CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF WOMANHOOD IN ENGLISH LITERARY WORKS BY INDIAN AUTHORS

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มโนอุปลักษณ์ความเป็นผู้หญิงในวรรณกรรมภาษาอังกฤษโดยผู้ประพันธ์ชาวอินเดีย

นางอตุลา อหุจา

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรดุษฎีบัณฑิต
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อตุลา อหุจา : มโนอุปลักษณ์ความเป็นผู้หญิงในวรรณกรรมภาษาอังกฤษโดยผู้ประพันธ์ชาวอินเดีย. (CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF WOMANHOOD IN ENGLISH LITERARY WORKS BY INDIAN AUTHORS) อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก : จิรันธรา ศรี อุทัย

ทฤษฎีมโนอุปลักษณ์แสดงให้เห็นว่าการใช้อุปลักษณ์ปรากฏอย่างแพร่หลายทั้งในความคิดและภาษา ตลอดจนฝังรากลึกอยู่ในระบบปริชาน ของผู้ใช้ภาษา นักวิจัยทฤษฎีดังกล่าวซึ่งได้แก่ จอร์จ เลคอฟฟ์ และ มาร์ค จอห์นสัน เสนอแนวคิดการสร้างมโนทัศน์เชิงอุปลักษณ์ผ่านกรอบความคิดทาง วัฒนธรรม ซึ่งต่างจากแนวคิดแรกเริ่มของมโนอุปลักษณ์ที่ว่าอุปลักษณ์มีลักษณะความเป็นสากล แนวทางการศึกษามโนอุปลักษณ์ในปัจจุบันจึงมุ่งไปที่การใช้ อุปลักษณ์ในตัวบทภาษาใช้จริงรูปแบบต่าง ๆ งานวิจัยนี้มุ่งศึกษามโนอุปลักษณ์ในบริบททางวัฒนธรรมของอินเดียซึ่งมีความซับซ้อนหลากหลาย โดยมี วัตถุประสงค์ดังนี้ (1) เพื่อศึกษามโนอุปลักษณ์ความเป็นหญิงในตัวบทวรรณกรรมภาษาอังกฤษที่ครอบคลุมบริบททางภาษาและวัฒนธรรมที่แตกต่างกันของ อินเดียใน 3 ภูมิภาค และ (2) เพื่อเปรียบเทียบความเหมือน-ต่างของการใช้อุปลักษณ์ในวรรณกรรมดังกล่าว งานวิจัยนี้เก็บข้อมูลจากถ้อยคำอุปลักษณ์ใน วรรณกรรมจำนวนทั้งหมด 21 เรื่อง ซึ่งครอบคลุมบริบทของอินเดียทั้ง 3 กลุ่มภูมิภาค โดยกำหนดภูมิภาคละ 7 เรื่อง งานวิจัยดังกล่าวมีการทดสอบความเป็น อุปลักษณ์โดยอาศัยกระบวนการระบุอุปลักษณ์ของนักวิจัยจากมหาวิทยาลัยเฟรเย่อ อัมสเตอร์ดัม และวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลอุปลักษณ์โดยอาศัยทฤษฎีมโนอุปลักษณ์ ซึ่งช่วยระบุมโนทัศน์ต้นทางที่ปรากฏใช้ในถ้อยคำอุปลักษณ์ ตลอดจนแสดงให้เห็นการเชื่อมโยงระหว่างมโนทัศน์ต้นทางไปสู่มโนทัศน์ปลายทาง นอกจากนั้น งานวิจัยดังกล่าวยังเลือกใช้กรอบแนวคิดมิติทางปริชานของความแตกต่างในการใช้อุปลักษณ์ของโซลตัน โคเว็กเซสสำหรับวิเคราะห์ความเหมือน-ต่างของ ถ้อยคำอุปลักษณ์จากวรรณกรรมที่ครอบคลุมบริบทของอินเดียในแต่ละกลุ่มภูมิภาค ตลอดจนมีการใช้แนวคิดห่วงโซ่มโนทัศน์สิ่งมีชีวิตในภาษาแสดงอุปลักษณ์ เพื่อทำความเข้าใจการสร้างมโนทัศน์ด้านลบและด้านบวกในการใช้อุปลักษณ์ความเป็นหญิง จากการวิเคราะห์ข้อมูล พบมโนทัศน์ต้นทางที่ใช้อธิบายความเป็น หญิงจำนวนทั้งหมด 30 มโนทัศน์ ในวรรณกรรมกลุ่มอินโด-อารยันมีจำนวน 21 มโนทัศน์ ในกลุ่มดราวิเดียนมีจำนวน 27 มโนทัศน์ และในกลุ่มทิเบต-พม่ามี จำนวน 23 มโนทัศน์ มโนทัศน์ต้นทางซึ่งได้แก่ สัตว์ วัตถุสิ่งของ พืช สิ่งเหนือธรรมชาติ และองค์ประกอบของธรรมชาติพบในความถี่สูง โดยมโนทัศน์ต้นทางที่ กล่าวถึงสัตว์พบมากที่สุดถึงร้อยละ 25 จากมโนทัศน์ต้นทางทั้งหมดที่พบในวรรณกรรมทั้งสามกลุ่มภูมิภาค และรองลงมาคือมโนทัศน์ต้นทางที่กล่าวถึงเป็นวัตถุ สิ่งของ ซึ่งพบในจำนวนร้อยละ 22 ในส่วนของมโนทัศน์ความเป็นหญิง พบว่า วรรณกรรมกลุ่มอินโด-อารยันมุ่งเน้นการสร้างมโนทัศน์ย่อยของความเป็นแม่ผ่าน การใช้อุปลักษณ์ ในขณะที่วรรณกรรมกลุ่มดราวิเดียน มุ่งเน้นมโนทัศน์ย่อยความเป็นภรรยา และวรรณกรรมกลุ่มทิเบต-พม่ามุ่งเน้นลักษณะเรือนกายและความ งามของผู้หญิง นอกจากนั้น การสร้างมโนทัศน์ความเป็นหญิงในวรรณกรรมกลุ่มอินโด-อารยันและกลุ่มดราวิเดียนเป็นการแสดงลักษณะเชิงลบมากกว่าเชิงบวก ซึ่งวรรณกรรมกลุ่มดราวิเดียนมีการแสดงลักษณะเชิงลบมากกว่าวรรณกรรมกลุ่มอินโด-อารยัน ในขณะเดียวกัน พบการใช้อุปลักษณ์ในการสร้างมโนทัศน์เชิง บวกและเชิงลบในสัดส่วนที่เทียบเท่ากันในวรรณกรรมกลุ่มทิเบต-พม่า งานวิจัยนี้ถือเป็นงานวิจัยแรกที่ศึกษาอุปลักษณ์ในวรรณกรรมซึ่งวิเคราะห์จากถ้อยคำอุป ลักษณ์ความเป็นหญิงทั้งหมด 708 ถ้อยคำจากวรรณกรรมในบริบทอินเดีย เนื่องจากมโนอุปลักษณ์มีความเชื่อมโยงกับวัฒนธรรมปริชาน ผลการวิเคราะห์จึง นำไปสู่การรับรู้และมุมมองเกี่ยวกับผู้หญิง ตลอดจนทัศนคติที่มีต่อความเป็นหญิงซึ่งยังมีอิทธิพลอยู่ในอินเดียแต่ละภูมิภาค

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

สาขาวิชา	ภาษาอังกฤษเป็นภาษานานาชาติ	ลายมือชื่อนิสิต ....
ปีการศึกษา	2562	ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก ....

Atula Ahuja : CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS OF WOMANHOOD IN ENGLISH LITERARY WORKS BY INDIAN AUTHORS. Advisor: Asst. Prof. JIRANTHARA SRIOUTAI, Ph.D.

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) established the pervasiveness of metaphor in thought and language and provided evidence that metaphor is, in fact, deeply embedded in our conceptual system. Contrary to the original claim that conceptual metaphors are largely universal, in almost four decades after its inception, the CMT researchers including George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have advanced the idea of cultural influence on metaphorical conceptualisation. In recent years, the trend in metaphor research has been to study how metaphor behaves in naturally occurring discourse. It is in this context that the current study explores conceptual metaphors in India's rich cultural context. The main objectives of the current study are, (i) to examine conceptual metaphors of womanhood found in English literary works set in India's three culturally diverse linguistic regions, and (ii) to compare and contrast them across literary works of the three regions. The data of linguistic metaphors was collected from 21 literary works, seven in each linguistic region. This data was tested for metaphoricity using the Metaphor Identification Procedure, Vrije University, Amsterdam (MIPVU) developed by the PRAGGLEJAZ Group, after which it was analysed using the CMT. The CMT enabled the identification of the source domain used in each linguistic metaphor and subsequently, the uncovering of conceptual metaphors through the establishment of cross-domain mappings between the source and target domains. The framework of the Cognitive Dimension of Metaphor Variation by Zoltan Kövecses has been used to analyse the metaphors for similarities and variations across the three regions. The Great Chain of Being metaphor or the GCB model has guided the understanding of the negative and positive conceptualisation of the metaphors of womanhood. The analysis revealed that a total of 30 source domains have been utilised by the authors across the three regions. Of these, 21 in the Indo-Aryan, 27 in the Dravidian and 23 source domains in Tibeto-Burmese literary works. Of these, the source domains, ANIMALS, OBJECTS, SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES, PLANTS, and ELEMENTS OF NATURE are the most frequently used. The source domain, ANIMALS tops in the aggregate with approximately 25% of total metaphors across the three regions conceptualising women in terms of animals. The next most frequently used source domain is OBJECTS with 22% of the total metaphors conceptualising women in terms of objects. In terms of the target domains of womanhood, the Indo-Aryan works focus more on the conceptualisation of motherhood, the Dravidian works focus more on the conceptualisation of wifehood and metaphors found in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works focus more on the women's physical attributes and beauty. Lastly, the conceptualisation of womanhood in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian literary works is more negative than positive, with the negative conceptualisation of womanhood being the higher in the Dravidian literary works. In the Tibeto-Burmese literary works, the percentage of positive and negative metaphors was found to be proportionate. The main implication of this research is that it is the first comprehensive study of literary metaphors ever conducted. The study analysed 708 linguistic metaphors of womanhood from 21 literary works across India.

Field of Study:	English as an International Language	Student's Signature	
Academic Year:	2019	Advisor's Signature	

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I am so happy, so obliged and so proud that all of these wonderful people never gave up on me or this endeavour and remained steadfastly with me helping me nurture this baby.

May I say, 'It Takes Village'?

Atula Ahuja

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background and Rationale

The relationship between thought, language and experience, and their role in the creation of metaphor has been a subject of debate since the time of Aristotle, who considered metaphor an insightful manner of speech. Researchers have long striven to understand how metaphor governs the language and culture into which it is born. Traditionally, it was considered nothing more than a rhetorical flourish used to embellish writing. With the publication of Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 124) the meaning of metaphor was extended beyond language and it was redefined as a powerful cognitive tool: "Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around the world and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system is therefore fundamentally metaphorical and plays a central role in defining everyday realities" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4). This book was also the first to provide evidence that metaphors are deeply embedded in language because our cognitive consciousness facilitates the "understanding and experiencing of one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5). The promulgation of these ideas laid the foundation for the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT).

The principle idea behind CMT is that the human conceptual system relies on a mechanism of metaphorical extrapolation from concrete knowledge (or source domain) to abstract knowledge (or target domain), through a systematic use of cross-domain mappings. From the knowledge we have about food, war, and plants, we can see how ideas are digested, arguments are won or lost, and organisations grow or need to be pruned" (G. Steen, 2014, p. 2). An example of a conceptual metaphor is ARGUMENT IS WAR Welter (1966, p. 4). Words such as defend, attack, position, strategy, and manoeuvre are typically used to talk about 'an argument' because cross-domain mappings exist between the concrete domain of 'war' and the abstract domain of 'argument'. A linguistic metaphor or metaphorical linguistic expression (from now on, 'linguistic metaphor') that expresses it is, (1) "Your claims are

indefensible." Moreover, the link between the source and the target domain is not an arbitrary one but finds motivation, or ground in our direct physical and social experiences (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). The ground in (1) is 'the act of defending'.

In nearly four decades since the inception of CMT, a great deal of scholarship has emphasised the centrality of metaphor and considerably expanded the scope of CMT. Several improvements have been made and newer ideas contributed to the ones proposed in the initial theory. These contributions have come from several scholars including Kövecses (1986), Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Turner (1989), Kövecses (1990), Lakoff (1993), Gibbs (1994), Clausner and Croft (1997), Lakoff and Johnson (1999), PRAGGLEJAZ group Group (2007), and Gibbs (2011), to name a few. The process of its expansion began when a number of ideas put forth in the initial theory were criticised by Gibbs (2011), Kövecses (2011), and Ibáñez and Perez Hernandez (2011). Three of these criticisms that are inter-related (and also concern the current study) are discussed as follows.

First, it has been widely critiqued that at the time of developing this theory, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed the conceptual metaphors they used in the book on the basis of a few unauthentic examples of linguistic metaphors; that is, they either explored their own mental lexicon or used the thesauri to come up with the examples (Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen, 2005; Gibbs, 1999; Kövecses, 2011; Steen, 1999; G. Steen et al., 2010; Stefanowitsch, 2007). George Lakoff, Mark Johnson and other CMT researchers received this criticism well and proposed a modification to their original theory. They acknowledged the need to collect linguistic evidence from authentic discourse in order to accurately reflect how ordinary users of language subconsciously conceive ideas in their minds. Kövecses (2006) noted that identifying linguistic metaphors in real discourse is important because CMT needs to continue to add newer, unidentified conceptual metaphors to its repertoire. Many more studies are needed to assert the presence of conceptual metaphors in real life situations and in our cultural cognition.

The second related concern was that Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed conceptual metaphors using their intuition to determine the metaphoricity of the linguistic metaphors (Cserép, 2014; Kövecses, 2008; Semino, 2007). The criticism here

was that they did not provide any explicit criteria to know what constitutes a metaphor. In fact, cognitive linguistic research until about a decade ago lacked any systematic criteria to define or identify metaphoricity. With a growing trend towards using authentic data to conduct metaphor research, it became increasingly crucial to find a precise and replicable method. To achieve this goal, ten metaphor scholars collaborated to formulate a reliable procedure which could be flexibly applied to expressions that are intuitively identified as metaphorical and validate their metaphoricity. This procedure was named the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIPVU) by Semino (2007) and G. Steen et al. (2010).

The third criticism was aimed at the disproportionate emphasis of CMT on the universality of metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) initially explained the idea of universal aspects of human experience to account for the presence of conceptual metaphors. The variation that occurs due to the diversity in our physical, social and cultural embodiment was acknowledged only briefly, "our cultural values are deeply entrenched and are consistent with our conceptual system" (p. 23). They emphasised on regularities in conceptual metaphors through the idea of physical embodiment but did not pay much attention to the irregularities that may arise due to differences at the level of bodily or cultural orientation (Deignan, 1998; Kövecses, 2008). This criticism also led to the modification of their view on CMT as its proponents including Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 249) acknowledged that the role of culture in the creation of conceptual metaphors is as important as the role of physical embodiment.

In light of the modifications to include the influence of culture on metaphors, some important contributions were made by Kövecses (1990) and Lakoff (1987). One of them relates to the generality and specificity of metaphorical conceptualisation. The idea is that those conceptual metaphors that find their basis in bodily or common cultural experiences, function at a very general level. The generic conceptual metaphor, 'HAPPINESS IS UP' and its specific-level metaphor in English, 'HAPPINESS IS OFF THE GROUND', for example, link the concrete bodily experience of feeling up and about to the abstract experience of 'happiness'. Its understanding depends on the universally understood conventional knowledge of what it means to

'be oriented upwards'. But even what are generally considered universal concepts have unique co-relations in some cultures because of the differences in environmental and social contexts and other human aspects that characterise world cultures. According to Chen (2010), Chinese people are generally reserved and do not express their feelings openly. In the Chinese culture "being off the ground" is considered a sign of arrogance. In Chinese, this metaphor is expressed as HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART and is grounded in specific Chinese cultural context and functions at a specific level (Kövecses, 2008, p. 55). Yu (1995) informs that occurrence of this metaphor reflects a more introverted character of the Chinese people.

Another dimension that was added by Lakoff and Turner (1989) and which relates to the current thesis is conventionality of novel metaphors. In terms of degree of conventionality, Lakoff and Turner (1989) provided a detailed explanation of how literary metaphors are conventional as well as unconventional or novel. A linguistic metaphor may be well established and effortlessly used in everyday language. For instance, *(2) "We have come a long way"*, is highly conventionalised, and instantiates the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, which is highly conventionalised as well. An unconventional linguistic metaphor on the other hand, is usually a well-thought, creative and novel construction, mainly used in literature and media by writers, lyricists, public figures etc. As Gibbs (2011) puts it, a novel expression could be a creative and unconventional instantiation of a conventional metaphor. Robert Frost's poem, "The Road Not Taken" is an example of an unconventional linguistic metaphor cited in Lakoff and Turner (1989, p. 3).

> *(3)*　　　　　*Two roads diverged in a wood, and I,*
> 　　　　　　　*I took the one less travelled by,*
> 　　　　　　　*And that has made all the difference.*

It instantiates the conventional conceptual metaphor, LIFE IS A JOURNEY. It is easy to recognise that the reference here is to life and its milestones, although there is no explicit mention of either in the lines. This understanding is based on the already specified mappings between life and journey in our conceptual system. The

expression, '*two roads*' belongs to the source domain, JOURNEY, and corresponds with '*life's choices*', in the target domain, LIFE. The interpretation is that in the course of his life, the poet was confronted with easy choices (*or frequently taken paths*) and difficult choices (*paths less travelled*) but he opted for unusual and difficult choices.

Furthermore, some unique aspects of a society's cultural ideologies, and social and political history can give rise to unconventional conceptual metaphors. The following excerpt from Barack Obama's 2009 inaugural speech reflects the socio-political situation of the country at that time. The government was waging wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, at the same time, facing its biggest economic crises in history. Referring to the upheaval and global power shifts, Obama, in his speech noted:

> *(4) "America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come..... let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back.......and with eyes fixed on the horizon, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations"* (Lesz, 2011, p. 73).

The linguistic metaphor *(4)* and its underlying conceptual metaphor, SHIP'S CREW IS THE AMERICAN NATION, are both unconventional.

Despite the many challenges and criticisms faced, CMT has remained firmly grounded since none of the criticisms could invalidate its original principal idea that metaphors exist in our cognition in the form of cross-domain mappings. It was easy to bolster the claims made in the original theory with better explanations and more comprehensive evidence. With incorporation of newer elements, CMT has received validation on almost all issues raised.

In recent years, many studies have been done on various aspects of human cognition to provide evidence that metaphor is pervasive in everyday language (Buchowski, 1999; L. Cameron & Deignan, 2006; Fernandez, 1991; Grady, 1997;

Kövecses, 2000; Lakoff, 1993; Narayanan, 1997; Nerlich, Hamilton, & Rowe, 2002; Palmer, 1996). However, despite a growing trend of research in this area, our knowledge and understanding of how metaphors shape meaning in various cultural contexts remains limited. In particular, sufficient attention has not been paid to ways that cultural beliefs shape people's understandings of their embodied experiences and the conceptual metaphors which arise as a result. This study aims to make its contribution in this area by analysing the conceptual metaphors of womanhood in three culturally diverse regions of India.

The choice of womanhood as the subject of metaphorical interpretation is deliberate considering the socio-economic changes in recent Indian history and the impact of these changes on the gender discourse. Singh (2011) claimed that with improved levels of education, better access to job markets, and improved connectivity with the outside world, more and more women are standing up to challenge deep-seated patriarchy by pushing back their denigrators. The Indian society seems to be gradually beginning to acknowledge that women are equally intelligent and strong as their male counterparts. Increasingly disillusioned with their traditional roles, women all over India, belonging to all walks of life, are engendering a social movement to claim their right and uphold gender justice. They are gradually asserting independence, responsibility and confidence in their demands, and displaying fearlessness in expressing those demands. It is in this context that the current study attempts to understand the position and situation of Indian women as showcased by Indian writers through the metaphors they have used in their writings. It is assumed that the writers will use metaphors effectively to describe women's struggles as well as achievements within their social and cultural setting.

It has long been argued that all metaphorical constructions are culturally conditioned. Fernandez (1991), Buchowski (1996, 1999), and Palmer (1996) argue that culture has a deep influence on the way we create metaphors. The climate, the worldviews, the festivals, and even the flora and fauna condition the way we conceive the world around us in our cognitive consciousness. India's cultural diversity is attributed to its many vastly distinct language families living in equally diverse geographic regions. The three largest among them are, the Indo-Aryan

linguistic family occupying the northern region, the Dravidian linguistic family occupying southern region, and the Tibeto-Burmese spread out in northern border and north-eastern regions of India (Majumder, 2001; Moorjani et al., 2013). It is commonly agreed that India's cultural diversity arises from the distinctiveness in the racial composition, language dialects, places of origin, natural habitats, religious affiliations, the intricate caste system and social hierarchy of members of these language families. According to Bhela (2011), the diversity that emanates from the Hindu worldview is the most prominent. She claims that cultural conditions associated with Hinduism permeate all aspects of social and cultural life. India's dance forms, drama, music, arts, crafts and festivals are all intricately infused with Hindu philosophy. This diversity is also reflected in perceptions and viewpoints regarding the status and position of women. Studying the cultural basis of conceptual metaphors in the context of Indian ideologies concerning womanhood can therefore be an interesting subject to delve into, through literature, which is considered a powerful means of social commentary.

In this context, it is also essential to appropriately situate English literary writing in India as a suitable medium to communicate Indian-ness. According to Duhan (2015), it is a widely acknowledged fact that literature is a reflection of the society. The study of literature is the study of human psyche, hence one of the best sources to study the characteristics of a culture (G. Turner, 2005, pp. 9-16). It reflects the good values and ills in a society and, in doing so, engages in a corrective function by questioning the collective consciousness and inspiring the required change (Duhan, 2015, p. 192). Although works of literature may not necessarily comprise true stories depicting real people, it is surely grounded in realistic social expectations. Moreover, although the mother tongue is usually considered the best tool for literary creativity, in India, creative writing in English has been an integral part of its literary traditions since the 1700s. With Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981) a new era of renaissance writing began in India that characterized freshness and ownership of English. Rushdie and the writers after him began writing in English with "a certain sense of playfulness and informality, exuberance and sexual frankness" (Mee, 2003, pp. 318-336). According to scholars, English has been an important link in bridging the

linguistic diversity and defining Indian-ness (Mehrotra, 1987; G. Prasad, 2014; Zaidman, 2001) From being a signifier of exclusivity and class, it has finally moved deeper into the sphere of everyday Indian life and culture (Kachru, 2006). The south Asian speakers and authors have nativized and acculturated English within their own context. Hence, from being "the language of social distance, it has become the language of social proximity" (Kachru, 2006, p. 223).

The rise in English writing in India has been a consequence of the aforementioned developments. Iyengar (1985) and Hohenthal (1998) note that English literature is rapidly becoming a new form of Indian culture and a voice through which different parts of India tell their story to the outside world. Indian writers of English are routinely using metaphors to facilitate the understanding of their social, physical and cultural world. English has indeed become an intimate part of the Indian cultural psyche having proved its ability to play a creative role in Indian literature. In view of the above discussion, the current study examines conceptual metaphors of womanhood in English literary works by Indian authors. More specifically, the study has the following research questions and objectives

1.2. Research Questions

1. What are the conceptual metaphors of womanhood in English literary works set in the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Tibeto-Burmese linguistic regions of India?

2. What are the similarities and variations found in conceptual metaphors of womanhood across the three cultural regions?

1.3. Research Objectives

1. To analyse conceptual metaphors of womanhood in English literary works set in the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Tibeto-Burmese linguistic regions of India.

2. To compare and contrast the conceptual metaphors of womanhood across the three cultural regions.

1.4. Scope of the study

The metaphors researched in the current study are metaphors with womanhood as the subject matter. The metaphors are identified from a total of 21 literary works—seven each set in the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Tibeto-Burmese linguistic regions of India. The 20 writers of the selected works are Indian writers or writers of Indian origin who have spent formative years of their lives in India and have their roots in Indian culture.

1.5. Definitions of Terms

1. Conceptual Metaphor (CM)

It is a cognitive mechanism which enables the understanding of abstract concepts in terms of concrete concepts. The cross-domain mappings from concrete domains like *journey*, *war* and *money* to abstract domains like *life, argument* and *time*, is called a conceptual metaphor. An example of conceptual metaphor is TIME IS MONEY, which may be linguistically expressed as "*You are wasting my time*" because cross-domain mappings between '*time*' and '*money*' already exist in the brain.

2. Linguistic Metaphor (LM)

It is a linguistic manifestation (i.e. way of talking) of a conceptual metaphor (i.e. way of thinking). Also termed 'metaphorical linguistic expression', it refers to "a word, phrase, or sentence that is the surface realization of the cross-domain mappings between source and target domain" (Lakoff, 1993). The conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY can be realized linguistically through expressions such as "He's without direction in life" (Lakoff, 1993, p. 223).

3. Generic-level and Specific-level Metaphors

Also called 'basic metaphors' or 'primary metaphors', generic-level metaphors function at an extremely general level as they do not precisely specify ontological mappings between the source and target domains. The EVENTS ARE ACTIONS

conceptual metaphor, for example, has only a skeletal structure with very few details filled in about source and target domains (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 82). This conceptual metaphor can apply to any domain so long as the source is an action and target is an event. The specific-level metaphors for it are BIRTH IS ARRIVAL and DEATH IS DEPARTURE. The BIRTH schema maps precisely on to the schema of ARRIVAL, and DEATH maps precisely on DEPARTURE (Kövecses, 2010b). The generic-level conceptual metaphors account for similarities and the specific-level ones account for variations.

4. Conceptual Domain

In the context of the conceptual metaphor theory, a domain encompasses many aspects of an experience that are associated with the conceptualised idea. In other words, 'a conceptual domain is a coherent organisation of experience' (Kövecses, 2010b, p. 4).

The Conceptual Domains in CMT

According to the CMT view as discussed in *Metaphors We Live By* Lakoff and Johnson (1980), a metaphor is a cognitive device which enables the understanding of an abstract domain of experience, which is the target domain, in terms of a concrete domain the source domain. A source domain is a conceptual domain, typically a concrete domain of experience from which metaphorical expressions are drawn. A target domain on the other hand is typically abstract conceptual domain of experience which is explained with the help of the source domain. The source domain in "She won his heart." contains 'a winner' and 'a prize'. The target domain contains 'a woman' and 'a heart'. The elements of the source and target domain are mapped onto each other, we see the woman as a winner who has achieved her prize, which is the sentiment of love of the man.

5. Mappings

There is a set of systematic correspondences between the source and the target domain. This means that the constituent conceptual elements of the source

which is used to explain an abstract idea correspond with constituent elements of the target domain which is understood through the source domain. In other words, an operation that associates each element of the source domain with elements of the target domain.

1.6. Significance of the Study

According to Shutova, Devereux, and Korhonen (2013), there have been very few studies on novel conceptual metaphors using CMT although they are found "most abundantly in literary works" (p. 260). To the best of my knowledge, a systematic study on conceptual metaphors has yet not been conducted in English literary works in India either. Hence, the significance of this study stems from the fact that it will be among the very first of its kind in India to explore the similarities and variations in the conceptual metaphors. In doing so, it will contribute towards providing empirical support for the analysis of literary metaphors in real-world texts using CMT. Moreover, using a reliable method G. Steen et al. (2010) for metaphor identification in real-world text will open up new possibilities for research on metaphor in usage.

1.7. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter the motivation behind conducting this study has been explained. The background provides a description of the initial CMT theory, its criticisms and its later expansions. This is followed by the motivation to study metaphors in the literary genre and also a brief explanation of the reason to study metaphors pertaining to womanhood. Thereafter, the research questions, the research objectives, the scope and the significance of the study are presented.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the theoretical background of the current research which includes the conceptual theory of metaphor, the three linguistic regions of India, the concept of womanhood, English in India, and the previous metaphor research relevant to the current research. The organisation of the chapter is as follows: Section 2.1 presents a description of conceptual theory of metaphor (CMT), section 2.2 discusses India's three linguistic regions, Section 2.3 discusses womanhood in India. Section 2.4 traces the history and development of English and English literary Writing in India. Section 2.5 presents metaphor related studies.

2.1. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

Traditionally, metaphor was considered nothing more than a feature of language "to be used as a decorative addition to ordinary language" (Saeed, 1997, p. 303). But after Reddy (1979) described the Conduit Metaphor, researchers began to see merit in studying metaphor as a matter of thought. With the publication of (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) its authors became the first to comprehensively examine conceptual metaphors (CM) and their underlying processes. The book claimed that conceptual metaphors are possible as linguistic expressions precisely because they are present in our conceptual system. Our understanding of everyday concepts, such as birth, love and death are understood through conceptual metaphors that relate these abstract topics to concrete, and more easily observable phenomena. Lakoff (1993) elaborated that a linguistic metaphor is made up of two distinct conceptual domains called the *source domain* and the *target* domains. The link between the two is not an arbitrary one but has a *motivation*, or *ground* in the physical and socio-cultural experience. Leech (2008) claims that to find meaning in metaphors, the reader must establish 'some kind of psychological, emotional or perceptual relation' between the literal and figurative meaning of a word'. This is the '*analogy' or 'ground'*. The *ground* in (1) is 'the act of defending'. In *(2) 'My wife … whose waist is*

an hourglass' (Free Union, 1931, cited in M. Turner and Lakoff (1989), the perceived similarity is in the shape of the hourglass so the woman's waist becomes the *ground*.

The 1990s saw a rise in the studies on neural theory of metaphors. Cognitive linguistics researchers claim that a large part of our language is the result of our physical interactions we encounter in the first years of life. One example of this is the AFFECTION IS WARMTH metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 255). The conception of embodiment is inherent in the fact that we have a body and that our conceptual and linguistic systems are deeply grounded in our physical, cognitive, and social embodiment. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) published *The Philosophy in the Flesh* in which they put forth the most comprehensive explanation of embodiment and embodied mind as follows: "Reason is not disembodied, as the tradition has largely held, but arises from the nature of our brains, bodies, and bodily experience. This is not just the innocuous and obvious claim that we need a body to reason; rather, it is the striking claim that the very structure of reason itself comes from the details of our embodiment. Thus, to understand reason we must understand the details of our visual system, our motor system, and the general mechanisms of neural binding. In summary, reason is shaped crucially by the peculiarities of our human bodies, by the remarkable details of the neural structure of our brains, and the specifics of our everyday functioning in the world." (p. 4). This definition suggests that the mind is inherently embodied, thought is mostly unconscious, and abstract concepts are largely metaphorical. This implies that the functioning of our bodies is crucial for the structure of our conceptual system.

Varela, Thompson, and Rosch (1991) conceived embodiment in terms of Hindu and Buddhist philosophy of bringing "body and mind together" (p. 27). For instance, we understand anger in terms of heat or pressure or loss of physical control. An angry person's temperature and heart beat increases and physical control is somewhat lost. Some researchers include body metaphors to support the claim that body metaphors can be classified as embodiment. The synthesis of embodiment is that it comprises three natural kinds of experience: experience of the body, of the physical environment, and of culture. These constitute the most

fundamental source domains from where the metaphors emerge (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007).

2.1.1. Characteristic Features of Conceptual Metaphors

There are four characteristic features of metaphors that provide evidence of their conceptual nature: Systematicity, Hiding and Highlighting, Directionality and Entailments.

2.1.1.1. Systematicity in Conceptual Metaphors

An important characteristic of conceptual metaphors is that they are systematic. This means that we can talk about *time* in terms of *motion* so it can *fly*; *ideas* in terms of *food* to be *digested*; *argument* in terms of *war*, to be *won or lost*, and *organisations* in terms of *plants* that can be *pruned*. This is because these concepts are partly organised in our minds through systematic metaphorical correspondences. This is typically referred to as 'systematicity' or 'mappings'. What it means to conceptualise one thing *(A)* in terms of the other *(B)* is to create a set of mappings in our mind between the source and the target domains. These mappings have a definite structure. Because a metaphorical concept is systematic, the language we use to talk about that aspect is also systematic. In the conceptual metaphor, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, for example, the elements of the source domain of journey are mapped onto the target domain of love as follows:

Table 1: Mappings between source domain, JOURNEY and Target domain LOVE

Source: Journey (A)		Target: LOVE (B)
the travellers	->	the lovers
the vehicle	->	the relationship
the journey	->	events in the relationship
the distance covered	->	the progress made
the obstacles encountered	->	the difficulties experienced
decisions about the way	->	choices made in life
destination	->	the goals set

As seen in Table 1, the constituent elements of the conceptual domain, *(A)* are systematically organised with those of *(B)*. An important point to be noted is that a linguistic metaphor reflects the underlying conceptual metaphor without violating the mappings that are considered conventional in a linguistic community or culture. A metaphorically used linguistic expression or linguistic metaphor must conform to the pre-existing correspondences between the source and the target (Kovecses, 2010, p. 10). Another important point is that not all elements of *(B)* can be mapped on to elements of *(A)*.

2.1.1.2. Hiding and Highlighting

Proponents of CMT are of the view that metaphors, both, hide and highlight some aspects of the target domain. The systematicity that makes it possible for one aspect of a concept to be understood in terms of the other (e.g., the traveller aspect of lover) will also necessarily hide the other aspects of the concept that are not relevant to the understanding. This means that not all aspects of source domain are mapped on to the target, and mappings are partial. The understanding of the conceptual metaphor, LOVE IS A JOURNEY shows that a journey is a

concrete event that we all undertake, and share the understanding that journeys take long. This highlights the fact that a love relationship can be a long-term relationship. But it hides the fact that many a times, a love relationship can be extremely short term and can be terminated in a matter of days. Kovecses (2010) observes that the formulation A is B, in which a target domain A is understood in terms of target domain B, is not precise enough because this means that the complete target domain is understood in terms of the entire source domain. But this cannot be the case because two concepts that are far apart can have similarities but they cannot be entirely the same. Kövecses (2010b) further adds that 'metaphorical highlighting' applies to the target domain but the 'metaphorical utilisation' applies to source domain (p. 91). When the source domain is applied to the target, only some aspects of the target domain are brought into focus (highlighted) and only some aspects of the source domain are used to highlight those aspects. In the case of MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT: *The experience shattered her,* the focus is on a single aspect of the concept of the mind, that is 'the lack of psychological strength'. 'When the focus is on one or some aspects of the target concept, it can be said that those aspect(s) are highlighted' (Kövecses, 2010b, p. 92).

2.1.1.3. Directionality

As seen in Table 1, the mappings between the concepts of LOVE and JOURNEY are one way in that they move from the concrete to the abstract. Directionality is an important feature of metaphorical correspondences since it emphasises that metaphor is understood with the help of a source concept, that is, looking at the features of the *source* and discovering the similarities in the *target*. This means that the relationship between *love* and *journey* is not symmetrical. *Love* is understood in terms of *journey*, but *journey* is not understood in terms of *love*.

2.1.1.4. Concept of Entailment

A metaphorical entailment is the imparting of a characteristic of the source domain to the target domain by means of logic. In the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, the correspondences are at a basic level. On this, more correspondences that are beyond the basic level can be mapped, for example, LOVE RELATIONSHIPS ARE VEHICLES, or A TROUBLED RELATIONSHIP IS A BROKEN DOWN VEHICLE. These form a single bond based on categorization or additional mappings called entailments. LOVE IS A JOURNEY entails LOVE RELATIONSHIPS ARE VEHICLES. The idea is that if *love* is conceptualised as a *journey* and *vehicle* corresponds to *relationship,* then *vehicle* can be used to understand relationships (Kövecses, 2006). The structuring of a concept through metaphorical entailments is always only partial.

2.1.2. Classification of Conceptual Metaphors

There are four criteria according to which conceptual metaphors can be classified. This classification is based on their *cognitive functions, levels of generality, conventionality, innate nature, that is image metaphors.*

2.1.2.1. The Cognitive Functions of Conceptual Metaphors

Conceptual metaphors can be classified into three types, *structural, orientational* and *ontological* on the basis of their cognitive functions. These functions are based on the idea of embodiment and are discussed as follows:

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) discussed the topic of embodiment by drawing attention to the subconscious conceptual structures that govern the way we think, behave, communicate and live our lives. The fundamental premise of their enquiry is that these structures (though existing only at a subconscious level) can be investigated through linguistic instances. Body, physical environment and culture constitute the most fundamental source domains from where the metaphors

emerge (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007). It was originally thought that for something to become meaningful, the human body must play a primary role. The idea was later developed to include our physical, cognitive, social and cultural embodiments in which the body, intellect and language are situated. In their enquiry, the CMT researchers have grouped metaphors in to three categories- *orientational metaphors, ontological metaphors*, and *structural metaphors*.

2.1.2.1.1. Orientational metaphors

These metaphors are most extensive of the three as they involve spatial concepts, and organise a whole system of concepts in terms of our physical orientation or our experiences, with concrete physical objects, especially the body. They often provide a spatial dimension (up or down, in or out, central or peripheral, deep or shallow, front or back, etc.) and are not arbitrary. They arise specifically because of the kinds of existence we have as human beings and the kind of environments we live in. For example, we understand a state of mind, activity or quantity in terms of directionality. The spatial metaphors, such as HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN have a physical basis of a drooping posture or an erect posture which coincides with how our body behaves when we are sad, depressed or happy. The two are grounded in the way we physically express these feelings. When we're happy the body feels energised and tends to hold itself upright, but when we are sad the body slumps. Some conceptual metaphors MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN underlie expressions such as 'My income **rose** last year' and 'If you're too hot, turn the heat **down**' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 15-16). These metaphors are grounded in the physical experience such that adding more quantities of substances form higher piles or levels than smaller quantities do. Such metaphors could be universal because of the physical or bodily

orientation that all humans share. However, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also claim that such polar opposition as up-down, in-out, front-back may vary from culture to culture. In some cultures, for instance, the future is in front of us, while in some others, it is behind us. Moreover, upward orientation usually goes with positive evaluation of the concept in question.

2.1.2.1.2. Ontological metaphors

Intangible concepts, ideas, feelings and physical phenomenon are not bounded or discrete. According to (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 25), in order for us to understand these, we must understand these as discrete or bounded by surface or having limits. Doing this enables us to conceptualise an abstract idea, an emotion, an event or an activity (non-physical objects) in terms of a concrete entity that has a definite physical property. Such metaphors are termed 'entity', 'substance' or 'container' metaphors Lakoff and Johnson (1980), describe ontological metaphors as follows:

"Understanding 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" (p. 27).

In other words, our experiences with and our understanding of physical objects, especially our own bodies allow us to refer to an event, activity or emotion, quantify it, identify a particular aspect of it, see it as a cause and act with respect to it, and reason about it'

(Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 26). In order to satisfy our purposes with regards to physical phenomenon such as mountains and streets, we need to impose artificial boundaries that "make phenomenon discrete just as we are" (p. 27) such that we can 'locate mountains', 'meet at a street corner' or harvest fields etc.

Examples of ontological metaphors are as follows:

a) "Inflation is *weighing heavy* on a common man." (INFLATION IS AN ENTITY)

b) "Life has *cheated* on me." (LIFE IS A PERSON)

c) "The economy is healthy." (ECONOMY IS A PERSON)

d) "The experience *shattered* him." (MIND IS A MACHINE)

Examples (a) to (d) are so natural and so pervasive in our thought that they go unnoticed. All of these metaphors can also be seen as personifying the abstract idea allowing us to view a physical object as a person. An abstract event such as an action (*cheating, shattered)* or an event *(life)* is concretised as a physical object and given human qualities. In this way, a wide range of nonhuman entities are viewed in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities.

In a nutshell, ontological metaphors facilitate the understanding of the world phenomenon in human terms.

2.1.2.1.3. Structural metaphors

These metaphors are considered the most complex of the three and are used to structure specialized knowledge (Deignan, 1998). These metaphors allow us to do much more with abstract concepts than just orient them, quantify them or refer to them. In this type of metaphor, one whole concept is metaphorically structured partially in terms of another well-structured and well-defined concept. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), a structural metaphor is internally consistent and imposes a

consistent structure on the concept it structures, "requiring us to transfer one basic domain of experience to another basic domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 117).

Ordinarily, people greet each other and take turns talking and listening, and in doing so, they enable a dialogue. A conversation evolves into an argument when we impose the experience of war onto it. In the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor for example, a conversation is structured by means of correspondences with selected elements from the understanding of WAR. When we understand a conversation as if it were an argument, we "superimpose the multidimensional structure of part of the concept of WAR upon the corresponding structure CONVERSATION" (p. 81). If we impose the characteristics of war (physical conflict and violence) onto the elements of conversation, we get a special type of discussion, known as argument. More often than not, we resort to verbal arguments to get what we want. In this sense, verbal battles are comprehended in the same terms as physical battles (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In conceptualizing RATIONAL ARGUMENT IS WAR, we understand arguments in terms of a warfare, attacking another's point-of-view and defending our own.

2.1.2.2. Levels of Generality

Conceptual metaphors can be at a generic or specific level. Generality concerns the experiential basis of metaphor. According to Kövecses (2010b) metaphors at a generic-level often underlie personification and they are used in literature commonly as a metaphorical device. Personification enables us to use our knowledge about people to better understand aspects of the world such as death, nature, forces of nature and so on. Moreover, personifications can be characterised by two conceptual metaphors, EVENTS ARE ACTIONS and

THINGS ARE PEOPLE. Both are generic-level metaphors with many specific-level instances (Kovecses, 2010, pp. 44-46). Specific-level conceptual metaphors have fixed ontological mappings. Conceptual metaphors such as, ARGUMENT IS WAR and IDEAS ARE FOOD, LIFE IS A JOURNEY and BIRTH IS ARRIVAL, DEATH IS DEPARTURE are specific-level metaphors. 'Birth' and 'death' are specific instances of 'actions', and 'arrival', and 'departure' are specific instances of 'actions' (Kovecses, 2010, p. 44). In this metaphor, both, the source and the target domains are at a generic or superordinate level. Thus, it can be said the generic-level metaphors are generalisations of specific-level metaphors and specific-level metaphors are instances of higher or generic-level ones (Kövecses, 2006).

Personifications can also be characterised by two conceptual metaphors. The proverb, "Look before you leap", for example is based on two conceptual metaphors. The 'leap' is an instance of the specific-level metaphor, AN ACTION IS A SELF-PROPELLED MOTION and 'look' is an instance of the generic-level metaphor, THINKING IS LOOKING.

2.1.2.3. Scale of Conventionality

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) categorise metaphors on the scale of conventionality. "Conventional metaphors are metaphors that structure the ordinary conceptual system of our culture, which is reflected in our everyday language" (p. 139). At the conceptual level, a metaphor is considered conventional when it is automatic, effortless, and well-established in a community. The degree to which a conceptual metaphor is conventionalised depends on the extent to which it underlies linguistic expressions. Conventional metaphors govern our thoughts and "are alive in the most fundamental sense: they are the metaphors we live by" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). They are those that are well worn out and deeply entrenched in everyday use by ordinary people for everyday purposes (Kövecses, 2002, p. 29). Expressions such as *"falling in love",*

"driving someone crazy", "bursting with joy", "being deeply moved" are active instantiations of conceptual metaphors that are so highly entrenched that one does not even notice their usage (Lakoff, 1993, p. 245).

On the opposite end of the conventionality scale lie the highly unconventional or novel metaphors. In creating unconventional metaphors their inventors/creators are guided by the same mechanisms used for *conventional metaphors* but extend them, elaborate them, and combine them in ways that go beyond ordinary modes of thought and the inter-conceptual mappings are established in new creative ways (Kovecses, 2010, p. 52). An example of an unconventional linguistic metaphor in literature is: *(8) His toes were like the keyboard of a spinet (The Description of King Lent, Trans. J. M. Cohen).* Such a metaphor emerges "when experiences fall outside the range of conventional mechanisms" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 139). "Metaphors become hackneyed during the lifetime of a language as they lose more and more of their original colour and fade, and many of them completely die" (Müller, 2008, p. 179). The generic-level conventional metaphor DEATH IS SLEEP, for example, views death as a state of sleep when referring to someone who has passed away. In Hamlet's soliloquy, Shakespeare displayed creativity in extending this ordinary conventional metaphor by mapping certain aspects of the source domain that are not commonly mapped, on to the target domain, thus extending this metaphor in a new direction: In linguistic metaphors such as "Rest in peace," and "Slumber room" (a room in a mortuary where dead bodies are laid out), the mappings between *sleep* and *death* involve only features such as, "inactivity, inattentiveness, inability to perceive and horizontal position, and so on" (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 67).

2.1.3. Image Metaphors

Metaphors can be understood based on concrete knowledge as well as image. Metaphors that are based on the knowledge of basic everyday concepts have been discussed above. In metaphors that are based on concrete knowledge, some basic structures or elements are mapped from a source to a target. Johnson, in his book, *The Body in the Mind (1987),* introduced the notion of 'image metaphors'. Lakoff and Turner (1989) call image metaphors, 'one-shot' metaphors. Their locus is the mental image (p. 91). According to Dancygier and Sweetser (2014), the image schemas are "crucial for understanding the concept of metaphor" (p. 60). These schemas develop from our everyday experiences with our bodies, like sitting up, walking etc. They are not considered innate, but they seem to be rooted in our bodily experiences as part of the whole conceptual structure (Evans & Green, 2006). In image metaphors, the structure of one image that gets mapped onto the structure of another image and the understanding is provided (Kövecses, 2010b, p. 42). Central to this understanding is the fact that there is a symbiotic co-relation between the concepts that human beings form, and the nature of their physical bodies. Mental images are grounded in perceptual or bodily-based experience. Thinking from this perspective, the embodiment of the human mind is directly responsible for structuring its concepts.

With respect to conceptual metaphors, when image projection takes place while a metaphorical expression is being comprehended, the mental image associated with the metaphor instantiates a concrete image schema and activates the metaphorically associated abstract domain. M. Turner and Lakoff (1989) present the example of a vivid image metaphor through a description of a river Indian poetry as follows:

> (7)   Slowly, slowly rivers in autumn show
>
>   Sand banks
>
>   Bashful in first love, woman
>
>   Showing thighs
>
>   Now women-rivers
>
>   belted with silver fish
>
>   move unhurried as women in love
>
>   at dawn after a night with their lovers
>
> ("The Peacock's Egg", pp. 69- 71 (M. Turner & Lakoff, 1989, p. 89).

The lines in (7) are from an Indian poem, and present an image of a muddy (light brown) river, whose water level has receded during the dry season (lines 1- 2), is mapped onto the image of clothing sliding down the body of the lover (lines 3-4). Lines 5-8 provide a visual image of the slow, sinuous walk of Indian women being mapped on to the slow, sinuous, shimmering flow of a river (M. Turner & Lakoff, 1989, p. 90). Such image-metaphors are commonly found in poetry but can also occur in everyday language. The word 'dunk' for example, derives from the 'dipping of pastries into liquids'. The dunking of a basketball into the basket is an extension of the image of pastries being dunked in chocolate or some other liquid. The image of the cup's rim is mapped on to image of the basket's rim, the image of hand motion of dunking pastries corresponds with the hand motion of dunking the ball in the basket, and the image of pastry is mapped on to the image of the basketball. These images don't seem to have a bodily experiential basis, but the experiential correlation between vision and knowledge is established.

Another example of an image schema has to do with the phenomenon of containment. It can also be argued that the experiences of our own bodies lead us to develop an image schema CONTAINER. When an animal such as a cat is put in a box, and the lid is closed, it cannot go anywhere. According to (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 156) such an image is caused

partly because of the properties of a bounded landmark. The image schema described above is instrumental in giving rise to more abstract meanings such as the English preposition 'in' to say 'in love', or 'in trouble' or fall into depression'. Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) claim that expressions of this nature are examples of conceptual metaphor STATES ARE CONTAINERS. The metaphor is created by a metaphorical projection of the CONTAINER image schema onto the source domain STATE (e.g. love, trouble, mental health). This makes the phenomenon of image schema for conceptual metaphors important.

2.1.4. Metaphor and Culture

The term 'culture' encompasses our social and environmental interactions. It includes both interpersonal relations as well as people's engagement with all aspects of their surroundings. In anthropology and sociology, culture encompasses commonly shared ideas, beliefs and habits that members of a certain group pass on from one generation to the next (Bhela, 2010). In cognitive linguistics, culture usually refers to a system of collective beliefs, worldviews, customs, traditions, values, and norms shared by the members of a community. According to Carlo, Carranza, and Zamboanga (2002), "culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (p. 1).

Cognitive linguists and cultural theorists have expanded the idea of metaphor and taken it into the thought itself. Modifying the stance made in Lakoff and Johnson (1980) on the role of culture in metaphorical conceptualization, Johnson (1987) states that conceptual metaphors are based not only on our physical experience, but have a substantially large social and cultural basis as well.

Cultural experiences play a very important role in conceptualizing and conditioning our thoughts and behaviour as well. The variation in culture can lead to a different conceptualization of an idea. This means that certain

metaphors may only be understood by a certain group of people in a specific time and space because they share the same knowledge, ideas and concepts. Another culture will lack knowledge of the exact source concept since no concept can exist in one culture exactly the same way as it does in another culture (Wu, 2008, p. 124). People who can successfully participate in the same kind of meaning making can be believed to belong to the same culture. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) put it, "the most fundamental and deeply entrenched values in a culture are coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in that culture" (p. 45). Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2013) claims "culture is a key concept for the explanation of how conceptual metaphors emerge from our knowledge structures" (p. 315).

Anthropologists have argued that all metaphorical constructions are actually culturally conditioned. According to anthropologists Fernandez (1991) and Buchowski (1996) , culture has a deep influence on the way we create metaphors. The climate, the worldviews, the festivals, and even the flora and fauna, condition the way we conceive the world around us. Rosch (1975) shows how colours are classified differently across cultures, and their use and meaning in a linguistic metaphor varies depending upon the various meanings they signify in their respective cultures. Patton (2008) explains that when analysing metaphor in terms of culture, several examples can be found that are highly influenced and modulated by culture. One such example is the term 'mother'. In the Western world, the feminist movements have modified the meaning of mother to a culturally biased one to mean 'housewife mother'. Women who work want to be called 'working mothers' to show deviation from the 'prototypical' concept of a non-working mother.

2.1.5. Literary Metaphors

Both conventional and unconventional conceptual metaphors appear in literature and poetry and are extensions and elaborations of conventional conceptual metaphors. Lakoff and Turner (1989) posit that there exists a relationship between metaphors in everyday ordinary language and those

found in literature. They argue that literary metaphors also have abstract *targets* and concrete *sources* and can be comprehended only when they are linked to a conceptual metaphor. This is why authors across different literary genres exploit certain conceptual metaphors. The difference between metaphors used in everyday language and those used in literary language is that authors are much more original, unconventional and creative in expressing these metaphors. Therefore, cognitive linguistics view metaphors in everyday language as primary, and metaphor in literature as the creative exploitation of ordinary, non-literary metaphors. Semino and Steen (2008) point out that for most scholars literary metaphors are more novel, creative, original, inspiring, interesting, complex and rich than those found outside literature. Kovecses (2010) gives an example of an unconventional metaphor from Gabriel Garcia's novel, *Love in the time of Cholera* to show that original and unconventional metaphors provide a unique perspective on reality:

(9) Once he tasted some chamomile tea, he sent it back saying, "This stuff tastes of window." She and the servant were surprised because they had never heard anyone who had drunk boiled window, but when they tried the tea in an effort to understand, they understood: it did taste of window (p. 49).

The expression above is clearly a highly unconventional metaphor. Here, he suggests that such original creativity in literary metaphors though vague, gives a richer meaning than the generic-level schema that we exploit to understand conventional or ordinary metaphors. However, it is a fallacy that literary metaphors always constitute a distinct category from ordinary metaphors. It does not. In fact, creative, literary metaphors that are based on our ordinary and everyday conceptual system are as frequent and easy to comprehend as those that we use in our everyday language use. According to Kövecses (2002), most poetic and literary metaphors are created by transforming ordinary conceptual metaphors in different ways, namely, by (i)

extending, (ii) elaborating, (iii) questioning, (iv) combining. In this regard, Lakoff and Turner (1989) state that writers are experts in extending and compressing basic metaphors in creative, poetic ways.

i.   ***Extending***: Here, a conventional or generic conceptual metaphor, which is usually expressed through conventional language, is extended by the use of a new conceptual element. In the poem, "Because I could not stop for death", for example, when Emily Dickinson speaks of Death as a coachman, she is using the extension of the common conceptual metaphor, DEATH IS DEPARTURE. When Dickinson says,

(10)   *"Because I could not stop for death---*
        He kindly stopped for me---

'We know that it's the purposeful activities in her life that Dickinson cannot stop and we understand the purposes as destinations and her life as a journey, travelling through which, her destinations will be reached. When she talks of Death as a coachman, stopping to take her along to the place of no return, she is extending the metaphorical conception of death because normally western cultures don't think of someone (in this case, coachman) coming to take away someone who is dying; it is a new element that she adds. If this metaphor were placed in Indian culture, the addition of coachman would not be considered a new element or extension because in Hinduism, Yama, the lord of Death comes to fetch the departing person.

ii.   ***Elaborating:*** *Elaboration is different from extension in that, there is an elaboration of an existing element of the source domain instead of the addition of a new element. Kovecses (2010, p. 54)*

cites the example of the poem, "The Phenomenology of Anger" by Adrienne Rich:

> (11) ... this is my dream
>
> white acetylene
>
> ripples from my body
>
> effortlessly released
>
> perfectly trained
>
> on the true enemy.

The poem activates the conceptual metaphor, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINNER, where the hot fluid is elaborated as the flammable gas, acetylene, and directed at the target of anger.

iii. **Questioning:** *Sometimes poets question our understanding of the basic concepts and the appropriateness of our common everyday metaphors derived from that understanding. Kovecses (2010, p. 54) cites the following example to show how the most basic metaphors for life and death, LIFETIME IS A DAY and DEATH IS NIGHT, are indeed inappropriate. The lines go:*

> (12) *Suns can set and return again,*
>
> *but when our brief light goes out,*
>
> *there's one perpetual night to be slept through..*
>
> (Catullus, 5).

So, we see that in case of death, metaphor DEATH IS NIGHT does not hold because upon death, the night becomes perpetual and does not turn to day, as it does in nature, where night and day keep alternating in a cycle.

iv. ***Combining****: As we know that there can be more than one source domain for a given target domain. For instance, we know that life may be viewed as light, as day, as a precious possession, and death may be viewed as darkness, night and an extinguished lamp. Lakoff and Turner (1989, p. 70) cite the example of Shakespeare's sonnet:*

(13)   *In me thou seest the twilight of such day*
             As after sunset fadeth in the west,
             Which by and by black night doth take away,
             Death's second self, that seals up all in rest.

The single clause above carries at least three basic conceptual metaphors: LIFETIME IS A DAY, LIFE IS LIGHT, DEATH IS NIGHT, LIFE IS A PRECIOUS POSSESSION. The ideas of life and death are shown here by combining complex metaphorical concepts.

Apart from ordinary metaphors, literature abounds in personification, mega-metaphors and image metaphors. Personification is a metaphorical device with the help of which, human characteristics are imparted to objects, animals, or ideas. This creative act adds to reader's enjoyment of a poem or literary work. Some of the most personified concepts in literature are time, death, natural forces and inanimate objects. Mega-metaphors are extended metaphors that run through the entire literary work or a great part of them. An entire poem, for example, can be one mega-metaphor. This device is employed in poetry as well as prose to project a specific impression in the reader's mind about some notion. Lastly, image metaphors are used more in poetry due to their richness of images. Some examples of image metaphors are as follows:

(14)   How it clatters along the roofs,

Like the tramp of hoofs!

How it gushes and struggles out,

From the throat of the overflowing spout

("Rain in Summer", H. W Longfellow)

(15)   Who will buy these delicate, bright

Rainbow-tinted circles of light?

("Bangle sellers", Sarojini Naidu)

(16)   Now silent, now singing and swaying and swinging,

like blossoms that bend to the breezes or showers...

("Indian Dancers", Sarojini Naidu)

Moreover, Dorst (2011) refers to a passage in "Life of Pi" (Martel, 2003) in which Pi's *fear* is described in terms of "animal personification metaphors" (p. 14), where some aspects and qualities of animals are used to conceptualise Pi's fear as a treacherous adversary of *life* (as Pi's mind [fear is in his mind] attacks his body). *"It is life's only true opponent. Only fear can defeat life…… your lungs have flown away like a bird and your guts have slithered away like a snake. Now you tongue drops dead like an opossum, while your jaw begins to gallop on the spot"* (p. 203). The personification is detailed, complex and so well-structured that it is unlikely to occur in everyday spontaneous language, and immediately strikes as deliberate since it is "consciously constructed by the author, and consciously interpreted by the reader" (Dorst, 2011, p. 16). Research done on literary metaphor so far has established that deliberate metaphors are generally associated with literature and include personification metaphors, similes, and extended metaphors (Dorst, 2011; Semino, 2008).

2.2. India's Three Linguistic Families and Corresponding Regions

With more than 4,635 anthropologically well-defined human population groups living in vastly different geographic regions, and speaking 6,661 varieties of languages, India presents an ideal case of biological, environmental and socio-cultural diversity (Banthia, 2001; Tamang & Thangaraj, 2012). The country is home to three major population groups based on their linguistic affiliation. The languages they speak belong to genetically different languages families, namely, the Indo-Aryan, the Dravidian and the Tibeto-Burmese. The Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian language families belong to the Caucasoid race, and the Tibeto-Burmese language family belongs to the Mongoloid race (Bhasin, 2007). They occupy three geographically distinct regions of India. As seen in Figure 1, the Indo-Aryans occupy the whole of northern India. The Dravidians occupy four political states in the southern India, and, the Mongoloids occupy the north-eastern region and the northern fringes of the Himalayan mountain ranges in India.

The following map (Figure 1) shows the three linguistic families occupying India's three geographic regions.

Figure 1: Map of India showing distribution the three language families in their corresponding geographic regions in India.

2.2.1. The Indo-Aryan Region

According to Census of India Chandramouli and General (2011), the Indo-Aryan language family constitutes 72% of India's total population, and has had the greatest impact on the cultural make-up of the country. The Indo-Aryans are the robust Caucasoids with paler skins, who migrated from the Plateau of Iran, moving through the Hindu Kush Mountains in the north-west, into India. They came in subsequent waves between 2000-1500 BCE and occupied a large area of the country including, the Himalayan region in the north, the Indo-Gangetic plains, parts of the Deccan plateau in the centre, and desert region in the west of India. Due to their linguistic affinities to Iranian and European languages, the languages they developed in India came to be known as the Indo-Aryan languages. The early Aryans first occupied the north-western and the north-central parts, and then spread south-westward and eastward, mixing with the indigenous groups. According to Bhasin (2006) and Bhasin (2007), beginning fourth century B.C, after the Indo-Aryans had entered its settled course, India was subjected to repeated invasions for the next 2000 years. The invaders were the Persians, the Scythians, the Greeks, the Arabs, the Mongols, the Turks, the Pallavas, the Kushans, the Huns, and the Afghans. These invasions and consequent migrations came to an end with establishment of the Mughal Empire in the sixteenth century.

The Mughals who established their empire throughout the Indo-Aryan belt were responsible for some major perceptible changes in the racial composition and culture of the north Indians. The Spanish, the French and the British who came as traders also impacted the culture of the country quite substantially. "The last and politically most successful of the great invasions, namely, that from Europe, vastly altered Indian culture but had relatively little impact on India's ethnic composition" (Kuiper, 2010, p. 21). The Bene-Israel Jews and the Parsis who came from Israel and Iran, respectively, seeking asylum, quickly assimilated themselves into the Hindu society of that time. Thus, the current Indo-Aryan language family is a complex admixture of all of these ethnicities, and cultures.

The Indo-Aryans developed the cast system, during the Vedic times, on the basis of the four major occupations namely, religion and education; aristocracy and governance; trade and ownership of land; and labour and services (Tamang & Thangaraj, 2012). The Brahmins were placed highest in the social hierarchy since they were entrusted with the religious and educational responsibilities. The Kshatriya were the aristocratic warrior class. The Vaishyas were the traders, and also the cultivators. Lastly, the Sudras were the service and labourer class, occupying the lowest rung in the social hierarchy. When the Aryans spread throughout northern India, they mixed with other indigenous groups, and despite strict caste restrictions, there were intermarriages between groups that continues till the present day. Such amalgamation of cultures has led to the emergence of new customs, traditions and practices that combine the traditions and customs of distinctive groups.

In addition to the caste system, religion has traditionally been an important factor in the structuring and organisation of the Indian society. Indians follow many religious faiths, of which, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism and Buddhism are prime. According to the data recorded in the Census of India (Chandramouli & General, 2011), out of the 1.2 billion population, 966.3 million (79.8%) follow Hinduism. They are most numerous in 27 states and union territories in the north and south of India. The Muslims are in majority in Kashmir the north (68.31% of total population of Jammu and Kashmir), Uttar Pradesh (19.26%) and Bihar (16.87%). Sikhism is widely practiced in Punjab where the Sikhs constitute more than 57.69 % of the state's population and 75% total Sikh population in the country.

2.2.2. The Dravidian Region

Not much is known about the origins of the Dravidian people, but some linguists are of the view that they are the original inhabitants of northern India and were well spread out across the Indian sub-continent before the advent of Aryans. However, some anthropologists are also of the view that they migrated to India from Asia Minor and Crete (Bhasin, 2006), and thrived in the northern

part of India from roughly 2500 to 1700 BCE. With successive groups of the Indo-Aryans, the Scythians and the Muslims coming in, in large numbers, they retreated southwards to avoid dominance. However, there's no substantial evidence for this claim, till date. They are reputed to have built the ancient Indus Valley Civilization. According to Census of India (Chandramouli & General, 2011), about 28% of Indians are Dravidians, and currently reside in southern states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, and parts of Maharashtra. These states occupy the Deccan plateau, the coastal plains, and the Ghats along the western coastal line, considered one of the few hot-spots of bio-diversity. The Dravidian language family is not connected to any other language family in the world. Those scholars who agree that the Dravidians are the indigenous to India, claim that their nativity and long-term isolation is the reason for their linguistic uniqueness. Languages Tamil, Telegu, Kannada and Malayalam are the most prominently spoken languages by this group. That the Dravidian languages have speakers in the north as well, suggests their antiquity.

The Dravidians adopted and adapted the caste system devised by the Indo-Aryans. They developed it further into a complex system and follow it rigidly even today. According to Gist (1954), south India is a stronghold of the caste system in India, especially in the Hindu majority states of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The castes are divided into complex array of distinctive sub-groups. Each of these sub-groups have unique cultural characteristics (p. 126).

In terms of the distribution of religious faiths in this region, the states of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka are seats of traditional Hinduism. According to Census of India (Chandramouli & General, 2011) Muslims are in majority in the southern states of Lakshadweep (96.58% of state's total population) and Kerala, where they have a sizeable population (26.56% of state's total population).

2.2.3. The Tibeto-Burmese Region

The Tibeto-Burmese linguistic region is located in India's north-eastern part. These people are mostly tribals and entered the region from the Shan

state in Myanmar, and Yunnan and Yangtze River delta in China, and settled in what now constitutes eight very disparate states, with their own ethic affiliations, languages, and traditions. These states are, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim. The total population of this region constitutes just 3.75% of India's total population Census of India (Chandramouli & General, 2011) Historically, autonomous zones and sovereign polities always existed here and some parts could never come under British control because the tribals here have been offered stiff resistance to outsiders in order to maintain their social and political identity. Belonging to different racial stocks, the people of these states speak different languages and have varied sociocultural traditions (Nurshad Ali & Das, 2003). There are over 145 tribal communities in this region. Of these, 78 are large in size, each constituting a population of over 5000. They make up 12 percent of the total tribal population of India. A greater part of this linguistic group belongs to two sub-groups of the Mongoloid race, (i) the Palaeo-Mongoloid that originated in China and Mongolia, and (ii) the Tibeto-Mangoloid sub-group that is traced to Myanmar. These states are culturally akin to China and Myanmar (Gutman & Avanzati, 2013). Since such a large number of ethnically diverse populations inhabit a very small area, mostly confined to the north-eastern Himalayan fringes, and having different historical backgrounds cultures, and diverse languages, this area is referred to as the 'anthropological paradise' of India. In terms of religious affinity, Christianity is the most widely spread out in the states of Nagaland (87.93%), Mizoram (87.16%), and Meghalaya (74.59%). In the north-eastern states of Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh, both, Hinduism and Christianity are dominant. In Manipur, the Hindu population comprises 41.39% and the Christian population comprise 41.29% of the state's total population. In Arunachal Pradesh, Christians are 30.26% and Hindus are 29.04% and of the state's total population. Apart from the religious affinities recorded in the Census of India, animism pervades many aspects of the tribal life. A significant aspect is the absence of a rigid caste system in this region.

Each of the three regions discussed above occupy a distinct geographical area which is endowed with a unique natural environment: the weather, flora, fauna, and natural resources, which may further give rise to variation in the choice of occupations, clothes, choice of colours and designs and folk-lore, arts and performance arts such as dances, and vocal and instrumental music etc. Some of the rituals and practices of the Dravidian group for example, have strong affiliations with the native tribes of India and west Asian and Mediterranean regions (Bhasin, 2006, p. 268), while those of the Indo-Aryan group resemble the ritual and practices of Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. The Tibeto-Burmese group that remained isolated for a long time follows customs and traditions that are unique to the eastern parts of the world, with which they had closer contact before they entered India. They are surrounded by thick forest cover and mountainous terrace, therefore much of the art, craft and industry is dependent on forest and animal resources, and specific to tribal traditions. Since bamboo is a major forest resource the emphasis of craft and industry is on paper, bamboo, cane and woodwork, weaving, mulberry silk products, and masks and other products made from animal fur, ivory, tusks and horns.

Members of each religion follow their own religious ideologies, and their daily activities are so infused with different types of customs, rituals, ceremonies and practices that life cannot exist without it. This has given rise to unity within the diversity of worldviews and fundamental tenets which govern societies. The value systems and beliefs emanating from the Hindu philosophy have shaped the Indian psyche and imbibed by most individuals, subconsciously throughout their life span (Mishra, 2013). The rituals laid down in the ancient Vedic literature have been the prime source of all cultural and social manifestations in India since these traditions are observed by both, the practicing Hindus and non-Hindus, and deemed relevant even in the present-day Indian society. Islam is believed to have altered India's ethnic, linguistic and social make-up to a great extent. Most of the Muslim population adopted Islam during the spread of the Mughal empire in India. They have preserved

traces of their former marriage systems and religious rites, native to their region. In that sense, a Muslim of southern India, for example, is quite different from the Muslim of Kashmir or north India. Muslims in the western state of Rajasthan preserve their Hindu customs of hypergamy.

The language families described above have distinct ethnic, racial and linguistic traits, and well-defined cultural traditions that they brought from the places of their origin. According to Tamang and Thangaraj (2012), the variable social customs, endogamy practices, and other influences have added to the complexity and diversification of population groups. Combined with the unique castes, religious customs and habits that they developed in India owning to the diversity of their habitats, fauna, flora and environmental regimes, the three groups make a good source of exploring socio-cultural variability in metaphorical conceptualization of womanhood.

2.3. Womanhood in India

Since the current study deals with the metaphors of womanhood, it is important to understand what it means in the context of this research. At a fundamental level, womanhood pertains to the state or condition of being a woman and is understood to be shaped through a complex interaction between her nature (biological features) and nurture (social influences or conditioning). While 'nature' relates to her sexuality, and usually does not change, her nurture is dynamic, shaped by the social and cultural background (Eagly & Wood, 2013) hence will be different in the different cultures. In a nutshell, how a woman is perceived in terms of her many aspects viz-a-viz, her agency, roles, physical appearance, state of mind, and behavioural traits etc. together construct the concept of womanhood. Women, when seen collectively also means "womanhood." In the current research, the 20 authors of the literary works have used metaphors describing all of these aspects, hence a metaphor describing any of these has been included in the selection.

In an attempt to understand the conceptualisation of womanhood, the next three sections will look at the life of an Indian woman in the following three contexts, (i) Women's place in the religious and social consciousness, described in

Section 2.3.1, (ii) The Indian woman through the stages of her life, as described in Section 2.3.2, and lastly, (iii) Women's socio-economic status in the three linguistic regions, discussed in Section 2.3.3.

2.3.1. Women's place in the religious and social consciousness

Almost all religions of the world have been consistent in assigning women the status of deity and "guardians and angels of the household and of society" (Leeder, 2004). Social scientists claim that female deities were predominant in ancient religions of the world. But as religions matured, this positive female deity image lost its significance leading to the inferior status of women. They were perceived as having low aptitude, a threat to male celibacy, weak, dependent as well as unreliable, unfaithful, sinful and lusty. A good Christian woman was expected to be pious and submissive while a Muslim and a Hindu woman was expected to be both, and at the same time, be veiled and secluded. A Jewish and a Chinese woman was prohibited from reading the Tohran and Confucius, respectively (Moaddel, 1998). Societies progressed and changed, but attitudes towards women have remained more or less the same as they were at the beginning of time, at least in some parts of the world.

With respect to India, the earliest traces of religion have been identified from the archaeological data collected from the sites of the Indus Valley Civilisation (3300 BC-1700 B.C). The area is currently located in Pakistan and north-western India. This civilisation was founded by the Dravidians. A large number of figurines found from the sites suggest that the Indus Valley people worshipped the divine Mother Goddess, and theirs was a class-based society in terms of religion, work and gender. A matrilineal influence imparted more power to women, and in some cases, status equal to men (Gurholt & Scholar, 2004). Around 1500 BC, the first wave of Aryans entered India. The Indus Valley people or the Dravidians retreated southwards to avoid Aryan domination but continued to worship the divine Goddess and their many clan Gods. By 1000 BCE, the Aryans had expanded throughout the Ganga valley and established

their stronghold in the whole of northern India. Starting 700 BCE, they developed the Vedic religion, which was the earliest form of Hinduism. They also arranged their society in a hierarchical order. Gradually, the social hierarchy was consolidated as deeply patriarchal. However, during the early Vedic period, the attitudes towards women were liberal and they were free to make their own choices and decisions. Women had the liberty to exercise choice in various aspects of life, like, choosing their husbands, their right to renounce the world and lead a spiritual life. Their right to divorce and re-marriage and divorce has been written down in detail in Kautiliya's *Arthashastra* (Zaidi et al., 2009). The Rig Veda emphasises gender equality. It stresses on the need to treat wife and husband as equal halves of one substance (Zaidi et al., 2009).

The Vedas, which were written during the early Vedic period date back to 700 BC. The Hindu mythological texts, namely the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are said to have appeared between 500–100 BCE. Since the Vedic society was a patriarchal one, the Goddess worship was promulgated to balance out male domination and instil continued respect for women. In all of Hindu texts, the gender roles originally emphasised equality, explicitly such that female is no less than the male. According to Diesel (1992), Hinduism is unique in its tradition of treating the female power as divine, and worshipping the Goddess. This strong tradition can be traced back to the culture of Mother Goddess worship by the Indus Valley people. In the Hindu Pantheon, *Brahma* is the Creator, *Vishnu* is the Preserver and *Shiva*, the Destroyer of the universe. But their powers are not complete without the powers of their consorts. They are prohibited to perform the tasks assigned to them in the absence of their consorts or the Goddesses associated with them. *Brahma* needs the knowledge and wisdom of *Saraswati* to create a harmonious world. To preserve and protect the universe that Brahma created, *Vishnu* needs the good fortune and fortitude of *Lakshmi*, and *Shiva* derives his core power from *Parvati* or *Shakti* to destroy the old order and ills of the universe so it can be renewed again. *Parvati* is worshipped as the fertile mother of the universe.

Hinduism was later integrated with the tribal and clan worship traditions of southern and other parts of India by creating familial relationship between the prominent Hindu gods and the Dravidian and tribal gods. For instance, Murugan, the prominent tribal god in southern India was popularised as the younger son of Lord Shiva. Gradually, the south Indians were drawn to Hinduism. One of the southern tribal Goddess, Mariamman was 'Hinduised' and adapted into the Hindu pantheon as a manifestation of Shakti or Durga. In this way, Hinduism was integrated with religious practices around India and is now considered a way of life. Nearly all social and cultural aspects of life are associated with it. Whether, it is the daily greetings, or arts, crafts, music and literature, everything is so infused with the Hindu ideology and worldview that no activity can exist without it (Bhela, 2011). The ancient Hindu texts have a strong hold on the people and it will remain.

Today, the *Supreme Feminine Power* or *Shakti* is worshipped in many forms throughout India. She is known as *Mahadevi* in southern India. Her most prominent forms worshipped by the Hindus are *Durga* and *Kali* in northern India, and *Mariamma* and *Bhadrakali* in southern India. An important fact about this is that she is the most powerful manifestation of *Parvati*, but is not attached to Shiva. She is worshipped as an independent Goddess, a power in herself not needing male dominance.

According to Pattanaik (2000) the Hindu worldview spells out how at the beginning of time, man perceived life and how he merged nature with woman: "Man saw nature in the female body. When he adored nature, he adored the woman. When he rejected nature, he rejected the woman. When he exploited nature, he exploited the woman. When he manipulated nature, he manipulated the woman and when he celebrated nature, he celebrated the woman" (p. 6). Pattanaik cites five aspects of the woman as Goddess in India.

1. She is the feminine half of Nature, the earth- the fertile goddess, necessary for existence, and worthy of reverence.
2. She is the mother and nurturer, the fountainhead of life.

3. The seductress who offers carnal pleasure and relaxation and binds man to life.

4. A chaste wife

5. A submissive consort who redefines herself as a terrifying Goddess when wronged, and demands appeasement.

The Hindu scriptures do not hold the woman responsible for any sin, nor is there any talk of fall or redemption of the woman, nor loss of paradise due to her flaws. There isn't any decree found anywhere in the innumerable Hindu texts or temple carvings, paintings, devotions or dances, that man shall rule over woman. Instead, the woman, as a powerful and awe-inspiring deity, enshrines the temples. Why then, is the Indian society, a patriarchal one, and why have women been described by its patriarchs as "temptations to be avoided and shrews to be tamed? (Pattanaik, 2000). To answer these questions, one must look deep into the social psyche of the Indian people.

During the Vedic period two important manuals were written to instil codes of conduct in the society and impart people's consciousness with a sense of harmonious living. These were the *"Dharma-sutra"*, containing sacred customs, codes and conducts for people at different stages of life, and the *"Grihya Sutra"* which comprise the life-cycle rituals and rules of Vedic domestic ceremonies. The increase in the patriarchal power in public and private spheres and gradual emphasis on the ideologies of *stridharma* or *wifely duty* legitimised the subordination of women. Within the household, women's value came to be attached to being procreators and harbingers of good luck (Tyagi, 2004). *The Grihasutras* underwent some edits and revisions around 200 B. C. and came to be known as *Manusmriti*. It quickly earned the status of the *Divine Code of Conduct*. For most part, *Manusmriti* assigns a derogatory status to women (Kumari, 2014). There are many references in the scriptures that women in the later Vedic period were regarded as 'property' to be given away or loaned (Kumari, 2014; Tyagi, 2004). Incidentally, India's civil code and personal law are also is based on the scriptures and customs

of each major religious community and is governed by the religious laws (A. Basu, 1996). Over the centuries the Hindu perspective and worldview has matured and has been influenced and challenged by the wisdom of its own people, like Buddha, and by the foreigners who migrated to the subcontinent in great numbers. Some came and merged with the native religions, while others preserved their cultural identity, adding more diversity. The value systems and beliefs emanating from Hindu philosophy have shaped the Indian psyche at its core and have been transmitted from one generation to the next, on a daily basis in myriad contexts and forms (Mishra, 2013) Many of these ideals and beliefs are imbibed by most individuals, subconsciously throughout their life span.

2.3.2. The Indian woman through the stages of her life

With regards to status of the girl child, gender studies suggest that preference for a male child and neglect of the girl child is starkest in northern India (Indo-Aryan region) while south Indian states (Dravidian region) exhibit generally lower levels of gender bias, and higher level of female autonomy. The north-eastern states (Tibeto-Burmese region) were relatively bias free until recently, though some bias against the girl has begun to creep in (Sinha, 2015).

However, in educated and progressive households in all three regions in urban India, girlhood is a joyous period in a female's life. Her birth is a welcome event and most families consider her birth a blessing. They believe that daughter is a harbinger of prosperity. Nevertheless, even in the sections of society, where a girl child is cherished and given equal rights, there is an implicit expectation that is conveyed to her through her conditioning– that she is the guardian of family name and honour. According to Manjrekar (2011), Indian girlhood is closely linked to Hindu nationalism, "a particular set of symbols, rituals, customs and sacred geographies, tailored to construct dispositions in Indian girls that they must preserve the ideals of an ennobled Hindu womanhood" (p. 361). Girlhood continues to be shaped by

institutionalised religious and social practices anchored in ancient history of India (Kumar, 2010).

As a girl child transitions into maidenhood, her virginity becomes the most important virtue which she is expected to preserve since Indian culture places an inordinate amount of premium on it. Her sexual purity, if comes under a scanner, will need to be established, and the burden of doing this essentially falls on the woman or her family. This is clearly a way to control sexual behaviour of the women in the community. A ritual dedicated to pre-pubescent girls, namely kumari-puja corroborates the importance that society places on virginity. *Kanjake poojan* or *the worship of virgins* was a widely celebrated festival in northern India, although its practice has gone down and it has lost its significance in progressive and educated households.

Moreover, during the reign of the Moghul emperors that Purdah system became widely prevalent all-over north India and young and adolescent girls who enjoyed some degree of participation in religious and affairs of inheritance, gradually lost their place in both. Also, the Koranic decree did not allow effective property and inheritance rights to daughters (Bumiller, 1990). Over the years, inheritance laws for daughters have changed irrespective of cast, community or religion, giving them a limited claim on ancestral property. An unmarried daughter can now inherit her father's wealth but only if she was living his house at the time of his death, while married daughters could get the right to inheritance only in the absence or death of their brother/s.

Entering matrimony and achieving bridehood is considered an important milestone in a woman's life. The ancient Hindu text, the *Griha-shastra* contains carefully laid down rituals beneficial for successful domestic life. It views wifehood as a partnership with the husband to promulgate family lineage, and performance and observance of all religious obligations, and marks different stages of an individual's domestic life. Emphasising the importance of marriage and women's role in the marriage alliance, the *Grihashastra* refres to the wife as *Jaya, Janani and Patni,* and *Ardhangani,* each depicting specific characteristic of wifehood. *Jaya* is the one who shares husband's affections,

Jani, is the mother of his children and *Patni,* is the partner in observance and performance of religious ceremonies, *Ardhangini*, his own other half, *Sati*, the faithful and virtuous wife (Majumdar, 2005). She is also *Annapurna*, the benevolent provider; *Grihalakshmi* or householder, the wealth of the home and harbinger of good fortune However, it is interesting to note that a woman was viewed not as an object of sensual pleasure but as an inseparable partner of her husband in the performance of all religious obligations, household and societal commitments.

The role of a wife is intricately tied to motherhood. The Indo-Aryan culture pays great significance to both the roles but the responsibility of the mother towards her child is considered more important and sacred. Within the household, women's value was attached to being procreators and harbingers of good luck (Tyagi, 2004). Tyagi notes that the women in the *Sutras* appear to been active participants in the perpetuation of patriarchal institutions, probably due to the pressure on them to conform. It is never revealed how much and how willingly they conformed. But one can sense non-conformity by women from the widespread reference to the evilness of the non-conforming women.

During the second half of the 19th century, the idea of a progressive Indian womanhood encompassing ideal wifehood and ideal motherhood had taken root. Mahatma Gandhi ushered a new era of liberation and emancipation of women when he urged housewives to go beyond the sphere of domestic responsibilities and participate in the affairs of the nation with their husbands (Jha & Dutta, 2012). At the call of the Mahatma, thousands of women forsook the comfort and security of their homes and thrust themselves into the freedom movement. Thus, a new idea of an ideal wifehood emerged—"an educated and brave wife, an appropriate partner of the English-educated Indian man, able to run an efficient and orderly home like her Western counterpart, be high-minded and spiritual like the women of the golden age, become '*grihalakshmi*' like the Divine Lakshmi, and fulfil the primary role as a courageous mother producing heroic children for the service of the nation. If the model was absurd, inimitable, and indeed full of contradictions, no one

was bothered. That was the new woman the nation needed, and it was women's duty to live up to it" (Ray, 2002, p. 41).

Lastly, although widowhood is no longer an oppressive state for most widows in modern India, in some poorer communities it is still considered to a tenuous period (L. Prasad, Bottigheimer, & Handoo, 2012). Although the practice of *sati*[1] has been eradicated, but life for widows in some sections of the Indian society can be very harsh. Widow discrimination in India has a long historical past. A few cities in India are a refuge for about 42 million widows almost all of who come from impoverished families and are abandoned after the death of their husbands, primarily due to abject poverty and lack of education (S. Basu, 2010). Research on the life of widows relies heavily on case studies in specific cities of India, and their life situation is not representative of the whole country (Ahmad, 2009). A widow discrimination study was conducted by Kadoya and Yin (2015) in northern India which concluded that children of the widows did not treat widows badly compared to non-widows, however, though in some poverty-ridden sections of society, they are not given part in the inheritance. But overall, their "long-term care and their financial aid is also significantly positive" (p. 64).

In southern India (Dravidian region), widowhood for some upper castes is highly stigmatized, and widows have to shave their heads. Tradition necessitates that they assume a countenance that conveys their misery and sorrow. Also, the thought of remarriage for an upper caste Hindu widow has been long considered sacrilege. Barring a few exceptions, most widows do not remarry due to cultural barriers and may remain dependent for resources indefinitely. According to (Sudha, Suchindran, Mutran, Rajan, & Sarma, 2006) in recent times, there has been a low prevalence of Indian widows living alone (7.5%) as compared to many other countries such as the Russian Federation, where this rate is 54.3 %. However, widowhood in India is prone to poverty, destitution, and poor health.

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[1] Immolation of wife on the funeral pyre of her husband.

2.3.3. Socio-economic position of women in the three regions

India has produced a number of women leaders in all fields – politics, science, literature, business, education, philanthropy, arts, social work and so on. However, millions of common women in India continue to face socio-economic barriers that prevent them in exercising their agency in both public and private domains of life. Indian society, in general, places women in unending cycle of duties as a mother, wife, and daughter, which destroys their identity and restrains their roles, rights and privileges. These roles and perceptions have evolved through time depending upon migration patterns, invasions and political and economic governance. According to some observers, Indus civilization was perhaps the golden period for woman's socio-economic status in India. Arrival of the Aryans in around 1200 and 1000 BCE marked the advent of patriarchy which was further consolidated during the Mogul times resulting in serious decline of women's socio-economic status in India. It was not until the 19th century that some major social reforms (such as elimination of *sati* and *purdah* systems) emerged but patriarchy and other social practices restricting women's agency had already taken strong roots and continue till date. As a result, in every field, women are confronted with many challenges and suffer from many disadvantages as compared to men in the areas of education, work participation and violence against women.

According to the latest census statistics, India's female literacy rate is 65.46 percent, significantly lower than the world average of nearly 90 percent, with wide disparities across states. While states like Kerala in southern India boast of more than 90 percent female literacy, the comparable figure in northern and eastern states such as Bihar, Jharkhand, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and J&K is less than 60 percent. Remarkably, the literacy rate does not always encourage Indian women, particularly in northern and eastern states, to join the job market because of prevailing social customs. Persisting gender inequality has resulted in a steadily declining rate of women participating in the workforce as well. The International Labor Organization's Global Employment

Trends Report (International Labor Organization, 2013) indicated that Indian women's labour force participation rate fell from just over 37% in 2004-2005 to 29% in 2009-2010. Out of 131 countries with available data, India ranks 11th from the bottom in female labour force participation (Madhok, 2014). Besides, more than half of the work done by women in India is informal and unprotected. The presence of women in the organized sector is miserably low at less than 5 per cent. In the agriculture sector, although women comprise almost 40 percent of agricultural labour, they control only 9 percent of land.

According to Tharakan and Tharakan (1975), a comprehensive understanding of women's status in the society can only by judged by understanding their role in the economic process and their control over the means of production. The declining status of women in India is often attributed to the consolidation of private property and commodity production that occurred around 1000 B.C. The consolidation of private property led to the growing control of men over production. This section attempts to articulate broad contours of socio-economic status of women in the three linguistic regions to provide some more background and context for interpretation of womanhood metaphors.

Position of Women in the Indo-Aryan region

The early Vedic period exalted women and gave them near equal position. With increasing patriarchal hold, women were made dependent, both economically and socially. Tharakan and Tharakan (1975) argue that the gradual decline in the status of women began around 1000 BCE with the consolidation of private property. Women became the users of wealth, along with the man, but not the controllers. The gradual onset of polygamic practices by the Aryan men who started bringing the *dasyu* women as female slaves or sometimes even as wives, became the prime cause of further decline of Aryan women's position. In the current scenario, kinship relations are characterized by exogamic marriage rules, and almost exclusively patrilineal property inheritance practices. Marriage

alliances are usually decided by adult males in the group and women often have little choice in the matter (Dyson & Moore, 1983). Further, given that the female moves to husband's family from unrelated groups means she must be resocialised to align her interests and allegiance with those of her husband's family. When a new bride moves to her husband's family, she enters the household at a lower position within the household hierarchy. Moreover, in many households and communities, matrimony causes women to lose the protection of their birth families, and she is left vulnerable to fend for herself in case of marital discord. Emotional ties between husband and wife are often perceived as a potential threat to the solidarity of the patrilineal groups within the households and hence the segregation of sexes is more pronounced. Dyson and Moore attribute women's lack of autonomy to such practices as these tend to constrain the woman to her domestic sphere render her socially powerless. A woman's standing in her matrimonial home improves when she becomes a mother and specially of a son.

Position of Women in the Dravidian region

In south India, the practice of endogamy is prevalent, where marriage alliances are preferred between cross-cousins or within the same kinship groups, hence marriage does not result in major rearrangement of social relationships (Dyson & Moore, 1983). Daughters continue to maintain relatively stronger familial ties with parents and siblings, and close emotional ties between husband and wife are not perceived as a threat to husband's kinship group. Although the property inheritance practices are broadly patrilineal, females can inherit property rights and as a result male-female social interaction are quite harmonious. Even the population sex ratio and adult female literacy is higher in southern states. They have a greater part in decision making, are less secluded and more likely to work outside the home and control

resources, and are less likely to perceive sons as their only source of prestige (Jejeebhoy & Sathar, 2001). This explains why women enjoy a greater degree of autonomy and freedom. Some researchers such as economist Rahman and Rao (2004) generally ascribe higher female autonomy and gender equity in this region to the labour-intensive crops such as rice, which provide more opportunities for female farm labourers. Consistent with the economic theory, wages that go directly to women improve their mobility and agency greatly. A large number of communities in this region were matriarchal in their social structure. However, these were later constrained by patriarchy from the influence from the Aryans, Scythians, and the Muslims invasions (Fane, 1975). Therefore, male hegemony is quite apparent, with impositions on women with the way they dress and conduct themselves at home and in public view.

Still others like Jeffrey (2016) attribute this to the state government policies in southern India that are designed to promote male-female equality. All these discussions do not imply that women are not subordinated in Dravidian socio-cultural life. Rahman and Rao (2004) point out that Dyson and Moore (1983) overlooked the negative outcomes that are associated with endogamous marriages. These can be restrictive as well since women are expected to split their loyalties and time with her two sets of kin– the marital and the maternal. Also, a marriage alliance between a younger woman and her much older uncle is common. Such an alliance restricts the woman's agency as wife since the husband is in a greater position of authority in the social as well as household hierarchy. Subordination of other kinds is present, much of which emanates from the hegemony of Hinduism and religious superstitions (Veeramani & Raju, 1992) than by kinship and family relationships.

Position of women in the Tibeto-Burmese region

This region comprises predominantly tribal societies with unique identities and traditions. Their group identities are deeply embedded in cultural and religious traditions, and like many other societies, the primary responsibilities for transmitting these traditions and practices as well preservation of group identity is the responsibility of women. Women's adherence to cultural norms is seen as integral to the survival of group identity, resulting in the denial of rights to women to make independent decisions regarding their own sexuality, childbearing, and marriage.

Nevertheless, this region has long been considered a more egalitarian society although patriarchy dominates, and men exercise full control over resources. Based on the commonly used indicators of gender equality such as sex ratio, labour force participation rates, and enrolment ratios, this region stands out significantly better off for women than the rest of the country. For example, gross enrolment ratios in High school for girls exceeds that for boys in a number of North-eastern states and the literacy gap between men and women is much lower as compared to the other two regions. Similarly, the labour force participation of women (an indicator of their participation in economic and public spaces) is considerably higher. Mahanta and Nayak (2013) found that the states of Meghalaya, Manipur and Mizoram exhibit a lesser degree of gender inequality where work participation, literacy, infant mortality and sex ratio are concerned.

Also, although, the role of a housewife in a matrilineal society of Meghalaya is not different that of a housewife in a patriarchal society in another part of India, the women in Meghalaya do get a chance to participate in markets, which gives them some degree of economic independence and confidence. Even the women of Manipur are particularly visible because apart from fulfilling their household responsibilities, they are expected to be economically productive. The

Ima Keithel, women's market in Manipur is a solely women-owned strong organisation. It is not only an economic base for them but also their political base. A remarkable feature about this market is that the shops and stalls are inherited by the daughter-in-law from the mother in law. This not only flaunts the formal inheritance law which is male centric but also follows the matrilineal inheritance from mother to daughter. The material self-sufficiency of these women also ensures a degree of co-operation with men in the social sphere. But the situation in Tripura, Assam, Arunachal and Nagaland is rather grim, with Assam showing a much wider gender gap as compared to other states.

According to Brara (2017), the perception that women enjoy better social status in this region than that of their counterparts in the north and south is misplaced. The absence of practices such as dowry, female infanticide, purdah, widowhood etc. is wrongly considered as an indicator of their higher status. Brara points out that the tribal societies in the north-east have their own distinct set of "oppressive customary laws", which are a set of traditional institutions, customs and beliefs. These have been articulated to control women's movement and behaviour by portraying them as less intelligent and capable than men (Boungpui, 2014). A girl should be a good farm worker, which makes her an asset for her parents. As a maiden she can find a good match only if her worth can be ascertained as lucrative by the prospective groom's family, who have to pay a 'bride price' to the father of the girl for taking her away by marriage (Chakraborty, 2008, p. 28). As a result, patriarchy prevails and men continue to dominate and exercise control over resources. In particular, there are major issues when it comes to property ownership rights, land rights, and political participation. For example, in most northeastern states, women have no say in the village councils, and planning of resource distribution (Brara, 2017). According to Karat (2005), only when women are reintroduced into the sphere of socially

productive labour on an equal footing with men and equally share domestic responsibilities, that they can advance.

Overall, in the context of the patriarchal societies of the world, if women still do not have equal rights in all areas of life simply because women's rights directly conflict with the superiority of the male and lead to insecurities about the patriarchy. Several changes have taken place in India since the independence. Changes in the caste system, social structure, political arena, education and work force have influenced modern India. The Indian Constitution that was formulated in 1950, put in place an elaborate framework that guaranteed fundamental human rights, universal franchise, equality, justice, non-discrimination, equal opportunities, to all citizens of India, irrespective of religion, cast or gender. According to a report by the Society for Human Resource Management (SHRM), the largest human resources association in the world, Indian womanhood has been promoted well in the last two decades with provision of educational opportunities for girls, acceptance of working and career women, and opportunities for managerial roles for women in corporate India. SHRM claims that this progress, though slow, has had a high social and cultural impact. The impact can be assessed from the fact that out 397 million workers in India, 124 million are now women. Over the years, the government of India has implemented various policies and programs to improve the status of women through educational reforms. As equal citizens of India, all women are entitled to benefit from the rights and laws to ensure that everyone is protected and provided equal opportunity.

Although much has been done to promote women and improve their status in the society, these changing indicators don't seem to have much impact in the collective societal consciousness or any visible upward shift in women's position in the society in terms of their roles and states, their participation in decision, except in highly educated urban classes. Since the independence, governments have actively launched schemes to promote the physical well-being, social welfare, education and nutrition levels, healthcare, job markets for women. There is also a decline in the fertility rates in the past 20 years yet prejudices against girls and women have

persisted throughout India and discrimination is on the rise (Sekher & Hatti, 2005). Ethnographic evidence suggests that expectations from girls and boys in terms of behaviour, undertaking household tasks and performances of household duties are different. Moreover, excess female mortality which still persists in parts of northern India (UP, Bihar, Rajasthan) and southern India (Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh) has been attributed the socio-cultural biases which have been formed over centuries of oppression, poverty and lack of education. Also, social practices such as dowry wherein daughters become a financial burden on parents; the sense of family honour, wherein women are made repositories of male pride and prestige; the practice of marrying off daughters into higher social class which involves issues of ego and pride, are all deeply rooted attitudes that persist for long and are hard to change."

Debates on gender equality today explicitly draw attention to the fact that although equal rights had been imparted to women, boys and girls are treated and conditioned differently since birth, thus, the inequality and differences get entrenched in the consciousness since childhood (Singh, 2003). Instead of initiating male-female co-partnership, the society gets trapped in the culture of male-female confrontation. Even country's personal laws legalise male dominance in forms such as multiple marriages and unilateral divorce by men in Islamic society, inadequate maintenance after divorce, only men getting the inheritance right, custody of children to men only and so on. Interestingly, even the reformist women express allegiance to household duties and commitment, and loyalty to the male members. There's enough evidence to suggest a clear cultural preference for male children, particularly among north Indians. This calls for an urgent need for changing the male mindset in India if womanhood must liberate, flourish and progress in the true sense. At Census of India (Banthia, 2001), the male female ratio stood at 933 females per 1000 males. At the 2011 census, it was 940 per 1000 males, and the female child sex ratio came to 944 girls per 1000 boys of the same age group. This is a marginal improvement yet reassuring. Almost seventy years after independence, women are finally breaking free of the burden of chastity and family honour heaped on them, and trying get their share, long due. (Thapan, 2001) showed how young women have

been consciously devising their own rules for conduct, appearance, and self-presentation within India's complex and fast changing social structure, while remaining grounded in their principles and social values. But the society is also replete with radicals especially from the political outfits. In fact, Mridula Sinha, the former national president of a women's organisation, once famously said: ". . . for Indian womanhood, liberation means liberation from atrocities. It doesn't mean that women should be relieved of their duties as wives and mothers (Louis, 2000, p. 88). Assessing the situation of women in contemporary India, social scientist Garg (1991) concludes, although the new Indian woman is increasingly becoming disillusioned with her traditional role and asserting independence, motherhood still encompasses Goddess Shakti, the power; and Annapurna, the provider. These two aspects of womanhood, remain most significant in India even today.

2.4. English and English Literary Writing in India

A brief overview of the history of English as a language of communication and then as a language of literary tradition in India is provided below to justify the use of English literature as a source of metaphors to be analysed in this research.

The English language entered India in the 16th century as a result of the colonisation and was and became its official language in 1833. It was retained post-independence to act as a communication bridge between speakers of other languages in India. It has been influenced by all the native mother tongues and has co-existed in the Indian subcontinent alongside thousands of its local languages for over 200 years now. For most of the population, it has always been a second language although a small percentage of Indians speak it as their first language. By the late 1700s, the English had firmly established itself as the language of the administration and many educated Indians were demanding instruction in English as a means of social advancement. In 1835, Thomas Macaulay, an influential British historian and politician wrote a long series of articles to support the formation of the British Educational policy in India in which he put forth an Anglicised view of education in India. According him, the goal of western education was to "form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern"

(Graddol, 2010, p. 62). Macaulay's proposal was adopted promptly and English language replaced Persian as the official language. The English medium school system was established with English as the sole language of instruction in the secondary schools and universities. This was the first step towards the nativisation of English in India. By 1857 several universities had opened in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras with English as the medium of instruction. English got acceptance as the language of government, of the social elite, and of the national press (Hohenthal, 1998). Thus, began the process of focusing on English education for Indians while rooting out Indian culture, literature, languages and history from the existing system. English in India also started alienating itself from its mother language- the British English, as more and more Indians started using it as the medium of communication in the domains in which it had stabilised itself. Soon, "English language entered a long and tumultuous process of nativisation, marked by various key political events that intensified ongoing nativisation" (Mukherjee, 2007, p. 166).

Thus, the late nineteenth century marked the evolution of educated Indian English. By the time India gained independence in 1947, the English language had fully immersed into the educated class as a useful and inevitable pan-Indian link language. In fact, Jawaharlal Nehru delivered his freedom speech in English in 1947. Today English language in India is firmly established in the society both in its range and its depth of use (Mukherjee, 2007). With more and more Indians being educated in English, Indian writing in English in the form of prose, fiction, poetry, and non-literary intellectual and academic writing has also attained a respectable status in other countries as well.

Indian writing in English has been addressed by different names: Anglo-Indian, Indo- Anglian, Indo-English and Indian English. The national literary academy of India, the *Sahitya Academy* states that the term emphasises two key ideas: first, Indian English literature constitutes one of the many streams of Indian literature, and second, it is an inevitable product of the nativisation of the English language to express the Indian sensibility (Arockiam, 2013). The post-colonial English literature in India works through the process of 'writing back' and re-writing'. According to McCutchion (1969), one of the earliest critics of IWE, "The fascination of Indian writing

in English lies in the phenomenon of literary creativity in a language other than the surrounding mother tongue". According to Krachru in Milroy (1997) "The South Asian novelists have not only nativised the language in terms of stylistic features but they have also acculturated English in terms of the South Asian context" (p. 530).

The 1902 Nobel Prize for Rabindranath Tagore in English Literature brought recognition for Indian English writing, and by 1947 fictional writing in English had firmly established itself in the country. The 1980s witnessed a second coming for the Indian English writing when Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* was published in 1981. The most prominent of India's writers in English today have managed to establish a style peculiar to them and this has made them successful in the international literary scene. Some talented names as R.K. Narayan, Raja Rao, Ezekiel, Kamala Das, Ramanujan, Karnad, Mulk Raj Anand Salman Rushdie, Amitav Ghosh,Vikram Seth have made a lasting impact on the English literary scene of India and abroad. Though the market for IWE is currently, considerably small, but it has begun to grow rapidly since the last five years. English no longer represents a "fresh instrument" to be used to assert identities or resist the traditional and customary; from being a signifier of exclusivity and class, it is finally moving deeper into the sphere of everyday Indian life and culture (Kachru, 2006).

2.4.1. Three Phases of the Post-colonial Literature in Indian English

The postcolonial English writing may be categorised according to three periods of Indian English writing. In the first period relates to the generation of authors that was born just before 1947 or soon after and had a first-hand experience of colonisation or its aftermath. Some of them had started writing before independence and wrote well into the recent times. The era of productive Indian writing in English began in the 1930s when three novelists, Mulk Raj Anand (1905-2004), Raja Rao (1908-2006), and R.K. Narayan (1909-2001), launched their prolific debut works, *Swami and Friends* (Narayan, 1935), *Untouchables* (Anand, 1935) and *Kanthapura,* (Rao, 1938). A striking characteristic of English writing of this period was that authors wrote about Indian themes and characters in a style that was strictly British. Their use of

English was excellent but their strict adherence to the conventions of Standard English grammar did not allow them to bend the rules and play with the language. Prominent writers and poets of this era include, Nissim Ezekiel (1924-2004), A. K. Ramanujan (1929-1993), Eunice De Souza (1940), Kamla Markandya (1924-2004), Nayantara Sehgal (1927), Anita Desai (1937), Shashi Deshpande (1938), Manju Kapur (1938), Esther David (1945), Temsula Ao (1945), Kavery Nambisan (1947), and some others.

The next phase of contemporary Indian writing saw a number of authors who were born between 1947 and 1970. They grew up listening to the accounts of the Colonial period and experiencing it through the preceding generation. Some of them were born in India, spent their childhood in India, but as adults, settled overseas and used the English language to produce fictional and nonfictional works to write back against the empire. When Salman Rushdie published *Midnight's Children* (1995), a new era of renaissance writing began that changed the face of English literary writing in India. Rushdie had experimented with the English language by employing an exuberant, unconventional style. Following in his footsteps, other Indian authors began to create a distinctive style of their own, infusing English expressions with the spirit that was Indian. This was the phase that is considered the most fertile period of writing in India with authors writing passionately about social injustices, superstition and abject poverty of the peasants, using a new set of vocabulary, slang, and pidgin. At the same time, women's emancipation, education and widow remarriage also became common themes in the novels. This is why this phase is dubbed as the period of 'renaissance' in Indian writing in English. Prominent writers during this period included, poets and novelists, Kamla Das Suraiyya (1949-2009), Vikram Seth (1952), Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni (1956), Mitra Phukan (1958), Easterine Kire (1959), Rohington Mistry (1952), Githa Hariharan (1954), Namita Gokhale (1956), Amitav Ghosh (1956), Dhruba Hazarika (1956), Mamang Dai (1957), David Davidar (1958), Manil Suri (1959), Arundhati Roy (1961), Vikas Swaroop (1963), Sunetra Gupta (1965), and Anita Nair (1966) and many more.

The third generation is the breed of young writers, born during the 1970s who began their writing career during the 1990s. This can be seen as a period of collective ideological transition in modern Indian history which marked the beginning of a shift from a pure nationalistic and socialistic ideological orientation to the one that was shaped by individual aspirations and entrepreneurship. These authors ushered in a new era for Indian writing in English. The young generation is eager to free itself from the baggage of the colonial past (though not forgetting it) and move forward. They have opted to use the English language not to *write back* but to *write about* everyday life in the India while living in India (Alam, 2008). They have reinvented writing and are writing about the new India, the changes and challenges it faces, its trials and turbulences in the current scenario. They write of and for today's youth, about their hopes and aspirations and through their writings they inspire young minds. They are also experimenting freely with styles and genres Mee (2003, pp. 318-336). Some of the writers of this phase are, Padma Venkatraman (1970), Devdutt Patnayak (1970), Anuja Chauhan (1970), Preeti Shenoy (1971), Chetan Bhagat (1974), Amitabh Bagchi (1974), Amish Tripathi (1974), Altaf Tyrewala (1977), Aruni Kashyap (1984), Durjoy Datta (1987) and the likes.

From the earliest period of post-colonial contemporary writing, the current study includes the works by Shashi Despande, Esther David, Manju Kapur, Temsula Ao and Anita Desai. From the era of the Indian renaissance the selection includes Anita Nair, Arundhati Roy, Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, Sunetra Gupta, Githa Hariharan, Manil Suri, Mamang Dai, Dhruba Hazarika, Mitra Phukan, Easterine Kire and Thrity Umrigar. From the period after 1970, the study includes Aruni Kashyap, Meena Kandasamy and Janice Pariat. The sample includes literary works by these authors written between 1992-2014. Today, the three generations are writing together, with authors from the first and the second phase, continuously reinterpreting and aligning themselves to today's needs and keeping pace with the young writers. Together, all of the writers are tackling India's hotly debated issues and have readership of young readers. It must be their maturity and experience that is inspiring older writers to write of

more serious issues, while the young writers (post 1970) prefer to shed the burden of colonialism and write on the lighter side of life. Such a selection will enable and facilitate adequate coverage to capture a constant state of change and evolution.

2.5. Related studies

It would have been ideal to review metaphor studies on womanhood in the Indian setting, but in the absence of cognitive studies of this nature in India, a literature review of cross-cultural studies on metaphors used for women in different parts of the world was conducted. The following review provides background knowledge regarding the use of source domains in the conceptualisation of aspects of women/womanhood in various cultures around the world.

The review of literature found that the source domain of animals is the most frequently used source domain to conceptualise women. According to Kövecses (2006), animal metaphors serve as a productive resource to conceptualise human beings in nearly all cultures of the world, since many aspects of human characteristics and behavior can be understood metaphorically in terms of animals' characteristics and behaviour It is an established fact that languages and cultures worldwide frequently use the negative attributes of animals to belittle women. Some recently conducted psychological research has shown that equating outgroups such as women, homosexuals and immigrants with animals, is a subtle way of denying them those attributes that distinguish humans from animals, in other words, denying them human traits (Haslam, Loughnan, & Sun, 2011). Such perceptions tend to make animal metaphors discriminatory and socially subjugating towards women and other marginal groups (Rodriguez, 2009, p. 79). Hines (1999) reported high instances of sexual derogation and abuse in animal terms directed at women, showing how these terms often create imagery that represents them as mute prey to be hunted and possessed. Frequently, equating women to such negative abstractions of animals is tantamount to causing them to lose their rightful place in society (Chin, 2009; Goatly, 2007).

Kövecses (2006) classifies the conceptualisation of women in terms of things (objects, substances, commodities, playthings, products), food (most commonly meat and appetising dessert), animals (female animals). Byerly and Ross (2008) find that popular media fits women into a narrowly defined frame that only uses them as sex objects to enjoy or possess. According to Mager and Helgeson (2011), in positioning of the body in advertisements the body of the model becomes an integral part of the body of the advertisement, and hence an object to be projected, gazed at, and desired by men (sexual-objectification).

In most cases, metaphors with animals, objects, food, and advertising and media etc., as source domains have been used to denigrate women through reference to their (i) personality, qualities and behavioral traits (ii) social roles and, (iii) physical attributes. However, there are also cases where metaphors conceptualise women as a strong and positive force, but such cases are fewer. Despite the emergence of a global discourse on gender equality and challenging of gender stereotypes, the use of metaphors in the literature does not show a concomitant corresponding shift.

In terms of personality and behavioral traits, Turpin (2014) found that animal metaphors are often used to derogate women in terms of their intellectual capacity. It is common to use words such as donkey, goose, or beast to talk about people, especially women, categorising them as dumb. About a decade earlier, Fontecha and Catalan (2003) conducted a contrastive cognitive analysis of animal pairs of 'fox/vixen' and 'bull/cow' in English and Spanish, and had come to a similar conclusion, noting that the pair 'fox/vixen-zorro/zorra' metaphorically means craftiness, spitefulness, shrewishness, and ill-tempered for both genders. The animal pair 'bull/cow-toro/vaca', is also considered derogatory, since these cultures associate cattle with ugliness, by alluding to its large size and coarseness. Likewise, in most patriarchal society, women are associated with passivity so animal terms for females connote worse qualities than terms for males in both languages.

Halupka-Rešetar and Radić (2003) surveyed 100 university students of linguistics using a questionnaire containing 40 animal names and found that animal names in Serbian are more often used abusively than affectionately when addressing

people. Their analysis showed that a woman is typically addressed as an 'ovca-sheep', 'curka- 'turkey', 'kokos ka- hen', 'koza- she-goat', 'guska- goose' to indicate that she is *stupid* and *naive*. Talebinejad and Dastjerdi (2005) discussed 44 animal metaphors in English and Persian and found that animal terms used for women in Persian are 'bird' and 'kitten'. The term 'bird' applies to a *cunning* woman, whereas in English it has a positive connotation. A metaphor conceptualising a woman as a 'kitten' bestows on her the title of *a seductress*, which is highly objectionable in Persian culture. According to Kilyeni and Silaški (2014) 'bird metaphors' are used to imply *naivety, carelessness, ignorance, and indifference* in women.

With respect to domestic and social roles and status for example, (Gallagher, 1981) in her study she conducted for UNESCO points to the role of media in imparting a negative and narrow image to women. According to her report popular media and advertising relegates women to a narrow, compartmentalised sphere. She based her claim on the findings that women's activities and interests in the media are confined to home and family and characterised as essentially dependent since they are rarely portrayed as rational, active or decisive. She further notes that the under-representation of women in newspapers, television, radio and films marginalizes them in the spheres of social, economic and cultural life. The report was written in 1979 and one would assume that much has changed for women in a positive way since then. But instead, in every part of the world women are still being grossly under-represented even today. In fact, a study conducted by Byerly and Ross (2008) points out that popular media continues to project women in a limited repertoire and framework that does not do justice to the way real women live their real lives. The researchers find this trend worrisome. "There are worrying trends, especially in the commodification of women's bodies, where we are actually being reduced to less than the sum of our body parts" (p. 37).

Hsieh (2006) explored stereotypes and social roles through examination of animal metaphors in Mandarin Chinese (MCh) and German and found them to be terms of endearment and/or approval, blessing, and harmonious living. A large number of endearment terms for women in German originate from domestic animals such as 'lamb' and 'cow'; pets such as 'cat' and 'rabbit', or lightweight birds as

'swallow' and 'dove'. In MCh, secular benedictions are found in the metaphor of the male-female phoenix pair flying together, indicating marital bliss.

In addition, there are very high instances of metaphors describing women's physical and sexual attributes. Food and animal metaphors are loaded with obscenity and offensiveness, and brazenly express sexual derogation and depravity towards women. Schulz (1975) reports a high level of linguistic sexism in especially food terms used for women. She cites the example of a harmless word 'tart' which began as an endearment term for a young woman and went on to mean 'a woman of the street' or 'prostitute'. Referring to this, Hines (1999) in her article, 'Rebaking the Pie: The Woman as Dessert', explores the metaphor, WOMAN IS DESSERT and provides a comprehensive analysis of the societal norms and perceptions concerning women that this metaphor entails. The explanation is that when a prostitute is being referred to as a 'tart' she is being equated to 'dessert' which could mean that WOMAN IS DESSERT and WOMAN IS PROSTITUTE, both correspond well since both these sell in the shop, prepared by 'professionals', a baker and a pimp respectively. Dwight (1980), in *Language, the Loaded Weapon* showed how language can be used to distort, conceal, manipulate and belittle. Further evidence of the prevalence of linguistic sexism has been provided in the works of Lakoff (1975), Nilsen (1977), D. Cameron and Kulick (2003), and others. Such linguistic derogation reinforces the view that women are deviant, abnormal, weak and subordinate to men.

Hines (1999) studied the conceptual metaphor A DESIRED WOMAN IS A SMALL ANIMAL and found that it is mostly used for the sexualisation and belittling of women, and that this metaphor exists due to men's preoccupation with women's sexuality as a thing for their consumption. Talebinejad and Dastjerdi (2005) discussed 44 animal metaphors in English and Persian and found that animal terms used for women in Persian are *bird* and *kitten.* While the lightweight of the *sparrow* is mapped on to a *beautiful, active, slim girl,* and an *attractive woman*, which are positive, a metaphor conceptualising her as a *kitten* is assigning her the role of a seductress, which is considered a highly objectionable and negative trait in the Persian culture. In the Japanese culture, the use of the metaphor 'night butterfly' conceptualises a woman serving men in a pub. Nicosia (2003) tested the validity of Hines findings by studying

animal metaphors for women in Italian and French. They found their usage to be offensive: many French animal terms are used to refer to female genitals- *cavalla, capra, chatte, minou*. In Italian *butterfly* refers to *vagina* and terms such as *cow, heifer, sow, sheep, bitch, cat, dog*, conceptualise women as objects of sexual desire and prostitution. Chin (2009) observed that animal metaphors in Mandarin deny women other human traits by focusing indecently on their physical characteristics. She cited the example of '*milk cow*', which metaphorically refers to a '*large-busted*' woman. Barasa (2017) sought to investigate animal proverbs for men and women in the Bukusu and Gusii languages of Kenya, and found that animal terms for women are offensive: for example, 'milking *a cow that does not belong to you*', connotes '*having illicit sex with a woman*', and '*watching the gate*' means '*ensuring the owner of the cow is not around*', which implies that whether married or not, women are objects of male sexual desire and satisfaction.

Kilyeni and Silaški (2014) conducted a study on the use of animal names to refer to women in Serbian and in Romanian found that a majority of animal terms in Romanian and Serbian are derogatory and disparaging towards women, describing their physical characteristics negatively. The study also revealed that there's no substantial difference between their treatment of women through animal metaphors. The five most negative and derogatory animal names according to the female participants in Siberian are 'snake', 'she-goat', 'turkey' and 'cow'. In Romanian, the top five terms are 'bitch', 'whale', 'sow', 'cow' and 'turkey'. Comparatively, the top five negative animal metaphors according to male participants in Serbian are 'hen', 'snake', 'turkey', 'sow', and 'goose'; and in Romanian, the terms are 'cow', 'bitch', 'sow' and 'whale'. Also, for Romanian male the two highly undesirable and objectionable characteristics are *obesity* and *untidiness*, and the term 'whale' is a popular term among Romanian men and women to describe these characteristics in women.

Lixia and Eng (2012) conducted a cross-linguistic study on snake metaphors in Mandarin Chinese (ManCh) and British English (BrEng). Using the framework of CMT, (1980) and GREAT CHAIN OF BEING (The GCB model), they found the conceptual metaphor such as, A SLIM-WAISTED WOMAN IS A SNAKE, A GREEDY WOMAN IS A

SNAKE, BEING HUGGED BY A WOMAN IS BEING SQUEEZED BY A SNAKE and A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN IS A POISONOUS SNAKE in Chinese; and conceptual metaphor, A TREACHROUS WOMAN IS A SNAKE in English. All the conceptual metaphors showed in Chinese and in English show women as deviant, vulgar and promiscuous and treacherous. Gutiérrez-Rivas (2011) studied metaphors describing women in Spanish and found that these metaphors link women to objects, and project an ideal imagery of women in the masculine mind where he sees her as a thing for consumption. The word 'doll' in Spanish, for example, is used to describe young girls and women with nice bodies. The doll thus becomes a metaphorical symbol for sex (food), the masculine ideal of femininity.

Rasmussen and Densley (2017) studied the objectification of women in 750 country songs in the United States to discover that more than half the songs are sung by men and the lyrics of all of these songs focus on women's revealing clothing and emphasise their physical beauty (beauty-based objectification). Bratić and Stamatović (2017) studied the objectification of women in western Balkans through the WOMAN IS A CAR, metaphor to find that most of its extensions are similes where women are likened to several aspects relating to a car: WOMAN'S BODY- PARTS AS A CAR PARTS; WOMAN AS A GOOD CAR; WOMAN AS A BAD CAR; WOMAN AS AN EXPENSIVE CAR; GETTING A WOMAN IS BUYING A CAR; MEN ARE DRIVERS; SEX IS SERVICING A CAR. A major negative implication they quote is that this metaphor makes women, material objects that can be possessed, bought, utilised, sold and discarded. The positive interpretation is that she becomes an object to be cared for, cherished or valued.

Chin (2009) conducted a study on the use of metaphors for women in the Hong Kong market and magazines and show business and found that the metaphors were outrageously indecent and derogatory and many times, erotic and insulting. Women's busts, for example, are referred to as "a missile", "a missile of Venus" or "a super guided missile", accompanied with the size number of the busts alluding to the model number as a weapon number. The prevalence of such metaphors, according to Chin has a very negative impact on the society as people tend to follow what they see and hear in the advertisements hence indecent metaphors describing

women as sex objects may perpetuate a negative image for women in the society. More importantly, it jeopardises the social status of women in society.

According to Morris and Goldenberg (2015), treating people in terms of objects involves dehumanisation them, which means denying the them their human traits, agency, and autonomy. Morris and Goldenberg postulate two ways in which women's objectification can be termed, (i) sex-based objectification, and (ii) beauty-based objectification. They find that in beauty-based objectification the woman is dehumanised through association with objects but when objectification is aimed at sexualization, the dehumanisation is mostly done through association with animals. They found that when men feel sexually aroused, their "instrumental mindset" is quickly activated that drives them to focus on the physical characteristics of the woman, making them disregard their human characteristics, hence dehumanising them.

In most of the studies discussed above, the association of women source domains that conceptualise them conveys a more derogatory or negative evaluation than positive. From what these studies tell us, it may be concluded that in most parts of the world, the struggle for women in all spheres of social and national life still continues. This reveals that stereotypes against women are deeply entrenched and continue to shape the individual and collective consciousness and mental processes in the construction of women's social and individual identities.

2.6. Concluding Remarks

This chapter first presents a comprehensive review of the conceptual metaphor theory in Section 2.1. This included (i) characteristic features of metaphors (systematicity, hiding and highlighting, directionality and entailment), (ii) the classification of metaphors based on their functions (orientational, ontological and structural metaphors), levels of generality(generic and specific-level metaphors), and scale of conventionality (conventional and unconventional metaphors); (iii) Image metaphors, (iv) the relationship between metaphor and culture and lastly, (v) Literary metaphors. Section 2.2, provides a description of the three language families and their corresponding linguistic regions from which the literary works have been

selected. These are the Indo-Aryan, the Dravidian and the Tibeto-Burmese. Section 2.3. provides an understanding of womanhood in India in terms of three contexts, (i) women's place in the religious and social consciousness, (ii) the Indian woman through various stages of her life, (iii) Socio-economic position of women in the three regions. A review of history of English as a language of communication in India and as the language of English literary tradition in India is provided in section 2.4. Lastly, Section 2.5 presents a review of studies done across the world describing women in terms of metaphors. These reviews provide a comprehensive understanding of the source domains that have been used to conceptualise various aspects of womanhood.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research methodology for the current study. It includes the description of criteria, procedures and analytical frameworks used for collection and analysis of data. Section 3.1 describes the procedure applied in data collection and Section 3.2 presents the procedures, frameworks and methods used for data analysis.

3.1. Data Collection

The data collection procedure is described in two steps. The first part describes the criteria used for selection of the literary works from which the metaphorical data was derived. The second part describes how the linguistic metaphors were identified, tested and validated for metaphoricity before being included in the data set.

3.1.1. Selection of sources of data

The primary data for this study comprises linguistic metaphors (LMs) identified from English literary works set in India's the Indo-Aryan linguistic region in the north, the Dravidian region in the south, and the Tibeto-Burmese region in the north-eastern part of India.

The first step in the selection process was to identify literary works from the three linguistic regions mentioned above. The sample literary works were selected by following the steps described below:

i. A list of well-established writers who have produced works of international acclaim was compiled from each region. All of the authors were born, raised and educated in India. Although some of them currently live outside of India and no longer hold Indian citizenship, they are recognised as writers of Indian origin, writing on Indian themes. The assumption here was that the authors' long-term exposure to, and close

interaction with their distinctive cultures, would ensure a conceptualisation of womanhood that is likely to reflect a more nuanced understanding of women's status and position in their respective cultures.

ii.   Next, a list of 76 literary works written by these authors was compiled, 30 each by the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian authors and 16 by the Tibeto-Burmese authors. This list included novels and short stories.

iii. The blurbs and reviews of each of the 76 works were read on publishers' websites, and secondary academic sources to ascertain that the works either dealt with the theme of womanhood or had women as the primary protagonists. Selection was based on their reviews in the blurbs. This exercise enabled a shorter list of 44 works, comprising the theme of womanhood or women among the main protagonists.

iv.   The first 100 hundred pages of each literary work were read to ascertain the presence of linguistic metaphors of womanhood. If the number of instances conceptualising womanhood was found to be less than five, the work was excluded.

Following these steps, a list 21 literary works, seven from each of the three regions, was finalised. The literary works cover the timeline between 1980 to 2017. To avoid any bias in terms of style and cognitive preferences, the selection was limited to a maximum of two pieces of work per author. Table 2 provides the list of selected works. Short summaries of each literary work followed by a short profile of the author are provided in Appendix 1.

Table 2: List of Literary works selected for the study

	Indo-Aryan literary works	Dravidian literary works	Tibeto-Burmese literary works
1.	*Clear Light of Day* (Desai, 1980)	*Thousand Faces of the Night* (Hariharan, 1992)	*Collector's Wife* (Phukan, 2005)
2.	*The Memories of Rain* (Gupta, 1992)	*The God of Small Things* (Roy, 1997)	*These Hills Called Home* (Ao, 2006)
3	*Sister of my Heart* (Divakaruni, 1999)	*Ladies Coupe* (Nair, 2001a)	*A Bowstring Winter* by (Hazarika, 2006)
4.	*Book of Esther* (David, 2003)	*The House of Blue Mangoes* (Davidar, 2002)	*A Terrible Matriarchy* (Kire, 2007)
5.	*Space Between Us* (Umrigar, 2005)	*Mistress* (Nair, 2005)	*The House with a Thousand Stories* (Kashyap, 2013)
6.	*The Age of Shiva* (Suri, 2009)	*In the Country of Deceit* (Deshpande, 2008)	*The Black Hill* (Dai, 2014)
7.	*Custody (Kapur, 2011)*	*When I Hit You: Or, A Portrait of the Writer as a Young Wife* (Kandasamy, 2017)	*The Nine Chambered Heart* (Pariat, 2017)

3.1.2. Identification of Linguistic Metaphors: Establishing Metaphoricity

In order to obtain a list of potential linguistic metaphors, the selected literary works were read manually.[2] While reading, words and expression that convey meaning indirectly were recorded in Microsoft Excel sheet. Each intuitively identified metaphor was then tested for metaphoricity using the Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije University MIPVU (G. Steen et al., 2010).

The Metaphor Identification Procedure VU University (MIPVU)

A major development in the field of metaphor research has been the emphasis on employing authentic data in its natural context to find an explicit, reliable and replicable method of metaphor identification.

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[2] Tools such as Wordsmith or Keyword were not used

Relying always on intuition, which could vary greatly, made it difficult to validate the results since the analysts would often differ in their judgements about metaphoricity. This made it crucial to find a more precise and replicable method that could reduce any errors in identifying metaphorical words. The PRAGGLEJAZ (Group, 2007), which is an international collective of ten metaphor researchers, (Peter Crisp, Ray Gibbs, Alan Cienki, Graham Low, Gerard Steen, Lynne Cameron, Elena Semino, Joe Grady, Alice Deignan, and Zoltán Kövecses), has collaborated for six years and devised the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). It aids a precise and canonical identification of metaphors in natural discourse. The procedure was published in 2007, as follows:

1. Read the whole text or transcript to understand the broad, general meaning of the expression.

2. Determine the lexical units in the text or discourse.

3. For each lexical unit that is under examination:

   a. Establish its contextual meaning. To do that, show how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text. Consider what comes before and after the lexical unit.

   b. Determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in contexts other than the one in the given context (basic meaning is more concrete, more precise, related to bodily action and is historically older).

   c. If basic meaning is established, decide whether there is sufficient contrast between the basic meaning of the word and its contextual meaning. If so, then decide whether the contextual meaning is related to its basic meaning by some form of similarity and can be understood in comparison to it.

4. If yes, the lexical unit is metaphorical.

Step 2 involves determining the boundaries of the lexical units in the text. A lexical unit refers to a 'single headword' that begins a separate entry in a dictionary, encyclopaedia, or a reference work, and is usually set in bold face. A 'headword' is a content word, keyword, phrase, or name to which an independent meaning can be assigned. Therefore, the unit of analysis in MIP is commonly a single word. All data intuitively identified as metaphorical should first be divided into lexical units. In applying Step 3b, MIP uses the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learner*s Rundell and Fox (2007) to find the basic meaning. Rundell and Fox (2007) is a corpus dictionary with a fairly new systematically processed corpus of 220 million contemporary English words. It is considered adequate for general language analysis, and constitutes all possible English words in current use. The 'basic meaning' is the most concrete meaning listed in the dictionary entry, more concrete, related to bodily action, more precise, and historically older. The basic meaning is compared with the contextual meaning which has already been established in Step 3a. If there is a contrast in the meaning, the lexical unit is judged as metaphorical.

However, when this procedure began to be used for metaphor research, it was found that considering a *single headword* in determining the boundaries of a lexical unit was not always efficient because, according to G. Steen et al. (2010), phrasal verbs *(take off, look into)*, compounds *(state-masonry),* and poly-words which are multi-word expressions such as *(of course*, *in fact)* and idioms, have more than one word that complete the meaning. Apart from this, proper names, similes and analogies were also difficult to interpret without considering all the surrounding words. Dividing such units into single headwords would result in the loss of meaning. For example, in order to know '*look into'* as '*understand'*, the phrase should be considered as a single metaphorical lexical unit. Its metaphorical sense will be lost if *'look'* and *'into'* are separated. On the other hand, if *'look into'* is regarded as two separate lexical units to signal a prepositional verb as in *(1) 'He looked quickly into the oven'*, then the sense is not metaphorical, since the placement of *'look'* and *'into'* can be different ('*Into the oven he looked'. 'He looked quickly into the oven.'),* but will convey the same meaning as in *looking inside the oven* (G. Steen et al., 2010, p. 30).

Secondly, establishing the contextual meaning from within the text as suggested in Step 3a was found to be inaccurate, especially in literary discourse due to the presence of words that may require an increased awareness of historical meanings. According to Crisp (2005) literary texts, as well as other allegorical and symbolic genres (e.g., religious discourse) are likely to contain words that relate both literally and metaphorically to a situation.

Thirdly, historical or etymological metaphors, such as *ardent,* and *fervent* are not regarded as metaphorical in relation to their original sense. MIP only considers words that have an active metaphorical basis in contemporary usage, 'in the sense of there being a widespread, knowable, comparison, and contrast between that word's contextual and basic meanings' PRAGGLEJAZ, (Group, 2007, p. 30). The current sense for both words pertains to the sense of emotion. But historically, both the words are related to the sense of 'temperature'. The words have gradually lost their original 'temperature sense'. Hence, an expression like, *'an ardent lover'* is not metaphorical when analysed by MIP (Group, 2007).

In order to resolve the issues discussed above, the MIPVU (G. Steen et al., 2010) was developed by Gerard Steen with the involvement of his students. They designed it to allow for the identification of *metaphor-related words* or *MRWs,* i.e. *'all lexical units which could be 'linguistic manifestations of underlying cross-domain mappings',* or *'words related to a metaphor'*. This terminology was used to make evident that a metaphorical lexical unit can have more than one word. So as to not lose the directly expressed metaphors and their signals, MIPVU coded them as *metaphor-related words*. While MIP was designed to identify metaphoricity on the basis of the indirect meaning (*indirect metaphors*), MIPVU was extended to also include direct MRWs (*direct metaphors),* implicit MRWs (*substitution or ellipsis*), and others, like phrasal verbs and idioms. Moreover, new categories were created to include borderline cases of direct metaphors, such as *similes, analogies*, and *metaphor flags (MFlags)* and *Possible Personifications (PP)*.

In addition to the use of the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (Rundell & Fox, 2007), which is the default point of reference to arrive at basic meaning, (G. Steen et al., 2010) recommend the use of the *Longman Dictionary*

of Contemporary English (2009) to resolve problematic cases where the historical development of a particular lexical unit needs to be taken into account. "MIPVU looks at historically older senses only in the most difficult cases, the argument being that older senses are not usually accessible and relevant to the contemporary user of English" (G. Steen et al., 2010, p. 17). The dictionaries are used as tools to authenticate the intuitions of the analyst and aid the process of identifying MRWs.

The MRWs can be identified using the MIPVU procedure as follows:

1. *Indirect metaphor:* When a word is used indirectly, and that use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning of that word, mark the word as metaphorically used. A linguistic expression becomes metaphorical when its basic meaning contrasts with its current contextual meaning *'defend' in (2) 'You have to defend your claim').*

2. *Direct metaphor:* When a word is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, the word is a direct metaphor (MRW, direct). Direct metaphors are expressed directly, usually in the form of figurative analogies and similes. An example of an analogy is, *(3) 'That movie was a roller coaster ride of emotions',* where the movie becomes a roller coaster ride because of the ups and downs of emotions the viewer experiences while watching it. Other forms of direct metaphors that are included are, *similes* along with their *metaphor signals* called *metaphor flags (MFlag).* When cross-domain mappings are provided as some form of direct comparison, as in the similes, words such as *like, compare, as, as if, so-called, resemble* signal metaphoricity. They are included in the annotation and marked as a *(MFlag).* In the *similes, (4) "He sits up there, like a king on his throne"* and, *(5) "Shall I compare thee to a summer's day",* the lexical units *like* and *compare* are called *metaphor flags.* They are used to explicitly instruct a listener or reader to set up the cross-domain mappings between the referents designated by the words. (G. Steen et al., 2010, p. 786). Another type of direct metaphor allowed by proponents of MIPVU is personification. In the example, *(6)'The*

sombre stretch of rounds and hollows seemed to **rise** *and* **meet** *the* **evening gloom in pure sympathy**' (Thomas Hardy's *Return of the Native*, quoted in , the highlighted words imply the direct personification of a natural phenomenon.

3. *Implicit metaphor*: When words such as third person personal pronouns or an ellipsis are used to substitute the content words, and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions that may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping, then it may be marked as *implicit* MRW. In the example, *(7) 'To embark on such a step is not necessarily to succeed immediately in realising it'.* The word*, 'step'* is substituted by *'it',* so it is considered as being used implicitly in a metaphorical way.

Further, MIPVU included *WIDLII (When In Doubt, Leave It In).* For cases such as *(8) He had a tear in his eye,* which may be seen as more concrete for some than *(9) He had a touch of melancholy in his eye*. In such cases, there is "a potential for metaphorical meaning so you have to treat the word or phrase as if it was used indirectly" (G. Steen et al., 2010, p. 34).

The MIPVU (2010), as the updated and extended version of MIP (2007), allows metaphor researchers to achieve a higher level of reliability in annotating *metaphor-related words* than MIP, as it is more explicit and systematic.

One example from the data used in this study is presented to demonstrate how the three steps of the MIPVU procedure were used to test the intuitively identified linguistic metaphors and validate their metaphoricity.

Example 1: *"There was silence in the coupe. Akhila thought they had established a connection. Foetuses jostling within the walls of a womb, drawing sustenance from each other's lives, aided by the darkness outside and the fact that what was shared within the walls wouldn't go beyond this night or the contained space."*

Ladies Coupe (Nair, 2001b, p. 22 Dravidian)

Step 1 of the procedure instructs the researcher to read the text and establish the context. The excerpt refers to an overnight train sleeper-coach for women, in which Akhila, the female protagonist, is travelling. There, she meets other women, who, like her, are dealing with issues in their marriage relationships and families. As they travel, they bond with each other by discussing their life situations and how each had overcome the challenges they had faced.

Following Step 2, the boundaries of the lexical units are identified and demarcated by slashes.

/ **Foetuses** / jostling / within/ the/ **walls of a womb** / drawing / **sustenance** / from / each other's lives, / aided / by / the / darkness / outside / and / the / fact / that / what / was / shared / within / the / walls / wouldn't / *go beyond this night* / or / the / **contained space** /.

Each lexical unit that has been intuitively identified as metaphorical, is highlighted. Following Step 3, each highlighted unit is tested for metaphoricity. The focus here is on four lexical units that convey meaning indirectly and can be intuitively identified as metaphorical: (i) '**foetuses**', (ii) '**walls of the womb**', (iii) '*sustenance*' and (iv) '**contained space**'.

Step 3a involves ascertaining the contextual meaning: In this example, the context refers to the (i) '*group of women*', (ii) '*contained and secure space of a train's ladies coupe*'[3]*, (iii) 'strength and inspiration'*, and (iv) '*their private conversation inside the coupe will remain secret*'.

Step 3b involves determining the basic meaning. The basic meaning for each lexical unit was derived from the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (Rundell & Fox, 2007). The meanings in the dictionary are: (i) '*developing baby, human, or animal, before it is born*', (ii) '*tissue surrounding an organ in a*

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[3] The word 'coupe' simply refers to 'a train compartment'. The use of the word provides an image of 'huddling together' or 'cooping up' in an intimate 'contained space'.

female's body where the baby grows before it is born', (iii) '*taking in food and drink'* (iv) *'past a place' or 'outside the area.'* There is a contrast between the contextual and basic meaning of each of the four lexical units; therefore (i) to (iv) are validated as metaphorical lexical units and the whole expression is established as a linguistic metaphor.

The data for the three linguistic regions is then organised in separate data tables under the following headings: (i) Name of the Author, (ii) Name of the Literary Work, (iii), Context (iv) Linguistic Metaphor (v) Ground or Motivation (vi) Source Domain, (vii) Target Domain, (viii) Conceptual Metaphor. As the data was analysed, the motivation, source domain, target domain and conceptual metaphor columns for each linguistic metaphor were filled out.

3.2. Analysis of data

The analysis of the data is done both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative analysis focused on the frequency, distribution, and percentage of the source and target domains across the regions. Since metaphors are culturally defined and context sensitive, their interpretation requires an understanding of the interaction between cognition and culture. Thus, the qualitative analysis blends various heterogeneous pieces of information gained from the understanding of the two, and provides a comprehensive understanding of the contexts within which the metaphors emerge and the meaning they convey through the cross-domain mappings.

3.2.1. Identifying the Source Domains using CMT

In order to identify the source domains, the *ground* or *motivation* for each linguistic metaphor is first ascertained. Linguistic metaphors can be analysed in terms of the *qualities* and *functions* of the source and target domains that can be mapped between the two (Ahrens, 2002). These are the '*ground'* or '*motivation'* of the linguistic metaphor. In the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A PLANT, for example, the Mapping Principle (MP) of LOVE is

understood as a PLANT because the motivation or ground is *growth*. Plants involve 'physical growth' and love involves 'emotional growth'.

Finding the *motivation* for each linguistic metaphor listed, enables the identification of the source domains that the authors have used to conceptualise womanhood. The method of identifying motivation, and subsequently the source domain for a linguistic metaphor is demonstrated using Example 1 above:

"There was silence in the coupe. Akhila thought they had established a connection. Foetuses jostling within the walls of a womb, drawing sustenance from each other's lives, aided by the darkness outside and the fact that what was shared within the walls wouldn't go beyond this night or the contained space."

Ladies Coupe (Nair, 2001a, p. 22).

Motivation or Ground: The linguistic metaphors (i) **foetuses** (ii) **walls of the womb** and (iii) **sustenance** refer to (i) 'developing baby, human or animal, before it is born', (ii) 'tissue surrounding an organ in a female's body where the baby grows before it is born', (iii) 'taking in food and drink'. The three meanings indicate the 'development process within the reproductive process' as the 'ground' or 'motivation' for this metaphor. It involves 'conception or formation of life' and its 'growth'. In terms of women it is the development of their 'friendship' and its growth into a bond. The two specific source domains identified here are, FOETUSES and the GESTATION PROCESS. These two specific level source domains belong to the generic source domain THE HUMAN BODY. Using this procedure, a list is of source domains was generated. It is presented in APPENDIX 2.

3.2.1.1. Uncovering and analysing the underlying conceptual metaphors

In order to uncover the underlying conceptual metaphors, the cross-domain mappings are drawn such that the meaning is projected

from the more concrete source domain of bodily and cultural experience to the abstract target domain. This process is demonstrated in Table 3 using Example (1) presented earlier:

"**Foetuses/** jostling/ within/ the /**walls of the womb/**, drawing **/sustenance** from /each other's/ lives/, aided/ by /the /darkness/ outside/ and/ the/ fact/ that/ what/ was/ shared within the walls/ wouldn't/ go beyond this night/ or/ **the contained space**" (*Ladies Coupe* (Nair, 2001a, p. 22).

Table 3: Mappings between the Gestation Process and the process with which the women bonded.

Source domain: GESTATION PROCESS	Mappings	Target situation: WOMEN'S BONDING
[+ multiple foetuses in the womb]	→	[+ women travelling in a train's compartment]
[+ jostling within the walls of the womb, establishing physical contact]	→	[+ women bumping into each other as the train moves and establishing emotional contact]
[+ drawing sustenance from the womb]	→	[+ drawing support from each other's stories]
[+ wouldn't go beyond this night or the contained space]	→	[+ will be protected by the walls of the coupe and the anonymity of co-travellers]

(Ahuja, Techacharoenrungrueang, & Luksaneeyanawin, 2017)

The author describes the process through which women bond, in terms of the knowledge of two or more foetuses that bond during the gestation period. The mappings are established between the elements of gestation and women's bonding. The *jostling of foetuses* in the womb is mapped onto the *bonding* of the women through emotional and physical contact, just like two foetuses bond in the womb through physical contact. The *development of foetuses in the womb (gestation)* becomes the source that is mapped onto the abstract idea of *women's bonding.* The *womb,* which is perceived as the nurturer and a safe haven from all potential harm, becomes the source domain for the *train compartment* or *coupe* which holds the

women securely in its contained space. The *sustenance* that foetuses draw from each other becomes the source for the women to draw *strength and inspiration* from each other. The physical and emotional touching, or the act of sharing their problems, just like the foetuses do in the womb, instantiates the conceptual metaphors,

A COHORT OF WOMEN IS FOETUSES IN A WOMB and

FEMALE BONDING IS THE GESTATION PROCESS.

Kövecses (2005) and Kövecses (2010b) propose that both the source and target domains should first be analysed within their respective cultural contexts for a comprehensive understanding. Hence, in the current study, the situatedness of the metaphors in India's cultural context has been taken into account, and a qualitatively analysis of womanhood has been provided. The cultural context here is that in a large number of trains in India there are separate women-only coupes/coaches or compartments to guard against sexual harassment and provide security and privacy to the female passengers. The mutual support between women going through a similar struggle is a fairly universal phenomenon; however, garnering support as described here seems to be culturally specific. The cultural interpretation of the target reveals that women are quick to open up to each other about personal issues, even if they are strangers only coming into contact briefly. Garrulousness regarding their struggles provides them with an outlet as well as the strength to overcome all adversity and emerge victorious. The excerpt refers to the situation in the protagonist, Akhila's life, who is the only earning member and caretaker of her family. Once her siblings grow up to be well-settled independent professionals, they conveniently forget all her sacrifices. Hurt on being side-lined by everyone, Akhila sets out on a train journey to an unknown destination. In the overnight sleeper-coach in which she was travelling, she meets other women who also have dealt with similar treatment at some point of their lives but had overcome such treatment. The women talk through the night as they bond and derive inspiration from each other's stories. The women in this context have been made vulnerable by society and just as foetuses are protected from harm in the womb, the women are protected by their

seclusion in the train compartment and the unsaid pact of secrecy between one another. Here, they gradually liberate themselves from the shackles of social constraints to assume independent identities.

3.2.2. Similarities and Variations in the Use of Conceptual Metaphors

Central to the theory of metaphor is the idea of embodiment, which in its broadest sense claims, that our conceptual system is grounded in the physical orientation and understanding of our bodies. The original theory of CMT attributed the existence of universal conceptual metaphors to certain common experiences pertaining to the human body. In other words, conceptual metaphors are universal because as human beings, our understanding regarding certain experiences pertaining to our physical bodies is remarkably universal in nature. This view forms the basis for universality in conceptual metaphors. According to (Kövecses, 2005, p. 88) along with the bodily experience, as purported by (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5), p. 45), conceptual metaphors constitute cultural experience as well.

Later studies found that not all concepts can be understood through bodily experience and the idea of embodiment was elaborated in recent years to include the social and cultural contexts in which the body, cognition, and language are perpetually situated (Goatly, 2007; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; Rohrer, 2007). Similarities in our environmental, social and historical contexts give rise to metaphors that are similar, and differences lead to variation. This variation can be attributed to differences in the culture, and variation in the bodily structure and body orientation which can give rise to variation in our conceptualisation of abstract ideas.
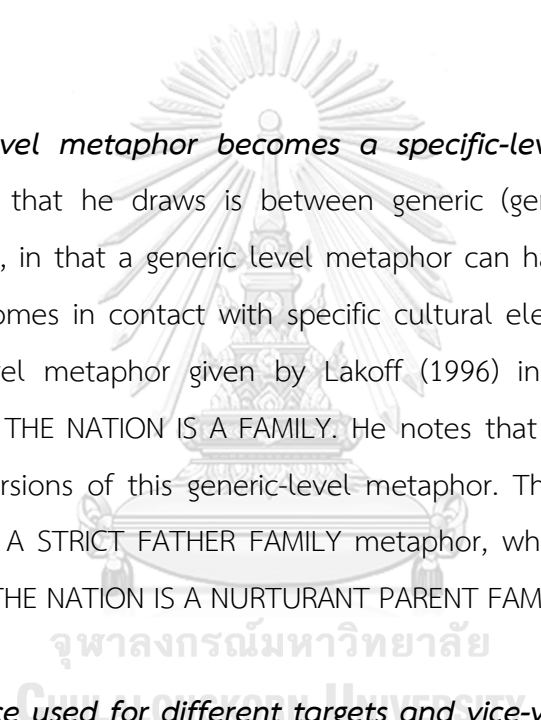
There are three parameters against which the similarities and variations in the conceptual metaphors of womanhood are measured:

- The source domain usage by the authors of the literary works
- The target concepts or sub-paradigms of womanhood that they focus on
- The negative, positive, or neutral conceptualisation of womanhood

3.2.2.1 Source domain usage

The source domain usage in terms of how it is similar and how it varies is analysed using the framework proposed by Kövecses (2005). He named it the Cognitive Dimensions of Socio-cultural Variation. This framework focuses on the relationship between metaphor and culture.

In this framework, Kövecses proposes following four dimensions against which to base variation. He also suggests that metaphors tend to be similar more often at a generic level.

(i) *Generic-level metaphor becomes a specific-level metaphor*: The first distinction that he draws is between generic (general) and specific level metaphors, in that a generic level metaphor can have specific instantiations when it comes in contact with specific cultural elements. An example of a generic-level metaphor given by Lakoff (1996) in his study on American politics is, THE NATION IS A FAMILY. He notes that political parties use two specific versions of this generic-level metaphor. The conservatives use THE NATION IS A STRICT FATHER FAMILY metaphor, while liberals conceptualise nation as THE NATION IS A NURTURANT PARENT FAMILY.

(ii) *One source used for different targets and vice-versa*: A culture uses one source domain to explain different targets and *vice-versa*. The source domain, BUILDINGS, for example, is used to understand different targets, such as, THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, RELATIONSHIPS ARE BUILDINGS, A CAREER IS A BUILDING. Conversely, different source domains, such as OBJECT, ANIMAL, RELIGION, and PHYSICAL STRUCTURE can be used to understand one target domain, i.e., the perception of a housewife, for example, A HOUSEWIFE IS A BOVINE ANIMAL, AN IDEAL HOUSEWIFE IS LAKSHMI, and AN IDEAL HOUSEWIFE IS A PILLAR.

(iii) **Differential cognitive preference**– *Preference for one source domain:* This is a case of preference for one source domain over the other source domains, wherein people make more frequent use of a particular source domain. (Kövecses, 2005) reports that the Hungarians primarily prefer the use of the source domain of war to conceptualise life. Their preference to use this source domain despite other source domains that are also available to them has to do with the history of Hungary. Kövecses argues that the country was in war throughout its history of a thousand years. Given this fact it is not surprising that life has been a long-drawn struggle for them, causing them to create metaphors such as LIFE IS A WAR and LIFE IS A COMPROMISE.

(iv) **Unique source domains**: There can be certain conceptual metaphors that are unique to a culture. Riddle (2000) talks about the conceptualisation of 'life' in the Hmong language that is spoken in Thailand, Vietnam, and Laos. In their culture, life is seen as a STRING that can be cut and broken. Riddle provides evidence that the LIFE IS A STRING metaphor is shaped by the socio-cultural environment which sees life as a string that can be cut short. (Kövecses, 2010a) further explains this metaphor as follows: "The word *tu,* which means 'cut' can also mean 'to give birth', 'to die' or 'to kill." This metaphor can be considered unique to the Hmong people" (p. 209).

In the current study, the first and third dimensions described above are used to look at similarities and variations in metaphors.

3.2.2.2. The Target Domain Focus

(Kövecses, 2005, p. 12) proposes a framework according to which the target domain can be interpreted differently in different cultures. He provides an example regarding the conceptualisation of sexuality and sexual desire in Chagga, the language of Tanzania, and English. The metaphors, SEXUAL DESIRE IS EATING, SEXUAL DESIRE IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR, SEXUAL DESIRE IS HEAT are commonly used metaphors in

both English and Chagga. However, variation arises as a result of the difference in their world view and conceptualisation of certain aspects, including sexuality. The Chagga people see sexual desire as only a male characteristic, but the English conceptualise it in terms of both male and female lust. Hence, the differential conceptualisation of this target domain is the result of a subtle yet important difference in the mappings that constitute the cultural elements. The current study uses this framework to look at the variation in the target domains of womanhood in terms of its interpretation and focus. A list of the target domains conceptualised in the literary works of each linguistic region is prepared, and from this list a count of the target domains is done.

3.2.2.3. *Negative, positive and neutral conceptualisation*

Research has shown that in mapping the inferential structure from the concrete source domain to the abstract target domain, the basic human emotions cannot be considered separate from our thoughts that constitute our conceptual system (Casasanto, 2009; Kövecses, 2000; Lakoff, 1987). Human emotions can be classified as positive or benign; negative or derogatory; and neutral, representing the positive, negative, or neutral attitudes that persist towards a thing or an idea in a given culture. One of the assumptions of CMT is that metaphorical representations are automatic and become a structuring principle for a person´s conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999). Therefore, the source domains used by the authors to conceptualise the many sub-paradigms of womanhood provide a cue to the deeply embedded perceptions and sensitivities towards this notion. The analysis of negativity and positivity in the metaphors of womanhood is guided by the Great Chain of Being (GCB) framework, and is done by assigning positive, negative and neutral connotations. Such an analysis provides a clearer understanding of how a metaphor may be judged as either conveying positive attitudes, negative
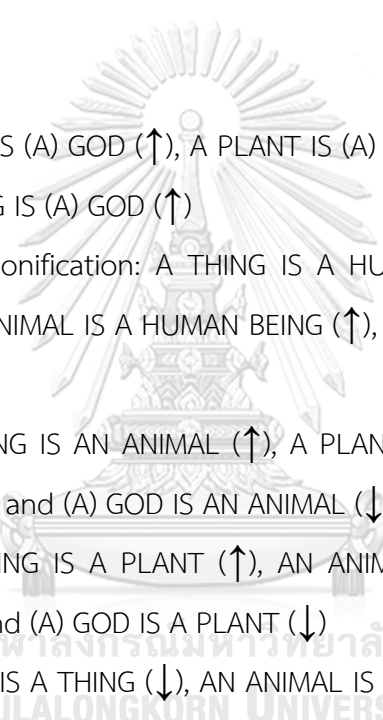
attitudes, or neutral or impartial connotation towards an aspect of womanhood.

3.2.2.3.1. The Great Chain of Being (GCB) Metaphor

The Great Chain of Being metaphor designates a relative position to all forms of beings– humans, animals, plants, and objects, and their properties–reason, instinctual behaviour, biological functions, physical attributes, in a hierarchical order. When placed in this order, animals, plants, and objects are seen as subordinate to humans who are placed at a higher level on the vertical scale of categories (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 166). In other words, the GCB metaphor makes it possible to understand why the subordinate position of animals, plants, and objects leads to the relegation of woman to a lower status, when they are conceptualised using these source domains.

At any level, properties at the highest level characterise those beings only. For example, mental and moral strengths and aesthetics characterise only humans, and not animals. So, a level is defined by the attributes and behaviour that distinguish it from the level below it. It is important to note that instincts and the resultant instinctive behaviours are placed higher in the hierarchy than the natural physical attributes of rocks. This is because determining instinctive nature requires observation, rationality, and time, while the physical attributes of rocks may be discerned directly through sensory perception (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 169). The system becomes metaphorical when a being/thing at a particular level in the chain is used to understand a being at another level. The transfer of meaning takes place when mappings are established. The comprehension of general human characteristics takes place in terms of the well-understood traits of animals, plants and objects, and conversely, the less-well

understood traits of animals, plants and objects are understood in terms of better-understood human characteristics. The mappings are possible in two directions, upwards and downwards. The number of all possible metaphors coherent with this hierarchy is 20. Of these, 10 involve upward mappings and 10 downward mappings. These twenty conceptual metaphors are grouped according to the level each source domain occupies on the Great Chain of Being:

(1) deification: A THING IS (A) GOD (↑), A PLANT IS (A) GOD (↑), AN ANIMAL IS (A) GOD (↑), and A HUMAN BEING IS (A) GOD (↑)

(2) humanisation / personification: A THING IS A HUMAN BEING (↑), A PLANT IS A HUMAN BEING (↑), AN ANIMAL IS A HUMAN BEING (↑), and (A) GOD IS A HUMAN BEING (↓).

(3) animalisation: A THING IS AN ANIMAL (↑), A PLANT IS AN ANIMAL (↑), A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL (↓), and (A) GOD IS AN ANIMAL (↓).

(4) vegetalisation: A THING IS A PLANT (↑), AN ANIMAL IS A PLANT (↓), A HUMAN BEING IS A PLANT (↓), and (A) GOD IS A PLANT (↓)

(5) reification[4]: A PLANT IS A THING (↓), AN ANIMAL IS A THING (↓), A HUMAN BEING IS A THING (↓), and (A) GOD IS A THING (↓).

(Lakoff & Turner, 1989) state that when people are equated with animals, which are lower in the hierarchy, the identification is likely to convey a negative evaluation, unless the mappings are done with the positive attributes of the source domains. If, for example, a certain culture shows a high preference of object metaphors to conceptualise an idea, and the evaluation of the metaphors show

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[4] Conceptualisation of an idea such as fear, love, happiness, as a material thing. Treating a person as a thing, deprived of individuality and human attributes.

high instances of negativity, it may be attributed to the use of objects since objects make up the lowest rung in the hierarchical order. On the other hand, when humans are equated with supernatural creatures, for most times, the shift is upwards in the chain, leading to endowment of metaphorical identification with a positive evaluation.

3.2.2.3.2. Assigning Negative, Positive, and Neutral denotation

Uncovering the conceptual metaphors of womanhood involve establishing mappings between the elements of the source domain, such as types of sources, traits, behaviour, characteristics, utility and appearance; and the elements of the target domain, that is, women's status, roles, traits, characteristics, and virtues. Depending on whether the mappings used positive, negative, or neutral aspects of the source domain, the metaphor is ascertained as negative, positive, or neutral towards the womanhood aspect that it is used to explain.

Table 4 shows the classification of the source domains in terms of positive, negative, positive and negative, and neutral conceptualisation, depending on the positive, negative, or neutral elements of the source domains mapped onto the target concept;

Table 4: Positive, Negative and Neutral Conceptualisation

POSITIVE (+)	NEGATIVE (-)	NEGATIVE and POSITIVE (- , +)	NEUTRAL (*)
accomplished, an asset, assertive, attentive, alert, beautiful, carefree, courageous, daring, defensive, devoted, fierce, graceful, happy, independent, loved, manipulated, nurturing, playful, powerful, potent, protective, rebellious, responsible, reproductive, resourceful, skilful, strong, untamed, valued, virtuous, worthy, wild	abandoned, abused, battered, booty, captive, burdened, cantankerous, commodifiable, dangerous, defeated, dependent, disgraced, dumb, delicate, evil, ghostly, harmed, hurt, helpless, hunted, influential, immoral, malicious, manipulative, objectified, powerful, rejected, promiscuous, submissive, suffering, sullen, subservient (toiling), stubborn, suspicious, sacrificed, trapped, timid, victimised, , weak, youthful	aggressive, angry bad-tempered, delicate, deified domineering, hostile, malleable, reckless	elderly, quiet, harmless, impulsive, ill, recuperating, reserved, simple weak on account of old age

Table 4 above contains a list of words that express the emotions and perceptions that classify the metaphorical conceptualisation as positive, negative, positive and negative, and neutral. The writer's intent, the context, and the sense that the surrounding words provide are all taken into consideration when listing the metaphors as positive, negative and neutral. Although this list is not comprehensive, it is a suitable guide to the relevant vocabulary used for these contexts. If the underlying metaphor perceives the woman as worthy, cherished, independent, fierce, forthcoming, thinking, determined and a strong individual, the particular metaphor is categorised as 'positive' and placed in the 'POSITIVE' column. An example from the current data is, "One minute she was fighting him like **a tigress,** and the next she was rocking back and forth crooning a pathetic song to her sick child" (The Black HillDai, 2014, p. 150 ,Tibeto-Burmese). Here, the reference is to a physical ambush between the wife and her husband, where she is fighting with equal intensity and then

transforming into a gentle mother cradling her baby. Her aggressiveness towards her husband is due to his neglect of their child and her. Her aggressive stance and her instant transformation into a gentle mother can be seen as 'positive' as she is standing up against her husband's mistreatment, at the same time trying to rock their child to sleep.

If the metaphor perceives the woman or her state of being as undesirable, deleterious, or derogatory, rendering her to be seen as abused, weak, dependent, captive, victimised etc., it is categorised as negative, and thus placed in the 'NEGATIVE' column. An example from the current data is, "And if I make any trouble, he can **throw me out**- he says the law is clear" (The Age of Shiva, Suri, 2007, p. 329, Indo-Aryan). CM: THE FIRST WIFE IS AN OBJECT TO BE DISCARDED. Here, the reference is to the Muslim law, wherein the husband can divorce the first wife at will and take a second wife.

Some metaphors can have both a positive and negative denotation, depending on the context, for example, the conceptualisation of a woman as an aggressive or dominating person may be considered negative by others, but it may be positive for the woman concerned, as well as for the writer. Such metaphors are placed in the column 'POSITIVE and NEGATIVE'. An example from the current data is, "In this fortress that shuts out the rest of the world, I grope towards her, and **she weaves a cocoon**, **a secure womb** that sucks me in and holds me fast to its thick, sticky walls, (*Thousand Faces of the Night*, Hariharan, 1992, pp. 13, Dravidian). CMs: A DAUGHTER IS A CATERPILLAR IN A COCOON and MOTHERLY LOVE IS A COCOON. In the book, having recently returned from America after completing her studies, Devi describes how her mother, Sita, makes sure that everything is in place for her at home. Since Devi was a child, Sita had always ensured that Devi was well-loved, well-fed, and well-educated. The CMs may be considered both negative and positive, because, if on the one hand motherly affection may be considered a positive quality in a woman and it is also positive for the one who receives it; on the other hand, cocooning may not always be good, especially for the one who is over-protected or sheltered. In this case, Devi later complains that her mother tends to take control of her life, restricting her freedom.

If women are conceptualised in a way that cannot be ascertained as either negative or positive, such metaphors are placed in the 'NEUTRAL' column. "Oholya-jethai came with a speed of a kite to its prey, to hold her in her arms. Onima Borma too sprinkled water over her face" (*The House with a Thousand Stories*, Kashyap, 2013, pp. 192, Tibeto-Burmese). CM: A QUICK ALERT WOMAN IS AN EAGLE. The author does not provide any hint whether he sees this metaphor as negative or positive. He simply states that Oholya jethai came with a speed of a kite, hence the metaphor is seen as neutral.

3.3. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has presented the process of data collection, the conceptual framework, and the data analysis methods used in this study. The study has utilised both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative part has provided evidence of the dominant patterns of the source and target domains by presenting the frequency of occurrence and distribution. Whereas, the qualitative approach blends various heterogeneous pieces of information and presents a comprehensive understanding in order to better understand the meaning of the source domains within specific contexts. The Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije University, Amsterdam (MIPVU) which has been used to test the metaphoricity of the identified lexical units on the basis of their indirect meaning has been elaborated. Following this, the procedure using the CMT to establish mappings between the source and target domains is explained. Lastly, the framework used to understand universality and variation in the use of conceptual metaphors is elaborated. This framework includes three parameters using which the evaluation of the similarity and variations in conceptual metaphors is done. These are: (i) The source domain usage, (ii) The target concepts or sub-paradigms of womanhood as conceptualised, and (iii) The positive; negative; positive and negative; and neutral conceptualisation of womanhood based on the respective cultural norms of each linguistic region. The understanding of the positive, negative and neutral connotation is also guided by the GCB model.

CHAPTER IV

INDIAN WOMANHOOD THROUGH CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS

This chapter presents the portrayal of womanhood in Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Tibeto-Burmese regions. The quantitative results are presented in the tables with the frequencies and percentages of the source domains. This is followed by a qualitative discussion of the generic woman in each region through the various stages of her life. The conceptual metaphors relating to each life stage are woven together in the discussions for a more comprehensible understanding. Section 4.1 presents womanhood in the Indo-Aryan literary works, Section 4.2 presents womanhood in the Dravidian literary works, and Section 4.3 presents womanhood in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works.

4.1. Womanhood in the Indo-Aryan literary works

This section presents the findings from the metaphorical data of literary works set in the Indo-Aryan linguistic region. Section 4.1.1 lists the source domains along with their frequencies, followed by a discussion on the target concepts of womanhood in Section 4.1.2. Finally, Section 4.1.3 outlines a portrait of a generic Indo-Aryan woman through various stages of her life.

4.1.1. The Source Domains

A total of 21 SDs are identified, occurring 320 times, as shown in Table 5. Only ANIMALS, OBJECTS and ELEMENTS OF NATURE are shared across all the literary works with ANIMALS being the most frequently used accounting for approximately 28% of the occurrences. Not only that, it is also the most preferred source domain of five of the seven authors (books 1, 3, 4, 6, 7). This is followed by OBJECTS, PLANTS and other SDs. Notably, the top three SDs– ANIMALS, OBJECTS and PLANTS, account for more than half of the metaphorical occurrences at the aggregate level. These source domains also

occur in six out of the seven works. This is remarkable, given the widely varying backdrops and timings when these literary works have been published.

Table 5: Distribution of SDs across seven Indo-Aryan works

	Source Domains	Frequency of occurrence							
		Bk 1	Bk 2	Bk 3	Bk 4	Bk 5	Bk 6	Bk 7	Total
1	ANIMALS	15	3	22	13	10	10	16	89 (28%)
2	OBJECTS	5	7	13	3	12	8	9	57 (18%)
3	PLANTS	10	4	10	3	2	2	---	31 (9.7%)
4	ELEMENTS OF NATURE	3	2	10	1	6	1	2	25 (7.8%)
5	SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES	---	2	4	2	3	12	1	24 (7.5%)
6	AGGRESSION	4	4	2	---	2	2	---	14 (4.3%)
7	BONDAGE	3	----	3	4	1	2	---	13 (4%)
8	FOOD	4	3	---	---	2	---	1	10 (3.1%)
9	LIGHT	1	---	8	---	---	1	---	10 (3.1%)
10	MACHINES & DEVICES	----	----	1	---	2	1	3	7 (2.1%)
11	ROYALTY	----	----	5	---	1	1	---	7 (2.1%)
12	DEATH	----	3	---	---	2	1	----	6 (1.8%)
13	HEALTH	1	---	2	1	---	---	---	4 (1.2%)
14	MONEY & BUSINESS	---	1	---	---	---	2	1	4 (1.2%)
15	ARTS	---	---		2	1		---	3 (0.9%)
16	CELESTIAL BODIES	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	2 (0.6%)
17	PHYSICAL STRUCTURE	1	1	----	1	---	---	---	3 (0.9%)
18	WEIGHT	---	1	---	1	---	---	2	4 (1.2%)
19	LAND (FARM)	---	---	1	1	---	2	1	5 (1.5%)
20	JOURNEY	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	1 (0.3%)
21	PROMISCUITY	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1 (0.3%)
	Total SDs in each book	47	31	83	33	44	46	36	320

Table key:

Bk 1: Clear Light of Day by Anita Desai (1980)   Bk 2: Memories of Rain by Sunetra Gupta (1992)

Bk 3: Sister of my Heart by Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni (1999)   Bk 4: Book of Esther by Esther David (2003)

Bk 5: Space Between Us by Thrity Umrigar (2005)   Bk 6: The Age of Shiva by Manil Suri (2007)

Bk 7: Custody by Manju Kapur (2011)

4.1.2. The Target Domains

Table 6 presents the sub-paradigms, or target domains, of womanhood listed alongside the source domains used to explain them.

Table 6: Target domains of womanhood in the IA literary works

		Target Domain		
	Source Domains	Women's physical-mental state/ situation/ appearance	Women's behavioural and personality traits	Social roles/status
1	ANIMALS	angry, bad-tempered, black haired, beautiful, cheated uneducated, inexperienced, soft bodied, harassed, pursued, old, menstruating, neglected, vulnerable	agile, aggressive, bitter, cantankerous, clever, cruel, devious, dominating, flirtatious, graceful, harsh, hostile, loyal, meek, mysterious, orthodox, penetrating pleasant, predatory, protective, restive, reluctant, timid vigilant rebellious, revengeful, talkative, tenacious	maiden, bride, wife, mother, daughter, matriarch, divorced, householder, maidservant
2	OBJECTS	beautiful, fertile, barren, sexless, decrepit, flawed, sorrowful, unchaste, distraught,	amenable, tolerant, reticent, closed, lonely, meek, nimble, pushy scrutinising, revengeful, reluctant, unintelligent	maiden, daughter, bride, wife, widow, spinster
3	PLANTS	sexy, fertile, beautiful, virgin dejected, stressed, educated.	vivacious, dynamic, old, youthful, rejected	bride, wife, mother, widow, mother-in-law
4	ELEMENTS OF NATURE	pregnant, beautiful, reproductive	angry, anxious, passionate	matriarch.
5	SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES	harassed, pampered, pregnant, fierce, fertile, beauty,	angry, destructive enigmatic, good-natured, heroic, kind, protective, rebellious, seductive	bride, confidante, wife, mother,

	Source Domains	Target Domain		
		Women's physical-mental state/ situation/ appearance	Women's behavioural and personality traits	Social roles/status
		pregnancy	wicked	sister
6	AGGRESSION	abused, reluctant, hurt, distraught, victimised	assertive belligerent, cantankerous, rebellious	mother, daughter, matriarchy
7	BONDAGE	captive, confined, restrained	---	daughter
8	FOOD	haggard	---	mother
9	LIGHT	ailing and thankful, beautiful	enlightened, besotted, happy, unhappy, virtuous	mother, daughter
10	MACHINES & DEVICES	fertile, motherly	strong, supportive	mother, daughter-in-law
11	ROYALTY	beloved, pregnant	anguished, courageous	daughter
12	DEATH	unloved, neglected, penniless	self-destructive	---
13	HEALTH	besotted, beloved, ignorant	independent	---
14	MONEY & BUSINESS	profitable	multi-talented, exemplary	wife
15	ARTS	stunned, beautiful		
16	CELESTIAL BODIES	hurt, fertile		wife
17	PHYSICAL STRUCTURE	---	strong	householder, mother
18	WEIGHT	burdened	---	load bearer
19	FARMLAND	---	---	mother
20	JOURNEY	---	ideal, skilled	ideal housewife
21	PROMISCUITY	---	liberated	

The analysis of the linguistic metaphors finds that mappings exist between the elements of the source domains–(the types, characteristics, states and utilities) and the elements of the target domains—(the mental and physical-mental state and appearance, behavioural and personality traits, and the social roles and status of women). To take the example of the SD AGGRESSION, this entails abuse, victimisation, any kind of physical or emotional suppression, humiliation, emotional pain (see Appendix 2), which are mapped on to the woman depicting her as oppressed, victimised or defiant and aggressive, and so on. In the *Clear Light of Day* (A. Desai, 2001), for example, a 'bee attack', which is a type of aggression, has been used to explain the victimisation of motherhood—how womanhood is sacrificed for the sake of motherhood, that is, providing lifelong nurturance and care for the children. The source domain, ELEMENTS OF NATURE has several sub-domains that are used to explain many sub-paradigms of womanhood. For example, 'A WATER STREAM' becomes the source to explain the concept of the BEAUTY and FULLNESS of a woman's body. The source domain, PROMISCUITY is almost always used to conceptualise a sexually liberated woman as a slut or a randy person. There is one such instance in *The Age of Shiva* (Suri, 2007), where Meera, an independent and headstrong woman, goes against the societal norms laid down for women of her community and has a short-term love affair with a man. Later, in a fit of temper, she marries him. Her brother-in-law perceives her to be a woman of loose character who is quick to defy the expectations of moral behaviour, hence he refers to her as a slut.

4.1.3. The Indo-Aryan Woman

The Indo-Aryan culture is deeply patriarchal and places high importance on male supremacy. The women in this region have relatively low autonomy and have to confront higher instances of gender bias compared to the other two regions (Dyson & Moore, 1983, pp. 46-47). Not only that, they also face several constraints including having to remain within the domestic space and restraining from participating in income-generating activities. The themes that run through the seven literary works are family, women's familial and societal

roles, gender and class division, subjugation and the prejudice to which women are subjected. The birth of a girl child invokes mixed reactions. While many sections of the society idolise a male child and find the arrival of a girl child undesirable, there are a large number of communities and families where her birth is hailed as the arrival of the Goddess Lakshmi. In *The Age of Shiva* (Suri, 2007), the conceptual metaphors, A YOUNG DAUGHTER IS A GODDESS and A DAUGHTER IS A PRINCESS (p. 271), refer to the pampered existence of Roopa, the youngest daughter of the family. Whether her birth is welcome or unwelcome, once a daughter is born, she is seen as the repository of the family's honour. She may be a pampered child, but she must remain virtuous. Any breach in conduct can lead to severe punishment and ostracisation. Therefore, the mothers are responsible for instilling high moral values in their young daughters. Anjali, the mother of Sudha in *Sister of my Heart* (Divakaruni, 1999) constantly emphasises that VIRTUOUS DAUGHTERS ARE LAMPS LIGHTING THE MOTHER'S NAME and WICKED DAUGHTERS ARE FIREBRANDS SCORCHING THE FAMILY'S FAME (p. 22).

In upper caste families, the honour of the female child is strongly linked to her chastity, inevitably making her vulnerable. Sudha, in *Sister of my Heart* (1999), laments how her FRAGILE GLASS FLOWER REPUTATION (p. 67) has made her A PRINCESS IMPRISONED IN A MARBLE PALACE who needs protection (p. 308). In a similar vein, Bim, in *Clear Light of the Day* (Desai, 1980), considers her sister's young daughters, NEW BORN KITTENS and CATERPILLARS IN THEIR COCOONS (p. 172). The plight is the same for a daughter coming from a different cultural background: Esther David, daughter of a Jewish family, rebels against such cocooning as it leads to a complete loss of her freedom, and many times, deprivation of her rights. She wonders why DAUGHTERS ARE CHAINED CAPTIVES and GOLEMS[5] (The Book of Esther, David, 2003, p. 323). She

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[5] In Jewish folklore, Golems are submissive creatures, controlled by their masters and they have no agency to act on their own accord.

feels she is A PREY GRIPPED BY HER PYTHON-LIKE FAMILY (p. 319) and wants to break out of such a confining existence.

The honourable code of conduct is clearly defined, and a girl child is expected to strictly observe it as she transitions from girlhood to maidenhood. If her sexuality is violated, she becomes a STAINED OBJECT in her own eyes as well (Book of Esther, David, 2003, p. 309). The onus of securing a good husband and a comfortable life lies on her shoulders. It is her 'Karma' or 'virtuous deeds' that will be instrumental in finding a liaison that will further the family's reputation for both sides. In *The Age of Shiva,* (Suri, 2009), Meera readily becomes a COMMODITY IN THE MARRIAGE MARKET whose BATON OF CARE would be handed to a carefully selected husband (p. 177), whereas her sister Sharmila resists becoming A DISPLAY ITEM FOR LIVING ROOM VIEWINGS BY PROSPECTIVE GROOMS (p. 26) in favour of higher education.

When a new bride enters her matrimonial home, she is welcomed as the GODDESS LAKSHMI[6] by family, friends and neighbours (*The Age of Shiva*, Suri, 2009, p. 58); (Sister of my Heart, Divakaruni, 1999, p. 168). This divinity is imparted to her by her husband in the marriage vow, "I will protect you and treasure you and love you as my Lakshmi, my Goddess of Prosperity" (Sister of my Heart, Divakaruni, 1999, p. 168). In *The Age of Shiva* (Suri, 2007) Meera's sister-in-law is referred to as a SCENTED FLOWER (p. 123) on account of her beauty and very pleasant nature. But not all young women are willing, happy brides; many are forced into matrimony. Although Meera marries a man of her own choice, she soon realises that she has committed a grave mistake. She laments her situation as revealed from the conceptual metaphors, A BRIDE IS A CORPSE and A BRIDAL SARI IS A SHROUD (p. 62). Esther, in *Book of Esther* (2003), is a reluctant bride who is forced into marrying a man she finds repulsive. In her emotional outburst targeted at her parents she wonders why A BRIDE IS A SACRIFICIAL ANIMAL (*Book of Esther*, David, 2003, p. 309). In *Sister of my Heart* (1999), Sudha is forced to abandon her lover and marry a stranger.

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[6] The Goddess of wealth and prosperity in Hindu mythology

Standing in front of the marriage altar, she presents a sorry image, that of 'a sea shell, with whatever had been alive inside, scraped away', instantiating the metaphor A RELUCTANT BRIDE IS A SCRAPED-OUT SEA SHELL, (*Sister of my Heart*, Divakaruni, 1999, p. 167).

Willingly or unwillingly, once a woman has entered matrimony, her destiny becomes 'HANDCUFFED' to her husband and her new home (*The Age of Shiva*, Suri, 2007, p. 64). She is expected to ease seamlessly into her new roles as the wife, householder and mother as in *Custody*, (2011) Ishita 'Raman's second wife, becomes his daughter Roohi's step-mother, and the householder. The word used for her transformation is 'morph' which instantiates the conceptual metaphor, A NEW WIFE IS A POLYMORPHIC SPECIES (p. 313). In *Memories of Rain* (Gupta, 1992) Moni becomes a MALLEABLE OBJECT in the hands of her husband, Antony, who 'moulds' her for a life in England. As time passes, a wife becomes A SPONGE, absorbing and internalising every aspect of her new environment. She contributes greatly towards her family's life, instantiating the CMs—A WIFE IS A PILLAR OF STRENGTH (*Book of Esther*, 2003, p.22), A WIFE IS AN EXPERT BOATMAN NAVIGATING HER FAMILY THROUGH ROCKY TIMES (*Sister of my Heart*, Divakaruni, 1999, p.188), and A FRAGRANT FLOWER filling her husband's heart with the fragrance of her beauty and love (*Clear light of Day*, Desai, 1980, p.71).

Considering the socio-cultural diversity within the region, wifehood entails different expectations from women from different socio-cultural and economic backgrounds even though they belong to the same region. In *Clear Light of Day* (Desai, 1980). Tara is loved and cherished for her beauty, simplicity and dedication to her husband and children. *Custody* (Kapur, 2011) depicts Raman as a husband who 'worships at the altar of his wife's beauty', giving rise to various metaphors, such as A WIFE IS A QUEEN, A WIFE IS A SWEET-SMELLING FLOWER, and A WIFE IS A GODDESS (p. 293). In *The Age of Shiva* (Suri, 2007), Meera marries her sister's lover against everyone's wishes and becomes a wife who has a stronghold on her husband and her in-laws. Her father insists that she should not sit at home like a bovine but should continue with her studies,

uncovering the CM, A HOUSEWIFE IS CATTLE. On the other hand, Meera's Muslim neighbour Zaidi recounts the horrors of being married to a much older, abusive man who threatens her with the possibility of his remarriage. "If I make any trouble, he can throw me out—he says the law is clear" (The Age of Shiva, Suri, 2009, p. 329), instantiating the metaphor, the FIRST WIFE IS AN OBJECT TO BE DISCARDED He constantly reminds her that A WIFE IS A BRIDLED MARE. Divakaruni, in *Sister of my Heart* (1999), depicts a similar image of a wife. One of the sisters, Anju, fears that if Sudha quits her studies and agrees to marry, she will be treated like a toiling animal, instantiating the metaphor, A WIFE IS A BULLOCK GOING ROUND THE MILL (p. 87). In *Memories of Rain* (Gupta, 1992), Antony cheats on the credulous Moni, leaving her deeply wounded as A DYING BIRD HE HAS CATAPULTED DOWN, FLUTTERING IN HIS PALM (p. 46). Separation or divorce is highly stigmatised. In most cases, women whose marriages are broken, live in their parents' home like STUBBORN GHOSTS (*Memories of Rain*, Gupta, 1992, p. 24).

Wifehood is invariably linked to motherhood, which is further linked to fertility and nurturance. Motherhood is highly glorified in India, especially in the Indo-Aryan culture. A mother is seen as a MOTHER COW and a DEEP-ROOTED TREE (*Clear light of Day*, Desai, 1980, p.111). A wife who procreates climbs the ladder of social hierarchy. Procreation of the next generation, preferably a male heir, is considered a wife's natural duty. A pregnant woman has been described variously by Indo-Aryan authors in these works. A wife is expected to be A FERTLIE FARM, wherein her womb is the farm where the seed sprouts (*The Age of Shiva*, Suri, 2007, p.371). She is also the GODDESS PARVATI or JAGAT MATA GAURI, who are symbolic of fertility, devotion to the husband and marital felicity (Suri, 2007, p. 371; *The Book of Esther,* 2003). In *Sister of my Heart* (Divakaruni, 1999) Sudha and Anju both feel that their pregnancy has filled them with 'power, potency and well-being', as they identify their bodies with that of a SLEEK TIGRESS and A RIPE FRUIT (p. 245). In *Custody* (Kapur, 2011), when Shagun becomes pregnant, the other members of the household begin seeing her as BOUNTIFUL EARTH (p.15), and in *Clear Light of Day* (Desai,

1980), aunt Mira, who becomes the adoptive mother of her cousin's children, is referred to as 'their earth,' uncovering the metaphor, A MOTHER IS THE BOUNTIFUL EARTH (pp. 111-112).

As aunt Mira dedicates herself to the children's care, providing them nurturance and camaraderie, she becomes their SHADY TREE and GIVING TREE (*Clear Light of Day*, Desai, 1980, p. 110-111), under whose branches they play and thrive. This feeling is the same for Meera's son Ashvin in *The Age of Shiva*, (Suri, 2007), as Meera's motherhood becomes his GOLDEN PLAYROOM that he will never want to abandon (p. 372). A mother is also deeply involved in her daughters' care and safety. Nothing can escape her scrutinising eyes, as she is an X-RAY MACHINE who can see right through her daughter, as well as a WILD ANIMAL ON A PROWL, who will always watch out for (*Space Between Us*, Umrigar, 2005, p. 111).

The paradox of motherhood in the Indo-Aryan culture lies in its ideological glorification. Especially for a girl child, the mother often assumes the role of protector and preserver. In *Sister of my Heart* (Divakaruni, 1999), when Sudha's in-laws instruct her to terminate her female foetus, she assumes an avatar of the GODDESS DURGA[7] and the QUEEN OF JHANSI[8] to ward off their evil intentions (p. 309). Her husband, under family pressure, divorces her for showing resistance. Sudha has perhaps learnt to stand up strong, from her mother, who, after Sudha's father's death had assumed the form of A FEROCIOUS ANIMAL and A STINGING BEE to protect both Sudha and herself from evil intentions (p. 332). Author Anita Desai acknowledges the agony of Mira and Bim, the two adoptive mothers in *Clear Light of Day* (1980). Mira becomes the children's TREE as she 'feeds them her own nutrients', but they 'choke her' with their hunger for more and more (pp. 110-111). When the

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[7] In Hindu mythology the images of Durga and Kali are the only sources of female power that offer resistance to masculine domination.

[8] She was a warrior queen who valiantly defended her territory from the British accession, but died in a fierce battle. Even the British considered her a rare combination of bravery and administrative ability.

children grow up, Bim, the eldest of the four, also sacrifices her happiness to mother her younger siblings. Desai depicts Bim's oppressed motherhood as the victim of bee's attack, wherein her siblings are the 'bees' and she is the 'victim' of their overwhelming demands, revealing the CM, MOTHER IS THE VICTIM OF A BEE ATTACK. Bim feels trapped, not being able to abandon her role as the mother. Desai, puts it beautifully, "Bim, their appointed victim, the sacrificial victim on whom they had draped the ceremonial shawl, drawing it close about her neck as she stood drooping, shivering under the weight of their gauzy wings, their blue-black humming" (p. 135).

It is important to note that either voluntarily or involuntarily, childlessness can be emotionally debilitating for a woman in a culture that valorises sons. A BARREN WOMAN IS DAMAGED GOODS is conveyed starkly through the plight of Ishita, who is abandoned by her husband because she cannot not conceive (*Custody*, Kapur, 2011, p. 60). According to the authors, remaining single or childless for any reason can impart a sense of worthlessness and incompleteness. This nagging within gradually changes women into DRY, DESICCATED BEINGS (*Memories of Rain*, 1992, p.98). In *Sister of my Heart* (Divakaruni, 1999), Sudha, lonely and unhappy in her marriage, thinks of herself as AN EMPTY CONTAINER, fervently wishing for a baby: "How much I want a baby to fill out the empty spaces inside me" (p. 203).

After spending dedicated, fruitful and faithful years as a wife and mother, a woman attains the matriarch position and is conceptualised in terms of A QUEEN BEE. The matriarchs characterised in the literary works are also fulfilling the role of the mother-in-law who keeps a strict eye on the daughter-in-law. In *Sister of my Heart* (Divakaruni, 1999), Sudha finds herself in the clutches of her mother-in-law, who is A TENACIOUS WOMAN WITH AN ALLIGATOR HIDE (p. 195). She is the matriarch of the household, keeping an eye on all her children with an intense, scrutinising gaze, which is A SUN'S RAYS THROUGH A MAGNIFYING GLASS (p. 194). Her appearance is deceptive; she is "a sunlit field of flowers. You are drawn into it, admiring, then suddenly you are

caught in the stinging tangles of a hidden bichuti vine"[9] (p. 215). The underlying metaphor here is that A MOTHER-IN-LAW IS A FIELD OF FLOWERS WITH A POISONOUS VINE IN THE UNDERGROWTH. Sudha's cousin Anju calls her A HAWK (p. 223). In *Custody* (Kapur, 2011), Ishita also describes her mother-in-law as A HAWK "circling lazily in the sky, alert to the movement of small innocent creatures scampering below" (p. 66). And lastly, we have Sera's explosive mother-in-law, A BOMBSHELL (*Space Between Us*, Umrigar, 2005, p. 48).

The story of generic Indo-Aryan woman would be incomplete without discussing the situation of the child widow, Mira in *Clear Light of Day* (1980). Set in India's pre- and post-independence era from 1947 to 1970, the novel, among other things, talks about the plight of Mira, widowed at a tender age of 15. The death of her husband becomes a doomsday for her, as her status in the marital home immediately changes from that of the new bride to 'a useless thing' (p. 104), instantiating the CM, A WIDOW IS A DISCARDED HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCE. She is 'handed' (p. 105) to the Das family which is related to her through her cousin sister, so they may find some use for her. Mrs. Das, who is her cousin, happily accepts her and finds a 'use' (p.105) for her as the caretaker of her four children, Bim, Tara, Raja and Baba. After moving to the Das household, she toils around the house looking after them: "A drudge in her cell, sealed into her chamber", instantiating the CM, A WIDOW IS A BONDED LABOURER (p. 89). She knew she could get their kindness by showing obeisance and dedicating her life in their service, so "here she lived... Crawling from cell to cell, feeding the fat white larvae that live in the cells . . . A grey chamber, woven shut. Here she lived, here she crawled, dragging her heavy wings behind her... And she slaved and toiled, her long wings dragging" (p. 89). She becomes A TOILING HONEY BEE. And when they grow up "swelling on the nourishment she brought them" (p. 89), she becomes AN OLD TREE STUMP, 'the old log, the dried mass of roots on which they grew' (pp. 111-

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[9] A creeper with stinging hairs and soft thorns on the leaves.

112). But to the children who love her immensely, she is A CHANDNI FLOWER[10], simple and pure-hearted.

To conclude, the discussion in the above section has traced the life of a generic Indo-Aryan woman through various stages of her life. Using the CMs uncovered in the seven literary works set in this region, the narrative captures the societal expectations, roles, stereotypes and biases from the time of birth of a girl child until she becomes a matriarch or a widow. The portrayal of woman's life presented above is suffused with metaphors of motherhood. This theme is firmly planted, in six out of seven literary works, which is consistent with the preoccupation with the motherhood roles and the rich tradition of celebrating motherhood in the Indo-Aryan culture. At the same time, the metaphors also revealed motherhood as a form of oppression. The idea of child-bearing and rearing, especially of a male child, plays such an important role in the socialisation process of north Indian women that they do not feel relieved of their obligations until they have given birth to a son. Many mothers confront social prejudices, and have to fight for the rights of their girl children, as Sudha described above. Finally, motherhood is often thrust upon the women in the form of adoptive, and sometimes, surrogate motherhood, as in the case of Aunt Mira and Bimla in *Clear Light of Day* (Desai, 1980). There is emphasis on matrimony as well, which provides evidence that great importance is attached to marriage and the fulfilling of marriage vows, especially by the wife in the Indo-Aryan culture. She may be unhappy in her marriage like Sudha (*Sister of my Heart*, 1999) or threatened to divorce like Zaidi (*The Age of Shiva*, Suri, 2007) or being cheated by her husband like Moni (*Memories of Rain*, Gupta, 1992) but she is expected to continue to remain dedicated towards her husband and marital family and hope to turn around the situation with her selfless service, determination and persistence to fulfil what was prescribed for her in the marriage vows.

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[10] A white fragrant flower

4.2. Womanhood in the Dravidian Literary Works

In this section, we turn to the results from the Dravidian literary works beginning with a presentation of the source domains and their frequencies in Section 4.2.1. Subsequently, Section 4.2.2. presents the target concepts of womanhood and section 4.2.3. outlines a sketch of a generic Dravidian woman through various stages of her life as revealed through the underlying conceptual metaphors.

4.2.1. The Source Domains

The analysis of linguistic metaphors obtained from the seven Dravidian literary works reveals 265 occurrences of 27 source domains as shown in Table 7. Unlike the case of the Indo-Aryan literary works, wherein the SD ANIMALS occurs most frequently, the SD OBJECTS emerges as the most preferred in the Dravidian works accounting for 32% of the total occurrences. This is also the most frequently occurring source domain in each of the seven literary works. This finding is quite significant, given the fact that the Dravidian authors have used the highest number of source domains yet their inclination towards using the SD OBJECTS is high. It is also noteworthy that in five of seven literary works, more than a quarter of the CMs have OBJECTS as their source domain.

Table 7: Distribution of SDs across seven Dr works

Sl. No	Source Domains	Frequency of occurrence							
		Bk 1	Bk 2	Bk 3	Bk 4	Bk 5	Bk 6	Bk 7	Total
1	OBJECTS	13	11	17	4	17	3	20	85 (32%)
2	ANIMALS	7	5	7	3	11	1	6	40 (15%)
3	SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES	4	1	4	1	8	---	4	22 (8.3%)
4	ELEMENTS OF NATURE	2	3	3	3	2	---	2	15 (5.6%)
5	AGGRESSION	1	----	2	3	2	2	4	14 (5.3%)
6	ARTS	10	---	1	---	---	---	2	13 (5%)
7	PLANTS	3	---	2	---	3	----	---	8 (3%)
8	MONEY & BUSINESS	3	----	1	2	2	---	1	9 (3.4%)
9	FOOD	1	3	1	1	3	---	---	9 (3.4%)
10	ROYALTY	----	----	5	---	1	---	---	6 (2.2%)
11	FARMING & GARDENING	3	2	---	---	---	---	---	5 (1.9%)
12	LIGHT	1	----	1	---	3	---	---	5 (1.9%)
13	MACHINES & DEVICES	1	---	----	---	----	---	3	4 (1.5%)
14	CELESTIAL BODIES	---	---	---	1	1	---	1	3 (1%)
15	DEATH	---	2	---	---	---	---	1	3 (1%)
16	HEALTH	-----	2	1	---	---	---	---	3 (1%)
17	PHYSICAL SENSATION	---	---	----	2	---	1	---	3 (1%)
18	LAND	2	---	---	1	---	---	---	3 (1%)
19	ACHIEVEMENT	---	---	---	1	---	---	1	2 (.75%)
20	FORCE	---	---	---	2	---	---	---	2 (.75%)
21	GAMES	1	---	---	---	---	---	1	2 (.75%)
22	PHYSICAL STRUCTURE	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	2 (.75%)
23	PROMISCUITY	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	2 (.75%)
24	WEIGHT	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	2 (.75%)
25	HUMAN BODY	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	1 (.37%)
26	JOURNEY	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	1 (.37%)
27	SPACE	---	---	---	---	---	----	1	1 (.37%)
	Total SDs in each book	52	29	48	25	56	7	48	265

Table Key:

Bk 1: Thousand Faces of the Night by Githa Hariharan (1992)   Bk 2: The God of Small Things by Arundhati Roy (1997)

Bk 3: Ladies Coupe by Anita Nair (2001)   Bk 4: The House of Blue Mangoes by David Davidar (2002).

Bk 5: Mistress by Anita Nair (2006)   Bk 6: In the Country of Deceit by Shashi Deshpande (2008)

Bk 7: When I Hit You: Or, A Portrait of the Writer as a Young Wife by Meena Kandasamy (2017)

4.2.2. The Target Domains

Table 8 presents the sub-paradigms, or target domains, of womanhood listed alongside the source domains used to explain them. The Table shows the mapping of object types, characteristics, state and utilities of the source domains on to the target domain elements including the physical attributes, mental and physical state, characteristics and qualities, and the social role for women. To illustrate the mapping, the SD AGGRESSION for example, is used by the Dravidian writers to explain the trauma of sexual and physical abuse suffered by the victims, who are mostly wives. It has also conceptualised mothers and daughters as warriors who heroically tackle the abuse and pressure they confront in their home and society. The SD, PROMISCUITY, is used to describe a seductive as well as a liberal minded woman as a whore. There is just one metaphor that uses the SD, SPACE, to describe how the identity of the wife is obliterated by the husband through his constant and violent abuse, such that she feels she has become an empty space with no substance. Similarly, the SD, HUMAN BODY, is used in a single but powerful metaphor. A FOETUS, as a sub-domain of the HUMAN BODY, is used to describe or conceptualise FEMALE BONDING (Ahuja et al., 2017). The development process of foetuses in a womb is mapped on to the process through which women bond.

Table 8: Target domains of womanhood in the Dr literary works

Sl. No.	Source domains	Target Domains		
		NATURE	NURTURE	
		Physical-mental state/appearance state/ situation	Behavioural and Personality traits	Social roles/status
1	OBJECTS	beautiful, assaulted, battered, a burden, chaste, conceding, heart-broken, hurt, desirable, scorned, loved, lonely, neglected unfeeling, virgin	adaptable, bad-tempered elderly, delicate, dumb, distressed, fragile, frustrated, fickle-minded respectable honourable, orderly, revengeful, impulsive, strong, supportive, vulnerable, worthy	bride, daughter, mother, householder, lover, spinster, wife
2	ANIMALS	beloved, free, happy, motherly, subdued, unhappy	belligerent, bourgeois, greedy, jealous, restless, suspicious, self-sufficient uncaring	mother, feminist, wife, mother-in-law
3	SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES	beautiful, barren, trapped, sexy, sensual, womb	benevolent, cruel, immoral, defiant, rebellious,	daughter, destroyer, provider, nurturer, feminist, widow
4	ELEMENTS OF NATURE	attractive, insignificant, sexy	furious, exhausted, energetic, giving, magnanimous, passive, resentful, unfeeling	girl, nurturer

Sl. No.	Source domains	Target Domains		
		NATURE	NURTURE	
		Physical-mental state/appearance state/ situation	Behavioural and Personality traits	Social roles/status
5	AGGRESSION	battered, raped, verbally abused, victimised	heroic	mother, wife, daughter
6	ARTS		housewifely skills, ideal, reticent, skilful	wife, householder
7	PLANTS	besotted, displaced, rejected, womb	tough	daughterhood
8	MONEY and BUSINESS	beautiful, sensual, young	talented, opportunist	householder
9	FOOD	abandoned, aggrieved, full-breasted, popular, rejected,	desirable, youthful	----
10	ROYALTY	beloved	worthy	----
11	FARMING & GARDENING	----	contriving, independent	mother, daughter
12	LIGHT	beautiful	ideal	bride, housewife
13	MACHINES & DEVICES	sexy	----	bourgeois wife, hostess
14	CELESTIAL BODIES	----	----	wife
15	DEATH	sexually assaulted	reckless	----
16	HEALTH	----	resolute, oddball	unmarried
17	PHYSICAL SENSATION	sexually aroused, aggrieved	pleasant	
18	ACHIEVEMENT	beautiful	educated, talented, professional	
19	FORCES	influential	----	householder
20	GAMES	----	----	wife, householder, maid

Sl. No.	Source domains	Target Domains		
		NATURE	NURTURE	
		Physical-mental state/appearance state/ situation	Behavioural and Personality traits	Social roles/status
21	LAND (FARM)	fertile	----	
22	PHYSICAL STRUCTURE	----	supportive	prostitute, mother
23	PROMISCUITY	fashionably dressed (liberal dressing style)	seductive	----
24	WEIGHT	beautiful	insecure, lonely	----
25	HUMAN BODY	----	bonding	----
26	JOURNEY	----	dependable resourceful, skilful, smart	daughter
27	SPACE	----	Insignificant, non-existent	wife

4.2.3. The Dravidian Woman

This section traces the status and role of women as conceptualised by the Dravidian writers of English through their metaphors. Women in this region enjoy more autonomy in many respects than their north-Indian counterparts. The themes that run across the Dravidian literary works are marriage, relationships, women's subjugation and struggles, their emancipation and survival, female bonding, and domestic violence.

Venerating a young girl child as *Devi* or *Lakshmi* is a widespread practice in all the southern states. Since grace, divinity and chastity are attached to the Goddess, these qualities are greatly valued by Dravidian society, and every girl is expected to uphold and sustain them with highest (L. Prasad et al., 2012). In *The House of Blue Mangoes* (Davidar, 2002), Daniel, a Christian, regards her daughter, Shanthi, as the incarnation of *Lakshmi*, instantiating the CM, A

DAUGHTER IS LAKSHMI. His business that had been deteriorating for the past few years suddenly flourishes soon after her birth.

A girl child born to an upper-class family is pampered with warmth, love and care, such that A GIRL IS AN EAGER BUTTERFLY (*Thousand Faces of the Night*, Davidar, 1992, p.41). But this freedom lasts only as long as she is a child. As soon as she attains puberty, her conditioning begins. She must uphold Goddess Lakshmi's reputation, and reflect the feminine characteristics that have been prescribed for her. After all, A DAUGHTER IS A POSSESSION TO BE GIVEN AWAY TO ANOTHER HOUSEHOLD (*Thousand Faces of the Night*, Davidar, 2002, p. 137) and she must make a good impression on the prospective groom's family when they visit with the marriage proposal. Therefore, mothers take utmost care in her upbringing and it is the honour of the family to exhibit her to the groom's family and social network as the HOME-GROWN DAUGHTER (*Thousand Faces of the Night*, Hariharan, 1992, p. 15). If the family encounters distress, it is always the daughter who takes on the avatar of GODDESS AKHILESHWARI (*Ladies Coupe*, Nair, 2001, p. 84), as does Akhila in this novel. Her father died when she was in college and took on the responsibility of educating and looking after her two younger siblings and her mother by opting out of college and taking up a job. She became the BOATMAN "who would chart and steer the course of the family's destiny to safe shores" (p. 76).

During the period before India's independence in 1947, bitter caste wars raged between the upper and lower caste men in many south Indian communities, and it was the lower caste women who bore the brunt of these animosities. Such is the plight of the young low caste girl, Valli, in *The House of Blue Mangoes* (Davidar, 2002). Raped by upper caste men, she fears ostracisation and thrashes around like A WOUNDED ANIMAL and A HEADLESS GOAT (p. 16). Later, she commits suicide. This leads to a bitter caste war between the two sides that continues for months, instantiating the CM, A DEAD GIRL IS A WEAPON OF DESTRUCTION (p. 48). This is why many terrified and "despondent mothers extinguished the life of the luckless baby, especially if she had arrived at the tail end of a succession of daughters" (pp. 35-36), instantiating the metaphor, A BABY GIRL IS A FLAME TO BE EXTINGUISHED (p. 137).

A maiden is described by the authors as A MANGO RIPE FOR PLUCKING (*Mistress*, Nair, 2006, p. 120) and A HEAVY OBJECT (*Thousand Faces of the Night*, 1992, p.13), on account of her sexual maturity which adjudges her fit for marriage and brings a sense of joy to the family. However, this sense of joy and relief is strained by a sense of responsibility as parents feel burdened because they must now find a good match for her and perhaps pay a handsome dowry to match the prestige of the groom's family.

After she is married off, she will have to adjust to her new role as the centre of the household. Her status changes quickly to that of the ideal wife and householder. Shyam, in *Mistress* (Nair, 2006), implores his wife Radha to become the *Adarsh Patni* or the *Ideal Wife* of his desire, his GARLAND OF LIGHT (p. 117), HIS SYAMANTAKA GEM (p. 116), THE MIRROR OF HIS SOUL (p.140), and BONE OF BONES AND FLESH OF FLESH (p. 80): the kind of wife any husband can call his TROPHY WIFE (*The House of Blue Mangoes*, Davidar, 2002, p. 374) like Kannan feels when he wins over Helen, the beautiful daughter of a British officer, as his wife.

In order to fit the needs of her new family, she should be a MALLEABLE OBJECT (*Ladies Coupe*, Nair, 2006, p. 61), flexible and quick to mould herself to the needs of the family and adjust to the situation around her. As she matures into her role, she gains her family's appreciation for being "always present, always self-effacing and humble. Most of all, an ideal wife should be a strong and dependable person, always providing stability and guidance", instantiating the CMs, AN IDEAL WIFE IS A ROCK (Thousand Faces of the Night, Davidar, 2002; Hariharan, 1992, p. 16) and AN IDEAL WIFE IS THE GUIDING LIGHT OF THE FAMILY (*Mistress*, Nair 2006, p. 50). Her housewifely skills are perceived in terms of KOLAMS. This is a creative metaphor, unique to the Dravidian culture to judge the woman's skillfulness in managing the household. Kolams are threshold designs drawn every morning by the woman of the house using rice powder. In *Ladies Coupe* (Nair, 2001), the author explains that in her culture a woman's housewifely skills are often gauged by the style of her kolam art: "A sloppily drawn kolam suggests that the woman of the house is careless,

indifferent and incapable. And an elaborately drawn one indicates self-absorption, a lavish hand and an inability to put others' needs before yours. Intricate and complicated kolams are something you reserve for special occasions. But your everyday kolam has to show that while you are thrifty, you are not mean. It should speak of your love for beauty and your eye for detail. A restraint, a certain elegance and most importantly, an understanding of your role in life" (p. 50). Here, the underlying metaphor is HOUSEWIFELY VIRTUES ARE KOLAM. With her dedicated service towards her household, she becomes THE FORCE OF GRAVITY (*The House of Blue Mangoes*, Davidar, 2002, p. 329) that will pull the family together in harmony.

Several women far exceed the expectation. Author Githa Hariharan has fleshed out an example of such a woman, Sita, in her novel, the *Thousand Faces of the Night* (Hariharan, 1992). Sita comes to her new home as a young bride, musically talented and with a dream to pursue her passion for music. But she breaks a cord of her Veena[11] as a symbol of protest against her father-in-law's reprimand that she is too engrossed in her music to play the role of wife and daughter-in-law. From then on, she channels her mind towards this goal, and is soon able to assert her position by dexterously running the household as A PAINTER, POTTER, ACCOMPANIST, MAESTRO, PLAYWRITE, THEATRE DIRECTOR, MAGICIAN, GARDENER, STRATEGIST, and BUSINESS MANAGER (pp. 102-107). She carefully conceals her resentment, unlike Radha in *Mistress* (Nair, 2006), who is vocal in declaring that in her marriage with Shyam, she feels like A TRAPPED BUTTERFLY PINNED TO A BOARD (p. 54). Radha openly describes her resentment of being trapped in a loveless marriage with Shyam, wherein the lack of love is one-sided. It is she who is unhappy in her marriage with Shyam, who she was forced to marry to protect her from the ills of her disastrous love affair with another man. Although Shyam adores her despite her tumultuous past, he invariably controls her movements, keep tabs on her and keeps a record of her menstrual cycle. She dislikes him for all of these

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[11] Indian string instrument

seemingly harmless habits which are a result of his traditional upbringing and conservative ideas regarding wifehood. She alludes to their sexual intimacy as marital rape.

In her semi-autobiographical novel, *When I Hit You: Or A Portrait of a Writer as a Young Wife* (Kandasamy, 2017), Meena Kandasamy provides a graphic and staggering account of her violent marriage. Her husband marries and brings her home as his TROPHY WIFE (p. 119), but soon begins meting out the worst kind of physical abuse a woman can imagine. He starts first with psychological violence by accusing her of being A GOLD-DIGGER, claiming that she has AN INSECT in her mind, that she is POSSESSED (pp. 119-151). Then begins her ordeal of marital violence and abuse. Vivid metaphors are created to describe the physical torture, whereby she perceives herself as A BROKEN SHELL, A ROBBED HOUSE, A MANNEQUIN STRIPPED OF HER DRESS, CLATTERING KITCHENWARE, A RECEPTACLE, A SPITOON, and THE REPRESSIVE APPARATUS OF THE STATE (pp. 16-174).

Given that motherhood is considered an important stage in a woman's life in all cultures, there are just a handful instances of metaphors describing motherhood in the Dravidian literary works. The writers depict the mother as the person who can assume any form in order to shelter and protect her children. She is responsible for shaping the life of children and moulding her daughter as a virtuous woman. Her love is A COCOON that she weaves to keep them safe (*Thousand Faces of the Night*, Hariharan, 1992, p. 13). She may assume the form of A BITCH GUARDING HER PUPPIES, or A FIRE that consumes evil (*Thousand Faces of the Night*, Hariharan, 1992, p.77, 33), in order to protect her children from harm. Her womb has often been compared to A PLANT THAT BLOSSOMS READILY (*Ladies Coupe*, Nair, 2001, pp. 64, 67).

To sum up, although there is emphasis on the importance of mothers as being the nurturers, and young daughters as being the incarnations of Goddess Lakshmi, the harbinger of wealth and prosperity, focus is more on wifehood. The use of a wide range of creative metaphors to characterise wifehood suggests that it is by far the most important role for a Dravidian woman to assume. The

primary responsibility of the family, especially of the mother, is to prepare the daughter to attract a suitable husband and ensure her acceptance by the husband's extended family. The daughter is not encouraged to pursue her artistic or academic interests over her training to fulfil her familial duties. Once she is married, she is expected to adjust to her husband's family environment and give priority to their needs even if it means forgoing some of her own aspirations. Also, the authors Anita Nair in *Mistress* (Nair, 2006), and Meena Kandasamy in *When I Hit You: Or A Portrait of a Writer as a Young Wife* (Kandasamy, 2017), have raised the issue of domestic violence. Both the novels provide a bold and unflinching look at the physical and emotional abuse suffered by southern Indian women. The conceptual metaphors found in the Dravidian literary works provide a sound description of the condition of women in south India, especially of their role and treatment as a wife.

4.3. Womanhood in Tibeto-Burmese Literary Works

This section presents the findings from the literary works set in the Tibeto-Burmese linguistic region. Section 4.3.1 presents the source domains along with their frequencies. This is followed by a discussion on the target concepts of womanhood in section 4.3.2. Finally, section 4.3.3 outlines a sketch of a generic Tibeto-Burmese woman through various stages of her life as revealed through the underlying conceptual metaphors.

4.3.1. The Source Domains

A total of 123 occurrence of 23 SDs are identified from the seven literary works as seen in Table 9. Overall, the number of metaphorical occurrences is substantially lower than Indo-Aryan (320 occurrences from 21 SDs) and Dravidian (265 occurrences from 27 SDs) suggesting that the Tibeto-Burmese writers are not as prolific in their use of metaphors as their Indo-Aryan and Dravidian counterparts. Moreover, of the 23 source domains identified in the seven books, only the ANIMAL source domain occurs in all seven, representing 36.5% of the total occurrences. The next most preferred is the SD

OBJECT, which occurs at a considerably lower frequency—about 25% less than the ANIMAL source domain.

Table 9: Distribution of SDs across seven TB works

Sl No.	Source Domains	Frequency of occurrence							
		Bk 1	Bk 2	Bk 3	Bk 4	Bk 5	Bk 6	Bk 7	Total
1	ANIMALS	5	2	9	6	9	11	3	45(36.5%)
2	OBJECTS	5	4	2	1	1	1	----	14 (11.3%)
3	PLANTS	----	1	2	1	2	2	2	10 (8%)
4	ELEMENTS OF NATURE	----	---	----	1	6	----	----	7 (5.6%)
5	WEIGHT	2	1	----	----	3	1	----	7 (5.6%)
6	FOOD	----	----	----	----	2	1	2	5 (4%)
7	SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES	1	----	1	---	2	1	----	5 (4%)
8	MONEY & BUSINESS	2	----	----	2	----	1	----	5 (4%)
9	PHYSICAL SENSATION	----	1	----	2	----	1	----	4 (3.2%)
10	ROYALTY	----	----	3	----	----	----	----	3 (2.4%)
11	LIGHT	----	----	----	----	1	----	1	2 (1.6%)
12	AGGRESSION	1	----	----	----	----	1	----	2 (1.6%)
13	CELESTIAL BODIES	----	----	----	----	1	----	1	2 (1.6%)
14	LAND	----	----	----	----	1	----	1	2 (1.6%)
15	PHYSICAL STRUCTURE	----	----	----	----	2	----	----	2 (1.6%)
16	ACHIEVEMENT	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	1(.81%)
17	ARTS	----	----	----	----	1	----	----	1(.81%)
18	BONDAGE	----	----	----	1	----	----	----	1(.81%)
19	DIRECTION	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	1(.81%)
20	FARMING & GARDENING	----	----	----	----	1	----	----	1(.81%)
21	GAMES	----	1	----	----	----	----	----	1(.81%)
22	PROMISCUITY	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	1(.81%)
23	SOUND	----	----	1	----	----	----	----	1(.81%)
	Total SDs in each book	17	10	18	14	32	20	12	123

Table key:

Bk 1: The Collector's Wife by Mitra Phukan (2005)   Bk 2: These Hills Called Home by Temsula Ao (2006)

Bk 3: A Bowstring Winter by Dhruba Hazarika (2006)   Bk 4: A Terrible Matriarchy by Easterine Kire (2007)

Bk 5: The House with a Thousand Stories by Aruni Kashyap (2013)   Bk 6: The Black Hill by Mamang Dai (2014)

Bk 7: The Nine Chambered Heart by Janice Pariat (2017)

4.3.2. The Target domains

Table 10 presents the sub-paradigms, or target domains, of womanhood listed alongside the source domains used to explain them

Table 10: Target domains of womanhood in the TB literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domains	Target Domains		
		NATURE	NURTURE	
		Physical-mental state/appearance state/ situation	Behavioural and Personality traits	Social roles/status
1	ANIMALS	adolescent, beautiful, fertile, horny, despicable, domesticated, controlled, harassed, obese, pregnant, protected	aggressive, agile, angry, adolescent, alert, mischievous, conservative, devious, hostile, free-spirited, stealthy, lamenting, dominating, keen, malicious, penetrating, hoarding skills, stealthy, sexually submissive, watchful	daughter, housewife, mother, matriarch mourners married
2	OBJECTS	beautiful, distraught, fate, honour	adjusting, beautiful, skilful, sorrowful, unintelligent, weak, worthy,	bride, wife, mother, unwed mother
3	PLANTS	beautiful, lacking vitality, detached	dismayed youthful	lover. matriarch
4	ELEMENTS OF NATURE	attractive, aroused, beautiful	calming, cheerful, gentle, impetuous, impassioned uplifting	---
5	WEIGHT	burdened with responsibility, being a burden, carrying load	---	daughter-in-law, wife, unwed mother
6	FOOD	physically and sexually mature	---	---
7	SUPER-NATURAL	influential, manipulative	distant, intriguing	wife

Sl. No.	Source Domains	Target Domains		
		NATURE	NURTURE	
		Physical-mental state/appearance state/ situation	Behavioural and Personality traits	Social roles/status
	ENTITIES			
8	MONEY & BUSINESS	---	beneficial, qualifies, involved in making a bargain	daughter, wife
9	PHYSICAL SENSATION	---	unpleasant, sullen, sweet	---
10	ROYALTY	---	graceful	beloved/lover
11	LIGHT	radiantly beautiful	---	
12	AGGRESSION	---	aggressive, belligerent, fearless	lover
13	CELESTIAL BODIES	beautiful, incompatible	evil	lover
14	LAND	fertile, untouched	---	lover
15	PHYSICAL STRUCTURE	apprehensive	---	bride
16	ACHIEVEMENT	accomplished	---	wife
17	ARTS	affable, pleasant	---	
18	BONDAGE	confined	---	widow
19	DIRECTION	---	providing stability	---
20	FARMING & GARDENING	---	nurturing, caring	---
21	GAMES	---	infatuated, lovesick	---
22	PROMISCUITY	non-virgin	promiscuous	---
23	SOUND	delicate		---

For a clearer understanding, a few unique metaphors conceptualising the target domains of womanhood are explained as follows. The SD, AGGRESSION, for example, is used to describe a woman in love as a SOLDIER or A WARRIOR, fighting for her lover and her right to love him. The SD, CELESTIAL BODIES, is used to show Onulupa in *The House with a Thousand Stories* (Kashyap, 2013) as an EVIL PLANET in

her lover Prosanto's astrological chart, owing to her perceived incompatibility with him, in his family's opinion. It is also used to describe the beauty of the woman, conceptualising her as THE MOON. The source domain LAND is used to conceptualise a woman's body as an UNDISCOVERED CONTINENT or an UNCHARTED LAND in the *Nine Chambered Heart* (Pariat, 2017). This compares with (Kolodny, 1984)'s example about how American men conceptualised the American frontier during the period between 1630 and 1860. While women saw the frontier as a 'garden to be cultivated,' men saw it as 'a virgin land to be taken'. In the novel *Nine Chambered Heart* (2017), the woman's lover also sees her as a continent which is undiscovered, hinting that she was still a virgin and he will be the first to 'explore' her.

4.3.3. The Tibeto-Burmese Woman

Due to the presence of multiple tribes, frequent migrations, and interethnic conflicts, the major themes that appear in Tibeto-Burmese literary works are identity assertion, militancy, insurgency, and violence. *A Terrible Matriarchy* (Kire, 2007) traces the coming of age of a five-year old Naga girl, Dielieno, who is sent to live with her grandmother, Vibano, at this tender age and to be a good worker. Dielieno goes through a vicious cycle of abuse on a daily basis. Grandmother Vibhano held it against her that she is a girl and favours her brother. Kire reveals a deep-rooted prejudice when she writes, "you have to raise girls on a tight leash so this sort of thing doesn't happen" (p. 6) instantiating the CM, A GIRL IS A DOG ON A LEASH. This metaphor demonstrates that girls in the highly patriarchal Angami Naga clan remain under strict supervision with no freedom to exercise their free will. Family pride and honour are attached to every girl-child, and the responsibility for keeping her dignity intact, and ensuring that nothing untoward happens that may tarnish the family's name, is the burden that the father carries in his heart.

With a transition from girlhood to maidenhood, she begins to share this burden. Since A YOUTHFUL A MAIDEN IS A BLOSSOMING PLANT (*These Hills Called Home*, 2006, p. 25), it is her duty to guard her own sexuality by staying chaste, obedient, polite and virtuous. However, if she loses her virginity, she

may be regarded by other men as A SUCKED SUGARCANE (*The House with a Thousand Stories*, Kashyap, 2013) that no other man will be willing to accept. In, *These Hills Called Home* (Ao, 2006), the authors depicts the plight of young Imnala, who becomes an unwed mother by an already married man, and is stigmatised for life. Her lover, the father of her unborn child, refuses to acknowledge her in the presence of the village council, thus leaving her devastated. This is a lesson for other maidens in the community that anyone who conceives out of wedlock has to "bear the stigma" forever (p. 56). An unwed mother is doomed to be spurned and insulted, thus instantiating the CM, AN UNWED MOTHER IS A SHATTERED OBJECT (p. 51).

Kashyap reaffirms the marginalisation of women in this regard in his work, *The House with a Thousand Stories* (2013). Set in the state of Assam, a few kilometers from Nagaland, it is a story of the women in a household, particularly Moina Pehi, the youngest daughter. He describes her status and fate using the CM, AN UNMARRIED DAUGHTER IS A HEAVY WEIGHT ON THE PARENTS' SHOULDERS (p. 19). The metaphor shows that girls are considered a burden. This particular family had been so involved in shaping the lives of the sons that they almost failed to notice that Moina had matured and crossed the marriageable age threshold. Marrying her off now, to a much older widower becomes an act of "shedding a HUGE BURDEN off their shoulders" (p. 84). because with each passing year, Moina is becoming a heavier burden to carry with each passing year.

The transition from maidenhood to bridehood is fraught with new responsibilities. The practice of paying bride-money is another honour-related practice prevalent in many northeastern communities, wherein the groom has to pay a bride price, which is calculated according to his family's judgement of the bride's "quality" and "worth". In Nagaland, this practice somewhat relegates a woman to the position of a commodity, which can be possessed and dispossessed at the will of the bridegroom. *A Terrible Matriarchy* (2007) gives an account of this practice, although in a lighter vein, Deileino's mother narrates how the groom's best friend jestingly "offers the bride's friends, a

rooster as bride-price" (p. 211). This uncovers the underlying metaphor A BRIDE IS A COMMODITY. When met with playful mocking gestures and rebukes suggesting that a rooster is not commensurate to the bride's worth, one more animal is offered and the deal settled. The practice of the bride price began as compensation paid to the girl's father for the loss of her as a worker on the farm, whereby the daughter is seen as an economic asset. Today it has become derogatory by nature. The groom's family assesses her worth and accordingly pays the price to 'own' her as a good worker for their home and farm. Nonetheless, the description of this practice in *The Black Hill* (Dai, 2014), reveals that in the Abor tribe, in Arunachal Pradesh, the original intended sense remains intact: "Every girl is an 'asset' to her family, and the man taking her away in marriage must compensate her parents for depriving them of a daughter" (p. 14), instantiating the CM, A DAUGHTER IS AN ASSET.

For some unfortunate women, bridehood, or the lack of it, are both unwelcome events. Kashyap (2013) describes the plight of some Assamese brides. On the one hand, bridehood is commodified and belittled, since the bride's worth is evaluated in terms of the robustness of her physical beauty and work skills, but on the other hand, girls whose marriages are called off, "stay on like ghosts in their parents' home." Such unfulfilled dreams…turn them into "bespectacled brooding owls" (Kashyap, 2013, p. 212). The ridicule and stigmatisation paint their image as GHOSTLY CREATURES and BROODING OWLS in the public memory. The incident of Moina Pehi's wedding mentioned in *The House with a Thousand Stories* (2013) turns dismal when she commits suicide on her wedding night on the bridal bed. Unable to bear the trauma of marrying an elderly man with children older than herself, Moina became "sad and worn out. The worry termites entered her body and consumed her from the inside" (p. 152). She was indeed an UNHAPPY BRIDE who turned into a TERMITE INFESTED STRUCTURE in the months following her engagement (p. 152).

For most women, wifehood comes laden with many roles combined into one, viz-a-viz motherhood, householder, caretaker, and daughter-in-law. *A*

Terrible Matriarchy (2007) describes a Naga wedding where the blessing for a new bride, was "May you be the mother of many sons, may your offspring be as numerous as crabs and spiders" (p. 211). Though spoken in jest it invokes the CM, A WOMAN IS A LITTER-PRODUCING ANIMAL, implying that her foremost duty as a wife is to bear children, preferably sons. Miles away from Nagaland, in a small town in Assam, the expectation is the same for Rukmini, a well-educated, highly accomplished wife of Siddharth, a deputy tax collector. Since Siddharth is the only son, "the burden of producing heirs rested on her shoulders" (Collector's Wife, Phukan, 2005, p. 53), which makes Rukmini the LOAD BEARER OF PROCREATION. That she is in fact his TROPHY WIFE, does not relieve her of the burden of the stringent customary traditions regarding wifehood and motherhood. That she has not been able to conceive and fulfil "her part of the social contract. That she has not kept the bargain" (p. 54). makes her feel immensely guilty. But soon her prayers are answered, and she conceives. "She basks in the close attention, reveling in the cocoon of warmth and caring that her mother-in-law weaves around her"(p. 307), hence she becomes A CATERPILLAR IN A COCOON. These metaphors tell us that wifehood in the northeast is greatly enhanced if complemented with motherhood, which provides her with a superior status, stability, and security. In *The House with a Thousand Stories* (2013), there is a metaphor that reveals how a woman who cannot become a mother is ridiculed and referred to as "a barren plot of land"(p. 170), uncovering the CM**,** AN INFERTILE WOMAN IS A BARREN PLOT OF LAND.

Only one isolated metaphor describing the plight of a young widow in Nagaland is found in *A Terrible Matriarchy* (Kire, 2007). This young wife, who loses her husband to alcohol, has apparently been restricted to the household by Vibano. Deileino, the sister-in-law of the widow disapproves, "there is no reason why she should be forced to live under the grandmother's roof like a prisoner" (p. 237), instantiating the metaphor A WIDOW IS A HOUSE PRISONER for widows in Nagaland.

With the passing of some years, the once docile wife gradually assumes a position of power within the household. As the children become adults and settle, she matures into the dominating matriarch who keeps a tab on the younger women of the family. In Naga society, she can have a lot of control regarding the social setup, especially in the absence of a patriarch. Deileino's grandmother is one such matriarch who is domineering, cruel, and extremely conservative. She imposes strict restrictions on Deieino and the other women in the household, as she trains them to be 'good' women. Once, years later, Deileino reveals to her mother how terrible a matriarch Vibano has been. At the tender age of five, she is instructed by Vibano to uncomplainingly fetch water, cook, clean, wash, count the chickens at night, and be caned if counting incorrectly. The worst part, she complains quietly, is "that Bano bathes me in icy cold water following the grandmother's instructions" *(A Terrible MatriarchyKire, 2007, p. 249)*. Vibano is also A CLAWED ANIMAL because it is not easy to get away from her controlling grip. It amuses Deileino the way her brother has to "extricate himself from Grandmother's clutches" (p. 17). Matriarchs in the novels in this region have been conceptualized as, A MATRIARCH HOLDING ON TO CONSERVATISM IS A HUNGRY DOG GUARDING ITS MORSEL (*The House with a Thousand Stories*, 2013, p. 37). A MATRIARCH IS A HAWK WITH KEEN EYES (*The House with a Thousand Stories*, 2013; *A Terrible Matriarchy*, 2007).

A Bowstring Winter (2006) is set in the state of Meghalaya, which is a matrilineal society. However, the story is all about men, danger, revenge and violence, with women playing minor roles, mostly as lovers to the men. The focus is mostly on their physical beauty and demeanor. In the shadows of violence, a love relationship between John Dkhar and Jennifer D Sant blossoms. John is completely enamoured by her physical beauty and calls her 'PRINCESS' and 'QUEEN' for her beauty and demeanor, 'SOFT PETALS' for her lips, and FRAGRANT FLOWER for her body. An argument between the husband and wife erupts, wherein the wife reveals how her husband considers women EMPTY CONTAINERS with no brains (p. 189). Another woman, Sohra, is

objectified for her beauty, being called "A DOLL, "good for cuddling" on the one hand, but is deified as a GODDESS on the other hand. In a derogatory way, they are also conceptualised as BITCHES and WHORES. *A Terrible Matriarchy* (2007) characterises treacherous, sullen women as WORMS and SOUR TASTE. Some CMs used for women in *The Collector's Wife* (2005) are, WEAK WOMEN ARE PUPPETS IN THE HANDS OF MEN, DISTRAUGHT WOMEN ARE BRITTLE OBJECTS, WOMEN ARE CONDUITS FOR ILLEGAL DESIGNS. In Dai's *Black Hill* (2014) Gimur is a stealthy, strong, fearless, and free-spirited tribal girl who has been conceptualised as A CAT, A FORCE, AN ARROW, A GREEN BAMBOO, and A SWEET WOMAN. When she senses impending harm to her child, she turns into a FEROCIOUS TIGRESS, and guards him fiercely. The Jesuit Kirk is intrigued by her aloof manner and posture and sees in her BELLONA, THE ROMAN GODDESS OF WAR.

Janice Pariat's *The Nine Chambered Heart* (2017) is a modern-day story of a nameless girl. She moves between nameless cities and meets people who are enamored by her beauty. Her namelessness signifies that she is the epitome of any woman in that part of India, and her story is theirs too. Her nine lovers fondly reminisce about her intriguing presence and extraordinary beauty, and conceptualise her as, A RARE BIRD, AN UNCHARTED CONTINENT, A CYPRUS TREE, AN AGILE CAT, A FULL MOON, A RIPE FRUIT, A WHISPER, A LIGHT SPLITTING THROUGH GLASS, and MY NORTH (you are my north). (pp. 24, 24, 46, 51, 65, 189, 144, 90, and 90, respectively).

Despite lower occurrences of metaphors in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works metaphors in general, these do enhance our understanding of the political, historical and socio-cultural situation in that region. Womanhood is not a subject that attracts much attention and the focus in Tibeto-Burmese works more is on insurgency, isolation and militancy. The metaphors that conceptualise womanhood focus on women's physical beauty and external appearance, rather than their intrinsic qualities and social roles. Another key feature that emerges from the metaphors is that marriage is a very important stepping stone in a woman's life. Women of the marriageable age are seen as a burden. In the Naga

society, for example, they are seen as a commodity due to the practice of 'bride price', whereby a prospective bride is valued as a profitable good valued for her looks and virtues. Overall, the metaphors show women as burdened members of the Tibeto-Burmese society. They have to bear the burden of preserving family honour, look after the house, be productive economic assets working in farms and produce heirs.

4.4. Concluding Remarks

To summarise, this chapter has presented the study results including the number and frequency of conceptual metaphors uncovered in the literary works of the three linguistic regions and what the conceptual metaphors in each region convey about the situation of women in their specific socio-cultural context. The results show that a total of 30 source domains have been used to conceptualise women across the three regions. Of these, the Indo-Aryan literary works have used 21 source domains to conceptualise womanhood, the Dravidian literary works have used 27 source domains and the Tibeto-Burmese authors have used 23. The SDs ANIMALS, OBJECTS SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES and PLANTS are found to be the most frequently occurring SDs although the relative emphasis varies across regions. In the conceptualisation of womanhood, the ANIMAL SD occurs most frequently (28% of the overall metaphor occurrences) in the Indo-Aryan literary works. Emphasis on OBJECTS SD is high the Dravidian literary works (32% of the total metaphor occurrences) and frequency of ANIMALS SD is very high in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works (over 36% of the total metaphor occurrences).

The conceptual metaphors in each region provide a portrait of a generic woman in each region as follows. The Indo-Aryan woman is deified as a goddess, pampered as a princess, yet discarded as an object. Her virginity and chastity guarded, movement controlled by patriarchy restrained to domesticity. She is cherished as a beautiful, dutiful wife but she has to abide by husband's will and put his priorities before hers. Motherhood is the most important role she must play besides. other roles. She is relieved by motherhood but also burdened by it. A Dravidian girl is deified as Devi (Goddess). She is a possession of the family and

nurtured by her family as an obedient and amenable woman. The most important social role that she has to play is that of an ideal, dutiful and devoted wife. If she stands up and speaks for her rights she is severely abused by her husband. A high number of domestic violence metaphors were found in this region. The situation of the Tibeto-Burmese woman may be a little better than her Indo-Aryan and Dravidian counterparts. She is also a repository of family honour but not burdened by it, nor is she burdened by religiosity and or any of the social roles but is constrained by customary laws. She is valuable commodity and an economic asset for her family. Most of all, she is self-conscious of physical appearance. A Naga woman is burden by patriarchy and the responsibility of producing an heir.

Overall, there have been some slow and gradual improvements in the socio-economic situation of women over time but perceptions about women's domestic and familial roles and responsibilities are still bound by stereotypes. The society still expects them to prioritise child bearing, family honour, household chores, care for the elderly and sick over their own education, career and dreams for a better future. Such stereotyping against women is deeply rooted and will take a long time and consistent effort to change.

CHAPTER V

SIMILARITIES AND VARIATIONS IN THE USE OF METAPHORS

This chapter answers research question 2 by presenting the analysis of the metaphors leading to the identification of the similarities and variations in conceptual metaphors across the three regions. There are three main parameters through which the similarities and variations are analysed: (i) the source domain usage (ii) the target domain focus and (iii) the negative and/or positive, and neutral denotation of the conceptual metaphors. Each of these is discussed below.

5.1. Source domain usage

A complete list and distribution of all the 30 source domains are presented in Table 11. These are placed in a descending order of their total frequencies of occurrences. Of these, 16 are shared across the literary works of the three linguistic regions. A comparative distribution of top 10 generic-level source domain is shown in Figure 2. The frequency indicates specific-level instantiations which give rise to variation in the way various aspects of womanhood are conceptualised.
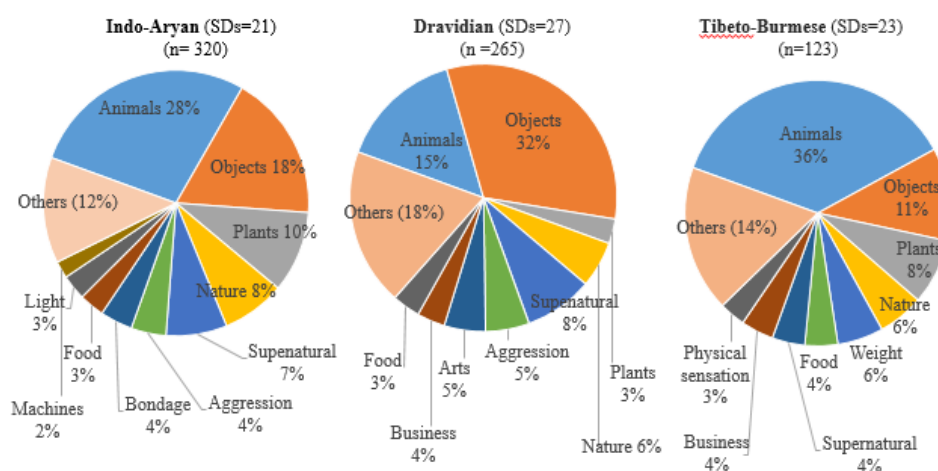
Figure 2: Comparative Distribution of Top 10 Source Domain Frequencies

Table 11: Distribution of SDs across the three linguistic regions

Sl No.	Source Domains	Number of occurrences			
		Indo-Aryan	Dravidian	Tibeto-Burmese	Total
1	ANIMALS	89 (28.0%)	40 (15%)	45 (36.5%)	174 (24.6%)
2	OBJECTS	57 (17.8%)	85 (32%)	14 (11.3%)	156 (22.0%)
3	SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES	24 (7.5%)	22 (8.3%)	5 (4.0%)	51 (7.2%)
4	PLANTS	31 (9.7%)	8 (3.0%)	10 (8.0%	49 (6.9%)
5	ELEMENTS OF NATURE	25 (7.8%)	15 (5.6%)	7 (5.6%)	47 (6.6%)
6	AGGRESSION	14 (4.3%)	14 (5.3%)	2 (1.6%)	30 (4.2%)
7	FOOD	10 (3.1%)	9 (3.4%)	5 (4.0%)	24 (3.3%)
8	MONEY & BUSINESS	4 (1.2%)	9 (3.4%)	5 (4.0%)	18 (2.5%)
9	LIGHT	10 (3.1%)	5 (1.9%)	2 (1.6%)	17 (2.4%)
10	ARTS	3 (0.9%)	13 (5.0%)	1 (0.8%)	17 (2.4%)
11	ROYALTY	7 (2.1%)	6 (2.2%)	3 (2.4%)	16 (2.3%)
12	BONDAGE	13 (4.0%)	0	1 (0.8%)	14 (1.9%)
13	WEIGHT	4 (1.2%)	2 (0.75%)	7 (5.6%)	13 (1.8%)
14	MACHINES & DEVICES	7 (2,1%)	4 (1.5%)	0	11 (1.6%)
15	LAND	5 (1.5%)	3 (1%)	2 (1.6%)	10 (1.4%)
16	DEATH	6 (1.8%)	3 (1%)	0	9 (1.3%)
17	CELESTIAL BODIES	2 (0.6%)	3 (1%)	2 (1.6%)	7 (0.9%)
18	FARMING & GARDENING	0	5 (1.9%)	1 (0.8%)	7 (0.9%)
19	PHYSICAL STRUCTURE	3 (0.9%)	2 (0.75%)	2 (1.6%)	7 (0.9%)
20	HEALTH	4 (1.2%)	3 (1%)	0	7 (0.9%)
21	PHYSICAL SENSATION	0	3 (1%)	4 (3.2%)	7 (0.9%)
22	PROMISCUITY	1 (0.9%)	2 (0.75%)	1 (0.8%)	4 (0.6%)
23	ACHIEVEMENT	0	2 (0.75%)	1 (0.8%)	3 (0.4%)
24	GAMES	0	2 (0.75%)	1 (0.8%)	3 (0.4%)
25	FORCES	0	2 (0.75%)	0	2 (0.3%)
26	JOURNEY	1 (0.9%)	1 (0.37%)	0	2 (0.3%)
27	DIRECTION	0	0	1 (0.8%)	1 (0.14%)
28	SPACE	0	1 (0.37%)	0	1 (0.14%)
29	HUMAN BODY	0	1 (0.37%)	0	1 (0.14%)
30	SOUND	0	0	1 (0.8%)	1 (0.14%)
	Total	320	265	123	708

The frequency of the ANIMALS SD is the highest in the Tibeto-Burmese works at 36.5% of 123 occurrences. Its frequency is the second highest in the IA literary works at 28% of 320 occurrences and lowest in the Dravidian literary works at 15% of 265 occurrences. The OBJECTS SD occurs most frequently in the Dravidian literary works constituting 32% of 265 occurrences followed by approximately 18% of 320 occurrences in the IA literary works, and finally, 11.3% of 123 occurrences in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works. The frequency of the source domain of SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES is highest in the Dravidian literary works (8.3%) and lowest in the TB literary works (4%). The PLANTS SD occurs most frequently in the IA literary works (9.7%) and is the least frequently occurring in the Dravidian literary works (3%). The frequency of the ELEMETS OF NATURE SD is highest in the Indo-Aryan literary works (approximately 8%) and is at 5.6% in the Dravidian and Tibeto-Burmese literary works.

Since these five source domains account for more than 65% of the metaphors analysed in this study, these are used to probe further into the similarities and cross-cultural variation using Kövecses' framework of the Cognitive Dimension of Socio-cultural Variation (2005). In particular, the similarities and variations are examined with respect to the following two of the four dimensions proposed by Kövecses.

i. *Generic level metaphor is instantiated at a specific leve*l: The source domain usage at a generic level indicates similarities in the use of metaphors and the specific-level instantiations reveal variations.

ii. *Differential cognitive preference*: This is the case when a culture prefers to make more extensive use of a certain source domain, despite the availability of other source domains.

5.1.1. Generic-level metaphors instantiated at the specific level

Without any culture-specific elements attached to them, the top five source domains give rise to generic-level metaphors in the current study. In most cases, these metaphors are similar across the three regions up to the first level of specificity. A deeper, third to fourth level of specificity pertaining to the

specific circumstance and cultural association of each of these metaphors gives rise to variation. The similarities and variations are discussed in the occurrences of ANIMALS, OBJECTS, SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES, PLANTS and ELEMENTS OF NATURE SDs.

5.1.1.1. The Animals SD

The use of the source domain of animals to conceptualise human beings is ubiquitous in nearly all cultures of the world since it is a productive source domain to understand many less understood aspects of humans in terms of animal characteristics and behaviours (Kövecses, 2006). However, the specific instantiations of this generic-level metaphor vary across cultures since the choice of elements of the animal used in the mapping process may depend on the culturally motivated attitudes towards a particular animal in a given culture. This section shows how this source domain is motivated to conceptualise womanhood in the literary works. Cross-domain mappings or correspondences between the elements of animals and target concepts of womanhood are shown in Tables 12 to 14. The analysis in the IA literary works revealed 89 specific mappings of this generic-level metaphor, all of which have been laid out in Table 12. Table 13 presents 40 specific mappings between the source domain of animals and the target domain of womanhood in the Dravidian literary works, and lastly, Table 14 presents the mappings between animals and womanhood in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works.

Interpreting Tables 12– 14

Each table shows three headings indicating the elements of the ANIMALS SD–species and types; physical attributes and state; and behaviour and characteristics, which are mapped on to the three aspects of womanhood–physical & mental state and appearance; behavioural and personality traits; social status and roles.

In Table 12, to uncover the conceptual metaphor underlying each mapping, read the information starting with the elements given under the aspects of womanhood as follows:

In row 1:

TD Column 2: Women's behavioural & personality traits– *tenacious*

TD Column 3: Women's social status & roles– *mother-in-law*

SD Column 1: Animal species & type– *alligator*

SD Column 2: Animals' physical attributes & state– *thick hide*

The underlying metaphor: A TENACIOUS MOTHER-IN-LAW IS AN ALLIGATOR HIDE

In **row 4**,

TD Column 1: Women's physical-mental state– *vulnerable*

SD Column 1: Animal species and types: *bird*

SD Column 2: Animals' physical attributes & state– *small*

Here, the underlying metaphor is, A VULNERABLE WOMAN IS A SMALL BIRD.

Mappings in tables 18 to 20; Tables 24 to 26; Tables 28 to 30; and Tables 32 to 34

may be interpreted in the same way.

Table 12: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of the source domain of ANIMALS and the target domain of WOMANHOOD in the IA literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: ANIMALS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Animal species & type	Animals' physical attributes & state	Animal behaviour & characteristics	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
1	alligator	thick hide	---		tenacious	mother-in-law
2	work- animal	---	---	domestic	---	wife
3	beehive	---	---	thick hair	---	---
4	bird	small		thwarted, vulnerable	---	---
5	bird	soft	---	---	fearful	---
6	bird	dying	---	---	wronged	wife
7	bird	caged	---	insecure, abused	---	
8	bird	clipped wings	---	incapacitated	---	daughter
9	bird		incubating	pregnant	---	---
10	bird (3)	old, decrepit		old & frail	---	---
11	bird	elderly	hoarse	elderly	hoarse	---
12		caged		lonely	---	---
13	bird	---	nestling	---	secure	wife
14	fledgling			---	amateurish	---
15	hawk (2)	---	sharp vision grip of claws	---	alert, controlling	mother-in-law
16	hen	---	pecking	---	nagging	wife
17	peacock	plumage	---	beautiful	---	---
18	sparrow	---	chirping	---	talkative	---
19	swan	---	---	graceful	---	---
20	bitch	---	---	---	suspicious	wife
21	bitch	---	aggressive	---	belligerent	---
22	blood hound	---	---	---	vigilant	nanny
23	butterfly (2)	---	---	---	flirtatious, frolicking	
24	black sheep	---	---	---	rebellious	daughter
25	caterpillar	---	---	---	novice	student
26		caged	---	---	domestic	housewife

Sl. No.	Source Domain: ANIMALS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Animal species & type	Animals' physical attributes & state	Animal behaviour & characteristics	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
27	cow	---	---	---	---	nurturer
28	cow	---	sluggish	---	---	---
29	cattle (2)	---	dumb, stupid	---	dumb, oafish	---
30	prize cow	---	---	---	---	daughter
31	bullock	---	---	---	---	wife
32		clawed	---	---	moody	wife
33	deer	eyes	---	large-eyed	---	---
34	deer	fearful eyes	---	---	timid	---
35	dog (2)	---	faithful	---	loyal	maidservant
36	dog	stray	---	neglected	---	---
37	elephant	---	gait	---	gait	---
38		---	ferocious	sexually abused		---
39		---	ferocious		protective	mother
40	fish	on bait	---	---	desirable	---
41	fish	in muddy water	---	---	reactive and resentful	---
42	fish	stirring in water	---	---	disgruntled	---
43	fish	swimming in warm water	---	---	recovering from abuse	wife
44	game (3)	---	---	---	without male supervision	---
45	goat	---	nimble	---	agile	---
46	goat	---	---	---	timid	---
47	---	hunted	---	---	reluctant	bride
48	honeybee	---	stinging,	---	protective	mother
49	honeybee (2)	---	toiling	---	toiling	widow
50	kittens	---	---	---	---	young girls
51	queen bee	---	---	---	---	matriarch
52	hornet nest	---	---	---	agitated	mother-in-law
53		impure	---	menstruating		---
54	lynx	---	---	---	alert, spying	mother-in-law
55	mare	bridled	---	---	confined	wife
56	mare	bad	---	---	cantankerous	---

Sl.	Source Domain: ANIMALS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
No.	Animal species & type	Animals' physical attributes & state	Animal behaviour & characteristics	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
		tempered				
57	moth	---	hovering	---	protective	mother
58	metamorphic	---	---	---	moody woman	
59	---	maimed	---	---	---	daughter
60	pet	abandoned	---	abandoned	---	wife
61	predator	---	---	---	husband hunter	---
62	predator (2)	---	---	---	---	mother
63	polymorphic	---	---	---	adaptable	wife
64	---	---	prowling	---	vigilant	mother
65	rhinoceros	---	---	---	nervous, timid	---
66	snake	venomous	---	---	foul-mouthed	mother-in-law
67	snake (2)		hissing	angry	---	---
68	shellfish	empty	---	unhappy	---	---
69	---	sacrificial animal	---	---	---	daughter
70	scorpion	venomous	---	---	---	mother-in-law
71	---	trapped	---	disgruntled	---	wife
72	---	trapped	---		---	daughter
73	---	trapped	---	assaulted	---	---
74	---	trapped	---	menstruating	---	---
75	tigress	---	---	---	potent	expectant mother
76	---	wild, skittery	---	ill-dying	---	---
77	wild	---	---	---	angry	mother
78	---	zoo	---	female body		

Note: Figures in the parentheses identify the number of metaphors found. For example, (3) in row 10 shows three occurrences of this CM. Total mappings or CMs = 89

Table 13: Cross-domain mappings between the source domain of ANIMALS SD and the target domain of WOMANHOOD in the Dr literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: ANIMALS			Target Domain: Womanhood		
	Animal species	Animals' physical attributes & state	Animal behaviour & characteristics	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
1	sparrow bird	light, lively	---	---	unnoticeable	---
2	pigeon bird	---	---	---	peace-giving	lover
3	bitch	---	---	---	unconsenting	wife
4	bitch	---	hovering around	---	protective and belligerent	mother
5	bitch	---	uncaring	---	uncaring	mother
6	bitch (2)	---	belligerent	---	nymphomaniac	---
7	bitch	---	---	---	petite, bourgeois	---
8	butterfly (2)	---	---	happy, free	---	---
9	butterfly	trapped	---	unhappy	---	---
10	cocoon	---	---	---	protective, protected	mother, daughter
11	buffalo	---	docile	---	---	---
12	cow	---	---	---	lazy	---
13	goat	headless	---	rape victim	---	---
14	(mother) hen	---	---		motherly	---
15	horse	---	---	copulating		---
16	insect	---	squirming	---	rebellious instinct	---
17	insect	---	flying around	---	restless	---
18	insect	---	following chemical trail	---	aroused (estrus)	---
19	lizard	---	darting tongue	---	sexually active	---
20	moth	---	buzzing around flame	---	self-sacrificing	---
21	moth (2)	folded wings	---	---	subdued	---
22	mouse (2)	---	gnawing	---	relentless	---
23	pet	---	---	---	hurt	---
24	rat	---	scurrying	---		---
25	shellfish	---	---	---	self-sufficient	---
26	shellfish	---	---	distressed		---
27	shellfish	---	---	reticent		---

Sl. No.	Source Domain: ANIMALS			Target Domain: Womanhood		
	Animal species	Animals' physical attributes & state	Animal behaviour & characteristics	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
28	snake (2)	---	venomous	---	malicious	---
29	snake	hibernating	---	---	withdrawn, reticent	---
30	spider	---	---	---	affectionate	---
31	---	tame	---	---	docile	---
32	---	untamed	---	---	fearless	---
33	---	wounded	---	rape victim	---	---
34	vixen	---	---	---	bad-tempered,	---
35	vulture	---	picking on flesh	---	suspicious	---

Note: Figures in the parentheses identify the number of metaphors found. For example, (2) in row 6 refers two occurrences of this CM in two different contexts. Total mappings or CMs = 40.

Table 14: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of the source domain of ANIMALS and the target domain of WOMANHOOD in the TB literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: ANIMALS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Animal species & type	Animal physical attributes & state	Animal behaviour & characteristics	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
1	---	clawed	---	angry	---	---
2	---	---	ferocious	---	aggressive, angry	mother
3	animal	clawed	---	---	dominating	matriarch
4	animal	---	venomous	---	harsh	
5	animal	---	clever	---	clever	---
6	animal	in heat	---	---	sexually attracted	---
7	bird	rare	---	rare beauty		---
8	bird	soaring	---	free	---	---
9	bird	---	---	flitting	---	---
10	bird	early	---	happy	---	---
11	bitch (2)	---	promiscuous, cheating	dirty		wife
12	cat (2)	agile, stealthy	---		agile, stealthy	---
13	caterpillar	cocooned	---	---	sheltered, taken care of	wife
14	caterpillar	cocoon	---	surrounded with warmth	---	pregnant
15	cobra	black	---	black haired		---
16	crabs, spiders	---	litter producing	fertile		wife
17	crow	black	---	black haired	---	---
18	doe	big eyes	---	doe-eyed	---	---
19	dog	leashed	---	kept under control	---	teenager
20	dog	---	guarding morsel	---	orthodox	---
21	dove	soft	---	soft body	---	---
22	eagle	---	swift	---	swift, alert	---
23	eagle (2)	---	keen-eyed	---	penetrating look	matriarch
24	feline	---	ferocious	---	---	---

Sl. No.	Source Domain: ANIMALS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Animal species & type	Animal physical attributes & state	Animal behaviour & characteristics	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
25	fish	shimmering	disappearing	beautiful	mysterious	---
26	hawk	---	keen-eyed	---	penetrating	matriarch
27	hen	---	mean, suspicious	---	mean, suspicious	---
28	hen		pecking		nagging	wife
29	insect	---	---	insignificant	---	---
30	lizard	stealthy	---	—	non-communicative	---
31	owl	---	glum	gloomy	---	women with broken marriages
32	prey	hunted down	---	pursued, stalked	---	---
33	snake	---	hissing	cruel, bitter	aggressive, angry	mother
34	squirrel	---	saving for later use	---	saving for bad times	housewife
35	stinger	---	---	---	hostile	mother-in-law
36	tigress	---	ferocious		valiant	mother
37	urchin	---	---		mischievous	teenagers
38	whale	beached	---	overweight	---	---
39	wild	---	---		aggressive	---
40	wolf	---	howling	---	mourning aloud	mourners
41	work animal	---	labouring			---
42	worm	---	creeping	---	devious	

Note: Figures in the parentheses identify the number of metaphors found. For example, (2) in row 11 indicates two occurrences of this CM. Total mappings or CMs = 45

As seen in Tables 12 to 14, the ANIMALS CMs that are similar in all the three regions up to the first level of specificity are WOMEN ARE BIRDS, WOMEN ARE BUTTERFLIES and WOMEN ARE BITCHES. Only these are taken into consideration to

find similarities and variations. The use of these three is similar in that they mostly give a general impression of women as weak, lacking autonomy, oppressed, frolicking, carefree, happy, malicious and cantankerous. While there are some metaphors that conceptualise women as weak and oppressed, there are others that show them as powerful and fierce. The 89 specific instantiations of these metaphors in the Indo-Aryan literary works, 40 in the Dravidian and 45 in the Tibeto-Burmese works vary either slightly or considerably, depending on the perception about the role and status of women in a given culture. A few examples of the BIRDS, BITCHES and BUTTERFLIES metaphors are discussed below to provide further clarity.

- *WOMEN ARE BIRDS*: For the most part, equating women with birds is infantilising them, debilitating their capacities and rendering them as weak. As seen in Tables 12 (rows 4 to 19) and Table 15, the BIRD metaphor occurs most frequently in the IA works. In Table 15, seven (rows, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13) of the 15 specific level metaphors conceptualise women as mostly beautiful, happy, satisfied, harmless people, going about their business. Six metaphors (in rows 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15) conceptualise them as vulnerable or weak and two (in rows 1 and 6) conceptualise them as negative people who are controlling and petulant.

Table 15: WOMEN ARE BIRDS

Sl. No	INDO-ARYAN LITERARY WORKS	DRAVIDIAN LITERARY WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE LITERARY WORKS
1	A NAGGING WIFE IS A PECKING HEN	A PROTECTIVE DAUGHTER IS A MOTHER HEN	A NAGGING WIFE IS A PECKING HEN AN ALERT WOMAN IS AN ALERT HEN WITH SHARP, MEAN EYES
2	A PROSPECTIVE BRID IS A HOUSE BIRD.	A HOUSEWIFE IS A HOUSE SPARROW	A HOUSEWIFE IS A FLITTING HOUSEBIRD.
3	A HAPPY WOMAN IS AN EARLY MORNING BIRD.	A MAN'S LOVER IS HIS PIGEON.	A HAPPY WOMAN IS AN EARLY MORNING BIRD
4	A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN IS A PEACOCK.	----	A WOMAN OF EXCEPTIONAL BEAUTY IS A RARE BIRD.
5	A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN IS A SWAN.	----	A WOMAN'S SOFT SKIN IS DOVE.
6	A MOTHER-IN-LAW IS A HAWK	----	A MATRIARCH IS A HAWK
7	A PREGNANT WOMAN IS AN INCUBATING BIRD.	----	AN AGILE WOMAN IS AN EAGLE.
8	A WIFE IS A NESTLING BIRD	----	A MATRIARCH IS AN EAGLE
9	A THWARTED WOMAN IS A SMALL BIRD WHO HAS RUN INTO A MOUNTAIN	----	WOMEN WITH BROKEN MARRIAGES ARE BROODING OWLS
10	AN ELDERLY WOMAN IS AN OLD BIRD.	----	A CAREFREE, RELAXED WOMAN IS A WADDLING DUCK.
11	AN INCAPACIATED WOMAN IS A BIRD WITH CLIPPED WINGS.	----	A FREE WOMAN IS A FREE BIRD
12	AN AILING, OLD WOMAN IS A FRAGILE, DECREPIT BIRD	----	----
13	A TALKATIVE WOMAN IS A CHIRPING SPARROW.	----	----
14	A FEARFUL WIFE IS A SOFT BIRD.	----	----

Sl. No	INDO-ARYAN LITERARY WORKS	DRAVIDIAN LITERARY WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE LITERARY WORKS
15	A WRONGED WIFE IS A DYING BIRD HUSBAND'S PALMS.	----	----

In the Dravidian works, there are only three instances of this metaphor. Two of them (Table 15, rows 1 and 2) conceptualise women as homebound people absorbed in their caretaking responsibilities. The pigeon metaphor in row 3 is used by a man for his lover, "My love, **the little bird** of my heart**, my pigeon** (*Mistress***,** p. 142).

In the Tibeto-Burmese works, 12 bird metaphors are found. Of these, six (Table 15, rows 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11) impart women a sense of beauty, happiness and freedom. Metaphors in rows 1, 6, 7, and 8 depict women as assertive and in control. Only one metaphor shows them as weak (row 4).

The two bird metaphors that are similar across the three regions are those describing women as house-birds wherein women are seen as happy, simple housewives devoted to their households. The henpecking metaphor (row 1) is present in the Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burmese works but a variation of this metaphor in the Dravidian works perceives her as a protective mother, just like the hen that may be seen huddling around her chicks protectively. The mappings of all of these metaphors can be traced in Tables 12, 13 and 14.

- *WOMEN ARE BITCHES*: *Bitch* is a highly derogatory gender term and is usually directed at women as a dehumanising insult. As seen in Table 16, its use is similar in the works of all three regions, where it is used as a pejorative term portraying women negatively. Its impact is also similar since the usage attempts to control, through verbal aggression, women's independence and agency, and shows them as negative characters.

Table 16: WOMEN ARE BITCHES

Sl. No.	INDO-ARYAN WORKS	DRAVIDIAN WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE WORKS
1	A SUSPICIOUS WIFE IS A BITCH.	A PROTECTIVE MOTHER IS A BITCH GUARDING HER PUPPIES.	A PROMISCUOUS WOMAN IS A BITCH.
2	A BELLIGERENT WOMAN IS A BITCH	A WIFE PERCEIVED AS A NYMPHOMANIAC IS A BITCH	A CHEATING WIFE IS A BITCH.
3	----	A BELLIGERENT WOMAN IS A BITCH.	----
4	----	AN UNCONSENTING WIFE IS A BITCH	----
5	----	AN UNCARING MOTHER IS A BITCH.	----
6	----	A BOURGEOIS WIFE IS A BITCH	----

This metaphor in the three regions, varies in terms of its frequency and the mappings. Different characteristics of a bitch are mapped on to the woman which gives rise to variation. This metaphor occurs most frequently in the Dravidian literary works, where all metaphors except in row 1 are highly pejorative in the description of women. A wife is conceptualised in terms of a BITCH (row 2) because in *When I Hit You* (2017), the woman's husband imagines her to be a nymphomaniac, which she is not. However, he heaps this slur on her to keep her in check because she is a strong-willed, independent woman. He also calls her a bourgeois bitch (row 6), on account of her middle-class birth. Other cases cover both caring (row 1) and uncaring mothers (row 5) and a malicious woman perceived as a bitch (row 3). These metaphors occur twice each in the Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burmese literary works, and are used to describe women as suspicious, aggressive, promiscuous and unfaithful. This metaphor conceptualises women negatively across the three regions.

- *WOMEN ARE BUTTERFLIES*: Butterflies have been used by the authors to describe women as happy, frolicking, free-spirited and flirtatious, inexperienced, sheltered, and loved. Table 17 provides specific instantiations of the WOMEN ARE BUTTERFLIES metaphor and includes the stages of metamorphosis.

Table 17: WOMEN ARE BUTTERFLIES

Sl. No.	INDO-ARYAN WORKS	DRAVIDIAN WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE WORKS
1	A YOUNG GIRL IS CATERPILLARS.	HAPPY GIRLS ARE BUTTERFLIES.	----
2	A HAPPY, FROLICING WOMAN IS A BUTTERFLY	A FREE WOMAN IS A BUTTERFLY.	----
3	A FLIRTATIOUS WOMAN IS A BUTTERFLY	AN UNHAPPY WOMAN IS A BUTTERFLY CLIPPED TO A BOARD	----
4	INEXPERIENCED, SHELTERED GIRLS ARE CATERPILLARS	A PROTECTIVE MOTHER IS A BUTTERFLY	A MARRIED WOMAN IS A CATERPILLARS IN A COCOON.
5	----	A SHELTERED DAUGHTER IS A CATERPILLAR IN A COCOON	A PREGNANT WOMAN IS A CATERPILLAR

The Indo-Aryan and Dravidian authors use this metaphor to show women as frolicking, free and flirtatious butterflies. Here, the mapping is done between the flitting of a butterfly and the frolicking and restless skipping of a woman from one place to another. This metaphor is not found in the Tibeto-Burmese works. Instead a variant of it (in rows 1 and 2) shows married and pregnant women as caterpillars who bask in the comfort of matrimony or rest and relax enjoying their pregnancy. In the Indo-Aryan works, one instance of this metaphor (row 1) has been used to describe young girls who have been protected at home and not exposed to the realities of the world.

Apart from the aforementioned animal metaphors, there are several others that vary greatly across the regions. One of them is the CATTLE or COW metaphor which has surfaced only in the Indo-Aryan literary works (Table 12, rows 27–31). It occurs six times, portraying women as dumb, stupid, sluggish, housebound and subservient. Only one metaphor describes a woman in terms of a nurturing woman. This is an interesting as well as a surprising finding as the cow is considered sacred by the Hindus, giving nurturance and sustenance in the form of milk and fuel. Since cow

worship is widely prevalent in the Indo-Aryan region, one would expect that this metaphor would be used more conspicuously to show women as a positive force and a source of benediction. Instead, it is used more to belittle women. This metaphor is altogether absent in the Tibeto-Burmese and Dravidian works. The specific instance of this metaphor in *The Age of Shiva* (Suri, 2007) is used to convey the rejection of the idea of women as dumb creatures. The father in this case wants to free his daughter from the bonds of wifely duties and send her to college. He achieves his goal later in the story.

Among the other animal metaphors used to conceptualise women in the three regions, the Tibeto-Burmese works conceptualise women in terms of fierce animals by mapping the fierceness, aggressiveness and wild power of the animals on to the women. For example, A DEFENSIVE WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL WITH FANGS (*The House with a Thousand Stories*, Kashyap, 2013, p. 194), AN ANGRY MOTHER IS A FEROCIOUS ANIMAL (*These Hills Called Home*, 2006, p. 28), A NAGGING WIFE IS A PECKING HEN (*A Bowstring Winter*, Hazarika, 2006, p. 321). The ANIMAL SD constitutes 28% of the total occurrences of metaphors in the Indo-Aryan literary works and only 15% in the Dravidian, and none present women as aggressive or powerful.

5.1.1.2. The Objects SD

The idea of a thing-like treatment' of others was first introduced and written about by (Kant, 1963). It usually involves treating humans as just a means to an end, denying them humanity. When women are treated as objects, the purpose is to own them for gainful purposes, to be used or misused, manipulated, broken and discarded, as well as, valued, prized and honoured. The WOMEN ARE OBJECTS metaphors constitute 32% of the total occurrences of metaphors in the Dravidian literary works, which is very high compared to 17.8% in the Indo-Aryan, and 11.3% in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works. The analysis found that not only the object types but also their physical properties and physical state and condition, become the source for metaphors. Through these elements of the source domains, three main aspects pertaining to womanhood have been conceptualised, namely, their

appearance and physical and mental state, behavioural and personality traits or their social status and roles.

Tables 18–20 show the cross-domain mappings between the OBJECTS SD and womanhood in the literary works set in the three regions.

Table 18:: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of source domain of OBJECTS and the target domain of WOMANHOOD in the IA literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: OBJECTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Object type	Physical properties, state/position	Utility	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
1	anklet	tinkling	make music	sexy	musical laughter	---
2	balloon	flying	---	free, happy	---	---
3	basket	defective	---		unfaithful	wife
4	bicycle	---	ridden	used by family	---	widow
5	boat	drifting, lost	---	life	---	---
6	bone china	precious	---	delicate	---	wife
7	bridal finery: sari, necklace (2)	heavy & elaborate	---	captive, suffocated	---	bride
8	bullock cart	---	yolk to bullock	tied to husband	dependent	wife
9	clay (2)	malleable	---	---	compliant	wife
10	container (2)	empty, full	---	sad, childless	---	daughter-in-law
11	container	pressurized	---	sorrowful	---	---
12	corset	---	keep body flab in	---	reticent	---
13	exhibit (2)	---	---	---	---	bride, daughter
14	firecracker	volatile	---	---	short-tempered	---
15	glass	chipped	---	snubbed	---	wife
16	glass	tinkling	---	---	laughter	---
17	glass flower	brittle	---	---	reputation	---
18	goods	damaged	---	barren	---	---
19	grinding stone	---	---	---	pushy	mother-in-law

Sl. No.	Source Domain: OBJECTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Object type	Physical properties, state/position	Utility	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
20	heirloom	family treasure	---	old, outdated,	---	---
21	kite	spangled tail	---	free	---	---
22	knife	---	---	---	revengeful, cruel	---
23	object (2)	brittle	---	betrayed		wife
24	object	brittle	---	physically abused	---	---
25	object	charred wood	---	sexless	---	---
26	object	damaged	---	non-virgin		
27	object (2) (appliance)	discarded	---	disowned, rejected	---	---
28	object	useless	---	worthless	---	---
29	object	fragile	---	---	---	daughter
30	object	fragile	---	pregnant	---	---
31	object (2)	malleable	---	old, decrepit	---	---
32	object	opaque	---	distant	---	---
33	object	sharp	---	---	scrutinizing gaze	---
34	object (2)	stained	---	physically violated	---	---
35	paper	flying around	---	irritated	---	---
36	parcel	---	---	to be packed & dispatched	---	bride
37	pebble	---	part of larger water body	part of a larger family	---	daughter
38	post box	---	---	---	---	mother
39	pot	boiling	---	---	angry	---
40	shell	scraped out	---	emotionless	---	bride
41	sponge	---	---	---	enduring	---
42	steel (2)	---	---	---	strong, unflinching	---
43	stone statue (2)	---	---	hurt, shocked		---
44	toy	---	amusement	sex object	---	---
45	wood	splintered	---	hurt	---	---
46	wooden object	---	---	—	not supple	---

Sl. No.	Source Domain: OBJECTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Object type	Physical properties, state/position	Utility	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
47	wooden object	---	---	---	frightened	---

Note: Figures in the parentheses identify the number of metaphors found. For example, (2) in row 8 shows three occurrences of the CM. Total mappings or CMs = 57

Table 19: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of the source domain of OBJECTS and the target domain of WOMANHOOD in the Dr literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: OBJECTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Object type	Physical properties, state/position	Utility	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
1	anchor rock	---	stability	---	supportive	wife
2	appendage	---	---		dependent	wife
3	bait	---	---	attractive body	---	
4	begging bowl	---	keep alms, receive things	body parts as receptacle of man's passion	---	wife, lover
5	boat (2)	cast aside	---	left behind	---	---
6	bones	fragments	---	part	---	wife
7	cello (3)	precious	play music	valued possession	sexy	lover
8	cloth	shredded	---	---	respectability	mother
9	container	empty	---	lonely	---	spinster
10	doll	---	---	---	dumb	
11	dregs	waste	---	unimportant	---	wife
12	firewood	---	to light fire	sacrificed in marriage	---	bride
13	garland	fresh flowers	---	chaste	---	bride
14	gem (2)	glittering	---	beautiful	---	wife
15	gift	precious	happiness	beloved, cherished	---	wife
16	glass (3)	shattered	---	abused,	---	wife

Sl. No.	Source Domain: OBJECTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Object type	Physical properties, state/position	Utility	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
				devastated, exhausted,		mother
17	glass bangles	broken	---	---	physically abused	wife
18	goods	soiled	---	desired by another man	---	lover
19	heap	measurable	---	scrutinized	---	
20	iron ball		---	anguish	---	
21	item		decorative	---		wife
22	kitchenware (4)	flung, crashed	---	abused	---	wife
23	knife	---	sacrificial	victims	---	wife
24	lamp	wick-less	---	lonely	---	
25	mannequin	stripped	---	battered	---	wife
26	mirror	---	see reflection	---	husband's reflection	wife
27	object	perforated, robbed	---	---	virginity	---
28	object	shredded	---	battered	---	wife
29	object	cast away	---	cast away	---	lover
30	object	broken	---		---	widow
31	object	shapely object	---	shapely body	---	
32	object	harmless	---	---	mute	daughter
33	object	stiff	---	---	rigid	spinster
34	object	heavy	---	---	burdensome	teenage
35	object	hard	---	---	stoic	rejected lover
36	object	packed and dispatched	---	---	---	daughter
37	object	---	wasted	---	exhausted	wife
38	object	soft		---	gentle	wife
39	object	delicate		---		
40	object (2)	---	pleasure. entertainment	object of sexual gratification/ breasts	---	---

Sl. No.	Source Domain: OBJECTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Object type	Physical properties, state/position	Utility	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
41	object (2)	rough, jagged,	---	---	daring, ill-tempered, defeated, stiff	---
42	object (2)	malleable	play, mould	---	flexible, mouldable	wife
43	object (2)	---	ownership	possession	---	daughter
44	object (2)	fragile	---	delicate,	---	daughter,
45	object	brittle	---	vulnerable	---	---
46	object	brittle	---	---	battling with situations	---
47	object	brittle	---	---	distraught	---
48	splintered rocks	brittle		snubbed woman		---
49	parcel	passed around	---	worthless, valueless	---	---
50	pearl	---	---		beauty	
51	pin	---	unutilized		inappreciable	spinster
52	plaything (2)		pleasure	---	---	wife
53	possession (4)	cherished, precious	---	owned by man	---	wife, lover
54	puppet	inanimate	---	manipulated	---	wife
55	ragdoll/doll (2)	inanimate, unfeeling		---	unfeeling, tolerant (of abuse)	
56	receptacle	---	receive alms	raped		wife
57	rock	---	stability & strength	---	strong, dependable	woman, housewife
58	sari (2)	starched, chiffon	---	---	orderly, fickle	---
59	spare change	---	wasted	---		wife
60	shell	broken		abused		wife
61	spittoon	---	receive waste	---		wife
62	substance	poisonous	---	---	revengeful	---
63	trinkets	---	---	---	worthless	wife

Sl. No.	Source Domain: OBJECTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Object type	Physical properties, state/position	Utility	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
64	unclean matter (dirt)	---	---	disliked	---	wife
65	wooden block	---	---	---	unfeeling	wife

Note: Figures in the parentheses identify the number of metaphors found. For example, (2) in row 5 shows two occurrences of the CM. Total mappings or CMs = 85.

Table 20: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of the source domain of OBJECTS the target domain of WOMANHOOD in the TB literary works

Sl. No	Source Domain: OBJECTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Object type	Physical properties, state/position	Utility	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
1	arrow	aimless	---	---	dispatched from society	---
2	container	pressurised	---	sorrowful	---	mother
3	container	empty	---	---	foolish	---
4	doll	---	---	---	beautiful	---
5	garbage bin	---	collect garbage	---	collecting rebukes	bride's dead body
6	item	---	decorative	beautiful	unskilled	wife
7	object	broken	---	distraught	---	---
8	object	brittle	---	---	---	unwed mother's life
9	object	damaged	---	---	sinful, adulteress	unwed mother
10	object on weigh scale	unbalanced	---	---	---	daughter's life
11	puppet	---	---	controlled	---	lover
12	specimen	---	---	to be studied	---	wife of influential man

Sl. No	Source Domain: OBJECTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Object type	Physical properties, state/position	Utility	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
13	substance	malleable	---	---	amenable, obedient	wife
14	wrung cloth	---	---	weak	---	---

Total mappings or CMs = 14

As seen in Tables 18-20, various types of objects have become the source of metaphors in this study. These have been creatively used by the authors to describe various aspects of womanhood. The specific objects used are very different but their physical state is what is shared across the three regions for conceptualisation. The three conceptual metaphors pertaining to these states are, WOMEN ARE BRITTLE OBJECTS, WOMEN ARE DAMAGED OBJECTS, and WOMEN ARE MALLEABLE OBJECTS. These are found to be similar up to the first level of specificity. Within these metaphors there are slight variations.

- WOMEN ARE BRITTLE OBJECTS

When the word 'brittle' is used for a person, it has a metaphorical interpretation. A 'brittle person' is one who is showing outward strength but is nervous within due to which the person becomes vulnerable. Depending on the context and circumstances it could also mean that the person's mood and mental condition are unstable, liable to snap and become irritable without prior warning. The CMs presented in Table 21 are quite similar, in that they describe women across the three regions as unhappy, in an emotionally weak state, as a brittle object.

Table 21: WOMEN ARE BRITTLE OBJECTS

Sl No.	INDO-ARYAN WORKS	DRAVIDIAN WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE WORKS
1	A BETRAYED WOMAN IS A BRITTLE OBJECT	A DISTRAUGHT WOMAN IS A BRITTLE OBJECT	A DISTRAUGHT WOMAN IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
2	A PHYSICALLY ABUSED WOMAN IS A BRITTLE OBJECT (2)	A PHYSICALLY ABUSED WOMAN IS BROKEN BANGLES	-----
	-----	A PHYSICALLY ABUSED WOMAN SHATTERED GLASS	
	-----	A PHYSICALLY ABUSED OMAN IS CRASHING KITCHENWARE	-----
3	A SNUBBED WIFE IS CHIPPED GLASS	A SNUBBED WOMAN IS SPLINTERS OF ROCKS	-----
4	A WOMAN'S REPUTATION IS A BRITTLE GLASS OBJECT	A WOMAN BATTLING WITH LIFE SITUATIONS IS A BRITTLE OBJECT	AN UNWED MOTHER'S LIFE IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
5	-----	A WIDOW IS A BROKEN OBJECT	-----
6	-----	AN ABUSED WIFE IS A BROKEN SHELL	-----

The specific instantiations of these metaphors indicate physical abuse in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian works (Tables 18 and 19), but none such suggestion is found in the Tibeto-Burmese works. However, there is an indication of mental stress and torment through the metaphors listed in rows (1) and (4) in Table 21. A metaphor conceptualises the life of an unwed in terms of a brittle object conveying that a child out of wedlock can ruin a woman's whole life. This metaphor is found in the Tibeto-Burmese works (row 4), but not in the other two regions.

- WOMEN ARE DAMAGED OBJECTS

Metaphorically, 'damage' to a person usually implies that the person's self-esteem, pride or reputation is hurt. A woman seen as 'damaged goods' means she is

less than perfect, physically or psychologically. The metaphors conceptualising women as 'damaged' are presented in Table 22.

Table 22: WOMEN ARE DAMAGED OBJECTS

Sl. No.	INDO-ARYAN WORKS	DRAVIDIAN WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE WORKS
1	A NON-VIRGIN IS DAMAGED GOODS	A LOVER DESIRED BY ANOTHER MAN IS SOILED GOODS	AN UNWEDMOTHER IS DAMAGED GOODS
2	A SEXUALLY ASSAULTED WOMAN IS A STAINED OBJECT	NON-VIRGIN IS A DAMAGED OBJECTS	-----
3	AN UNFAITHFUL WIFE IS A DEFECTIVE BASKET	-----	-----
4	A BARREN WOMAN IS DAMAGED GOODS	-----	-----

Words such as 'tainted' and 'stained' may be used in the metaphors to signal destruction or loss of the original form. In the context of the metaphors presented in Table 22, it is important to mention that virginity is considered an important aspect of a woman's life all over India, since it is directly linked to morality. It is a quality that must be preserved in a woman (Caldwell, Reddy and Caldwell, 1984). The occurrence of this metaphor in all three regions is an indication of how important it is for a woman to preserve her virginity and chastity before marriage. As seen in the table, in the Indo-Aryan region a non-virgin or a sexually assaulted woman is considered a damaged object. Similar is the case of a non-virgin in the Dravidian and an unwed mother in the Tibeto-Burmese regions. Moreover, barrenness is also highly undesirable, especially in the Indo-Aryan region, where motherhood is greatly glorified. This is why a woman who is not able to conceive is seen as 'damaged'.

● *WOMEN ARE MALLEABLE OBJECTS*

When a person is said to be malleable, it means she is flexible and amenable to change. The metaphors conceptualising women as 'malleable' are presented in Table 23. The ideal wifehood is dependent on the ability of the woman to adjust to her new role in her marital family. These metaphors describe Indian housewives as flexible and mouldable objects with an immense capacity to adjust, tolerate and sustain. As seen in the table, in all the three regions, a wife becomes clay or a malleable item in the hands of her husband and the husband's family, to be moulded according to their needs and preferences. The abstractions of 'malleable objects' mapped on to women are shown in Tables 18–20. The wife's ability to comply to the needs of her family and to put their needs before her own is an admirable and glorified quality. In most communities and families, across the three regions, women are conditioned to uphold it as their '*stridharma*' or the sacred and moral duty/virtue of a woman, especially a wife.

Table 23: WOMEN ARE MALLEABLE OBJECTS

Sl. No.	INDO-ARYAN WORKS	DRAVIDIAN WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE WORKS
1	A WIFE IS A LUMP OF CLAY IN HER HUSBAND'S HANDS	A WIFE IS CLAY IN HER HUSBAND'S HANDS	-----
2	A WIFE IS A MALLEABLE OBJECT	A WIFE IS A MALLEABLE OBJECT	A WIFE IS A MALLEABLE SUBSTANCE
3	AN OLD DECREPIT WOMAN IS A MALLEABLE OBJECT	-----	-----

Overall, there is a much higher degree of objectification in the Dravidian literary works but this aspect is not revealed in the object metaphors discussed above. This is because the specific instantiations of this metaphor are quite unique in the Dravidian works. There are also a large number of creatively used metaphors on sexual and marital violence in the Dravidian works (Table 19). Such metaphors are not present in the other two regions. It is also observed that the high usage of the

OBJECTS source domain in the Dravidian works is not accidental. In fact, all the seven authors show a high tendency to objectify women. On the other hand, the Tibeto-Burmese authors' inclination to objectify women is rather low and the comparative figure for the Indo-Aryan lies between the two.

5.1.1.3. The Supernatural Entities SD

Belief in supernatural entities such as gods, spirits, angels, ghosts, demons, saints etc. is ubiquitous in many cultures because they form part of a culture's societal norms, institutions and functions. According to Armstrong (1999), "myths were not intended to be taken literally but were metaphorical attempts to describe a reality that was too complex and elusive to express in any other way" (p. 11). The supernatural beings have been brought to life in the literary works of the three regions to portray women as either deific, protective, or evil.

These metaphors constitute 8.3% of the total occurrences of metaphors the Dravidian literary works, 7.5% in the Indo-Aryan works and 4.0% in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works as seen in Table 11. Given that the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian cultures are highly religious and the people of the Tibeto-Burmese region have a strong belief in supernatural phenomena, the relatively low occurrence of this metaphor is surprising. The mappings between this source domain and target concepts of womanhood are presented in Tables 24–26.

Table 24: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of SD of SUPERNATURAL
ENTITIES and TD of WOMANHOOD in the IA literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Supernatural entities	Divine power	Function	Women's physical/ mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural traits & qualities	Women's social status & roles
1	angel	---	---	---	kind, beatific	wife
2	Goddess Durga	fierce	prevents evil	pregnant	protector (fights for the girl child)	---
3	Goddess Durga	---	---	heroic/ bold	---	PM Indira Gandhi[12]
4	Durga (2)	---	---	angry	---	---
5	enchanted palace	---	---	---	---	motherhood
6	Eve	---	---	---	independent minded	daughter
7	Gauri/Parvati	---	---	fertile	---	mother
8	ghost	---	---	abandoned	---	wife
9	goddess	---	---	pampered	---	daughter
10	goddess	divinely beautiful	---	flawlessly beautiful	---	wife
11	nymph	divinely	---	beautiful/ beloved	---	---
12	houri[13]	possessing magical power	---	---	enigmatic	---
13	Goddess Kali	---	destroyer	---	destructive	mother
14	Goddess Lakshmi (2)	---	provider of wealth and prosperity	---	harbinger of prosperity	wife, new bride
15	monster	---	---	---	wicked	---
16	Goddess Parvati (2)	---	divine procreation	fertile	---	mother
17	she-devil	---	---	---	rebellious	wife

---

[12] The first and the only woman Prime Minister of India to date. She was a fearless PM who took some bold decisions. She was assassinated in 1984.

[13] A sensual virgin who awaits a devout Muslim in paradise

Sl. No.	Source Domain: SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Supernatural entities	Divine power	Function	Women's physical/ mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural traits & qualities	Women's social status & roles
18	Shiva	poison drinker	---	---	holding deadly secrets within	sister
19	sorceress	magical power	---	---	seductive	---
20	witch	---	---	fierce	protective	mother
21	witch	evil	---	---	wicked	---

Note: Figures in the parentheses identify the number of metaphors found. For example, (2) in row 4 shows two occurrences of this CM. Total mappings or CMs = 24

Table 25: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of the SD of SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES and the TD of WOMANHOOD in the Dr literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: SUPERNATURAL			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Supernatural entities	Divine power	Function	Women's physical- mental state &appearance	Women's behavioural traits & qualities	Women's social status & roles
1	Goddess Akhila (akhileshwari)	multiple incarnations	performing multiple functions	multi-talented	---	daughter
2	Goddess Akhileshwari	---	in charge of many worlds but not powerful	in possession of power but not powerful	---	daughter
3	demon/monster (3)	---	---	rebellious	---	wife
4	Goddess Durga	---	---	---	extraordinarily heroic	---
5	goddess	powerful	---	---	extraordinary power	---
6	goddess	---	benevolent	---	benevolent	---
7	goddess	---	showing way	inspirational		---
8	Harpy[14]	---	lord of storm		with destructive	---

---

[14] A half-human and half-bird form that personifies winds and storms in Greek and Roman mythology.

Sl. No.	Source Domain: SUPERNATURAL			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Supernatural entities	Divine power	Function	Women's physical-mental state &appearance	Women's behavioural traits & qualities	Women's social status & roles
					influence	
9	Karuvarei[15]	---	---	---	---	mother's womb
10	Goddess Lakshmi	---	bringing prosperity	---	---	daughter
11	Goddess Lakshmi	---	Vishnu's consort	consort	harbinger of good fortune	beloved
12	monster	---	---	hideous	---	widow
13	nymph	---	---	beautiful	---	
14	Goddess Parvati	---	Shiva's consort		fertile	beloved of Shiva, mother of the universe
15	possessed	---	---	feminist	---	wife
16	princess locked in the tower	---	---	trapped in marriage	---	wife
17	Goddess Saraswati	---	Brahma's consort		knowledgeable	
18	Urvashi, the nymph	---	---	beautiful	---	
19	witch	---	---	barren,	---	
20	witch	---	---	immoral	---	

Note: Figures in the parentheses identify the number of metaphors found. For example, (3) in row 3 shows three occurrences of the CM. Total mappings or CMs = 22

The analysis shows that the specific entities that constitute this source domain in the three regions are, GODDESSES, NYMPHS, ANGELS, TEMPLE, WITCHES, DEMONS, MONSTERS, GHOSTS and SORCERESS. Also, there is one instance of HARPY and one of PRINCESS in the Dravidian works and one instance each of ENCHANTED PALACE, EVE and HOURI in the Indo-Aryan literary works (Tables 24–26).

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[15] A Tamil word for an inner sanctum of a temple.

Table 26: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of the SD of SUPERNATURAL and the TD of WOMANHOOD in the TB literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: SUPERNATURAL			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Supernatural entities	Divine power	Function	Women's physical/ mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural traits & qualities	Women's social status & roles
1	goddess	divinely beautiful		flawlessly beautiful	-----	-----
2	esoterism	powerful		conduit for esoteric exchange	-----	wife
3	witch	evil	spread evil and discomfort	-----	wicked, destructive	-----
4	ghost	invisible		-----		daughter whose marriage is broken
5	Roman goddess Bellona	valiant		-----	valiant	warrior

Of these, only GODDESSES and WITCHES are common source domains for conceptualising womanhood across the three regions. GHOSTS are common across the Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burmese regions and DEMONS/MONSTERS are common across the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian regions. Table 27 shows the specific-level instantiations of these SDs. Among the four source domains mentioned above, the occurrence of the WOMAN IS A GODDESS/GOD metaphor is high in the Indo-Aryan literary works (10 out of 14 CMs) as well as in the Dravidian literary works (8 out of 12). There is only one instance of this metaphor in the Tibeto-Burmese works but it does not concern religiosity. It concerns her beauty and valour. It is interesting to note that in the Dravidian works, a beautiful woman is not conceptualised in terms of a goddess, as a nymph twice (see Table 25, rows 13 and 18). Women are often conceptualised as the GODDESS LAKSHMI, GODDESS DURGA and GODDESS PARVATI in both, the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian cultures. In Hindu mythology, Parvati, the beloved wife of Lord Shiva is considered the goddess of fertility and the divine

mother of the universe. She has been used to perceive pregnant women in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian literary works. Another unique metaphor used in the Dravidian works to conceptualise a womb is, A PREGNANT WOMAN'S WOMB IS KARUVAREI (see Table 25, row 9).

Table 27: WOMEN ARE SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES

Sl. No.	INDO-ARYAN WORKS	DRAVIDIAN WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE WORKS
1	A FLAWLESSLY BEAUTIFUL WOMAN IS A GODDESS	-----	A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN IS A GODDESS A BEAUTIFUL WARRIOR WOMAN IS GODDESS BELLONA
2	A WICKED WOMAN IS A WITCH A PROTECTIVE MOTHER IS A WITCH	A BARREN WOMAN IS A WITCH AN IMMORAL WOMAN IS A WITCH	A LOVER IS A WITCH
3	AN ABANDONED WIFE IS A GHOST	-----	A WOMAN WITH A BROKEN MARRAIGE IS A GHOSTS
4	A WICKED WOMAN IS A MONSTER	A REBELLIOUS WIFE IS POSSESSED WITH DEMONS A FEMINIST WOMAN IS A DEMON	-----
5	-----	A WOMAN WITH MANY SKILLS IS GODDESS AKHILESHWARI (2)	-----
6	WIFE IS GODDESS LAKSHMI A BRIDE IS GODDESS LAKSHMI A PAMPERED DAUGHTER IS A GODDESS	A HARBINGER OF GOOD FORTUNE IS GODDESS LAKSHMI A DAUGHTER IS GODDESS LAKSHMI	-----
7	A FERTLE WOMAN IS GODDESS PARVATI/GAURI	A FERTILE WOMAN IS S GODDESS PARVATI, BELOVED OF SHIVA (2)	-----
8	A PREGNANT WOMAN IS GODDESS DURGA	-----	-----
9	AN ANGRY WOMAN IS GODDESS	-----	-----

Sl. No.	INDO-ARYAN WORKS	DRAVIDIAN WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE WORKS
	DURGA		
10	A HEROIC WOMAN IS GODDESS DURGA	A HEROIC WOMAN IS GODDESS DURGA	-----
11	A DESTRUCTIVE WOMAN IS GODDESS KALI	-----	-----
12	A WOMAN HAVING ENDURANCE, A KEEPER OF SECRETS IS SHIVA	A KNOWLEDEABLE WOMAN IS GODDESS SARASWATI, BELOVED OF BRAHMA	-----
13	-----	A KIND WOMAN IS A BENEVOLENT GODDESS	-----
14	-----	AN INSPIRING WOMAN IS A GODDESS	-----

The WOMEN ARE WITCHES metaphor also varies in its specific instantiations. As seen in Table 27, row 2, a wicked woman and a protective mother in the Indo-Aryan, a barren and an immoral woman in the Dravidian and a divorced woman as a lover (disapproved by the man's family) in the Tibeto-Burmese works are all conceptualised as witches. This implies that wickedness, immorality, barren-ness are seen as negative and evil. Hence the use of witch as a source domain for these seems logical since witches are associated with these characteristics.

Apart from metaphors with goddesses and witches as source domains, there is one occurrence each of the GHOST metaphor in the Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burmese works as seen in Table 27 (row 3). In both cases, the association is to women's matrimonial status. In the Indo-Aryan works, a woman who is abandoned her husband, and in the Tibeto-Burmese works women whose marriages are broken have been conceptualised as GHOSTS implying that they live in the inner spaces of their parents' homes and do not come out in public view for fear of being mocked. Divorce or separation from the husband is a stigma that most Indian women across the three regions avoid since the society considers this as highly undesirable. Women who stand up against their mistreatment and become defiant or rebellious are conceptualised as DEMONS/MONSTERS in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian works (row 4). Overall, within the instances of supernatural entities used as source domains, 50%

in the Indo-Aryan as well as in the Dravidian literary works concern, religiosity, conceptualising women as goddesses.

5.1.1.4. The Plants SD

The source domain of PLANTS is used for people because it is grounded in our everyday experience (Filipczuk-Rosinska, 2016). The analysis of the linguistic metaphors has found that the lifecycle of a plant and its stages of growth, and the types, parts and biological attributes of plants are all mapped on to the target concept to provide a comprehensive picture of a woman in terms of her birth, life, body and vitality. These metaphors constitute 9.7% of the total occurrences of metaphors in the Indo-Aryan literary works, 3% of the total occurrences in the Dravidian literary works, 8% of the total occurrences of metaphors in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works as seen in Table 11. The occurrences of plant metaphors in the Dravidian literary works are extremely low. Also, considering the close association of the Tibeto-Burmese people with the natural environment which is a forested area, the plant metaphors in this region account for only 8% of the total metaphors, which is somewhat surprising. The mappings between the PLANTS SD and the target concepts of womanhood are presented in Tables 28–30.

Table 28: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of the SD of PLANTS and the TD of WOMANHOOD in the IA literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: PLANTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Plant type and parts	Physical state of plants	Properties of plants	Women's physical state & body parts	Women's behavioural traits	Women's social status & roles
1	---	withered	---	rejected and cheated in love	---	lover
2	anemone	deep in water	---	unhappy	---	
3	Banyan	---	deep rooted	---		matriarch
4	blossoms	plucked and wilted	---	pregnant	---	---
5	date tree	dead	---		shocked	---
6	flower	---	sweet smelling	physically attractive	---	---
7	flower	unopened	---	pubescent	---	---
8	flower	exotic	---	unique,	---	---
9	flower	blooming	---	beautiful	---	---
10	flower	scented	---	---	---	bride
11	flower	frostbitten	---	overworked, mottled	---	housewife
12	flower core	---	---	embracing	---	mother
13	fruit	ripe	---	mature, youthful	---	---
14	fruit	ripe	---	breasts	---	---
15	fruit	ripe	---			
16	Chandni (jasmine)	---	white	pure	---	widow
17	Chandni (jasmine)	---	---	beautiful, good smelling	---	---
18	lotus	wilted	---	---	depressed	---
19	pumpkin	scooped	---	---	stoic, unemotional	---
20	rosebud		---	painted lips	---	---
21	seedpod	cracked	---	---	irksome	---
22	seeds	spilled	---	---	indignant	---
23	sunflower	exposed to sun	---	exposed, educated	---	---
24	tree		shady	---	---	motherhood

Sl.	Source Domain: PLANTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
No.	Plant type and parts	Physical state of plants	Properties of plants	Women's physical state & body parts	Women's behavioural traits	Women's social status & roles
25	tree	ancient		---	---	matriarch
26	tree	deep rooted		---	---	mother
27	tree	supportive	nurturing	---	---	mother
28	tree	old log, stump mass of roots	---	decrepit, old	---	mother
29	tree	stuck by lightening	---	betrayed, shattered	---	---
30	vine	---	poisonous		---	mother-in-law
31	walnut shell	scooped out	---	---	dismayed	---

Total mappings or CMs = 31

Table 29: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of the SD of PLANTS and the TD of WOMANHOOD in the Dr literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: PLANTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Plant type and parts	Physical state of plants	Properties of plants	Women's physical state & body parts	Women's behavioural traits	Women's social status & roles
1	jasmine	---	nocturnal	acquiring sexual vigour at night	---	---
2	cactus	---	prickly, hardy	---	tenacious	---
3	flower	blossoming	---	expectant	---	mother
4	flower	wilted	---	rejected	---	---
5	fruits	ripe	---	pubescent	---	---
6	melons	ripe	---	breasts	---	---
7	plant	uprooted	---	absconding	---	---
8	plant	flowering	---	womb	---	---

Total mappings or CMs = 8

Table 30: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of the SD of PLANTS and TD of WOMANHOOD in the TB literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: PLANTS			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Plant type and parts	Physical state of plants	Properties of plants	Women's physical state & body parts	Women's behavioural traits	Women's social status & roles
1	bamboo	green	---	youthful	---	---
2	blossoming plant	---	---	adolescent girl	---	---
3	branch	broken	---	runaway girl	---	---
4	coconut	taut	---	breasts	---	---
5	cypress	shimmering	---	glowing beautiful	---	---
6	flower	---	fragrant	women's bodies	---	---
7	mango leaves		---	fresh beauty	---	---
8	reeds	---	---	slim and youthful body	---	---
9	rose petals	soft	---	lips	---	---
10	tree	felled	---	dying	---	matriarch

Total mappings or CMs = 10

The enquiry has revealed ten generic-level elaborations of the source domain of PLANTS that have been mapped on to the target concept of womanhood as follows:

1. THE STATE OF A WOMAN IS THE TYPE/PARTS OF A PLANT

2. THE STATE OF A WOMAN IS THE STATE OF A PLANT

3. THE ROLE OF A WOMAN IS THE TYPE/PART OF A PLANT

4. AQUIRING BEAUTY AND SEXUAL VIGOUR IS THE FLOWERING OF A PLANT

5. A MATURE BODY/BODY PART IS A RIPE FRUIT

6. A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN IS A FLOWER

7. AN ADOLESCENT GIRL IS A FLOWER BUD

8. A SUPPLE BODY IS A MATURE PLANT

9. A WOMAN'S BODY PARTS ARE TYPE/PARTS OF A PLANT

10. A WOMAN LOSING VIGOUR IS A PLANT LOSING VITALITY

Of these, elaborations 1, 2, and 9 are common across the three linguistic regions. Examples at the specific level are provided in Table 31 for clarity.

Table 31: WOMEN ARE PLANTS

INDO-ARYAN WORKS	DRAVIDIAN WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE WORKS
1) STATE OF A WOMAN IS A TYPE/ PART OF A PLANT		
A DISTRAUGHT WOMAN IS AN ANEMONE PLANT	A WOMAN IN LOVE IS A FLOWER	A YOUTHFUL WOMAN IS GREEN BAMBOO
AN EDUCATED WOMAN IS A SUNFLOWER	—	A TALL, GLOWING WOMAN IS A CYPRUS TREE
(2) STATE OF A WOMAN IS THE STATE OF A PLANT		
A DEPRESSED WOMAN IS A WILTED LOTUS	AN ABCONDING WOMAN IS AN UPROOTED TREE	AN ABSCONDING WOMAN IS A BROKEN BRANCH
A VIGOURLESS WOMAN IS A HOLLOW WALNUT SHELL	A REJECTED WOMAN IS A WILTED FLOWER	—
—	A TENACIOUS WOMAN IS A HARDY CACTUS	—
(3) WOMAN'S BODY PARTS ARE TYPES/PARTS OF A PLANT		
A YOUTHFUL BODY IS RIPE FRUIT	A WOMAN'S BREASTS ARE WATER MELONS	A WOMAN'S BODY IS A ROSE FLOWER
WOMAN'S LIPS ARE ROSE BUDS	A WOMB IS A FLOWERING PLANT	A WOMAN'S LIPS ARE FLOWERS

As seen in Table 31, in the literary works in all three regions, women's physical state or state of mind are understood in terms of plant types, parts or states. The types, parts or state of plants are used to understand the physical as well as mental state of women in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian works but only the physical state of women in the Tibeto-Burmese works. Women's body parts are

understood in terms of types and parts of plants in all three regions. However, in the Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burmese works the metaphors describe women's physical beauty whereas in the Dravidian works the focus is on sexual parts (breasts and womb).

Also, Table 28 shows that the Indo-Aryan authors have used this source domain to conceptualise women's social roles through some creative metaphors. For example, A MOTHER IS A SHADY TREE (row 24), AN ELDERLY MOTHER IS A TREE STUMP (row 28), MOTHER IS A NURTURING TREE (row 27), A MOTHER-IN-LAW IS A POISONOUS VINE (row 30), AN OVERWORKED HOUSEWIFE IS A FROSTBITTEN FLOWER (row 11), A MATRIARCH IS A DEEP-ROOTED BANYAN TREE (row 3), A MATRIARCH IS AN ANCIENT TREE (row 25) and A WIDOW IS A CHANDANI FLOWER (row 16). There is just one metaphor in the Dravidian works–AN EXPECTANT MOTHER IS A BLOSSOMING FLOWER (row 3, Table 29) and there is one in the Tibeto-Burmese works that describes a matriarch: A DYING MATRIARCH IS A FELLED TREE (row 10, Table 30).

Overall, the analysis of the linguistic metaphors has found that the source domain of plants is not a frequently used domain for the conceptualisation of womanhood in the Dravidian and Tibeto-Burmese regions, but it is used fairly commonly by the six Indo-Aryan authors (Table 5, chapter IV).

5.1.1.5. The Elements of Nature SD

The analysis reveals that the four elements of nature, the earth, water, fire and air have been used to conceptualise women. Like in other categories, the Indo-Aryan authors have made a more extensive and creative use of this category as compared to the Dravidian and Tibeto-Burmese authors. These metaphors constitute approximately 8% of the total occurrences of metaphors in the Indo-Aryan literary works, and 5.6 % of the total occurrences in both, the Dravidian and the Tibeto-Burmese literary works as seen in Table 11. The mappings between the elements of this source domain and the target concepts of womanhood are presented in Tables 32– 34. The Tibeto-Burmese authors have used only

six instances of the ELEMENTS OF NATURE metaphor, two of which are exactly the same.

Table 32: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of SD ELEMENTS OF NATURE and TD WOMANHOOD in the I A literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: ELEMENTS OF NATURE			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Elements of nature	Physical properties, state/ position	Landscapes	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
1	---	---	desert	abused, beaten	---	---
2	---	velvet	valley	silky	hair	---
3	---	---	desert	deprived of love	---	---
4	---	sweet	water spring	---	---	lover
5	---	flowing	river	---	---	wife
6	---	---	river to be dammed	---	forceful	wife
7	---	cool	water pool	woman's body	---	---
8	---	replenished	mountain stream	beautiful attractive	---	---
9	cinders of fire	---	---	woman's life	---	---
10	earth	bountiful	---	nurturing	---	mother
11	firebrands	scorching	---	---	wicked	daughters
12	fire	---	---	sexually aroused		---
13	fire	scorching	---	---	destructive, revengeful, angry	---
14	ice (2)	melting	---	---	relenting	---
15	molten lava	---	---	pregnant	warmth and intensity	---
16	rain	flooded	---	---	sensuous mouth	---
17	rain clouds	heavy		depressed	---	
18	ray of sun	intense	---	---	scrutinizing	mother-in-law
19	storm	dishevelled	---	angry, forceful	aggressive	---
20	stormy wafers	---	---	---	distressed and gloomy	
21	thunder	loud	---	angry	---	---
22	thunderbolt	---	---	---	---	mother-in-

Sl. No.	Source Domain: ELEMENTS OF NATURE			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Elements of nature	Physical properties, state/ position	Landscapes	Women's physical- mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
						law
23	volcano	---	---	---	angry	---
24	volcanic lava	oozing		pregnant		

Total mappings or CMs = 25

Table 33: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of SD ELEMENTS OF NATURE and TD of WOMANHOOD in the Dr literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: ELEMENTS OF NATURE			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Elements of nature	Physical properties, state/position	Landscapes/ natural resource	Women's physical- mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
1	---	deep and wide	river	---	---	---
2	---	depleted	natural resources	powerless, power snatched, exhausted	---	---
3	cloud	wispy	---	---	insignificant. low self-esteem	---
4	earth	coarse, pristine		coarsely sexy, raw	seductive, bewitching	---
5	fire	blazing	---	furious	protective	mother
6	fire	blazing	---	attractive fiery eyes	---	---
7	fire	blazing	---	sexually aroused	---	---
8	fire and heat	---	---	sexy	lustful	---
9	flame	extinguishable	---	executed, killed	---	girl child
10	smoke		---	---	mysterious	---
11	water	healing, destructive, soothing	---	---	nurturing and destructive	---
12	water	frozen, solid state	---	---	apathetic, passive	---
13	water	supercritical	---	---	destructive,	---

Sl. No.	Source Domain: ELEMENTS OF NATURE			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Elements of nature	Physical properties, state/position	Landscapes/ natural resource	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
14	water	freezing, thawing	---	conflicting emotions	---	---
15	whirlwind		---	---	uncontrollable	---

Total mappings or CMs = 15

Table 34:: Cross-domain mappings between the elements of the SD ELEMENTS OF NATURE and TD WOMANHOOD in the TB literary works

Sl. No.	Source Domain: ELEMENTS OF NATURE			Target Domain: WOMANHOOD		
	Elements of nature	Physical properties, state/position	Landscapes	Women's physical-mental state & appearance	Women's behavioural & personality traits	Women's social status & roles
1	breeze	fresh	---	---	exuberant, pleasant	---
2	fire (2)	blazing	---	sexy	provocatively sensual	---
3	flame	---	---	---	attracting the lover to her	lover
4	lightening	flashing	---	conspicuous, bright, happy	---	---
5	wind	gust	---	soothing presence	---	---

Total mappings or CMs = 6

The nature metaphors explore the relationship between the elements of nature in our natural world and the women. Of the five instances of this source domain used in the Tibeto-Burmese works, the authors have used just three elements of nature to conceptualise womanhood. Two of these that are shared across the three regions are, FIRE and WIND (see Tables 32, 33 and 34). In all the three regions, the sub-domain of FIRE is the most productive one (Table 35). FIRE is used to conceptualise an angry (row 1, 3), a wicked (row 2), a sexually aroused (row

4) and a revengeful woman (row 5) in the Indo-Aryan works. It is used to conceptualise an angry (row 2), a sexually aroused (row 4), and sexy and a woman with beautiful eyes (row 6) in the Dravidian works. In the Tibeto-Burmese works this source domain is used for an impetuous woman and a sexually provocative woman (row 5).

Table 35: WOMEN ARE ELEMENTS OF NATURE

Sl. No	INDO-ARYAN LITERARY WORKS	DRAVIDIAN LITERARY WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE LITERARY WORKS
1	AN ANGRY WOMAN IS A RAGING STORM	AN ENERGETIC WOMAN IS A WHILRWIND	AN AMIABLE WOMAN IS A SOOTHING BREEZE (2)
2	A WICKED DAUGHTER IS A FIREBRAND	A FURIOUS WOMAN'S EYES ARE BLAZING FIRE	---
3	AN ANGRY WOMAN IS A VOLCANO	---	AN IMPETUOUS WOMAN IS HEAT
4	A SEXUALLY AROUSED WOMAN IS FIRE	A SEXUALLY AROUSED WOMAN IS FIRE	
5	AN ANGRY REVENGEFUL WOMAN IS AN IMMOLATOR	A SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE WOMAN IS HOT SMOLDERING FIRE	A SEXUALLY PROVOCATIVE WOMAN IS FIRE
6	---	A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN'S EYES ARE EMBERS	---
7	A PREGNANT WOMAN IS A VOLCANO OOZING MOLTEN LAVA	A MYSTERIOUS WOMAN IS SMOKE	---
8		A GIRL CHILD IS A FLAME TO BE EXTINGUISHED	A BELOVED IS A FLAME
9	A WOMAN'S BODY IS A POOL OF COOL WATER AN AMOROUS WOMAN IS A REPLENISHED MOUNTAIN STREAM	A SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE WOMAN IS RAW EARTH	---
10	A WOMAN'S MOUTH IS A RAIN SWOLLEN CURVE	A WOMAN IS WATER	---
11	A WOMAN'S LOVE IS A SPRING OF SWEET WATER	A PASSIVE WOMAN IS FLOATING ICE	---
12	A WIFE IS A FLOWING RIVER	A RESENTFUL WOMAN IS SUPERCRITICAL WATER	---
13	A WIFE IS A RIVER TO BE DAMNED	A LOVER IS A RIVER, DEEP AND WIDE	---

A variant of the sub-domain FIRE, that is, FLAME (Table 35, row 8) is used in the Dravidian and TB literary works but with very different mappings. In the Dravidian region it is used for a girl child on account of her decimation at birth– "Many despondent mothers quickly **extinguished** the life of the luckless baby especially if she had arrived at the tail end of a succession of daughters" (The House of Blue Mangoes, Davidar, 2002, pp. 35-36). The source here is FLAME and the conceptual metaphor is A BABY GIRL IS A FLAME TO BE EXTINGUISHED. In the TB works this source domain is used for a the man's lover–"She looked perfectly ordinary. What was so special about her that had transformed Prosonto *da* into a moth drawn to a **flame**" (The House with a Thousand Stories, Kashyap, 2013, p. 146). "I was drawn to her like a moth to the **flame**" (The House with a Thousand Stories, Kashyap, 2013, p. 135).

Different aspects of the sub-domain WIND are used to describe women's temperament. A wicked woman in the Indo-Aryan works has been described as a raging storm, an energetic woman is a whirlwind in the Tibeto-Burmese works and breeze has been used to describe an amiable woman. Apart from these, the sub-domain EARTH is used in the Indo-Aryan works to conceptualise a mother as the bountiful earth. A sexually attractive untouched woman is describe as pristine raw earth in the Dravidian works. The two regions also share the SD WATER. The Indo-Aryan works have used it to describe women's bodies and body parts, as well as their roles. The Dravidian works have used it to describe women's character, behaviour and roles (See Tables 32 and 33).

5.1.2. Differential Cognitive Preference

The analysis found cases of differential cognitive preference or preferring one source domain over the others that are also part of the individual or collective cognition. Firstly, the literary works set in the Tibeto-Burmese region show a high preference for the ANIMALS SD for conceptualising womanhood (36.5% of total occurrences). In most cases of animal metaphors in this region, the positive qualities of the animals have been used more frequently than the negative qualities, to conceptualise women as strong,

assertive, belligerent etc. The preference for this source domain seems logical because this region is home to several species of plants and animals with which they share a symbiotic relationship. According to (N Ali, 2007), the people and animals share a 'commensal relationship'. Their close proximity and daily interactions with animals as their co-inhabitants, helpers and adversaries seems to have forged close ties, and influenced the collective cognition of the Tibeto-Burmese people such that conceiving any concept in terms of animals is effortless for them. Another reason could also be because in the collective consciousness, women are seen as autonomous, authoritative and independent. Therefore, the use of animals sounds more natural because this source domains more readily imparts positive qualities and power to human beings. The literary works set in the Indo-Aryan region also show high preference for the source domain of ANIMALS (28% of total occurrences). The preference for this domain may be for the reason that it is a highly patriarchal society. In that respect, conceptualising women in terms of weaker and negative qualities of animals shows patriarchal control. Animal metaphors for women in this region are more negative than positive.

The use of the source domain of OBJECTS is the most preferred in the Dravidian literary works (32% of the total occurrences). It is also observed that the high instance of the use of objects is not accidental. In fact, all the seven Dravidian authors have made use of this domain most frequently. This finding implies that treating women as lacking agency is a more common and subconscious phenomenon in the Dravidian culture because metaphors are not isolated from our conceptual system but are firmly planted in it, hence reveal the thought and perceptions at a subliminal level. Since metaphors lie at a subconscious level, they can be accurate in revealing what lies beneath a subconscious level. This is a surprising finding because literature on women's economic situation in India shows that Dravidian women are better off than their Indo-Aryan counterparts. It is also true that improving socio-economic indicators may not be an indicator of a better status or treatment because perceptions about women's roles, responsibilities don't seem to change at the

same rate as socio-economic changes. In the case of India, even educated and successful career women are expected to not forget their responsibilities towards their household and children and give priority to their home. There is always a time lag in changing stereotypes (Garg, 1991).

5.2. Target domain focus

Similarities and variations in target domain of womanhood have been analysed by comparing elements of the focus of metaphors on the social roles, physical attributes, mental and emotional states, and behavioral traits of women across the three regions. A comparative distribution of the target domains is shown in Figure 3. Table 36 provides further elaboration. As seen in Figure 3 and Table 36, women's social roles figure prominently in the conceptual metaphors in all three regions but the focus is high in both, the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian literary works. About 52% of total metaphors in the Indo-Aryan literary works and 53% in the Dravidian literary works focus of social roles. In the Tibeto-Burmese works, the focus on social roles approximately 36% of the total metaphors. Within the social roles, motherhood is conceptualized most frequently in the Indo-Aryan works (16% of total metaphors), followed by wifehood (10% of total metaphors). In the Dravidian literary works, wifehood is conceptualized most frequently (approximately 25% of total metaphors), followed by metaphors conceptualizing woman as a lover or beloved (approximately 8%), and motherhood and daughterhood at 4%. In the Tibeto-Burmese literary works, the frequency of metaphors describing the physical attributes of a woman is the highest. Approximately 21% of total metaphors focus on women's physical beauty and sexuality.
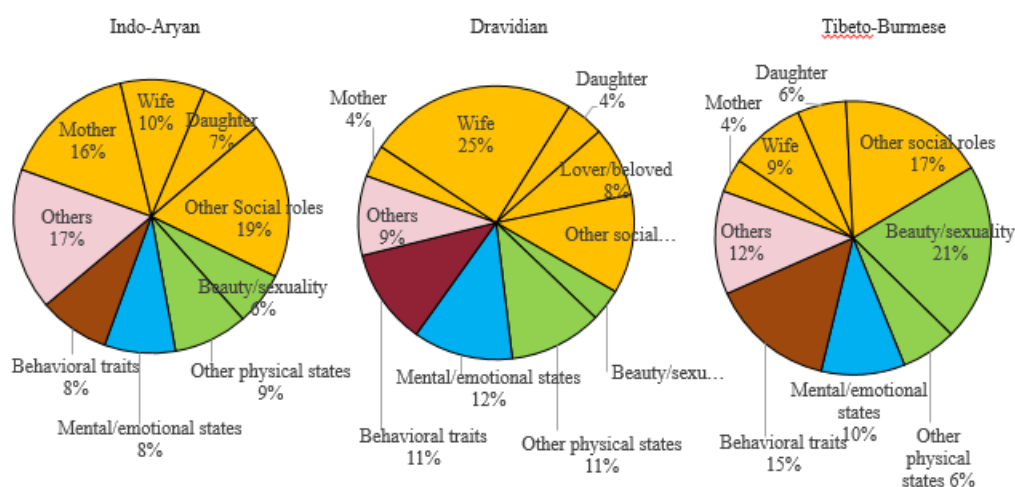
Figure 3: Comparative Distribution of Target Domains of Womanhood

Table 36: Distribution of Target Domains of Womanhood

Target domains of womanhood	INDO-ARYAN LITERARY WORKS	DRAVIDIAN LITERARY WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE LITERARY WORKS
Women's social roles	Distribution and frequency of target concepts		
mother	**51 (16%)**	10 (3.8%)	5 (4.%)
wife	32 (10.0%)	**65 (24.5%)**	11 (8.9%)
daughter	24 (7.5%)	12 (4.5%)	7 (5.7%)
householder	11 (3.4%)	5 (1.9%)	4 (3.3%)
bride	10 (3.1%)	5 (1.9%)	5 (4.1%)
mother-in-law	9 (2.8%)	---	---
widow	8 (3.4%)	4 (1.5%)	---
lover/beloved	7 (2.2%)	22 (8.3%)	5 (4.1%)
Other roles (maiden, maid, spinster, sister,)	12 (3.8%)	17 (6.4%)	7 (5.7%)
Women's physical appearance/state			
beauty/sexuality	20 (6.3%)	10 (3.8%)	**26 (21%)**
old, weak, sick, abused etc.	28 (8.8%)	29 (10.9%)	8 (6.5%)
Women's mental/emotional state			
angry, frightened, shocked, depressed, etc.	27 (8.4%)	31 (11.7%)	12 (9.8%)

Target domains of womanhood	INDO-ARYAN LITERARY WORKS	DRAVIDIAN LITERARY WORKS	TIBETO-BURMESE LITERARY WORKS
Women's behavioural traits/characteristics			
loyal, assertive, timid, rebellious etc.	27 (8.4%)	30 (11.3%)	18 (14.6%)
		Others	
Others (for example, unloved woman, ideal woman, novice woman, infatuated)	54 (16.9%)	25 (9.4%)	15 (12.2%)
Total	320	265	123

Motherhood is considered an important and sacred state in a woman's life in the Indo-Aryan region and is deeply entrenched in the culture as a woman's destiny. There is a long history of worshipping the mother as a goddess. She is compared to a cow to emphasise the nurturance that she is destined to provide. She is glorified as the source of energy, power and fertility and procreation of the next generation, preferably a male heir, is considered her natural duty. Her conceptualisation as a goddess deepens the aura of motherhood and at the same time places the onus on producing an heir on the woman. She is the Goddess Parvati who is considered the powerful divine mother of the universe. In *Sister of my Heart* (Divakaruni, 1999), Sudha and Anju both feel that their pregnancy has filled them with the power that they had never known before. A mother in the Indo-Aryan culture is also the mother earth, the creator and the nurturer, the one who not only gives birth, but feeds and protects her child against all calamities. In *Custody* (Kapur, 2011), the pregnant Shagun is pampered by members of her family, who address her as the bountiful, fertile earth (p. 15). In *Clear Light of Day* (Desai, 1980), children's adoptive mother, aunt Mira, is also referred to as 'their earth,' even though she is a childless widow.

The stories of mothers in the literary works discussed reveal that the woman who procreates climbs the ladder of social hierarchy. The women in this region have a better emotional connection with their children than they have with either their husbands or any other member of the family. In *The Age of Shiva* (Suri, 2007), there is Meera, who is deeply attached to her son Ashvin. The book's title is a metaphor

itself, is derived from the story of the Goddess Parvati and her son *Ganesha*, whom she created to be her most loyal confidant. Then, there is Sudha in *Sister of My Heart* (Divakaruni, 1999), who is lonely and unhappy in her marriage and longs to finds companionship in her unborn child. Though a submissive and meek person by nature, she assumes the *avatar* of the valiant Queen of Jhansi to protect her unborn girl from being aborted. Further, in many joint families[16], surrogate mothering has been evident whereby widows and unmarried elderly women mother the children, and older daughters rear their younger siblings. Bim, in *Clear Light of Day* (1980) for example, takes on the mother's role from aunt Mira and for twenty years she assumes the role as their mother. The responsibility weighs heavily on her when two of her siblings leave to find better lives, leaving Bim alone with their autistic brother Baba. At an ideological level, a mother is considered as *Shakti* or *power,* but the metaphors also show that she is confronted with the powerlessness in her life's experiences. On the other hand, Mira *masi[17]*, who is the children's widowed aunt, devotes her entire life to mothering the children and continues to give silently, concealing her suffering as they "suck her dry of substance" (p. 111).

Among the various aspects of womanhood in the Dravidian literary works, the focus on metaphors describing wifehood is high. Approximately 25% of the total metaphors focus on wifehood, suggesting a relatively higher importance is attached to this role than any other role that women discharge. To understand the reasons behind the higher occurrences of wifehood metaphors in the Dravidian works, a review of the social situation of women, especially in terms of matrimony, was done. It was found that in all sections of society and across all religions in Dravidian culture, marriage is seen as a sacrament and the wife is expected to carry the burden of keeping the institution strong and intact.

In the Dravidian system, the practice of marrying within the same kinship group is prevalent. The family relationship between the couple's families remains

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[16]A typical Indian system of extended family, living together in a single household. It may consist of up to three generations and their spouses. Joint families are fast disappearing in city life.

[17] Mother's sister.

strong, as they are related by blood. Marriage alliances between kin are also a way to enhance the internal bonds between families. The marriage bond is established by symbolically binding the woman to the man by the tying of the '*tali*' or marital necklace by the husband around the wife's neck. This act looks potentially inconsequential, yet it can be interpreted as the husband asserting his control over her (Aura, 2008). The fact that in many cases the couple are part of the same family makes the wife's role more crucial, since the responsibility of keeping both families together falls on the woman's shoulders. Breakdown of a marriage can tarnish the image of the family in society at large. The importance of the wifely duties is shown through the use of the 'kolam' metaphor in *Ladies Coupe* (2001). Several metaphors, such as the wife as an anchor, a painter, a maestro, a strategist, a magician, a stage director, a playwright, etc. emphasise the importance of ideal wifehood in the *Thousand Faces of the Night* (1992).

Another aspect of wifehood that is evident in the five out of seven Dravidian literary works is marital violence. The higher instances of domestic violence against women is starkly portrayed in *When I Hit You*: Or *A Portrait of the Writer as a young wife* (2017), which is a story of the author's own ordeal of marital abuse. *Mistress* (2006) reports marital rape, and three other books report cases of sexual abuse outside marriage. On delving deeper into this problem, it was found that in a survey conducted by the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-4) of India in 2015-16 (Sciences & ICF, 2017), the greatest number of marital abuse cases in the country were recorded in southern India, where 4 % of the women from Andhra Pradesh recorded emotional and physical abuse perpetrated by their spouse and 44.6% of women recorded the same kind of violence in Tamil Nadu, 24.4% in Karnataka and 16.3% in Kerala. This is in contrast to the general public perception of a better social and domestic situation for women in the Dravidian region than their Indo-Aryan counterparts. One reason why women accept violence submissively, and even find it justifiable, could be because of the marriage alliances between kin, whereby the husband may be much older than the wife. In such case, the wife is obliged to show obeisance to her husband. Although this study has not conducted any systematic research on violence against women, it is acknowledged that such attitudes are

shaped by real experiences. Therefore, it is somewhat natural that the metaphors of womanhood reflect this aspect of Dravidian society.

The metaphors of womanhood in the Tibeto-Burmese works do not reflect much adherence to women's social or domestic roles. Approximately 21% of the metaphors emphasise beauty, charm, and sexuality, 4% and 9% focus on motherhood and wifehood respectively, whereas the rest show women as persons burdened by the weight of keeping their chastity and honour intact. It is difficult to determine the causes of such a pattern. However, some research on the position of women in this region found a number of factors that may explain such a pattern. According to Mahanta and Nayak (2013), there is greater gender equality in this region as the women enjoy greater visibility, freedom, mobility, entrepreneurship, a sense of justice, and collective strength and indigeneity compared to the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian regions. This is reflected in the absence of oppressive practices such as the dowry, female infanticide, forced marriages, and discrimination in education, health and nutrition (Brara, 2017). In the matrilineal society of Meghalaya, for example, women participate in the street markets which gives them some degree of economic independence and confidence. The women of Manipur are expected to be economically productive and are given some degree of economic freedom to enhance their entrepreneurship. Though patriarchal supremacy and control is high in the states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura, and Nagaland, the women are seen to be better-off than their counterparts in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian regions.

Also, in the past decade, there have been some significant improvements in the northeastern region (occupied by the Tibeto-Burmese people) such as the gross enrollment ratio for girls exceeding that for boys in high school, equal opportunities for health, nutrition and mobility for women. These improvements have impacted women's lives positively such that they are more aware of their rights and do not seem to be under so much pressure to fulfil their domestic roles with utmost dedication. It is therefore reasonable to assume that economic freedom gives them the liberty to enjoy life's other pleasures and indulge in self-enhancement. To a large extent the metaphors reflect the changes in cultural attitudes due to socio-economic empowerment.

5.3. Negative, positive and neutral conceptualisation

The conceptual metaphors are further analysed and classified according to their representation of womanhood as positive, negative, positive and negative, and neutral. As mentioned in Section 3.5.3, the writer's intention, the context of the story, and the word collocations were taken into consideration when categorising the metaphors. Table 37 presents the distribution of conceptual metaphors according to the negative, positive or neutral sense connoted to them in the literary works of the three regions.

Table 37: Distribution of the Positive, Negative and Neutral metaphors of womanhood

Linguistic Region	Literary Works	Positive (+)	Negative (-)	Positive and Negative (- , +)	Neutral (*)
Indo-Aryan	*Clear Light of Day* by Anita Desai (1980)	16	13	8	10
	The Memories of Rain by Sunetra Gupta (1992)*	3	20	6	2
	Sister of my Heart by Chitra Banerjee (1999)*	37	41	3	2
	Book of Esther by Esther David (2003)	14	18	1	0
	Space Between Us by Thrity Umrigar (2005)	11	28	4	1
	The Age of Shiva by Manil Suri (2007)	15	28	3	0
	Custody by Manju Kapur (2011)	16	16	3	1
		112 (35%)	164 (52%)	28 (8.8%)	16 (5%)
Dravidian	*Thousand Faces of the Night* by Githa Hariharan (1992)*	24	25	2	1
	The God of Small Things by Arundhati Roy (1997)	6	21	2	0
	Ladies Coupe by Anita Nair (2001)	15	26	3	4
	The House of Blue Mangoes by David Davidar (2002).	7	16	2	0
	Mistress by Anita Nair (2006)	21	32	2	1

Linguistic Region	Literary Works	Positive (+)	Negative (-)	Positive and Negative (- , +)	Neutral (*)
	In the Country of Deceit by Shashi Deshpande (2008)	3	3	0	1
	When I Hit You: Or, A Portrait of the Writer as a Young Wife by Meena Kandasamy (2017)	4	41	3	0
		80 (30%)	164 (61%)	14 (5.2%)	7 (2.6%)
Tibeto-Burmese	*Collector's Wife* by Mitra Phukan (2005)	5	9	2	1
	These Hills Called Home by Temsula Ao (2006)	2	5	3	0
	A Bowstring Winter by Dhruba Hazarika (2006)	7	6	3	2
	Terrible Matriarchy by Easterine Kire (2007)	2	10	1	1
	The House with a Thousand Stories by Aruni Kashyap (2013)	12	16	2	2
	The Black Hill by Mamang Dai (2014)	12	3	4	1
	The Nine Chambered Hear by Janice Pariat (2017)	9	1	0	2
		49 (39%)	50 (41%)	15 (12%)	9 (7.3%)

The analysis revealed that conceptual metaphors in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian literary works have used the negative aspects of the source domains more frequently to conceptualise womanhood. However, the scale of negativity varies. The use of the positive and negative aspects source domains is almost proportionate in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works.

As seen in Table 37, proportionately the frequency of negative metaphors is highest in the Dravidian works at 61%, followed by 52% in the Indo-Aryan and 41% in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works. The frequency of positive metaphors is highest in the Tibeto-Burmese works at 39% of the total metaphors, followed by 35% in the Indo-Aryan. The Dravidian literary works have the least number of positive metaphors accounting for 30% of the total metaphors. This result is consistent with the better

overall socio-economic situation of Tibeto-Burmese women. The incidence of objectification of womanhood is much higher in the Dravidian region. In the hierarchical order of the Great Chain of Being, objects occupy the lowest level the hierarchal order. Generally, when human beings are equated with lower forms of existence in the hierarchy of GCB, the identification most likely creates a wider gap between the human and the element with which the comparison is made. In the case of the WOMEN ARE OBJECTS metaphors, the evaluation is likely to be more negative than the comparison with other metaphors.

A few examples of positive, negative, positive and negative and neutral conceptualisation of womanhood from the three regions are presented as follows:

Positive conceptualisation of womanhood through metaphors

(i) "Even after years of marriage he had always been the supplicant, **worshipping at her altar, never ceasing to be grateful that she was hers**" (Custody, Kapur, 2011, pp. 293, Indo-Aryan). Underlying CM: A BELOVED WIFE IS A GODDESS.

(ii) "Good housewifely kolams brimming with all housewifely virtues that made mothers-in-law refer to their daughters-in-law as the **guiding light of the family**" (Ladies Coupe, Nair, 2001a, pp. 50, Dravidian). Underlying CM: AN IDEAL HOUSEWIFE IS THE GUIDING LIGHT OF THE FAMILY.

(iii) "Every girl is **an asset** to her family and a man taking her away in marriage must compensate her parents for depriving them of a daughter. This was the customary bride price called a-re gelik" (The Black Hill, Dai, 2014, pp. 45, Tibeto-Burmese). Underlying CM: A DAUGHTER IS AN ASSET.

Negative conceptualisation of womanhood through metaphors

(i) "Escape appeared to be impossible. His family and mine were like pythons-they had taken **a firm grip on my body, life and existence**" (Book of Esther, David, 2003, pp. 319, Indo-Aryan), p. 319. Underlying CM: A DAUGHTER IS A PREY GRIPPED BY HER PYTHON-LIKE FAMILY.

(ii) I had to **pick up what was left of me, the little fragments of individuality scattered across the scenery of our love, like broken bangles, chipped glass and pebbles.** Trinkets of the type crows love to gift, and small children like to collect (When I Hit You: Or, A Portrait of the Writer as a Young Wife, Pariat, 2017, pp. 44, Dravidian). Underlying CM: A BATTERED WIFE IS BROKEN GLASS ITEMS.

(iii) I was noticing how Mridul had changed. He had the air of old men who thought teenage girls were **burdens** that increased in size and weight as time passed, (The House with a Thousand Stories, Kashyap, 2013, pp. 19, Tibeto-Burmese). Underlying CM: TEENAGE GIRLS ARE HEAVY WEIGHTS TO CARRY.

Positive and Negative conceptualisation of womanhood through metaphors

(i) "With what fervor she had been pursued and seduced by the man who became her husband, who had brought her into that house like she was **precious cargo, a fragile piece of bone china**" (Space Between Us, Umrigar, 2005, pp. 48, Indo-Aryan). Underlying CM: A BELOVED WIFE IS PRECIOUS BONE CHINA.

(ii) Helen was with him. Lucky fellow, Kannan. What a **trophy** he had! (The House of Blue Mangoes, Davidar, 2002, pp. 374, Dravidian).
Underlying CM: A BEAUTIFUL WIFE IS A TROPHY!

(iii) Here we are struggling to fend off strangers to protect our territory and you want to be **the lone arrow flying over the hill**. You don't know anything! (The Black Hill, Dai, 2014, pp. 47, Tibeto-Burmese).

Neutral conceptualisation of womanhood through metaphors

(i) "Bim softened to see him wrap bandages around old and frail Aunt Mira's childish wrists and hear him give her such kindly, good-humoured advice that Aunt Mira lay back on her pillows and weakly **glowed** with pleasure and gratitude like a **very small dim bulb with a fine, weak filament**" (Clear Light of Day, Desai, 1980, pp. 88, Indo-Aryan). Underlying CM: A FRAIL OLD WOMAN IS A SMALL, DIM LIGHT BULB.

(ii) "My mother must have looked like a **little sparrow** among colorful birds when she was among them" (In the Country of Deceit, Deshpande, 2008, pp. 106, Dravidian). Underlying CM: A SIMPLE, QUIET WOMAN IS A SPARROW.

(iii) ʻHe complained that my belly pushed him over the edge in the middle of the night. I was a **bleached whale**,' she laughed, 'needing help to turn around in bed.' (Collector's Wife, Kashyap, 2013, pp. 307, Tibeto-Burmese)

5.4. Concluding Remarks

The analysis of the similarities and variations in the conceptual metaphors in this chapter reveal that (i) five source domains, ANIMALS, OBJECTS, SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES, PLANTS and ELEMENTS OF NATURE account for over 65 percent of the total metaphor occurrences, (ii) the metaphors focus on different aspects of womanhood in the three regions, (iii) the conceptualisation of womanhood in terms positive, negative and neutral conceptualisation is also varies greatly across the three regions.

In terms of similarities, the ANIMALS conceptual metaphors are similar till the first level of specificity, in that WOMEN ARE BIRDS, WOMEN ARE BUTTERFLIES and WOMEN ARE BITCHES are common across the three regions. Within these three categories, there are some variations in the cross-domain mappings between the elements of the source and target domains. In the case of OBJECTS metaphors, multiple objects have been used in the literary works of each region to describe various aspects of womanhood. Among these objects, there are three types of objects that are common across the three regions are, WOMEN ARE BRITTLE OBJECTS, WOMEN ARE DAMAGED OBJECTS and WOMEN ARE MALLEABLE OBJECTS. Within these, there are similarities and variations in the way they have been used. With respect to the SD SUPERNATURAL ENTITITES, the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian works used goddesses to conceptualise women more in terms of a mother and a wife, while in the Tibeto-Burmese works, a goddess only signifies physical beauty. The use of the SD ELEMENTS OF NATURE is low in the Dravidian and Tibeto-Burmese literary works, at just 5.6% of the total occurrences, and comparatively higher in the Indo-Aryan works at approximately 8%. Within the source domains used, FIRE is used

most frequently across the three regions. Apart from this, the use of source domain WATER occurs in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian works, and its use is creative in both. Among all the target sub-paradigms of womanhood conceptualised, motherhood occurs most frequently in the Indo-Aryan literary works, followed closely by wifehood. In the Dravidian works, wifehood gets prominence, and the Tibeto-Burmese literary works, the metaphors focus more of the physical and sexual beauty of women. Finally, the analysis shows that conceptual metaphors in the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian regions the frequency of negative metaphors is high- more than 50% of metaphors conceptualise women negatively, in fact in the Dravidian literary works, more than 65% of metaphors reveal a negative connotation towards womanhood. The frequency of positive metaphors is highest in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works, followed by the Indo-Aryan literary works.
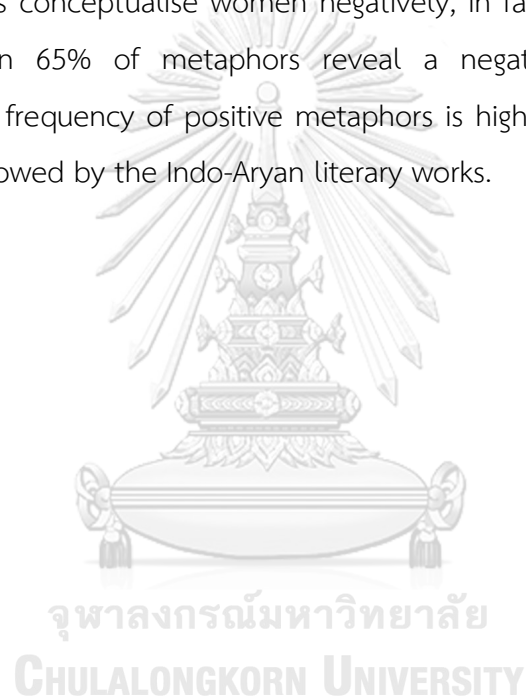
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter concludes the current study by summarising the main findings with respect to the research objectives as outlined in Section 1.3 (Chapter I). The chapter begins with the summary of the main findings in Section 6.1. The conclusions of this research are presented in section 6.2. Section 6.3 presents the limitations. The implications of this research are discussed in section 6.4, and lastly, recommendations for future research are offered in section 6.5.

6.1. Summary of findings

This section provides a summary of the answers to the research questions.

Section 6.1.1 summarises the answer to research question 1– What are the conceptual metaphors of womanhood in English literary works set in the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Tibeto-Burmese linguistic regions of India?

Section 6.1.2. summarises the answer to research question 2– What are the similarities and variations found in conceptual metaphors of womanhood across the three cultural regions?

6.1.1. A portrayal of womanhood in India through the lens of conceptual metaphors

To answer research question 1, 320 linguistic metaphors (LMs) in the Indo-Aryan literary works, 265 LMs in the Dravidian and 123 LMs in the Tibeto-Burmese works have been compiled together for a detailed understanding and interpretation of womanhood in the three regions. The summary is organised in form of the life portrait of a generic woman in each region through various stages of her life. A short profile of each, as reflected in the conceptual metaphors is presented below:

6.1.1.1. The Indo-Aryan woman

The Indo-Aryan region is a highly patriarchal society with men in positions of authority in socio-economic and domestic spheres. The power is handed out through the male line only. Women have limited public authority although they do exercise some influence in the affairs of their own homes. The metaphors from this region reveal a state of patriarchal control and the behaviours and duties expected of women as laid down by the males in positions of authority. When a girl is born, she elicits mixed reactions. While some families hail the birth of a girl child as the advent of Goddess Lakshmi, a very large number of families and communities are dismayed upon her birth. (A DAUGHTER IS AN IDOL IN A TEMPLE, *The Age of Shiva*, 2007, p.28; A DAUGHTER IS A PRINCESS TO BE IMPRISONED IN A PALACE, *Sister of my Heart,*1999, p. 308; A DAUGHTER IS GOODS TO BE DISPOSED OFF, *The Age of Shiva*, 2007, p. 61). All through her growing years, a girl must uphold her family's respectability by displaying upright moral conduct since she is regarded as the divine manifestation of *Devi* or goddess (A DAUGHTER IS GODDESS LAKSHMI, *The Age of Shiva*, 2007, p.28). The patriarchs of the family become her custodians until she is married, after which, her custodianship is passed on to her husband. As his wife, she is expected to remain devoted to him and his family. She is obliged to fulfil four roles simultaneously–those of a perfect wife, a self-effacing mother, an obedient daughter-in-law, and an ideal householder (AN IDEAL, SKILLFUL WIFE IS A POLYMORPHIC SPECIES, *Custody*, 2011, p. 293). The wife who can satisfactorily meet all these expectations is better treated and respected. Metaphors from this region also revealed that Indo-Aryan women are much under pressure to procreate and consider it their duty to provide an heir. An inability to reproduce is highly undesirable (A WIFE IS A BABY PRODUCING MACHINE, *Sister of my Heart,*1999, p. 213; A PREGNANT WOMAN IS THE FERTILE GODDESS PARVATI, *Book of Esther*, 2002, p. 63; AN INFERTILE WOMAN IS DAMAGED GOODS, *Custody*, 2011, p. 60). Women are generally accepting

of this role as they have been conditioned to value it as a blessing. A mother's ability to give love unconditionally and continuously without expecting anything back is a virtue that has been glorified in Indo-Aryan society. Such a depiction has seeped in so deeply that every mother pines to become such a generous and uncomplaining mother (MOTHER IS A GIVING TREE, *Clear Light of Day, 1980*, p.111; MOTHERHOOD IS A SWEET NUTRIENT, *Clear Light of Day, 1980*, p.153)

6.1.1.2. The Dravidian woman

The Dravidians are considered the descendants of the original inhabitants of India who founded the Indus Valley civilisation. Theirs was a matriarchal society. Over the centuries, patriarchy has influenced and constrained the matrilineal nature of the south Indian communities (Fane, 1975; Shenoy-Packer, 2014). With the expansion of the Indo-Aryan culture in the 19th century, the Dravidian society experienced a shift in their ideology. For one, they too adopted patriarchy, however, its influence remains uneven. Some communities still exist in that region that are matrilineal. In this region as well, the worship of the girl-child as goddess Lakshmi is widely prevalent. It is also a common and popular name given to a girl-child (A DAUGHTER IS THE GODDESS LAKSHMI, *The House of Blue Mangoes*, 2002, p. 267; *Mistress*, 2006, p. 312). But, the existence of the girl child is bound by strict rules and she is kept within the control of males in the family. The woman is generally at ease since she marries into close or blood related family. But she gets saddled with an added responsibility of keeping the emotional ties between the two families intact with her behaviour and service (AN IDEAL HOUSEWIFE IS A GRAVITATIONAL FORCE THAT KEEPS HER FAMILIES TOGETHER, *The House of Blue Mangoes*, 2002, p. 329; AN IDEAL HOUSEWIFE IS A GUIDING LIGHT FOR HER FAMILIES, *Ladies, Coupe*, 2001, p. 50). The charge of her upbringing, conforming to the societal, cultural and domestic expectations, is undertaken by females of the family and they take pride

in showing off to the world how obedient, adjusting and abiding is their daughter (A GOOD DAUGHTER IS A HOME-GROWN PRODUCE, *Thousand Faces of the Night*, 1992, p.15). She is trained well under their guidance to perform her role as a perfect wife who can strike a delicate balance between her responsibilities towards her husband and his family (A SKILFUL HOUSEWIFE IS A MAGICIAN *Thousand Faces of the Night*, 1992, p. 107). Motherhood is considered an important stage in her life and mothers are dedicated towards their children, yet occurrences of motherhood metaphors are found to be low. There is a disproportionate focus on wifehood metaphors instead. (A WIFE IS A CHERISHED POSSESSION, *Mistress*, 2006, p. 53; A WIFE IS HER HUSBAND'S SUBJECT, *Ladies Coupe*, 2001, p. 111). A surprising finding was the presence of a rather high number of metaphors pertaining to domestic violence in five of the seven literary works. A few examples of metaphors of violence against women found are, (A PHYSICALLY ABUSED WIFE IS CLATTERING PLATES FLUNG ON THE FLOOR, MARITAL RAPE IS PERFORMING CEREMONIAL RITUALS ON A DEAD BODY; *When I Hit You: Or, Portrait of the Writer as a Young Wife,* 2017, pp. 131, 168).

6.1.1.3. The Tibeto-Burmese woman

The Tibeto-Burmese region comprises over 145 tribal groups, some of which are highly patriarchal (the *Nagas*, for example). There are still some tribes in the region that are matrilineal though the male control on economic assets is strong. By and large, the Tibeto-Burmese society is considered more egalitarian. Considering that the development of literary genre is still at a nascent stage in this region due to its long-term isolation, the use of metaphors in Tibeto-Burmese literature is still limited. The analysis of the small body of metaphors found, portrays women as tough, free-spirited, and enjoying greater economic freedom and higher mobility (A HAPPY WOMAN IS AN EARLY MORNING BIRD, *A Bowstring Winter*, 2006, p. 230; A FREE-SPIRITED WOMAN IS A BIRD

SOARING HIGH, *The Black Hill*, 2014, p. 62). At the same time, they are also severely restricted by the customary laws and practices. Moreover, the metaphors inform that women in this region must work much harder on the farms since their value as a useful member of the society is evaluated through their domestic and farming skills (A DAUGHTER IS AN ASSET, *The Black Hill*, 2014, p. 45). Consequently, girlhood seems burdened with the responsibilities of self-preservation, and learning of household and farming chores. A young girl is considered an economic asset for the value she provides as a good farm worker. The practice of paying 'bride price' is prevalent in most Tibeto-Burmese communities (A BRIDE IS A COMMODITY TO BE BOUGHT BY THE GROOM, *A Terrible Matriarchy*, 2007, p. 211) A high value is attached to marriage and procreation but there seems to be relatively less gender discrimination (A DAUGHTER-IN-LAW IS THE LOAD BEARER OF FAMILY'S LINEAGE, *Collector's Wife*, 2005 p. 53). The metaphors reveal better acceptance of romantic relationships between men and women though it is the woman who bears the greater burden of punishment if found to be in an illicit relationship (AN UNWED MOTHER'S LIFE IS A SHATTRED OBJECT, *These Hills Called Home*, 2006, p. 51). There were some metaphors that described women as strong, rebellious, forthcoming, free and assertive. Additionally, there is high emphasis on women's beauty and sexuality in the metaphors as women themselves are conscious of their physical appearance. An example of metaphor describing their beauty is, A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN IS A LIGHT SPLITTING THROUGH A GLASS (*The Nine-Chambered Heart*, 2017, p. 90).

6.1.2. Similarities and variations in the use of metaphors

To answer research question 2, an assessment was made of the similarities and variations across the three cultural regions in terms of source domain usage, target domain focus and positive and negative connotations in

the metaphors. A modified framework, based on Kövecses' (2005) framework of Cognitive Dimension of Socio-cultural Variation, was used.

Since the source domains, ANIMALS, OBJECTS, SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES, and PLANTS and ELEMENTS OF NATURE are the top five most frequently occurring SDs across the three regions, these have been selected for analysing the similarities and cross-cultural variations in the source domain usage. The analysis has been done with respect to the distribution of the generic-level source domains or conceptual metaphors and their culture-specific instantiations. The generic-level metaphors point towards similarities, and culture-specific instantiations point towards variations. The second dimension was that of differential cognitive preference. This is the case where members of a culture prefer to use a certain source domain more frequently even though they have other source domains available to them. The SDs, ANIMALS, OBJECTS, SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES, PLANTS, and ELEMENTS OF NATURE are similar across the three regions up-to the first level of specificity. The animal metaphors shared across the three regions are, WOMEN ARE BIRDS, WOMEN ARE BUTTERFLIES, and WOMEN ARE BITCHES. The WOMEN ARE COWS/CATTLE metaphor is common between the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian literary works but does not occur in the Tibeto-Burmese works. In terms of OBJECTS SDs, women are conceptualised in the three regions in terms of three types of physical states of objects instantiating the CMs, WOMEN ARE BRITTLE OBJECTS, WOMEN ARE DAMAGED OBJECTS and WOMEN ARE MALLEABLE OBJECTS. Even though the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian cultures are more religion centric and the Tibeto-Burmese culture is strongly rooted in their beliefs in the supernatural phenomenon, the metaphors with SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES are found to be relatively low. Several of its specific sub-domains are used by the authors, including GODDESSES, TEMPLES, NYMPHS AND ANGELS, WITCHES, DEMONS, MONSTERS, GHOSTS and SORCERESSES. Of these, only GODDESSES and WITCHES are common to the three regions. The analysis of the PLANTS SD finds that women are conceptualised as PLANTS in terms of its ten generic-level elaborations. Of these, three are common across the works of the three

regions. They are, STATE OF A WOMAN IS THE TYPE/PARTS OF A PLANT; STATE OF A WOMAN IS THE STATE OF A PLANT; and A WOMAN'S BODY PARTS ARE TYPE/PARTS OF A PLANT. The analysis of the usage of the ELEMENTS OF NATURE SD has found that only FIRE and WIND were used across the three regions with FIRE occurring most frequently.

With respect to the differential cognitive preference the Tibeto-Burmese and Indo-Aryan writers prefer to use the ANIMALS SD much more frequently than other domains to conceptualise womanhood. Dravidian writers, on the other hand, prefer the OBJECTS SD. According to Kövecses, (2005), the frequency of a conceptual metaphor may indicate the presence of real neural connections. The more pervasive a conceptual metaphor is, the more stable is its connection with the cognition and experience (p. 34). As per the quantitative analysis of the target domain focus, in Indo-Aryan region literary works, metaphors pertaining to motherhood have the highest frequency, pointing to a relatively higher importance given to motherhood in Indo-Aryan region. On the other hand, in the Dravidian literary works, a much higher frequency of metaphors pertaining to wifehood indicates the importance of wifehood in the Dravidian region. Lastly, there is much more emphasis on sexuality and physical beauty of women in the metaphors found in the Tibeto-Burmese works.

6.2. Concluding Remarks

This study provides a basis to support the observed association between the uniqueness in culture and certain specific kinds of metaphors. It can be concluded that in order to fully interpret a linguistic metaphor and locate variation, it is important to focus on specific-level metaphors. Metaphors at a generic level may not satisfactorily explain the phenomena that are predominantly culture-specific. The WOMEN ARE ANIMALS metaphor for example is present at a generic-level and is found across the three regions. But in order to see how this conceptual metaphor is different within and across the three regions, one must analyse the cultural context of the metaphor and assign mappings at a specific level. In the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian literary works, the ANIMALS SD is used to portray women negatively by

mapping negative qualities of animals onto them. But in the Tibeto-Burmese works, animal imagery is used more often to depict women in a positive light, as forthcoming, assertive, independent and rebellious. Although women in the Tibeto-Burmese region have to cope with the societal restrictions, they emerge as stronger women who keep the courage to defy social traditions that confine or restrict them. In the Dravidian literary works, women have been objectified in terms of their utility. This may mean that there is emphasis in the Dravidian region on using women for pleasure and self-gratification. The Indo-Aryan and the Tibeto-Burmese conceptualise women in terms of their type and characteristics that can be utilised to decorate, mould, imprison; in other words, they are controlled.

The investigation of metaphors has brought to light some new information and some lesser known aspects about womanhood which are consistent with general findings from other studies on women's participation in labour markets, inheritance laws and marriage alliances. This is significant for at least two reasons (i) it asserts the relevance of metaphorical analysis in the understanding human psyche and attitudes, and (ii) it requires us to rethink political and social positions on gender discrimination, violence against women, and inclusion of women in economic and social spheres in India. The discussion below elaborates these two points.

The frequency of metaphors on domestic violence and marital rape is highest in the metaphors from Dravidian region—almost 13% of the total metaphor occurrences. On the other hand, such metaphors were less than 2% in Indo-Aryan literary works and altogether absent in the Tibeto-Burmese works. This is not to say that domestic violence is nominal in the north and absent in the northeast regions. But as mentioned earlier, the frequency of conceptual metaphors pertaining to these topics is an indicator that domestic violence is a salient feature in southern India more than it is in the north. When this finding was cross-checked with the national data on domestic violence it was found to be consistent with the statistical data on domestic violence in the National Family Health Survey of India in 2015-16 (Isaac & Ajayan, 2018; Sciences & ICF, 2017). An earlier study, Ghosh (2013) also recorded the highest number of marital abuse cases of high intensity in the southern states of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

A high concentration of motherhood metaphors in the Indo-Aryan works, wifehood metaphors in the Dravidian works, and higher prevalence of metaphors describing bodily beauty in the Tibeto-Burmese works, indicates that a careful analysis of metaphorical data can uncover aspects of otherwise lesser-known societal attitudes. That these findings are consistent with the status of women with respect to inheritance laws and women's work participation in the labour force strengthen the relevance of metaphorical analysis in understanding human behaviour at a subliminal level. As mentioned earlier, sociological studies have suggested that motherhood is valued more in the Indo-Aryan culture due to its intensely patriarchal nature. Procreation is highly valued for the perpetuation of family lineage. Further, a woman is valued more as mother of sons for reasons of inheritance. Even though, since 1956, women in India have had an equal right to inherit property, societal attitudes are still largely entrenched in prejudiced traditions that favour inheritance by sons. In southern states, on the other hand, due to the presence of matrilineal joint family systems, inheritance rights for daughters in the ancestral property and joint share of wives in their husband's wealth are historically a customary practice. This is perhaps the reason for preoccupation of wifehood in the Dravidian culture. Women historically could perpetuate family lineage as well and still do in some communities, but the egalitarian nature of this system has been eroding lately.

Lastly, the review of literature on womanhood in other parts of the world has revealed that female subordination is a universal phenomenon (Wilson, 2001). The cultural ideologies, education, work participation and other symbols may define womanhood as better or worse, but overall, there are continuing gender disparities that discriminate against women. One observation that stands out when comparing the conceptualisation of women in studies outside India is that the studies mostly look at how women are perceived in terms of ANIMALS, OBJECTS and FOOD, and such conceptualisations are studied mostly in media and advertising world (Byerly & Ross, 2008; Gallagher, 1981). In all three conceptualisations, the focus is on objectification of their bodies (Chin, 2009; Kilyeni & Silaški, 2014). This imagery is often derogatory and indecent, and treats woman's body as sexual object– conceptualsing a woman's bust as 'a missile', large-breasted women as 'milk cows'

and women as seductresses or 'fox-goblins', and vulgar metaphors describing female sexual organs, etc. In the current study the percentage of negative metaphors is higher in all three regions, but this negativity does not entail indecency at the level that is found in metaphors in other parts of the world as seen in the literature review. Sexual objectification and sensuality in metaphors in the current research is often euphemistic.

Considering the highly complex social mosaic of India, characterised by a vast spread of cultural diversity and heterogeneity, it would be unrealistic to claim that the metaphors analysed in this study present a generalisable representation of social roles, gender relations and the empowerment of women in India. Yet, the struggle between traditional and modern roles of women as revealed by these metaphors portrays a largely genuine picture of the overall situation of Indian women in a patriarchal stronghold. That said, with the opening up of markets and easier access to social media, a general disillusionment is seeping in Indian women with their traditional roles and place in the society. More and more women are standing up to fight against the discrimination and the constantly struggling towards becoming more independent, responsible and confident. A number of conceptual metaphors analysed in the study reflect explicit disapproval of unequal treatment given to women. The narrative that emerges from these metaphors can be a powerful stimulus in shaping the social and political discourse towards creation of a society that treats its men and women equally.

6.3. Limitations

The CMT has considerably widened its scope and can now account for a very wide range of possible linguistic and conceptual metaphors (Pinker, 2007; Shalizi, 2003), it understandably does not cover the entire spectrum of metaphorical expressions that can be possible in the real-world texts. Shutova et al. (2013) observe that despite the impact of CMT, there hasn't been a single study to date that can provide an empirical basis for the claims made by CMT. Hence, more studies using real-world data are needed in order to evaluate these claims. The current research has analysed about 700 conventional and unconventional linguistic

metaphors from English literary texts in India. Although the data set is quite extensive, it cannot be claimed that that the data fully captures India's complex cultural diversity. Despite the limitation, however, the study makes a contribution towards enhancing our understanding of ideologies and stereotypes that define women's status and role in India's cultural settings. Also, since this is a synchronic study, it does not capture changes in the social situation of women, if any have occurred in the period between 1980-2017.

6.4. Implications

This study has implications for research in metaphor studies, linguistic anthropology, gender studies and sociological research.

As mentioned earlier, Shutova et al. (2013) claims that there has not been any such research to date analysing conceptual metaphors in literature. This is the first study to do a comprehensive and systematic analysis of conceptual metaphors found in literary works of 20 authors and hence paves way for more research of this kind where authentic literary data is identified and tested through the use of MIPVU (G. Steen et al., 2010), a relatively new method to identify, explicated and validate metaphoricity. Moreover, most conceptual metaphor studies done so far have taken a deductive approach to studying conceptual metaphors, that is, they assume a conceptual metaphor or select an existing one, then set out to detect the related linguistic metaphors. This study has been one of the few to take an inductive approach. That is, it first identified all possible linguistic metaphors in the selected literary works, then examine them to uncover the underlying conceptual metaphors.

The field of Linguistic anthropology examines how people use language to represent culture through the use and interpretation of cultural symbols and artefacts. There are a number of metaphors in the current research that explain the significance of cultural artefacts such as 'kolam', 'saree', 'goddesses' and anecdotes from mythology that can become a rich source of information for linguistic anthropologist studying aspect of Indian culture. This study can also provide a background for gender studies in India and can urge specific actions to be taken with

regard to policy pertaining to women's inheritance, marriage, health and nutrition, etc.

6.5. Recommendations for further research

Researchers interested in the cognitive aspects of language may explore conceptual metaphors in literary works in various other native languages, since, given the socio-cultural complexity of the world, many more studies are needed to better understand the influence of culture on human cognition and language. The analysis of conceptual metaphors of womanhood in this study enabled an understanding of the situation of contemporary Indian women in their specific socio-cultural contexts pertaining to the three linguistic regions. Although much has been done to promote women and improve their status in India, the analysis of metaphors in the current study does not reflect any tangible, positive shift in the societal perceptions towards women's social situation over the period of 40 years (between 1980-2017 during which the selected literary works were published). In other words, the analysis showed no systematic correspondence between improving socio-economic indicators and metaphors over time. The reason for this may also be that the study has not been designed to capture such a shift in the metaphors, especially if some subtle changes in the situation of women, not apparently discernible, have occurred over time. Further research is recommended to test whether metaphors of womanhood have changed over time, if so, in what way? This will require setting up a diachronic study by selecting literary works to reflect a uniform gap in their publication and putting together a data set that can systematically assess changes in the metaphors through a defined timeline. Since there has been very little metaphor research on cognitive aspects of language in India, more such studies not only on English literary works but also on literature in the native languages of India will be an important step forward for future research in metaphor.

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Appendix

Appendix 1

Summaries of the Literary Works Analysed in the Current Research

A1.1   The Indo-Aryan literary works and authors

1. Clear Light of Day by Anita Desai (1980)

Set in the period before, during, and after India's independence, this novel examines the interaction between two middle-aged sisters, Bimla, nicknamed Bim, and Tara, during Tara's visit to the family's ancestral home in Delhi. Bim resides there with her mentally-challenged youngest brother. The story shifts back and forth between the novel's present time (1980), and the sisters' childhood memories of Delhi during the traumatic partition of India. When Tara and her older brother Raja moved out of the house they grew apart, but during one of Tara's visits to her ancestral home, when she tries to reach out to Bim, there is a conflict. Desai focuses on changing the position of women in Indian society, and shows how, despite some progress, their role as the mothers and caretakers remains unchanged. The novel explores how female identity is formed, and how self-reflection and memory operate in the female psyche. Within the story, motherhood is characterised in a variety of ways, including the nationalistic myth of mother India, the cow as a mythical feminine force, and appropriation of the characteristics of particular goddesses. Bim's symbolic motherhood, which sustains the family and the ancestral house, becomes "a life-giving and sustaining force against the destructive power of the outer world". Bim, Tara, Mira-masi, their adoptive mother, and the Misra sisters all add complexity to the discussion of Indian motherhood. Also, the book sheds some light on the prejudices against widows and their treatment through portrayal of the life of Mira-masi, Bim's widowed aunt, who lived during the 1940s and died shortly after India's independence. Although there have been some positive changes in people's perception about widows, after India gained independence, there remain a few poorer sections of society wherein a widow does not receive equal treatment as the other women in the household, especially if she is a dependent. In the light of this issue, the story provides a useful background to this issue.

About the Author: Anita Desai was born on June 24, 1937, in Mussoorie, India, to a German mother and a Bengali father, and grew up speaking German at home, but Bengali, Urdu, Hindi and English at school. Her first book, *Cry, the Peacock* was published in England in 1963. Her other famous books include, *In Custody* (1984) and *Baumgartner's Bombay* (1988). She once wrote: "I see India through my mother's eyes, but an outsider, and my feelings for India are my father's, as a person born here (Griffiths)." Currently, she is the Emerita John E. Burchard Professor of Humanities at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

2. The Memories of Rain by Sunetra Gupta (1992)

In this book, Gupta uses the metaphor of the colonised and the coloniser to tell the story of Moni, a young woman from Calcutta who marries an Englishman named Anthony. She moves to England with him where her marriage slowly disintegrates when he commits adultery. Moni suffers psychological aggression due to the constant and uninhibited presence of his lover in their home. She suffers silently, perhaps because her upbringing had taught her to uphold the 'ideal womanhood' values prescribed by Tagore himself; remain calm in the face of adversity in an extremely dignified way. After remaining suspended in such a state for a while, one day she returns to Calcutta with her six-year old daughter without informing her husband. This book reflects the dependence of Bengali culture on the towering figure of the renowned poet Rabindranath Tagore, which makes it a relevant source for this study.

About the Author: Born in Kolkata in 1965, Gupta received a Bachelor in Biology from Princeton University, and a PhD from the University of London. She is currently a Professor of Theoretical Epidemiology at Oxford University. She wrote her first work of fiction in Bengali and was the poetry translator of Rabindranath Tagore. She has published several novels in English and is a winner of the Sahitya Academy Award. Her fifth novel, 'So Good in Black' was longlisted for the DSC Prize for South Asian Literature.

3. Sister of My Heart by Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni (1999)

The protagonists of this novel are two cousins, Anju and Sudha, whose fathers died mysteriously during the night they were born. Their mothers come together and raise the girls. Growing up with each other, the girls form a strong bond, which is broken when Sudha learns a dark family secret. Soon afterwards, their lives are transformed when both get married. Anju leaves for California but Sudha remains in India. After five years of an unhappy marriage, Sudha leaves home and divorces her husband. This is when Anju revives their bond, pulls Sudha together, and gives her and her daughter a better life. Their story beautifully captures the family struggles women go through in India, and how they form support groups to deal with the issues that they confront on a daily basis.

About the Author: Born in 1956, in Kolkata, India, Chitra Banerjee is an Indian-American award winning author, poet, activist, and the Betty and Gene McDavid Professor of Writing at the University of Houston's Creative Writing Programme. She received her bachelor degree from the University of Kolkata, and a PhD in English from the University of California, Berkeley. Her work is set largely in India and the US, and often focusses on the experiences of South Asian immigrants. Consequently, the most common themes of her work reflect Indian women's experiences, contemporary America, women, immigration, history, myths, and the joys and challenges of living in a multi-cultural world. She writes in multiple genres, including historical and realistic fiction, myths, magical realism, and fantasy. Her books have been translated into 29 languages, and her work has appeared in over a hundred magazines and anthologies.

4. The Book of Esther by Esther David (2002)

This a historical book is about a small Bene Israel community that took root in western India following a shipwreck on the Konkan coast in the late eighteenth century. Autobiographical in nature, the book traces the journey of five generations of women of this community. It begins with the story of Bathsheba, who, with great strength and tenacity, shuns convention and takes charge of her family's wellbeing. It is also the story of the author herself, whose life was wrought with troubles, such as

the severed relationship with her lover, an unhappy marriage, and the struggle to raise her two children alone. David's account of a woman's struggle to attain a precarious selfhood adds value to the understanding of womanhood in both India and in general.

About the Author: Born in 1945, Esther David is an Indian Jewish author, born into a Bene Israel Jewish family in western India's state of Gujarat. She has written and edited several books related to Bene Israel Jews. She was recognised by the Hadassah-Brandeis Institute as one of the 12 Jewish women authors across the world whose "writing illuminates a particular city". She lives in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, a western state of India.

5. The Space Between Us by Thrity Umrigar, T (2005)

In this novel, Thrity Umrigar explores and beautifully presents the relationship between two women, Bhima the maid, and her employer Sera, who live at opposite ends of the social spectrum in Mumbai, India. Despite their social distance, they are bound together by the struggles that women face on a daily basis, and they share the same hardships and secrets. Sera is an upper-middle-class Zoorashtrian housewife who lives opulently, but hides behind the glitter and shame of an abusive marriage. After she is widowed, she devotes her life to tend to her pregnant daughter Dinaz and the charming and successful son-in-law Viraf. Bhima, on the other hand, is an illiterate domestic worker, hardened by life's unfairness. She devotes her life to support her orphaned, headstrong granddaughter, Maya, a university student. When Maya becomes pregnant by Viraf, Bhima's dreams of freedom from misery and poverty are shattered. It is a compelling and intimate portrait of the lives of three women living in modern-day India, who are intimately connected yet greatly removed from each other. It provides a valuable source of data for my research, as it vividly captures in the form of metaphors the issues faced by Indian women, and represents how womanhood is pitted within the divisions of class and culture.

About the Author: Thrity Umrigar was born in Bombay, India, and migrated to the U.S. when she was 21. After earning a Master in Journalism, Thrity worked for several years as a reporter, columnist, and magazine writer. She earned a PhD in English. In

1999, Thrity won the one-year Nieman Fellowship to Harvard University. While at Harvard, Thrity wrote her first novel, Bombay Time (2001). In 2002, she accepted a teaching position at Case Western Reserve University, where she is currently the Armington Professor of English. Thrity is a winner of the Cleveland Arts Prize, the Lambda Literary Award, and the Seth Rosenberg prize. She is active on the national lecture circuit, and has spoken at various book festivals, including the Los Angeles Festival of Books, the Tucson Book Festival, and the International Miami Book Fair. She has lectured across the United States at universities such as MIT, Harvard University, and Spelman College, and spoken at literary societies, civic and business organisations, and public libraries.

6. The Age of Shiva by Manil Suri (2007)

The title of the book is a metaphor in itself, derived from the story of Parvati, who, using her divine powers, created Ganesha to be her loyal confidant[18]. In the story, Meera claims full ownership of her son and aspires to be independent from her husband Dev. However, he dies in a road accident. Although she portrays herself as someone dominated by her highly ambitious father, burdened by her talented but lackadaisical husband, and stalked by her brother-in law, she gives the impression of a misguided, headstrong woman who blames others for her misfortune, but shuns every opportunity to improve her own situation. Meera's flirtation with her sister's lover, her decision to marry him despite her father's warnings, and her relationship with her son form the core of this novel. The book is also about the other women around her, who emerge to be much stronger than her. Through this novel, the author throws some light on a seldom talked about aspect of women's life in India – that there is a large proportion of middle-class families who treat the daughters, wives, and mothers on a par with the men of the family. In this novel, Meera's father has four daughters of whom he is very proud, and he continues to inspire them to gain a good education and become well-established professionals.

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[18] One of the many forms of feminine force in Hindu mythology, the Goddess Parvati is the consort of Lord Shiva. She is said to have created Lord Ganesha out of the turmeric paste with which she cleansed her body in order to safeguard the entrance to her abode.

About the Author: Born in 1959, in Mumbai, Manil Suri is **a**n Indian-American mathematician, and the writer of a trilogy of novels named after the Hindu gods. He attended the University of Bombay before moving to the United States, where he obtained a PhD in Mathematics from Carnegie Mellon University. He began writing short stories in the 1980s, and his first novel, The Death of Vishnu, was published in 2001. The Age of Shiva is his second novel.

7. Custody by Manju Kapur (2011)

Set in New Delhi, the story revolves around Raman's life with his first wife Shagun and his second wife Ishita, as they wage a fierce battle for custody of Raman and Shagun's children. After engaging in an illicit relationship with Raman's boss, Ashok, Shagun divorces Raman to marry Ashok. Soon after this Raman remarries. His new wife Ishita, who is not able to conceive, finds happiness by accepting Shagun's children as her own. Before long, a bitter legal battle for custody of the children ensues. Through this book, Kapur has dexterously addressed the gender equation that plays out in custody battles in India; whereby the men are reluctant to grant a divorce and the women receive a greater claim to their children. Also, the notion of family shame and social unacceptability that divorce brings, especially for women, is firmly planted in the background.

About the Author: Manju Kapur was born in Amritsar, India, in 1948, and is the author of five novels. She received her Master in English from Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada, and the M. Phil from the Delhi University. She taught English literature at the Delhi University for over 25 years. She has written five novels, and the first, Difficult Daughters, became a bestseller in India, and won the Commonwealth Prize for First Novels. Her latest novel, The Immigrant, was long-listed for the DSC Prize for South Asian Literature. Currently, she is living in New Delhi.

A1.2   The Dravidian literary works and authors

8. Thousand Faces of the Night by Githa Hariharan (1992)

This is the story of three generations of women of the same family. Devi and Sita, despite their education, find themselves entrenched in the centuries-old customs and traditions that have trapped them in the upper-class Tamil Brahmin Community of which they are part. Despite their progressive thinking, the women are not able to detach themselves from the upper-class expectations of ideal womanhood. They are forced to obey their ancient heritage. During her growing years, Devi's grandmother filled her mind with stories from Indian women's mythology that was a great influence shaping her personality. After completing her degree level education in America, Devi returned home, and Sita, her mother, pushed her into an arranged marriage with Mahesh the regional manager of a multi-national company. She failed to find companionship with him, because he is too pompous and arrogant about his accomplishments. She finds herself trapped in the social structure of male-oriented society and a dull, unsatisfying marriage. Unable to remain in the marriage for long, she elopes with her lover. After living with him for a few years, she becomes disillusioned and returns to live with her mother. Specifically, the novel focusses on the role that Indian mythology has played over centuries in the construction of female identity. The novel offers an insight into the differing ways in which the deeply patriarchal nature of Indian society oppresses these three women, who struggle to live life on their own terms. The author integrates the themes of marriage and love affairs, and connects them through parallelism with various female characters from Indian mythology, which makes each female character relevant to the study of Indian womanhood.

About the Author: Geeta Hariharan was born in 1954, in Coimbatore, and grew up in Mumbai and Manila. Currently, she lives in New Delhi. Her first novel, The Thousand Faces of Night, won the Commonwealth Writers' Prize in 1993. A noteworthy fact about her life is that she and her husband won the right to have the children named after her, instead of them carrying their father's name. The Supreme Court of India granted her this right by the judgement that the mother is also the "natural guardian" of the child.

9. The God of Small Things by Arundhati Roy (1997)

This novel is the childhood story of twins Esthappen and Rahel, who live in the southern state of Kerala. The temporal setting shifts back and forth between 1969, when Rahel and Esthappen as fraternal twins were seven years old, and 1993, when they are reunited. Ammu, their mother, is desperate to escape her ill-tempered father and her bitter, long-suffering mother. She persuades her parents to let her spend a summer with a distant aunt in Calcutta. To avoid returning to her parents she marries there, but later discovers that her husband is an alcoholic. He physically abuses her and tries to pimp her to his boss. She gives birth to Rahel and Estha, leaves her husband, and returns to Ayemenem to live with her parents and brother. In the setting of this multi-generational family home, Roy deals with misogyny and explores the different opportunities on offer for women and men in India, and examines the treatment of women by the other members of society. The story reveals the stark realities of India's social fabric, while addressing the volatile political and social issues of the time and the perceptions that they shape. The female protagonists in this novel are characterised as strong, resourceful, independent catalysts of social change. Yet, despite their inner strength, they never emerge as fully independent persons, as something inside them is suppressed by the rigid social structure, which the metaphors reflect.

About the Author: Born on November 24, 1961, in Meghalaya, India, to a Keralite Syrian Christian mother and a Bengali Hindu father, she is an actor, author, and political activist. She is best known for winning the 1998 Man Booker Prize for Fiction with her novel The God of Small Things, and her involvement in environmental and human rights causes. This debut novel became the biggest-selling book by a non-expatriate Indian author.

10. Ladies Coupe by Anita Nair (2001)

This book is the story of six bold, independent women, the likes of whom are carving out a space for themselves in a man's world that is transforming India today. The main protagonist, Akhila, is a forty-five year old single woman who works as a clerk.

She takes over responsibility for the family after her father's death. As her siblings grow and become immersed in their own lives she experiences indifference from them. One day, she buys a train ticket to the seaside town of Kanyakumari and spends a few days, living freely and outrageously. This journey becomes one of self-discovery in the intimate atmosphere of the all-women sleeper coach, when she engages in conversation with her five co-passengers and confronts them with the question about whether or not a woman needs a man to feel complete. The book deals with the everyday dilemmas of women's lives in contemporary India, revealing that what women face in their relationships is not different across the world.

About the Author: Anita Nair, was born on January 26, 1966, in Shornur, Kerela, to a Brahmin family. She was brought up and educated in Chennai, and now lives in Bangalore. She was working as the Creative Director with an advertising agency in Bangalore when her first book, Satyr of the Subway, was published. The book won a Fellowship from the Virginia Center for the Creative Arts. Ladies Coupe, her second book, was published by Penguin India. Her work has been published widely and translated into twenty-seven languages. Her work is not only critically acclaimed but has also achieved best-selling status.
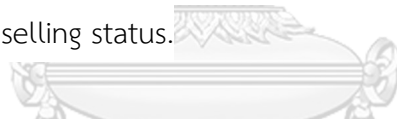
11. The House of Blue Mangoes by David Davidar (2002)

This novel is a tale of fiction, woven around actual historical events about three generations of a powerful Christian family. The opening section is set in 1899, in the southern states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu in colonial era India at the time when these states were being torn apart by caste and communal violence that resulted from various atrocities heaped upon the lower caste people, especially women. Solomon Durai, a rich landowner of Chevatha, a strong and influential patriarch, finds himself embroiled in a battle for justice when a young lower-caste girl of the farming community is raped and then commits suicide. This rape was the aftermath of the infamous Breast Wars of 1859 that erupted during those times, because women from the lower castes were forced to bare their breasts for upper caste males. When Christianity was introduced in the region, many people from the oppressed lower

castes converted to Christianity. Riots ensued, and although the flames died down eventually, the resentment lingered.

The next section focuses on stories about Solomon's sons Aaron and Daniel. The year is 1907, and India's struggle for independence is beginning to take shape. Aaron becomes a revolutionary activist in the freedom movement, whereas Daniel chooses to study and practice medicine. Aaron dies in prison while serving a life sentence. Daniel establishes Doraipuram, an exclusive colony for the Durai family in Chevathar. Daniel's son Kannan goes to college in Madras to study botany, and falls in love and marries Helen an Anglo-Indian lady.

The final section focuses on Kannan, who defies Daniel and becomes a planter in the tea estates of Pulimed. When Kannan's marriage breaks down, he returns to live with his mother, his father having died. Throughout the book, Davidar describes the lifestyle and challenges faced by the members of the three generations of the Durai family in vivid detail. Also, the book captures a true image of Indian women in that part of the country at that time. Although intelligent, resourceful, and emotionally strong, they were made to feel weak and subservient by the male-dominated society, and their contribution to society is completely ignored. The depiction of Solomon's wife Charity, Daniel's wife Lily, Kannan's wife Helen, and various other women clearly shows that although women step up and take charge of the family during difficult times, they are marginalised.

About the Author: David Davidar is an Indian novelist and publisher, currently living in New Delhi. He was born in 1958 in Kanyakumari district in the Southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, and did his schooling and first University degree from the same from there. In 1985, he obtained diploma in publishing from the Radcliffe Publishing Procedures Course at Harvard University, after which he joined Penguin India as a founder member.

As its first Editor, Davidar edited or published a distinguished line-up of authors including Salman Rushdie, Arundhati Roy, Kiran Desai, Vikram Seth, Shashi Tharoor, Khushwant Singh, Vikram Chandra, Mark Tully, William Dalrymple and others. From 2004 to 2010 he joined Penguin Canada and then moved back to India from Toronto in 2011 to co-found the Aleph Book Company. Davidar published his debut novel,

The House of Blue Mangoes in 2002. It is based on his own family experiences and met with critical acclaim with India and abroad. The novel was eventually published in 16 countries and translated into many languages.

12. Mistress by Anita Nair (2006)

Two stories unfold in this book. The first is about Radha, Shyam, and a travel writer named Chris, who comes to their riverside resort in Kerala with his cello and a tape recorder in order to meet Radha's uncle Koman, a famous Kathakali dancer. While Koman and Radha both find themselves strangely drawn to Chris, Shyam becomes a helpless observer as Radha embraces Chris with a passion and recklessness he cannot comprehend. Koman is both an observer and participant in this story, making no judgements except for those he reveals to the reader. In the second story, Koman tells Radha and Chris about his own past. The tale is set in Kerala and Tamil Nadu in the unique town of Arabipatnam. It also introduces us to Kathakali, with fascinating insights into the training regime and performance of this traditional dance form combining drama with dance. Although the book is written in the first person, it does not have only one narrator; as, in this style of dance-drama, each of the players is allowed to speak for himself. Shyam voices his thoughts, Radha voices hers, and we see them hurting each other, the misunderstandings deepening through the trickery of words. As Nair delves further into their past, we begin to understand the complexities of their relationship, and comprehend the injustice of it all. This is the story of Radha, a woman living in Kerala, and her encounter with Chris Stewart, a travel writer who visits India in order to meet Koman, Radha's uncle, who is a famed Kathakali dancer. Radha and Chris grow close, eventually entering into a love affair in spite of the fact that Radha is married to Shyam. Radha appears to have no qualms about deceiving her husband whom she never truly loved; and Shyam, although aware of the ongoing affair, chooses not to confront Radha. The story of Koman's journey as a Kathakali dancer provides the backdrop for the rest of the tale as it unfolds. The novel is an investigation into the relationship of a man and a woman, and shows the predicament of modern women in a male-dominated society.

About the Author: (See 10: Ladies Coupe by Anita Nair)

13. The Country of Deceit by Shashi Deshpande (2008)

This is the story of Devyani, who demolishes her ancestral home, symbolising the demolition of age-old traditions, and builds a new one that symbolises freedom from the old combined with the rediscovery of her new self. She lives alone, shaping life on her own terms. She meets Ashok Chinappa, the District Superintendent at the city's police station, but despite the fact that he is much older and married they enter into a romantic relationship. They engage in a love affair without any ethics, morals, or limits. She continuously lies and deceives her own family to continue her secret rendezvous with Ashok. She enters the country of deceit. This novel reveals that for a sizeable proportion of women in India, self-hood takes priority over the other responsibilities they are expected to discharge. If a woman is strong-willed for what she wants and has the grit to follow her desires and dreams, society does pave the way for her. It is the docile and weak that the patriarchy tends to oppress more.

About the Author: Shashi Despande, an award-winning Indian novelist, was born in 1938 and has achieved degrees in economics and law. She published her first short story collection in 1978. She won the Sahitya Akademi Award for her novel 'That Long Silence' in 1990, and the Padma Shri award in 2009. Her novel 'Shadow Play' was short-listed for the Hindu Literary Prize in 2014. She has written four children's books, a number of short stories, and nine novels, besides several essays that are available in the volume "Writing from the Margin and Other Essays".

 14. When I Hit You: Or, Portrait of the Writer as a Young Wife by Meena Kandasamy (2017).

This novel is a fictionalised account of the author's abusive marriage. Meena Kandasamy provides an unidentified narrator's voice in the attempt to make the incidents relatable for all women who are victims of marital violence. She opens up about the physical and mental abuse the narrator experienced as a newly-wed wife and writer. Immediately after the marriage she is socially isolated, and subjected to extreme violence at the hands of her husband who had been her lover. He was a university professor and a Marxist who uses Marxist ideas "as a cover for his sadism",

and he starts to assault her as soon as she moves with him to an unfamiliar city. He restricts her movement outside the house only to going grocery shopping, and confiscates her phone, only permitting her to call her parents sometimes, and he reduces her to doing all the household chores. He manipulates her to surrender her email and Facebook accounts as well. When she protests, he resorts to beating and raping her mercilessly. When, due to fear of societal pressure and even her parents and the police expecting her to tolerated the abuse and try to save the marriage, she realises only she can save herself. The book is a fierce and courageous narrative, and reveals what happens when violence destroys trust. This story is significant for my research because it shows the dark side of the institution of marriage in modern India, and the physical and psychological claustrophobia that battered wives experience at the hands of their egotistical husbands.

About the Author: Born in 1984 to Tamil parents, Meena Kandasamy is an Indian poet, fiction writer, translator, and an activist based in Chennai, Tamil Nadu. She completed her PhD in Socio-linguistics at Anna University, Chennai, wrote her first poetry work at the age of 17, and started translating books by Dalit writers into English at that age. Most of her work centres on feminism, anti-caste annihilation, and linguistic identity. She has represented India at the University of Iowa's International Writing Programme and is a Charles Wallace India Trust Fellow at the University of Kent, Canterbury, UK. Meena works closely with issues concerning caste and gender, and how society puts people into stereotypical roles on the basis of these categories.

A1.3   The Tibeto-Burmese literary works and authors

15. Collector's Wife by Mitra Phukan (2005)

Rukmini belongs to the elite class Assam, and lives in a small town where her husband Siddharth Bezboruah is the District Tax Collector. She is the professor of English literature at a local college in the town. Living in a spacious bungalow on a hill top, with many domestic staff, her life seems quite settled; however, the one sense of security that hounds her is her inability to conceive a child. She feels greatly responsible to provide progeny, and anguishes at not fulfilling this important clause

in the 'marriage contract'. Despite her high education level and social position, she faces indirect contempt from those around her because of her apparent barrenness. Nobody ever doubts Siddharth's fertility. She finds friendship and a source of stimulation with Manoj Mahanta, and they are intimate and she becomes pregnant. The novel raises the important question of why does a woman always bear the brunt of apparent infertility? This typically reveals the predicament of many women living in traditional Assamese society. Rukmini is shown as a person who epitomises quiet strength, but who challenges male supremacy by deciding to give birth to Manoj's child, and Siddharth accedes to her wish so to do.

About the Author: Mitra Phukan, born in 1952, is a writer, translator, and columnist. Currently, she is living in Guwahati, Assam. Her published works include four children's books, a biography, two novels, The Collector's Wife and A Monsoon of Music, and a collection of fifty newspaper articles entitled the Guwahati Gaze. Also, she has won the UNICEF-CBT award for children's writing.

16. These Hills Called Home by Temsula Ao (2006)

This book comprises a set of stories set in the troubled northeast region of India. A string of poignant short stories showcase the disconcerting experience of the people of Nagaland, who often get caught in a spiral of unanticipated violence. Through the use of metaphors, the author gives a vivid account of the turbulent events in the women's lives and their struggle to bring order into their ravished existence.

About the Author: Born in Jorhat, Assam, in 1945, Temsula Ao received the Master in English from Gauhati University, Assam. From 1992–97 she served as the Director, North-East Zone Cultural Centre, Dimapur. She received the Padma Shri Award in 2007, and the Governor's Gold Medal 2009 from the Government of Meghalaya. She is widely respected as one of the major literary voices to emerge from the northeastern region of India. Her work has been translated into German, French, Assamese, Bengali, and Hindi.

17. Bowstring Winter by Dhruba Hazarika (2006)

This novel is set in Shillong, northeast India. The backdrop of the story is the "old German knights' custom" of showing true friendship by two friends making a small wound in the arm and rubbing the other friend's blood into it. This act symbolises the vow of mutual life-long loyalty. Once entered there is no retreat from this pact. Soon after John Dhakar arrives in Shillong as the political science lecturer at St Edmund's College, he unwittingly enters the circle of the local gang leader, James; thus, becoming vulnerable to the dangers that lurk around. To make things worse, he falls in love with James' girlfriend, thereby enters a danger zone. Jennifer is beautiful, delicate,, kind-hearted and becomes a source of solace and comfort for John, who is otherwise a loner. Such an intimate relationship spells disaster in this misty hillside town. Eventually, John and Jennifer are united. Since Jennifer plays an important role in this story, and in their dealings with her the men provide a good impression of how their society thinks about women, I include this novel in this selection of stories. **About the Author:** Hazarika was born in Assam, but brought up in Shillong in northeastern India. He studied economics at North-Eastern Hill University. Considered a pioneer in the northeast of India through his writing about India in English, his first novel A Bowstring Winter was published by Penguin India in 2006. The novel bears a style that is perhaps unique to the northeast. Formerly, he was an officer in the Indian Administrative Services but took voluntary retirement in order to pursue his passion for writing.

18. Terrible Matriarchy by Easterine Kire (2007)

This story concerns of three generations of twentieth century Naga women. The grandmother, the mother, and Delieno, the grandchild. At the age of five Delieno is sent to live with her grandmother to help with the household chores. Although she has loving and supportive parents, her grandmother Vibano is particularly harsh and cruel towards her. Tension is provoked by the older woman's cruelty throughout Delieno's growing years, but she refuses to be defeated by such adversity and emerges victorious. I include this book because it challenges the widespread notion that gender inequality occurs due to male domination. The form of matriarchal

control described perpetrates gender inequality. In this story the old woman inflicts much violence against the young female child, but no one speaks out.

About the Author: Born in 1959 in Nagaland, India, Easterine is a poet, novelist, and writer of children's stories. Some of her short stories have been translated into German. Her first novel *A Naga Village Remembered* (2003), was also the first Naga novel written in English. She received her PhD in English Literature from the University of Pune. In 2011, she was awarded the Governor's Medal for Excellence for Naga literature. Her work has been translated into German, Uzbek, Nepali, and Norwegian. She now lives in Norway, and is a full-time writer.

19. House with a Thousand Stories by Aruni Kashyap (2013)

This story, set in 2002 in a small town in northeastern India, tells of young Pablo, a city boy who has mostly lived a sheltered and privileged life in Guwahati, who is visiting his ancestral village for his aunt's wedding. This is his second time in Mayong, a town in rural Assam, since 1998, when he visited for a few days to attend the funeral of his father's best friend. As the wedding preparations gather pace, Pablo is amused as well as disturbed by squabbling aunts, dying grandmothers, cousins planning to elope for love, and hysterical gossips. Over this heady theatre of tradition and modernity hovers the sinister shadow of insurgency and the army's brutal measures to quell militancy. In the days leading up to the wedding, which ends in an unspeakable tragedy, Pablo meets his first true love, discovers about the family's intrigues, and goes through an extraordinary rite of passage. Written with clinical precision, this gripping first novel announces the arrival of one of the most original voices from India's northeastern region.

About the Author: Aruni Kashyap is a poet and writer of prose. He was born and brought up in Guwahati, and studied at St. Stephen's College, Delhi. He writes extensively on socio-political issues, with several poems and non-fiction articles to his credit. He won the 2009 Charles Wallace India Trust Scholarship for Creative Writing to the University of Edinburgh. His debut novel The House with a Thousand Stories (2013), has attracted much popular critical acclaim. He is the Assistant Professor of English and Creative Writing at Ashoka University, Sonepat, India.

20. The Black Hill by Mamang Dai (2014)

This novel is based on a true incident that took place in the Himalayan region of Arunachal Pradesh between 1847 and 1855. The story is woven around the lives of three individuals, Kajinsha, the leader of the Mishmee tribe, Gimur his wife, and Nicolas Krick, a Jesuit Catholic priest. The focus of the analysis is on Gimur, who secretly marries a man from another tribe, but returns to her mother's house shortly afterwards, only to return to him again. However, soon afterwards he dies. Her impetuous free will, her eager desire for a life beyond her small village, her untamed wild streak, her courage, ferocity, loyalty, and her determination inspire a number of unique metaphors concerning womanhood.

About the Author: Her first collection of poetry River Poems, with the introduction by Keki Daruwalla, established her as a major voice in Indian English literature. and literature from the northeast of India. She is also the author of Arunachal Pradesh: The Hidden Land and several other books. She received the Verrier Elwin Award from the State Government of Arunachal Pradesh in 2003, and Padma Shri from the Government of India in 2011.

21. Nine Chambered Heart by Janice Pariat (2017)

The Nine-Chambered Heart is a powerful story of an unnamed woman as seen through the eyes of nine unnamed people who have loved her during different stages of her life. Through the nine chapters of the novel, Janice presents a vivid description of the life of this young woman through the people whom she loved and lost, and who loved and lost her. These people ranged from the school's art teacher who saw the spark of talent in her, to a female student, a friendship that turned into a romantic relationship, and even to a man whose transitory passion for her changed his life. Through character sketches of the people involved in the story, the author vividly presents very real human eccentricities.

About the Author: A writer of prose as well as poetry, Janice Pariat was born in Assam, but grew up in Shillong, Meghalaya. She obtained the Bachelor of Arts in

English Literature from St. Stephen's College, Delhi and the Master in the History of Art from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Her debut collection of short stories Boats on Land (2012), won the Sahitya Akademi Award for Young Writers Award, India's highest honour for literary work. Her work includes reviews of art and a number of books, both fiction and poetry, that have been featured in a wide selection of national magazines and newspapers. In 2014, she was the Charles Wallace Creative Writing Fellow at the University of Kent, UK. Currently, she is teaching creative writing and the History of Art at Ashoka University, Harayana, India.

Appendix 2
A list of Source domains

(Continued from section 3.2.1: Identifying the Source Domains using CMT)

A list of 30 generic-level Source Domains[19] used by authors along with their specific-level sub-domain[20] is provided. Using one or two examples of linguistic metaphors, this section shows how each generic-level source domain, along with its specific-level source domain/s was identified. The ground of the linguistic metaphor was identified first in order to spot the source domain.

Ground: A metaphors constitutes three components, the topic, which is the 'subject' of the metaphor, 'the vehicle', which is the term used metaphorically, and the ground is the relationship between the topic and the vehicle.

As can be seen, each generic-level source domain could subsume one or more sub-domains.

Out of the 30 generic level source domains used across the literary works of the three regions, 21 have been used in the Indo-Aryan literary works, 27 have been used in the Dravidian literary works and 23 have been used in the Tibeto-Burmese literary works. See Tables 4.1. 4.3. 4.5 and 5.1.

ACHIEVEMENT: REWARD, ACCOMPLISHMENT
"I do not ask you to marry me because I want to be your dazzling trophy wife" (*When I Hit You: Or A Portrait of the Writer as a Young Wife*, 2017, p. 119, Dravidian).
Definition: The linguistic metaphor, *trophy wife* calls for an understanding of the historically older meaning of *trophy wife*: *Trophy* has a Greek root which means *turning*, as in turning away from battle. When an opponent would be defeated, his

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[19] In block bold letters

[20] In block letters unbold

battle flags become trophies- symbols of victory. Julie Connelly, senior editor, Fortune magazine, coined the term "trophy wife" in the issue of Aug. 28, 1989, 'Powerful men are beginning to demand trophy wives'. Safire (1994) described trophy wife to be the second wife of a husband who is 10-20 years older than her. She is beautiful, taller and most of all, she is accomplished. She is a trophy for her husband because she does not "hang on the wall like a moose head -- she works", often at her own business." According to Carolyne Roehm, a dress designer who made it to the cover page of Fortune magazine, and whose husband was part of her flourishing business, women considered trophy wives are accomplished and ambitious, in both, their careers and their lives, are good looking, intelligent, rich, powerful and secure. Their husbands see them as a kind of reward, so they are in a way, their husband's achievement.

Context: This refers to the protagonist's treatment in the hands of her lover. He uses her for his physical and political purposes but does not want to give her the place she deserves in his social standing. She questions why he refuses to marry her.

Ground: achievement, accomplishment, reward. The generic domain was identified as ACHIEVEMENT since the ground is achievement

Sub-domain: TROPHY because the linguistic metaphor exactly specifies the tangible nature of this achievement, which is a 'trophy'.

Underlying conceptual metaphor (CM): AN ACCOMPLISHED WIFE IS HUSBAND'S DAZZLING TROPHY.

AGGRESSION (actions involving harming emotionally or physically): ANGER, ASSAULT, ATTACK, ASSERTION, CONFLICT, DOMINATION, HOSTILITY, HUNTING, INFLICTION, INJURY, PHYSICAL COERCION, PREDATORY BEHAVIOR, ROBBERY, STRUGGLE, VIOLENCE, WAR, VICTIM, WARRIOR, ROBBER, ASSAULTER, PREDATOR, PREY and so on.

"She was still at the top- she had not got away,the swarm had got her. They had settled about her head and shoulders....Bim too had her head bent and arms crossed over her face but she was not screaming-she seemed locked into the hive, as if she were the chosen queen, made prisoner" (*Clear Light of Day,* 1980, p. 135, Indo-Aryan).

Context: Bim is an older woman who did not marry so she can be a mother to her younger siblings after their parent's death. The author depicts the siblings as bees who time and again attack her with their needs. This *bee attack* has been described in a full page in the book. In a nut shell, Bim's motherhood becomes a victim of a bee attack and she feels trapped, not being able to get out of her role as a mother.

Ground: stinging bites

Sub-domain: BEE ATTACK

Underlying CM: MOTHERHOOD IS VICTIM OF A BEE ATTACK.

"The sacrificial knife, marriage, hung a few inches above my neck for years, and I see now that I had learnt to love, to covet my tormentor. I thought the knife would plunge in, slit, tear, rip across my neck, and let the blood gush. The games it plays with me are ignominious" (*Thousand Faces of the Night*, 1992, p. 54, Dravidian).

Context: The protagonist feels trapped in a loveless marriage. Devi has been thinking how in her marriage, she is expected to do all the sacrifices and how those sacrifices have damaged her individuality and compromised her freedom.

Ground: act of harming, wounding

Sub-domain: INFLICTION/ASSAULT: KNIFE STABBING.

Underlying CM: MARRIAGE IS SACRIFICIAL KNIFE AND BRIDE IS A VICTIM OF KNIFE STABBING.

"My violence is a reaction to your violence. Your violence is your effort to emasculate me. To live the life of middle class luxury, to go on talking about your feminism. I am now the repressive apparatus of the state" (When I Hit You, 150).

Definition by Oxford Reference: Repressive State Apparatus is a concept given by French Marxist philosopher Louis for 'a form of power that operates by means of violence.' It consists of the army, the police, the judiciary, and the prison system and operates primarily by means of mental and physical coercion and violence (latent and actual).

Context: This is a true story of the writer who escaped an abusive marriage, then wrote about the violence she experienced. The nameless protagonist's abusive husband demands that she curb her creative side and become an obedient housewife. When she does not, he accuses her of trying to emasculate him through

her feminist ideas, with her quiet and planned violence. She opines that he considers her the RSA.

Ground: violence, aggression

Sub-domain: REPRESSIVE STATE APPARATUS

Underlying CM: A FEMINIST IS THE REPRESSIVE STATE APPARATUS OF THE STATE

"He knew by then that Abor women possessed great spirit and vigour........She had done the unthinkable. She was the female warrior who had crossed the rivers and mountains carrying a bright banner of love with a man called Kajinsha" (*The Black Hill*, 2014, p.181, Tibeto-Burmese).

Context: Gimur and Kajinsha belong to two warring tribes. Because of the animosity between the tribes, their love is sacrilege. Yet, Gimur is a courageous young woman who breaks the law of her tribe to run away with Kajinsha.

Ground: act of warring, fighting, battling; Sub-domain: WAR

Underlying CM: A WOMAN FIGHTING FOR LOVE IS A FEMALE WARRIOR.

ANIMALS: Species, behaviours, characteristics (HUNTING, HOARDING, GUARDING, AGGRESSION, AMBUSH).

"I think of the butterfly I caught and pinned to the board when it was still alive, its wings spread so as to display the markings, obviously that somewhere within, a little heart beat yearning to fly. I am that butterfly now" (*Mistress*, 2006, p. 54, Dravidian).

Context: In the story, Radha feels trapped in a loveless marriage and compares herself to a butterfly who is trapped.

Ground: a free, flamboyant spirit, trapped

Sub-domain: BUTTERFLY

Underlying CM: A WOMAN UNHAPPY IN MARRIAGE IS A BUTTERFLY PINNED TO A BOARD.

ARTS: Visual Arts (DRAWING, PAINTING, ARCHITECTURE, CERAMICS, SCULPTURE, CRAFTS, PHOTOGRAPHY FILMS) Performing arts (DANCE, MUSIC, THEATRE, MAGIC & ILLUSION); Literature (DRAMA, POETRY, PROSE). All events related to art including artists. (Woman has been portrayed as a piece of art or an artist).

"The stage was all set. The props and chorus were ready, awaiting the director's cue. What could Devi, the innocent heroine, who strayed unknowingly into Sita's script, do once the drama unfolded to reveal a life, a will of its own?" (*Thousand Faces of the Night*, 1992, p. 106, Dravidian).

Context: In the novel, Devi is Sita's daughter. Sita is a shrewd woman and a skilled householder who is in-charge and in control of everything in the household, including the lives of people who live in the household, like her daughter, Devi and her husband.

Ground: act of directing; Sub-domain: THEATRE

Underlying CM: A SKILLFUL HOUSEWIFE IS A STAGE DIRECTOR.

BONDAGE: SLAVERY, BONDED LABOUR, SERVITUDE, CAPTIVITY

"Perhaps, my mother was transforming me into a Golem. It was one of my grandmother

Shehbabeth's favourite stories about Rabbi Low of Prague, and how he had created a Golem who was the Rabbi's slave. My parents had made me so I would be their slave for the rest of my life. They could be masters of my will. Just like the Golem" (*Book of Esther*, p. 2003, p.224, Indo-Aryan)

Meaning of *Golem* in folklore: In Jewish folklore, Golems are creatures created using inanimate matter, usually mud or clay , and then given life by casting a spell on a piece of paper and shoving it in Golem's mouth. It is then controlled by its maker. Golems are considered submissive creatures, and have no agency to act on their own accord.

Ground: Slavery and servitude

Sub-domain: N/A

Underlying CM: A DAUGHTER IS A GOLEM.

CELESTIAL BODIES: SUN, PLANETS, SATELLITES, COMETS, ASTEROIDS, METEOROIDS, GRAVITY, SPACE.

"Marriage has complicated our lives, divided our loyalties, set us on our different wifely orbits" (*Sister of My Heart*, 1999, p. 196).

Ground: going about on set paths and routines

Sub-domain: PLANET

Underlying CM: WIFE IS A ROTATING PLANET.

DEATH: CORPSE, PROCESS OF DYING, DECAY, GALLOWS, FUNERAL, HEAVEN, HELL.

"Where do I look for metaphors? How do I let another person know how it feels to be raped within a marriage? Death is all that I can think about when I lie there. Death which brings with it many meaningless rituals. To the Tamils, most important ritual is the ceremonial feeding of the corpse. . . before the body is hauled to the cremation ground, before the distant mourners start arriving, before drunken drums take to the street, next of kin place grains of uncooked rice in the mouth of the dead body. Motionless, devoid of touch taste sight smell sound, the corpse feels nothing. It lies there, playing the role of the obedient half of an obligatory ritual, as close relatives drop white rice through its parted lips. It is how I feel when my husband's kisses fall to my mouth..." (*When I Hit You*, 2017, p.168, Dravidian).

Ground: lack of vitality, lifelessness; Sub-domain: DEATH

Underlying CM: MARITAL RAPE IS PERFORMING CEREMONIAL RITUAL ON A DEAD BODY.

DIRECTION: All FOUR DIRECTIONS, BODY ORIENTATION, MOVEMENT in a magnetic field.

"I constantly need to know where you are. As though I am oriented only by your presence, or your absence. You are my north" (*The Nine Chambered Heart*, 2017, p. 90, Tibeto-Burmese)

Cultural context: According to Indian beliefs, all four directions have a significance. Since North is determined by the polar star, it is a symbol of stability and focus that never wavers. In the context of the story, the woman's lover simply calls her 'his north'.

Ground: relative position, orientation

Sub-domain: NORTH

Underlying CM: WOMAN IN MAN'S LIFE IS HIS NORTH.

FARMING & GARDENING: GARDENER, FARMER; acts of SOWING, PLANTING, GROWING, IRRIGATING, FERTILIZING, PRUNING, WEEDING, HARVESTING.

"She pruned and repotted it (daughter's life) sensibly, as she did her plants, and she did it in the belief that it would take in the soil, even if it was the soiled ground of a life devoted to being the ideal woman" (*Thousand Faces of the Night*, 1992, p.107, Dravidian)

Context: In the story, Sita, who is one of the protagonists, nurtures Devi, the second protagonist and her daughter. Sita makes sure that Devi gets the best of care, a good education and a lot of love. She basically takes charge of her daughter's life.

Ground: act of trimming and repotting plants.

Sub-domain: NA

Underlying CM: A MOTHER IS THE GARDENER OF HER CHILDREN'S LIVES.

FOOD: classes and types of FOODS, INGREDIENTS, DISHES, LEFTOVERS.

"Amba walked up with a bride's grace up to Salwa's throne, "I'm here O King," she said for all the court to hear, "to keep the promise I almost made earlier. You are my chosen husband. See the wife who stands before you, pure, untouched as her garland of fresh flowers. Salwa roared with crude mirthless laughter. His face twisting with rage he said, "Do you think I feast on leftovers? I am a king. I do not touch what another man has won in a battle" (Hariharan, 1992, p. 37, Dravidian)

Context: There is a reference in the book, to an anecdote in mythology. Salwa was a king, and Amba, his lover. They had promised to marry each other, but Amba was abducted by another Prince on the day she was to marry Salwa. However, immediately after reaching her husband's home, she confessed her love for Salwa and her abductor freed her. But when she returned to Salwa, he refused to accept her.

Ground: leftovers from food consumed

Sub-domain: LEFTOVERS

Underlying CM: A WOMAN REJECTED/WON OVER BY A MAN IS LEFTOVER FOOD FOR ANOTHER MAN.

FORCES: physical forces like PUSHING, PULLING, DRIVING; forces of nature like STORM, GRAVITY.

"She had always thought Bim so competent, so capable. Everyone had thought that.....But Bim seemed to stampede through the house like a dishevelled storm creating more havoc than order" (*Clear light of Day*, 1980, p. 148, Indo-Aryan).

Ground: act of being out of control

Sub-domain: STORM.

Underlying CM: A WOMAN UNCONTROLLABLE WITH RAGE IS FIERCE STORM.

GAMES: all games and sports activities, such as CRICKET, ACROBATICS, FUNAMBULISM, PLAYERS/PARTICIPANTS of these.

"She thought of the three of them. Mayammar, Sita and herself. Three women who walked the tightrope and struggled for some balance, some means of survival they could fashion for themselves" (*Thousand Faces of the Night*, 1992, p. 133, Dravidian).

Ground: the balancing act, care and precision

Sub-domain: FUNAMBULISM

Contextual meaning of 'tightrope walking': navigating a difficult situation, performing a difficult task with precision, agility and coordination.

Underlying CM: WOMEN ARE TIGHTROPE WALKERS. Or WOMEN ARE FUNABULISM ARTISTS.

"Completely bowled over by the man's ardour and pledges of eternal love, she became his willing lover" *(These Hills Called Home, p. 45)*

Ground: opponent, cricket

Sub-domain: GAME OF CRICKET.

Specific CM: A WOMAN IN LOVE IS A KNOKED OUT CRICKET PLAYER.

HUMAN BODY: BIOLOGICAL PROCESSES, INTERNAL & EXTERNAL ORGANS, their FUNCTIONS and so on.

"There was silence in the coupe. For a moment Akhila thought they had established a connection. Foetuses jostling within the walls of a womb, drawing sustenance from each other's lives, aided by the darkness outside and the fact that what was shared

within the walls wouldn't go beyond this night or the contained space" (*Ladies' Coupe*, 2001, p.22, Dravidian).

Ground: Linguistic metaphors *(i) foetuses (ii) walls of the womb* and *(iii) sustenance,* refer to (i) growing and developing in the womb, (ii) safeguarded & protected by the soft tissues on the lining of the womb, drawing strength from the womb and other fetuses and (iii) getting nurturance. This indicate the '*reproductive process'* as the '*ground'* or '*motivation'* for this metaphor. This points to two specific-level SDs in this linguistic metaphor, viz-a-viz, FOETUSES and the GESTATION PROCESS. The broader or generic-level source domain that entails both is the HUMAN BODY.

Context: The excerpt refers to an overnight train sleeper-coach for women, in which Akhila, the female protagonist, is travelling. There, she meets other women, who, like her, are dealing with issues in their marriage relationships and families. As they travel, they bond with each other by discussing their life situations and how each had overcome the challenges they had faced.

Sub-domain: FOETUSES

Underlying metaphors: A COHORT OF WOMEN ARE FOETUSES IN A WOMB and, FEMALE BONDING IS THE GESTATION PROCESS.

HEALTH: DISEASE, ILLNESS, DISABILITY, DRUGS, ADDICTION, MEDICATION

I have kept myself drugged with the romance of his words, the passion of his touch (*Sister of My Heart*, 1999, p. 184, Indo-Aryan)

Ground: intoxication, drug addiction

Sub-domain: DRUG ADDICTION

Underlying CM: A WOMAN IN LOVE IS A DRUG ADDICT.

JOURNEY: by road, sea, air, modes of transport, vehicles

"She must have steered the family through rocky times that followed her husband's death, with the same determination" (*Sister of My Heart*, 1999, p. 188, Indo-Aryan).

Ground: act of navigating & directing the path

Sub-domain: VOYAGE

Underlying CM: AN IDEAL HOUSEWIFE IS AN ABLE BOATMAN.

LAND: FIELDS, FARMS, BARREN LANDS (women as barren lands and fertile lands)

"Now, as she took charge of the bulk of wedding related work, the childless Okoni-pehi, who was often referred to as 'a barren plot of land' behind her back by the women, wanted the support from the child whom she had reared as a baby" (*A House with a Thousand Stories*, 2013, p. 170, Tibeto-Burmese).

Ground: infertility; Sub-domain: BARREN LAND

Underlying CM: AN INFERTILE WOMNAN IS A BARREN PIECE OF FARMLAND

LIGHT: light sources- SUN, LIGHT BULB, LANTERN, RAYS, DIMNESS, BRIGHTNESS

"Good housewifely kolams brimming with all housewifely virtues that made mothers-in-law refer to their daughters-in-law as the guiding light of the family" (*Ladies Coupe*, 2001, p. 50, Dravidian)

Ground: act of illuminating the path

Sub-domain: LIGHT

Underlying CM: AN IDEAL DAUGHTER-IN-LAW IS THE GUIDING LIGHT OF THE FAMILY.

MACHINES & DEVICES: Complex objects

"A mother's love will dig the stoniest of soils. Mrs. Rajora waited for Ishita to be at work before she began. She opened the cupboard, felt under the clothes, her bathroom shelf, her drawers, looking, looking, looking for something that would give her a clue" (*Custody*, 2011, p. 52, Indo-Aryan)

Context: The protagonist, Ishita is divorced by her husband because they find out that she cannot conceive. Her mother, Mrs. Rajora, finds her another match in Raman, who is a divorcee as well. Ishita and Raman start dating each other, and Mrs. Rajora spies on them, keen to find out what was going on between Ishita and Raman- were they actually falling for each other or were simply good friends.

Ground: the act of digging

Sub-domain: DIGGING TOOL

Underlying CM: MATERNAL LOVE IS A DIGGING TOOL.

MONEY and BUSINESS: anything (living, non-living) that has economic value, or that can be bought and sold, or exchanged in a market- PRODUCTS, COMMODITIES, PEOPLE, TECHNOLOGIES, ENERGY, SERVICES, INFRASTRUCTURE, MARKETS, MANAGEMENT, CONTRACTS, BARGAINS, PLANS & SCHEMES.

Her sterling qualities were more obvious when she was calm (*Custody*, 2011, p. 264, Indo, Aryan).

Ground: qualities of high value

Sub-domain: MONEY

Underlying CM: A WOMAN WITH EXEMPLARY QUALITIES IS HIGH VALUE CURRENCY.

"She plotted and planned with single-minded devotion, till years later, her schemes bore ripe, fulfilling fruit" (*Thousand Faces of the Night*, 1992, p.102, Dravidian)

Ground: act of planning and devising schemes; Sub-domain: MANAGEMENT

Underlying CM: A SKILLED HOUSEWIFE IS A SHREWD MANAGER

"These days Rukmini was always burdened with the feeling that she had been unable to fulfil her part of a social contract. That she had not kept a bargain" (*A House with a Thousand Stories*, 2005, p.54, Tibeto-Burmese).

Ground: act of making/keeping a contract, striking a bargain, making an agreement; Sub-domain: BUSINESS

Underlying CM: WIFE IS A CONTRACTEE AND A BARGAINER/BARGAIN HUNTER.

ELEMENTS OF NATURE (WATER, WIND, FIRE etc.), LANDSCAPES, PHYSICAL and NATURAL PROCESSES such as, FREEZING & THAWING, VOLCANIC ACTIVITY, NATURAL RESOURCES.

"To avoid arguments, I preferred to keep away from my parents. I knew I was melting towards them" (*Book of Esther*, p. 352, Indo-Aryan).

Ground: thawing process

Sub-domain: WATER (ice)

Underlying CM: A RELENTING WOMAN IS MELTING ICE.

"She was the tree, she was the soil, she was the earth" (*Clear Light of Day*, 1980, pp. 111-112).

Context: The protagonist, Mira, remembers her widowed aunt who became hers and her siblings' adoptive mother. She fondly remembers how Mira nurtured and nourished their childhood.

Ground: bountifulness, nurturing

Sub-domain: EARTH

Underlying CM: MOTHERHOOD IS THE BOUNTIFUL EARTH

OBJECTS (SIMPLE): NATURAL PHYSICAL THINGS with natural physical attributes and existence; MATERIALS, SUBSTANCES.

"Aunt Mira had been frequently ill, had aged young, was growing dotty and bald. Useless, but another household might find some use for her, as the worn article, thrown away by one, is picked up and employed by another" (*Clear Light of Day*, 1980, p. 104, Indo-Aryan)

Ground: useless, worn out, exchanging hands

Sub-domain: THING

Underlying CM: A CHILDLESS WIDOW IS A WORN-OUT ARTICLE, PASSING FROM ONE HAND TO ANOTHER.

PHYSICAL SENSATION: definition- a mental or physical condition/feeling that results from stimulation felt from a sense organ or from internal bodily change, as cold or pain. Following are included in this category- sensations arising from OLFACTORY, GUSTATORY, AUDITORY, AND TACTILE PERCEPTIONS; EMOTIONS SUCH AS NERVOUSNESS, EXCITEMENT, CONFUSION, SHIVER, SHUDDER AND ALSO DESIRE, CRAVING, HUNGER, HOT, COLD AND PAIN SENSATION.

"I felt sorry for Bano but she had grown so sour it was difficult to be around her for long"(*A Terrible Matriarchy*, 2007, p. 239)

Ground: sourness

Sub-domain: SOUR TASTE

Underlying CM: AN UNPLEASANT WOMAN IS SOURNESS /SOUR TASTE.

PHYSICAL STRUCTURE: HOUSE, BUILDING, PILLAR, SCAFFOLDING, DAM

"As if frightened by this breakdown in Bim's innermost self, this crumbling of a great block of stone and concrete, a dam to release a flood of roaring water, Tara unexpectedly let go of Bim's hand..." (Desai, 1980, p.176, Indo-Aryan).

Context: Bim, the older sister of the family nurtured her two younger siblings after their parents' death, and did not get married. When her younger sister Tara came visiting with her husband, from America, Bim piled her frustration and anger on her. But when she was about to leave to go back, Bim broke down, and embraced her, as if letting go of all her grudges against Tara.

Ground: crumbling down to allow water to gush out; Sub-domain: DAM

Specific CM: MOTHERLY SURGE OF EMOTIONS IS BREAKING OF A DAM.

"Abraham did not want to lose Bathsheba, nor did he believe that she was weak and vulnerable. She was their pillar of strength" (David, 2003, p. 22, Indo-Aryan)

Context: The daughter-in-law was on her death bed after a late miscarriage.

Ground: act of providing support; Sub-domain: PILLAR

Specific CM: A DAUGHTER-IN-LAW IS A PILLAR.

"His mother had always been a support to him" (Davidar, 2002, p. 261)

Ground: act of providing support

Sub-domain: PILLAR

Specific CM: A MOTHER IS A PILLAR.

(iv) "She looked sad and worn out. The termites called worry had entered her body and were eating her up from inside" (Kashyap, 2013, p. 152, Tibeto-Burmese).

Context: In the story, Moina Pehi, who had crossed the marriageable age, was now being married to a widower with teenage children. She was miserable and knew she will not adjust there, but couldn't stand up against her family's decision.

Ground: wooden structure infested with termites

Sub-domain: HOUSE

Underlying CM: AN UNWILLING BRIDE IS A WOODEN HOUSE INFESTED WITH TERMITES.

PLANTS: Species and varieties, classification, parts of plants

"A proper woman has a good head of hair, a chest full of breast and a womb that blossomed readily" (*Ladies Coupe*, 2001, p. 67, Dravidian).

Ground: growth and reproduction

Sub-domain: FLOWERING PLANT

Underlying CM: A WOMB IS THE FLOWERING PLANT.

PROMISCUITY: sexual orientation and inclinations, or acts not socially or morally acceptable.

"He called you a tramp. He said your sister was trying to mesmerize his brother" (*The Age of Shiva*, 2007, p. 50, Indo-Aryan)

Ground: act of seducing, promiscuity

Sub-domain: WHORE

Underlying CM: A LOVER PERCEIVED AS A SEDUCER IS A TRAMP.

"I must learn that a communist woman is treated equally and respectfully by comrades in public but can be slapped and called a whore behind closed doors" (*When I Hit You: Or A Portrait of the Writer as a Young Wife*, 2017, p.34, Dravidian).

Ground: politically, socially liberated; liberal in dressing up, as in wearing short dresses

Sub-domain: WHORE

Underlying CM: A LIBERATED WOMAN IS A WHORE.

"How can you trust her,' Mukhim said. 'She's nothing more than a bloody whore'".*(p. 292)*

Ground: politically, socially liberated; liberal in dressing up, as in wearing short dresses

Sub-domain: WHORE

Underlying CM: WOMAN IN AN EXTRAMARITAL AFFAIR IS A WHORE.

ROYALTY: members of royalty, CROWN, REIGN, MONARCHY, PALACES, COURTS.

"She is the crown I wear as part of a Vesham, precious and sacred, inviolable and, despite its beauty, a burden" (*Mistress*, 2006, p. 363, Dravidian)

Context: In the book, the dancer describes his beautiful lover as his crown that he wears as part of his dance costume. The crown is the most important accessory he

wears adds to the beauty and grace of his dance, but maintain his balance while dancing is difficult because it's so heavy.

Ground: preciousness, power, sacredness

Sub-domain: CROWN

Underlying CM: AN IMPORTANT AND DEAR WOMAN IS THE CROWN.

SOUND

"You pass by softly, a whisper in the corridor, the veranda" (*The Nine Chambered Heart*, 2017, p. 144, Tibeto-Burmese)

Ground: soft sound

Sub-domain: SOUND

Underlying CM: A DELICATE, SOFT BEAUTY IS A WHISPER.

SPACE: BLANK SPACE, EMPTY SPACE

"I should be a blank. With everything that reflects my personality cleared out. Like a house after a robbery. Like a mannequin stripped of its little black dress and dragged away from the store window, covered in a bedsheet and locked off in the go-down" (*When I Hit You: Or A Portrait of the Writer as a Young Wife*, 2017, p. 16, Tibeto-Burmese).

Ground: emptiness, blankness

Underlying CM: AN ABUSED WOMAN IS A BLANK SPACE.

SUPERNATURAL ENTITIES: HOLY BOOKS and SCRIPTURES; GODS, their ABODES and VEHICLES (in Hindu Mythology, every god has a vehicle, e.g, vehicle of Goddess Saraswati is a SWAN); Genesis, MYTHS and LEGENDS.

"In Tamil, there is a beautiful word for the womb. Karuvarai. The room of foetus Karuvarai. It is what the inner sanctum of a temple is called, where a god or a goddess resides" (*When I Hit You: Or A Portrait of the Writer as a Young Wife*, 2017, p. 19, Dravidian).

Ground: fertile and sacred; Sub-domain: TEMPLE

Underlying CM: A WOMB IS THE INNER SANCTUM.

WEIGHT

"Siddharth was an only son and the burden of producing heirs rested on her shoulder" (*The Collector's Wife*, 2005, p. 53, Tibeto-Burmese)

Ground: heaviness

Underlying CM: A DAUGHTER-IN-LAW IS THE LOAD BEARER OF FAMILY LINEAGE.

VITA

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