

The Border Guarding Army Between Indonesia And Timor Leste In Border Society Metaphor

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Abstract

The post-referendum in East Timor in May 1999 was won by pro-independence groups to change the country's history. After the referendum, there were mass killings between pro-Indonesian and pro-independence citizens. Since that time, the people of the border between the two countries who are still of one ethnicity (one descent) have lived insincerely under tight security. This situation hinders the spontaneity of humanity and hinders their social relations. This research uses an ethnographic method. This method of asking researchers not only collects data but experiences data. The data was collected through in-depth interviews with selected informants purposively. Data validation was carried out by using triangulation techniques between resource persons and Focus Group Discussion. The theory used is the Conceptual Metaphor. Metaphors are signs that have the structure $X = Y$. Research findings show that metaphors are used to analogize soldiers with animals such as *bijael meto* (bull) *umeke* (snake), *kabiti* (scorpion), *asu* (dog). Unique findings, all animals that become a means in the metaphor is a figure of animals that have wild, dangerous, painful, and deadly nature. The whole metaphoric character of the animal above analogizes the border guard soldiers as a threat, especially to people who violate national borders.

Keywords: border communities, metaphors, national borders, soldiers, communication

Introduction

After the referendum, 31 August 1999 in East Timor, there was chaos and mass killings between pro-independence and pro-Indonesia. Thousands of East Timorese who are pro-Indonesian have made an exodus to West Timor, East Nusa Tenggara (Indonesia). The phenomenon that feels very sociological is that communities in the border areas (Oekusi, Timor Leste) and Manamas (North Central Timor, Indonesia) are regulated and the contact (interaction) is measured between community members at the border. Social processes and interaction events are inherently social, as well as human rights. This situation is exacerbated by the *security mechanism* (security approach) in the border areas of the two countries. The security approach instead preserves a tense

condition so that you lead an insincere life under the gun barrel. As a result, natural social processes are hampered, human spontaneity is hindered, and communication between them takes place manipulatively. Responding to this situation, border communities use a lot of verbal and nonverbal symbols in communicating as an attempt to manipulate identity. Also, using certain metaphors to label the nature of security guard soldiers at the border.

This study was conducted in Manamas, one of the blood that is directly adjacent to Oekusi, one of the districts of the Republic of Timor Leste. Geographically, the Oekusi District (Timor Leste) is one mainland with the North Central Timor Regency (Republic of Indonesia). This area is an enclave in the territory of Timor, East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. Oekusi was

a Portuguese colony. During the Portuguese administration, Oekusi was one of the Conclho areas (at the district level) which had its capital as Pante Makassar. The name Pante Makassar has historical connections with the Goa Kingdom (South Sulawesi) which was once asked by the Portuguese to break the resistance of the people of Oekusi.

Apart from geographical proximity, there is also sociological closeness as a descendant of the Manamas (North Central Timor, Indonesia). The relationship between these two regions is full of brotherhood. During the Portuguese colonial era since August 18, 1512, this area never stopped fighting against Portugal. Because of this, many residents of Oekusi moved to Manamas (North Central Timor, Indonesia). As a spiritual memory of their hometown, the people of Manamas gave the name of the village in a new place, the same as the name of the village (Timor Leste). For example, Bob Kase village, Kutet, Na'meko in Oekusi, the name of the village name is found in Manamas (Indonesia). The position of the traditional house of the Manamas people until now is in the region (Timor Leste). All the grandmothers of the Manamas people are from *kuam nasi* (old village) as a nickname for people who are from Oekusi. Some distinguishing markers with other groups are how to dress and clothing patterns that Dawan language variants that tend to be different from other groups around Manamas such a sociological and genealogical background causes border communities to always try to construct together patterns, symbols, common codes that are used to smoothen social mechanisms and interactions, as well as organize common spaces in the regions. On the other hand, between the states seemed to violate and obstruct the spontaneity of the humanity of the border residents of one offspring, they always tried to cross the border through the rat road, which is an illegal road (a secret road) to avoid the capture of soldiers at the police station, scary, and even deadly. This situation can be seen from various metaphorical constructions related to border guard soldiers.

Theoretical Perspective

The theory used in this research is Metaphor. A metaphor is a linguistic technique that uses non-literal (non-lexical) words or sentences to express a meaning. The main feature of metaphors is the use of comparison or identification. Aristotle was the one who invented the term metaphor. The philosopher sees the power of metaphorical reasoning in the ability to express abstract concepts. Meanwhile, according to Lakoff & Johnson (1998) metaphor is a thing that has another meaning and its main function (understanding)¹. For Lakoff and Johnson, all human languages use metaphorical meaning to communicate at various levels of abstraction from concrete reality. These two experts divide metaphors into three types, namely: structural metaphors, orientational metaphors, and ontological metaphors. (a) Structural metaphors are one of the concepts that are structured metaphorically in other concepts. Structural metaphors exist based on systematic correlations of everyday experiences. For example, to argue is “war.”

There are many things we do in arguing so that the conceptual argument is structured around the concept of “war.” Arguments and war are two different things. But if someone is arguing, it means they attack each other by using words. Attacking is a war character. They don't want to lose if they argue. The two main elements of war attack and do not want to lose. So that is why the argument is called war. (b) Orientational Metaphors According to Lakoff & Johnson (2003)² are other types of metaphorical concepts that are not structured but regulate the whole system of concepts that are related to each other. This metaphor is also oriented to physical and cultural experiences such as up-down, in-out, on-off, deep-shallow, front-back, and others as physical forms. Orientational metaphors provide the concept of spatial orientation; for example, “happy is up, sad is down.” c) the ontological metaphor arises when we see events, activities, emotions, and ideas as entities and substances. Ontological metaphors allow us to conceptualize and talk about things, experiences, processes, yet they are vague or abstract as if they have definite physical

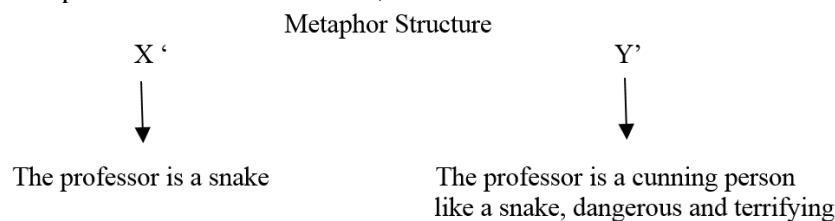
¹ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, “Leben in Metaphern,” *Konstruktion Und Gebrauch von Sprachbildern*, Heidelberg 72011 (1998).

² Johnson Lakoff, “Lakoff, George; Johnson, Mark,” *Metaphors We Live By*, 2003.

properties. Ontological metaphors describe entities according to existing metaphors.

Ontological metaphors make us handle things rationally based on experience³. In ontological metaphors there are two types of metaphor identification, they are container metaphor and personification. The Container metaphor considers an abstract or living entity as a container or space for entry and exit. This means that when an object gets into the container, the container can be filled and vice versa. For example: “he’s coming out of the coma” (he’s out of critical times) “he fell into a depression” (he’s depressed). The words “coming out, fell into, and in” are abstract entities that describe objects in and out of situations.

Metaphor is not just reasoning which presupposes two different things to get a new meaning, but analogical reasoning that is sometimes connected with the similar nature of the two things being compared, especially the social experience of metaphor users. This type of metaphor operates in culture or the term Marcel Danesi (2010)⁴ as a semi-atmosphere. Danesi describes conceptual metaphors that not only address the most likely sources of grammatical categories in one language, but emerge as conceptual factors in ritual,



In the example figure above, it is understood that the process of significance is based on certain characteristics that are generally captured by the professor as a topic and the snake as a means. The relationship between the two replaces denotative meaning into connotative meaning. X

symbolism, and other components of the semiosphere. The term semiosphere is a concept that Danesi borrowed from Estoni Jurij Lotman (1922-1993)⁵ which referred to culture as a sign system.

Referring to Lakoff and Johnson, Danesi said conceptual metaphors try to rename abstract concepts so that they are formed as conceptual metaphors. This contextual metaphor is then defined as a formula for metaphorical thought and emphasizes specific types of metaphorical narrative. Danesi gave an example, *the professor is snake* (*profesor itu adalah seekor ular*). In this example, there are two references (referents) that are related to one another. The first referent, the “professor” is referred to as the metaphor’s “topic”. The second reference, “snake” is referred to as “means” of the metaphor. The word “professor” is claimed to be substance. Meanwhile, “the word snake” is claimed as an agency. The relationship between the two creates new meaning. Thus, a metaphor can be analyzed as something that produces a sign that has a complex significance. The metaphor itself is a sign that has the structure $X' = Y'$ as shown below.

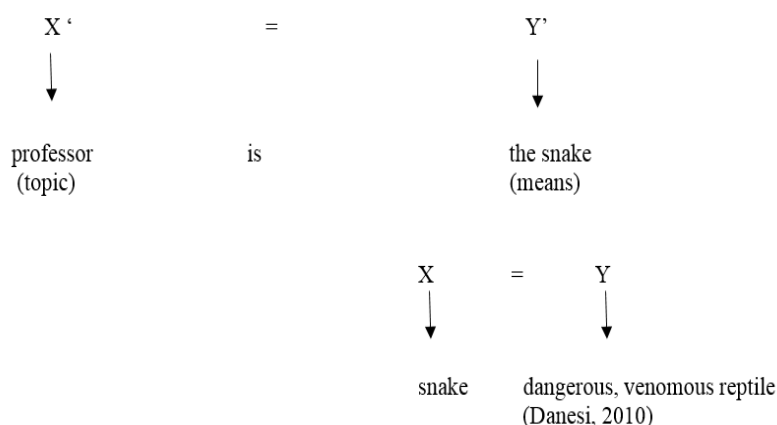
and Y are given an apostrophe to distinguish a specific metaphor. Thus, the basic structure of the metaphor above can be described in more detail as follows:

³ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (University of Chicago press, 2008).

⁴ Marcel Danesi, “Pesan, Tanda, Dan Makna,” *Yogyakarta: Jalasutra*, 2010.

⁵ Jurij M Lotman and Julian Graffy, “The Origin of Plot in the Light of Typology,” *Poetics Today* 1, no. 1/2 (1979): 161–84.

Metaphor Detailed Structure



The basis of a metaphor is the main tendency of human thought to reason certain references in a certain way. On that basis, some experts see that metaphor is a form of analogical thinking style. However, Vico⁶ speaks otherwise. According to Vico, metaphor is not a manifestation of analogical reasoning, but rather reveals how humans try to create analogies.

Methodology

This study uses an ethnographic approach that emphasizes the investigation of social events from a “native or insider” perspective⁷. In this case, the researcher tries to interpret and understand the behavior patterns and forms of communication of community members at the border through three assumptions: First, community members create shared meaning. They use methods that have a common understanding. Second, the communicators of each group coordinate their actions. That is, there are orders and systems in communicating. Third, the meaning, actions, and characteristics of each group. The orientation of this research is the use of the emic approach, which examines the behavior “from within”. The EMIC study aims to examine internal cultural meanings; analysis tends to be idiographic (aiming to formulate propositions that are following the cases studied)⁸. On the other hand, this study

does not use a generalizing nomothetic approach.

Informants were chosen purposively to get accurate data. The selection of informants took into account (1) Social status (king, senior person, and tribal head). (2) Their knowledge of the history of the origin of the Manamas, (3) Parties related to national borders. Kings, tribal leaders, and traditional leaders were key informants. Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews. This method is considered the most sociological way to obtain the required data⁹.

Data validated through Focus Group Discussion with two categories. Category I Focus Group Discussion for 10 key informants, namely kings or descendants of kings, and traditional leaders. This FGD aims to strengthen the answers and arguments from the results of the individual interviews. Thus the data is well validated and obtains accurate and important information. The second category of the FGD is 25 people consisting of key informants, people who are seen as understanding border issues, and representatives of security parties at the border. This FGD was aimed at obtaining additional information, especially about the situation on the border and the condition of their relationship after East Timor became independent.

The flow of data analysis in research must be parallel with the ethnographic method, namely

⁶ Marcel Danesi, “Pengantar Memahami Semiotika Media, Terjemahan: A,” *Gunawan Admiranto, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra*, 2010.

⁷ Stephen W Littlejohn and Karen A Foss, *Theories of Human Communication* (Waveland press, 2010).

⁸ Deddy Mulyana, “Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif (Paradigma Baru Ilmu Komunikasi Dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya),” 2003.

⁹ James A Black et al., *Metode Dan Masalah Penelitian Sosial* (PT Eresco, 1992).

basing the analysis on field data. Therefore, the reasoning used in this study is reasoning starting from the details of the field findings and then ending with conclusive reasoning. There are three steps of the coding process, namely (1) rare, namely open coding, (2) axial coding, and (3) selective coding¹⁰.

Open Coding Steps

Data analysis through the open coding stage was carried out in four steps (1) creating concepts from the data collected in the field. (2) Group data and concepts based on the similarity of phenomena, create categories and give names to categories. (3) Connecting the categories that have been created by providing the characteristics of these categories, namely properties (for example duration, intensity, frequency, etc.) or the dimension of the range: present, often, never. (4) the results obtained in open coding. In the open coding process, the researcher links categories and subcategories, then develops one category outside of its properties and dimensions. The focus lies on the defining category.

Axial Coding

Axial coding was carried out at the time the research was being carried out. Centralized encoding refers to data mapping activities based on the results of open coding. In this case, the categories of phenomena that are linked to one another are disclosed based on (1) causal conditions, (2) context, (3) intervening conditions, (4) action/interaction strategy, and (5) consequences.

Selective Coding

Data analysis at the selected coding stage refers to systemization and structuring activities. In this step, a *core category* or central phenomenon is carried out which systemically relates other categories, announces the validities of the relationship, and fills in the categories that require screening and development. In other words, at this stage, a *conditional matrix* is

created which refers to the possibility of adding or subtracting and altering statements of a fact-based on differences in context, conditions, characteristics of social action, implications, and possible differences in perspective.

Result and Discussion

History of Manamas and Manamas People

Resource persons or informants who explain the history of Manamas Village differently. This situation is considered normal. Each storyteller has a storyline that tucks in the benefits of their tribe by hiding their dark side. Therefore, each informant has a different history of Manamas. In the book *Profil Desa Manamas* it is explained that Manamas has the meaning in Dawan language “Esme” which means Mana and Mas which in Dawan means *Mnatu*. So it is called Manamas. This explanation is somewhat difficult to accept. One basic reason is that the word mas Manamas was taken from Indonesian, then translated in Dawan as “esme” for the meaning of the word “mana” and mas was translated into Dawan’s language as “*mnatu*”. It is arbitrarily linked that the word Mas has a hidden meaning that there is hope for all people to have “Mas” from generation to generation to build their village. The *Profil Desa Manamas* contains Manamas history as follows:

Manamas Village is an ex Manamas area. The name Manamas has a meaning in the Dawan language “Esme” meaning Mana and Mas which in Dawan means Mnatu, so it is called Manamas. The word Mas has a hidden meaning that there is hope for all people to have “Mas” from generation to generation to build their village. In the era of fetoran, Manamas Village became the capital of Manamas. Plantas was founded in 1911 which includes 3 temukung (in the Dutch era) namely: Manamas consisting of Temukung Taul benu, Neno Mangka, Batak Sasi, Neno Se’u. Bakitolas consists of Temuklung Fotis Simau. Sunsea consisted of Temukung Fina Kono. In the Japanese era (Nipon) in 1933, the Manamas Vetorean area was further divided into 5 Temukung namely Manamas, Benus, Bakitolas, Sunsea, and Nelu. The leadership of Manamas Village before the

¹⁰ Juliet M Corbin and Anselm Strauss, “Grounded Theory Research: Procedures,

Canons, and Evaluative Criteria,” *Qualitative Sociology* 13, no. 1 (1990): 3–21.

new style village in 1969 was always led by several Vetors, including Vektor Lelan Meko (1911-1933) and Vektor Anton T. Meko (1933-1968). In 1969, with the establishment of Gaya Baru Village, Manamas Kefetoran was divided into 4 villages namely Manamas Village, Benus Village, Bakitolas Village, and Sunsea Village. The Village Head since 1969 can be described as follows: Village Head Alexander T. Meko, 1969 - 1973; Head of Hendrikus Kolo Village, 1974 - 1980; Yosep Kolo Meko Village Head, 1981 - 1994; Village Head Maksimus Elu, 1994 - 2000; PJS Village Head Thomas Elu, 2001 - 2002; PJS Head of Village Yuliana Lusiday, 2004; Village Head Yakobus S. Dasat, A.Md, 2005-2015.

The results of interviews with informants (*results of interviews with H. T. Manamas community leaders who were key informants in this study. Interviews were conducted on July 3, 2011. All names of informants used initials aimed at protecting informants, as well as a form of ethical responsibility for qualitative research.*) were explained differently. The name Manamas comes from the word Usi Mnatu (king mas), the noblest king and all goodness emanates from him. It is told, one day a Dutch soldier named Lieutenant Tebb Tebbes explored an area that did not yet have that name. He met Taul Benu who was herding buffaloes. When Tebbes met Taul Benu, Lieutenant Tebbes asked, "Who controls this area?" Taul Benu replied: "Usi Mnatu." Usi Mnatu means Raja Mas, which is interpreted as a noble king, brilliant as gold, and a source of virtue. Tebb Tebbes then told Taul Benu to call Usi Mnatu (king mas). Taul Benu then brought Lelan Benu his younger brother. Lieutenant Tebb Tebbes asked: Where is Mas (where is king mas)? Lelan Benu replied, "I am king mas." then you guard this land. Thus, the name Manamas came from the dialogue between Lieutenant Tebbes and Taul Benu. The name Manamas came out of the mouth of Tebbes when he asked "Where's Mas". Since then, the place has been named Manamas.

The first tribes to inhabit and control the Manamas were the Biboki and Tunbaba tribes. Then followed Taeki Taul Meko with *amaf-amaf* Tuni Mnasi, Labu Mnasi and Mol Abi, Nek Teme. At that time they were sitting on Peta (a place at the foot of Mount Fau Noem-

Manamas) and gardening in Oetulu, Bokis. These two tribes (the Taeiki Taul group and the Biboki-Tunbaba group) have the ambition to dominate this area. They attack each other. One day, the Biboki kidnapped three people from Taeki Taul's side (two traffickers and one woman). The woman named Pini Neno was taken to Biboki, and two men were taken to Oenam. The kidnapping caused deep animosity among Taeki Taul. He then moved the *amaf-amaf* Nai Ha, Mone Ha, and carried out the attack, so there was a great war between the Taeki Taul group and the Biboki -Tunbaba group. Taeiki Taul and *amaf-amaf* built a defense house in Bolkauna intending to be a base of defense to attack and drive out the Tun Baba and Biboki tribes. Taeki Taul's hut or defense house moved according to his territory. After mastering the Bolkauna area and its surroundings, they moved to Taupjam Cave and Sala Cave. When they took control of Sala Cave and its surroundings, the Biboki - Tun Baba tribe had already left the place and they fled to another place which was quite far, about 21 km south of Manamas. Thus, Taul Taeiki controlled the area. Taul Taeiki made the area a place for buffalo grazing and gardening. The place is called Oelmau because it is only for gardening and herding livestock, while their village is in Baukio.

One day, Dutch soldier Lieutenant Tebb Tebes was exploring the area. He rode a horse to see that the area was safe. Lieutenant Tebes shouted from his horse: *Oe Atani poi nai moka fatu Bola, hau Bola, pah nak lek ben* (Hi! All of you, come out of the rock hole, the wooden hole where you are hiding, this area is safe). On that trip, Lieutenant Tebbes met a buffalo shepherd named Taul Benu. The lieutenant asked: What are you doing? "Grazing the buffalo". Taul Benu replied. "Whose area is it?" Asked Lieutenant Tebes "Usi Meko", answered Taul Benu. "If so, call him and you guard this area". "Yes sir, I will call Petrus Lalan Meko. Meeting between Petrus Lalan Meko and Lieutenant Tebbes at Kopan Tuka (3 km north of Manamas). Not long after, he was summoned to Noel Toko (Molo Region in Timor Tengah Selatan) to be crowned king in Manamas. Lalan Meko became a vektor in Manamas who oversaw four major tribes, namely, Tuni Mnasi, Labu Mnasi, Mol Abi, Nek Teme. After a few years, the tribes from within Oekusi came to Manamas such as Usi Bobo, Fen

Lao, Nutu Koen Mau, Ais Nao, Kutet, Foit Noi, Bob Kase, Naa Meko.

Taul Benu and Lelan Benu are two brothers who come from Baukio, the Anbeno ethnic area. Now includes the territory of Timor Leste. Manamas at that time was an area where people from around Baukio were grazing. Until now, the blood of Manamas is dominated by the Anbeno tribe (O Execution, Timor Leste). To perpetuate their history and ethnic origin, the names of several villages were taken with the original names of villages in Anbeno such as Bob Kase, Kutet, Naa Meko which are the names of the villages as well as the names of the tribes that are now in Oekusi (Timor Leste). Manamas was founded in 1911 which includes 3 *temukung* (in the Dutch era) namely: Manamas consisting of Temukung Taul benu, Neno Mangka, Batak Sasi, Neno Se'u. Bakitolas consists of Temuklung Fotis Simau. Sunsea

consists of Temukung Fina Kono. Although the location of Manamas is deep or far from the capital of the district of North Central Timor (Kefamenanu along 40 km) compared to the other villages above, however, the community of four villages agreed on Manamas as the capital of the sub-district. The district was given the name Nai Benu which means Benu people. Nai Benu has a relationship with Anbeno. Actually, there is a historical relevance to *Nunhenu* (in Oekusi) as a source of civilization among Oeksui (Timor Leste) people. An old village with the throne of King Oekusi and Raja Manamas. In the era of Japan (Nipon) in 1933, the Manamas Pharmacy territory was further divided into 5 Temukung namely Manamas, Benus, Bakitolas, Sunsea, and Nelu.

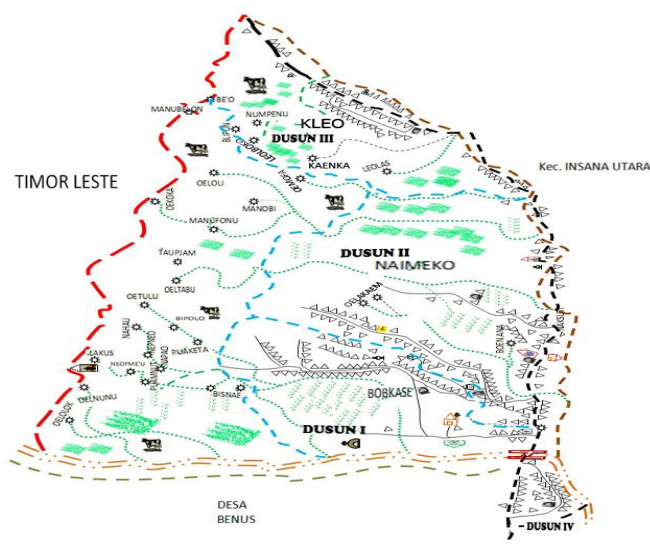


Figure 1. Map of Manamas Village (Indonesia) Bordered by the Oekusi District (Timor Leste) Source Manamas Village Office (see Robot 2012).

Army in the Border Community Metaphor

Several metaphors are analogous to the Indonesian army in charge of maintaining security at the border (1) *bijael meto* (buffalo), (2) *luksae* (paddy snake), (3) *asu* (dog), (4) *kabiti* (scorpion). These animal analogies refer to the traits or traits that are vicious, savage, hidden, terrifying, and deadly. This means that metaphors are referred to as animals known to the local community with all the distinctive characteristics that have been described above.

This type of metaphor by Lakoff & Johnson (1998)¹¹ is called a structural metaphor, namely two components that are compared based on the systematic correlation of two objects based on everyday experience. This is confirmed by the names of the animals using the local language (Dawan language). On the other hand, the security guards at the border came from Java who did not understand the meaning of these words.

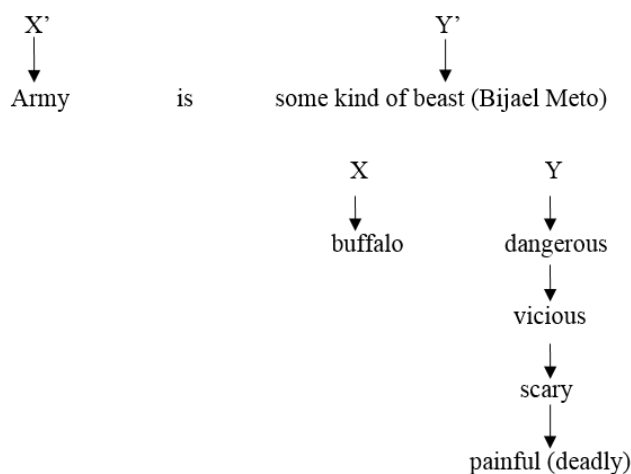
¹¹ Lakoff and Johnson, "Leben in Metaphern."

Bijael Meto (Bull)

In the tradition of the Dawan (Manasamas) people, *bijael meto* (bull) is a domestic animal that is widely known by the Manamas. *Bijael meto* is a type of animal that is recognized as having wild characteristics (can mark), dangerous, deadly because it is scary. This

characteristic is analogous to the Indonesian army in charge of guarding the country's borders. If the construction of a metaphor using the schema X '(topic = army) and Y' (means = *bijael meto*), then the results are seen in the following formula:

Metaphor Structure



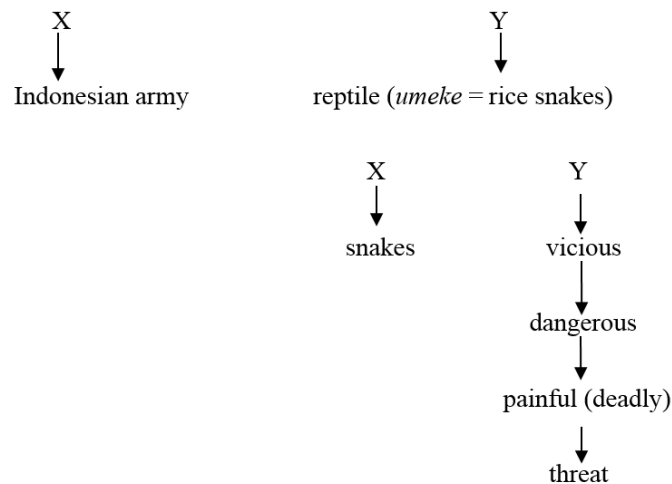
By analogy, *bijael meto* metaphors (bull or buffalo) can be explained as follows: First, conceptually, *bijael meto* as a vicious, fierce animal, always potentially threatening security (dangerous), deadly. The core concept arises from the daily experiences of the Manamas with these animals. Second, *bijael meto* is not a domestic animal like a cow. However, the Manamsa understand carefully the properties of *bijael meto*. The wild, frightening, painful, and deadly characteristics labeled the soldiers guard the border between the Indonesian state and Timor Leste. Thus, the army becomes a threat to them, especially if they cross national borders. Their experience of crossing the border also means experiencing the treatment of border guards soldiers. Anton Meko, one of the informants said that soldiers are called *bijael meto* because they often inspect and intimidate people who cross borders, especially if they pass through rat trails (illegal roads). Often they also ask for fines in the form of a goat if caught

crossing the border illegally. The army is ferocious like a bull, dangerous, terrifying, and deadly.

Luk Sae (paddy snake)

In addition to being metaphorical as *metale bijale*, border guards are also labeled as *luk sae*, which is a kind of very dangerous rice snake, its large body can swallow animals or other animals, including humans of course. This type of animal usually hides and can swallow prey behind its hideout. In the Manamas conception, this snake is very dangerous, frightening, and even deadly. Luk Sae is one of the snakes that threaten their lives. The metaphorical formula for X (Indonesian army) Y (*luk sae*) is as follows:

Metaphor Structure



Luk Sae's analogy to soldiers because of the similarity in character or role. Luk Sae has two characteristics namely: (1) dangerous because it can swallow prey of any size, (2) hidden (or difficult) anticipated presence. This trait is matched by soldiers who are always dangerous, especially for citizens of Manamas or citizens of Oekusi who legally cross national borders. The border guard soldiers were sometimes invisible. They hide behind a bush. They can arrest people who cross the country's borders illegally. Reading this situation, the Manamas community-identified patrol schedules that were often carried out by the army. One of the informants (*Interview with LA male, Wini 3 km north of Manamas. The use of initials to protect the information, as well as a form of ethical accountability for qualitative research. Interview conducted, July 17, 2012*).

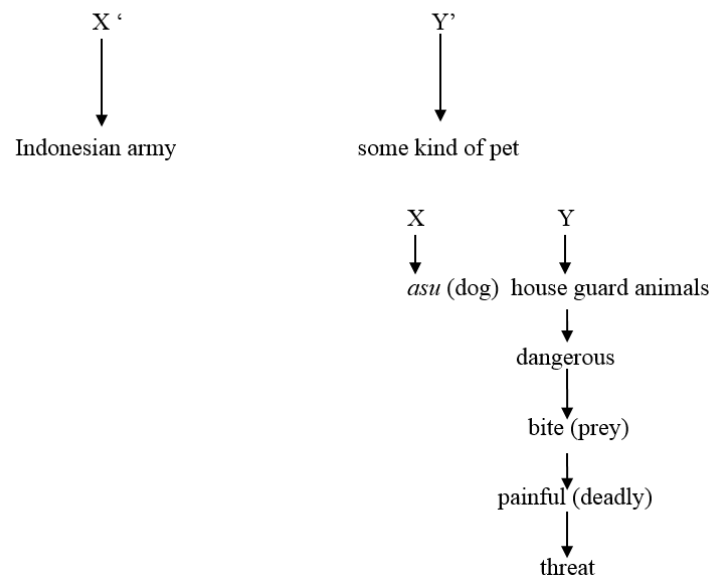
The army used to operate in the mornings from eight to twelve. After that, they took a break. Afternoon, for example, one o'clock can take the opportunity to cross the border. That is if by land. If by sea (Wini beach) it can be done at night. The method is deliberately sailing like a fisherman who wants to catch fish. All equipment as fishermen is brought so that it is not suspected that we will cross the border. Lodovikus Sila's statement indicates that

soldiers are frightening or dangerous figures for border communities who want to circumnavigate the border through illegal roads. That situation to metaphor armies as Luk Sae (paddy snake), ferocious, savage, dangerous, terrifying, and deadly.

Asu (Dog)

In the Dawan (Timor) language, *asu* means dog. Dogs are domestic animals that act as housekeepers, as well as star hunters for deer, wild boar, or other wild animals. Dogs have a dangerous nature that can even be deadly by biting their prey. The Manamas people metaphorize the army as *asu* which means close, but fierce and dangerous. In certain situations, he is very close as a housekeeper, but in other situations, he is very dangerous. Usually, this metaphor is used when they are in a situation with soldiers. For example, when they were at an event or in a meeting, the Manamas called the soldiers Asu. For example, "*hae. Mpao ho molok, le na'a asu*" (Hey ... be careful talking about dogs"). Asu's metaphor for Indonesian soldiers who guard the border by the Manamas can be read in the following metaphorical formula.

Metaphor Structure

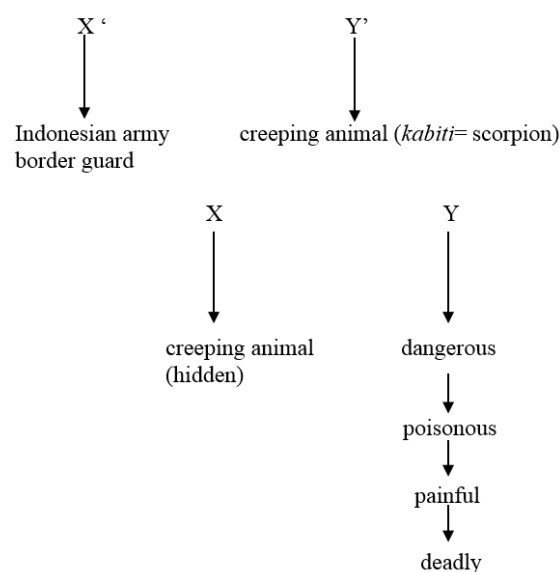


Referring to the metaphorical pattern above, it can be explained that Indonesian soldiers border guards are seen as guard dogs. On the one hand, soldiers are seen as guards of the house (country). Therefore, he will not allow the enemy or anyone to cross the country without official procedures (permits). Meanwhile, border communities often cross borders without official documents, which are seen as inconvenient, bureaucratic, and expensive too. This characteristic is likened to a soldier who acts as a house guard (the Republic of Indonesia). However, in certain situations, it is dangerous, right, biting, and deadly for anyone who is seen to intervene or disturb security at the border.

Kabiti (Scorpion)

Kabiti in Indonesian means scorpion. These animals are small, creeping, or are classified as reptiles. Usually, *kabiti* live among the bark that has dried or hidden behind dry leaves. This scorpion is very difficult to detect. This animal is small but very dangerous. The bite is poisonous, very painful, and can be deadly. *Kabiti* as a metaphor for border guard soldiers can be seen in the following metaphorical formula:

Metaphor Structure



The characteristics of the scorpion that are metaphorized by the army are hidden, venomous, and painful. Border guard soldiers are equated with *kabiti* because of the characteristics of *kabiti* (hidden, poisonous as an analogy to a weapon), and of course painful). Usually, soldiers hide to spy on people who encroach on national borders through illegal roads or secret roads that are deliberately made by border residents to access their relatives in Oekusi (Timor Leste). The secret path is called the mouse path. But the mouse path is fraught with risks. First, the road conditions are very bad (ravines and cliffs) which only certain people or adults who master the terrain pass through. Second, this road was often the target of Indonesian military operations to arrest citizens from crossing national borders. For the Manamas (Indonesian), the soldiers guarding the border are scorpions, which are dangerous, painful, and can be deadly.

Discussion

The Manamas people created a distinctive metaphor for the sake of communicating among them to facilitate access or illegally circumvent national borders. The findings of this study indicate that all metaphors (*bijael meto*, *luk sae*, *asu*, *kabiti*) associated with the Indonesian army as border guards are animals that live in the Manamas community. In the Manamas conception, the animals are known as a beast, fierce, dangerous, painful, and even deadly. This conception shows a special feature labeling border guard troops as a threat to the people of Manamas. Especially if they illegally cross national borders.

The use of animals as Sara or metaphorical symbolism is found in any culture. Danesi exemplifies animal metaphors in various languages of the world as a source of symbolism such as Chicago Rice, Detroit Tigers, Toronto Blue Jays, Denver Broncos. The names of these animals are used as the names of the sports teams. The difference is, the animal metaphor of border soldiers by the Manamas Society tends to have a negative connotation, while in America it has a positive connotation.

If this finding is confirmed by the metaphor theory of Lakoff & Johnson (1988) it can be said that the research supports Lakoff and Johnson's theory of metaphors, especially the conceptual metaphor. That is, the concepts of abstract are expressed more densely and more concretely so that they become a metaphorical unit of speech belonging to the community¹². A special thing that goes beyond Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphors is the relation of the properties of two objects (compounds being compared). The correlation of two-component traits or characters between "topic" (soldiers) and "means" (beast) in Marcel Danesi's terminology is further emphasized by the similarity in their characteristics. In other words, metaphors in the context of border society are not just part of linguistic style, but as a semiotic strategy that refers to the similarity of nature between topic and means. Topics and means of produced reality and the properties of the metaphorical means of experience, or in Danesi's terms of the semiotic environment. Inaction mode inaction is not just sending a message but producing a certain meaning. In the school of communication, it is called a semiotic school that seeks to see the production of meaning and the exchange of meanings and how culture plays in shaping meaning¹³.

Conclusion

For the people of Manamas (Indonesia) and Sakatao (Oekusi, Timor Leste) the border between the countries hinders the spontaneity of humanity and cuts their blood ties. Your taste cannot be confined by any high walls or by any hot mines. Tears and a sense of brotherhood breaking down the boundary walls and melting mines. This condition allows for many modes of communication. One of the modes of communication is the use of a metaphor that presumes the security guards as *bijael meto*, *luk sae*, *asu*, *kabiti*). In their metaphor, they see the perspective of the Indonesian soldiers guarding the border as ferocious, frightening, painful, and deadly. The metaphor with the topic of the Indonesian army is likened to the *bijael meto* means (male buffalo), *kabiti* (when squeaked), *asu* (dog), *umeke* (snake). All beasts represent

¹² Lakoff and Johnson.

¹³ John Fiske, "Communication Studies" (Jalasutra, 2004).

the nature of soldiers who are terrifying, painful, and deadly.

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