gerakan separatis, <b>demokrasi</b> buruh dan sebagainya adalah dampak kegagalan kita
16	mencuat mencari jalan keluar sendiri di luar jalur konstitusional dalam <b>demokrasi</b> . Kunci utama pencegahan itu adlah kepemimpinan yang kuat
17	loncatan luar biasa dari sistem nilai otoritarian feodal Orde Baru menuju <b>demokrasi</b> liberal. Di sisi lain, belum tercipta sistem penengakan hukum
18	Namun, suatu ironi besar tengah terpampang jelas di depan mata publik. <b>Demokrasi</b> dengan seluruh nikmat kebebasan yang ia tawarkan telah
19	Plurarisme dan egaliterismenya. Megawati sebagai peletak dasar <b>demokrasi</b> , ratu demokrasi, karena dari lima mantan RI-1, ia yang
20	dan egaliterismenya. Megawati sebagai peletak dasar demokrasi, ratu <b>demokrasi</b> , karena dari lima mantan RI-1, ia yang mengakhiri masa

**Table G: The corpus of *Pemilihan* (Election)**

N	Concordance
50	melibatkan pegawai serta hakim MK dan mantan anggota Komisi <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum (KPU) andi Nurpati. Ketua Badan Pengawas Pemilu
51	saja," tutur Mahfud. Mahfud MD melaporkan mantan anggota Komisi <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum Andi Nurpati ke Mabes Polri pada 12 Februari 2010.
52	melibatkan pegawai serta hakim MK dan mantan anggota Komisi <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum (KPU) andi Nurpati. Ketua Badan Pengawas Pemilu
53	saja," tutur Mahfud. Mahfud MD melaporkan mantan anggota Komisi <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum Andi Nurpati ke Mabes Polri pada 12 Februari 2010.
54	Konstitusi (MK) yang melibatkan mantan Komisioner Komisi <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum(KPU)Andi Nurpati akan dijadikan pintu masuk
55	,Sabtu 18 Juni 2011 Politik uang masih mendominasi pelaksanaan <a href="#">pemilihan</a> umum kepala daerah sepanjang akhir Desember ô ùã L [
56	,Sabtu 18 Juni 2011 Politik uang masih mendominasi pelaksanaan <a href="#">pemilihan</a> umum kepala daerah sepanjang akhir Desember 2010
57	Golkar, FPDS, FPAN, FPPP dan Fraksi Medan Bersatu bersikukuh <a href="#">pemilihan</a> ketua komisi sah dan tidak perlu dilakukan pemilihan ulang.
58	pemalsuan surat MK yang diduga dilakukan oleh anggota Komisi <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum (KPU), Andi Nurpati. JAKARTA,KOMPAS-Kondisi
59	pemalsuan surat MK yang diduga dilakukan oleh anggota Komisi <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum (KPU), Andi Nurpati. JAKARTA,KOMPAS-Kondisi
60	pemalsuan surat MK yang diduga dilakukan oleh anggota Komisi <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum (KPU), Andi Nurpati. JAKARTA,KOMPAS-Kondisi
61	pemalsuan surat MK yang diduga dilakukan oleh anggota Komisi <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum (KPU), Andi Nurpati. JAKARTA,KOMPAS-Kondisi
62	pemalsuan surat MK yang diduga dilakukan oleh anggota Komisi <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum (KPU), Andi Nurpati. JAKARTA,KOMPAS-Kondisi
63	untuk Sarana Politisasi Kompas,Sabtu,18 Juni 2011 Panitia kerja Mafia <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum yang dibentuk Komisi II Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat
64	ibu N,"katanya. KURSI DPR TIDAK SAH Panitia Kerja Mafia <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum Jangan Digunakan untuk Sarana Politisasi Kompas,
65	PEMILIHAN PEMILIHANNYA PEMILIK U PEMILU PEMILUKADA
66	DPR sendiri sudah membentuk tim pengusutan, Panitia Kerja <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum untuk menelusuri kecurangan dalam rekapitulasi
67	DPR sendiri sudah membentuk tim pengusutan, Panitia Kerja <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum untuk menelusuri kecurangan dalam rekapitulasi
68	15 menit guna lobi-lobi politik. Rapat perdana ini beragendakan <a href="#">pemilihan</a> ketua Panitia Angket Century. Saat ini, keempat calon ketua,
69	15 menit guna lobi-lobi politik. Rapat perdana ini beragendakan <a href="#">pemilihan</a> ketua Panitia Angket Century. Saat ini, keempat calon ketua,
70	15 menit guna lobi-lobi politik. Rapat perdana ini beragendakan <a href="#">pemilihan</a> ketua Panitia Angket Century. Saat ini, keempat calon ketua,
71	pimpinan komisi beberapa waktu lalu sudah sesuai prosedur. <a href="#">Pemilihan</a> komposisi pimpinan komisi DPRD Medan sempat
72	tidak," tandas Nuh yang terpilih kembali di DPRD Sumut dari daerah <a href="#">pemilihan</a> Deli Serdang ini. E(dat02/wol-mdn) Tuesday, 26 January
73	bersikukuh pemilihan ketua komisi sah dan tidak perlu dilakukan <a href="#">pemilihan</a> ulang. "Sejak dulu, kami dari Fraksi PKS sudah menegaskan

**Table H: The corpus of Political Party**

N	Concordance
19	rumor terkait kemungkinan dana Bank Century mengalir kepada <a href="#">Partai Politik</a> dan calon presiden pada Pemilu 2009 tidak terjawab.
20	As'ad Said, politik saat ini dikuasai elite yang terorganisasi dalam <a href="#">partai politik</a> . Saat ini terjadi partokrasi, dalam arti semua energi politik
21	rumor terkait kemungkinan dana Bank Century mengalir kepada <a href="#">Partai Politik</a> danpp Ö ô pK `9 " àÜÿ äÿ ëÿ öÿ øÿ < % `9 1 ÿÿÿÿ > `9
22	I d e n g a n K P kait kemungkinan dana Bank Century mengalir kepada <a href="#">Partai Politik</a> dan calon presiden pada Pemilu 2009 tidak terjawab.
23	ÿÿÿÿ  ß ß è rkait kemungkinan dana Bank Century mengalir kepada <a href="#">Partai Politik</a> dan calon presiden pada Pemilu 2009 tidak terjawab.
24	kuat. (NTA/TRA) PARTAI POLITIK Mahfud Temui Panja Mafia Pemilu <a href="#">Partai Politik</a> Perlu Dievaluasi Kompas, Rabu, 22 Juni 2011 Ketua
25	pemerintahan tergantung pada kepemimpinan yang kuat. (NTA/TRA) <a href="#">PARTAI POLITIK</a> Mahfud Temui Panja Mafia Pemilu <a href="#">Partai Politik</a>
26	kepentingan kelompok, dan mengabaikan aspirasi rakyat. Karena itu <a href="#">partai politik</a> perlu dibenahi dengan memperbaiki sistem politik,
27	<a href="#">Pemilihan</a> Umum (KPU), Andi Nurpati. JAKARTA,KOMPAS-Kondisi <a href="#">partai politik</a> saat ini kian mengkhawatirkan karena terasuki virus korupsi
28	Oesman Sapta Odang saat acara silaturahmi dan buka puasa bersama <a href="#">partai politik</a> koalisi di Puri Indah Cikeas, Bogor, Jawa Barat, Minggu
29	, Wakil Presiden Boediono, Yudhoyono juga didampingi ketua <a href="#">partai politik</a> koalisi pendukung SBY-Boediono, di antaranya Menko
30	Sikap Penolakan Kompas,Senin, 6 September 2010 JAKARTA,KOMPAS- <a href="#">Partai politik</a> di dewan perwakilan rakyat harus membuktikan
31	Yunarto Wijaya dari Charta Politika, Rabu (15/6). Pernyataan sejumlah <a href="#">partai politik</a> (parpol) menengah dan kecil bahwa ambang batas tinggi
32	Sikap Penolakan Kompas,Senin, 6 September 2010 JAKARTA,KOMPAS- <a href="#">Partai politik</a> di dewan perwakilan rakyat harus membuktikan
33	, Wakil Presiden Boediono, Yudhoyono juga didampingi ketua <a href="#">partai politik</a> koalisi pendukung SBY-Boediono, di antaranya Menko
34	II yang berasal dari kalangan profesional diganti kader-kader dari <a href="#">partai politik</a> , dan juga sebaliknya. "Setiap keputusan Presiden tentu
35	II yang berasal dari kalangan profesional diganti kader-kader dari <a href="#">partai politik</a> , dan juga sebaliknya. ô Q + ë×ÿ Ýÿ çÿ ñÿ ùÿ & + ' ÿÿÿÿ +
36	anggota komisi VI DPR RI. JAKARTA, KOMPAS.com — Saatnya <a href="#">partai politik</a> lebih terbuka soal sumber pendanaan partai agar tidak
37	, Wakil Presiden Boediono, Yudhoyono juga didampingi ketua <a href="#">partai politik</a> koalisi pendukung SBY-Boediono, di antaranya Menko
38	, Wakil Presiden Boediono, Yudhoyono juga didampingi ketua <a href="#">partai politik</a> koalisi pendukung SBY-Boediono, di antaranya Menko
39	pemerintahan tergantung pada kepemimpinan yang kuat. (NTA/TRA) <a href="#">PARTAI POLITIK</a> Mahfud Temui Panja Mafia Pemilu <a href="#">Partai Politik</a>
40	kuat. (NTA/TRA) PARTAI POLITIK Mahfud Temui Panja Mafia Pemilu <a href="#">Partai Politik</a> Perlu Dievaluasi Kompas, Rabu, 22 Juni 2011 Ketua
41	kuat. (NTA/TRA) PARTAI POLITIK Mahfud Temui Panja Mafia Pemilu <a href="#">Partai Politik</a> Perlu Dievaluasi Kompas, Rabu, 22 Juni 2011 Ketua
42	kepentingan kelompok, dan mengabaikan aspirasi rakyat. Karena itu <a href="#">partai politik</a> perlu dibenahi dengan memperbaiki sistem politik,

### **Appendix I: Sample of TV-News (Tape recording extraction)**

**Topical news:** Badai Menerjang Demokrat: Ujian Politik Partai Demokrat  
TV-One, Monday, 12 September 2011

Munculnya kasus dugaan suap yang melibatkan kader partai demokrat tidak saja membuat publik ragu terhadap komitmen partai ini mendukung pemberantasan korupsi, tetapi juga memperlihatkan renggangnya solidaritas partai. Kasus ini sekaligus membuka potensi konflik di tubuh partai penguasa tersebut. Publik melihat performa partai penguasa, yaitu partai demokrat masih jauh dari harapan mereka. Sebanyak 63,8 persen responden dalam jajak pendapat LSI kali ini menilai kinerja partai yang didirikan pada 9 September 2001 itu tidak memuaskan. Sepertiga dari yang merasa tidak puas itu adalah pemilih partai demokrat pada pemilu 2009. Ketidakpuasan responden terutama berpijak pada masalah penegakan hukum dan janji partai ini dalam mewujudkan pemerintahan yang bersih. Publik merasa tidak puas (64,3 persen) dengan upaya partai demokrat dalam mendorong pemberantasan korupsi. Ketidakpuasan ini sedikit banyak berdampak pada tingkat kepercayaan mereka terhadap komitmen dan janji pemberantasan korupsi oleh pemerintahan Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono yang notabene representasi dari kemenangan politik partai demokrat.

Masuknya sejumlah kepala daerah ke dalam tubuh partai demokrat, khususnya yang pernah tersangkut dugaan kasus korupsi, seperti Gubernur Bengkulu Agusrin Najamuddin, mantan Bupati Sitbondo Ismunarso, Bupati Bukit Tinggi, Djufri, dan mantan wali kota Semarang Sukawi Sutarip, menjadikan citra partai demokrat sebagai partai pelindung para elite politik yang bermasalah dengan hukum. Citra ini juga diakui oleh 43,8 persen responden. Penangkapan sekretaris menteri pemuda dan olah raga Wafid Muharram oleh Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, yang menyeret juga kader partai demokrat, menjadi ujian berat bagi partai ini dan Yudhoyono untuk membuktikan janjinya dalam memberantas korupsi. Dugaan suap dalam proyek pembangunan wisma atlet untuk persiapan SEA Games di Palembang ini setidaknya mencatut sejumlah nama kader partai tersebut. Ujian ini tidak lepas dari ketrlitian Bendahara Umum Partai Demokrat M Nazaruddin dalam kasus dugaan suap Kementerian Pemuda dan Olah Raga (Kemenpora) dan Mahkamah Konstitusi. Dugaan suap di Kemenpora juga menjadi batu sandungan bagi Partai Demokrat karena kementerian tersebut justru dipimpin oleh Andi Malarangeng, yang notabene juga kader partai ini. Dugaan suap yang melibatkan kader partai demokrat akan berdampak pada citra partai

penguasa ini di mata publik. Separuh lebih responden (68,2 persen) meyakini kasus ini akan menurunkan citra dan popularitas partai menjelang pemilu 2014.

Kini pencitraan partai dan Yudhoyono sedang diuji dengan meledaknya kasus dugaan suap yang melibatkan Nazaruddin. Apalagi, kasus ini juga menguak dugaan adanya konflik internal partai. Terjadi perbedaan pernyataan dari kader partai, khususnya soal kasus yang menjerat Nazaruddin, menjadi potret tidak solidnya partai ini. Pihak fraksi partai demokrat di DPR yang membentuk tim khusus pencari fakta kasus dugaan suap tersebut menyatakan Nazaruddin tidak terlibat. Sementara keputusan dewan kehormatan justru sebaliknya meskipun alasan yang dipakai adalah dampak pemberitaan yang merugikan citra partai. Munculnya perbedaan ini tidak lepas dari dugaan adanya faksi di dalam tubuh partai ini pasca-kongres II 2010 di Bandung. Kemenangan Anas Urbaningrum di kongres tersebut dinilai banyak pihak belum sepenuhnya diterima oleh pihak lain yang menjadi rival Anas di kongres. Kasus Nazaruddin seakan membuka kembali rivalitas tersebut. Hampir separuh responden (42 persen) menilai kondisi ini akan memengaruhi solidaritas partai.

**APPENDIX J: Period of Data Collection and Type of data**

**1. LIST OF TEXTUAL DATA (Newspapers) DURING PERIOD OF THE RESEARCH (2010 – 2011)**

<b>Textual Data: Newspaper Articles</b>				<b>Description</b>
<b>Name of Articles</b>	<b>Sum of Articles</b>	<b>Period of Release</b>	<b>Topical News</b>	
Daily Waspada Medan Sumatera Utara (Provincial newspapers)	250 of 1000	Oct 2010 – Aug 2011	Politics: corruption, bank century, scandal, Nazaruddin, governors, Mayor, head of local district, political parties, election, national budgetary, attorney, judge, jury, police, law enforcement, mafia of law, mafia of taxes, mafia of budgetary, corruption eradication commission, election committee, demonstrations, president, legislatures, and elites comments about the heated issues, etc.	Population and sample
				Mike Scot Smith tools corpus (Quantitative data)  6,301,165 tokens
Daily Kompas Jakarta (National)	250 of 100	Oct 2010 – Aug 2011	Same with the above	Population and Sample
				Mike Scot Smith tools corpus

**2. LIST OF VERBAL DATA (Interviews) DURING PERIOD OF THE RESEARCH (2010 – 2011)**

Verbal Data: Interviews (recorded interview)					Description
Legislatures	Academicians & Laypeople	Date	Time	Topical interviews	Oct 2010 – Aug 2011
Two legislatures from Jakarta and two from Medan	Two academicians & two lay people from Jakarta and as well as from Medan	06/12/2010	14.00 -15.00	Corruption	Qualitative data Semi structured Interview Sum of Interview: 6 R in Medan and 14 R in Jakarta The data have been transcribed
		03/01/2010	15.00-16.00	cases,	
		26/01/2010	13.00 -14.00	remission,	
		03/02/2011	10.00-11.00	political	
		15/02/2011	17.00-18.00	scandal,	
		27/02/2011	15.30-16.20	president	
		07/03/2011	14.30-15.30	and cabinet,	
		14/03/2011	18.00-19.00	legislatures,	
		02/04/2011	12.30-13.30	election, law	
		15/04/2011	12.30-13.00	enforcement,	
		10/05/2011	13.00-14.00	budgetary,	
		23/05/2011	12.00-12.40	law and	
		05/06/2011	09.00-10.00	justice	
		17/06/2011	16.20-17.00	institution,	
		28/06/2011	16.00-17.00	corruption	
		04/07/2011	12.00-13.00	eradication	
		15/07/2011	11.30-12.20	commission,	
		25/07/2011	18.00-18.40	social trust,	
06/08/2011	14.00-15.00	mafia of			
20/08/2011	12.30-13.00	law, mafia of taxes, mafia of budgetary, etc.			

**3. LIST OF VERBAL DATA (Televisions) DURING PERIOD OF THE RESEARCH (2010 – 2011)**

<b>Verbal Data: Television News and Talk Show</b>				<b>Description</b>
<b>TV-One</b>	<b>Metro -TV</b>	<b>Sum of recording</b>	<b>Topical News and Talk Show</b>	Oct 2010 – Aug 2011
Jakarta Lawyer club Apa khabar Indonesia	Dialog Today Suara Anda	TV-One: 20 Metro-TV: 10	Coin for president, corruption cases: Apa khabar Bank Century, Hurricane in the democratic party, Gayus Tambunan case, Nazaruddin (legislature) case, Governor case, jury case, budgetary, Nunun Nurbaity (legislature) case, etc. mafia of law, mafia of taxes, mafia of budgetary, religion organization and academicians views on corruption, law enforcement and government, Andi Nurpati case, election committee, corruption eradication committee, ICW, president, legislatures, and political elites, etc.	TV-One: Jakarta lawyer Club is a hot political talk show every Wednesday night and Apa Khabar Indonesia is daily news every 08.30 pm Dialog Today is Metro-tv program every Tuesday night and Suara Anda is daily news every 07.30 pm.  Qualitative data, purposive sampling.  6 remaining data have not been transcribed.

### APPENDIX K: The 2010 – 2012 Research Time Table

Date	Action
May - September 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visiting Provincial Legislative Assembly (DPRD Medan).</li> <li>• Writing a request letter to attend a meeting in DPRD Medan.</li> <li>• Writing applications for interviews to 2 provincial legislators, 1 academician, and 1 layman (Medan).</li> <li>• Recording Political Talk-shows on TV-One and Metro-TV.</li> <li>• Subscribing to daily newspapers (Waspada and daily Kompas)</li> <li>• Attending a provincial Legislative Assembly's conference (DPRD in Medan)</li> <li>• Preparing questions for interviews</li> <li>• Conducting semi-structured interviews</li> <li>• Reviewing data taken</li> <li>• Analyzing newspaper's data begun</li> <li>• Considering a contingency plan for data collection</li> </ul>
January - April 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subscribing daily to newspapers (Waspada and Kompas)</li> <li>• Visiting Legislative Assembly (DPR Jakarta)</li> <li>• Writing applications for interviews to 2 provincial legislators, 1 academician, and 1 layman (Medan -Jakarta).</li> <li>• Observing-sound record Political Talk-shows on TV-One and Metro-TV.</li> <li>• Attending a conference in DPR Jakarta</li> <li>• Conducting semi-structured interviews</li> <li>• Reviewing and transcribing data taken</li> <li>• Analyzing data continues</li> </ul>
May - August 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attending conferences in Legislative Assembly in Medan and Jakarta</li> <li>• Conducting interviews and collecting data from TV-One, Metro-TV</li> </ul>
September- December 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transcribing data and initial analysis of interviews data, and television.</li> </ul>
January – March 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Analysis – conceptual metaphors</li> </ul>
April – May 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Refine the work undertaken 2010-2011: literature review</li> <li>• Write up analysis and begin discussion</li> </ul>
June– September 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Discussion and Conclusion.</li> <li>• Final Proofread and Revisions.</li> </ul>

## **Appendix L: Consent Forms of Respondances (in Indonesian and English)**

### **LEMBAR INFORMASI PARTISIPAN YANG DIWAWANCARAI**

**Judul Penelitian** : Explorasion of Metaphor Use by Indonesian Legislatures and Political Elites in the Sociopolitical Domain

**Nama Peneliti** : Mara Untung Ritonga

**Pendidikan** : S3 Departemen Linguistik Terapan, School of Language and Social Sciences Aston University Birmingham, U.K.

Wawancara penelitian ini dirancang untuk memperoleh data metapora melalui bahasa Indonesia yang digunakan oleh para anggota DPR/DPRD dan elite politik dalam ranah sosialpolitik. Partisipan yang akan diwawancarai dalam penelitian ini adalah: anggota DPR/DPRD, akademisi, dan orang awam. Masing-masing partisipan berjumlah satu orang dari Medan dan Jakarta. Peneliti akan mewawancarai anggota DPR/DPRD mengenai penggunaan metapora dan mencari tahu alasan mengapa mereka menggunakan bentuk bahasa tersebut. Peneliti juga akan mewawancarai akademisi dan orang awam untuk mengetahui pendapat mereka tentang penggunaan metapora oleh anggota DPR/DPRD. Informasi dan data yang diperoleh hanya digunakan untuk kebutuhan penelitian ini dalam upaya mengembangkan kajian metapora dalam khazanah ilmu bahasa di Indonesia. Universitas tempat saya kuliah mensyaratkan pernyataan persetujuan dari partisipan sebagai etika penelitian karena penelitian ini melibatkan manusia sebagai sumber informasi.

### **Pernyataan Persetujuan dari partisipan**

Peneliti sudah memberikan penjelasan kepada saya dan saya sudah memahami dengan sebenar-benarnya maksud dari penelitian ini. Saya berhak bertanya kepada peneliti jika saya kurang mengerti maksud pertanyaannya. Saya juga berhak mengundurkan diri sebagai responden dari penelitian ini kapan saja saya mau tanpa memberikan alasan dan tidak mendapat hukuman atau denda apapun.

Saya memahami bahwa setiap informasi yang saya berikan dirahasiakan oleh peneliti dan pembimbing peneliti, transkripsi data hasil wawancara, nama, alamat, dan informasi lainnya tentang diri saya dirahasiakan dan tidak dipublikasikan dalam hasil penelitian ini. Saya juga memahami bahwa hasil rekaman wawancara ini akan dihapus apabila penelitian sudah selesai kecuali saya meminta peneliti untuk memberikan hasil rekaman itu kepada saya.

- Saya memahami bahwa data atau informasi yang saya berikan tidak akan digunakan untuk tujuan apapun atau disebarluaskan pada pihak lain tanpa persetujuan dari saya.
- Saya mengerti bahwa saya boleh melihat hasil transkripsi data wawancara sebelum dipublikasikan
- Saya boleh meminta kesimpulan hasil penelitian ini jika penelitian ini selesai.
- Saya setuju menjadi responden atau partisipan penelitian ini.

Medan/ Jakarta, Tgl....Bulan...Tahun

Tanda Tangan

Nama Partisipan/orang yang diwawancarai

## **Appendix M: English Consent Form**

### **CONSENT INFORMATION SHEET TO PARTICIPANT IN THIS RESEARCH**

**Title of Research : Exploration of Metaphor Use by Indonesian Legislatures and Political Elites in the Sociopolitical Domain**

**Name of Researcher : Mara Untung Ritonga**

**Education : Postgraduate study, School of Languages and Social Sciences Aston University Birmingham U.K.**

Interviews conducted in this research are aimed to gain metaphor data in *bahasa Indonesia* used by legislators and political elites in the sociopolitical domain. The interviewees are legislators from Medan – Jakarta, academicians, and laymen. The researcher will interview the legislators about metaphor usage and the reasons why they use metaphorical expression and language framing. The researcher will interview academicians and laymen to find out their opinions about language usage exhibited by the legislators. Information and data gained are used for the need of the research only and as an attempt to develop metaphorical study in Indonesia. The university where I study requires that ethics approval be obtained for this research involving human participants.

#### **Statement of Agreement from Participants**

I have been given and understood an explanation of this research. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have the researcher answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I may withdraw my self (or any information I have provided) from this research (before data collection and analysis is complete) without having to give reasons or without penalty of any sort.

I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher, the supervisors, or the person who transcribes the tape recordings of our interview, the published results will not use my name, and that no opinions will be attributed to me in any way that will identify me. I also understand that the tape recording of interviews will be electronically wiped at the end of the research unless I indicate that I would like the researcher to return to me.

I understand that data I provide will not be used for any other purposes or released to others without my written consent.

I understand that I will have an opportunity to check the transcripts of the interview before publication.

I would like to receive a summary of the results of this research when it is completed.

I agree to take part in this research.

Medan/Jakarta, date, ...month....year...

Signature

Name of participant

## APPENDIX N: EXAMPLES OF METAPHOR

(15) *Kamu membuat ku seperti kuda tunggangan untuk mencapai tujuan mu.*

(You make me look like a horse to achieve your goal).

(16) *Dia merasa seperti di penjara di rumah ini.*

(She feels like in jail in this house).

(17) *Biarlah waktu yang berbicara. Nanti, dia akan tahu yang sebenarnya.*

(Let it be, he will know the real fact later).

(18) *Dia sama liciknya dengan seekor srigala.*

(She is sly as a wolf)

(23) Raka: “Kau *seperti* bidadari malam ini. Sungguh beruntung *seandainya* aku bisa memiliki mu.....”

Rika: “Tidak usah pakai kata-kata *seperti* kenapa sih, apalagi berandai-andai segala”.

Raka: “Emangnya, kenapa, sayang? Itu benar-benar keluar dari hati ku yang paling dalam”.

Rika: “Ya, cam di karya sastra aja, ngayal, yang penting kenyataannya. Aku ingin yang nyata, tidak mau disama-samain, seperti bidadari itu artinya bukan sepenuhnya bidadari”.

Raka: “Jadi?”

Rika: “Katakan, kau adalah bidadari ku dan kau pasti ku miliki. Lebih tegas gitu lho”.

(Source: a piece of dialogue in a cinema electronic; Cinta oh Cinta, SCTV, 2010)

If the dialogue is translated into English, it will be approximately like this:

Raka: “You are like a nymph tonight. If I could own you, I would be really lucky”.

Rika: “Oh, come on, please do not use the word ‘like’, and, on top of that, say imaginary things”.

Raka: “Why, Honey? It is coming from the bottom of my heart”.

Rika: “Yes, like in fiction books, dreaming, to be real is important. I want something real. I hate to be compared to anything else. Like a nymph means not real as a nymph”.

Raka: “So?”

Rika: “Say, “You are my nymph and you will be mine, it has a stronger sense, you know”.

(35) *Saya tidak ada waktu bicara dengan kamu.*

(I don’t have time to talk to you).

(36) *Terima kasih atas waktunya.*

(Thank you for your time)

(37) *Manfaatkanlah waktu mu dengan baik.*

(Use your time profitably)

- (38) *Waktu mu sudah habis.*  
(You are running out time)
- (39) *Atur waktu mu sebaik mungkin.*  
(You need to budget your time).

- (40) *Makan waktu lama mengerjakan pekerjaan ini.*  
(It takes a long time to do this job).

(70) KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK (Corruption as public enemy)

Saya berdiri di baris terdepan untuk *memberantas korupsi.*  
Sudah saatnya kita bersikap *perang terhadap korupsi.*  
*Korupsi adalah musuh yang paling sulit diberantas di negeri ini.*  
*Maraknya aksi unjuk rasa antikorupsi merupakan perlawanan terhadap praktik korupsi di negari ini.*  
*Presiden SBY geram* dianggap tidak kompeten *melawan para pelaku korupsi.*

(I stand in the front line *to eradicate corruption*)  
(It is time *to wage war on corruption*)  
(For this country, *corruption is the most difficult enemy to fight*)  
(A *massive protest from the anti-corruption groups in this country is a fight against corruption*)  
(*President SBY was upset to be considered incompetent in fighting corruptors*)

(71) KORUPSI SEBAGAI BUDAYA (Corruption as culture)

*Praktik korupsi sudah merupakan budaya masa kini bagi bangsa ini.*  
Masyarakat Indonesia *kian permisif terhadap korupsi.*  
Bagaimana cara menghapus *praktik korupsi yang sudah mendarah-daging ini?*  
*Budaya korupsi sulit dihapus jika hukuman terhadap pelaku korupsi masih ringan dan cenderung tebang pilih.*  
*Pendidikan antikorupsi harus ditanamkan kepada generasi muda agar tidak mencontoh perilaku generasi sebelumnya.*

(*The practice of corruption has been a cultural trend for this country*)  
(People are *prone to be permissive towards corruption*)  
(How can we stop *corruption if it has spread in human blood and flesh?*)  
(*The culture of corruption is hard to stop if the punishment for corruptors is low and there is a selective catch.*)  
(*The education of anti-corruption should be planted in the young generation in order not to follow the former generations*)

(72) KORUPSI SEBAGAI ALAT PEMERSATU BANGSA (Corruption as a tool for uniting the nation)

Jangan karena semangat *memberantas korupsi, persatuan dan kesatuan bangsa terpecah-belah.*  
*Korupsi mempersatukan bangsa ini dari tingkat atas sampai tingkat bawah. Jika hubungan di tingkat ini tidak baik, bertikai karena korupsi, maka negara ini akan seperti apa.*

- (The spirit to fight *corruption* should not *ruin the unity of the nation*)  
 (*Corruption unites this nation* from top to bottom. If the relationship of each level is not good, what would the country be like?)
- (73) KORUPSI SEBAGAI MAKANAN (Corruption as food)  
*Para pejabat tinggi doyan korupsi. Perutnya buncit-buncit karena makan uang korupsi.*  
 (Power structures like *corruption*. They have a *bloated stomach* because of it contains too much *corrupt money*)
- (74) KORUPSI SEBAGAI UPHORIA (Corruption as euphoria)  
*Sikap antikorupsi* dikampanyekan oleh legislator dan petinggi negara, tetapi hanya *sekadar euphoria semata*.  
 (*Legislators and other elites campaigned* against *corruption*, but it was just an *euphoria*).
- (77) POLITIK SEBAGAI OLAH RAGA (Politics as sport)  
*Bola panas politik menggelinding* pada rapat PANSUS Century DPR-RI  
 Pertarungan politik antarparpol peserta pemilu *memasuki babak final*.  
*Banyak parpol* yang akan *tereliminasi* jika ambang batas dinaikkan 5%.  
  
 (*A hard ball of politics* was *rolling down* at the meeting of PANSUS Century DPR-RI)  
 (The political campaign in the elections is approaching a *final round*)  
 (*Many political parties* would be *eliminated* if the parliamentary threshold was raised to 5%)
- (78) POLITIK SEBAGAI MAINAN (Politics as game)  
 Pembahasan kasus Century dijadikan *mainan politik Senayan*.  
 Kandidat itu cuma dijadikan *boneka politik* saja.  
  
 (The discussion about the *Century* case is just a *political toy of Senayan*)  
 (The candidate was plotted to be only a *political doll*)
- (79) POLITIK SEBAGAI MORAL/ETIKA (Politics as morals/ethics)  
*Money politik* yang dilakukan oleh kandidat itu *sebenarnya tidak memiliki moral dan etika politik yang baik*.  
 Rakyat menuntut *tanggung jawab moral DPR* untuk memperjuangkan nasib rakyat.  
  
 (*Money politics* pursued by a candidate was *extremely immoral and was a bad political ethics*)  
 (People demanded *the legislators' moral responsibility to make people prosperous*)
- (80) POLITIK SEBAGAI MESIN (Politics as machine)  
*Mesin politik dan mesin partai* hanya bergerak di level atas tidak di 'grassroots'.  
 Kepercayaan rakyat menurun terhadap parpol dan DPR karena *mesin partai sama-sekali tidak bekerja*.  
*Roda politik* berjalan lambat karena *mesin parpol rusak*. Karena itu, parpol harus *meng-upgrade* diri supaya...  
  
 (The *political machine* just worked at the top level, not in the grassroots)

(The people's trust in political parties and parliament decreased because *the machine of the parties did not work at all*)

(The *political wheel* spins slowly because the *machine is broken*. Therefore, the political parties should upgrade themselves)

(81) POLITIK SEBAGAI TEMPERATUR (Politics as temperature)

*Suhu politik kian memanas* mendekati kampanye final pemilihan pilpres dan legislatif.

Konflik antara eksekutif dan legislatif menunjukkan *iklim politik yang tidak sehat*.

Kasus Nazaruddin membawa *angin segar bagi parpol lain*, namun bagi Partai Demokrat sebagai *angin putting beliung* yang menghancurkan citra partai penguasa.

*Prakiraan media dan pengamat tentang temperatur politik meningkat tajam* saat kepulangan Nazruddin sama sekali tidak terbukti.

(The *political climate (tension)* is getting hot in the final round of elections)

(The conflicts between the executive power and the legislative power indicated an *unhealthy political climate*)

(The case of Nazaruddin brought a *fresh air* to other political parties, but for the Democratic Party it was as a *hurricane* which destroys the image of the ruling party)

(The *prediction* of mass media and experts about the *high tension of political temperature* upon the arrival of Nazaruddin was merely untrue)

(82) DPR SEBAGAI TIKUS (Legislators as mice)

DPR pura-pura basmi korupsi, padahal *mereka juga tikus-tikus yang menggerogoti uang rakyat*.

*Banyak tikus-tikus anggaran yang berkeliaran di DPR*.

*Beberapa tikus Senayan* terlibat kasus pemilihan Deputy senior BI.

(The legislators pretend to wipe out corruption. Actually, *they are also like mice gnawing at the people's money*)

(*Several mice of budget* (legislators in the budgeting commission) *are going around in the parliament*)

(*Some mice of Senayan* (legislators in the parliament) are involved in the case of election for the deputy of *Bank Indonesia*)

(83) DPR SEBAGAI BEGAL/RAMPOK (Parliament as robber)

DPR bukan mengawasi uang rakyat, tapi *ngerampok* uang rakyat.

(The parliament did not supervise the people's money, but *robbed* the money)

(84) DPR SEBAGAI PASAR (Parliament as market)

*Kesibukan di DPR* terlihat ketika pembahasan anggaran APBN.

*Gedung DPR di penuhi calo-calo anggaran*.

(*The busy days in the parliament* are seen when discussing the national budget /APBN)

(The budget agents *gathered in the parliament to offer their service*)

(86) PEMERINTAH SEBAGAI ORANG TUA (Government/State as parents)

*Pemerintah memiliki kewajiban untuk melindungi dan mensejahterakan rakyat*.

*Pemerintah harus bersikap adil kepada rakyatnya.*

*(The government must protect people and ensure their prosperity)*

*(The government has to be fair to its people).*

(87) PEMERINTAH SEBAGAI LUMBUNG MAKANAN (Government as a food granary)

*Birokrat kita gemuk-gemuk berada di lumbung makanan.*

*(Our bureaucrats enjoy staying in the food granary )*

(88) HUKUM SEBAGAI MAINAN (Law as toy/game)

*Tak satu pun tersangka koruptor kelas kakap dapat dijerat jika hukum dipermainkan semauanya.*

*Biaya memulangkan Nazaruddin saja uang negara ludes Rp. 3 milyar lebih, masak korupsi yang diduga dilakukannya cuma Rp. 4 milyar. Ini apa namanya?*

*(None of the corruptors' bosses can be caught if law is played (made) as they like)*

*(Indonesia spent more than Rp. 3 billion to deport Nazaruddin from Colombia. But how come he was accused only of corruption worth Rp.4 billion? What the hell is this?)*

(89) HUKUM SEBAGAI OLAH RAGA (Law as sport)

*Pengacara Anas mampu menandingi manuver bola panas yang dimaikan pengacara Nazaruddin.*

*(The lawyers of Anas can perform a hard ball manoeuvre played by the lawyers of Nazaruddin)*

(90) KASUS SEBAGAI OBJEK DALAM WADAH (Case as object in a container)

*Kasus BLBI dan kasus Century sengaja disimpan dalam peti yang aman dari jangkauan.*

*Kasus mafia peradilan menguap kembali.*

*(The cases of BLBI and Century were intentionally kept in a safety box)*

*(The case of court mafia steamed again)*

(91) KASUS SEBAGAI OBJEK MISTERI (Case as mysterious object)

*Kasus mantan Ketua KPK Antasari tetap menjadi misteri.*

*Century, di mana kau berada?*

*(The case of the former chief of KPK resembled a mystery)*

*(Century, where are you? (Century refers to the bailout of Bank Century)*

(92) KASUS SEBAGAI OBJEK YANG DAPAT MELEDAK/TERBAKAR (Case as flammable object)

*Amarah Idrus meledak karena disinggung kasus korupsi.*

*Kasus mafia pajak Gayus memberangus posisi dirjen pajak.*

*(The blood of Idrus was boiling when a legislator told him he was involved in corruption)*

*(The case of tax mafia, Gayus, burnt out the tax deputy's position (The case of Gayus made the deputy of the tax department lose his job)*

(93) KASUS SEBAGAI BADAI/TSUNAMI (Case as storm/tsunami)

*Badai (kasus Nazaruddin) menerjang Partai Demokrat.*

*Tsunami (Kasus Nazaruddin) di Partai Demokrat.*

*(Storm is striking the Democrat Party)*

*(Tsunami in the Democrat Party)*

(97) PEMILIHAN SEBAGAI PESTA DEMOKRASI (Election as democratic/people fiesta)

Umbul-umbul, spanduk, gambar partai dan kandidat menghiasi setiap jalanan kota sebagai pertanda *pesta rakyat akan digelar.*

*Partai Demokrat memeriahkan pesta demokrasi dengan mengadakan parade akbar dan menggelar kesenian rakyat.*

*(In the people fiesta (election), every candidate decorated the streets with banners, billboards, and the candidate's pictures)*

*(The Democratic Party enlivened the democratic fiesta with a grand parade and folk art)*

(98) PEMILIHAN SEBAGAI PROSES PEMBODOHAN (Election as deception process)

Bangsa kita memaknai *pemilu sebagai pesta demokrasi* yang ditandai dengan *bagi-bagi Sembako*. Bentuk kampanye seperti ini *sebagai pembodohan rakyat.*

Mata hati rakyat dibutakan dengan *berbagai bantuan dari kandidat.*

*(The people make sense of the general election as a democratic fiesta by distributing food and goods. Such a campaign is a deception process.*

*(People are fooled with a variety of donations from the candidates)*

(99) PEMILIHAN SEBAGAI KENDERAAN MENUJU KEKUASAN (Election as vehicle for power)

Putaran kedua PIMILKUKADA Labusel *menunjukkan jalan menuju tampuk kekuasaan masih sulit dan bakal menghabiskan logistik yang tidak sedikit.*

*(The second round of the PEMILUKADA election in Labusel showed that the journey to reach power was still difficult and would require spending more money)*

(100) PARTAI POLITIK SEBAGAI KEKUASAAN/KEKUATAN (Political party as power/strength)

*Koalisi kebangsaan yang dibangun partai-partai besar di DPR adalah cara untuk melanggengkan kekuasaan.*

*Partai politik kontestan pemilu masing-masing unjuk kekuatan dengan menghadirkan massa yang lebih banyak.*

*(The coalition of 'Kebangsaan' formed by the major parties in the parliament is a way to perpetuate power)*

*(Each political party as candidates in the election display force by bringing more mobs)*

(101) PARTAI POLITIK SEBAGAI KENDERAAN (Political party as vehicle)

*Parpol yang dijadikan kendaraan untuk melaju pada PEMILUKADA karam di putaran pertama.*

*Badai sedang mengguncang kapal Partai Demokrat.*

*(The political party used by a candidate as a vehicle in the PEMULAKA election was sinking in the first round)*

*(The storm was striking the ship of the Democratic Party)*

(102) PARTAI POLITIK SEBAGAI SUAKA (Political party as asylum)

*Berlindung di partai besar aman dari jangkauan hukum.*

*Partai Politik dikecam karena menjadi tempat perlindungan para koruptor.*

*(Finding protection in big political parties is a safe way to elude law)*

*(The political Parties were criticised for protecting corruptors).*

(104) KORUPSI SEBAGAI BUDAYA (Corruption as culture)

*Penyakit korupsi yang melanda bangsa ini sudah menjadi budaya.*

*Budaya korupsi ini sulit diobati karena masyarakat bersifat permisif terhadap praktik korupsi.*

*(The disease of corruption attacking this nation has become a culture)*

*(The cultural corruption is difficult to cure because the society behaves permissively towards the corruption practice)*

(105) KORUPSI SEBAGAI AKSI SISTEMIK (Corruption as top-down systemic action)

*Praktik korupsi dilakukan secara sistemik mulai dari atas sampai bawah sehingga sangat sukar membasmi penyakit korupsi tersebut.*

*Sulit mengobati penyakit korupsi karena praktik korupsi itu tersusun rapi, terorganisir secara sistematis.*

*(The practice of corruption is done in a systematic way from top to bottom and thereby it is very hard to wipe out.)*

*(It is hard to cure the disease of corruption because corruption is well-established and organised systematically)*

(106) KORUPSI SEBAGAI MUSUH PUBLIK/NEGARA (Corruption as public/state enemy)

*Endemik korupsi mengancam kesehatan dan keselamatan bangsa.*

*Musuh Negara yang utama adalah memberantas penyakit korupsi.*

*(The endemic of corruption is threatening the health and the safety of the nation)*

*(The state's primary task is to eradicate the disease of corruption)*

(107) POLITIK SEBAGAI BISNIS (Politics as business)

*Tawar-menawar politik sangat kental dalam penentuan calon ketua KPK.*

*Politik kok malah dijadikan bisnis jual beli undang-undang di DPR.*

*(The political bidding is very obvious in selecting the chief of KPK)*

*(The parliament turned politics into a business of trading constitutions)*

(108) POLITIK SEBAGAI MORAL (Politics as morals)

*Di mana moral politik DPR berada? Pembangunan 1 toilet untuk satu anggota DPR menghabiskan uang rakyat sebesar Rp. 5 milyar.  
Moral politik sejumlah anggota DPR makin buruk dengan membisniskan fungsi anggaran yang dimilikinya.*

*(Where is the moral politics of legislators? It is unreasonable to spend Rp. 5 billion to build a toilet for a legislator in the parliament)  
(The legislators had low morals when they used their budgeting function as a business)*

(110) KASUS/SKANDAL SEBAGAI OBJEK MISTERI (Case/Scandal as mysterious object)

*Kasus Century menyimpan misteri skandal politik tingkat tinggi.*

*Kasus Nazaruddin menunjukkan gejala misterius.*

*(The case of Century keeps the mystery of the top political scandal)*

*(It is believed that the case of Nazaruddin becomes a mystery)*

(111) KASUS/SKANDAL SEBAGAI OBJEK YANG DAPAT TERBAKAR/ MELEDAK (Case/Scandal as flammable object)

*Kasus Gayus Tambunan membakar praktik pungli di dinas-dinas perpajakan.*

*Tercium aroma tidak sedap dalam kasus Nazaruddin yang meledakkan amarah SBY, Anas, dan Partai Demokrat.*

*(The case of Gayus Tambunan affects the tax department regarding the illegal collection of taxes)*

*(The case of Nazaruddin produced a bad aroma which made SBY, Anas and the Democratic Party boil)*

**The female legislators:**

(118) POLITIK SEBAGAI PERBAIKAN MORAL (Politics as moral improvement)

*Statemen yang tidak pada tempatnya, kurang sopan dan etis oleh sebagian politisi di parlemen ketika membahas kasus Century sebaiknya dihindari. Perbaikan moral politik diperlukan karena DPR itu merupakan orang-orang terhormat.*

*(Some legislators in the parliament should avoid the impolite, unethical, and incorrect statements when discussing the corruption of Bank Century. The improvement of morals in politics is necessary because legislators are honourable persons)*

(119) PENAGAKAN HUKUM SEBAGAI ORANG LEMAH (Law enforcement as a weak person)

*Penegakan hukum untuk kasus Century akan tetap melemah kalau DPR tidak punya komitmen yang kuat untuk membantu menuntaskan kasus tersebut.*

*(The law enforcement for the corruption of Bank Century will remain weak if the parliament does not have a strong commitment to help sorting out the case)*

### **The male legislators:**

#### (121) POLITIK SEBAGAI AKTIVITAS SEKSUAL (Politics as sexual activity)

Sikap kritik *sebagian anggota koalisi di parlemen* soal kasus Century terhadap pemerintah saya pandang sebagai *orgasme politik yang terhenti*. Pusingkan jadinya?

(In my opinion, the *criticism* expressed by the members of coalition about the case of *Bank Century* to the government was *an incomplete political orgasm*. It may give us a headache)

#### (122) PENEGAKAN HUKUM SEBAGAI TINDAKAN SELEKTIF YANG TIDAK ADIL (Law enforcement as unfair selective action)

*Penegakan hukum kita masih terbang pilih. KPK sangat tanggap terhadap kasus-kasus kecil, tapi kasus Century tidak berani diusik karena melibatkan beberapa petinggi negara. (Our law enforcement still applied a selective catch. KPK was eager to handle small cases, whereas a big case such as Century involving power structures was untouched by KPK)*

#### (123) PARPOL SEBAGAI KENDERAAN POLITIK (Political party as political vehicle)

Apa *sampan* yang digunakan kandidat untuk ikut *Pemilukada*?  
(What *party* does the candidate use to join the election?)

#### (124) PEMILUKADA SEBAGAI PEMBENTUKAN KERAJAAN KECIL (Pemilukada election as a form of small kingdom)

Bupati tidak lagi patuh pada gubernur, gubernur juga tidak lagi patuh pada mendagri atau presiden karena mereka dipilih rakyat. *Pemilukada menciptakan raja-raja kecil atau konsep harajaon.*

(The heads of local districts do not obey the governors and the governors do not obey the minister of domestic affairs or the president because they are elected by the people. *The Pemilukada creates small kings or a kingdom concept*)

#### (125) KORUPTOR SEBAGAI ORANG BERPERUT BUNCIT (Corruptor as a person with a bloated stomach)

Saking rakusnya, *perut para koruptor* makin *buncit* saja.  
(Because of being so greedy, *the stomachs of corruptors* are getting bloated)

#### (128) POLITIK SEBAGAI DRAMA SERI (Politics as serial drama)

*Skenario politik yang dimainkan sebagian anggota Demokrat* atas kasus Nazaruddin penuh dengan *intrik dan kebohongan*.

(*The political scenarios played by several members of the Democratic Party in the cases of Nazaruddin* were full of lies and intrigue)

*Anas* berubah dari *tokoh yang pemarah pada awal cerita* kasus Nazaruddin menjadi *tokoh yang pendiam*.

(*Anas* changed from *the angry character in the beginning of the Nazaruddin case* and became *a silent character*)

(129) KASUS SEBAGAI TSUNAMI/BADAI (Case as tsunami/storm)

*Tsunami menerjang Partai Demokrat (Tsunami strikes the Democratic Party)*

*Badai di Partai Demokrat (The storm in the Democratic Party)*

(133) KASUS SEBAGAI OBJEK YANG MASUK ANGIN (Case as cold object)

Jangan banyak komentar dulu, entar *kasusnya masuk angin*.

(It would be better not to comment on the unclear case)

(134) KASUS SEBAGAI SUNGAI BENGAWAN SOLO (Case as Bengawan Solo river)

Kita di Jakarta Lawyers Club ribut-ribut berdebat mengenai *kasus Nazaruddin, Gayus Tambunan, Century*, tak tahunya *kasusnya jadi sungai Bengawan Solo*, akhirnya ke laut, semuanya tidak jelas.

(In the *Jakarta Lawyer Club* we are involved in the heated debates about *the cases of Nazaruddin, Gayus Tambunan, and Century*. We do not know that the cases have been plotted to go missing like a river (*Bengawan Solo river*) that finally flows to the sea. All of them are still vague.

(135) HUKUM SEBAGAI ORANG YANG MATI SURI (Law enforcement as a person in suspended animation)

*Hukum kita mati suri* tak berdaya menangkap para koruptor.

(Our law is weak (*suspended animation*) and therefore, it cannot catch the corruptors)

(136) POLITIK SEBAGAI HEWAN (Politics as animal)

Sebagian anggota koalisi di parlemen melakukan *politik ikan salmon*.

Kritikan sebagian anggota koalisi kepada pemerintah adalah *politik ikan teri*.

(Some members of the coalition in the parliament apply ‘the politics of salmon fish’)

(The criticism from the members of the coalition addressed to the government is ‘the politics of teri fish’)

(137) DEMOKRASI SEBAGAI ALIRAN AIR (Democracy as flow of water)

*Keran demokrasi dibuka selebar-lebarnya* sehingga jadi kebablasan.

(The (tap) of democracy is widely opened and it results in an uncontrolled situation)

(138) PEMERINTAH SEBAGAI SUMBER KEHIDUPAN (Government as life source)

*Sumber air makin mengering* akibat kebijakan audit BPK di *birokrasi pemerintah*.

*Rakyat semakin menderita akibat gemuknya birokrasi pemerintah.*

(The government officers get lower incomes because of the auditing policy of BPK)  
(The people suffered very much because of the fat of government bureaucracy)

(139) *Musuh terbesar* Indonesia sekarang ini adalah *korupsi*.  
(Indonesia's biggest enemy at the moment is corruption)

(140) Para pejabat negeri ini *sudah diserang penyakit korupsi*. Hal ini *meresahkan* masyarakat sebab *jenis penyakit ini* belum ditemukan *obatnya* apalagi *virusnya sudah mengakar* menjadi *kanker kronis*.

(*The disease of corruption* has attacked some elite officers in this country. This situation *worried people* because there is *no medicine* for *this kind of disease*; moreover, *its virus has been rooted* and became a *chronic cancer*)

(141) *Korupsi* sudah menjadi *budaya* yang sulit *diberantas*, apalagi masyarakat kita semakin *permisif* terhadap *budaya korupsi, uphoria* seperti penyambutan meriah masyarakat Bengkulu terhadap *tersangka korupsi* gubernur Bengkulu. Ini kan *budaya yang tidak baik*. *Penyakit masyarakat ini harus dilawan* dengan *budaya antikorupsi*.

(*Corruption* has become a *culture* which is hard to *eradicate*; moreover, our society is getting *permissive* towards this trend and it becomes an *euphoria*, like when Bengkulu's people happily extended a home welcome to a corruptor, a governor of Bengkulu who was just freed from jail. This is *not a good culture*. This *social illness* has to be *fought* with an *anticorruption culture*)

(142) *Urat malu* para petinggi negara ini sudah *putus* dengan *memperjualbelikan jabatan*. Praktik ini bukan lagi rahasia umum. *Korupsi* bahkan dijadikan *alat tawar menawar* politik antarelite. *Praktik bisnis yang tidak sehat* ini harus *dibasmi*.

(Some elite officers were not shy to commercialise the job positions. The practice has been on everybody's lips. *Corruption* is even turned into *political bidding* alongside the elites. This *unhealthy business practice* has to be stopped)

(143) Anggota koalisi *sedang adu kekuatan* di parlemen soal kasus *Century*. Beberapa anggota mempertanyakan *tanggung jawab moral* DPR atas *lambannya* penanganan kasus ini.

(The members of the coalition are *showing off forces* in the parliament over the case of *Century*. Several legislators ask about the parliament's *moral responsibility* because it was *slow* in handling the case)

(144) Para politisi *bertikai* soal ambang batas menimbulkan *suhu politik* yang kian *memanas* di parlemen. *Tawar menawar politik* soal abang batas ini *masih menemui jalan buntu*. Partai mayoritas tampaknya *senang bermain-main* dengan soal ini. *Mesin politik* partai minoritas harus kerja keras untuk *mengambil hati rakyat* agar tingkat ambang batas itu bisa *dicapai*.

(The politicians *disputed* about the parliamentary threshold that led to the *higher tension* of *political temperature* in the parliament. *The political bidding* about this issue was *still in a dead-end street*. It seemed that the majority party enjoys *playing with the issue*. *The political machine* of the minority parties had to work hard and be *more generous to the people in order to reach* the parliamentary threshold)

- (145) *Topeng* para politisi di DPR semakin *tersibak*, mulai *sandiwara politik* yang *diperankan politisi Demokrat* dalam peristiwa pelarian Nazaruddin, *praktik jual beli undang-undang, studi banding, biaya vitamin anggota DPR, rumah, komunikasi, dsb* sampai pemborosan *anggaran pembangunan satu toilet bernilai Rp. 2 milyar*. Apakah ini juga *demi kepentingan rakyat*? Rakyat semakin *tercedarai* dan muak dijadikan *komuditas politik*. Di mana *moral dan etika DPR* di tengah penderitaan rakyat? Isu ini merupakan *bola panas* yang *menghantam* Ketua DPR, Ketua Banggar, dan Sekretariat DPR. Tampaknya, *panggung politik* kita tidak pernah *sepi, sejuk, dan segar*, tapi selalu *dilanda konflik, pertikaian, dan perebutan kekuasaan*. *Moral politisi* jadi tanda tanya besar. Jelas, ini bukan *pendidikan politik yang patut ditiru*.

(*The behaviour (masks) of politicians* in the parliament began to be revealed: *from the political drama played by the Democrat politicians* during Nazaruddin's escape, *trading constitution, comparative study, the cost of vitamins* for legislators, houses, communication and a wasted *budget of Rp. 2 billion to build a toilet*. Are all of these also *on behalf of the people*? The people are *extremely hurt* and are sick of *being a political commodity*. Where are *the morals and ethics* of the legislators in the mid of people's sufferance? This issue is "*a hot ball*" (hard ball) *striking* the Chief of the parliament, budget commission and secretariat. Apparently, *our political stage* is never *quiet, cool, and fresh*, but it is always *hit by conflict, dispute and struggle for power*. The public very much doubt the *morality of politicians*. Thus, this is really a bad *political education*)

- (146) "Pembahasan kasus Century dan Nazaruddin dijadikan *barang mainan politik* oleh sebagian anggota koalisi di parlemen dengan *menyerang* dan *memojokkan* posisi Partai Demokrat. Demokrat melihat ini sebagai *strategi politik* untuk *mengalahkan* Demokrat menjelang *kompetisi 2014*. Ini masih terlalu dini, ujar Ramadhan Pohan."

("The discussion of the cases of *Century* and Nazaruddin were just a *political toy* for some coalition members in the parliament. They *attacked* and *put* the Democratic Party's position *to the corner*. The Democratic Party saw it as a *political strategy* to *defeat* the Democratic Party in the *upcoming 2014 competition* (election). Ramadhan Pohan said it was still very early")

- (148) *Pisau hukum* kita biasanya *tumpul* jika berhadapan dengan petinggi negara.  
(The power (*knife*) of our law is commonly *not sharp* if it is used against the elite officers)
- (149) Masyarakat menilai *proses hukum* Nazaruddin penuh *rekayasa, dipolitisasi, alurnya* dibuat *panjang* dengan *berbagai intrik* dan *macam-macam peran*.

(The people saw that *the law case of Nazaruddin was fully manipulated, politicised and plotted with various intrigues and casts*).

- (150) *Sejumlah elemen masyarakat berunjuk rasa di depan pengadilan Jakarta dan gedung DPR meminta agar hukum ditegakkan seadil-adilnya*”.

(*A number of social organisations protested in front of a court office and in front of the parliament building in Jakarta. They demanded fair justice.*

- (151) “Biaya untuk memulangkan Nazaruddin menghabiskan uang negara sampai Rp. 3 milyar lebih, tapi dana yang diduga dikorupsi Nazaruddin menurut hakim cuma Rp. 4 milyar dan gratifikasi pula, bukan korupsi. Padahal, *kasus ini sudah membuat suhu politik yang sangat panas dan masyarakat sudah lama menunggu putusan pengadilan. Jadi, terkesan macam main-main aja, jadi bahan olokan di masyarakat...*”

(The state spent more than Rp.3 billion for the deportation of Nazaruddin, but the jury claimed that Nazaruddin took Rp. 4 billion illegally and it was as a gratification, not as corruption. *The case has led to a very high political temperature and the people waited a long time for the court verdict. Thus, it was like playing a game and the people made fun of it*)

- (152) “*Hukum kita sering sakit, lemah dan tak berdaya melawan koruptor, tapi sangat kuat, cepat dan tanggap sama orang-orang susah, seperti kasus pencurian sandal. Bagaimana tanggapan Bapak.....*”

(*Our law is like a sick person, weak and powerless against the corruptors, but the law is very strong, quick, and reactive for the poor people, like in the case of slipper theft. What do you say about....*)

- (157) DEMOKRASI SEBAGAI BUAH/MAKANAN (Democracy as fruit/food)

Indonesia *masih mentah dalam demokrasi*.

Unjuk rasa anarki menunjukkan kita *belum matang dalam berdemokrasi*.

(Indonesia is *still raw (immature) in the democracy*)

(The anarchic protests indicated that we were *uncooked (immature) in the democracy*)

- (158) DEMOKRASI SEBAGAI KEBEBASAN (Democracy as freedom)

Jangan menggunakan *kebebasan yang dimiliki itu menabrak dan merampas kebebasan orang lain*.

*Demokrasi jangan dijadikan alasan untuk menghalalkan segala cara*.

(Don't use your *freedom to disturb and rob other freedoms*)

(Don't make *democracy a reason to justify things as you like*)

(159) DEMOKRASI SEBAGAI PERTARUNGAN KEKUASAAN (Democracy as fight for power)

*Mobilisasi masa dalam aksi demonstrasi menuntut reshuffle kabinet mengancam kekuasaan SBY.*

*Koalisi partai di DPR dan Pemerintah untuk melanggengkan kekuasaan atas nama demokrasi.*

*(The rioters' claim about a reshuffle in the cabinet has threatened the power of SBY)*

*(On behalf of democracy, the coalition in the parliament and government is to perpetuate the power)*

(160) DEMOKRASI SEBAGAI PELAJARAN (Democracy as lesson)

*Demonstrasi anarki di depan Gedung DPRD Medan yang menewaskan Ketua DPRD Medan adalah bukti bahwa kita masih belajar dalam demokrasi.*

*Beberapa anggota DPR, DPRD, dan DPD berkunjung ke parlemen Amerika, Inggris dan Negara lainnya untuk belajar demokrasi.*

*(The anarchic protest in front of DPRD Medan which sent the chief of DPRD Medan to death was an evidence that we were still learning in the democracy process)*

*(Several members of DPR, DPRD and DPD visited the parliaments of U.S, U.K. and other countries to study democracy)*

(163) POLITIK SEBAGAI HUKUM (Politics as law)

*Pasal gratifikasi itu sebagai produk politik, bukan produk hukum.*

*DPR memberikan dukungan politik terhadap koruptor Nazaruddin.*

*Politik selalu dijadikan panglima dalam proses penegakan hukum.*

*(The gratification article is a political product, it is not a piece of law).*

*(The parliament offers political support to Nazaruddin, a corruptor)*

*(Political power is always used to reinforce the law).*

(164) MOUSE WITH TIE EVENTS

*“..Saya sebenarnya paling tidak mau berdebat dengan politisi atau bahkan politikus, apalagi polisi (audien tertawa) atas kasus korupsi yang melibatkan anggota DPR. Pak. Karni, Bapak belum tahu bagaimana rasanya digigit tikus? Saya tidak mau digigit tikus. Yang ingin saya katakan adalah paling sulit menangkap politisi karena politisi (mereka) itu adalah gangsters berdasi yang menyerang dan melemahkan KPK. Karena kekuasaan, politisi tampaknya sudah ndak punya budaya malu. Kalau orang tersebut sudah hangat dibicarakan kejelekannya di media, mengapa harus menunggu orang tersebut dijadikan tersangka oleh KPK baru partai menonaktifkannya? Kalau nanti KPK menetapkan orang tersebut sebagai tersangka, mau kemana ditaruh muka ini? Jadi, sesungguhnya, politics is not just about power and domination, but truth, ha..truth inilah yang sulit ditemukan pada badut-badut Senayan...”*

(166) FRAME KORUPSI MUSUH (corruption enemy frame)

“Pemerintah harus punya komitmen yang jelas dalam upaya pemberantasan korupsi. Berantas suap-menyuap dalam proyek bisnis, perpajakan, dan bea cukai. Angka kasus korupsi di ranah ini sangat signifikan”(Jakarta Lawyer Club, 7 April 2011)

(“The government must have a clear commitment to eradicate corruption: to put an end to the bribery practices in projects, taxes and customs. In these fields there is a significant amount of corruption)

(167) FRAME NODA KORUPSI (a stain corruption frame)

“PKS masih termasuk parpol yang bersih dalam korupsi, jujur, dan lebih peduli terhadap nasib rakyat. Namun, keputusan dan kebijakan yang diambil di DPR selalu melalui voting. Kita sebagai partai minoritas terpaksa ikut aturan dalam demokrasi” (Jakarta Lawyers Club, 7 April 2011).

(“PKS party is clean of corruption, it is honest and cares more about the people, but the decisions and policies in the parliament are always taken through voting. As a minority party we must follow the democracy rule”)

(169) “(...) Keadilan hukum buatan manusia tidak sama dengan keadilan hukum Tuhan. Setiap manusia diperlakukan sama di depan hukum. Mencuri adalah tindakan kriminal dan hukumannya telah diatur dalam undang-undang. (...) A aksi protes masyarakat di depan pengadilan yang menuntut agar seorang wanita pencuri sandal dibebaskan sungguh menyalahi aturan (...) Jika pengadilan menyetujuinya, para pencuri yang di penjara pun harus dibebaskan (...)” (Kompas, 8 April 2012)

(170) “(...) Kami sangat tidak puas atas putusan hakim yang menjatuhkan hukuman selama dua tahun penjara tanpa dilengkapi bukti yang cukup (...) Keputusan hakim terhadap kasus tersebut sangat banyak dipengaruhi oleh berita-berita media dan tekanan –tekanan sosial (...) Kita menganut prinsip praduga tak bersalah (...) Ada semacam upaya-upaya pembunuhan karakter yang menghancurkan karir politik tersangka (Kompas, 25 April 2012).

(171) a. “Pemerintah seharusnya tidak mengintervensi pengadilan dalam menangani kasus-kasus korupsi (...) Pengadilan itu bersifat independen (...) dan pemerintah harus ikut menjaga keindependensian pengadilan agar senjata hukum kita kuat dan pelurunya bisa menjangkau koruptor-koruptor kelas kakap (...)” (a politician)

b. “Senjata hukum kita tidak bisa bekerja secara maksimal karena banyak menghadapi hambatan (...) Para politisi suka mengintervensi keputusan-keputusan pengadilan (...) Mereka sengaja menggering kasus-kasus hukum ke ranah politik dan menciptakan konflik wacana di media” (a lawyer)

c. “Para penguasa negeri ini sengaja menciptakan senjata hukum yang masih traditional dan bersifat tebang pilih. Pisau hukum kita tajam sekali ke bawah, dan tumpul ke atas” (a social-political observer).

- (172) “(...) Nazar, teruslah bernyanyi agar semua orang dengar apa yang sebenarnya terjadi! Tapi, ingat, nyanyian mu itu bisa membahayakan dirimu dan keluarga mu!” (politisi Partai Demokrat)
- (173) “(...), apa yang disampaikan Nazaruddin dalam nyanyiannya belum tentu benar (...) Mengapa partai yang kuat harus terusik dengan nyanyian itu. Kita di JLC ini ribut-ribut berdebat tentang kasus korupsi yang melibatkan saudara Nazaruddin (...) Tak tahunya kasusnya jadi Sungai Bengawan Solo, akhirnya ke laut (...)” (Politisi PDIP)
- (177) “Musuh utama kita bukan lagi kapitalisme, melainkan korupsi. Korupsi harus diberantas sampai ke akar-akarnya. Untuk memberantas korupsi, hukum harus ditegakkan. Semua orang harus diperlakukan sama di depan hukum. Saya, kami dan kita semua percaya bahwa menciptakan pemerintahan yang bersih dari praktik KKN merupakan keinginan kita bersama seluruh rakyat Indonesia. Ayo, perang terhadap korupsi! Bersama kita bisa! (The Democratic Party)
- (178) “ Kita semua dibebani PR yang berat oleh regim sebelumnya, “Soeharto”. Partai PAN anti-korupsi. Korupsi harus dibersihkan dari negeri ini dengan memberikan hukuman berat sebagai shock terapi terhadap paus-paus koruptor. PAN yakin bisa mengatasi persoalan korupsi yang menghancurkan ekonomi bangsa ini” (The National Mandate Party/PAN)
- (181) “(...) korupsi itu berada di pusaran kekuasaan. Mereka yang terlibat kasus korupsi selalu mencari perlindungan di partai politik. Pencari suaka ini berlindung di partai penguasa dan partai-partai besar agar aman dari jangkauan hukum” (a social-political observer, TV-One, 26 May 2011)
- (182) “(...) tsunami menerjang Demokrat (...) beberapa elite politik Partai Demokrat tersandung masalah korupsi (...) wacana pemberantasan korupsi dan anti-korupsi Partai Demokrat ternyata hanya sebagai retorika politik semata” (TV-One, 6 June 2011).
- (183) “Penjara dan pengadilan adalah surga bagi para koruptor. Uang dan kekuasaan membuat pasal-pasal yang menjerat mereka dibonsai sehingga hukuman mereka terkesan ringan. Mereka juga mendapat keringanan dari grasi dan amnesti yang diberikan presiden. Belum lagi alasan sakit yang membuat mereka lebih sering tinggal di rumah sakit daripada di penjara (...) Apakah rakyat biasa, miskin and kita juga mendapat hak istimewa seperti mereka? Ini menjadi PR kita bersama” (TV-One, October 2011)
- (184) “(...) Telinga publik sudah akrab tentang banyaknya kasus korupsi yang diberitakan media. Uang negara dikorupsi habis-habisan, tetapi kita tidak tahu siapa pelakunya (...) Sedikit sekali kasus yang bisa diselesaikan pengadilan, selebihnya raib. Kalau bukan hantu pelakunya, tentu kita dan pengadilan pasti bisa menangkapnya (...) Koruptor sama saja dengan teroris yang mentransform musuh yang tidak menyenangkan kepada aliansi yang kuat. Kita harus menemukan seorang satria piningit seperti dalam kisah pewayangan untuk menangkap hantu-hantu dan teroris tersebut” (Politisi, TV, One, 9 November 2011)

(185) “(...) kebebasan berpendapat dan perbedaan pendapat dalam era demokrasi itu biasa. Sayangnya, kebebasan itu sering disalahartikan dengan melanggar semua aturan, norma, etika dan sopan santun. Ini menunjukkan bahwa kita belum matang dalam demokrasi (...) Partai Demokrat harus menjunjung tinggi citra partai dan memberikan contoh dan tauladan kepada masyarakat (...) Berpolitiklah dengan cara yang santun dan sampaikanlah pendapat dengan cara yang santun (...)” (President SBY, Metro-TV, 20 November 2011)

## APPENDIX O: Tables of metaphor and Metaphorical Mapping

**Table 10: Conceptual metaphors of DPR/DPRD**

THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF DPR/DPRD	N
DPR SEBAGAI RUMAH RAKYAT (DPR as House of people)	17
DPR SEBAGAI PASAR (DPR as market)	9
DPR SEBAGAI PELAKON SINETRON (DPR as cinema electronic cast)	7
DPR SEBAGAI PEMBOHONG (DPR as liar)	6
DPR SEBAGAI WAJAH DEMOKRASI (DPR as face of the democracy)	5
DPR SEBAGAI TIKUS (DPR as mouse)	3
DPR SEBAGAI RAMPOK/BEGAL (DPR as gangster/robber)	2
DPR SEBAGAI BADUT-BADUT SENAYAN (DPR as clowns of Senayan)	1
DPR SEBAGAI BANDIT BERDASI (DPR as bandit with tie)	1
DPR SEBAGAI ANAK TK (DPR as kindergarten student)	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>52</b>

**Table 11: Conceptual Metaphors of Government/President**

THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF GOVERNMENT/PRESIDENT	N
PRESIDEN SEBAGAI SELEBRITY (President as celebrity)	12
PRESIDEN SEBAGAI HUAFA (President as dhuafa)	10
PRESIDEN SEBAGAI LAMBANG NEGARA (President as symbol of the state)	7
PEMERINTAH SEBAGAI ORANG TUA (Government as parents)	5
PRESIDEN SEBAGAI PANGlima PERANG DALAM MEMBERANTASAN KORUPSI (The president as commander in chief to war on the corruption)	3
PEMERINTAH SEBAGAI LUMBUNG MAKANAN (Government as food granary)	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>

**Table 12: Conceptual Metaphors of ‘hukum/penegakan hukum’ (Law/law enforcement)**

<b>HUKUM SEBAGAI... (LAW AS...)</b>	<b>N</b>
<b>BISNIS (BUSINESS)</b> <i>Hukum bisa dibeli, jual-beli pasal, X sewa pengacara profesional, ada uang, kasus lancar, ajang bisnis suap-menyuap, X memperjualbelikan perkara, etc</i>	31
<b>POLITIK (POLITICS)</b> <i>Persoalan hukum digiring ke wilayah politik, hukum dipolitisasi, politik hukum-hukum politik, produk politik-produk hukum, rekayasa politik, etc</i>	27
<b>SENJATA (WEAPON)</b> <i>pisau hukum negeri ini, tajam ke bawah, tumpul ke atas, mempan bagi Y, senjata hukum kalah dengan uang, X kehabisan senjata, etc</i>	23
<b>PERTARUNGAN SOSIAL (SOCIAL FIGHT/WAR)</b> <i>Aksi masa tolak putusan hakim, X berunjuk rasa di depan pengadilan, proses penegakan hukum berada antara pertarungan sosial dan pertarungan politik, etc</i>	13
<b>ORANG SAKIT (A SICK PERSON)</b> <i>menegakkan hukum, lesu, sakit, lemah, tidak kuat, tak berdaya, melemahkan, etc</i>	12
<b>TANAMAN BONSAI (BONSAI TREE)</b> <i>BAP X sudah dibonsai, upaya pengkerdilan perkara, cabang dan rantingnya dipangkas, digundul, membonsai perkara, etc.</i>	10
<b>KEKUASAAN (POWER)</b> <i>hukum lah yang berkuasa, kekuasaan dan kekuatan hukum, lambang kekuasaan, etc</i>	8
<b>MAINAN (GAME/TOYS)</b> <i>Hukum dipertainkan, hukum dijadikan mainan, petak umpet, etc</i>	5
<b>SANDIWARA (DRAMA/THEATRE)</b> <i>Sandiwara hukum, dimainkan, dipoles, dirias, dipentaskan, etc.</i>	3
<b>OLAH RAGA (SPORT)</b> <i>manuver bola panas pengacara Nazar, digolkan ke penjara, gawang hakim jebol, etc</i>	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>133</b>

**Table 13: Conceptual Metaphors of Government/President**

<b>PEMERINTAH/PRESIDEN SEBAGAI...(Government/President as...)</b>	<b>N</b>
SELEBRITI (A celebrity) <i>agenda tebar pesona, politik pencitraan, lips-service, lagi-lagi konfrensi pers, mem-balas nyanyian kedua Nazaruddin, bernyanyi lagu ciptaannya sendiri di televisi, etc</i>	12
KAUM DHUAFSA (A dhuafa man) <i>Coint for preseident, presiden kembali mengeluh, minta naikkan gaji, etc</i>	10
LAMBANG NEGARA (A symbol of state) <i>Pembakaran photo SBY-Boediono, giring kerbau bergambar SBY, lecehkan, etc</i>	5
PARTNER BISNIS (A business partner) <i>DPR-President bahasa APBN, setuju/tolak/revisi APBN diajukan presiden, etc</i>	4
ORANG TUA (parents) <i>X miliki kewajiban untuk melindungi dan mensejahterakan rakyat, adil, perhatian, etc</i>	3
PANGLIMA PERANG DALAM PEMBERANTASAN KORUPSI (A commander in chief to war on corruptions) <i>Berdiri di baris terdepan, menghunus pedang keadilan, di bawah kepemimpinan, etc</i>	3
LUMBUNG MAKANAN (A food granary) <i>Birokrat kita gemuk-gemuk berada di lumbung makanan, sumber air mulai jauh, etc</i>	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>

**Table 15: Conceptual metaphors of 'Demokrasi' (democracy)**

<b>DEMOKRASI SEBAGAI... (Democracy as...)</b>	<b>N</b>
PERTARUNGAN KEKUASAAN (A fight for the power) <i>unjuk kekuatan,ribuan massa protes ancam kekuasaan presiden, aksi jutaan massa tolak kenaikan BBM, pembentukan koalisi di parlemen dan kabinet untuk..., etc</i>	11
KEBEBASAN (Freedom) <i>Gunakan kebebasan dengan baik, melanggar aturan demokrasi, menghargai penda-pat orang lain, saling menghargai kebebasan, etc</i>	8
PELAJARAN (Lesson) <i>masih belajar demokrasi, ambil hikmah..., etika, moral, contoh, etc</i>	7
REMAJA (Human teenager) <i>belum dewasa, ketidakdewasaan, matang, masih terlalu dini, etc</i>	6
BUAH/MAKANAN (Fruit/food) <i>masih mentah, belum matang, dikelola dengan baik, diakomodasi, etc</i>	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>

**Table 16: Conceptual metaphors of election**

<b>THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF ELECTION</b>	<b>N</b>
PEMILIHAN SEBAGAI PESTA DEMOKRASI/RAKYAT (Election as people or democratic fiesta)	13
PEMILIHAN SEBAGAI BANJIR BANTUAN (Election as flood relief)	9
PEMILIHAN SEBAGAI KENDERAAN MENUJU KEKUASAAN (Election as vehicle to power)	5
PEMILIHAN SEBAGAI PROSES PEMBODOHAN (Election as process of deception)	3
PEMILIHAN SEBAGAI KOMPETISI OLAH RAGA (Election as sport competition)	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>

**Table 17: Conceptual metaphors of political party**

<b>THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF POLITICAL PARTY</b>	<b>N</b>
PARTAI POLITIK SEBAGAI SUAKA (Political party as asylum)	11
PARTAI POLITIK SEBAGAI KENDERAAN (Political party as vehicle)	8
PARTAI POLITIK SEBAGAI KEKUASAAN/KEKUATAN (Political party as power/strength)	7
PARTAI POLITIK SEBAGAI MESIN (Political party as machine)	3
PARTAI POLITIK SEBAGAI TANAMAN (Political party as plant)	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>

**Table 21 (d): the mappings of the Election as People/Democratic Fiesta metaphor**

<b>THE SYSTEMATIC MAPPINGS</b>	
<b>Aspects of Source (B): PESTA RAKYAT</b>	<b>Aspects of Target (A): PEMILU/KADA</b>
the people or democratic fiesta	→ the general election and local elections
the outdoor fiesta decorations	→ the billboards, advertisement, pamphlets, costumes, etc of the contestants in the elections
the food, clothes, entertainment, money,	→ the logistics prepared by the contestants in the election to attract the voters.
the culture performed in the fiesta	→ the distribution of the food and money to the people door to door.
the people are happy to receive the supplies	→ the contestants have expectations to win.
the people hear the speeches in the fiesta	→ the contestants deliver the political campaigns.
the final celebration of the fiesta	→ the election is done.

**Table 21 (e): the mappings of the DPR as House of People**

<b>THE SYSTEMATIC MAPPINGS</b>	
<b>Aspects of Source (B): RUMAH RAKYAT</b>	<b>Aspects of Target (A): DPR</b>
the people house	→ the DPR/Parliament
the members of people living in the house	→ the whole members of parliament
the things talked or discussed in the house	→ the family, social, govt problems
the sections in the house	→ the DPR, MPR, and DPD
the rooms in the house	→ the sum of commissions in the DPR
the jobs to do in the house	→ the 3 functions of the DPR
the daily activities in the house	→ the DPR meeting, conferences, etc
the people protest to the house	→ the members of DPR fight each other, they do not work well, accomodate the people aspirations, etc.

**Table 21 (f): the mappings of the Political Party as Asylum metaphor**

<b>THE SYSTEMATIC MAPPINGS</b>	
<b>Aspects of Source (B): SUAKA</b>	<b>Aspects of Target (A): PARPOL</b>
the asylum places	→ the big political party and the power party
the asylum seekers	→ the elites who involved in the law cases.
the ways to find the asylum	→ the seekers donate the political party and become the elite members of the party.
the asylum seekers feel safe	→ the political party protects and help its members.

**Table 21 (g): the mappings of the Law enforcement as Business metaphor**

<b>THE SYSTEMATIC MAPPINGS</b>	
<b>Aspects of Source (B): BISNIS</b>	<b>Aspects of Target (A): Law enforcement</b>
the business entities	→ the cases, constitutions, verdicts, etc
the business agents	→ the persons who handle the cases (juries, judges, lawyers, mafia of law)
the business transactions	→ the bidding process of the cases
the best profitable business	→ the gand corruption cases
the ways product packaged	→ the ways of making the cases as a bonsai tree
the business flourished	→ the power of the mafia of law established
the business expanded	→ the law enforcement is getting weak.
the business power	→ the powerless of law
the collapsed business	→ the power of law, the law enforcement works

effectively

**Table 21 (h): the mappings of the Corruptor as Greedy Person metaphor**

<b>THE SYSTEMATIC MAPPINGS</b>	
<b>Aspects of Source (B): ORANG SERAKAH</b>	<b>Aspects of Target (A): KORUPTOR</b>
the greedy persons	→ the corruptor
the things to be greedy for	→ the things to be corrupted
the crocodile is a greedy animal	→ the corruptor is a crocodile
the greedy persons pile up the food	→ the corruptors keep enriching themselves
the greedy persons community	→ the mafia of corruption

**Table 21 (i): the mappings of the President as Celebrity metaphor**

<b>THE SYSTEMATIC MAPPINGS</b>	
<b>Aspects of Source (B): SELEBRITI</b>	<b>Aspects of Target (A): PRESIDEN</b>
the celebrity	→ the president
the president infotainment	→ the promotion of the president political self image, government and his political party
the more frequent reported in the media	→ the people know more about the president
the special reports in the media	→ the president press conferences
the bad news about the president	→ the bad self-image of the president

**Table 21 (j): the mappings of the Democracy as Fight for the Power metaphor**

<b>THE SYSTEMATIC MAPPINGS</b>	
<b>Aspects of Source: PERTARUNGAN KEKUASAAN</b>	<b>Aspects of Target: DEMOKRASI</b>
the freedom of expressions, press	→ the access of the democracy
the difference opinions, argumentation	→ the nuances of the democracy
the criticism, protests addressed to the power	→ the democracy threatens the power
the anarchic protest actions	→ the consequences of the democratic premature
the activities to get or take over the power	→ the bits of the democracy
the better ways to get the power	→ the democracy holds the elections
the contestants win on the elections	→ the power is gained via democracy

## **Appendix P: two examples of Interviews**

Topic: The corruption case of Muhammad Nazaruddin

Respondent: (1) Ahmad Yani (legislator from the PPP Party)

Respondent: (2) Ruhut Sitompul (legislator from the Democratic Party)

Monday, 15 Agustus 2011

P : Assalamu alaikum Pak, Yani, Apa khabar?

Y : Waalaikum salam. Alhamdulillah sehat.

P : Pak. Yani, saya ingin mewawancarai Bapak soal seputar kasus Nazaruddin. Masyarakat tampaknya sangat pesimis terhadap kasus ini berakhir seperti kasus bank Century, BLBI, dan Gayus Tambunan. Bagaimana tanggapan Bapak, khususnya menyoal peran komisi III atau DPR terhadap kasus yang melibatkan anggota DPR RI Nazaruddin, yang juga berasal dari komisi III fraksi partai demokrat.

Y : Hmn.. Kita juga mengadakan rapat, khususnya mengenai kasus Nazaruddin yang juga berasal dari komisi III, itu sebabnya kami anggota komisi III datang menjenguknya di tahanan MAKOBRI MOB, ya skadar memberikan semangat dan silaturahmi sesama teman. Kita tentu tidak mengharapkan kasus Nazaruddin ini berakhir seperti kasus bank Century atau Gayus Tambunan. KPK harus konsisten mematuhi janjinya, bersikap transparan, independent, dan akuntabel. Kita akan mengawal kasus ini agar tidak melanggar konstitusi. Masalahnya sejak penjemputan Nazaruddin dari Bogota Colombia, kita sudah menaruh curiga terhadap KPK, khususnya mengenai alat bukti seperti isi tas hitam Nazaruddin, kita tidak melihat flash disk dan CD yang ditunjukkan Nazar ketika Skype. Nazaruddin juga tidak didampingi oleh pengacaranya selama perjalanan dari Colombia ke Indonesia. Mungkin saja selama perjalanan itu terjadi intimidasi, intervensi, dan sebagainya. Seakan penjemputan Nazaruddin ini sudah direkayasa sejak awal. Tentu hal ini menyalahi KUHAP.

P : Apakah DPR akan membuat PANSUS atau PANJA seperti PANSUS Bank Century atau PANJA Mafia Pajak terhadap kasus Nazaruddin ini?

Y : Kita belum ada bicara ke arah itu. Hal itu mungkin saja bisa dilakukan setelah melihat perkembangan kasus Nazaruddin ini.

- P : Masyarakat menilai DPR RI sebaiknya tidak mencampuri masalah atau kasus Nazaruddin ini. Menurut mereka serahkan saja kasus ini sepenuhnya ke aparat penegak hukum, dalam hal ini KPK. Mereka sudah tahu bagaimana akhir cerita kasus Nazaruddin ini bila DPR ikut campur di dalamnya. DPR RI diyakini pasti memiliki kepentingan politik yang besar dalam kasus ini. Masyarakat tahu bahwa beberapa anggota DPR RI ikut terlibat seperti orang-orang yang disebut-sebut namanya oleh Nazaruddin sewaktu masa pelariannya melalui BBM, skpye, and telewicara dengan Metrotv dan TVOne. Mereka khawatir kasus ini menjadi sungai Bengawan Solo, akhirnya ke laut, tak jelas, senyap, dan hanya sekadar wacana politik dan hukum saja, Pak.
- Y : Kita tidak bisa menyalahkan sepenuhnya kepada DPR RI tentang kasus Bank Century, kami di DPR sudah beberapa kali mendesak KPK agar kasus bank Century ini dilanjutkan. Kita tidak diam, Cuma masyarakat tentu tidak semua tahu tentang masalah tersebut. Benar bahwa ada beberapa nama anggota DPR RI yang ikut terlibat dalam kasus Nazaruddin ini. Itu kan menurut nyanyian Nazaruddin (pertama), meski pun katanya dia memiliki data atau bukti, yang dibeberkannya melalui media, itu masih berupa fakta media, bukan fakta hukum. Sekarang dia sudah kembali ke Indonesia, semua orang, termasuk DPR dan khususnya partai demokrat menginginkan Nazaruddin harus membuktikan tuduhan-tuduhannya tersebut. Eh..sekarang kok malah jadi macan ompong, diam, bungkam.
- P : Bagaimana pendapat Bapak tentang sikap diam Nazaruddin ini. Orang mengharapkan dia justru lebih banyak lagi bernyanyi setelah pulang ke Indonesia karena memiliki kesempatan yang banyak untuk itu. Tapi, nyanyiannya kok malah diam.
- Y : Sikap seperti ini memang haknya Nazaruddin atau bisa saja merupakan strateginya dan pengacaranya untuk mendapat simpati dari masyarakat. Artinya, masyarakat atau kita semua bertanya-tanya ada apa ini? Apakah Nazaruddin diancam, diteror, dipaksa, dan sebagainya. Wacana sikap diam Nazaruddin ini pun langsung menjadi topik yang hangat dibicarakan di media. Sehingga membentuk opini publik bahwa dia sesungguhnya adalah korban dari permainan elit politik yang besar. Ini sebagai strategi Nazar dan pengacaranya untuk membuat masalah ini berlarut-larut, mengalihkan perhatian masyarakat dengan membuat polemik kasus Nazaruddin ini,

sehingga substansi kasus korupsi Nazaruddin dan orang-orang yang disebutkan ikut terlibat menjadi kabur, sehingga jalan pemberantasan korupsi dan penegakan hukum menjadi tidak jelas. Kita sudah biasa ribut membicarakan atau diskusi tentang bunga rampai suatu kasus tanpa mau menukik ke substansi persoalan yang sesungguhnya. Akhirnya, publik bosan dengan berita yang itu-itu saja, tak jelas, dan lainnya, ya berakhir seperti bengawan solo, semuanya ke laut. (Tertawa).

P : Jika demikian keadaannya, apa sikap komisi III terhadap kelanjutan kasus ini?

Y : Kita tidak bisa intervensi, kita mengawal dan menyerahkan sepenuhnya kepada KPK. Soal dugaan keterlibatan sebagian anggota DPR dalam kasus ini, biarkan KPK dan polisi yang menyelidiki. Semua orang kan sama kedudukannya di depan hukum, tidak ada pengecualian. Namun, semua itu harus berdasarkan konstitusi.

P : Baiklah Pak, terima kasih atas jawaban dan waktu yang diberikan. Sampai jumpa di interview selanjutnya. Wassalam

Y : Oke, khabari saja. Waalaikum salam.

### **Interview with the second respondent Ruhut Sitompul**

: .....

P : Bang, banyak yang menilai bahwa sejak awal kasus Nazaruddin ini penuh dengan rekayasa. Begitu surat pencekalannya diterbitkan KPK, eh, sehari sebelumnya dia sudah berangkat ke Singapura dengan alasan sakit berobat. Publik dan media kemudian menyoroti masalah ini, sehingga badai pun terjadi di tubuh Partai Demokrat. Banyak yang menduga Nazaruddin sengaja disimpan Partai Demokrat. Beberapa anggota partai demokrat yang menjenguk Nazae di Singapura mengatakan bahwa dia benar2 sakit, badannya kurus sampai 16 kg. Namun, sikap pembelaan partai demokrat terhadap Nazaruddin akhirnya berubah ketika Nazaruddin bernyanyi dengan menyebutkan beberapa anggota elit partai demokrat terlibat di dalam kasus suap wisma atlit, ampalang, dan lainnya. Dulunya partai demokrat tidak mengharapkan Nazaruddin kembali, eh, sekarang malah mengharapkan Nazaruddin agar segera kembali. Bagaimana ni Bang?

R : (Tertawa). Itulah politik ni Adinda, biru kadang bisa berubah jadi hitam. Sebenarnya, sejak awal sikap partai demokrat sangat jelas dan tegas. Yakni, meminta agar Nazaruddin segera pulang dan menyelesaikan kasus ini. Namun, waktu itu dia

memang sedang sakit, ya kita tidak bisa memaksanya, kan? Sekarang, yang bersangkutan telah membuat citra partai demokrat anjlok, buruk di mata masyarakat. Keberhasilan yang dicapai partai ini hancur akibat ulah yang bersangkutan, bernyanyi, menuduh orang secara sembarangan, tanpa bukti yang jelas, membentuk opini dan membunuh karakter seseorang. Ini kan tidak baik, tidak profesional, kesatria dan memalukan. Itu sebabnya Presiden SBY turun tangan dan meminta agar Nazaruddin kembali dan mempertanggungjawabkan semua perbuatannya. Dengan begitu semua masalah menjadi terang-benderang, tidak simpang siur, dan tuduhan-tudahannya tersebut harus bisa beliau buktikan di depan hukum dengan bukti-bukti yang lengkap. Jangan asal nuduh aja!

P : Beliau sudah dijemput paksa dengan mencarter pesawat sampai menelan biaya Rp. 3 milyar. Mengapa kasus Nazaruddin ini begitu penting sampai mengeluarkan dana sedemikian besar? Apakah pemerintah dan partai demokrat memiliki kepentingan politik yang besar dalam kasus ini, apalagi beliau sebagai anggota DPR RI dari partai demokrat, mantan bendahara umum partai demokrat, yang katanya ditugasi mencari duit untuk partai demokrat sehingga ia terlibat kasus ini. Itu salah satu isi dari nyanyiaannya yang menuduh beberapa nama elit partai demokrat. Bagaimana ini Bang?

R : Itulah merupakan bentuk komitmen presiden SBY untuk pemberantasan korupsi. Kita harus berterima kasih terhadap kinerja pemerintah SBY, KPK, Imigrasi, dan polisi dalam hal ini. Sikap partai Demokrat jelas, dan tegas, seperti isi pidato Bapak Presiden SBY, siapa pun yang terlibat dalam kasus ini, baik dari petinggi partai demokrat, atau siapa saja harus diadili menurut ketentuan hukum yang berlaku. Kita sepenuhnya menyerahkan hal ini kepada KPK, kita mendorong dan mendukung penegakan hukum, khususnya kasus Nazaruddin ini agar transparan, independent, dan adil. Siapa pun itu, termasuk nama-nama yang disebutkan oleh Nazaruddin harus diusut KPK untuk membuktikan kebenaran tuduhan dan nyanyian Nazaruddin tersebut. Jadi, tidak benar adanya dugaan intervensi presiden, rekayasa, dan manipulasi atas kasus ini. Semuanya berjalan apa adanya, murni demi tegaknya hukum di republik ini.

P : Tapi, Bang, sekarang Nazaruddin melempem, diam, dan bungkam. Malah ngomong ke media meminta presiden untuk tidak mengganggu anak istrinya, hukum saja dia

bertahun-tahun juga tidak masalah, dia tidak akan menceritakan apa-apa, dia sudah tidak tahu. Malah dia juga mengirim surat kepada presiden yang bunyinya meminta kepada presiden berjanji untuk menjaga keamanan lahir dan batin istri dan anak-anaknya, cukup dia saja yang dihukum, meskipun selama bertahun-tahun tanpa melalui proses penyelidikan/penyidikan dan mempertimbangkan hak-hak hukum beliau. Dia rela akan hal itu asal istri dan anak-anaknya dijamin presiden keamanannya. Surat dan pernyataannya tersebut kan bisa ditafsirkan bermacam2 oleh publik. Bagaimana menurut Bang Ruhut?

R : (Tertawa). Ini kan sandiwaranya si Nazaruddin dan pengacaranya saja. Supaya terkesan dia itu dipaksa, diteror, diintimidasi, dan lainnya untuk mengharap dapat simpati dari masyarakat. Strategi macan ompong itu, cengeng. Artinya apa, dia jadi ketakutan sendiri karena mungkin saja nyanyiannya dan tuduhan-tuduhannya itu bohong semua. Dia jadi ketakutan gimana membuktikannya semuanya itu. Dia cuma berani dari jauh, luar negeri, melalui BBM, Skype, telepon. Sekarang, dia akan berhadap-hadapan dengan orang-orang yang dituduhnya, cross-check. Ha..ini yang sebenarnya dia takutkan, Lalu, kirim surat kepada bapak presiden dan menciptakan opini bahwa presiden sebagai otoriter, diktator, yang menentukan dan menjatuhkan hukuman seseorang. Ini kan ngaco. Makanya jangan asal nuduh aja kawan, patal akibatnya.

P : Terakhir, Bang. Apa Abang yakin kasus Nazaruddin ini tidak berakhir seperti kasus Bank Century atau kasus Gayus Tambunan, Bengawan Solo, Akhirnya ke Laut?

R : Saya optimis kasus ini tuntas, jelas, transparan, adil, dan akuntabel. Ini keinginan presiden SBY demi penegakan hukum dan pemberantasan korupsi. Biarkan KPK yang menangani kasus ini, kita dukung dan kita kawal KPK agar tidak gentar memperjuangkan kebenaran. Kasus ini tidak sama dengan kasus Bank Century. Kasus ini jelas siapa tersangkanya, dan dugaan korupsinya.

P : Oke, Bang, terima kasih atas jawaban dan waktu yang diberikan. Horas!

R : Oke, Horas!

