CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR 'FRONT IS GOOD; BACK IS BAD' IN INDONESIAN

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Abstrak

Makalah ini membahas konsep metaforis 'depan baik; belakang buruk' yang digunakan oleh masyarakat Indonesia untuk membingkai pengalamannya. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah menjelaskan bahwa sejumlah ungkapan metaforis dalam bahasa Indonesia dapat menunjukkan cara pandang masyarakat Indonesia dengan bingkai metaforis tersebut. Data penelitian ini berupa sejumlah ungkapan yang mengandungi metafora 'depan baik; belakang buruk' yang diperoleh dari internet maupun surat kabar. Hasil temuan menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat Indonesia melihat ' yang baik di depan; yang buruk di belakang' di berbagai aspek kehidupan, seperti kedudukan, keadaan masyarakat, kondisi mental, dan kejujuran.

Kata kunci: konsep metaforis, ungkapan metaforis, cara pandang, pemetaan dan pengkategorian pengalaman

1. Introduction
2.

For most people, metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon that functions to create the impression of poetic and imaginative in the rhetoric (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:1). That is why many people associate the concept of metaphor in the style of language in literature. The people believes that metaphor is a form of language which is beyond the norm (extraordinary) and aligned with the other style of language, such as a euphemism, a hyperbole, an irony, a simile, and a litotes. However, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are against the that idea. They propose that metaphors exist in all around our daily lives. The presence of metaphors is not limited to works of literature and rhetoric, but spread in all aspects of human life. We often do not realize that the language we use is full of metaphorical expressions.

Metaphor, according to Lakoff and Johson (1980:5) is a way to understand a concept in terms of another. For example, Indonesian people understand the concept of "idea" through the concept of "objects that can be eaten", as being expressed through *"Pendapatnya tidak dapat ditelan mentah-mentah, harus dicerna dulu apa maksudnya"* (His opinion can not be swallowed at once, but it must be digested, what he meant). Studying the relationship between the form of metaphor and the society use it is very interesting, because by analysing the metaphor, we can find out the way the society percieve their life

There are studies concerning metaphor in Indonesian and any other genuine languages in Indonesia. Some of them were conducted by Khaerunissa (2008), Rajeg (2009), Siregar (2009), and Christomy (2010). Khairunissa (2008) stated that the use of metaphorical expressions in a traditional ceremony in Mandailing shows how local people perceive nature. Rajeg (2009) found that Indonesian people understand the concept of "love" through a variety of other concepts, such as "container" (container), "fire", "travel", and " living things". Meanwhile, Siregar (2009) examines how the emotion "anger" is conceptualized in the Indonesian language. Christomy (2010) examines the metaphorical concept related to the concept of "sex" through semiotic arrangement. Generally, the metaphorical concepts that they analyzed exist in every community.

I would like to study another universal metaphorical-concept, that is orientational metaphor 'front vs. back'. The research problem that will be answered through the paper is how the metaphorical concept of "front-back" is expressed in Indonesian. Data of the research are phrases that contain adequate metaphorical concept of "front-back" in various texts, including electronic text, spoken text, or written text. The study purposes to explain the way the Indonesian speech community manifest the conceptual metaphor in their language.

2. Conceptual Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) state that, in daily life, people are controlled by systematic concepts that are metaphorical. English speakers, for example, perceive the act of arguing like a war, because they are controlled by a concept that in arguing something, someone must win the argument, attact his opponent, or defend his position (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:4 .) The systematic concept such as "argument is war" is called metaphorical concept. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:4) explains that through the metaphorical concept "argument is war", a person does not just talk about arguments using terms that exist in the war, but also behave like in a war. Therefore, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5) states that "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another".

Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson distinguish metaphorical concept from metaphorical expression. The concept of "argument is war" that underlies the way a person thinks, says, and acts, is called metaphorical concept. The language expressions that manifest the metaphorical concept are called metahorical expressions. Danesi and Perron (1990:166) states that any metaphorical concept consists of two parts or domains, those are target domains or topics and source domains or vehicles. In the metaphorical concept "argument is war", ARGUMENT is topic and WAR is vehicle. Through the concept, English speaker tries to map the concept of argument via the concept of war. Metaphorical concept that grew in the collective mind of a society is manifested in a number of metaphorical expressions. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:4) provides an example that the concept of metaphorical "argument is war 'is reflected in a variety of metaphorical expressions, such as" He attacked every weak point in my argument "," You disagree? Okay, shoot! ", And" I've never won an argument with him ".

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:14, 25) classifies metaphors into three types, namely structural, ontological, and orentational metaphors. In sructural metaphor, "one concept is metaphorically structured in term of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:14). An example of structural metaphor is conduit metaphor about the language put forward by Michael Reddy (1993, in Lakoff and Johnson 1980:10; Foley 1998:185). According to Reddy (1993), the concept of metaphorical "language" structured in a number of other metaphorical concepts, namely: (i) the idea or meaning is an object, (ii) the word or sentence is a container (container) for the object, and (iii) the communication is channel sending the container of the object along a conduit (writing) or through space (speech) to the reader or listener (Foley 1998:185). Ontological metaphor is the metaphorical concept that governs one's perspective in perceiving the experience as an entity or substance (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:25). An example of the ontological metaphor is "time is a substance". Through the metaphor, one percieves that time can be 'quantified', 'determined its value', and 'used for a specific purpose' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:66). Orientational metaphor is metaphorical concept that organizes the entire system of interrelated concepts (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:14). Orientational metaphor spatially maps the concept of forming a number of metaphors such as "up-down", "front-back", "in-out", "deep-shallow", and so forth.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:14), orientational metaphors are formed based on the physical and cultural experience of speakers. Therefore, the orientational metaphor can vary from one culture to another.The relation between culture and metaphor is partial. It is not necessarily the concept of metaphor that forms the overall value of community culture. Lakoff and Johson (1980:22-23) states that some metaphorical concepts do not comply with the perspective of the community. Therefore, there are often conflicting values among metaphors. In Indonesian, for example, there is a concept of cultural metaphor "safety is the primacy". This concept is reflected in metaphorical expressions "*Biar lambat asal selamat"* (Let me do slowy to achieve the safety). However, apparently the concept is in conflict with another metaphorical concept, such as "alertness is the primacy". Therefore, the first metaphorical expression is as opposed to the expression *"Lebih cepat lebih baik"* (The sooner the better). In addressing the phenomenon, we must consider that today's society to prioritize the second concept. This happens because their cultural values change.

3. Orientational Metaphor: "Front-Back" in Indonesian

Indonesian Metaphors expressing the orientational concept "Front-Back" illustrate that the value of "good and bad" is percieved as a linear concept of moving from front to back. The metaphorical expressions revealed the concept of "good is front, bad is behind. " A value has a front orientation, if it is related to things that are good, important, or positive. Conversely, the bad, important, or negative value will be oriented to the back. The metaphorical concepts of "good is in front, bad is behind" are grouped into subcategories as follows.

3.1 " good ssociety is in front; poor society is in the back"

The word society in this context expresses metonimic meaning, because it refers to certain conditions, such as economy, culture, education, welfare, or people. A modern society is called *masyarakat maju* atau *terdepan*. They are generally well established, educated, civilized, prosperous, and have high social status. On the other hand,   people in poor condition are classified as *masyarakat terbelakang*. Here are examples of expressions that are metaphorical.

(1) Kesimpulannya, **Indonesia** miskin dan tetap **terbelakang** karena masyarakatnya berperilaku kurang tepat, kurang baik,

(2) Pada umumnya **masyarakat** di daerah **tertinggal** mempunyai tingkat pendidikan, pengetahuan, dan keterampilan yang relatif rendah serta kelembagaan adat yang ...

(3) Menjadikan **masyarakat maju** dan berperadaban mustahil tercipta sebelum masyarakat yang ada di dalamnya sadar akan harapan tersebut.

Example (1) through (3) shows that the condition of society is perceived as movable objects in a horizontal line that extends and has a two-barrier, the front and back boundary. People see the bad condition of society is at the back. This condition is described in example (1) and (2). The word *terbelakang* and *tertinggal* in the examples refer to the position of a society which is located at the back boundary. Meanwhile, the developed communities in this metaphor lies in the front region. The people with the good condition is called *msyarakat maju*. Placing a society on front or back position is not symmetric. There is a metaphorical expression 'masyarakat kurang maju', but there is no 'masyarakat kurang terbelakang'. The "front" category is used in a graded scale, while the "back" category is not.

3.2 "Mental retardation is back"

The metaphorical concept of "front-back" is also used for referring the mental condition by Indonesian speakers. However, it is only the bad condition that is expressed metaphorically. In everyday communication, we often hear an expression such as:

(4) Banyak *anak terbelakang mental* di Cilongok yang putus sekolah**.**

The phrase *anak terbelakang mental* is used to describe the mental condition of children which can not develop   like normal human beings. Under normal condition, mental develops along with the increasing age. Mental development is characterized by the maturity of behavior and the ability of reasoning. Indonesian people percieve the phenomenon of mental development as a gradual movement. They decsribe the movement metaphorically. The example (4) describes that the mental development can not move foward to achieve the normal condition. The metaphorical expression for this mental condition only exposes the poor condition, because we did not find an expression such as *mental terdepan* to describe the condition in which mental develop too far. This means that speakers of Indonesian map the mental of human being into two conditions, namely normal and abnormal. The expected condition is normal condition, so under the normal condition people do not need a special expression (Unmarked). Conversely, an abnormal condition is a condition that is not expected. It will appear more prominent (foregrounded / marked) so that the speakers of Indonesian create a specific term to express it. Thus, the concept of metaphorical "back-forward" is also used asymmetrically to reveal the mental condition.

3.3 "Front is important; back is not important"

The concept of "position" in this   explanation includes the position of individu in a society and the position of certain objects. Referring to the former, Indonesian speakers map the position of a person into two areas, namely the important and less/unimportant position. Someone who has an important position in a community, such as family, organization, or government categorized as 'orang depan', whereas those who occupy the position of complement, enhancement, and assistance are considered as 'orang belakang'. The way people categorize the position can be identified through metaphorical expressions in their communication. The following utternaces are examples of metaphorical expressions that illustrate "front is important; back is less / not important".

(5) *Suami* harus *di depan* memimpin rumah tangga

(6) Karena itu, dalam Islam isteri tidak bisa hanya sekadar disebut sebagai **orang belakang** atau swargo nunut neroko katut ;

The expression *Suami di depan* is metaphorical. It represents the important position of a husband in a family. The additional explanation '*memimpin rumah tangga*' reinforces the first proposition. On the other hand, the expression *istri sebagai orang belakang* explains the ideological value that the position

of wife is less important. For almost all traditional society of Indonesia, the role of wives in a family is pheriferal. Their primary role is to help their husbands to lead their family through cooking, accompanying and taking care of their children, tidying the house, etc. All of them are not considered as important jobs. It is not necessary to forground the role, because the important role in a family is earning money to fulfill the daily life. The important role is generally fulfilled by the husbands. This condition causes the traditional Indonesian society assume that it is the husband who is the head of family, not the wife. The ideological value can be found through the metaphorical expressions such as in the example (5) and (6).

Beside the family domain, other social domain, such as an intertainment domain also uses the metaphorical concept of " front is important / prominent; back/behind is less important / salient". In everyday life we often hear expressions such as:

(7) Dia adalah *tokoh terkemuka* di negri ini.

The metaphorical expression of *tokoh terkemuka* 'leading figure' reveals the meaning of 'people who have important positions. In filmmaking, film workers are categorized into two, namely the actors and those who work as director, script writer, producer, and assistances. The first group worked in '(front) screen'. They became the center of public attention. Meanwhile, the second group of people are called people who are behind the screen. The audience can see directly what is done by the second group. In a performance domain, people in the second group is called *orang di belakang panggung* 'the people behind the stage". Consider the following examples.

(8) ... saya menulis kalo saya ini tipe *orang belakang layar banget.*
(9) Musisi Beby Romeo lama tak terlihat tampil di panggung. Rupanya ia lebih menikmati *di belakang panggung* sebagai produser musik.

The expression *orang belakang layar* in the exsample (8) implies a role that should not be publicly identified and not have to be the center of attention. This means that the people behind the scenes do not need to stand out. In contrast, a person in front of the screen is a person who is always the center of attention. In example (9), a person who is referred by the expression *di belakang panggung* 'on the backstage' that is, not a singer. In this context the word behind the scenes or behind the stage has a meaning not prominent.

Individual positions in the back area are also fulfilled by maids, drivers, and gardeners in a family. They are generally called *orang belakang*. Because of the metaphorical concept, members of a family treat them as a marginal member. They usually sleep, eat, and rest in the back part of a house. The metaphorical concept "front is important; back is unimportant" is also used to refer to inanimate objects, such as being expressed in "Kalah menang *urusan belakang*, yang penting gaya dulu**!!"** or to use as euphemism, like in "Perut saya sakit. Saya mau *ke belakang* sebentar"

3.4 "Good achievement is in front; Poor achievement is in back"

Career and achievements of a person or institution are also mapped metaphorically as objects that move forward and backward. Someone who reaches the best position is categorized as ' di posisi depan'. On the other hand, the poor achuevement is categorized as 'di posisi belakang'. Some implementation of the concept in metaphorical expressions can be identified through the following examples.

(10) Welcome to the Facebook Community Page about Sukses Menjadi *Orang Terdepan.*
(11) Mandiri - Terdepan, Terpercaya, Tumbuh bersama Anda
(12) Tak hanya 1, namun sekaligus 3 pembalap di belakangnya langsung ... Armand dan Jennifer Supit ini belum pernah terlempar di urutan belakang. ...
(13) Dalam hal ini Indonesia juga berada *di urutan belakang*.
(14) *Maju terus pantang mundur*
(15) *Menatap ke depan* menengok ke belakang
(16) *Menyongsong masa depan*
(17) Jangan *menengok ke belakang*
(18) Kesuksesan sudah *di depan mata*
(19) Kondisinya mengalami *kemunduruan*

The numbers of metaphorical expressions that indicate "good achievement is in front; poor achievement is in back" affect speakers of Indonesian in percieveing the world.

3.5 "Honesty is in front, deception is in back"

In everyday life, people are often confronted with a choice: do honest or cheating. Generally, there is no doctrine stating that being honest is bad and doing deception is good. People of Indonesia also share

the ideological value that human being must act honestly. This doctrine   is reflected through the metaphorical expressions   that   express 'honesty is in front, deception is in back'.   Doing   something honestly is honorable.

> (20) Gerakan syiah jarang mengaku *terus terang di depan layar*,
>
> (21) Mantan Wakil Presiden HM Jusuf Kalla meminta kalangan politisi di seluruh Indonesia lebih *mengedepankan kejujuran* dalam berpolitik praktis.

In the above examples, honesty is perceived as an object that can be moved. Since honesty is a virtue, the common movement is forward. In Indonesian, the phrase *terus terang* 'plainly' collocates with phrases related to the concept of front, as in the above examples. The metaphor *mengedepankan kejujuran* has a counterpart   which   conceptually means   *menyembunyikan kecurangan*   'conceal deception', such as being found in the following examples.

> (22) Terhadap teman sendiri ia tega *menusuk dari belakang*.
>
> (23) Tak jarang Adit, sapaan akrabnya, ditawari oleh peserta untuk *"main belakang"*.
>
> (24) Keket,[...], diduga menyelesaikan kasus perseteruannya [...] melalui jalur *'pintu belakang'*

The literal meaning of the proposition in (22) is as follows. Act of piercing or stabbing someone is an act of harming others. The acts are done from the back side, so the victims are not aware that they are in danger. The condition make the agent can do the acts easily. The expression, then, became idiomatic and produced   metaphorical meaning that doing something from behind means decepting. Therefero, the phrase in (22) is also used to express the view that cheating is located in back. *Bermain belakang* in (23) can mean betrayal, cheating, or bribe. All of which lead to the attitude of cheating. Elements of meaning contained in the word curang is doing something   behind the object. The next example, namely *lewat pintu belakang* 'through the back door' (24)   reinforces the view that "back is bad". The metaphorical meaning of *pintu belakang* is the door that is not known by many people, so if someone wants to do something dishonest, other people will not know. The metaphorical concept "honesty is front; deception is back" in the Indonesian, according to my opinion, is not interchangeable. The metaphorical expressions such as menikan dari depan 'stabbing from the front' and main pintu depan is socially unacceptable. Similarly, the clause   *"untuk **menyembunyikan kebohongannya** dia menyaru sebagai orang dermawan"* is more acceptable than *"untuk **menyembunyikan kejujurannya** dia menyaru sebagai orang penipu"*.

4.Conclusion

Metaphorical expressions in the Indonesian reflect how the people of Indonesia map and categorize experiences. From the analysis above, it appears that Indonesian speakers map the concept of value "front is good; back is bad'. Through the way of mapping, the resulted metaphorical expressions, then, function to control the speakers behaviour. They have the ideological value that something that is on the back tends to be negative, while somethingn which is in front is positive. The actualization of the metaphorical concept of "front is good; back is bad" can also be identified from nonverbal behavior in everyday life. In an official ceremony, for example, those that are considered important persons are placed in the front row. In the house, the front is always better organized than the back. Maids, drivers, and babysitters, forexample, do not have a right the same as other members of a family, just because they are 'orang belakang'.

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