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Taste Noun Metaphors in Indonesian, English, and Javanese Classical Literature

This paper aims to investigate three genetically (un)related languages – Indonesian, English, and Javanese – on the taste noun metaphor in classical literature. The article provides a general evaluation of the selected data based on its historical background and the "taste" lexicon from each language. The data was collected from randomly chosen works of classical literature from the 1900–1950 era. The size of the collected corpus is around 250,000 words for each language. The main analysis reveals that there are three general conceptual metaphors (physical experience is taste, emotional experience is taste, cognitive experience is taste) that can be specified into sub-metaphors. The results show that the Indonesian language uses taste words more productive than the two other languages, which is also reflected in how the language applies the taste noun in metaphorical expressions for conceptualizing bodily and beyond bodily sensations. Javanese appears to apply the three general conceptual metaphors in a similar way to Indonesian, though not as productive as in the Indonesian language, while English, which shows less occurrence of the 'taste' noun, uses it only in expressing non-bodily experiences (emotion and cognition). The findings overlap with the general statement from Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claiming that idea is food and cognition is perception.

Keywords: taste metaphor, conceptual metaphor, comparative study, classical literature

Metaphern mit dem Substantiv *Geschmack* in der indonesischen, englischen und javanischen klassischen Literatur

Diese Studie hat zum Ziel, drei typologisch (un)verwandte Sprachen - Indonesisch, Englisch und Javanisch – hinsichtlich der Verwendung des Substantivs Geschmack in der klassischen Literatur zu untersuchen. Die Arbeit bietet eine umfassende Analyse der ausgewählten Daten, basierend auf ihrem historischen Hintergrund und dem lexikalischen Reichtum zum Thema Geschmack in jeder Sprache. Die Daten wurden aus zufällig ausgewählten Werken der klassischen Literatur aus der Zeit von 1900 bis 1950 erhoben. Das Korpus dieser Untersuchung umfasst etwa 250.000 Wörter für jede der betrachteten Sprachen. Die Hauptanalyse zeigt, dass drei grundlegende konzeptuelle Metaphern existieren (körperliche Erfahrung als Geschmack, emotionale Erfahrung als Geschmack, kognitive Erfahrung als Geschmack), die in spezifischere Untermetaphern unterteilt werden können. Die Ergebnisse verdeutlichen, dass das Indonesische das Substantiv *Geschmack* produktiver einsetzt als die beiden anderen Sprachen. Diese Produktivität spiegelt sich auch in der Verwendung des Substantivs Geschmack in metaphorischen Ausdrücken zur Konzeptualisierung sowohl körperlicher als auch überkörperlicher Empfindungen wider. Im Vergleich dazu verwendet das Javanische die drei grundlegenden konzeptuellen Metaphern in ähnlicher Weise wie das Indonesische, jedoch weniger produktiv. Das Englische hingegen verwendet das Substantiv Geschmack seltener und beschränkt sich dabei auf die Darstellung von nicht-körperlichen Erfahrungen, wie Emotionen und Kognition. Diese Ergebnisse stimmen mit der grundlegenden These von Lakoff und Johnson (1980) überein, wonach Ideen mit Nahrung und Kognition mit Wahrnehmung in Verbindung stehen.

Schlüsselwörter: Geschmacksmetapher, konzeptuelle Metapher, vergleichende Studie, klassische Literatur

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1. Introduction

Western philosophers have counted the sense of taste as a lower perception modality (cf. Bagli 2018, Viberg 1984). The sense of taste, unlike the other senses like vision and audio, has not been given as much attention due to its low reliability (cf. Speed/Majid 2019). This condition is reflected extensively in the metaphorical extensions in Indo-European. For example, English may say:

(1) The aim of this research is **not clear**. Oh, I **see**.

English uses the *I see* rather than the *I taste* expression as in (1) to show understanding. Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2019: 47) also emphasized the standing out of metaphor "understanding is seeing" in English.

However, it is obvious that the sense of taste is also used to point to other non-sensory qualities, as we can see in example (2), where the gustatory perception could express aesthetic feelings.

(2) Once you've **tasted** luxury, it's very hard to settle for anything else (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/taste).

This phenomenon can also be seen in other languages with different metaphorical characteristics. In the Latin language, the word for taste does not simply refer to aesthetic feelings but also to the faculty of intelligence. *Sapere*, the verb 'to taste,' also means 'to know,' giving us sapience 'knowledge person' (cf. Classen 2019: 25). In the Indonesian language, taste perception is expressed in *rasa* where we can see, as in example 3, the use of this word to express the degree of understanding.

(3) Aku rasa banyak kesalahan dalam penelitian ini. 1SG taste many mistake in research this 'I think there are a lot of mistakes in this research'.

Furthermore, it is also evident that by adding circumfix *pe-an* to the word *rasa*, it changes its meaning to become *perasaan* 'feeling'. These examples indicate that the meaning of the word expressing gustatory perception tends to be used in another domain outside its original meaning of expressing taste perception in the languages.

The notion that taste perception has another function in expressing metaphorical thought has been investigated by numerous researchers. Steinbach-Eicke (2019), in her research on Hieroglyph Egyptian language, found that the gustatory perception domain has been used in the physical, emotional, and cognitive domains. In correlation with her result, Hoffman (2019), who studied the Qur'anic Arabic metaphor, pointed out that the taste lexicon is very often connected to pain, punishment, and disgust. Some other researchers also indicate that the gustatory perception has metaphorical functions in emotional expressions (cf. Winter 2016, Zou/Tse 2020, Phillips/Heining 2009). Furthermore, the work of Bagli (2021) sheds new light on the taste domain

investigation from the usage-based approach that suggests that its complex and challenging pictures show its importance which should be examined further.

In the conclusion from the work of Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2019: 60), she mentions that "[t]here is still a lot of work to be done in this field. More studies using a wide range of methodologies (e.g., parallel corpus, elicitation) are needed in order to investigate the scope and distribution of (general) perception metaphors in different languages", showing the importance of further research on specific metaphor perception in different languages. The present paper aims to analyze the taste perception that appears in the actual context of literature by adapting a usage-based approach. The focus of the study is investigating the metaphorical use of the taste noun in the Indonesian language in comparison with the language from an unrelated language family (English from the Indo-European family) and a language from the same language family (Javanese from the Austronesian family). In an attempt to address the aim of the study, the research questions of this paper encompass (1) how productively the gustatory perception is used in Indonesian, English, and Javanese classical literature, and (2) What-the taste perception functions are as a source domain in Indonesian, English, and Javanese language.

In the following section of the paper, first, the theoretical background supporting conceptual metaphor theory and the lexicon expressing gustatory perception will be set forth according to the characteristic of the languages. Second, a brief historical background of Indonesian language and the history of its literature will be presented as a justification for the selected corpus data. In the same section, English and Javanese classical literature will also be discussed to give a clear picture of the situation of the language in the parallel period. Third, the methodology used to analyze data in this paper will be explained. Finally, some conceptual metaphors using the taste perception in each language and the linguistic expressions supporting the arguments will be discussed.

2. Background Information

In this subsection, the historical background of the Indonesian language, especially in the classical literature era, will be introduced to explain how this language has a great influence on the development of Javanese classical literature. A brief review of English classical literature will also be provided. Afterward, the taste lexical terms from each language will be discussed.

2.1 A brief history of Indonesian and Javanese classical literature

Conceptual metaphor is a product of our cognition that is influenced by different ways of thinking when we use language. Most metaphors are expressed unconsciously because they have been part of languages that are presumably involved in organizing people's minds or vice versa (cf. Boroditsky 2001), while on the other hand, creative

writing like classical literature is somehow created consciously for aesthetic purposes. It means that taking classical literature as corpus data in conceptual metaphor analysis could lead to some bias. However, Kövecses has highlighted a finding on poetic language by cognitive linguists which makes a startling discovery that most poetic language is based on conventional, ordinary conceptual metaphors (cf. Kövecses 2010). Based on that finding, investigating classical literature is also reliable to understand the conceptual metaphors in any language. Furthermore, the classical literature corpus investigated in this research was chosen due to the historical background that enabled the collection of synchronous data.

The Indonesian language was first declared (born) in the national youth conference in 1928, known as the Oath of the Youth before the Independence Day of Indonesia (cf. Sneddon 2003). At that time, the term "Indonesian language" was not even precise because it somehow referred to the Malay language, which was used as a lingua franca in multicultural communication in the territory by the local community and the Dutch that ruled them. However, the youth declared this new language for a political reason in order to build national identity in the region. Besides Dutch, the language was quick-spreading and used as a formal and official language. Then, when the use of Dutch in administration and education was banned due to the Japanese occupation in 1942, the Indonesian language got the de facto? status as an official language. Moreover, Indonesian language is the language used in the independence script of Indonesia in 1945.

According to Sneddon (2003), the Indonesian language in the early beginning of its development was strikingly different from the Indonesian used nowadays, especially with regard to literature and education. The standardization of the Indonesian language to construct a language that suits the multicultural ethnicities in Indonesia obviously had the most significant effect. While Malay spoken in other countries gets a lot of influence from English, the Indonesian language developed from Malay with the influence of Dutch, Sanskrit, Javanese, and the Arabic language. There is a community of writers who significantly influenced the construction of the new language for the pre-independence nation just before and after the Oath of the Youth called the **Pujangga Baru** (New Writer – *Poedjangga Baroe* in the original spelling). This name was originally taken from a magazine initiated by Alisjahbanna, Amir Hamzah, and Armijn Pane (cf. Sneddon 2003). In this paper, the classical Indonesian literature is taken from the writers of this era.

The development and spreading of the new Indonesian language had a big impact on the use of the Javanese language in the region. Since the Indonesian language is taking over as the country's official language, formal written activities such as the education system and institutional letters have to be written in Indonesian (cf. Moeliono et al. 2017). This new regulation put the use of written Javanese into deterioration. The latest original Javanese language literature written in **Aksara Jawa** (Javanese

alphabet) can only be found around 1990–1995. These scripts have been transcribed into the modern Latin alphabet by the Sastra Lestari Non-profit Organization. This organization collected and compiled data in the modern Latin alphabet from their original literature.

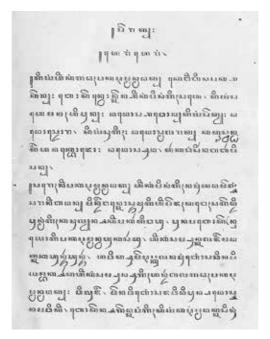


Fig. 1. Javanese classical literature script written in Aksara Jawa

In conclusion, to be able to compare these three languages synchronically in written form, the proper era when the language was used must be chosen. Classical literature in the 1900–1950 era is the most compatible because this era is a meeting point when new literature on the Indonesian language started growing and the latest Javanese literature withered. There is no such necessity to justify the literature in the English language since English literature already existed even far before this era.

2.2 The taste lexicons in Indonesian, Javanese, and English

The lexicon that expresses gustatory perception in the Indonesian language is *rasa*. In "Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Edisi kelima" ('Big Dictionary of Indonesian Language Fifth edition'), the first definition given for the word *rasa* is "tanggapan indra terhadap rangsangan saraf, seperti manis, pahit, masam terhadap indra pengecap" ('sensory responses to nervous stimuli, such as sweet, bitter, sour to the sense of taste'). In Indonesian language, *rasa* can be both a noun and a verb. As a noun, in everyday usage, *rasa* mostly collocates with adjectives *rasa manis* 'sweet (taste)' and nouns *rasa nanas* 'the taste of pineapple'.

Rasa as a verb can be applied with or without affixes. Without affixes, rasa is in active form as can be seen in (4). The basic active voice of rasa verb is merasakan and the passive voice is dirasakan. It was also found that other forms of the verb rasa appeared in the data, such as terasa '(it is) tasted', rasa-rasanya '(it) tastes (like)', dirasai '(something) is tasted', and merasai 'Someone is tasting (something)'.

(4) Saya rasa lebih baik kita makan di pacuan kuda saja nanti. 1SG taste more good 2PL eat in racing horse only later 'I think (lit.taste) it is better if we eat later at the horse racing venues'.

Javanese language, the language that applies a politeness level of speech possesses three different taste words expressing gustatory perceptions depending on the speech level. Considering the three gustatory words from the three different levels is essential to wrap all the taste words used in more comprehensive registers. The three levels of politeness are called "ngoko" (the lowest level of politeness), "krama madya" (the middle level of politeness), and "krama inggil" (The highest level of politeness). The Javanese lexicons that represents gustatory perception encompasses *rasa* (ngoko), *raos* (krama madya), and *winiraos* (krama inggil). The word for the sense of taste in Indonesian and Javanese in ngoko is similar in writing, but they are pronounced differently. In Javanese language, *rasa* is pronounced [roso] while in Indonesia is [rasa].

In English, it is obvious that the word *taste* is the most possible candidate for expressing gustatory perception. Obviously, English also has the word *flavor* in connection with the gustatory expression . However, the word *flavor* is not compatible purely to represent gustatory perception because it includes almost all sensory modalities such as visual experience, texture, and temperature (cf. Speed/Majid 2019). Some adjective taste terms are also not a clear-cut concept. For instance, some taste components like *sweet* may share the same function to express odor in the smelling concept because of the connections between taste and smell on the neurophysiological level.

I limited my investigation only to the noun class to focus on gustatory perception as a source domain. Kövecses (2019: 332) has distinguished two conceptual frames of smell into active and passive categories. The active category includes "an object as the source of smell, the smell as a property of the object, the object having smell, an agent with the faculty of smell, the agent performing the action of smelling, and the agent perceiving the smell". The passive frame includes "a number of conceptual elements; namely, that smell has an origin, has a cause, that the origin produces the smell, the smell itself, the organism with the faculty of smell, the faculty itself, and the experience of perceiving the smell" (Köveces 2019: 332). This categorization is also proper to specify the taste perception with an active and passive frame as smell. Taste in the three languages has the characteristic to be the activity of tasting or perceiving taste (active) and the faculty that possesses the taste (passive). The passive frame of taste is the suitable frame to indicate the taste perception used as a source domain in

metaphor. Thus, to investigate the taste metaphor as a source domain, taking a noun class that reflects the passive frame of the word is appropriate. Moreover, since the Indonesian language is very active in using affixation (cf. Siahaan 2015) only the noun *rasa* without any affixation is considered, which will lead to bias because most of the affixation derives the form of the noun *rasa* into a verb. For instance, the affix *me*- in the Indonesian language is used to form the transitive form of the base to become *merasa* 'to taste'. This consideration also applies to the other two languages, Javanese and English.

Furthermore, in this research, five basic taste terms defined in English and their equivalent terms in Indonesian and Javanese are analyzed. This procedure is used to understand better and support the arguments of the conceptual metaphors argued in this paper. In English, the five basic taste terms used in common parlance are *sweet*, *sour*, *bitter*, *salty*, and *spicy* (cf. Bagli 2018). In Indonesian, the five basic senses are also recognized as *manis* 'sweet', *kecut* 'sour', *pahit* 'bitter', *asin* 'salty', and *pedas* 'spicy'. In daily communication, the Indonesian language also has *asam* to represent sour. But this word is synonymous with *asam* that refers to *buah asam* 'tamarind'. However, the relevant linguistic expressions of this word will also be presented when it is needed. The Javanese language has almost similar terminology to Indonesian for the five basic tastes, but is different in pronunciation. The five basic taste terms in the Javanese language are *legi* 'sweet', *asem* or *kecut* 'sour', *pait* 'bitter', *asin* 'salty', *pedes* 'spicy'.

3. The corpus data of classical literature

The investigation conducted in this research applies qualitative corpus data analysis. The corpus data was collected from a maximum variation of classical novels from related languages (English, Indonesian, and Javanese) published around 1900–1950. The selected novels represent the use of the language in each original language (not as a translation from the literature of other language). The size of each corpus is approximately 250.000 words. Collected novels from three languages were compiled into three different corpora using the AntConc corpus analysis tool. Using the word tokens of each language that have been explained in the previous section, the concordance lines that show the taste lexical with the context will be collected. This result will be analyzed to find the conceptual metaphors of TASTE outside the gustatory perception.

The literature taken as a corpus is in its original version with some standardization from the phonological perspective. The new spelling system of the Indonesian language was introduced in 1972 and called "Ejaan yang Disempurnakan" ('Standardized Spelling System') (Sneddon 1996: 5). Since the focus of the paper is on the meaning of words, the change of the standardization of the phonological level will not have any influence on the analysis.

4. Results and Discussion

This section will investigates, first, the productivity of gustatory vocabulary in Indonesian, Javanese, and English. Next, since the paper only focuses on the appearance of the taste nouns, the comparison between the taste nouns expressing gustatory perception and metaphorical function will be presented. Finally, the three types of metaphor and their submetaphors that appeared in the corpus data will be analyzed.

4.1 Quantitative analysis of the taste noun

The first step of the analysis using the AntConc corpus analysis tool reveals that the Indonesian language shows the highest occurrence of taste words in the collected data as can be seen in Figure 2. This highest appearance of taste perception in the corpus (keeping in mind that they are not in a culinary discourse) indicates the use of *taste* figuratively.

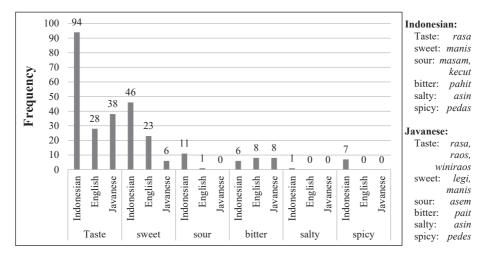


Fig. 2. Gustatory vocabulary appearance by languages

The use of taste words in the Javanese language also shows some productivity, though it is not as significant as in Indonesian. Moreover, English shows the least appearance of taste used in the data. This finding only shows the frequency of the taste word in the languages in the corpus data and their tendency without aiming to claim that languages from the same family have the same characteristic in taste perception while languages from different families tend to act differently. This claim needs more investigation using more data from various languages.

Interestingly, even though Javanese seems to have a closer similarity in using gustatory words to Indonesian, the frequency of the basic five taste terms shows less appearance of *sweet* and *sour* in taste perception, while it has the same frequency as the appearance of *bitter*, *salty* and *spicy* as in English. Examples (6) and (7) are evidence taken from the data indicating the use of *sweet* metaphorically. The word *bitter* also

shows higher usage in English and Javanese than in the Indonesian language yet it is not a significant difference. The example of its figurative uses appears in examples (8) and (9). However, it is also important to bear in mind that not all appearances counted in Figure 2 indicate the metaphorical expression as can be seen in (5). However, in Figure 3, it is obvious that only a few gustatory lexicons appear in non-metaphorical uses. Most of the taste nouns appear as metaphors in Indonesian, Javanese, and even in English classical literature corpora.

- (5) Rezia liked ices, chocolates, **sweet** things.
- (6) Look in my eyes with thy **sweet** eyes intently.
- (7) **Sweet** was her smile.
- (8) He grewvery **bitter** over the arrangements.
- (9) Èsêm-e pait madu. smile-GEN bitter honey 'Her smile (tastes) a bitter honey'.

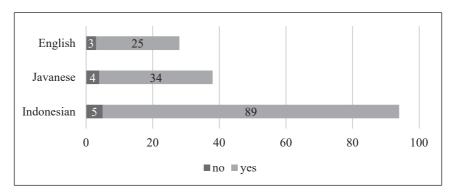


Fig. 3. TASTE in metaphorical expression

4.2 Conceptual Metaphors of TASTE

In the analysis of the metaphorical expressions, I have adapted the categorization made by Steinbach-Eicke (2019) with some modifications in organizing the complex metaphor categories. Steinbach-Eicke introduced the metaphorical uses of taste in Hieroglyph language in expressing physical feelings, emotions, and cognitive domains. This categorization is, in fact, applicable to the TASTE metaphors studied in this research. From Steinbach-Eicke, I took the terms physical, emotional, and cognitive as a base of my categorization where I believe that those terms can be received as experiences. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 25) explained that, "[u]nderstanding our experiences in terms of objects and substances allows us to pick out parts of our experience and treat them as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind. Once we can identify our experiences as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categorize them, group them, and quantify them-and, by this means, reason about them".

Based on Lakoff and Johnson, I suggest that physical, emotional, and cognitive terms are the specific experience that can be understood in terms of taste. Thus, there are three categorization that can be seen as complex metaphor that I focused on in this research. They are physical experience is taste, emotional experience is taste, emotional experience is taste. Further explanation regarding the three categorizations is given in the following subchapters.

In Figure 4, the composition of the three complex metaphor categorizations in corpus data for each language is displayed. Emotional experiences take a higher number to be expressed as TASTE nouns in the Indonesian language, while cognitive experiences are expressed as TASTE with high frequency in Indonesian, Javanese, and English respectively. Physical experiences expressed as taste of a significant value can only be found in the Indonesian language corpus.

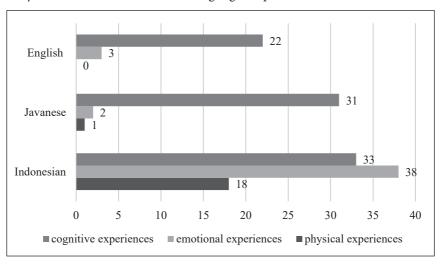


Fig. 4. Three complex metaphors in the three languages

4.2.1 Physical experience is taste

Physical experiences are sensations that are perceived by the human body. This experience is related to the sensation of touch and considering the sensation that the whole body can notice. Steinbach-Eike (2019: 146) claimed that in Hieroglyphic Egyptian the prototypical meaning of taste is a "central element within the domain of gustatory perception". This condition is called a cross-modal metaphor or synaesthetic extension when the perception of one domain is explained using the perception of another domain. In Indonesian it is common to say *rasa lembut* 'soft (taste)' to express something like the softness of the fabric. It can thus be concluded that the Indonesian language applies taste nouns to express broader physical experiences. In the following general metaphor in which **physical experience is taste**, there are some sub-metaphors indicating more detailed target domains:

Physical experience is taste

(10) Geli rasa air asin itu me-limbur-i kakinya.
tickle taste water salty DEM spread-ACT foot-GEN
'The feel (taste) of salty water is surrounding his feet'.

Whole body sensation is taste

- (11) Ia bangun pagi dengan rasa lelah yang luar biasa.
 3SG wake morning with taste exhaustion that out normal 'He wakes up in the morning exhausted'.
- (12) Pandangannya mengabur dan lemahlah rasa seluruh badannya view-GEN blur-ACT and weak taste whole body-GEN 'His view is blurred and his whole body (taste)is weakened'.

Physical pain is taste

(13) Penuh rasa dada-nya dan sesak rasa napas-nya, me-nahan packed taste chest-GEN and pain taste breath-GEN ACT-withhold hati-nya yang tak dapat direncanakan di sini.

liver-GEN REL NEG can PASS-plan in here 'He had a feeling of fullness in his chest and was also short of breath holding his uncontrollable feeling'.

Physical experience is a sensation perceived by touching using the tips of fingers or a sensation perceived by some or a whole-body part (ex. (10) and (11)). In Javanese, taste is also found to express physical experiences.

Whole body sensation is taste

(14) Gadhah raos eca dening wontên candunipun ingkang mê-tagihi.
have taste good that exist opium that ACT-addict
'(It) has a good feel (taste) that contains opium (which will make you) addicted'.

In (14), raos eca 'good taste' is used in expressing the good taste of opium that creates an addictive effect to the users. This phrase seems to be used in accurate gustatory perception. But we have to bear in mind that the "good" taste conveyed in the sentence expresses the good sensation perceived by the body when using the drug. It does not relate to the gustatory sense perceived by the tongue. Thus, here we can say that taste is metaphorically used to express the bodily or physical experience.

4.2.2 Emotional experience is taste

Emotional experiences have a broad meaning, not limited only to the emotion words (cf. Kövecses 1990). The investigation of these experiences must be conducted based on the description of the emotion because each culture may express some emotional

experience differently. First, we have to understand emotional experiences and their difference from other experiences that humans can perceive. Kövecses (1990), in his study of emotion, proposed a metaphor **emotion is an internal sensation** in an attempt to understand emotion. Thus, we can comprehend that emotional experiences are beyond bodily sensations. However, these experiences may affect physical reactions or disorders.

In the Indonesian language, the concept of emotion is closely related to the word *hati* 'liver'. Thus, it is also important to mention that in 132 concordance lines with the word *rasa* in the Indonesian classical novel corpus, there are 22 sentences where *rasa* is collocated with the word *hati* 'liver'. According to the study conducted by Siahaan (2008), *hati* plays a role as the seat of emotion, while in English, it is mainly related to the word *heart* and *mind*.

(15) Kecut lah rasa hati-nya bila di-ingat-nya hal-nya,
sour PART taste liver-3SG if PASS-remember-GEN condition-GEN
tak dapat lari ke mana-mana.
NEG ability run ALL where-RED
'(the taste of) Her heart becomes sour when she remembers the situation and she

Excerpt (15) is one example of the twenty-two sentences that appear in the concordance of the noun *rasa* collocating with *hati*. In the example, *hati* is expressed as an entity with a taste to indicate its emotional feeling. The taste *kecut* 'sour' is used to express the discomfort that the heart feels as a reaction to a bad situation. This discomfort perceived by the heart is expressed in the taste domain, showing the same situation when the tongue experiences an unpleasant reaction upon tasting something sour. In (16), the emotions of anger, sadness, and hatred are perceived as the taste of the liver (as the seat of emotion).

Emotion is taste

can't escape anywhere'.

(16) Ketika aku men-dengar kabar ini, tak dapat-lah kurencanakan, when 1SG ACT-hear news this NEG can-PART 1SG-plan bagaimana rasa hati-ku; marah, sedih, benci bercampur baur tak tentu. how taste liver-1SG anger sadness hatred mix over NEG clear 'When I heard the news, I could not control the feelings (taste) in my heart: anger, sadness, hatred mixed altogether'.

Taste noun also appears to express emotional feelings in Javanese and English. In (17), *susah* 'sorrow' is expressed as *winiraos* 'taste (in krama inggil)'. *Susah*, literally means 'difficult' when the experiencer is facing a problematic condition affecting one's emotions.

(17) Sampun saèstu botên kenging winiraos susahing priyantun wau. PRF in.fact NEG do taste sorrow person DEM '(It is) really difficult to imagine the sorrow of that person'. In the English classical literature corpus, there is little evidence of taste to express emotional experiences. One of them is (18) where taste is used to explain mood. Mood is considered an emotional feeling in the Emotional Taste Term by Yoon (2021: 317).

Mood is taste

(18) It was, at any rate, in better **taste** not to go to the ball.

4.2.3 Cognitive experience is taste

The cognitive concept is a concept that is related to thinking and conscious mental processes. Sometimes it is not easy to differentiate between the cognitive concept built into the thinking process and emotional experiences because both of them result from internal experiences of the body. Kövecses (1990) has mentioned this concept as a cognitive model and has given examples like *love*, *pride*, and *respect*.

Cognitive concept is taste

- (19) Tak pernah di-alami-nya rasa sepi sehebat itu. NEG ever PASS-happen-3SG taste loneliness great DEM 'The (taste of) great loneliness that He/She has never felt'.
- (20) Rasa cemburuan ter-gambar jelas pada mukanya taste jealousy PASS-picture clear in face-1SG '(taste of) Jealousy is clearly seen in on her face'.
- (21) hilang lah segala **rasa kehormatan** terhadap orang tua itu. Lost PART all taste respect to people old that 'The respect (taste) towards those elderly people has gone'.

(19) and (20) give us examples of cognitive experiences that are related to the cognitive concept dealing with the internal feeling of the experiencers like *sepi* 'loneliness' and *cemburu* 'jealousy'. Both of them are conceptualized as a taste in the excerpts, while (21) shows how another shape of cognitive concept in connection with experience with the social community like *kehormatan* 'respect' is also conceptualized as taste together with the word *rasa*.

Character is taste

(22) Taman Siswa kenging dados tuladhaning pangudi, ang-gandhè
Taman Siswa do to.be example struggle ACT-combine
raos kina ingkang sae kalihan angên-angên enggal saking ing Jawi
taste old that good with idea new ABL in Jawa
'Taman Siswa can be a (good) example that combines the good old style and the new ideas in Java'.

Bagli (2021), in his study of English metaphors, has defined some conceptual metaphors related to taste. One of them is **character is taste**, where taste conceptualizes the character or quality of something. It means that in his investigation, the taste frame is used to understand the passive quality of something. In the Javanese language, the character of someone or something is also conceptualized as taste. Consider the example (22), the adjective *kina* 'old' describes the quality of style that is expressed as a taste.

However, in the data collected in this paper, I found that taste is also used to conceptualize how people appreciate the characteristics of something. While taste sense is used as a source domain for understanding the character of something, appreciation is how someone perceives the character of something.

Appreciation is taste

- (23) He drew the tray of old jewels towards him, and taking up first this brooch then that ring, "How much is that?" he asked but doubted his own **taste**.
- (24) He did not trust his taste in gold.

Excerpts (23) and (24) provide good examples of taste conceptualized as people's appreciation. In (23), the taste is placed to understand someone's appreciation of a ring, while in (24), the taste perception is used to understand the appreciation of someone for gold.

5. Conclusion

The productivity of taste words used to understand other concepts differs from language to language. Even though each language (Indonesian, English, and Javanese) has a group of different conceptual metaphors, it is important to look at the pattern of the conceptual metaphor each language has. Indonesian and Javanese languages show unique characteristics when they conceptualize physical experiences in terms of the gustatory lexicon. Moreover, in the three investigated languages, the beyond bodily experiences like cognition, emotion, appreciation, and character are dominant in the mapping of taste metaphors. This finding is in line with one of the conceptual metaphors proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) **idea is food**. When an idea is conceptualized as food, the possible mapping is that every sensation in the internal body has a specific taste or can be tasted.

All in all, this study is a preliminary investigation of conceptual metaphors with taste nouns as the source domain. Future studies on the taste metaphor are encouraged, including those using bigger corpora of data or studies of the concept in different languages. The diachronic analysis of taste metaphors in the same language with different time frames may also lead to a better understanding of the development of the taste metaphor in one language.

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