Journey
Journal of English Language and Pedagogy

(2023), 6 (1): 31–42

METAPHORS OF ORCHID NAMES IN INDONESIAN

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SUBMISSION TRACK

Submitted : 19 December 2022
Accepted : 21 February 2023
Published : 18 March 2023

KEYWORDS

metaphor, source domain, target domain, and orchid

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A B S T R A C T

This article aims to reveal several matters concerning metaphorical expressions found in orchid naming practices in Indonesian. By using data collected through google tracing, it is found that many orchid names in Indonesian consist of metaphorical expressions located on the "sub-species" and "characteristics" of the name elements. With regard to the forms, the metaphors can be constructed in the forms of monomorphemic words, polymorphemic words, and phrases. The metaphorical expressions are exploited to resemble with the target domains, i.e., various parts of the plants, mainly the shape and motives of the flower petals, leaf, size of the plant, and root. Various entities are close to human life used as source domains of metaphors, such as animals, human beings, things, plants, sky objects, and others. Most of the source domains are universal, and several of them are culturally specific as reflection of sociocultural realities.

Introduction

In tropical countries, like Indonesia, many kinds of flowers can grow, and orchid is among them. Up till now, no one can number how many orchid species can grow in Indonesian archipelago. This fact directly causes the varieties of orchid name in the use of Indonesian. Those names relate with various informations concerning about other plants on which the plant grows, such as anggrek asem 'tamarind orchid', anggrek bambu 'bamboo orchid', etc.; species of the plants, such as anggrek vanda 'vanda orchid', anggrek dendrobium 'dendrobium orchid', etc.; the species with which the plant is bred, such as anggrek hibrida 'hybrid orchid', the place where the plants grow, such as anggrek hutan 'forrest orchid', anggrek tanah 'ground orchid', etc.; state of the plant, such as anggrek vanda jumbo 'big vanda orchid', anggrek tebu raksasa 'big sugar cane orchid', important person to whom the plant can be associated', such as anggrek Hartinah, in which Hartinah refers to the second Indonesian President's wife as a token for her service in cultivating and developing the plant in Indonesia; the place where the plants endemically be found, such as anggrek Kalimantan 'Borneo orchid', anggrek Sumatera 'Sumateran orchid', anggrek Maluku 'Mollucas orchid', etc.; and the resemblances of the plant's petal, flower, root, or other parts of the plant with other entities in the real world, such as anggrek bebek terbang 'flying duck orchid', anggrek banteng 'bull orchid', anggrek ketonggeng 'scorpio orchid, etc. This paper will concern about the last matter. The orchid names that are created on the basis of the similarities that hold between parts of the orchid with other entities outside them. In linguistic term, all name giving phenomena which are based on the similarities between two things are called metaphors. There are several problems which will become the focus of attention of this paper. Those are 1. the locus of metaphorical elements in the structure of orchid names whether they are on the element of genus, species, sub-species, characteristics, or place, 2. forms of the metaphorical expressions, 3. the parts of the plant that are compared to the real words entities whether their petal, the whole flower, leaf, stalk, or other parts of the plant, 4. the entities used as source domains of the metaphors whether they refer to animals, such as anggrek merpati 'sparrow orchid', anggrek harimau, etc., things, such as anggrek sendok 'spoon orchid',

P-ISSN 2623-0356
E-ISSN 2654-5586

anggrek kebutan 'feather duster orchid', etc. sky objects, such as anggrek bulan 'moon orchid', anggrek bulan bintang 'moon and star orchid', etc., individuals, such as anggrek Hartinah 'Hartinah orchid' and anggrek Ki Aksara 'Ki Aksara orchid', etc., plant, such as anggrek tebu 'sugar cane orchid', 5. sociocultural factors which influence the use of such source domains.

A lot of linguists' work concern with metaphors, and a hand book of metaphors which contains a wide range consideration of various topics of metaphor has also been published (Gibbs, Jr. 2008, 17-521). Unfortunately, from that compilation, there is no article found to focus its attention on the use of metaphors associated with plant in general, or with the more or most specific one. Wijana (1996, 56-67) discusses about metaphors used to name plants in Indonesian regarding with several issues, i.e., forms of metaphorical plant names, parts of expression that convey metaphorical sense, various source domains of the metaphorical expressions, sociocultural factors that underlie the plant naming. Wijana's another study (2022) discusses various attributions which are possible to follow the generic names filled by the word anggrek 'orchid'. This research found that from the four attributive elements possible to follow the generic term functions as the head of structure, the metaphorical attribution can only be placed on attributes of having status as sub-species and characteristics. However, because of his focus of attention merely on the attribution, the issues concerning metaphors are missed from serious or deeper consideration.

Linguistic expressions provided by any language are limited. Their number is far lower than the number of ideas and concepts that can possibly be thought of by the language speakers. However, to fulfil their expression needs, the language speakers do not always have to coin or create new expressions every time they want to name new things they have come across (See Ulmann, 1970, 168). With regard to metaphors, the readily existed expressions are exploited by the language speakers to say other things based on the similarities and closeness. According to Wahab (1995, 5) metaphors are language expressions whose meaning cannot be directly achieved by the expressions but through interpretation of them and their referents in specific ways. To construct metaphorical expressions there should be cognitively two entities, i.e., source domain and target domain. Target domain is anything to talk about, and source domain anything used to compare. The target domain and the source domain are tied by similarities to form metaphors, and closeness to construct metonymies. In the former metaphor theory target domain and source domain are respectively called tenor and vehicle, and the similarities or closeness underlying them is called ground [see Kovecses, 2006, 347). Target domains of any metaphorical expression are abstract, and to be able to talk about them the language speakers use source domains that are more concrete. So, source domains in any metaphorical expressions are more familiar than target domains. With regard to this matter, Shen (2008, 296) states that:

> "The metaphorical source domains tend to represent a conceptually more accessible concept (more concrete and more salient) than the target."

In spite of being expressed in varieties of linguistic construction, the source domains of the metaphorical expressions are taken from various kinds of entity which are generally close to human life, such as animals, human beings, things, plants, sky objects, etc. Even though most of the source domains are universal across languages, there are several of them are culturally specific due to the different perception and realities

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E-ISSN 2654-5586

reflected among the languages. Therefore, the existence of source domains that are hard to find their equivalents in other languages is unavoidable. This is in a line with the following Yu's statement (2008, 253):

> "While human body, with its many common bodily experiences, is a potentially universal source for emerging conceptual metaphors structuring abstract concepts, culture, however, functions as a filter that will only allow certain bodily experiences to emerge and map onto certain target concepts."

Research Method

All data presented in this paper are obtained through google tracing. For the sake of research purpose, data reduction is carried out by setting aside orchid names which do not have metaphorical expression elements. By firstly determining the possible structures of orchid names' elements, the classification is directed toward the locus of metaphorical elements, and continued by the forms of them and to which parts of the plants the metaphors are intended to resemble. The further analysis is focused on various source domains the speakers used to create metaphorical expressions, and which source domains are universal and which ones are culturally specific together with sociocultural factors that cause such specificities. All of metaphorical elements of orchid names are written in bold. Due to various aspects possible to discuss, some data should appear or be presented more than ones with different number.

Result and Discussion

The followings are my findings concern with locus of metaphorical expressions, forms, parts of the plants resembled to the source domains, various source domains, and sociocultural factors influenced the orchid naming practises.

The Locus of Metaphorical Elements

Before discussing the locus of metaphorical elements, first of all it will be described the various possibilities of orchid name structures in Indonesian. As far as attributive elements are concerned, they can be distinct into several kinds. Those are "species", "sub-species", "characteristics", and "place". The species element regards with the orchid growing medium, place or other plants with which the orchid can grow or develop, such as *tanah* 'soil, ground', *hutan* 'forest', *bambu* 'bamboo', *asem* 'tamarind', etc. By this attribution, the noun phrases of orchid names like (1) to (4) are obtain:

(1) anggrek tanah 'ground orchid'
(2) anggrek hutan 'forrest orchid'
(3) anggrek bambu 'bamboo orchid'
(4) anggrek asem 'tamarind orchid'

For more specification, the noun phrase consisting of two elements can be extended by adding sub-species elements. So, the orchid names consisting three elements like (5), (6), (7), and (8) are found:

(5) anggrek tanah **merpati** 'dove ground orchid'
(6) anggrek tanah **bangau** 'heron ground orchid'
(7) anggrek vanda **Douglas**
(8) anggrek vanda **ekor tupai**

Orchid names consisting three atrributive elements can be followed by another elements called characteristics. This element functions to give information concerning the size or

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E-ISSN 2654-5586

the state of the flower's petal, leaf, and as well as other parts of the plant. Consider (9), (10) below:

(9) anggrek tanah **bangau putih** 'white heron ground orchid'

(10) anggrek dendrobium **keriting rainbow** 'rainbow curly dendrobium orchid'

Actually, there is one other attributive element which are commonly placed at the end of orchid names. That attributive element is called "place". This element functions to add information about the place where the plant endemically be found. However, it is very hard to find data of orchid names which show complete attributive elements. One or more of the attributive elements are commonly missing in the naming practises. This is easy to understand, because in casual speech situations, the complete name mentioning is not needed. The people only need several elements in order to be able differentiating between one species and the other. For example, consider the following orchid names ending with element of place (11) to (15) below. None of them show the attribution completely:

(11) anggrek **bulan** Maluku 'Moluccas moon orchid' > [genus + sub-species + place]

(12) anggrek dendrobium Bantimurung 'Bantimurung dendrobium orchid' > [genus + species + place]

(13) anggrek Irian 'Irian orchid' > [genus + place]

(14) anggrek **kantong Semar** kuning Indonesia 'Indonesian Yellow Semar's pouch orchid'
> [genus + sub-species + characteristics + place]

(15) anggrek hitam Papua 'Papuan black orchid' > [genus + characteristics + place]

Example (11) consists of three elements, i.e., genus *anggrek* 'orchid', *sub-species* ***bulan*** 'moon', and place Maluku 'Mollucas'; (12) consists of three elements, i.e., genus *anggrek* 'orchid', species *dendrobium,* and place *Bantimurung*; (13) consists of two elements. i.e., genus anggrek 'orchid', and place Irian 'Papua'; (14) consists of 4 elements, i.e., genus *anggrek* 'orchid', species ***kantong semar*** 'Semar's pouch', characteristics *kuning* 'yellow', and place *Indonesia* 'Indonesian'; (15) consists of three elements, i.e., genus *anggrek* 'orchid', characteristics *hitam* 'black', and place *Papua* 'Papuan'.

From the data collection, all attributive elements containing metaphorical expressions are placed on the subspecies and characteristics elements. Other elements such as species and place are never functioned to express metaphor. Consider (16) to (20) below:

(16) anggrek **bulan** jumbo 'big moon orchid'

(17) anggrek dendrobium **merpati** 'sparrow dendrobium orchid'

(18) anggrek **ekor tikus** 'mouse tail orchid'

(19) anggrek vanda **ekor tupai** 'squirrel tail vanda orchid'

(20) anggrek **bebek terbang** 'flying duck orchid'

Example (16) consists of genus *anggrek* 'orchid', sub-species ***bulan*** 'moon' and characteristics *jumbo* 'big'; (17) consist of genus *anggrek* 'orchid', species *dendrobium*, and subelow b-species *merpati* 'sparrow'; (18) consists of *genus* anggrek 'orchid', sub-species ***ekor tikus*** 'mouse tail'; (19) consists of genus *anggrek* 'orchid', species *vanda*, and sub-species 'ekor tupai 'squirrel tail'. All of them place the metaphorical expressions **bulan** 'moon'**, merpati** 'sparrow'**, ekor tikus** 'mouse tail'**,** and **ekor tupai 'squirrel tail',** on the sub-species elements. Meanwhile, examples (21) to (23) below place their

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E-ISSN 2654-5586

metaphorical expressions on characteristics which describe state of the petal's flower of the plant.

(21) anggrek dendrobium **keriting rainbow** 'rainbow curly dendrobium orchid'

(22) anggrek dendrobium **Inaraya** 'Inaraya dendrobium orchid'

(23) anggrek dendrobium **Indonesia Raya** 'Great Indonesia dendrobium orchid' In (22) the metaphorical expression ***keriting rainbow*** 'curly rainbow' is given based on the similarity of shape and colourful of the petals with the human hair and the various color of the rain bow. In (22) and (23) the petal's colour of the dendrobium plant is resembled to the two colors of Indonesian flag, red and white.

Forms of Metaphorical Expression

As far as the forms are concerned, the use of metaphorical expressions can be in the forms of word and phrase. The word might be monomorphemic (24), (25), and (26) or polymorphemic words (27), and compound (28):

(24) anggrek **banteng** 'bull orchid'

(25) anggrek **bawang** 'onion orchid'

(26) anggrek **keris** 'kris orchid'

(27) anggrek **berkerudung** 'hooded orchid'

(28) anggrek **kalajengking** 'Scorpio orchid'

The words **banteng** 'bull'**,** **bawang** 'onion'**,** and **keris** 'kris, Javanese dagger' are monomorphemic, and **berkerudung** 'wearing veil' in (27) is polymorphemic, constructed by base form **kerudung** 'veil' and **ber-** prefix to mean 'wearing'. **Kalajengking** in (28) is compund which is diachronically coming from ***kala*** 'scorpion' and **jengking** 'lie with bottom up'. Several of the orchid names' metaphorical expressions constitute pseudo reduplication, such as **kupu-kupu** 'butterfly' (29), **laba-laba** 'spider' (30):

(29) anggrek **kupu kupu** 'butterfly orchid'

(30) anggrek tanah **laba-laba** 'spider ground orchid'

There are two types of noun phrase construction used to express orchid metaphorical name parts, i.e coordinative and attributive construction. Element of **bulan bintang** 'moon and star' in (31) is coordinative, but **bulan midi, buntut bajing,** and **bangau putih** (32), (33), and (34) are attributive.

(31) anggrek **bulan bintang** 'moon and star orchid'

(32) anggrek **bulan midi** 'medium moon orchid'

(33) anggrek **buntut bajing** 'squirel tail orchid'

(34) anggrek tanah **bangau putih** 'white heron ground orchid'

The name of bulan bintang is possible because the sub-species is actually a moon orchid but the flower petal has five angles like a star.

Parts of The Plant Compared to The Source Domains

Most of metaphorical expression source domains are compared to the shape of the petal’s flower of the orchid plants. The other possibilities are done to the petal’s colour, and only a few of them are done to other parts of the plant, such as leaf, root, etc. Examples (35), (36), (37) and (38) the source domains are compared to the shape of the petal's flower which are respectively similar to moon, flying duck, Semar's pouch, and centipedes:

(35) anggrek **bulan** 'moon orchid'

(36) anggrek **bebek terbang** 'flying duck orchid'

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(37) anggrek **kantung Semar** kuning Indonesia 'Indonesian yellow Semar's pouch orchid'

(38) anggrek **monyet** 'monkey orchid'

Different from (35) to (38), (39) to (42) are used their metaphorical expressions for resembling the color or the motive of the petals that are similar to emerald, rainbow, sugarcane, and tiger skin:

(39) anggrek **jamrud** 'emerald orchid'

(40) anggrek dendrobium keriting **rainbow** 'curly rainbow dendrobium orchid'

(41) anggrek **tebu** 'sugar cane orchid'

(42) anggrek **macan** 'tiger orchid'

Meanwhile, examples (43) to (46) below exploit their source domain mataphors for resembling the shape leaf and root:

(43) anggrek **keris** 'kris orchid'

(44) anggrek **kelabang** 'centipedes orchid'

(45) anggrek tanah **daun pandan** 'pandanus leaf ground orchid'

(46) anggrek **ketimun 'gherkin orchid'**

Example (47) functions its metaphorical elements to resemble the shape root of the plant which is like a mouse tail.

(47) anggrek **ekor tikus** 'mouse tail orchid'

The metaphorical elements might also concern with more than one parts of the plant. Example (48) has metaphorical elements concerning with the stalk **tebu** 'sugar cane' and the shape of plant **raksasa** 'giant' as the plant is considered the biggest of all orchid plants.

(48) anggrek **tebu raksasa** 'giant sugar cane orchid'

Various Source Domains of Metaphorical Expression

There are various entities or things used as source domains to be resemble to the parts of the plants. These source domains can be classified into seven categories. Those categories from the most general to the most specific are: animal, human, thing, plant, sky object, vehicle, and others**.**

Animal

Animal names used as source domains cover vertebrate and non-vertebrate. And all of them constitute animals which are more familiar for the language speakers than the target domains to which they want to compare. The following (49) to (53) are source domains taken from vertebrate animals:

(49) anggrek **banteng** 'bull orchid'

(50) anggrek **bebek terbang** 'flying duck orchid'

(51) anggrek dendrobium **merpati** 'sparrow dendrobium orchid'

(52) anggrek **monyet** 'monkey orchid'

(53) anggrek **tokek** 'gecko orchid'

(54) anggrek **harimau** 'tiger orchid'

(55) anggrek tanah **bangau putih** 'white hero ground orchid'

Meanwhile, examples (56) to (59) below exploit non-vertebrate animals these purposes:

(56) anggrek **kalajengking** 'scorpion orchid'

(57) anggrek **kelabang** 'centipedes orchid'

(58) anggrek **ketonggeng** 'scorpion orchid'

(59) anggrek **kupu kupu** 'butterfly orchid'

P-ISSN 2623-0356
E-ISSN 2654-5586

Part of animal body, especially tail can also be used as metaphorical source domains, such as seen in (60) to (62) below:

(60) anggrek **buntut bajing** 'squirel tail orchid'
(61) anggrek **ekor tikus** 'mouse tail orchid'
(62) anggrek **ekor tupai** 'squirel tail orchid

Human Being

Human beings or parts of their body organ also constitute productive source domains of the metaphorical expressions in orchid namings. Examples (63) and (64) below use ***ratu*** 'queen' and frase relative noun phrase ***bayi sedang tidur*** 'sleeping baby' to resemble their beauty and shape of their petals.

(63) anggrek **bayi sedang tidur** 'sleeping baby orchid'
(64) anggrek **ratu** 'queen orchid'

The metaphorical expression might also be unreal human creature, such as *raksasa* 'giant' for comparing with the size of the plant. Consider (66) below:

(66) anggrek tebu **raksasa** 'giant sugar cane orchid'

Unlike (63), (64), and (65), the following examples (66), (67), (68), and (69) only exploit the parts of human body for describing the shape of the flower's petal:

(66) anggrek **berkerudung** 'hooded orchid'
(67) anggrek **kepala tentara** 'soldier head orchid'
(68) anggrek **kantong Semar** kuning Indonesia 'Indonesian yellow semar's pouch orchid'
(69) anggrek **bibir berbulu** 'hairy lip orchid'

At last, the orchid names are related with personal names, such as Hartinah (the former Indonesian first Lady, the wife of the late Soeharto, the second Indonesian president), as a token of her services to the Indonesian Orchid matters. and ***Ki aksara.*** The relation between the name and the target domain is not really metaphorical but metonymical in character because of the close relation between the source domains and the target domains (Riemer, 2010, 249; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, 35). See (70) and (71) below:

(70) anggrek **Hartinah** 'Hartinah orchid'
(71) anggrek **Ki Aksara** 'Ki Aksara orchid'

Things

Things or physical objects that are close to human life can also be potential source domains to the orchid namings. They are mostly related to house utensils, such as *sendok* 'spoon', *kipas* 'fan', *kebutan* 'feather duster', and *sikat gigi* 'tooth brush'; foot wear, such as *kasut* or *selop* 'close toed slipper'; weapon, such as *keris* 'traditional dagger', jewelry, such as *jamrud* 'emerald'; and vehicle , such as *perahu* 'boat'. See (72) to (79) below:

(72) anggrek **sendok** 'spoon orchid'
(73) anggrek **kipas** 'fan orchid'
(74) anggrek **kebutan** 'feather duster orchid'
(75) anggrek **sikat gigi** 'tooth brush orchid'
(76) anggrek **kasut kumis** 'moustach close toed slipper orchid'
(77) anggrek **selop** 'close toed slipper orchid'
(78) anggrek **keris** 'kris orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
(79) anggrek **jamrud** 'emerald orchid'
(80) anggrek **perahu** 'boat orchid'

P-ISSN 2623-0356
E-ISSN 2654-5586

Plant

Several plants surround human life might also be possible to use as source domains for orchid names, such as *bawang* 'onion', *daun pandan* 'pandanus leaf', *ketimun* 'gherkin or cucumber', **serat** 'fiber' and *tebu* 'sugar cane'. See (81) to (85) below:

(81) anggrek **bawang** 'onion orchid'
(82) anggrek tanah **daun pandan** 'pandanus leaf ground orchid'
(83) anggrek **ketimun** 'cucumber (literal) orchid, gherkin orchid'
(84) anggrek **serat** 'fiber orchid'
(85) anggrek **tebu** 'sugar cane orchid'

Sky Objects

A few sky objects and its character are also used to metaphorically symbolize orchid names. These are ***bulan*** 'moon', ***bulan bintang*** 'moon and star', ***kerlip*** 'blinky' in the following three examples (86), (87), and (88) :

(86) angrek **bulan** Kalimantan Barat
(87) anggrek **bulan bintang** 'moon and star orchid'
(88) anggrek **kerlip** 'blinky orchid'

Kerlip 'blinky' is the characteristics of the sky objects that are regarded similar to the flower petals. The other example is the use of *rainbow* in (89) below*:*

(89) anggrek dendrobium keriting **rainbow**

Others

In very small number of cases, the metaphorical expression source domains are taken from disaster, such as **tornado** 'tornado and supranatural creature **hantu** 'ghost'. The names are given because the squeezed petals are like tornado. Meanwhile, *anggrek* ***hantu*** ghost orchid' gets its name because the flower plant often appears in death themed Korean drama cinema. See (89) and (90) below:

(89) anggrek **tornado** 'tornado orchid'
(90) anggrek **hantu** 'ghost orchid'

Sociocultural Factors Influencing the Orchid Namings

Eventhough it cannot be denied that source domains used to resemble the target domains of metaphorical expressions are mostly universal to be found in English and Indonesian, there are also several of them very specific, and only be found in one of both languages, and cannot be easily transferred to each other. This phenomenon might be caused by the individuality of each language, especially Indonesian and English due to the sociocultural realities the two languages can possibly represent. This fact directly causes that both language speakers have different perception in seeing the same linguistic referents or one language does not have language expressions in describing certain culturally specific realities. For examples the orchid name *anggrek dendrobium* ***merpati*** in which ***merpati*** is commonly translated into *dove* in English, the english equivalent for this orchid is dendrobium ***sparrow*** *orchid*. Meanwhile, the word ***merpati*** of the other Indonesian orchid name *anggrek tanah* ***merpati*** correspond to ***dove*** *ground orchid*. The other example due to religiuos factor *anggrek* ***berkerudung*** that must literally be translated into ***veiled*** *orchid* in English, has its equivalent ***hooded*** *orchid* in this language. In fact, ***hood*** and ***veil*** are very different semantically. Several orchid names are very difficult to find their equivalents in English or other languages as well because their namings are based on very specific cultural realities. Orchid names like *anggrek* ***kantong***

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E-ISSN 2654-5586

Semar** kuning Indonesia* 'Indonesian yellow Semar's pouch orchid', *anggrek **kasut kumis 'moustach close toed slipper orchid', *anggrek **selop*** 'close toed slipper orchid', *anggrek **merpati Indonesia raya*** 'great Indonesia sparrow orchid', and *anggrek **keris*** 'kris orchid' does not seem to have equivalents in English or other languages because the puppet character ***Semar***, the types of shoe ***selop*** 'close toed slipper' and *kasut* 'closed toed slipper, **keris** 'kris' and Indonesian color flag red and white which resembles to the flower petals are Indonesian specific cultural entities. Finally, the existence of numerous (approximately 700) local languages in Indonesia (Collins, 2022, 141-164) one of them Javanese the biggest, makes the emergence of Javanese orchid names within the use of Indonesian and foreign languages cannot be avoided. The use of orchid names, such as *anggrek **ketonggeng*** 'scorpion orchid', *anggrek **buntut bajing*** 'squirel tail orchid', and *anggrek **kebutan*** 'feather duster orchid' are the examples. The impossibility of one language, even for the most isolated one, without being influenced by other foreign languages (Foley, 2001, 382; Wijana, 2014, 227) also causes the existence of several foreign words in the use of orchid naming in Indonesia, such as ***Scorpio,* rainbow, *Douglas, Sonia****, mini, midi jumbo, black jack, golden boy,* etc.

Conclusion

The pervasive use of metaphorical expressions as means of human beings to talk and to act can be proved by the existence of this figure of speech in all aspects of human life. The close relation of human life and various kinds of plants will directly cause the existence of a lot of metaphorical expressions in the plant naming practises. Orchid is one sort of plants which is cultivated by many people, especially orchid farmers and mania in Indonesia. Accordingly, to be able to talk about the orchid plants extensively, the use of metaphorical expressions to refer to various parts of the plants (flowers, petal, stalk, root, etc.) is unavoidable. As far as the metaphorical expressions are concerned, nearly all of the metaphorical expressions in the forms of word and phrase are placed on the sub-species and characteristics of the plant names' structure. There are various entities used as sources domains to be compared to the target domains (parts of the plant), such as animals, human being, things, plants, sky objects, and others. Most of the source domains are universal, and can easily be transferred or translated into English. However, several of them are culturally very specific due to different perceptions and cultural realities of Indonesian and English speakers. These kinds of source domains generally do not have one to one equivalent, and difficult to translate cross culturally. Finally, the existence of local languages in Indonesian archipelago, especially the Javanese as the biggest one, makes the use of Javanese influenced orchid names in the use of Indonesia is undeniable.

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LIST OF ORCHID NAMES CONTAINING METAPHORICAL ELEMENTS IN INDONESIAN IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

anggrek **banteng** 'bull orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **bawang** 'onion orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **bayi sedang tidur** 'sleeping baby orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **bebek terbang** 'flying duck orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **berkerudung** 'hooded orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **bibir berbulu** 'hairy lip orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
angrek **bulan** Kalimantan Barat 'West Borneo moon orchid' > [genus + sub-species + place]
anggrek **bulan** bintang 'moon and star orchid' > [genus + sub-sepecies]
anggrek **bulan** Maluku 'Moluccas moon orchid' > [genus + sub-species + place]
anggrek **bulan** midi 'medium moon orchid' > [genus + sub-species + characteristics]
anggrek **bulan** mini 'small moon orchid' > [genus + sub-species + charaeteristics]
anggrek **bulan** putih 'white moon orchid' > [genus + sub-species + characteristics
anggrek **bulan** putih 'white moon orchid' > genus + sub-species +characteristics]
anggrek **bulan** Bangkok 'Bangkok moon orchid' > [genus + sub-species + place]
nggrek **bulan** black jack 'black jack moon orchid' [genus + sub-species + characteristics]
anggrek **bulan** jumbo 'big moon orchid' > [genus + sub-species + characteristics]
anggrek **bulan** Kalimantan Barat 'West Borneo moon orchid' > [genus + sub-species + place]
anggrek **bulan** Thailand 'Thailand moon orchid' > [genus + sub-species + place]
anggrek **buntut bajing** 'squirel tail orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **ekor tikus** 'mouse tail orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **ekor tupai** 'squirel tail orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **kerlip** 'blinky orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **keris** 'kris orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek dendrobium **keriting rainbow** > [genus + species + characteristics + characteristics]
anggrek dendrobium **merpati** 'sparrow dendrobium orchid' > [genus + species + sub-species]

P-ISSN 2623-0356
E-ISSN 2654-5586

anggrek dendrobium **Sonia** 'Sonia dendrobium orchid' > [genus + species + sub-species]
anggrek **Hartinah** 'Hartinah orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **hantu** 'ghost orchid' > [genus + sub-sepecies]
anggrek hutan **liar** 'wild forrest orchid' > [genus + species + characteristics]
anggrek **jamrud** 'emerald orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **kalajengking** 'scorpio orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **kantong Semar** kuning Indonesia 'Indonesian yellow Semar's pouch orchid' > [genus + sub-species + characteristics + place]
anggrek **kasut kumis** 'moustach close toed slipper orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **kebutan** 'feather duster orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **kelabang** 'centipedes orchid' > [genus +sub-species]
anggrek **ketonggeng** 'scorpio orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **ketimun** 'cucumber (literal)orchid, gherkin orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **kepala tentara** 'soldier head orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **Ki Aksara** 'Ki Aksara orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **kipas** 'fan orchid' > [genus + sub- species]
anggrek **kupu kupu** 'butterfly orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **pandan** 'pandanus orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **perahu** 'boat orchid' [genus + sub + species]
anggrek **monyet** 'monkey orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **merpati** 'sparrow orchid' [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **merpati** kriting 'curly sparrow orchid' > [genus + sub-species + characteristics]
anggrek **merpati** Inaraya 'Inaraya sparrow orchid' > [genus + sub-species + characteristics]
anggrek **merpati** Indonesia Raya 'Great Indonesia sparrow orchid' > [genus + sub-species + characteristics]
anggrek **scorpio** 'scorpio orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **selop** 'close toed slipper orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **sendok** 'spoon orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **serat** 'fiber orchid' [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **sikat gigi** 'tooth brush orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek tanah **bangau** 'heron ground orchid' > [genus + species + sub-species]
anggrek tanah **bangau putih** 'white heron ground orchid' > [genus + species + sub-species + characteristics]
anggrek tanah **daun pandan** 'pandanus leaf ground orchid > [genus + species + sub-species]
anggrek tanah **kalajengking** 'scorpio ground orchid' > [genus + species + sub-species]
anggrek tanah **laba-laba** 'spider ground orchid' > [genus + species + sub-species]
anggrek tanah **merpati** 'dove ground orchid' > [genus + species + sub-species]
anggrek **tebu** 'sugar cane orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **tebu mini** 'small sugar cane orchid' > [genus + sub-species + characteristics]
anggrek **tokek** 'gecko orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **tornado** 'hurricane orchid' [genus + sub-species]
anggrek **Tommy Brown** 'Tommy Brown Orchid [genus + Characteristics]
anggrek **harimau** 'tiger orchid' > [genus + sub-species]
anggrek vanda **Douglas** 'Douglas vanda orchid' > [genus + species + sub-species]

P-ISSN 2623-0356
E-ISSN 2654-5586

P-ISSN 2623-0356
E-ISSN 2654-5586