

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

This chapter provides the findings of this research. In this chapter, there two sub-chapter which are the description of findings which describe the findings and the discussion that will explain the analysis of the findings. The discussion of findings will be explained the three problems of this research which are the conceptual metaphors, the ideologies of speakers that promote the use of metaphors, and the functions of metaphor.

#### **A. Description of Findings**

This research finds that there are 19 topics and 24 vehicles that are used in the 2017 Jakarta Governor Election. Ahok used vehicle building, computer, container, inanimate object, and broken thing in structuring human while Anies only used building. Djarot also used human as the topic and container as the vehicle in expressing their concept in building human. In expressing their concept of leadership the candidates have different topics and different vehicles which challenge each other that contributed to the battle of discourse. Ahok-Djarot conceptualized leader as a servant while Anies-Sandi conceptualized leader as a role model. Ahok conceptualized leader as a parent while Anies conceptualized leader as people's brother. Ahok conceptualized leader as an administrator of justice while Anies

conceptualized leader as bridge and porter. The topics and vehicles of metaphor that were used by candidates can be seen in this following table.

**Table 1. The Topics and Vehicles of Metaphor**

| No. | Topic                    | Vehicle                  | Information   |
|-----|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| 1.  | Human                    | Building                 | Ahok, Anies   |
|     |                          | Computer                 | Ahok          |
|     |                          | Container                | Ahok, Djarot  |
|     |                          | Inanimate object         | Ahok          |
|     |                          | Broken thing             | Ahok          |
| 2.  | Leader                   | Servant                  | Djarot        |
|     |                          | Role model               | Anies, Sandi  |
|     |                          | Parent                   | Ahok          |
|     |                          | People's brother         | Anies         |
|     |                          | Bridge                   | Anies         |
|     |                          | Administrator of justice | Ahok          |
|     |                          | Porter                   | Anies         |
| 3.  | Election                 | Democracy party          | Djarot        |
|     |                          | Independence war         | Anies         |
| 3.  | Kindness                 | Heart                    | Anies         |
| 4.  | Jakarta                  | Person                   | Ahok          |
| 5.  | Justice                  | Home work                | Anies         |
| 6.  | Finding job              | Fishing                  | Anies         |
| 7.  | Increasing of prosperity | Moving up to next class  | Anies, Sandi  |
| 8.  | Inflation                | Enemy                    | Djarot, Sandi |
| 9.  | Middleman                | Enemy                    | Djarot        |
| 10. | Drugs                    | Enemy                    | Anies         |
| 11. | Disease                  | Enemy                    | Djarot        |
| 12. | Stupidity                | Enemy                    | Anies         |
| 13. | Poverty                  | Enemy                    | Anies         |
| 14. | Corruption               | Enemy                    | Anies         |
| 15. | Success                  | Born                     | Sandi         |
| 16. | Bureaucracy              | Engine of development    | Djarot        |
| 17. | Unity                    | Building                 | Anies         |
| 18. | Moral                    | Building                 | Anies         |
| 19. | Politic                  | Struggle                 | Anies, Ahok   |

The ideology of the candidate Governor and Vice Governor in the 2017 Jakarta Governor Election can be seen from the metaphor that they were used in the debates. It can be analyzed by the selection of topic and vehicles that they were used in the specific context. There are four main ideologies that the candidates of Governor and Vice Governor have in this research. They are progressive, conservative, progressive conservatism, and patriotism.

**Table 2. The Ideology behind the Metaphors**

| <b>No</b> | <b>Ideology</b>             | <b>Conceptual Metaphor</b>                                                                                         | <b>Information</b>        |
|-----------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1.        | Progressive                 | Human is building, leader is servant, leader is people brother, leader is role model, justice is homework, etc.... | Djarot, Anies, Sandi      |
| 2.        | Conservative                | Human is inanimate object, human is broken thing, leaders is parent, etc...                                        | Ahok                      |
| 3.        | Progressive<br>Conservatism | Inflation is enemy, looking job is fishing, bureaucracy is engine of development, etc...                           | Ahok, Djarot, Anies-Sandi |
| 4.        | Patriotism                  | Leader is brige, unity is building, politic is struggle, election is independece war, etc...                       | Anies, Ahok, Djarot,      |

The metaphors found in this research cognitively have ontological functions and structural functions. The ontological functions describe a person as an inanimate object, a human character by the symbol, and an inanimate object as a person. The structural functions describe an abstract concept by the specific human experience and describe an abstract concept by the more concrete object.

**Table 3. The Cognitive Function of Metaphors**

| No. | Cognitive Function |                                                              | Conceptual Metaphor                                                        |
|-----|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|     | Categories         | Sub-categories                                               |                                                                            |
| 1.  | Structural         | To describe an abstract concept by specific human experience | Leader is servant, Success is born, Election is independence war, etc..... |
|     |                    | To describe an abstract concept with a more concrete object  | Leader is bridge, Unity is building                                        |
| 2   | Ontological        | To describe a person an inanimate object                     | Human is inanimate object, Human is computer, etc...                       |
|     |                    | To describe human character by a symbol                      | Kindness is heart                                                          |
|     |                    | To personify an inanimate object as a human                  | Jakarta is person                                                          |

The pragmatic functions of metaphorical expressions in this research were used to legitimize, to delegitimize, to legitimize at once delegitimize, to provide explanation, to show concern, to show how a leader should be, to criticize, to provide clarification, to restructure the frame, to get attention, to show injustice, to provide a solution, to submit a rejection, to introduce a problem, and to show hope. Most of the metaphors in the 2017 Jakarta Governor Election pragmatically has functions that indirectly aimed to influence the audiences by using the target domain from concrete objects or experiences that are familiar and can be understood by various circles of society.

**Table 4. Pragmatic Function of Metaphors**

| <b>No.</b> | <b>Pragmatic Function</b>         | <b>Information</b>                                                                                                                 |
|------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.         | To legitimize                     | To show the audiences that he is a more reliable politician than his opponent                                                      |
| 2.         | To delegitimize                   | To show the audiences that his political opponents weakness or the wrong sides of the opponents                                    |
| 3.         | To legitimize and to delegitimize | To show the audiences he is more reliable politician while showing the wrong side his of opponents                                 |
| 4.         | To provide explanation            | Give an explanation about an abstract concept such as policy, strategy, or an issue                                                |
| 5.         | To show concern                   | To show that he concern about the social issue in Jakarta such as poverty, disease, drugs abuse, and etc                           |
| 6.         | To show how leader should be      | To show that his concept of leadership is more reliable for Jakarta citizens                                                       |
| 7.         | To criticize                      | To show his political opponents the wrong sides of the opponents and suggest another way                                           |
| 8.         | To provide clarification          | To explain that what he has done is the correct way                                                                                |
| 9.         | To restructure the frame          | To restructure the frame of a leader who is the one who gives the order as the one who takes the order and the who give an example |
| 10.        | To get attention                  | To tempting the audiences using aesthetic words                                                                                    |
| 11.        | To show injustice                 | To show that his political opponents incapable to provide justice for society                                                      |
| 12.        | To provide solution               | Giving solution as he is the one who capable to do it                                                                              |
| 13.        | To submit rejection               | Making rhetoricalquestion to reject his opponent arguments                                                                         |
| 14.        | To introduce problem              | To invite thinking by introducing problems that occur if the incapable leader is chosen.                                           |
| 15.        | To show hope                      | To show hope by promising that he will be able to bring Jakarta to a better future                                                 |

**B. Discussion**

In this part, the topic and vehicle of the metaphors that were used by candidate pair are analyzed to show how speakers conceptualized discourse and to identify the pattern of thought of the speaker from numbers of metaphorical expressions (Charteris-Black, 2011: 2). Furthermore, the interpretation of metaphors and interpret the context that promoted the use of metaphors in particular context is explained to identify the ideologies of the candidate Governor and Vice Governor. Moreover, using a cognitive approach, the cognitive function of metaphors that were used in the 2017 Jakarta Governor Debate are explained. The last is explaining the pragmatic function of metaphor by the interpretation of metaphors and the context.

### **1. The topics and Vehicle of the Metaphors**

Every candidate Governor and Vice Governor in this research used different topics and vehicles in constructing their argument. They have different concerns which can be seen from the selection of topics they discussed in the debate. Ahok concerns on topic of human and leader where he used more vehicle that construct the meaning of human. In topic of leader Ahok-Djarot and Anies-Sandi challenges each other using different vehicle that contributed to battle of discourse. Both of the candidates seem to have different conceptualization about certain topics, yet they also have the same conceptualization in certain topic such as inflation and politics but used different lexical in constructing the topics and vehicles. Furthermore, both of the candidates support their partner using coherent vehicle in the same topic.

#### **a. Topic of Human**

In the topic of human, there are five vehicles that construct the body of metaphors that was used in the 2017 Jakarta Governor Election. They are building, container, computer, inanimate object, broken thing. The conceptualization of human as building can be seen by the metaphorical expression *build human* which continuously used by candidates Ahok, Djarot, and Anies. In this expression, the human is defined as an inanimate object that can be built. This metaphorical expression was continuous to be used in the debate. It is shown that both of them has the same conceptual system in seeing a human. Anies used metaphor *build human* to define his policies which would be focused on human and attack his opponent policies that he believes only focused on the inanimate object, such as infrastructure and reclamation. Anies explained that she wanted “*to build human*” by education, war on drugs (*transcripts (1) 00.19.28*) increasing prosperity with entrepreneurship (*transcripts (1) 00.36.09*), building moral (*transcripts (1) 02.03.30*), building unity (*Transcript (2) 01.37.58*), building justice (*Transcript (2) 01.42.22*), and war on corruption (*Transcript (2) 01.54.30*). These metaphorical expressions were used by Anies in the first and final season of debate. In this metaphor, the speaker explained that his policies would be focused on the humans, not the dead objects. He used these metaphors to show that he will be concentrated to improve the quality of human in his policies if he was elected to be Governor.

This expression was identified as a metaphor by the verb build which is usually used for inanimate objects such as houses, bridges, buildings, or other physical objects that can physically be built. But, when this verb is used for an animate object

such as a human, it caused semantic tension by the figural displacement (Halley, 1980) where the verb “built” has semantic features +activity, +concrete, +for concrete entity, +for inanimate object, +visible process combines into the word human it makes the semantic features of the verb build becomes +activity, +concrete, +for concrete entity, -for inanimate object, -visible process. Then, the difference in semantic feature makes this expression become a metaphor (Nirmala, 2011, 2012). Furthermore, this expression is an incongruous linguistic representation which has a purpose to influence judgment and opinion of the audiences which occurs in a particular context of the discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004: 21). This metaphor used to persuade the audiences by increasing the emotional impact which criticized the incumbent’s policies which were accused to be more focus on dead things or inanimate object.

Ahok and Djarot also used this metaphorical expression *to build humans* to stated their argument. His metaphor *build human* is a little bit different from Anies’ concept. Ahok and Djarot have some indicators in build human which contributed to the other conceptual metaphor \*human is a container (*Transcript (1) 00.19.28*) and (*Transcript (1) 01.42.57*). They stated that their goal was to build human with *a full brain, a full stomach, and a full wallet*. Furthermore, they stated that “our policy, ..., must able to make *full of the brain, stomach, and wallet* of DKI citizens”. In this expression, the brain and stomach as part of human were conceptualized as the container by the phrasal verb “*to make full*”. The phrase “*to make full*” was usually used for fulfilling a container such as cups, glasses, drums, or anything that can be

used to put/pour something that is liquid. Yet, it was used for the word human which caused semantic tension by figural displacement (Halley, 1980). It can be seen by the semantic features of the brain and stomach which is in categories of +concrete, +animate, +human and +part of a human. Containers, on the other hand, have categories of +concrete, -animate, -human and -part of a human. Thus, the phrase “to make full” when it combines to the kinds of container such as cups, glasses, drums, and the others have semantic features +concrete, +for inanimate object, and +visible process but when it combines with brain or stomach, the semantic features will be +concrete, -for inanimate object, and -visible process. The change of the semantic features that make these expressions become a metaphor (Nirmala, 2011, 2012).

The expressions *a full brain*, *a full stomach*, and *a full wallet* were not only used by Ahok but they were also used by Djarot. They both seem to have the same concept in seeing human. They used metaphor *a full brain*, *a full stomach*, and *a full wallet* refers to smart and has high purchasing power. Furthermore, they believed in *build human* cannot be achieved without building infrastructure. Cognitively, their metaphors have structural functions. The metaphorical expression of *build humans* used to explain build human as like build a building and the metaphorical expressions of *a full brain*, *a full stomach*, and *a full wallet* means smart and has high purchasing power human being. Pragmatically, these metaphors were used to provide explanation and to provide clarification which was responding to Anies’ question. The metaphor *build human* was used by Ahok to explain their vision and it was used by Djarot to provide clarification of *build human* with the indicator of *a full brain*, *a*

*full stomach*, and *a full wallet*. These expressions show the progressive conservatism ideology of the speakers which is the development economic to improve human livings condition by the social safety net. The social safety net is a collection of services provided by the government to improve human livings by the cautious change which is not instantly damaging to society that fits into a social and political condition (Dwyer, 2012).

In the topic of human, Ahok also used vehicle computer in constructing the meaning of human. This metaphor was used by Ahok that described a human as a computer that can be upgraded. He used metaphor *iCore7*, *i7*, and *Pentium* referring to himself (*Transcript (1) 00.14.22*). Ahok who has categories of concrete, animate, human, and men were conceptualized into a computer which has categories inanimate object, technology, and an electronic device. It is caused semantic tension by the asymmetry interconnection between the topic and vehicle which has different categories and different sub-categories. This asymmetry interconnection creates a shift in a human conceptual system which produced depersonification of metaphor where a computer which is an inanimate object in this context refers to an animate object, a human (Charteris-Black, 2004: 21).

Another topic of human with vehicle inanimate object can be identified in metaphorical expression *we move them* which was continuously used by Ahok (*Transcript (1) 01.02.15*) and (*Transcript (2) 01.44.04*). The word “*moved*” in this expression triggered a new meaning of humans which are inanimate objects. The word move that is usually used for the inanimate objects who cannot move by

themselves was combined with the word human cause semantic tension by the changing in semantic features (Halley, 1980; Nirmala, 2011, 2012). The word move which has semantic features +activity, +concrete, +for concrete entity, +for an inanimate object, +visible process combined into the word them who refer into the people of Jakarta who have categories of +animate, +human, +plural, +men and +women, it causes the semantic features of the word move changes into +activity, +concrete, +for concrete entity, -for an inanimate object, +visible process. This metaphor conceptualizes humans as the inanimate object that cannot move by themselves. Then, the speaker as the authority of power moved them to the places that the speaker thought were more feasible than their slum house without asking these people first. It can be seen that there is an asymmetry of power between the speaker and the object of his speech.

The last vehicle for human in this research is a broken thing that can be identified in the metaphorical expression “because we want *to fix* people” (*Transcript (1) 01.42.57*). This metaphor was used by Ahok in the debate when he explained the reason he flattened these people’s home and removed them from their home. This expression was coherence with the previous metaphor “*move*” which conceptualizes human as the inanimate object. In this metaphor, the speaker considered these people as broken things who are broken and needed to be fixed. The phrasal verb “to fix” is usually used in fixing broken things which has semantic features of +activity, +concrete, +for concrete entity, +for inanimate object, +visible process. But when it combines into the word people who have categories of +animate, +human, +plural,

+men, and +women, it is caused semantic tension by the changing of the semantic features. The semantic features of phrase to fix changes into +activity, +concrete, +for concrete entity, -for an inanimate object, -visible process. According to the speaker, these people can be fixed by moving them and educate them to not live in riverbank and slum house. But, he has done it by flattening these people home without considering what they want, just like they are broken things.

#### **b. The Topic of Leader**

In the topic of leader, there are several vehicles that were used by candidates Governor and Vice Governor. They are servant, role model, parent, people's brother, bridge, administrator of justice, and porter. In this topic, all of candidate Ahok, Anies, Djarot, and Sandi involved in constructing the meaning of a leader. Djarot conceptualized the meaning of leader using vehicle servant continuously in the first and final season of debates. This metaphor can be seen by the metaphorical expressions "*we are Jakarta servants*" and "*we want five more years to serve Jakarta*" (*Transcript (1) 02.10.45*) expressed by Djarot. The words servant and to serve was continuously used by Djarot in Debate which refers to himself as the representative of the current government. Furthermore, He continuously used vehicle "*to serve with heart, satisfies, serve*", "*satisfy*" and direct metaphors "*we are servants of citizens*" that refer to his concept of leadership in the final season of debate (*Transcript (2) 00.33.03*), (*Transcript (2) 01.00.05*), and (*Transcript (2)*

01.52.50). This conceptual metaphor was challenged by Anies and Sandi who conceptualized leader as a role model.

Sandi is the one who first used vehicle role model to construct the meaning of leader in this discourse. He said “*leading is giving an example*” “*to lead by giving examples*” that to explain his concept of leadership (*Transcript (1) 01.20.05*). The metaphorical expressions “*leading is giving an example*” and “*lead by giving examples*” that were used by Sandi in responding Djarot question about the Jakarta traffic in the first season of debate. Sandi wanted a leader to become a role model of their citizens to use public transportations. If the leader such as current Governor and Vice Governor, Ahok and Djarot uses public transportation, he believed the citizens of Jakarta will also use them to reduce the traffic in Jakarta. Furthermore, Anies added the metaphorical expression “*mobilize citizens and community*” (*Transcript (2) 01.37.58*) that referring to leader should capable do. These metaphorical expressions were also based on the conceptual metaphor \*leader is a role model because in mobilizing citizens and moving communities could not be done by force or by being a servant, but by being a role model. Anies used this metaphor as a respond of the concept of leadership of his political opponent who is servant.

Another vehicle that was used to construct the meaning of leader is a parent that was continuously used by Ahok. This conceptual metaphor can be identified by numerous expressions which used words of *educational, educate, parent, children, and teach* that referred to his concept of leadership. Furthermore, there was an

explicit signal of metaphor such as copula of “*we are like parents*” (*Transcript (1) 00.35.34*). In this metaphor, the concept of leadership was seen as the concept of how parents educated their children to be successful in life. Ahok explained cash direct assistance was not *educational*, and he said that “*we are like parents who educate their children who diligently have to work to get it, who are not diligent will not get it*” (*Transcript (1) 00.35.34*). By his argument can be seen that there were conceptual metaphors \*leader is a parent and the folks are their children.

Anies used vehicle people’s brother to challenge Ahok concept of leadership. He used vehicle people’s brother to construct the meaning of a leader. This metaphor can be identified from the metaphorical expression “*these people are his brother*” (*Transcript (2) 00.58.29*). The word brother in that expression did not literally mean brother. Anies used that expression to challenge the concept of leadership that was used by Ahok which conceptualized leaders as a parent. There is a hierarchy in a family that parents are in the top of the hierarchy, but brothers and sisters have an equivalent relationship. They are in the same hierarchy.

This metaphor was used in the final season of debate to build an image of how the leaders should be. He said the Governor should feel what the folk feel because they are human not merely statistic and Governor should lead using his heart. Anies continued to use this metaphor to show that the current government of Jakarta still had not done the more fundamental job for these folk by saying “and this is our *brother*, so if you say it's fair, for a while it's homework” (*Transcript (2) 00.58.29*).

Furthermore, this expression is an incongruous linguistic representation that has a purpose to influence judgment and opinion of the audiences which occurs in a particular context of the discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004: 21). In this expression, the speaker wanted to persuade the audience by increasing the emotional impact using the *brother* metaphor. The leaders in this context are governor and vice governor which literally is not the brother of the people. In these expressions, the speaker wanted to show how the governor should be. The governor should have a close relationship to his people just like a brother relationship, especially for the grassroots, the people who he believed has been abandoned by the government.

Another vehicle for the topic leader is bridge was used by Anies. It can be identified from the metaphor “*bridge*” that was used by Anies in the final season debate. He stated that “the leaders who are able *to unite* people is not always easy to find, above all capable to be *a bridge*. Why? Because *the bridge* is where people are trampled on their feet. But if there is no *bridge* it will not unite” (*Transcript (2) 01.40.16*). In this expression, the leader was conceptualized as a bridge by the vehicle bridge that was used to define the topic, leader. The word bridge metaphorically refers to a good leader who can bring together different social groups such as those who work with those who do not work, those who study with those who do not study, and those who are wealthy and those who are poor.

Another vehicle for the topic leader is an administrator of justice that was used by Ahok in constructing the meaning of leaders. It can be identified from

metaphorical expression *administered social justice* that conceptualized an abstract concept of social justice as a concrete object that can be seen, touch, and administrated. Social justice has categories of inanimate object and abstract, while the objects that can be administered are usually concrete objects such as house, school, office, building, people, and the others. Then, when administered was combined with the phrase social justice, it caused semantic tension by figural displacement of the category. This metaphorical expression was used by Ahok in explaining his policy by moving the people of Kerukut from their home to be what was he called a better home. In this metaphor, the speaker wanted to show that he was already done social justice by moved the people of Kerukut and many others (*Transcript (2) 01.44.04*). The metaphors administered social justice makes social justice to look like a physical object that can be administered. It is just like how the speaker moves the people who live in Riverbanks as the inanimate objects who cannot move by themselves.

The last vehicle for the topic leader is porter that was used by Anies. It can be identified in the metaphorical expression “the new governor will actually *deliver* Jakarta to more effective governance” (*Transcript (2) 01.57.02*). In this expression, the new governor which refers to a leader was conceptualized by porter using the verb “*deliver*”. Deliver is the job of porter. The city of Jakarta in this expression was conceptualized as stuff which is delivered by the porter. Thus, there are conceptual metaphors \*leader is a porter and \*Jakarta is stuff. Jakarta which is the city has semantic features +inanimate object, +city, –stuff, and –physically delivered while

the thing that sent by porter has semantic feature +inanimate object, -city, +stuff, and + physically delivered which caused semantic tension by a figural displacement which Jakarta as big city would be delivered by the new governor into the more effective governance (Halley, 1980; Nirmala, 2011, 2012). Furthermore, this expression is categorized as a metaphor because it is pragmatically an incongruous linguistic representation that has a purpose to influence judgment and opinion of the audiences (Charteris-Black, 2004: 21).

### **c. The Topic of Election**

In the topic of the election, there are two vehicles that were used to describe an election. They are democracy party that was used by Djarot and Independence war that is used by Anies. Djarot used democracy party as a vehicle in the topic of election to reduce the tension of the 2017 Jakarta Governor Election which caused polarization and conflict for society. Djarot said that “*election is an exciting democracy party*” (Transcript (2) 01.52.50). This expression categorized as a metaphor because it has a direct form of metaphor (Steen, 2010) where the topic of an election was analogous as a party, by the vehicle a democracy. This metaphor creates a new meaning that election is not only about win or lose but an exiting party.

Anies used different vehicle for the topic of election. He used independence war as a vehicle that can be seen by the metaphorical expression “*one-time we used sharpened bamboo, now use a nail to pin the right side*” (Transcript (2) 01.57.02). A

nail to the pin was the action that people do for election in Indonesia and it is conceptualized as independence war where the history explains that the Indonesian freedom fighters fought using pointed bamboo to gain independence. In the politic, the metaphor of war is conceptualized in the frame of war where there is territory to fight for, in this context it is Jakarta. Furthermore, there are alliances for the same purpose which is to win a victory, which in this context political parties who support the candidate of Jakarta Governor and there are the opponents to fight for.

#### **d. The Topic of Kindness**

Anies used vehicle heart to construct the meaning of kindness in the debate. This metaphor can be identified from the metaphorical expressions “*carrying hearth*” and “*to lead them with hearth*” that occurred in leadership discourse in the final season of debate (*Transcript (1) 00.58.29*). This expression was categorized as a metaphor because hearth is a symbol of love which has been used in most of the languages all over the world. This symbol represents a human character such as kindness, soft, and care. Furthermore, the referent of heart that established in the text is different from the basic contemporary meaning which is the vital organ of the human body. Heart in this metaphor refers to kindness.

#### **e. The Topic of Jakarta**

The vehicle person was used in constructing the meaning of Jakarta in leadership discourse. This metaphor is categorized as a metaphor because Ahok

personified Jakarta as a person, as himself which represented the Government. In this metaphor, Ahok responded Anies' statement which elaborated the inequalities that occurred in Jakarta. He said "Who says *Jakarta is unfair*? Who says *Jakarta is unfair*, property taxes, one billion of poor people, don't pay" (*Transcript (2) 01.41.24*). The personification of Jakarta as a person can be seen by the metaphorical expressions "*Jakarta is unfair*". Jakarta in this expression was conceptualized as a person who can be unfair. This metaphorical expression is used as a rhetorical question that does not need an answer but to clarify that Jakarta has been fair. This rhetorical question has been intensified by repetition to clarify that Jakarta has been fair. Jakarta is the personification of the leaders who are the people in government who make policies.

#### **f. The Topic of Justice**

The vehicle homework was used by Anies in constructing the meaning of justice. It can be identified from the metaphorical expressions "*homework justice*", "*look*", "*feel the extraordinary inequality*" (*Transcript (2) 01.42.22*). In these metaphors, justice was conceptualized as homework because it has been finished. Homework is a kind of assignment that is given by the teacher for his/her students because the assignment has not finished or time for doing the task is not enough in class. That is the reason Anies used this metaphor because he believed that the incumbent has not finished his assignment about justice. He also added the verb *look* and invite the speaker to come to Kerukut and feeling *the extraordinary inequality*. The word "*look*" did not literally mean to just look but metaphorically it means

“*feel*” the extraordinary inequality in Kerukut. It was based on the conceptual metaphor \*looking is feeling occurred.

### **g. The Topic of Finding Job**

The vehicle fishing was used by Anies to construct the meaning of finding a job to fulfill the economical need.. It can be identified from metaphorical expressions “*gave the fish*”, “*gave the hook*”, “*a good fish*”, “*hook*”, “*pond*”, and “*fish pond*” that occurred in the first season of debate (*Transcript (1) 00.36.09*). The words fish, hook, and pond did not refer to the actual fishing, hooking, and actual pond but the concept of fishing to fulfill the economical need. These metaphorical expressions were used by Anies to describe how to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor in Jakarta. The first candidate pair of Agus-Silvi will give direct cash which defined by Anies as “*gave the fish*”. The second candidate pair Ahok-Djarot did not agree to give direct cash because it was not educating. Ahok explained that he preferred to give health insurance, housing guarantees, education guarantees, transportation guarantees, and capital guarantees for business which define as giving the hook by Anies. Furthermore, Anies said that he will make sure *the pond is still available*. The metaphorical *pond* referred to the system which the people of Jakarta can get a job to fulfill their economic need. It is the program of economic growth that Anies-Sandi

wanted to create, which will later prepare employment opportunities with entrepreneurs and work with the private sector.

#### **h. The Topic Increasing Prosperity**

In the topic of increasing prosperity, Anies and Sandi used vehicle moving up to the next class in constructing the meaning. This metaphor can be identified from metaphorical expressions “*moving up to the next class*” and “*go up to the next class*” (*Transcript (2) 01.01.23*). In these metaphorical expressions, the topic of increasing prosperity was conceptualized using vehicle moving up to the next class. The word ‘*class*’ literally means a room where student bodies meet regularly to study. It can be defined as a system of ordering society in which people are divided into a set of category based on social or economic status. Thus, this expression is categorized as a metaphor because the word class has a polysemous meaning (Newmark, 1988: 104). These metaphorical expressions were continuously used by candidate pair of Anies-Sandi in the first and the final season of debate. Anies explained that if the people of Jakarta can own their own houses which will increase their prosperity. Thus, there was another vehicle that was used by Anies which is having a house because there are many societies in Jakarta cannot have their own home which always rent. Furthermore, there was a society who lived in riverbanks were moved to several flat because their home was flattened by the Government. Sandi also used this metaphor when answering the question of one of the panelists who is a fisherman in Jakarta Bay. This fisherman felt that the current government did not care about the life of the

fisherman and focus on the development of the reclamation which affected the lives of the fisherman by the reduction of fish in Jakarta Bay. Sandi answered, “You would be considered, you will be given a solution for you to be able to *go up to the next class*” (Transcript (2) 01.18.57).

**i. The Topic of Inflation, Middleman, Drugs, Disease, Stupidity, Poverty, and Corruption**

These seven topics have the same vehicle in constructing the meaning, which was enemy. This candidates Governor and Vice Governor describe the of inflation, middleman, drugs, disease, stupidity, poverty, and corruption by metaphor war.

The vehicle enemy in the topic of inflation was used by Djarot and Sandi in expressing how dangerous inflation. It can be identified by the metaphorical expressions “*market operation*”, “*control the price*”, “*keep the inflation*”, “*jumping up*”, “*slowly raising*”, and “*secure the price*” (Transcript (2) 01.18.57), (Transcript (2) 01.20.05), and (Transcript (2) 01.21.25). The *market operation* was a metaphorical expression that continuously used by Djarot to describe his policy against inflation. He explained that by doing *a market operation*, the inflation can be reduced. Furthermore, he will metaphorically *fight the middlemen* which he accused to make the prices go up and contributed to creating inflation. He also added *control of the price* which means control of the inflation by *market operation* and *fight against middleman*. These all metaphorical expressions make inflation looks really

scary need to be fought as an enemy. The metaphorical expressions *jumping up*, *slowly raising*, and *secure* were used by Sandi to express his attitude toward the rising price which contributed to inflation. The metaphor *jumping up* personifies the price as a human who can jump up which metaphorically means a raise. This metaphor implicitly shows that the rising price makes people worry and afraid. Thus, they need to prepare a strategy to fight inflation and *secure* the supply to keep price low. These all metaphorical expressions inflation look really scary need to fight for as enemy which contributed to the war metaphor because there is an enemy to fight for, there is a strategy, and there is an area to secure from the enemy.

In the topic of disease Djarot also used vehicle enemy to describe a disease. It can be identified in the metaphorical expression *front line* that was used to describe the job of *Puskesmas* (society health center in sub-districts). The phrase *front line* means a place where opposing armies face each other in war and where the fighting happens. In this expression, *Puskesmas* was conceptualized as an army who fight in the front line and disease was the enemy. This metaphorical expression was used by Djarot to explain the job of *Puskesmas* using war metaphor.

The topic of a drug also has an enemy as the vehicle which can be identified by the metaphorical expression “*fight the drugs*” and “*the threat of the drugs*” (*Transcript (1) 00.17.51*). This metaphor was used by Anies to express his attitude toward drugs. He used war metaphor which implicitly stated that drug is enemy. The lexical fight and threat were lexical that were used in war. In this metaphor, drugs

were conceptualized as the enemy which threatens the young generation and could give harm to their future. Thus, the speaker wanted to convince audiences about his attitude.

Another vehicle enemy was used in the topic of poverty that can be seen in metaphorical expressions “*fighting a war against poverty*”, “*promote the public prosperity*”, “*getting rid of poverty*”, and “*getting rid of inequality*” (Transcript (1) 00.36.09). These metaphorical expressions were used by Anies to explain that they (refer to himself and Sandi with their team) were not struggling in this political competition to fight a war against poverty but to promote the public prosperity as what is stated in 45 law. In this metaphor, the speaker classified what he is going to do (*promote the public prosperity, getting rid of inequality*) and what the current government of Jakarta done (*fighting a war against poverty, getting rid of poverty*). Furthermore, he believes that the current government of Jakarta has been wrong to fight a war against poverty which he claimed was wrong in choosing the enemy which was not the poverty itself but the poor people by eliminating them. These metaphorical expressions coherence with the previous metaphor *eliminate the poor* that he used to explain how the current government was fighting a war against poor people by flattening their home and removing them from their home.

The topic of stupidity was also used vehicle enemy which can be identified from metaphorical expressions “*educated the life of the nation*” and “*fighting a war against stupidity*” (Transcript (1) 00.36.09). These metaphorical expressions were

used by Anies to explain that they (refer to himself and Sandi with their team) were not struggling in this political competition to fight a war against stupidity but to educate the life of nations. In this metaphorical expressions, the speaker believes that the current government of Jakarta has been wrong in fighting a war against stupidity because the founding fathers of Indonesia never fought a war but educated the life of the nation as what is stated in 45 law. The nation in this expression refers to the people of Indonesia.

**j. The topic of Success**

The topic of success implicitly occurred in the debate. Sandi used vehicle born refer to the success of the mothers in earning money by entrepreneurship. It can be identified as a metaphor by the expression “there will be *born* the new Mrs. Wilda” and “*Born*, because of the OK OCE programs” (*Transcript (2) 00.41.20*). It is identified as a metaphor because the referent that established in the text is different from the basic contemporary meaning. The word born in this context does not refer to existing as a result of birth but born in this context metaphorically means success. Sandi showed that there are many housewives who have been succeeded as entrepreneurs because of the OK OCE program.

**k. The Topic of Unity**

The vehicle building was used for the topic of unity in the 2017 Jakarta Governor debate. It can be identified by the metaphorical expressions “*to build*

*unity*”, “*take care of its diversity*”, and “*can be built*” that was used by Anies (*Transcript (2) 01.37.58*) and (*Transcript (2) 01.40.16*). These metaphorical expressions were continuously used by Anies in the debate. These expressions were identified as a metaphor because they are linguistically caused semantic tension by reification which is the abstract concept of unity was conceptualized by the more concrete word building (Charteris-Black, 2004: 21). The word ‘build’ and phrase ‘take care’ are usually used for more concrete words such as the building. In this expression unity and diversity were abstract concepts but it is defined as a building that can be built and take care of its diversity.

### **1. The Topic of Politic**

In the topic of politic both candidates, Ahok and Anies using the same vehicle in constructing the meaning of the metaphor. They both used vehicle struggle. It can be identified by the metaphorical expressions “*tradition of struggle*” “*establishing this republic*”, “*duty to fight corruption*”, “*duty of building unity*”, and “*ensuring there is justice*” which were continuously used by Anies (*Transcript 01.54.30*). Furthermore, Ahok also used vehicle struggle which can be identified from the metaphorical expressions such as “*our struggle*”, “*unfinished struggle*”, and “*the struggle has not finished yet*”. In these expressions, politic is conceptualized as a struggle. The word struggle is defined as an experience of difficulty or makes a great effort in order to do something. In these metaphors, politic defines as the struggle, the struggle to gain power. These expressions were identified as a metaphor because they

are incongruous linguistic representations that have a purpose in influencing judgment and opinion of the audiences which occurs in the debate (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2011). Anies explained that the struggle which refers to his politic practice that has been the tradition for their parent in establishing this republic, fighting corruption, building unity, and ensuring justice. He wants to show that he is on the right path as the parents before him.

## **2. The Ideology behind the Metaphors**

There are four main ideologies that the candidate of Governor and Vice Governor have that promoted the use of metaphors in the 2017 Jakarta debate. They are progressive, conservative, conservative progressivism, and patriotism. Both of the candidate Governor and Vice Governor have different and same ideology which can be seen from the selection of topic and vehicle within the context.

### **a. Progressive Ideology**

The progressive ideology in this research can be identified from conceptual metaphors \*human is a building, the leader is a servant, the leader is people's brother, the leader is a role model, kindness is heart, and justice is a homework. The conceptualization of human as a building was used by Ahok and Anies. They both used the same conceptualization but different lexicalization. Ahok described build human can be achieved by the reformation of bureaucracy. Furthermore, his vision on building human was to provide a full brain, a full stomach, and a full wallet of Jakarta

citizens while Anies concerns on building human was to improve the quality of human not only in economic term but in aspect of character with education, war on drugs (*transcripts (1) 00.19.28*) increasing prosperity with entrepreneurship (*transcripts (1) 00.36.09*), building moral (*transcripts (1) 02.03.30*), building unity (*Transcript (2) 01.37.58*), building justice (*Transcript (2) 01.42.22*), and war on corruption (*Transcript (2) 01.54.30*) which shows his progressive ideology which was human development.

A leader is a servant was a conceptual metaphor used by Djarot. This metaphor restructures the frame of a leader which is the one who gives the order by the one who takes the order. By this metaphor, speaker wanted to show people that they are not the leader who can only give the order but the leader who can take the order from its people and work as a servant for people in Jakarta. It is shown the progressive ideology of the speaker which is the leader who serves his people (Lakoff, 2002).

In the topic of leader, the conceptualization of leader as people's brother also has a progressive ideology of the speaker. This metaphor was used by Anies to show an injustice policy of the current Government by the flattening people's home and moved them to another place without even asked first. By this metaphor speaker wanted the leaders to have empathy for their people. That is the reason he used a metaphor brother. Furthermore, it is used to restructure the frame of the relation between the Governor and his folk. The Governor represents Government which is in Indonesian language and culture is a derivative word of order (*perintah*). It means the

one who gives the order. By the metaphor brother, it restructures the frame leader which is the one who gives the order, which is in the highest place of the hierarchy, to the equivalence relationship between brothers which has in the same hierarchy. This metaphor restructured the concept of leadership of his opponents which seen leaders as the parents which were contributed to the battle of discourse. The restructuration of the concept of leadership shown the progressive ideology of the speaker by Nurturant Moral View. As Lakoff (2002) explained that Nurturant Moral View valued empathy and social responsibility by love and respect (p. 108).

Another topic of leader that has progressive ideology was the conceptualization leader as a role model. By the vehicle role model, the speakers conveyed that the leader should give examples. If they want their people to use public transportation, then the leader should give examples because their job not just serve the people but to move and to mobilize and they can do that if they can do that to show the people as examples. Here, they want to show that there is no gap between the leader and its people to show they are equal.

The last conceptual metaphor in this research that shows a progressive ideology of the speaker was \*kindness is heart and \*justice is a homework. These conceptual metaphors were used by Anies. The conceptual metaphor \*kindness is heart also serves a progressive ideology of speaker by valuing empathy. Anies used metaphorical expressions “*carrying hearth*” and “*to lead them with hearth*” (Transcript (2) 00.58.29) to suggest that the leader should have empathy for their

people which show his progressive ideology by Nurturant Moral View (Lakoff, 2002). The conceptual metaphor \*justice is a homework shows that the current government did not provide justice for middle to low economic class. Then the speaker suggests the current Government represented by Ahok and Djarot come to look at Kerukut where there is an extraordinary inequality with the other economy class in Jakarta. He wanted the leaders to have empathy with these people which show the progressive ideology of the speaker by Nurturant Moral View (Lakoff, 2002).

#### **b. Conservative Ideology**

The conservative ideology in this research can be identified from the conceptual metaphors \* a human is an inanimate object, a human is a broken thing, a leader is a parent, and leader is an administrator of justice. These conceptual metaphors promoted several linguistic expressions that were used by Ahok consistently in the debate. Ahok seems to consistent to have a conservative ideology which can be seen from the language he used in debate. Ahok explained why he moved and flattened the people who lived in the riverbank and other slum areas because of it dangerous to live there. As the moral authority, he wanted to provide a solution in the normalization of the river which most of the people live there which made the size of the river decrease. Yet, it got many criticisms, especially from his political opponent which claimed the government was authoritarian by move these people without considering how they could live after that. This conceptual metaphor shows the speaker's Strict

Father view of the world which is represented by the moral strength and tough love of the speakers. Speaker believes the only way they could save the people who live in riverbanks which are considered dangerous and not healthy by the speaker was to move them into a better place without asking them first and without considering that they were human who can reject his policies. This metaphor shows the speaker has a conservative ideology with a Strict Father moral view (Lakoff, 2002).

Another conceptual metaphor in the topic of human that have conservative ideology is the conceptualization human into broken things. Ahok used the metaphor “to fix people” (*Transcript (1) 01.42.57*) by educating them not to live in the riverbank and other slum areas because it was dangerous. It shows his Strict Moral View as the one in charge who know what is wrong and what is right (Lakoff, 2002). This metaphor coherence with parent metaphors which show his Strict Moral View which as the father who educated by flattening their home and moving them to a better place because he is the one who has the moral strength to do so. In this expression, the word fix was used to describe the people who live in riverbank which the speaker accused to be broken because broken is the lexicon that people use refer to something that needed to be fixed. Because broken things cannot work in a competitive and dangerous world, then they needed to be fixed. This metaphorical expression has pragmatic function to provide clarification of the reason why he flattened these people’s home and remove them from their home. This metaphor shows the speaker conservative ideology with the Strict Father moral view.

In the parent metaphor, Ahok explained that he rejected direct cash assistance because it was not educational. Ahok explained that “*we are like parents who educate their children who diligently have to work to get it, who are not diligent will not get it*” (Transcript (1) 00.35.34). Thus, he valued discipline by Strict Father Moral View which if their children discipline they will be succeeded, and if they are lazy they will be failed (Lakoff, 2002). It was the same with the moral reasoning of conservative party in American politic which opposed social welfare program because they interpret government assistance as discouraging self-reliance and promoting laziness (Lakoff, 2002: 66-70). This metaphor shows that the speaker has Strict Father Morality which shows his moral strength and tough love which represent the ideology of the speaker which is conservative.

The last metaphor that shows conservative ideology was an administrator of justice that was used by Ahok. The administrator of justice refers to the policy of the speaker who he believed was justice. He believed as the leader, he should move these people to a better place which he mentioned as administered justice. Yet, he did not consider how these people thought or even asked questions before because he believed what was right for these people. This conceptual metaphor was a coherence to the conceptual metaphor \*human is an inanimate object, a human is a broken thing, and leader is a parent which shown the Strict Father moral view of the speaker which underlies the moral system and conservative ideology (Lakoff, 2002: 66-70). Strict Father Morality believes there is only one correct path that should be followed. Then,

as a father he knows the best what is right for his people then he does what he thinks is right. Because his job as a father is to protect his children from an inherently dangerous world, then the father should act. Even though it means he should move these people from their home by flattening their home.

### **c. Conservative Progressivism Ideology**

Conservative progressivism is the ideology associated with the economic development of the conditions of human life by social safety nets. The social safety net is a collection of services provided by the government to improve human life with careful changes that do not directly damage communities that are compatible with social and political conditions (Dwyer, 2012). This ideology can be seen from several metaphorical expressions that were used by all candidates in the debate. Djarot and Sandi seem to agree in this concept because they are used the same conceptual metaphors that conceptualized inflation as an enemy. By using this metaphor they make inflation look very frightening and must be resisted as an enemy. It contributes to the use of war metaphors, where there are enemies to fight for, there are strategies, and there are areas to be secured from the enemy. The metaphorical expressions such as *market operation*, and *fight the middleman*, were all the strategy that can be done to control the price. With these expressions, the speakers showed their concern for inflation and explained what they must do to improve the living conditions of people in Jakarta with good policies to create social safety net (Dwyer, 2012).

Another metaphor that shows speaker conservative progressivism ideology was the metaphor *fishing* that was used by Anies to make sure the social safety net in Jakarta. The metaphorical expressions “*gave the fish*”, “*gave the hook*”, “*a good fish*”, “*hook*”, “*pond*”, and “*fish pond*” (*Transcript (1) 00.36.09*) refer to the strategy that he and other candidates do to make sure the citizens of Jakarta are capable to live under their government. Thus, it shows his conservative progressivism ideology which good policies that create social safety net (Dwyer, 2012).

Ahok also has conservative progressivism ideology which can be seen from the metaphorical expressions “*a full brain, a full stomach, and a full wallet*” (*Transcript 01.42.57*). Ahok explained that his vision was to make sure that citizens Jakarta have *a full brain, a full stomach, and a full wallet*, refers to the capability in fulfilling their economical need. This strategy can be achieved by good policies that create a social safety net (Dwyer, 2012).

#### **d. Patriotism Ideology**

The last ideology in this research is patriotism ideology that can be seen from the conceptual metaphors \*unity is a building and \*politic is a struggle that was used by Anies, Ahok, and Djarot. In the topic of unity Anies used vehicle building to create metaphorical expressions “*to build unity*”, “*take care of its diversity*”, and “*can be built*” that was used by Anies (*Transcript (2) 01.37.58*) and (*Transcript (2) 01.40.16*). Anies explained that the sense of unity can be built by clearing the

inequality which also delegitimized his opponents which he claimed failure in clearing the inequality. These metaphorical expressions show that the speaker has nationalist patriotism ideology which can be seen by the importance of symbols and traditions of Indonesia as a nation. In this metaphor, speaker used symbol of *Pancasila* and the tradition of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* which means unity in diversity.

Ahok and Djarot used metaphors struggle to describe the topic of politic. Ahok and Djarot used metaphorical expressions “*our struggle*”, “*unfinished struggle*”, and “*the struggle has not finished yet*” to conceptualized politic. The word struggle is defined as an experience of difficulty or makes a great effort in order to do something. In these metaphors, politic defines as the struggle, the struggle to gain power. Ahok and Djarot expressed that they still want to struggle for the people of Jakarta by continuing to rule the Jakarta. By this metaphor, it can be seen that both of them has nationalist patriotism ideology.

### **3. The Cognitive Function of Metaphors**

There are five cognitive functions of metaphors in this research. They are categorized into two main functions which are structural and ontological.

#### **a. Structural Function of Metaphor**

Most of the metaphors in this research cognitively have a structural function. The structural functions describe an abstract concept by the specific human experience and describe an abstract concept by the more concrete object. The abstract

concept that is described by the specific human experience can be seen from the conceptual metaphor leader is a servant. In this metaphor, the topic of leader was described by the vehicle of a servant. This metaphor cognitively has a structural function because the abstract concept of leadership was described by the specific human experience in serving. In the universe of service, people give orders then the servant will work to get paid. It was contradicted to a leader in this context representative of the government which in the Indonesian language and culture is a derivative word of order (*perintah*). It means the one who gives orders and the people should follow. The other conceptual metaphor in leadership discourse such as \*a leader is a role model, a leader is a parent, a leaders is people's brother, a leader is porter have the structural function for the same reason.

The second structural function of metaphor is to describe an abstract concept by the more concrete object such as in the conceptual metaphor leader is a bridge and unity is a building. The conceptual metaphor leader is a bridge is categorized into a structural function because an abstract concept of leaders hip describes the more concrete object of a bridge which has the same reason as the unity that is conceptualized into building.

#### **b. The Ontological Function of Metaphors**

The ontological functions provide human experience with a physical object to produce various kind of metaphor. It can be used to describe a person as an inanimate

object, a human character by the symbol, and an inanimate object as a person. A conceptual metaphor human is an inanimate object and human is a broken thing were categorized as ontological function. In the conceptual metaphor human is an inanimate object describe a human experience with the physical object that moves something from one place to another which make them produce a conceptual metaphor human is an inanimate object. Thus in the expression “*we move them*” that was used by Ahok to explain why he moved the people who live in the riverbank and other slum area makes a human as no merely than inanimate objects who can move by themselves.

The second ontological function is to describe the human character by a symbol can be seen from the metaphorical expression “*to lead with a heart*” that conceptualized a human character of kindness using a symbol of a heart. This metaphor describes the human character using a symbol of heart which transfers the metaphorical meaning of heart into kindness. The last ontological function in this research is to describe an inanimate object as a person or personification. This metaphor personifies Jakarta as a person who can have a character such as justice.

#### **4. The Pragmatic Function of Metaphors**

The pragmatic function of metaphors refers to what speaker intention when they speak metaphorically. It does not only cover the meaning but the purpose of the speaker when they speak using metaphors. Most of the metaphorical expressions

found in this research have a function to legitimize, delegitimize, and to legitimize at once to delegitimize. The other pragmatic function of metaphor in this research is to provide an explanation, to show concern, to show how a leader should be, to get attention, to criticize, to provide clarification, to restructure the frame, to show injustice, to provide a solution, to introduce a problem, to show hope.

**a. To Legitimize**

Politicians need to legitimize himself to show the audiences that they are a more reliable politician than their political opponents. That is why most of the metaphors found in this debate have functions to legitimize the speakers such as metaphorical expressions *build human, become iCore 7 not a pentium anymore* (*Transcript (1) 00.14.22*) that was used by Ahok to explain his strategy in building human by certain indicators such *a full brain, a full stomach, and a full wallet*. This can be done the bureaucracy that serves with the concept of clean, transparent and professional. This metaphorical expression implied that he was the one who can preserve the clean, transparent and professional bureaucracy. Then, this metaphor has a function to legitimize himself by showing that he is more reliable than his political opponents.

In metaphor *iCore 7* and *a Pentium*, Ahok explained that he has been upgraded as a human being. He was captured being rude, authoritarian, strict and had a high temper now is evolving into a respectful and a kind person. Yet, when he went to an election and partnering by Djarot Saiful Hidayat, it makes him be a better person because Djarot has polite, friendly, and nurturing character. By this metaphor, he wanted to show human can be grown to be a better person. The things that become his weakness are able to throw away by collaborating with Djarot. Thus, this metaphors has function to legitimize himself as an upgraded human being.

Anies also legitimize himself when using metaphorical expressions “*gave the fish*”, “*gave the hook*”, “*a good fish*”, “*hook*”, “*pond*”, and “*fish pond*” (*Transcript (1) 00.36.09*). In these metaphorical expressions, he wants to show that he was capable to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor in Jakarta by providing a better solution for citizens of Jakarta. Agus-Silvi used direct cash which defined by Anies as “*gave the fish*”. Ahok-Djarot preferred to give health insurance, housing guarantees, education guarantees, transportation guarantees, and capital guarantees for business because according to Ahok, it was not educating. Ahok’s strategy was defined as giving the hook by Anies. But he is the one who makes sure that *the pond is still available*. The metaphorical *pond* referred to the system which the people of Jakarta can get a job to fulfill their economic need. It is the program of economic growth that Anies-Sandi wanted to create, which will later prepare employment opportunities with entrepreneurs and work with the private sector.

### **b. To Delegitimize**

Politicians need to delegitimize their political opponent by showing their weakness or the wrong things they are doing, or even the things they should do but they did not do that. There are some metaphors that were used to delegitimize in this research such as *the war on poverty* and *war on stupidity* that was used by Anies to delegitimize what Ahok-Djarot has been doing in Jakarta (*Transcript (1) 00.36.09*). In this metaphors, Anies explain that they (refer to himself and Sandi with their team) were not struggling in this political competition to fight a war against poverty but to promote the public prosperity as what is stated in 45 law. In this metaphor, the speaker classified what he is going to do (*promote the public prosperity, getting rid of inequality*) and what the current government of Jakarta done (*fighting a war against poverty, getting rid of poverty*). Furthermore, he believes that the current government of Jakarta has been wrong *to fight a war against poverty* which he claimed was wrong in choosing the enemy which was not the poverty itself but the poor people by eliminating them. These metaphorical expressions coherence with the previous metaphor *eliminate the poor* that he used to explain how the current government was *fighting a war against poor people* by flattening their home and removing them from their home.

### **c. To Legitimize and Delegitimize**

There are some metaphorical expressions that were to legitimize the speaker at once delegitimize his political opponent. One of them is *builds character* that was used by Anies which conceptualized moral as a building that is necessary to be built (*Transcript (2) 02.03.30*). Anies explained that he wants to build character such as faith, piety, and morals that were not done and not become the priority of the current government which delegitimizes his political opponent. Furthermore, he explained how to build the character completely which legitimize himself.

#### **d. To Provide Explanation**

Another pragmatic function of metaphor in this research is to provide an explanation such as metaphorical expressions *a full brain, a full stomach, and a full wallet* that was used by Ahok (*Transcript (1) 01.42.57*). This metaphorical expression was used to answer Anies' question on how to *build human*. Ahok explained that his policy which was to *build human* to get *a full brain, a full stomach, and a full wallet*, that refers to smart and high purchasing power human being. This metaphor provides explanation of the vision of government.

#### **e. To Show Concern and Criticize**

Another pragmatic function of metaphor in this research is to show concern about drugs phenomena that was used by Anies (*Transcript (1) 00.17.51*). Anies used the metaphorical expression “*fight the drugs*” and “*the threat of the drugs*”. This metaphor was used by Anies to express his attitude toward drugs that invade Jakarta. The speaker wants to show that the concern about drugs phenomena and he cares for the young generations.

**f. To Show How Leader Should be and Provide Clarification**

Another pragmatic function of metaphor in this research is to show how a leader should such as the metaphorical expression that was used by Ahok to explain why he moved the people who lived in the riverbank and flattening their home (*Transcript 01.17.10*). He used metaphor education as his concept of leadership which conceptualized leader as a parent. As a parent, he needs to do what he thinks is right to normalize the river. It can be done by moving and flattening the home of the people who lived there because he wanted to educate these people not to live in a dangerous place.

**g. To Restructure the Frame and Get Attention**

Another pragmatic function of metaphor in this research is to restructure the frame. As Charteris-Black (2004) explained that metaphor could provide a new coherent reality. It can be done by the ability of metaphor to restructure the frame such as in the metaphorical expression “*we are Jakarta servants*” and “*we want five*

more years *to serve* Jakarta” that was used by Djarot (*Transcript (2) 02.10.45*). In this metaphor the leader which in this context representative of the government had a frame as the one who gives the order as in Indonesian language and culture, Government (*pemerintah*) is a derivative word of order (*perintah*). It means the one who gives orders and the people should follow. In the universe of service, people give orders then the servant will work to get paid. It was contradicted to the frame of a servant which the one who is taken the order as in the universe of service, people give orders then the servant will work to get paid. This metaphor also has a function to get attention.

#### **h. To Show Injustice**

Another pragmatic function of metaphor in this research is to show an injustice that was used by Anies. The metaphorical expression “*carrying hearth*” and “*to lead them with hearth*” (*Transcript (1) 00.58.29*) was used by Anies to show an injustice of the current Governor’s policies that flattened the home of the people who live near the riverbank and moved them to another place without even asked first. He wanted the leader should have empathy for their people. That is the reason he used heart metaphor as a representative of kindness.

#### **i. To Provide Solution**

The metaphorical expression that used to provide solution can be identified from the metaphorical expressions “*fight the middlemen*” that was used by Djarot

(*Transcript (2) 01.20.05*). In this metaphor, Djarot tried to provide a solution and accused that the middleman made the prices went up and contributed to creating inflation. Thus, by fighting them, the price could be in control.

#### **j. To Submit Rejection**

The metaphorical expression that used to submit rejection can be identified from the metaphorical expression “Who says *Jakarta is unfair*? Who says *Jakarta is unfair*, property taxes, one billion of poor people, don’t pay” that used by Ahok (*Transcript (2) 01.41.24*). Ahok submitted a rejection of his opponent's statement who claimed that Jakarta is unfair. The speaker used a rhetorical question that does not need an answer but to clarify that Jakarta has been fair. This rhetorical question has been intensified by repetition to clarify that Jakarta has been fair.

#### **k. To Introduce A Problem**

The metaphorical expression that used to introduce problem can be identified from metaphorical expressions “*to build unity*”, “*take care of its diversity*”, and “*can be built*” that were used by Anies (*Transcript (2) 01.37.58*). In this metaphor, Anies explain that after an election the polarization between the two fragmented groups will get stronger, then he asked a question what will his political opponent do to reduce this tension.

### **1. To Show Hope**

The last pragmatic function in this research is to show hope that can be identified from the metaphorical expression “the new governor will actually *deliver* Jakarta to more effective governance” that was used by Anies (*Transcript (2) 01.54.30*). Anies used this metaphor to persuade the voters to choose himself which could *deliver* Jakarta to be more effective governance which makes Jakarta as the home for all. This metaphor shows show hope and promise of a new better Government which will be more justice and more equal for all of Jakarta’s people.

### **C. Research Limitations**

This research has several limitations related to the methodology. The method of this research limited to find the cognitive and pragmatic functions of metaphors which persuasive in nature. Yet, the persuasive effect of the metaphors for the target audiences did not specific to be analyzed because this research did not create specific research situations but only to look on the relation between natural authentic discourse and real-world occurrence. Furthermore, this research is limited to interpreting the discourse practices that involve interpreting texts and contexts in order find out what is in the speaker's mind when they speak metaphorically without explaining how those metaphors influence audiences, how the production of

metaphors determine the social structures, their effects on social structures, and whether they are accepted or rejected.