

METAPHOR OF COLORS IN INDONESIAN

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ABSTRAK

Artikel singkat ini berkenaan dengan pemakaian metafora kata-kata warna dalam bahasa Indonesia. Semua data yang disajikan dikumpulkan dari berbagai sumber, seperti Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia ditambah dengan data-data yang diperoleh dari Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, buku peribahasa, ensiklopedia, buku kumpulan istilah, antologi puisi, dan lirik lagu, serta data-data yang dikreasikan oleh peneliti sebagai penutur asli bahasa Indonesia. Dengan terlebih dahulu menyisihkannya dengan pemakaian yang literal, kata-kata warna yang digunakan secara metaforis dikumpulkan dan diklasifikasikan menjadi dua kelompok, yakni warna-warna yang akromatik dan warna-warna yang kromatik. Kemudian, warna-warna itu ditentukan keuniversalan metaforanya dengan membandingkannya dengan metafora warna dalam bahasa Inggris. Akhirnya metafora-metafora warna yang bersifat khas Indonesia dicari penyebab keberadaannya dengan menghubungkannya dengan faktor-faktor luar bahasa, seperti faktor lingkungan, kesejarahan, agama, politik, dan aktivitas sosial dan kebudayaan yang lain. Dari analisis secara saksama terhadap semua data yang terkumpul ditemukan bahwa hampir tidak ada perbedaan yang berarti di dalam penggunaan metafora warna akromatik di dalam bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Inggris. Sementara itu, di samping hal-hal yang universal dalam penggunaan metafora warna kromatik di dalam kedua bahasa, terdapat pula metafora warna yang bersifat khas. Metafora-metafora yang bersifat khas keberadaannya ditentukan oleh berbagai faktor eksternal, seperti lingkungan, pendidikan, sejarah, politik, hukum, agama, kesusastraan dan berbagai faktasosial dan kebudayaan yang lain yang memang khas ada dan terjadi di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: keuniversalan, metafora, nuansa, warna

ABSTRACT

This brief article deals with the use of Indonesian words referring to colors for creating metaphorical expressions. All data presented are collected from various sources, such as *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian Standard Dictionary), and added with data obtained from *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, Indonesian proverb book, encyclopedia, terminology collection book, poetry anthology, song lyrics, and data of the author's own creation as an Indonesian native speaker. Set aside from their literal meanings, the metaphorically used color words are collected and classified into two categories, i.e. achromatic and chromatic colors. Then, their universalities are determined by comparing them with English color metaphors. Finally the existence of specific Indonesian color metaphors are identified by correlating them with extra linguistic factors, such as environment, history, religion, politic and other socio cultural activities. A careful analysis on the data shows that there is nearly no significant difference in metaphorical uses of achromatic colors in English and Indonesian. However, despite universal nuances of chromatic color metaphors, some specific ones emerge due to various external factors, such as environment, education, history, politic,

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law, religion, literature, and other socio cultural facts that are specifically found and practiced in Indonesia.

Keywords: color, metaphor, nuance, universalities

INTRODUCTION

Color scientifically is an evaluation of visual impression of light quality reflected by objects which are basically determined by their spectrum composition. The spectrum is a range of various possible colors that are visible in the light measured by wave lengths. For instance, the wave length of deep red is 400 milimicrons, while blue violet is 700 milimicrons (Osgood, 1953, 137). Hue in a spectrum covers two other dimensions, i.e. *saturation or intensity* and *brightness*. The three color dimensions (hue, intensity, and brightness) are combined to form a coordinate system in cylindrical continuum the so called color solid. From this condition, logically, all people or social groups should have the same color categories because physiologically they have the same impressions towards the nature colors. However, color category is always different from one society to another. In other words, there are no speech communities with the same color perception. This is a proof that human perception is different from impression of the brain, as Wierzbicka (1990, 163) argues below:

“The meaning of a color term in a language cannot be possibly neural response to a color chip, but rather the cognitive understanding the native speaker of the language has of that term: “language reflects what happens in the mind, not what happen in the brain.”

Accordingly, it is not surprising that color categories found in any language are closely related to nonlinguistic factors of the speakers. For this matter, Conklin (1964, 190) states that color naming practice is a part of certain language vocabulary, and its existence can only be explained within its own culture. Any effort to analyze and correspond this system to other cultures will bring no satisfactory result.

His opinion is based on Hjemselv’s thesis, and strengthened by his findings on color category of Hanunóo, in the Philipines. He found that there is no single color category in Hanunóo which is identical in other languages. Color category in Hanunóo is classified in two levels. Level 1 consists of 4 terms, which are:

1. *(ma)biru*: relative darkness; blackness (black)
2. *(ma)lagti?*: relative lightness; whiteness (white)
3. *(ma)rara?*: relative presence of red: redness (red)
4. *(ma)latuy*: relative presence of light green; greenness (green)

These four categories do not divide the three color solid equally. *Mabiru* is the widest, and *malatuy* is the narrowest. This division seems to correspond to the more popular classification below:

1. *(ma)biru*: black which includes black, violet, indigo, blue, dark green, dark grey, and the same kind nuances.
2. *(ma)lagtig?*: white which includes white and other light colors.
3. *(ma)rara?*: red which includes red, maroon, orange, yellow, and the same kind nuances.
4. *(ma)latuy*: green which includes light green, and the mixture of green, yellow, and light brown.

This classification, according to Conklin, correlates to nonlinguistic phenomena of the external environment. There are at least two reasons to support his argument. Firstly, there are a number of oppositions related to *light* and *dark* that can be expressed by *lagti?* and *biru*.

Secondly, there is also opposition between *dry* and *wet* that corresponds to desiccation and freshness in accordance with the natural environment, especially the plant life that is expressed by opposition of *rara?* and *latuy*. For instance, to eat any kind of raw, uncooked food such as fresh fruits or vegetables is known as *pag-laty-un*. A shiny, wet, brown colored of newly-cut bamboo is called *malatuy*. Meanwhile, the dried out or matured plant materials such as certain kinds of yellowed bamboo, hardened kernels or seeds are *marara?*. The other opposition is the contrast between bright and fade which is expressed by categories that are already available in level I. Brightness is expressed by *mabiru* and *marara*, while fade nuances are represented by *malagti?* and *malatuy*. This opposition is exploited to contrast manufactured items, trade goods, and natural products as well. Bright color products, red or indigo are more highly valued than those of fade colors. Light green or yellowish green is not favorable. Products and ornaments are valued in proportion of the sharpness contrast and intensity of black, white, and red (See also Foley, 2001, 161-163).

In the level II, color category of Hanunóois is used when a more clear specification is needed. For this purpose, various color terms are taken from natural objects, parts of human body, or plants, such as *bula:wan* 'gold' (golden color), *(ma)dapug* 'grey' (<*dapug* 'heart, ash'), *(ma)dilaw* 'yellow' (<*dilaw* 'turmeric'), etc. In addition, specification can also be done by deriving the available terms of the level I, for instance *mabiru-biru* 'blackish', *mabirugid* 'very black', *madilaw-dilaw* 'yellowish', etc.

OBJECTIVES

From several phenomena shown in Hanunóo, this article is intended to investigate the relation between Indonesian color system and social factors which are widely known as culture. The discussion is, however, different from that of Conklin. Conklin's investigation focuses more on literal color category, and relates that primary

category to the external factors. Meanwhile, this article, as suggested by the title, will discuss the influences of social factors which make such metaphorical color expressions possible. Accordingly, the use of those color expressions is not literal, but metaphorical. So far, this matter has not been deeply studied by the Indonesian scholars, such as Wahab (1990, 5) whose investigation concerns with the role of ecology in determining the emergence of metaphors and Wijana (1998, 1-6) who examines various kinds of human sense transfer existing in Indonesian synaesthetic metaphors. This investigation expects to achieve a more comprehensive understanding towards the relation between the language use and social activities which finally brings awareness that linguistic forms and their meanings are not fully arbitrary as Saussure and his followers claim. In many cases the relation tend to be non arbitrary (Voloshinov, 1973, 21-23; Wijana, 2015, 229). The arbitrariness can only be found in the first order signs, and there is no room of such a matter for the second ones (Harris, 2001, 147).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In the secondary order or metaphorical usage, the meaning of a linguistic unit cannot be directly obtained from its symbol. However, the meaning must be interpreted based on certain similarities between the primary and the secondary meaning (Wahab, 1990, 5) or between the conception of source domain and its target domain of which the target domain is more abstract than that of the source domain (Kovecses, 2006, 374). For example, *kuning* in *lampu kuning* is made possible by the similarities between the concept of warning given by an institution and one suggested by the traffic sign. Compare (1) and (2) below:

- (1) *Ia mengurangi kecepatan saat lampu kuning menyala.*
'He slowed down the speed when the yellow sign was on'
- (2) *Ia sudah mendapatkan lampu kuning dari program studinya.*

‘He has got an early warning from his department’

Different from (1) and (2), the following (3) and (4) are related to cultural specifics in the use of Indonesian.

(3) *Ia selalu mendapatkan angka merah untuk pelajaran matematika.*

‘He always gets a bad mark for mathematics’

(4) *Beberapa menteri disinyalir mendapatkan rapor merah.*

‘Some ministers are indicated to get bad evaluation’

Rapor merah ‘bad report’ that relates to a bad evaluation on the minister’s performance in (4) is made possible by the existence of correlation between red color and its use for evaluating student achievement in Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research begins with collecting metaphorical color expressions from *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (The Standard Indonesian Dictionary). Those data together with their contexts are completed by other data from Indonesian proverb book, encyclopedia, terminology collection book, poetry, song lyrics, and data from the researcher as an Indonesian native speaker whose grammaticality and acceptability are previously tested empirically to other native speakers. First, the metaphorically used Indonesian color words are differentiated from those having literal meanings, and then divided into two categories, i.e. chromatic colors and achromatic colors. They are further classified along with their universalities by comparing them with English color metaphors found in *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*. Finally, the existence of specific Indonesian color metaphors are explained by correlating them with extra linguistic factors, such as environment, history, religion, education, politics and other socio cultural facts existing in Indonesia. The collected data are analyzed, and presented by giving

precedence to the most universal metaphors, then followed by the less universal, and the most specific ones.

RESULTS

There are a lot of colors perceivable by the human sight. According to America Optic Society, people can differentiate more than 10 million colors. However, from those numbers, there might be only one third of them mentioned in the language vocabulary. In English vocabulary, there are more than 3000 entries that refer to colors, and only 8 of them are popular. If it is compared to other languages, the number seems not to differ considerably. In Indonesian so far, there has not been any effort to count the number of color referring lexicons. And, more specifically, there are less number of which are possible for metaphorical use. From a careful observation, only 7 lexical items are commonly used to construct metaphorical expressions, i.e., *hitam* ‘black’, *putih* ‘white’, *abu-abu* ‘grey’, *merah* ‘red’, *kuning* ‘yellow’, *hijau* ‘green’, and *biru* ‘blue’. Color metaphorical expressions in Indonesian are commonly taken from basic color categories, except for *abu-abu* ‘grey’. The following sections will discuss the metaphorical use of color referring expression in Indonesian.

METAPHORS OF HITAM, PUTIH, AND ABU-ABU

Theoretically, *black* and *white*, or their combination *grey* are achromatic colors because they have no hue, and more specifically *grey* is not found in color spectrum. *Black* is not a color, while *white* is a combination of all colors. However, in reality *black* and *white* are often considered as colors with distinct position in the color spectrum. All languages have *black* and *white*. If a language has two colors only, they must be *black* and *white* (Kovecses, 2006, 31), and when having three colors, the other must be *red*, etc. Culturally, the word *up* is associated with a positive connotation, while the opposite

down and its synonyms have the negative one. For examples, *wake up; get up; and I'm up already* are positive, while *He drop of to sleep; He is under hynopsys; and He sank into a coma* are negative. Similarly, color lexemes with *black* and *white* nuances in every language, including Indonesian, are associated with bad and good connotation respectively. In Indonesian, there are a number of metaphorical expressions using *hitam* 'black' and *putih* 'white', such as *ilmu hitam* 'black magic', *ajaran hitam* 'evil doctrine', *aliran hitam* 'black ideology', etc., which are contrasted to *buku putih* 'white book', *golongan putih* 'white group', *putih hati* 'good natured'. The following proverbs have negative connotation as implied by *hitam* 'black'.

- (5) *Hitam bagai pantat belanga.*
'Black like the bottom of cooking pot'
(7700 Peribahasa Indonesia, page 281)
- (6) *Ada kambing yang hitam di setiap kumpulannya.*
'There is a black goat in every herd'
(7700 Peribahasa Indonesia, page 282)

Hitam 'black' in (5) refers to the ugly looking of a cooking pot that is compared to one's bad behaviour. The phrase *kambing hitam* in (6) is likely related to 'scape goat' -someone or something to blame for a mistake or defeat'. In many cases, *hitam* 'black' refers only to physical wickedness that is either implicitly or explicitly contrasted to *putih* 'white', as shown by (7), (8), (9):

- (7) *Hitam-hitam si buah manggis.*
'It is black like a mangosteen'
(7700 Peribahasa Indonesia, page 281)
- (8) *Hitam-hitam kereta api, putih-putih kapur sirih.*
'It is black like train, and white like a sirih quid'
(7700 Peribahasa Indonesia, page 282)
- (9) *Hitam tahi minyak dimakan juga, putih ampas kelapa dibuang.*
'Black oil dregs is eaten, white coconut

waste is thrown'
(7700 Peribahasa Indonesia, page 282)

In (7), the bad nuance of *hitam* 'black' is implied by *kulit manggis* 'mangosteen skin' that is contrasted to its white sweet flesh. In (8) *hitam* 'black' refers to the color of a train coach; despite its dirty look, it is an important means of transportation. It is opposed to *kapur sirih* 'sirih quid' which looks good but has no benefit. The same thing is implied in (9) that *tahi minyak* 'oil dregs' is useful, while coconut waste is useless. In certain cases, *hitam* 'black' means strong or hard, especially in relation with opinion, as seen in (10):

- (10) *Berhati hitam*
'Obstinately headstrong'
(7700 Peribahasa Indonesia, page 281)

Closely related to the strong nuances expressed by *hitam* 'black', the Indonesian football jargon *kuda hitam*-literally means 'black horse'-is used to refer to the unseeded champion team. This expression corresponds to *dark horse* in English. Compare (11) with (12) below:

- (11) *Tim kesebelasan itu tampil sebagai kuda hitam.*
'The soccer team emerges as a dark horse'
- (12) Dark horse is a person taking part in a race etc. who surprises everyone by winning.
(Oxford Advanced learners Dictionary, page 368)

Meanwhile, the opposite meaning *putih* 'white' carries the nuances of weakness, or sickness. The examples are found in Indonesian proverbs *putih mata* 'white eye' (13) and *bendera putih* 'white flag' (14) which metaphorically mean 'shame' and 'death' or 'surrender' respectively.

- (13) *Daripada berputih mata, eloklah berputih tulang.*
'Death is better than shame'
(7700 Peribahasa Indonesia, page 531)

(14) *Menaikkan bendera putih*

‘To raise a white flag’

(7700 Peribahasa Indonesia, page 532)

Both Indonesian and English seem to share the nuance of *white*, as shown in some English expressions like the following (15) and (16):

(15) She went white as a sheet when she heard the news.

(Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, page 1696)

(16) ...raise/ show/wave the white flag.

(Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, page 1697)

In the later development, owing to a particular relation with writing tradition, the combination of *hitam* ‘black’ and *putih* ‘white’ in Indonesian metaphors may mean ‘clear, written on paper’ in (17) and ‘to decide freely or to act at pleasure’ in (18).

(17) *Harus ada hitam di atas putih.*

‘There must be a written document’

(18) *Aku mengerti engkau lah yang menghitam putihkan kampung kita ini.*

‘I understand that you have acted at your pleasure with this village’

(Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, page 405)

Hitam ‘black’ blends with *putih* ‘white’ to become *abu-abu* ‘grey’, which in its metaphorical uses carries unclear, and vague connotations. Note the following example (19):

(19) *Tarian Pendet dan Reog jelas asli Bali, sedangkan Randai abu-abu, apakah milik Indonesia atau Malaysia, masih bisa diperdebatkan.*

‘*Pendet* and *Reog* dances are clearly of Balinese and Javanese origin, while *Randai* is not clear. It is still debatable whether it is from Indonesia or Malay’.

This connotation corresponds to English color word grey, as seen in the following (20):

(20) Exactly what can be called an offensive weapon is still grey area.

(Oxford Advanced learners Dictionary, page 658)

Some problems in our life often cannot or may not be firmly settled. Only a relative decision may offer a better solution, as shown in the following poetry excerpt (21):

(21) *Ahli bahasa dan ahli sastra itu mengangguk-angguk.*

‘The linguist and the literary critic were nodding their head’

Menyetujui pendapat orang yang memimpin sidang

‘Agreeing at the chairman’s opinion’

Yakin dilema itu akan selalu mudah diselesaikan dengan jawaban abu-abu seperti itu.

‘Believing that the dilemma would easily be solved by a such unclear answer.’

(Tanah Lot, page 49)

Kelabu ‘grey’ has the same root *abu* as *abu-abu* ‘grey’. In metaphorical use, it carries the nuance that tends to relate with sadness or something bad, such as being deceitful and misleading as shown by (22) and (23):

(22) *Hari itu memang betul-betul hari kelabu bagi dia.*

‘That day was truly a bad day for him’

(23) *Penjahat itu berhasil mengelabui aparat.*

‘The criminal successfully deceived the police’

There is only one datum that shows a combination of *hitam* ‘black’ and *merah* ‘red’. The expression is found in a couplet of Ebiet G. Ade’s famous song lyric *Ayah* ‘father’. It

constitutes an individual style as the meaning is 'everything about or everything concerning with'. It is not clear which color has a bad connotation, and which one has a good connotation. If the expression is intended to suggest bad and good, or sad and happy, black will likely carry the bad or the sad nuance, whereas red alludes the good or happy nuance. The following is the song lyric (24):

(24) *Engkau telah mengerti hitam dan merah jalan ini*

'You have truly understood everything of this road'

Keriput tulang pipimu gambaran perjuangan

'Wrinkles on your cheek bones are the picture of your struggle'

Bahumu yang dulu kekar legam terbakar matahari

'Your shoulders used to be strong and burnt black by the sun'

Kini kurus dan terbungkuk

'but now are skinny and hunched'

Namun semangat tak pernah pudar

'Nonetheless your spirit never fades'

Meski langkahmu kadang gemetar

'Despite your occasionally trembling feet'

Engkau tetap setia

'You remain faithful'

Because of their universal nature, Indonesian and English do not show big differences of nuance in relation with the metaphorical use of these three achromatic colors.

THE METAPHORS OF MERAH, KUNING, HIJAU, AND BIRU

Merah 'red', *kuning* 'yellow', *hijau* 'green', and *biru* 'blue' are chromatic colors. A close examination reveals universal and specific matters

in relation with their metaphorical uses. Generally *merah* 'red' symbolizes vitality, expansive character, glowing heat, bravery, danger, etc. In relation with dangers, red in various cultures is used to mark prohibitions against any offense owing to its potential danger. The most common examples include traffic light, fire brigade vehicle, and train crossing light. Various speech communities then take this universal nature to develop their own metaphorical systems. For instance, Indonesian society compare one's poor performance to the bad grades in student's report (written in red ink) (4). Meanwhile, the word *merah* 'red' in (25) means *marah* 'angry', whose metaphorical sense is very difficult to comprehend among African students studying Indonesian. In (26), *merah* 'red' connotes embarrassment.

(25) *Mendengar kata-kata itu, telinganya memerah*

'Upon hearing the words, he turned red ears'

(26) *Ketika dilamar, wajah gadis itu kemerah-merahan.*

'When she was asked to marry to the man, she turned red face'.

Political parties use colors for their party banners and flags as symbols. In 1965, red was used to represent Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Such representation has led M.S. Hutagalung to interpret *warna merah* 'red color' in the final line of Ayip Rosidi's poem *Ular* 'snake' in his anthology *Ular dan Kabut* 'Snake and Fog' as a symbol of communism. The interpretation was responded emotionally by the poet, which then brought out a heated literary polemic at that time. The poem line is "...*lidahnya yang terjulur merah*" '...the tongue that sticks out red'. At about the same time, the Balinese people put two colors, i.e. *barak* 'red' to *selem* 'black' in opposition for confronting the hostility between PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia 'Indonesian Communist Party') and PNI (*Partai Nasional Indonesia* 'Indonesian nationalist party') (Vickers, 1998, 169-172). The confrontation is

described figuratively by a popular propaganda song *buah buni* ‘antidesma bunius’, a kind of fruit which taste sour when the color is red (young), but sweet when the color turns black (matured, ripe). This song lyric seems to take an important part for causing the most horrifying human tragedy in the island of paradise. It is a specific nature of Bali because other local languages and Indonesian use red as a symbol of maturity and sweetness, as expressed by (27) and (28).

(27) *Di luar merah, di dalam pahit*
‘The out side is red, the inside is bitter’
(7700 Peribahasa Indonesia, page 445)

(28) *Apel merah mengundang batu*
‘Red apple triggers stone’
(7700 Peribahasa Indonesia, page 445)

Yellow color in general is a symbol of happiness and cheerfulness, prosperity, wealth, etc. This symbolization is made possible because of its correspondence to the color of gold or matured fruits and seeds. For example, we can recall the metaphor of *emas* ‘gold’ and its relation to the fertility and prosperity of the Indonesian land, as in Gesang’s song lyric entitled Bumi Emas “The Land of Gold” (29).

(29) *Aku percaya bumi emas tanah airku*
‘I am proud of my mother land, the land of gold’
Sepanjang masa nan menghijau selalu
‘It will be forever green’
Di sana bukit-bukit rimbun
memanggilkan hujan
‘There the lush green hills are calling for the rain’
Sungai dan danau menyimpan airnya
bengawan
‘Rivers and lakes store the water’

Yellow in Indonesian proverbs is used to describe wealth, fame, and goodness, as shown by

the proverbs (30) which means ‘Someone’s wealth usually does not come from a country (s)he has visited’ and (31) which means ‘do not praise your own’.

(30) *Tiada kuning oleh kunyit, tak putih oleh kapur*

‘It is not yellow from turmeric, nor white from limestone’.

(7700 Peribahasa Indonesia, page 381)

(31) *Menguningkan kunyit sendiri*

‘To make one’s own tumeric yellow’

(7700 Peribahasa Indonesia, page 382)

In the later development, in association with traffic light control, yellow is used to suggest ‘warning’, as seen in (2). In the *Orde Baru* or *Orba* (New Order era), the ruling party *Golongan Karya* or *Golkar* for short, used *kuning* ‘yellow’ as a symbol for people having affiliation with it. For instance, the use of a coinage *kuningisasi* ‘to turn everything yellow’ in (32) appeared when civil servants were free to become members of a political party.

(32) *Pada masa Orba kuningisasi terjadi di segala eselon*

‘During the New Order time, the ruling party made all echelons yellow’

Hijau ‘green’ is a color of harmony. It is identical with environmental growth. Owing to its spring nuance, this color is opposed to any color referring to maturity or ripeness, such as *merah* ‘red’ and *kuning* ‘yellow’. In (33) *hijau* is metaphorically used to express a sense of immaturity or lack of experience.

(33) *Ia masih sangat hijau, belum pantas untuk jabatan itu.*

‘He is still very young; having not deserved that position yet’

To buy rice or other crops in advance is called *ijon*, a Javanese borrowing which is derived from the root *ijo* ‘green’. The analogy of

Indonesian word *penghijauan* for ‘reforestation’ is made possible because of its metonymical use for representing trees. The colors of Indonesian money in the past might be dominated by *hijau* ‘green’ which then gives way to the calling *mata(nya) ijo* ‘his eyes turn green’ for someone who is blinded by the glare of money, as in (34).

(34) *Kalau lihat uang, matamu ijo.*

‘When looking at money, you are dazzled’

Due to its similarity to traffic light color, *hijau* ‘green’ in (35) is also exploited to refer to ‘signal for continuing’:

(35) *Karena prestasinya yang luar biasa Pak Sidemen mendapat lampu hijau untuk meneruskan S3.*

‘Due to his excellent achievement, Mr. Sidemen gets a recommendation for taking a doctorate program’.

Indonesian army uniform also gives contribution for the metaphor creation. During Soeharto’s regime, many army figures were promoted into a strategic position. This phenomenon gives way to metaphorical expression *penghijauan* in addition to the existing meaning reforestation. Consider (36) below:

(36) *Wah, sekarang apa-apa dari militer, ini benar-benar penghijauan.*

‘Look, now all positions are held by military figures, a real militarization.’

In Indonesian slang, *laler ijo* which literally means ‘green fly’ is used to secretly refer to ‘army’ (Wijana, 2010, 66). Religion constitutes an undeniable factor in the development of color metaphors in Indonesian. Islam is a religion which is often related to or identical with *hijau* ‘green’. So, it is used to represent its followers. Example (37) is used to express the great numbers of moslems holding position in an institution which may also be a political party, such as in (38):

(37) *Wah, pengurusnya sekarang ijo royo-royo.*

‘Look, the executive board are now almost all moslems’.

(38) *Sayang partai-partai hijau di Indonesia tidak mudah bersatu.*

‘It is a pity that Islamic-based parties in Indonesia are not willing to unite’

Court rooms in Indonesia are furnished with tables covered in green. This eventually gives way to expression *meja hijau* (39).

(39) *Perkara kriminal itu akan dibawa ke meja hijau.*

‘That criminal case will be brought to trial’

Blue symbolizes the depth of an entity. Indonesian expression *haru biru* might be related to the deep sadness someone is suffering, and then the meaning is slightly changed into ‘in disorders, confusion, in disarray, chaos’, etc. See (40):

(40) *Pikirannya terharu biru oleh kecelakaan yang mengerikan itu.*

‘His mind is in total confusion due to the horrifying accident’

(Kedaulatan Rakyat, 30 Januari 2015, page 7)

The influence of English to Indonesian vocabulary introduces metaphors *cetak biru*, a direct translation of *blue print* ‘a photographic print of building plans, with white lines on blue background’ (Sugono, et al. 2003, 33) and *film biru*, from *blue film* ‘pornographic film’. However, no metaphorical use of this loan translation is found, such as one in (41):

(41) The government has described their manifesto as a **blue print** for the future.

(Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, page 118)

Metaphorical expression *darah biru* which

means 'nobleman' is also borrowed from English *blue blood*. In Indonesian dictionary entry, *nobleman* can also be expressed by *darah putih* 'white blood'. This might be related to the sacred nuance of white color for differentiating noblemen from the common people. Finally, literary works also give their contribution to metaphorical creation. The name of *Kampus biru* which refers to Universitas Gadjah Mada Campus does not come from its almamater jacket like in *Kampus Kuning*, the metonymical name of University of Indonesia. The name *Kampus Biru* that literally means 'Blue Campus' is from Ashadi Siregar's popular novel *Cintaku di Kampus Biru* 'My love in Blue Campus' published in the seventies. Consider (42) and (43) below:

(42) *Mimpinya untuk menuntut ilmu di kampus biru pun pupus. Oleh sebab itulah, saat tiba kesempatan diundang berceramah di UGM, ia merasa tersanjung karena nama besar UGM yang dihormatinya.*

'And then his dream for studying at Blue Campus was gone. Therefore, when he got the opportunity to give a talk there, he really felt honored because of the great name of UGM he highly respects' (Kabar UGM, page 1)

(43) *Pohon rindang sepanjang jalan kampus, taman yang indah, hutan mini, telah lama menjadi Ikon Universitas Gadjah Mada. Memang telah menjadi komitmen UGM untuk menjadikan **Kampus biru** senantiasa hijau.*

'Shady trees along the campus streets, beautiful gardens, and a small forest have been the Icon of Universitas Gadjah Mada for a long time. UGM has a strong commitment to make the Blue Campus always green'.

(Kabar UGM, page 1)

CONCLUSION

As far as the metaphorical uses are concerned, this paper concludes that the universals existing among world languages have caused no big differences of nuance between the three achromatic colors of Indonesian *hitam*, *putih*, and *abu-abu* and their English equivalents *black*, *white*, and *grey*. However, despite their universalities and English borrowing influences, several particularities exist between the chromatic colors of Indonesian *merah*, *kuning*, *hijau*, and *biru* and English *red*, *yellow*, *green*, and *blue*. These differences are due to various mutually interrelated external factors in both cultures. Those factors are environment, education, history, politic, law, religion, literary facts, and other socio cultural activities found and practiced in the two different communities.

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