

## The conceptualization of political metaphors on Medan-Indonesia mass media

### Konseptualisasi metafora politik pada media massa di Medan-Indonesia

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#### KEYWORDS

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political meta-  
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mapping;  
domain

#### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study seeks to analyze the conceptualization of political metaphors contained in political discourse in mass media in Medan-Indonesia. The problem analyzed is how to conceptualize political metaphors in national mass media (waspada.go.id, medan.tribunnews.com, sumut.antaranews.com, and hariansib.com). The main theory used to discuss this research problem uses the conceptual metaphorical theory/CMT of Lakoff, Johnson, and Kövecses. This research uses qualitative descriptive methods, with methods using basic referential techniques. The total data is 15, sorted according to CMT theory. The results of the study found that the conceptualization of political metaphors in the mass media in Indonesia is divided into 4 mapping domains, namely: war domain mapping, religious, mystical/occult, and animal. The conceptualization of political metaphors in the mass media explains the manifestation of political reality in society. Politics is conceptualized into warfare, the religious reality of society, the unseen and the reality of the bad picture of politicians.

#### KATA KUNCI

konseptualisasi;  
metafora politik;  
media massa;  
pemetaan;  
ranah;

#### ABSTRAK

Tujuan penelitian ini berupaya menganalisis konseptualisasi metafora politik yang terdapat pada wacana politik di media massa di kota Medan-Indonesia. Permasalahan yang dianalisis adalah bagaimana konseptualisasi metafora politik di media massa kota Medan (waspada.go.id, medan.tribunnews.com, sumut.antaranews.com, and hariansib.com). Teori utama yang digunakan untuk membahas permasalahan penelitian ini menggunakan teori metafora konseptual/CMT Lakoff, Johnson, dan Kövecses. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif, dengan metode padan teknik dasar referensial. Jumlah data ada 15, dipilah berdasarkan teori CMT. Diperoleh hasil penelitian bahwa konseptualisasi metafora politik di media massa di Indonesia terbagi kedalam 4 ranah pemetaan, yaitu: pemetaan ranah perang, pemetaan ranah agama, pemetaan ranah mistis/ gaib, dan pemetaan ranah binatang. Konseptualisasi metafora politik di media massa menerangkan wujud dari realitas politik di masyarakat. Politik dikonsepsikan kedalam peperangan, realitas beragama masyarakat, sesuatu yang gaib dan realitas gambaran buruk sifat para politisi.

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## Introduction

The reality of media language that conveys political messages in mass media has a very diverse variation, and tends to involve other concepts beyond political meaning. This reality occurs so that political language in the mass media looks more polite and wise. But for some circles in society, this is a problem because the basic meaning conveyed is not in accordance with the meaning that has been understood by the community. On the other hand, the language of the media in the realm of political metaphors has changed the people's mindset of understanding political messages and the direction of political choices, not even a few people who are antipathic to politics.

Ardiansyah & Saifullah (2018); Beyribey (2020); Gandolfo (2019); Haula & Nur (2019); Heyvaert et al. (2020); Malah & Taiwo (2020); Mat Saad et al. (2018); Nirmala, (2012); Stojan & Novak Mijic (2019); Surip et al. (2021); and Surip & Mulyadi (2019) are the authors of the latest article that uses conceptual metaphor analysis in analyzing various studies of media language and social language. Furthermore, Budiman (2017); Ritonga (2014); and Tobing et al. (2016) are dissertation authors who use conceptual metaphor theory with language objects in mass media and society. The above-published scientific work partly uses the conceptual metaphor theory of Lakoff and Johnson, with Kövecses as his analytical knife. The difference between this study and some of the studies above lies in the focus on the study of metaphor-type political language associated with several concepts of new reality in society, resulting in new domain variants.

Conceptual metaphor theory, or CMT, was first coined by Lakoff and Johnson in their book *Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language* (1980). Lakoff and Johnson believes that metaphors do not just attempt to express the phenomena of a language, but rather used by humans in their cognition to construct conceptual structures by transferring one language to another, or understanding abstract concepts in the target domain through the domain of concrete sources. This CMT explores meaning through relationships between objects and gives birth to an understanding of certain objects through an understanding of other objects. In other words, the source domain is used by humans to understand abstract concepts in the target domain.

Lakoff (1993) in their research on cognitive linguistics have always used the terms source domain and target domain, as well as invariance, mapping, duality, and symmetry. Conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) attempts to explain the same language data and brings together metaphorical analysis with analysis of other languages and conceptual symptoms. The basis of this theory assumes that metaphors work between two domains. In these two domains, occurs systematically the airing of language, comparison, and inference structure from the domain of the source to the domain of the target.

The research focused on analyzing metaphorical data based on CMT theory from Lakoff, Johnson, and Kövecses. Researchers are interested in analyzing the use of metaphors in political activities in Indonesia whose data is taken from news in the national mass media, namely *antaranews.com*, *kompas.com*, *republika.com*, and *detik.com*. Through CMT theory, the analysis of political metaphor data in the national mass media will give birth to a new domain in the concept of metaphor based on the distribution of the data obtained.

The metaphorical concept on which data analysis is based is the CMT of Lakoff & Johnsen (2003), which reveals that metaphors reflect what we experience, feel, and think in everyday life through the domain of source and the target domain. Charteris-Black (2009) and Ungerer and Schmid (2006) also assert metaphors act as cognitive tools. John I (2009) corroborates that language is a mental area and language skills are supported by a special form of knowledge. Metaphors are not just a tool for expressing ideas through language, but they are also a tool for thinking about things. According to Ungerer and Schmid (2006) and Lakoff and Johnsen (2003), we do not only use the metaphor "Time is Money" linguistically, but we think about it or conceptualize it, so that time can be likened to a target and money as a source, which is thought of as a valuable commodity and a finite source.

CMT seeks to understand and explain relatively abstract concepts based on the human physical and sensory experience of the world. The types of conceptual metaphors that have been studied are mostly some of the places called the main metaphors, Ortony (1993) and Taylor (2002). CMT is a cognitive mechanism in which a person can view or connect one type of object to another. CMT is understood as a cognitive process of expressing a concept with another concept which corresponds with a previous concept, to understand or compose a more abstract concept. Metaphors are processed in the human mind through the reasoning of abstract concepts to structure vague or ambiguous ideas based on more concrete experiences (Tobing et al., 2016).

In the CMT view, metaphor is defined as the understanding of one conceptual domain in the conceptual domain of another. This example includes such a thing as a person who speaks and thinks that arguing is like a war, (MacArthur, 2011). The metaphorical concept of "Argument is War" was introduced by Lakoff and Johnson in their book *Metaphors We Live By*. The concept of "war" inside arguments, Lakoff & Johnsen (2003), explain the metaphorical process of human thought. In such concepts, metaphors allow humans to understand something relatively abstract or unstructured, in which case "argument" or "opinion" to be more concrete, in this case, "battle" or "war". CMT seeks to understand and explain abstract concepts based on our physical and sensory experiences of the world. CMT is a cognitive mechanism used by a person when viewing or connecting one type of object to another.

Metaphor is the use of other words or expressions for objects or other concepts based on equations, such as the foot of a mountain and the foot of a table analogous to a human foot. Lakoff & Johnsen (2003) explain that the essence of metaphor is to understand and experience something else. Aminuddin (1990), also said that metaphor is an expression of language whose meaning cannot be reached directly from the meaning used. The definition of metaphor is understanding something that is intended for something else.

In the CMT concept, there is a conceptual metaphor component as an important part of analyzing metaphorical data. According to Lakoff & Johnsen (2003), metaphors have two components: targets and sources. The concept of the target is usually more abstract, and the source is more concrete. To be able to understand the intent contained in the metaphor, one must find the similarity of characteristics possessed by the target and the source. By comparing the characteristics of the two, the basis of a metaphor will be found. CMT indicates a process that exists within the domain to describe an entity

based on feelings, experiences, and thoughts about the reality that actually exists or is imagined to exist. This correspondence process uses other entities that are more concrete or can be visualized by the body.

According to Kövecses (2002), metaphors have several components, source domain, target domain, and metaphor basis. These three components are the basic components of conceptual metaphors. The domain of sources that have more concrete characteristics becomes the basis for explaining more abstract targets. For example, in the metaphor “Life is a journey”, it can be understood how abstract life is described, so it is easier to understand because it is compared to a journey. People can understand what is meant by life that is targeted based on the similarity of characteristics possessed by travel (journey) as a source.

The similarity of the characteristics that exist in the two components becomes the basis of the metaphor. On the way, there are goals, obstacles, and distances traveled. In life, there are difficulties, progress, purpose, challenges, and so on. The experiences that the body feels can motivate the relationship between the source and the target. To explain this, Kövecses gave the example of “Affection is Warmth”, which shows the relationship of affection with warmth. What the body feels when getting a hug as a form of affection, for example, the body feels warm, comfortable, and calm. What he felt of his memory, then the right word to describe affection. In addition, similarities between sources and targets can also indicate a relationship between the source and the target.

## **Method**

This research uses qualitative descriptive methods as a process of careful analysis of problems by describing messages on election political discourse based on facts that appear and as they are (Kara, 2017). Qualitative approach, according to Bogdan, R., & Biklen (1992), is able to capture a variety of qualitative information with a careful description and full of nuances that are more valuable than just a statement of number or frequency in the form of numbers. According to Sudaryanto, descriptive analysis seeks to describe a phenomenon that occurs today by using scientific procedures to answer the actual problem (Sudaryanto, 1993). This research seeks to capture and describe, or qualitatively explain the picture of a discourse.

There are three stages carried out in this study, which is data gathering, data analysis, and presenting the analysis results. This descriptive research seeks to provide a description and explanation of the conceptualization of metaphors in electoral political discourse in the national mass media. Data collection is carried out through the listening method, which is listening to the use of language in political discourse in the mass media. In Sudaryanto's opinion, the listening method can be done for the use of language in various texts, (1993: 133). In addition, data recording technique was also used. This technique was used to record, categorize, and classify the data obtained (Mahsun, 2017). Data analysis techniques use the technique of sorting the determining elements (PUP), and advanced techniques use the technique of connecting appeals (HBS) (Sudaryanto, 1993).

## Results

Humans used metaphors to describe certain concepts. The concepts of war, religion, supernatural entities, and animals inspire humans to create metaphorical narratives in political contexts. Humans use metaphors in communicating, motivated by what is thought and felt. In Lakoff & Johnsen's (2003) opinion, metaphors reflect what we experience, feel, and think in everyday life. The use of metaphors in political discourse is strategic and can be used as a tool for persuasion and propaganda. The role of metaphor in political discourse is crucial as it helps to identify the hidden meanings of the various subsystems functioning within these systems.

Some terms already exist and are commonly used, but contextually, they are different because they are attached to political concepts. Based on 15 tabulated data, 4 domains can be identified in conceptual metaphor mapping. These domains include 1) war metaphors, 2) religious metaphors, 3) supernatural metaphors, and 4) animal metaphors. Mapping the four domains of conceptual metaphors is based on the process of understanding abstract forms associated with something concrete. The process of thinking about expressing a concept with another concept corresponds with another concept to understand a more abstract concept. It is also expressed by Lakoff & Johnsen (2003) that conceptual metaphor is the process of understanding abstract forms through their relationship to concrete forms.

The determination of the domain is based on how the process of dominant relations arises from the metaphor. Conceptual metaphors provide space to connect the object of language with the concept that humans have always understood. In other words, any metaphorical statement inevitably borrows another concept from human experience. Political statements in politics are not only constructed on the basis of political concepts alone, but are also the result of relations with or loans from other concepts in an effort to reconcile meaning.

### *War metaphors*

Politics can be categorized as a place of war between parties and supporters. The situation will heat up if it involves government figures and actors. The heat of the situation is also supported by the emergence of metaphors that associate political entities with concepts in warfare. The metaphorical expression of the domain of war became the most dominant data finding. This is an indicator that the political contest held at that time was loaded with intrigues which indicated the tight competition between the two candidates. Here, the data that can be collected is as follows:

- (1) Sudah saatnya tak hanya *perang udara*, tapi *perang darat*, dengan kata lain, jangan ada sejengkal tanahpun yang lepas dari kerja relawan," kata Kiai Ma'ruf (Waspada)  
(*Not only dogfights, this calls for an army, in other words, no single piece of land escaped from volunteer work," said Kiai Ma'ruf*), (Waspada)
- (2) Kami tidak ingin ada kandidat *diserang* atau dipermalukan karena persoalan-persoalan atau pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang sangat-sangat teknis dan tidak substansial, tegas Arief (Tribun.Medan)  
(*We do not want any candidate to be attacked or humiliated because of very technical and insubstantial questions, said Arief*) (Tribun.Medan)

- (3) Ini kan analogi ya, *pertempuran politik* atau kompetensi politik, kan biasa-biasa saja (sumut.antaranews)  
(*This is an analogy, political battles or political competence is common*), (sumut.antaranews)

#### *Metaphors of the religious domain.*

During the election, religious nuances, especially Islam, are extremely prevalent, and many issues that arouse the religious spirit of Muslims appear in the run-up to the election. The case of Ahok become an alleged blasphemer is a starting point for the rise of the spirit of Muslims in politics (Susanto et al., 2023). In their political narrative, the candidates and volunteers were also using political metaphors in the religious domain in the campaign. Metaphors from the domain of religion are quite dominant in the news of elections in the mass media. Although the intensity is high, the variations created actually tend to be repeated in the use of diction in metaphorical expressions. Jihad diction is one of the most prominent. Here's the data that can be displayed.

- (4) Anggap saja nanti 17 April nanti adalah *lebaran kemerdekaan* kita," kata Prabowo (hariansib)  
(*Let's just say that april 17 will be our eid of independence," said Prabowo*) (hariansib)
- (5) Mengapa kami berkumpul, karena kami ingin *berjihad memenangkan Pak Jokowi-Kiai Ma`ruf* untuk menjaga marwah Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah," kata pendiri Santri Milenial, Ahmad Athoillah (sumut.antaranews)  
(*Why do we gather, because we shall jihad for the victory of Jokowi-Kiai Ma`ruf to keep the ahlusunnah wal Jamaah marwah," said the founder of Santri Millennial, Ahmad Athoillah*), (sumut.antaranews)
- (6) Publik pemilih mendapat suguhan wacana tentang dikotomi *parpol setan dan parpol Tuhan* (waspada)  
(*Public voters get a discourse about the dichotomy of the satanic political party and the party of God*) (waspada)
- (7) Sandiaga Uno, mengajak semua masyarakat untuk melakukan *jihad ekonomi* guna membawa bangsa ini maju (sumut.antaranews)  
(*Sandiaga Uno engage the society to carry out economical jihad to take the nation forward*) (sumut.antaranews)

#### *Supranatural metaphors*

Supranatural metaphors are one form of metaphor that typically develops in politics. There are a number of supranatural metaphors in the political scene of Indonesia. The use of mystical/occult diction is aimed at the assumption that there will be various frauds in the election, including fraudulent votes, foreigners voting, and ghost voters (deceased people who still accounts for a legal vote). Here are some of the data found.

- (8) Ada yang bertanya begitu, saya bilang saya dan *kami akan terima dukungan dari mana pun kecuali iblis/setan*, yang lain kami terima, Prabowo terima bahkan anak dan cucu PKI, pun cicit PKI kami akan terima dukungannya (hariansib)  
(*Some ask so, I said we will receive support from anywhere but demons, we receive other support, Prabowo accepts even PKI's children and grandchildren, even we will receive support from PKI's great-grandchildren*) (hariansib))

- (9) Calon presiden petahana Joko Widodo (Jokowi) kembali mengenalkan *tiga kartu saktinya* di depan massa pendukung di Kota Tangerang (tribun.medan)  
(Incumbent presidential candidate Joko Widodo (Jokowi) again introduced his three magic cards in front of a crowd of supporters in Tangerang City (tribun.medan))
- (10) Ada yang nuduhnya Pak Prabowo hadirkan *politik genderuwo*, pesimisme, menakuti rakyat (sumut.antaranews)  
(There is accusation that Mr. Prabowo practicing genderuwo politics, pessimism, scaring the people (sumut.amtaranews))
- (11) Mahfud MD menyebut pembuat hoaks yang belakangan marak beredar melalui *media sosial adalah setan, atau anaknya iblis* (sumut.antaranews)  
(Mahfud MD called the hoax maker who later circulated through social media is a demon, or son of a demon)

### *Animal metaphors*

Animals became one of the inspirations for the narrative of human language (Muhammad et al., 2022). Almost all spheres of life intersect with animals as a linguistic orientation. Many parables and metaphors are associated with the animal world. Animals become the source of the story and also become a source of cursing in human language. In certain cultures, animals are symbols of greatness, they are flattered, and should not be hurt. In a political context, animals also often synergize their correspondence with political concepts. As in the data below:

- (12) Kiai Ma'ruf mendorong tim pemenangan Jokowi-Ma'ruf, khususnya *relawan sayap* agar lebih diefektifkan lagi dalam bekerja (waspada)  
(Kiai Ma'ruf encouraged the Jokowi-Ma'ruf winning team, especially wing volunteers to be more effective at work)
- (13) Istilah *kecebong dan kampret* menjadi *wajah buruk polarisasi* yang selama ini sudah menggurita di ranah akar rumput (waspada)  
(The terms tadpoles and kampret have become the ugly face of polarization that has been brewing in the grassroots realm)
- (14) Banyak pakar menyayangkan munculnya *politik kecebong dan kampret* dan kurang beretika tersebut (tribun.medan)  
(Many experts lament the emergence of tadpole and kampret and less ethical politic)
- (15) Kita bisa melakukan *lompatan katak*, melompati negara lain, inilah kesempatan kita," kata Jokowi (hariansib)  
(We can do frog jumps, jump over other countries, this is our chance," Jokowi said)

## **Discussion**

### *War metaphors*

Conceptually, the domain of war intersects with military activity, so some metaphors can also be classified as military activity. Some metaphors are commonly used, although not in politics. However, the context built is a political context that is attached to the dynamics of the election. The metaphorical data above is based on looking at the similar correspondence between the political realities of elections and war and military activities.

In line with the analysis of the research data above, several studies reveal the concept of metaphor in political language, including research by Budiman (2017) and

Ritonga (2014), Surip et al. (2021), and Malah and Taiwo (2020). These four studies have analyzed political metaphor data in various variants. The trend of their research data is related to war, fighting, and attacking to achieve victory. The difference between the research that has been done by the researchers and the research that the author has done is in the domain of new diction in the concept of war, which is identical to political dynamics and the current political situation. So, this analysis can reveal a new diction in the concept of war that describes political competition in the Indonesian city of Medan. Figure below illustrates metaphors of war in politics.

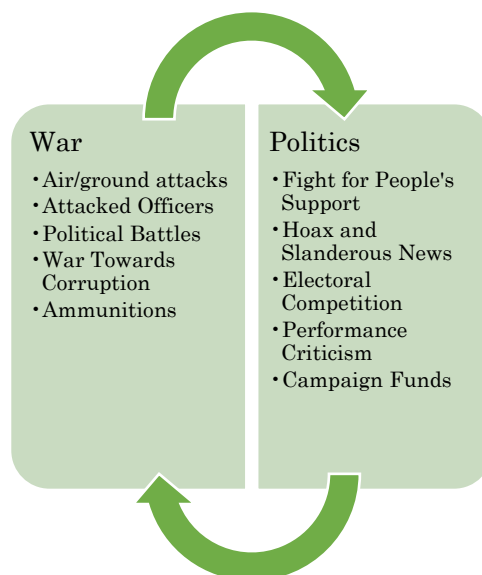


Figure 1. War metaphors

Metaphorical scheme described above is a power based on restraint and militaristic views that portrays the tight and fierce situation in electoral political situations for the purpose of gaining the support of the people. Air or ground attacks are the metaphor of conflicts of ideas and hoax because they have similar characteristics. Clearly, the attacks did not actually happen in real life, but more likely to happen online. Disagreements of opinions and ideas through social media and online news networks frequently occur in the world of politics. Electoral campaign strategies carried out by the candidates and their teams are similar to that of military strategies. Therefore, multiple similarities can be pointed out between these two concepts.

One of the examples is the metaphor of guerilla warfare. The main battleground in politics are the voters and the winner is the one that seizes control. Guerilla warfare is about eliminating opponents while avoiding confrontations by using ambushes and sabotages. Connecting the strings between political volunteer movements and guerilla warfare is intended to build the continuity of the volunteers' support towards their cause in gaining public sympathy (Siregar, 2014). Similarly, ammunition are metaphors of political messages, narratives, or even logistics and resources. Built images based on war references not only shows the fierce and competitive world of politics, but also the immense political influence of military figures and veterans involved within.

Metaphors of war expressed by politicians, sympathizers, and journalists are conveyed in various campaign activities and debates to gain the attention of the public.

The metaphorical expression of war appears as a reflection of fierce competition between the presidential candidates in fighting for votes. In addition, metaphorical speech of war also exists at the time of mutual criticism and dropping the popularity of candidates through criticism of performance, self-character, and hoax news. The metaphor of war became an option for politicians and journalists in conveying the message to the public that the electoral process is a brutal war and needs strength to achieve victory. These strengths are in the form of presidential candidates, their campaign teams, volunteers, and campaign funds.

### *Religious metaphors*

A sacred political party is a political party that upholds values of kindness. Furthermore, the commitment towards economy development is associated with attitude, commitment, and stances in practical politics. The metaphorical data above corresponds politics and religion. Eid al-Fitr is a feast day or the victory of Muslims and the concept is associated with the victory in winning the election. Based on a political perspective, Eid Independence contains a message of freedom of people to choose their next leader. In the same context, political and economic jihad also become symbols to describe power, namely war of politics or economics.

Meanwhile, the political party of the devil metaphor is a negatively nuanced metaphor based on the perspective of religion. The devil is a creature who would not devote themselves to God. In this case, the political party of the devil are the people that seeks political power through atrocious and “sinful” means. Figure below illustrates the metaphors of religion:



Figure 2. Religious metaphors

Religious metaphors are an attempt to gain the support of religious groups. Particularly, the metaphor of “Eid Independence” has a strong political motive. Eid is a Muslim holiday. Associating the day of voting with Eid Independence is an attempt to see the correspondence between the concept of elections with the day of victory for certain presidential candidates. In addition to providing a narrative of freedom to the public, the metaphor also evokes a self-image to get closer to Muslims.

The term that frequently used in political speeches are “jihad”. Jihad (lit. striving) is a term that refers to a struggle towards God’s guidance. Jihad is carried out to carry out the main mission of mankind, which is upholding the religion of Allah in various ways according to Islam, while jihad in Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa (2016), has the meaning of all of the efforts to achieve good omen, or earnest efforts to defend the religion of Islam at the expense of property, soul, and body. Therefore, if the election is metaphorized like a war, then jihad in the election is an attempt to participate in victory for the benefit of the nation and state, which is the nation’s development and the people’s prosperity.

In the context of elections, jihad is a "war" to successfully delivering presidential candidates into power. The terms “political jihad”, and “economic jihad” became popular to neutralize the stigma of jihad being an act of terrorism. In addition to showing the Islamic identity of a particular candidate, the term jihad also illustrates how competitive and fierce the political situation really is. These metaphors are deliberately composed in order to gain sympathy from Muslims, making the political narrative filled with religious references and terminology such as waqf, jihad, sincerity (*ikhlas*), and many more. The image built is purely symbolic, inherently political, and not purely religious (Pamporis & Micheli, 2022).

Religious metaphors tend to appear in elections as a form of religious reality. The metaphor of the domain of religion is also an expression that aims to bring the presidential candidates, campaign teams, and supporters closer to religion. This includes various religious things as an effort to convince voters to make their choice. Religious metaphors take religious things as an effort to strengthen confidence in making their choices, such as Eid independence, representing the rest of life, sincerity, and political prayers. All in all, these metaphors appear as an expression of taking the hearts of voters, convincing and strengthening the commitment to making choices when during election.

#### *Supranatural metaphors*

Supranatural entities cannot be separated from the Indonesian language because it is widely believed by the locals. Mysticism that is derived from culture becomes an interesting topic in the society, even in the political sphere. The combination of political concepts with supernatural and mystical things presents a unique and interesting metaphorical narrative. Supranatural metaphors based on research data is based on circumstances, while the image it builds is an action in political reality that constructs local Indonesian culture through the specific lexicalization of local culture. Indonesian people believe supranatural entities such as *Tuyul*, ghosts, demons, and *Genderuwo* do exist in their lives. The existence of these beings is based on collective experience; some have seen it, some never do. In this case, in this case, Indonesian people acquires supranatural beings not as in the entities itself, but through the beliefs that they have embraced and attached. Figure below illustrates supranatural metaphors:

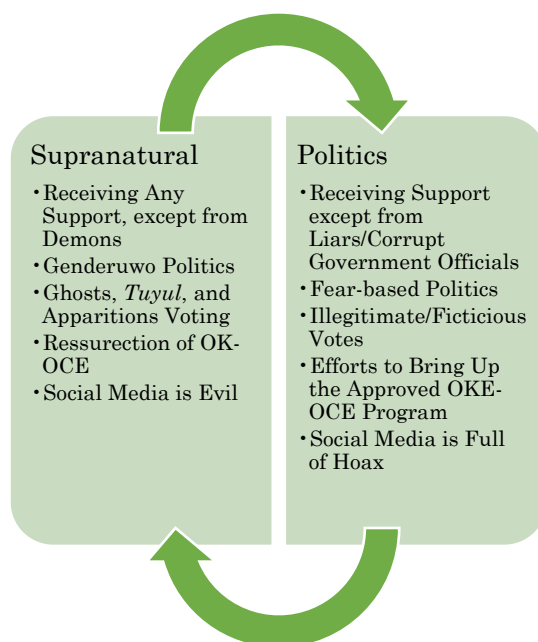


Figure 3. Supranatural metaphors

*Genderuwo* is one of the typical Javanese supernatural beings who are described as large in stature and have a tendency to scare people. Therefore, *Genderuwo's* political metaphor is attached to one of the candidates who is considered to sow fear and pessimism. If a candidate plays a fear-based politics, that they are associated with employing *Genderuwo* politics. Based on the data above, *Genderuwo* is deliberately attached to the figure of Prabowo who also has a large stature and considered having tendencies to scare people by his political narratives. The metaphor presents an action scheme that views that between *Genderuwo* and Prabowo have the same pattern of action.

Supranatural metaphors are used in expressing something supranatural as an attempt to convince voter commitment and confuse people's minds through scaremongering. Supranatural metaphors in political narratives uses unique ways by communicating Indonesian culture. The metaphor aimed at convincing voters' commitment is to receive any support unless from the devil, ghost, *Tuyul*, and the dead vote, as well as from devil cards. This speech leads to sympathizers being more vigilant and careful of various movements that can hinder the progress of the campaign. Various scaremongering narratives such as *Genderuwo* politics, the resurrection of OK-OCE, and the evil of social media is aimed to disrupt the stability and induce fear towards the voters.

#### *Animal metaphors*

Politicians are actually wary of further fueling the feud in order to get a positive image of the people. While the people become divided, the politicians have strengthened their positions towards better electability.

The concept of the animal metaphors is correlating certain animals or its associated traits with political activities and the characteristics of politicians. For example, the group of wolves is not interpreted as a group of scary wolves but is intended for a successful team or winning team that has the nature of a greedy and cruel wolf in carrying

out its political intentions to win. The character of the wolf is adopted in electoral political activities that do not heed social and religious norms, and only cares about one goal, which is victory. Figure below shows examples of animal metaphors:

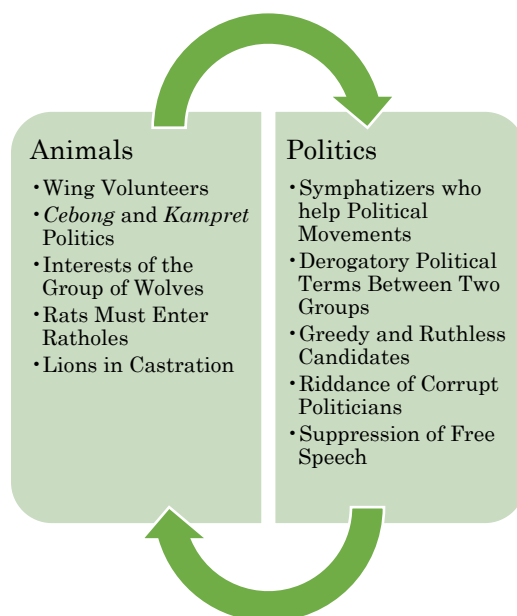


Figure 4. Animal metaphors

Animal metaphors shown above is the identity scheme, while the image it builds is identical to various animal characters, such as jumping frogs, greedy and cruel wolves, pesky rats, and tadpoles and *kampret* that can prey on others. The image built is a ruthless, greedy, cruel politician who is reflected in the political activities carried out by politicians in tricking the people through various ways with the aim of achieving an electoral victory.

For example, the emergence of *cebong* and *kampret* metaphors as an analogy for supporters of each candidate has its own background. Jokowi has a hobby of raising frogs, so his loyal supporters are considered tadpoles. *Kampret* comes from the play on the abbreviation KMP (Red and White Coalition), from KMP to *KaMPret*. The term has emerged since the 2014 election and has survived into politics. The term *kampret* has disappeared since Prabowo chose to join Jokowi's post-political government. None of the traits of the two animals were attached to each candidate's supporters. It is just derogatory terms that are used by two different parties against each other.

Animal metaphors are used to describe the various characters of politicians involved in elections. His metaphorical expression takes on some of the characteristics of animal traits that are corresponded to the character of politicians, such as lions in castration, rats must enter ratholes, the interests of the group of wolves, the politics of *cebong* and *kampret*, and wing volunteers. Animal metaphors based on the data above is used because it is considered more polite, rather than using literal language because the reality of the language constructs the concept of animals. The nature and character of animals are constructed into human nature and character, which is realized in metaphorical speech.

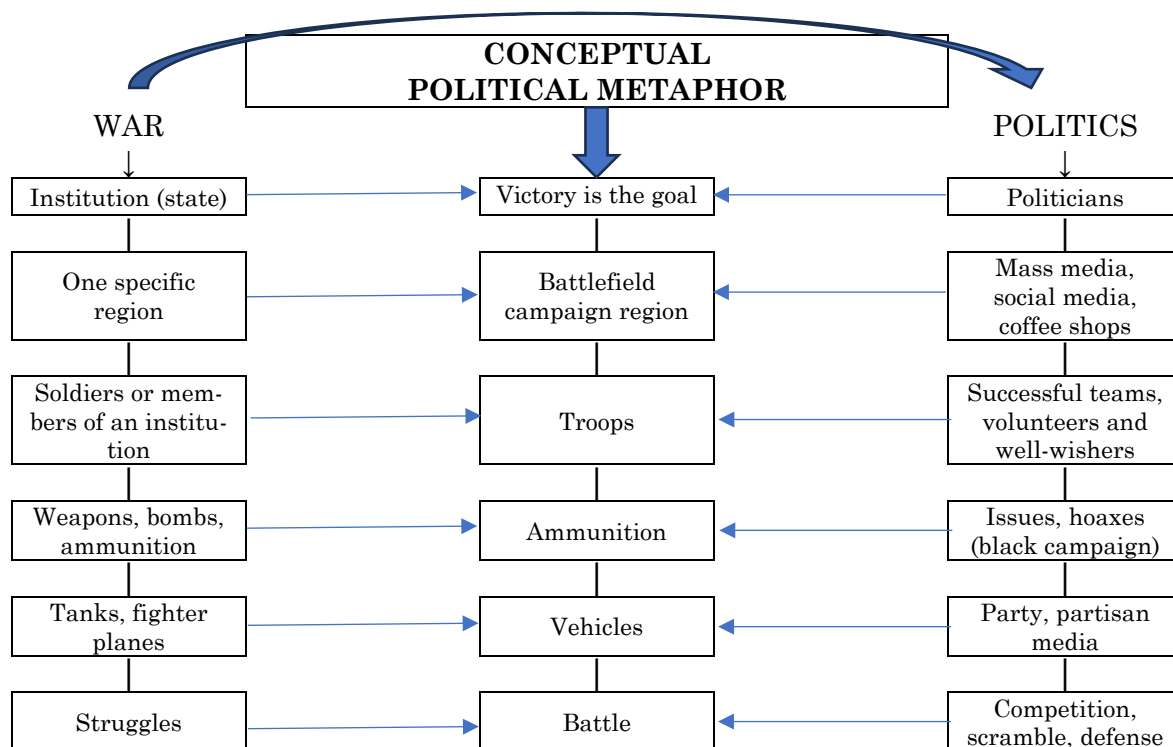
*Conceptual political metaphors in Indonesia*

Figure 5. Conceptual metaphor mapping as a cognitive framework creation of an iconic mental image of war at an election

The political reality pictured in Figure 5 shows the fierce competition of two presidential candidates during electoral campaigns. This can be seen in the data of various metaphorical speeches that reconstructs the reality of war. Both presidential candidates and their teams are making various efforts that they consider most effective, even though they have to reveal something that is not true, even in the form of slander and other inappropriate actions, in order to achieve victory. In elections, the campaign situation has been described as a war, due to the existence of a battleground, i.e., competition, seizing influences, and defense. There are war vehicles, such as parties, and partisan media. There is ammunition which are issues, hoaxes, and there are troops or soldiers who are mobilized to obtain victory, which are campaign teams, supporters, and sympathizers.

The dominance of war metaphors in politics also explains that in elections there are various movements of war activities to gain popular support. Jokowi-Amin TKN (National Campaign Team) and Prabowo-Sandi BPN (National Winning Body) campaign teams have carried out various movements in gaining the sympathy of the people, even though they have to continuously attack each other and defend themselves.

When BPN brings up new innovation in electoral campaigns, such as collecting donations from the people to increase the campaign budget, “sincere politics” arises. Similarly, when TKN retaliates by helping many poor people through regional heads, “kindness politics” arises. This can be seen by other various movements and activities, and two sides in this political war can be seen as a guide that should be followed by other future political parties in order to reach their ultimate goal of victory (Wang, 2022).

## Conclusion

The conceptual metaphor mapping above explains the existence of political reality. Various activities and movements carried out by politicians managed to realize various concepts that surrounds us as humans. This is revealed by the four types of political metaphors, which are war, religious, supranatural, and animal metaphors. The data can also act as a metaphorical concept that real political dynamics have give birth to political culture in Indonesia, as a reflection of the society in politics. It was like a war, where they exchanged ideas, brainstormed strategies, fought hard, and carried out various movements aimed at getting the people's sympathy, even by ridiculing each other, vilifying, and slandering. All of these actions have consequences and further nurture the public's reaction towards electoral campaigns and movements. As a result, people become apathetic, ignorant, and in extreme cases, opted to abstain entirely from the election. All in all, metaphorical utterances in elections have described the political culture in Indonesia.

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