



Conceptualization of Women's Physical Beauty in Javanese Metaphors¹

Ermi Dyah Kurnia¹

¹Mahasiswa Prodi S3 Ilmu-Ilmu Humaniora FIB UGM
Corresponding Author: ermidk@mail.unnes.ac.id

DOI: 10.15294/sutasoma.v9i1.47918

Accepted: June 29th 2020 Revison: June 30th 2021 Published: June 30th 2021

Abstract

Like other societies, women are important figures in Javanese society so that women's figures in Javanese society's thoughts are also described in such a way. There is a desire in the collective imagination of the Javanese community towards women, so that the Javanese people's thoughts about women are very diverse. One of them is the Javanese thought about the physical beauty of women which is idealized through the use of metaphors. This metaphor in Javanese society is an expression of Javanese society to express ideas and dreams through language. This paper aims to find out the metaphorical conceptualization of the physical beauty of women in Javanese. This study uses qualitative methods and conceptual metaphor theory according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The results of data analysis show that there is a relationship between the Javanese people and their natural environment in the form of physical and cultural. Physical environment in the form of animals, plants, and other objects around it.

Keywords : *conceptual metaphor, conceptualization, physical beauty, Javanese language, Javanese women.*

© 2021 Universitas Negeri Semarang
p-ISSN 2252-6307
e-ISSN 2686-5408

INTRODUCTION

The presence of metaphorical expressions in everyday life has become so widespread, even those expressions are sometimes not realized as part of the form of human communication in describing parts of life that

are abstract. This is in line with the opinion of Lakoff and Johnson (1980:453-454) which states that metaphors generally exist in human daily life, not only in language, but also in actions and thoughts. So the things that are done and thought in everyday life are basically metaphorical.

The view of metaphor since Lakoff and Johnson (1980) has changed from a mere problem of figurative language or figurative language to a problem of thought. This is also reinforced by the opinion of Taverniers (2002) which states that metaphor has received attention in almost all disciplines that have a hermeneutic basis, including philosophy, linguistics, literary theory, anthropology, sociology, psychology, informatics (especially artificial intelligence) and psychiatry. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) state that metaphorical thinking describes a basic tendency of the human mind to think of certain references in a certain way. This means that metaphor is an important language tool that reflects the cognitive source of human thought. Metaphor can be defined in very general terms as a way of expression, in language or other semiotic systems, where one 'meaning' or 'thing' is explained or seen in terms of another 'meaning' or 'thing' (Taverniers, 2002:1-2). This is also reinforced by the opinion of Suhandano (2014: 936) which states that metaphor is related to the way people understand, think, and live something so that metaphor is not only a matter of language style. According to him, every speech that describes something with something else is a metaphor. Suhandano stated that metaphors in certain languages describe the speaker's thoughts, understanding, and appreciation of

something that is influenced by a culture (2014: 936).

The essence of metaphor according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is to understand and experience one kind of thing in terms of another. Basically, etymologically, metaphor is a kind of movement from one thing to another as expressed by Taverniers (2002). Thus, the form of thinking that exists in human cognition can be simplified through the use of metaphors because it conveys something with other things that can be seen in relation. Metaphors are often used to explain something abstract to make it more concrete so that in metaphor there are two domains, namely the abstract domain and the concrete domain. The two domains correspond to each other. The correspondence is structured in order to create an understanding of the abstract domain or realm to be more concrete (Kövecses, 2003: 8). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphor as a process of conceptualizing thoughts is based on three elements, namely the target realm, the source realm, and the relationship between the target realm and the source realm. That is, conceptual metaphors see the relationship between the source and target domains in the form of mapping or correspondence. The source domain is used to concretize the target domain so that it can be said that the source domain is a metaphorical concept described.

¹ This article is part of my dissertation

The target domain which is abstract is used to apply the concept of the metaphorical realm (Deignan, 2003:33). This is also reinforced by the opinion of Taverniers (2002) which states that cognitive (or conceptual) metaphor theory, which was launched in 1980 by Lakoff & Johnson and later referred to as 'conceptual metaphor theory', does not focus on the linguistic expression of metaphor, but focuses on more on the conceptual-semantic metaphor that underlies the metaphorical expression. In line with this, Taverniers said that conceptual metaphor, in this framework, is defined as a mapping of the conceptual structure of the donor domain (or source domain) to the recipient domain (or target domain). The conceptual structure of the donor domain is mapped to the recipient domain, or, the recipient domain is understood in terms of the conceptual organization of the donor domain.

Metaphors reflect human values and the way humans think about individuals and relationships between individuals. This means that the metaphor comes from the social context and the surrounding environment. That is why the metaphor of natural elements is present in language and, as several authors have pointed out, it is cognitively also culturally motivated (eg Kövecses 2003; Kövecses 2006; Rodriguez 2009; Aliakbari tt). Regarding one of the

natural elements that exist around humans, such as animals, according to Kövecses (2002: 124), "much of human behavior seems to be understood metaphorically in terms of animal behavior. That is, animals as a metaphor for our fears, aspirations and desires, and connections our physical, emotional, and spiritual relationships with the animal world". Leung (2008: 21-23) asserts, "Conceptual metaphors are often articulated in language, which is a key component of culture. In turn, language serves as the main indicator of conceptual metaphors". Therefore, it is a necessity that in studying the conceptual metaphors of a language, researchers can gain insight into the culture of that particular language.

One example to obtain empirical evidence related to conceptual metaphors with culture is the existence of the *panyandra* phenomenon in Javanese society. *Panyandra* is a form of expression to praise someone in a metaphorical form. It is said to be metaphorical because in *panyandra* there is a form of parable. This means that in *panyandra* there is a source realm that is used as a concrete comparison and there is a target realm as an abstract comparison. The target realm in *panyandra* refers to the concept of beautiful, beautiful, and good. One of the ones that was held, for example, was about the beauty of women, which is usually

¹ This article is part of my dissertation

physical. For example, the form of *panyandra* is as follows.

1. *Untune miji timun.*
'Her teeth are like cucumber seeds'.
Small, even, and neat teeth.
2. *Tangane nggendhewa pinenthang.*
'Her hand is like a stretched bow'.
Hands that are curved in the middle.
3. *Pasuryane sumunar.*
'Her face glows'. Glossy clean face.

From the *panyandra* example above, it can be seen that there is a source realm that is used to concretize the beauty of women in the dreams of Javanese society. The source domain in example 1 is the name of the fruit, namely cucumber, example number 2 is an object, namely an arrow, and number 3 is light. The selection of the source domain in such a way is also inseparable from the cultural influence that is understood by the Javanese people. For example, why are cucumber seeds used as a source field to concretize good and beautiful teeth? What is the relationship between beautiful teeth and cucumber seeds? The idea of a good tooth shape in each place that has a different culture and language, will inevitably use a different source domain. This cultural influence will ultimately determine the cultural model that underlies the formation of metaphors in *panyandra*. This means that the beauty of women who think and understand the Javanese society will have a

different conceptualization with other people who speak and have different cultures.

Thus this *panyandra* can be used to see the Javanese in thinking, understanding and experiencing women, in this case it is about the physical beauty of women. This means that *panyandra* is a product of metaphorical language in which it can reflect the cognition of Javanese society regarding the beauty or beauty of Javanese women. Such problems inspire researchers to explore the realm of sources in metaphors which include animals, plants, and other objects as an index of the metaphoric language system. More specifically, this paper attempts to investigate the realm of the source as a form of metaphor in other words as a tool for conceptualizing thoughts about the characteristics of the physical beauty of women in Javanese society with the aim of obtaining aspects of the speaker's culture related to it. This is what distinguishes the research in this article from other similar studies. This research certainly does not stand alone without a common thread with other similar studies that serve as the basis for it.

Related to this topic, there are several previous studies that talk about metaphors, especially those associated with the metaphor of women, such as the research of Lakoff (1973); Kittay (1988), Hines (2000); Rodriguez (2009); Vesna (2017). The four

¹ This article is part of my dissertation

articles discuss the metaphor of women found in various countries. The four articles also look at the ideology or views of a society towards women through the metaphor of women. These articles provide inspiration to find the views or thoughts of Javanese-speaking people towards women which are reflected in the lingual unit that forms the metaphor, namely the source domain and the target domain. The research on metaphors related to culture was carried out by Lily I-wen Su (2002). Lily's article shows early attempts in Chinese to describe the role of culture in the organization of knowledge, thus finding a language-specific cultural model that reflects cultural differences based on the identified models. The article specifically related to *panyandra* is the research conducted by Agustina (tt). Agustina's article also focuses on the beauty of women in *panyandra* but her study is to find Indonesian identity through beautiful body shapes in *panyandra*. This study does not focus on the source and target domains contained in *panyandra* and the correspondence between the two domains.

RESEARCH METODOLOGY

This research is a qualitative descriptive study through an anthropological linguistic perspective. The data obtained were taken from the *panyandra* collection in traditional expression books. The choice of

panyandra expression in *panyandra* collection books is based more on the reason that the *panyandra* is already owned together and is widely known by the Javanese people. This means that *panyandra* has become a collective thought, not an individual thought anymore. Data analysis in this study was carried out in two steps, namely analysis during the data collection process and analysis after data collection (Miles and Huberman 1984: 21-25). The validity of the data in this study uses theoretical triangulation and a review of key informants. To maintain credibility, the results of the interpretation are carried out by discussing and rechecking the informants. The definition of Lakoff and Johnson's metaphor as described above is used as the main theory in this study.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Classification of Javanese Women's Physical Beauty Methaped

Javanese society in describing the physical beauty of women tends to see parts that are visible to the naked eye, therefore the metaphorical classification of women's physical beauty can be categorized into several body parts. The first classification is the uppermost part of the body which includes hair and face along with the parts of the face.

Javanese people are observant in describing things related to hair, meaning

¹ This article is part of my dissertation

that not only hair that grows on the top of the head is described for its beauty, but also hair in other parts, for example on the forehead, which in Javanese is called *sinom*, hair on the temples is called *athi-athi*, and eyebrow hair are also described through metaphors.

Metaphors related to the beauty of hair can be seen in the following example:

Rambute ngombak bakung.
'Her hair wavy like a lily'.
Thick black hair that has a wavy texture so it looks radiant.

Sinome mbibis mabur.
'The hair on the forehead is like a flying squirrel'.
The hair on the forehead that looks neat, soft and dense.

Sinome micis wutah.
'The hair on the forehead is like spilled small money'.
Soft, thick, curly hair on the forehead.

Athi-athine ngudhup turi.
'Hair on temples like turi flower buds'
Hair at the temples that curls back.

Alise nanggal sepisan.
'Brow hair is like the first day of the month on the Javanese calendar'.
Curvy thin eyebrow hair.

In addition to the metaphor of hair, there are also metaphors related to the beauty of the face and its parts. Regarding the metaphor of the face and its parts, Javanese people are very observant in describing the beauty in this section. This is very logical

because the face is a central part that can be observed for its beauty. People first see the beauty of a person on his face. Because the face is considered important, then for the Javanese it is necessary to describe the beauty of a woman's face. As for the metaphor related to the female body, the face and parts can be seen in the following example:

Bathuke nyela cendhani.
Idepe tumenga ing tawang.
Mripate ndamar kanginan.
Pipine nduren sajuring.
Irunge ngudhup mlathi.
Lambene nggula satemplik.
Untune miji timun.
Uwange nyangkal putung.

In addition to describing the physical beauty of women in the upper body, metaphors of the middle female body which include the neck, shoulders, hands, fingers, breasts, and waist are also described. However, the middle body metaphor is not as detailed as the upper body metaphor. The metaphor associated with this can be seen in the following example:

Gulune ngolan-olan.
Pundhake nraju mas.
Tangane nggendhewa pinenthang.
Drijine mucuk eri.
Payudarane nyengkir gadhing.
Bangkekane nawon kemit.

The beauty of a woman's lower body for the Javanese people is also observed and metaphorized so that a comprehensive

¹ This article is part of my dissertation

picture of the physical beauty of a Javanese woman can be visually observed. The examples of metaphors that describe the beauty of a woman's lower body are as follows:

*Bokonge manjang ilang.
Kempole ngembang pudhak.
Tungkake bunder lir jinangka.*

In addition to depicting the beauty of the body, skin color is also observed by the Javanese. For the Javanese people, beautiful skin is not white, brown or black, but skin that is olive in color, hence the metaphor of *pakulitane ngulit langsep* 'Her skin is like the skin of *langsap* fruit'.

Domain Sources as Inspiration for The Establishment of Metaphors about Women's Physical Beauty in Javanese Language

In connection with the use of metaphors in describing the physical beauty of women, several sources are used to concretize the things that are in the minds of the Javanese people regarding the physical beauty of women. The source domain is very important considering the concrete nature of the source domain when compared to the abstract target domain. The Javanese people's observations of their surroundings were used as inspiration in making this metaphor. Natural elements such as animals,

plants and objects around humans are closely related to human life. The relationship between humans and natural elements makes people familiar with the habits of the natural surroundings. As a result, people associate some of the characters found in the natural surroundings with a person's character in human life. Here are the realms of sources used in the metaphor of the physical beauty of Javanese women.

1. Use of animals as a source domain

Animals are one of the source domains that are often used as comparisons in metaphors, not to mention the metaphor of the physical beauty of Javanese women. Animals used as comparison or source domains are wild animals, insects, birds, and reptiles. Some examples of the use of animals in the metaphor of female beauty are as follows:

*Mlakune kaya macan luwe
Kempole nyikil walang
Bangkekane nawon kemit
Lakune njalak dinding*

2. Use of Plants as Source Domain

One of the metaphors about the physical beauty of Javanese women in Javanese is using terms derived from plants. This is closely related to the Javanese tradition of living from farming. Agrarian culture is so strongly attached to Javanese

¹ This article is part of my dissertation

society that parts of plants are used to describe beautiful body parts. When compared to other source domains, the use of plants as the source domain is more numerous and varied, starting from the use of flower names, plant names, and fruit names. Here is the example:

*Kempole ngembang pudhak
Rambute ngembang bakung
Athi-athine ngudhup turi
Payudarane nyengkir gadhing
Pakulitane ngulit langsep*

3. The use of Objects around Humans as a Source Domain

Although not as many as found in the realm of animal and plant sources, there is also a source realm which is objects around humans that are used as comparisons to describe the physical beauty of Javanese women. Here are the example:

*Sinome micis wutah
Pundhake nraju mas
Tangane ngendhewa pinenthang
Mripate ndamar kanginan*

Formation of Metaphors about Women's Physical Beauty in Java

The formation of metaphors that describe the physical beauty of women in Javanese will be analyzed in this section. This analysis looks at the apparent relationship between the use of a particular source domain and what is being

metaphorized. By looking at this relationship, in the end we can also see the cultural relationship in the formation of metaphors.

1. Formation of Metaphors Based on The Similarity of Forms

Uwange nyangkal putung.
'Her chin is like a putung denigration plant'.
The beautiful chin is pointed at the bottom and slightly wide at the top.

This metaphor uses the name of the plant as the source domain, namely the *sangkal putung* plant. *Sangkal putung* is a type of herbaceous plant that has a characteristic shaped like the letter V on each branch. Javanese people describe the shape of the chin using the metaphor of *uwange nyangkal putung* 'her chin is like sangkal putung'. That is, the angle of a beautiful woman's chin is pointed at the bottom and slightly widened upwards like the shape of a *sangkal putung* plant. Because the chin is close to the cheek, then if it is associated with the shape of the cheek that is *nduren sajuring* 'cheek like one part of durian' which means that the beautiful cheek is oval, plump, smooth, yellowish white like a durian fruit one part, then it is true that the chin it should be taper down, or in Javanese it is called *nyathis* and slightly widened upwards due to the influence of the *sajuring nduren* cheeks. The *nyathis* chin is like a *sangkal putung* and is equipped with a

¹ This article is part of my dissertation

sajuring cheek that is very beautiful for the Javanese. The formation of this kind of metaphor uses the similarity of form between the source and target domains.

Bangkekane nawon kemit.

'Her waist is like a wasp'.

A nice and slim waist with a smaller top shape than the bottom.

This metaphor uses the name of an animal, namely an insect called a *kemit* wasp. The *kemit* wasp is a type of insect that has very easily recognizable anatomical characteristics, namely its slender waist, small in the middle and rather large at the bottom. This wasp waist shape was later used by the Javanese people to show a woman's waist which is small at the top and slightly wider at the bottom. Because the waist is directly related to the buttocks, so if it is associated with the buttocks which in Javanese is metaphorized as buttocks *manjang ilang*, then there is a connection. The buttocks which are likened to long lost are round and dense buttocks. *Panjang ilang* is woven from coconut leaves (*janur*) in a round shape that serves as a place for food at feast events. To form a slim waist above and a round and solid buttocks protruding backwards as a picture of a good woman's waist and buttocks, in Javanese tradition, Javanese women usually use *stagen* or *kendhit* to achieve this ideal shape. For today's women, the use of *stagen* is replaced

with a corset. The slenderness of the waist like a wasp *kemit* and the density of the buttocks because they are round like *panjang ilang* are in harmony with the idealized Javanese woman's body, namely *sedhet singset* as in the expression *slirane sedhet singset* 'the body is slim and full of body'. To arrive at this *sedhet singset*, there is also a tradition for Javanese women to drink herbs such as *jamu galian singset*. The formation of this kind of metaphor uses the similarity of form between the source and target domains.

2. Formation of Metaphors Based on Color Similarities

Pakulitane ngulit langsep.

'Her skin is like tanned skin'.

The skin is smooth and bright yellow.

This metaphor uses fruit as the source domain, namely *langsap* fruit. The use of *langsap* fruit has special provisions so that it is the choice of Javanese ancestors in describing beauty which refers to female beauty. The characteristics of the *langsap* fruit, which is bright yellow in color and smooth on the surface, are likened to the beauty of the skin of a Javanese woman. The beautiful skin color for Javanese people is not white, brown, or black, but olive. In Javanese tradition, Javanese women's efforts to have olive skin are usually by using a scrub, so there is a term *luluran*. In addition to removing dirt on the skin, scrubs can also

¹ This article is part of my dissertation

smooth and make the skin smell good. Fragrance is very important to support female beauty. The fragrance can come from traditional ingredients that are mixed in a scrub. The formation of this kind of metaphor uses the similarity of color between the source and target domains.

Payudarane nyengkir gadhing
'Her breasts are like ivory cups'
Beautiful breasts, densely filled, yellow.

This metaphor uses fruit as the source domain, namely the coconut fruit called *cengkir gadhing*. *Cengkir gadhing*, is a coconut whose fruit is yellow, dense, and smooth. The bottom of the *cengkir gadhing* cup is conical in shape. Usually the size of the *cengkir gadhing* fruit is not too small or too large as the size of a coconut in general. This means that the *cengkir gadhing* cup is considered to have the ideal size. The characteristics contained in the *cengkir gadhing* are then taken as a metaphor for the beauty of Javanese women's breasts. Therefore, *panyudarane nyengkir gadhing*, meaning that the breasts are dense, medium in size, smooth and yellowish in color like *cengkir gadhing*. Javanese thought about the beauty of breasts like this because it is associated with the Javanese habit of wearing traditional kebaya clothes. Kebaya is a traditional Javanese dress for women whose size is usually the right size for the body. It is

hoped that with an ideal breast shape such as *cengkir gadhing*, Javanese women will look sexy but elegant when wearing a kebaya. If it is associated with a yellowish color such as *cengkir gadhing*, then this is also in harmony with the beautiful skin of Javanese women, namely *nguning langsep*. Therefore, there are similarities in the beauty of the color, namely the yellow color like that of the *langsap* fruit and the *cengkir gadhing* cup. The formation of this kind of metaphor uses the similarity of color between the source and target domains.

3. Formation of Metaphors Based on Texture Similarities

Bathuke nyela cendhani.
'His forehead is like a marble stone'.
Beautiful, smooth, glowing forehead.

This metaphor uses objects around humans as the source realm, namely marble. Marble has the characteristics of smooth and shiny. The characteristics of this marble are then taken to describe the beauty of the Javanese woman's forehead. The forehead in question is a firm, smooth and shiny forehead, meaning that there are no wrinkles on the forehead. The beauty of this kind of forehead is considered ideal by the Javanese people, because if it is associated with the tradition of Javanese women wearing a bun or bun, usually showing the forehead because the hair is pushed back. So the tradition of wearing this coil actually eliminates the

¹ This article is part of my dissertation

existence of bangs, which can cover the forehead. This smooth and luminous forehead like marble is related to the Javanese expression of facial beauty as expressed through the phrase *pasuryane sumunar* 'his face is glowing'. To arrive at *pasuryane sumunar*, the forehead as part of the face is also considered for its beauty. To support this word *sumunar*, the forehead is expected to be smooth, without wrinkles so that it glows like a marble. In Javanese culture there is a tradition of maintaining facial beauty by using masks from natural ingredients such as yam, cucumber, and honey. The formation of this kind of metaphor uses the similarity of texture between the source and target domains.

4. Formation of Metaphors Based on the Similarity of Movement

Mlakune kaya macan luwe.

'She walks like a hungry tiger'.

The path that moves slowly and gracefully.

This metaphor uses wild animals as the source realm, namely the *macan luwe* 'hungry tiger'. The characteristic of the *macan luwe* 'hungry tiger' is to walk slowly because it lacks energy. The characteristic taken from this hungry tiger is not the tiger but the way or slow gait. However, this slowness is not because it is not powerful, but rather shows a woman's flexibility in walking. The point is the body movement of the legs is flexible.

This indicates that Javanese women are expected to have a smooth, flexible, and calm. This slow, flexible, and calm way of walking when associated with the tradition of wearing cloth (*jarit*) for Javanese women is logical. The use of fingers that are paired around the waist to the feet which are then tightened with a *stagen*, automatically reduces the woman's leg room. Therefore, it is hoped that by wearing a finger, Javanese women can walk slowly, flexibly, and calmly. With a calm, flexible, and slow walking style like this gentle tiger, it will add to the elegance of Javanese women who are known for their gentle and gentle personalities. The formation of this kind of metaphor uses the similarity of movement between the source and target domains.

CONCLUSION

Javanese speakers use the realm of sources that come from nature and the objects around them to express their thoughts on the physical beauty of the idealized Javanese woman. The use of the source domain in this metaphor about the physical beauty of Javanese women takes the wisdom found in animals, plants, and objects around Javanese society. Javanese speakers in describing this beauty are physical which can be observed by the five senses. If there are things that are important, then there are more detailed expressions, for example

¹ This article is part of my dissertation

metaphorical expressions related to faces, because people can be said to be beautiful, the first thing they see is the face.

The thought of the physical beauty of Javanese women, which is usually embodied through expressions in the form of *panyandra*, does not necessarily exist without a cultural background. When a line is drawn between the source and target domains, it can be seen that there is a role for culture in this. This means that the creation of such a metaphor is very much influenced by the culture of Javanese speakers. The concept of the ideal female beauty for Javanese society is based on a culture that has been understood for a long time. Therefore, the *panyandra* made by these ancestors is always deep and describes the noble Javanese culture.

This research is an early research related to the metaphor of women in Javanese. This means that more in-depth data and evidence research is still needed to arrive at the conclusion that the image of women in Javanese society's thinking is revealed through their metaphors.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The authors would like to express their deepest gratitude to the Promoter Team, namely Dr. Suhandano, M.A. as a Promoter and Dr. Hendrokumoro, M.Hum., as Co-

Promoter for the guidance, advice, and direction so far.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agustina, S. Dewi. (tt). Identitas Ke-Indonesiaan Melalui Panyandra Bentuk Tubuh Indah Masyarakat Jawa. Prosiding Seminar Nasional Prodi PBSI FKIP Universitas Jember. Hal. 257-264.
- Aliakbari, Mohammad and Elham Faraji. tt. Conceptualization of Man's Behavioral and Physical Characteristics as Animal Metaphors in the Spoken Discourse of Khezel People. *Linguistik online* 59, 2/13.
- Deignan, Alice. 2003. *Metaphorical Expressions and Culture: An Indirect Link. Metaphor and Symbol* 18/4, hal. 255–271.
- Deignan, Alice. 2005. *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Kittay, Eva Feder. 1988. *Woman as Metaphor. Hypatia*, Vol. 3, No. 2, hal. 63-86.
- Kövecses, Zoltan. 2002. *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Zoltan. 2003. *Language, Figurative Thought and Cross-Cultural Comparison. Metaphor and Symbol* 18/4, hal. 311–320.
- Kövecses, Zoltan. 2005. *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kovecses, Zoltan. 2006. *Metaphor and Ideology in Slang: The Case of Woman and Man. Revue d'Études Françaises*, No. 2, hal. 151-166.
- Lakoff, Robin. 1973. *Language and Woman's Place. Language in Society*, Vol. 2, No. 1, hal. 45-80.
- Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. (1980). *Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language. The Journal of Philosophy*. 77(8), 453-486.

¹ This article is part of my dissertation

- Leung, Winifred Yuk Ying. 2008. A Contrastive Study of Chinese and English Metaphors of Marriage. LCOM papers 1/08, hal. 21–35.
- Lily I-wen Su. 2002. What Can Metaphors Tell Us About Culture? LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS 3(3), hal. 589-613.
- Liu, Dilin. 2002. Metaphor, Culture, and Worldview: The Case of American English and the Chinese Language. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Miles, Matthew B dan A. Michael Huberman. 1988. Qualitative Data Analysis. Terjemahan. Tjetjep Rohendi Rohidi. 1992. Analisis Data Kualitatif. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia.
- Rodriguez, Irene Lopez. 2009. Of Woman, Bitches, Chickens and Vixens: Animal Metaphors for Woman in English and Spanish. Culura Lenguaje Y Representacion/ Cultura, Language and Representation. Vol. VII, hal. 77-100.
- Taverniers, Miriam. 2002. Metaphor. In: Jef Verschueren, Jan-Ola Östman, Jan Blommaert and Chris Bulcaen (eds.) Handbook of Pragmatics. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Suhandano. 2014. Metafora dan Studi Etnofilosofi. Prosiding PIBSI XXXVI. Yogyakarta: UAD Press.
- Vesna Bratić and Milica Vuković Stamatović. 2017. Commodification Of Women Through Conceptual Metaphors: The Metaphor Woman As A Car In The Western Balkans. Gender and Language, vol 11.1 2017, hal. 51–76.