

FOREHEAD (ma:tʰa: / lɪla:r)
Embodiment and Metonymic and Metaphorical Expressions in Bhojpuri

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Abstract

The present paper explores the metonymic and metaphoric conceptualization of *forehead* in Bhojpuri. The article also investigates how culture plays a fundamental role in the analysis of conceptual metaphors and metonymy, since all metaphors are not ‘universal’ despite the claim that they share a common embodied grounding. These cognitive mechanisms or vehicles unveil certain conceptualizations that are deeply entrenched in the language and sometimes overshadowed by others.

Keywords: Bhojpuri, *Forehead*, Metaphors, Metonymy, Conceptualization, Embodiment.

1. Introduction

The term *forehead* in Bhojpuri is known as *ma:tʰa:* and *lɪla:r* alternatively. It is not only considered an important part of the human body, but it is also used in a vast number of metaphorical expressions to signify a variety of cognitive understandings. The focus of this study is to illustrate the relationship between the body-part forehead and nature of cognition in Bhojpuri language community which is manifested through the vehicle of metonymic and metaphorical expressions. The body-part *forehead*, in Bhojpuri community, is conceptualized as being famous/easily recognized, to show luck, respect, worry, anxiety etc. In the metaphorical expression the term *ma:tʰa:/lɪla:r* is used to judge the appearance of a person by the Bhojpurians. Here, appearance doesn’t mean beauty of the face but it signifies overall personality and trait.

In Bhojpuri, *forehead* stands for the front part of the head. This top orientation is also the origin of very common orientation conceptual metaphors, such as according to Lakoff and Mark Johnson:

“We will call these orientational metaphors, since most of them have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral. These spatial orientations arise from the fact that we have bodies of

the sort we have and that they function as they do in our physical environment. Orientational metaphors give a concept of spatial orientation; for example, HAPPY IS UP. The fact that the concept HAPPY is oriented UP leads to English expressions like "I'm feeling up today....Such metaphorical orientations are not arbitrary. They have a basis in our physical and cultural experience. Though the polar oppositions up-down, in-out, etc., are physical in nature, the orientational metaphors based on them can vary from culture to culture. For example, in some cultures the future is in front of us, whereas in others it is in back. such as CONTROL IS UP, HIGH STATUS IS UP, IMPORTANT IS UP..." (Metaphors we Live By, pg 15)

Similarly, in Bhojpuri expression we have *ōfa: ma:θa:* which represents the dominant part of the body.

Bhojpuri Language

Bhojpuri serves as a regional language, spoken in sections of north- central and eastern India. It is spoken in the neighboring region of the southern plains of Nepal. Bhojpuri as a language is also spoken in Guyana, Suriname, Fiji, Trinidad and Tobago and Mauritius. As for the decision of the government of India, during the enumeration of census, they had disagreed and estimated Bhojpuri to be a dialect of Hindi. However, presently, the government of India has granted Bhojpuri a statutory status as a national scheduled language. Bhojpuri is being split when sharing vocabulary with Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu and other Indo-Aryan languages of northern India. The literature in Bhojpuri is more tilted and inclined towards the humanitarian sentiments and conflicts. Hitherto, Bhojpuri is not fortunate enough to have enriched literature. In spite of this, its folklore, and folk culture are revived by the eminent presence of writers, poets, politicians and actors. Like other languages, Bhojpuri also has figurative touch in many contexts.

Methodology

The source of data has been both **primary and secondary** data cited from the general conversation with local people or heard in day-to-day conversation or folk literature, magazines or newsletters published in Bhojpuri (specifically in Varanasi Region).

Theoretical Background

“Cognitive Linguistics is the study of language in its cognitive function, where cognitive refers to the crucial role of intermediate informational structures in our encounters with the world. Cognitive Linguistics is cognitive in the same way that cognitive psychology is -- by assuming that our interaction with the world is mediated

through informational structures in the mind.”
- (Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens 2007: 5)

Cognitive linguistics originated in the late seventies and early eighties in the work of George Lakoff, Ron Langacker, and Len Talmy, the founding fathers. This is an approach to the analysis of natural language. It considers language as an instrument for organizing, processing, and conveying information. In this perception the analysis of the conceptual and experiential basis of linguistic categories is most important within Cognitive Linguistics.

The dualism of mind and body get challenged with the theory of embodied cognition which is based on the empirical research carried out in cognitive sciences. The embodiment hypothesis is the claim that “human physical, cognitive, and social embodiment ground our conceptual and linguistic systems” (Rohrer 2007: 27). Initially this hypothesis is formed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 112) as a constraint on the directionality of metaphorical structuring/ mapping.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Metaphor is a basic facet of human cognitive faculty which plays a vibrant and creative role in production of meaning, construction of knowledge and in understanding reality. In cognitive linguistics metaphor is considered the main mechanism to understand abstract concepts.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) with the help of empirical language data of English postulate that “abstract concepts are largely metaphorical”. They argued that abstract ideas like events, causation, time, the self, the mind, and morality are largely metaphorical, and these ideas are fleshed out by conceptual metaphors (1999:134). Gibbs (1994:7) also considers metaphor, and to a lesser extent metonymy, is the main mechanism through which we comprehend abstract concepts and perform abstract reasoning. Kovecses (2005:2) argued when the focus of understanding is on some intangible entity, such as time, our inner life, mental processes, emotions, abstract qualities, moral values, and social and political institutions, we understand intangible with metaphors.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory is a theoretical framework developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their book *Metaphors We Live By*. The basic premise of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory is that metaphor is not simply a stylistic feature of language but that our thought itself is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. The theory propounded that our conceptual structure is organized by cross-domain mappings or correspondences between conceptual domains. Lakoff and Johnson describe the essence of metaphor is “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (1980:5).

In technical terms metaphor has been defined as a set of correspondences (or conceptual mappings) between two conceptual domains where one of the domain helps us to structure, understand and reason about the other domain (Lakoff 1993:206-207). The two domains that participate in conceptual metaphor have special names i.e. the source domain and the target domain. For example when we talk and think about life in terms of journey, about argument in terms of war, about theories in terms of building etc. we actually comprehending life, argument and theories in terms of journey, war and building.

A convenient and precise way of capturing this view of metaphor is the following: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B, (LIFE IS JOURNEY, ARGUMENT IS WAR, THEORIES ARE BUILDING). It is known as conceptual metaphor. Conceptual metaphors function at the level of thought and are realized linguistically by the expressions usually known as ‘linguistic metaphors’ or ‘metaphors’. In Conceptual Metaphor Theory, it is convention to write conceptual metaphors in capital letters.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 247) write: “conceptual metaphor is a natural part of human thought, and linguistic metaphor is a natural part of human language.”

The **Conceptual Metaphor Theory** is a complex theory in which metaphor is seen as being constituted by a variety of parts, aspects, or components that interact with each other. The most important components of conceptual metaphors which need elaboration are the source domain and target domain, the correspondence among them and the kind of relationship between them. The understanding of metaphor is based on a set of systematic correspondences which is popularly known as mapping that exist between elements of source domain and elements of target domain. In other words, the constituent elements of the source domain systematically correspond to the constituent elements of the target concept. But the constituent elements in the source domain are taken literally whereas in the target domain they are metaphorical. To see the mappings between source domain and target domain, let’s take the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor as given by Kovecses (2010:123)-

Source: JOURNEY Target: LIFE

the travelers ⇒ people leading a life

motion along the way ⇒ purpose of life

the destination (s) of the journey ⇒ the purpose(s) of life

obstacles along the way ⇒ difficulties in life

different paths to one’s destination(s) ⇒ different means of achieving one’s purpose(s)

distance covered along the way ⇒ progress made in life

locations along the way ⇒ stages in life

guides along the way ⇒ helpers or counselors in life
crossroads in journey ⇒ major choices in life

Now, it is clear that through the above shown mapping that we comprehend ‘life’ in terms of ‘journey’, but it is not possible to comprehend ‘journey’ in terms of ‘life’ because the relationship between source domain and target domain is not reversible. We cannot comprehend ‘journey’ in terms of ‘life’ or ‘war’ in terms of ‘argument’ or ‘buildings’ in terms of ‘theories’ because conceptual metaphors typically employ a more abstract concept as target (LIFE) and a more concrete or physical concept as their source (JOURNEY). This is called the principle of unidirectionality; that is, the metaphorical process typically goes from the more concrete to the more abstract but not the other way around (Kovecses 2010:7). Our experiences with the physical world serve as a natural and logical foundation for the comprehension of more abstract domains. The mapping between source and target domain is not completely arbitrary at all, rather the mapping is guarded by the invariance principle.

Kovecses (2003:82) writes: Each source is associated with a particular meaning focus (or foci) that is (or are) mapped onto the target. This meaning focus (or foci) is (are) constituted by the central knowledge that pertains to a particular entity or event within a speech community. The target inherits the main meaning focus (or foci) of the source.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) explained the notion of “metaphor as a conceptual trend which is linked with people’s thoughts and behaviors”. This is persistent in

Metaphor and Human Body

Referring to the metaphorical mapping that is related to human body parts plays an important role in the creation of metaphors. Kövecses (2002) claimed that although human body is an ideal source domain that is clearly defined, one should not apply all aspects from this domain to metaphorically understand an intangible target domain. He also mentions that various body parts can be specially employed in metaphorical conceptions. For example:

- (a) The heart of the problem
- (b) To shoulder a responsibility
- (c) The head of the department (Kövecses, 2002, p. 16).

With respect to the metaphorical mappings that are related to the human body, there are two main domains: the non-body part domain and the body part domain. In addition, Lu (2005) claimed that the human body metaphorization mapping includes

two different types:

- (a) The conceptualized mapping from body part domain to the non-body domain.
- (b) Mapping from non-body to the body part domain (Lu, 2005: 470-485).

Cognitive Approach of Metonymy

Metonymy has always established links between two conceptual entities in the broadest sense within some conceptual framework or models that is domains or idealized cognitive models (ICMs), scenes, frames, and scenarios (Panther and Radden, 1999). Lakoff (1987) posited that in metonymy, one domain that is the target is highlighted frequently with a limited discourse principle, because it is this domain that is partly conceptualized by mapping onto it the source domain included in the same common domain. Therefore, we can understand more of metonymy as a domain highlighting, whereas in the case of metaphor is domain mapping (Croft, 1993).

From another view of point, Papafragou (1996) stressed that within cognitive linguistics, it is thought that metonymic conceptualization develops empirical links between objects or entities and flows straight from a broader theoretical principle, according to which concept formation is directed by external experiential and cultural factors, rather than by the innate human capacity for abstraction. Therefore, according to the cognitive approach, all innate cognitive structures is embodied; that is, it is based on bodily experience and recurrent patterns of interaction with the environment.

Unlike conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy has received less attention by cognitive linguists over the decades. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, conceptual metonymy became very influential in the field of cognitive linguistics. However, a number of investigators such as Langacker (1993), Barcelona (2002), Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and Radden and Kövecses, (1999) have put forward the meaning of conceptual metonymy.

Metonymy and Human Body

The PART STANDS FOR THE WHOLE metonymic variant has been traditionally named synecdoche, enjoying special privileges. Well-known metonymies for physical domain parts include hand, face, head, or leg for the whole person (Kövecses 2002, p. 152). For instance, consider PART FOR WHOLE, as in the following example:

- (a) She's just a pretty face. (Kövecses 2002, p. 152).

Here, we can treat this as a special metonymy case, in which the face of a person stands for the whole person and the entities portray the part as a whole in the conceptual organization (Radden & Kövecses, 1999, p. 18-19)

2. Conceptual Metonymies

The fact that the intellect is metonymically represented by the head/forehead (the whole for the part) has an evident in physiological grounding. Since human brain is physically located in the head, therefore, it can be seen objectively as the place where abilities such as imagination, perception, creativity, logic, etc. can be found.

2.1 The Thuding or Rubbing Forehead Stands For Suspicion/Doubt/Thought

Lots of linguistic expressions in Bhojpuri can be found containing the body part term *forehead*. In these linguistic expressions the term forehead metonymically stands for suspicion, doubt and deep thinking. Some of the examples discussed below will attest the argument presented here. In these expressions the general conventional knowledge about the physiology of human being motivates the meaning of these linguistic expressions. As metonymy is a means by which concepts with relatively little content may be conceptually elaborated and enriched, the same is applicable with the body-part term forehead.

ma:tʰa: tʰənək gəjəl (forehead sounded, it's like when two objects clash against each other creates a low sound)

ḍəb həm vḥā: pōḍḍəli tə kəl dekʰ ke ma:tʰa: tʰənək gəjəl (when I reached there, my forehead sounded to see everything)

In the above expression forehead is conceptualized as the seat of intelligence or thinking. When somebody suddenly perceives the sense of doubt his mind gets alerted. This alert is visualized as the sound of a clash of two objects in which human intelligence is one object and the sense of doubt is another. Since this alertness takes place in brain, the inner part of the forehead, metonymically it is always conceptualized through the use of forehead that is *ma:tʰa: / lɪlɑ:r* in Bhojpuri, thus *ma:tʰa: tʰənəkəl* in Bhojpuri conveys the meaning of alert when somebody finds the situation suspicious.

ma:tʰa: gʰɪsɑ: gəjəl (forehead is rubbed)

so:ḟət so:ḟət ma:tʰa: gʰɪsɑ: gəjəl (forehead is deteriorated by thinking again and again)

The meaning of the present example can also be decoded in the same line of the previous example. In this example also forehead is conceptualized as the seat of deep thinking and when we ponder over and over on something it is conceptualized as the rubbing of two objects. Our general

knowledge about the result of rubbing two objects also helps us in decoding the meaning of this expression. We know that when we rub some object it will get deteriorated therefore if somebody has to think over and over he will express this feeling metonymically with the above linguistic expression.

ma:tʰa: kʰəɖʒva: gəjəl (forehead is itched)

ma:tʰa: kʰəɖʒva: gəjəl lekɪn kʊʃʰo na:hi: bʊɖʒa:jəl (forehead was itched but nothing was understood)

Likewise, in this linguistic expression *ma:tʰa: kʰəɖʒva: gəjəl* (forehead is itched) indicates the sense of thinking over some matter again and again but failed to understand. Thus, on the basis of experiential correlations, the cognitive mechanism works to motivate the sense of the idiomatic expressions.

2.2 The Beating Forehead Stands for Repentance/Helplessness

Repentance is a part of emotion and in many languages expression this emotion is done metonymically with the body part heart. But in Bhojpuri community repentance is the part of your mistakes and when this is realized by the speaker, the speaker will blame this part to his/her intelligence. Since intelligence is considered the part of brain and it is physiologically situated in the head or behind the bars of forehead, forehead metonymically represents this feeling in Bhojpuri speakers. For instance:

ma:tʰa: pi:təʃ rəh gəɪl/gəjəl (beating forehead and remained helpless)

On experiential basis, in Bhojpuri community, it is often seen that people beat their forehead to express or show repentance. Such abstract emotion or cognitive understanding is expressed along with beating forehead which is conceptualized idiomatically. This is why one of the cognitive mechanisms conceptual metonymy support the conceptualization of the emotion THE FOREHEAD STANDS FOR REPENTANCE.

2.3 The Holding Forehead Stands for Worry

Forehead is a part of head and head contains brain and thought is part and parcel of brain. Thus, metonymically forehead stands for worry. Along with this it is very usual among Bhojpuri speakers to express worry physically by using this body part i.e., forehead in linguistic expressions. Let us consider the examples below:

ma:tʰa: pəkəɖna (to catch forehead)

o ma:tʰa: pəkəɖ ke so:ʃ me du:bəl həʊə (he is in deep thinking by catching his head)

ma:tʰa: tʰa:mhə ke / ma:tʰa: tʰa:mhə lehənə (to hold forehead/ to sit with holding forehead)

o ma:tʰa: tʰa: mhə ke səbere se bəitʰəl həvə̃ (he is sitting by holding his head since morning)

The conceptual metonymy HOLDING FOREHEAD STANDS FOR WORRY seems to be motivating the meaning of the above-mentioned linguistic expressions. The metonymy and the general knowledge of holding head, motivates the idiomatic meaning “to worry”. Literally whenever we worry over any issue it causes headache and we hold our head naturally. Thus, here, in these idioms the same experience is conceptualized through *forehead*.

2.4 The Raised Forehead Stands for Pride

The body-part forehead has various cultural significances in various linguistic and ethnic communities. In Bhojpuri it is directly associated with the sense of pride physiologically as well as metaphorically in linguistic expressions. When the Bhojpuri speaker gets the feeling of pride, he perceives that he is not equal to others or he is more prestigious than other people. To express this emotion, the person always looks little bit above to the straight line in a way to avoid other people because he is not considering them equal to him. This is performed by holding head high which is conceptualized as holding forehead high in Bhojpuri linguistic community. According to Bhojpuri *forehead* has its own cultural significance. It varies from culture to culture.

Some of the expressions are discussed here:

ma:tʰa: u:ʃa: ho gəil (forehead is lifted up)

həma:r ma:tʰa: həma:r ləiki: u:ʃa: kər dehəlas (my daughter has lifted my forehead up)

The grounding of metonymic concepts in general is more obvious than the metaphorical concepts since it usually involves direct physical or causal associations. The PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, for example, emerges from our experiences with the way parts in general are related to wholes, thus the sense of *u:ʃa:* or *up* is generally stand for something important. The raising of *forehead* is construed as to be proud of something or someone. The forehead is upper part of the body so it stands highest point of the body naturally, that’s why the cognitive mechanism motivates the sense of this linguistic expression and metonymically up lifted forehead is conceptualized to represent pride. We have many suitable examples of orientational metaphors given by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live by* (2003), such as:

HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN I'm feeling *up*. That *boosted* my spirits. My spirits *rose*. You're in *high* spirits. On physical basis, Drooping posture typically goes along with sadness and depression, erect posture with a positive emotional state.

CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN Get *up*. Wake *up*. I'm *up* already. He *rises* early in the morning. He *fell* asleep. He *dropped* off to sleep. He's *under* hypnosis. He *sank* into a coma.

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FOREHEAD (ma:tʰa: / lɪla:r) --

Embodiment and Metonymic and Metaphorical Expressions in Bhojpuri

HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN He's at the *peak* of health. Lazarus *rose* from the dead. He's in *top* shape. As to his health, he's way *up* there. He *fell* ill. He's *sinking* fast. He came *down* with the flu. His health is *declining*. He *dropped* dead. On physical basis serious illness forces us to lie down physically. When you're dead, you are physically down.

HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN He has a *lofty* position. She'll *rise* to the *top*. He's at the *peak* of his career. He's *climbing* the ladder. He has little *upward* mobility. He's at the *bottom* of the social hierarchy. She *fell* in status.

Social and physical basis: Status is correlated with (social) power and (physical) power is UP.

In continuation with the above examples, we have THE **BENT FOREHEAD STANDS FOR HUMILIATION**. The raised *forehead* is construed as pride; on the contrary bent forehead is interpreted as humiliation or shameful metonymically. It is a very general experience that whenever the emotion of shame is aroused, the person finds it very difficult to have eye contact with any other person. If you will see straight, you may get eye contact and to avoid this situation people look down so that they can avoid the eye contact with another person. This is a whole physiological activity to avoid the embracing situation and to perform this, the person has to look down which is conceptualized as forehead bending down. Consider the following linguistic expressions:

ma:tʰa: dʒʰɔk gəjəl/ ma:tʰa: ni:tʃe ho gəjəl (forehead bend downwards)

həma:r la:dʒ ke ma:re ma:tʰa: dʒʰɔk gəjəl (my head/forehead bend down due to embarrassment)

Here, bent forehead stands for humiliation, it is like head bend down with shame. The metaphoric meaning is motivated by our everyday experience. It is natural to hang forehead in embarrassment. The cognitive vehicle moves to such thought with bodily experience and creates idiomatic expressions. Therefore, the knowledge regarding the position of forehead and the given conceptual metonymy plays the role in understanding the meaning of the above EXPRESSIONS.

2.5 The Writing on Forehead Stands for Fate

Among the Bhojpuri speaking community it is a common belief that the GOD has written our fate on our forehead. This is a very prominent conceptualization of forehead in sense of fortune or good fortune. So, we find some metonymic expressions in Bhojpuri containing the body-part term *forehead* which somehow has to do with luck.

ma:tʰe pər lɪkʰəl ba:/ lɪla:re pər lɪkʰəl ba: (written on forehead)

dʒɔn ma:tʰe pər lɪkʰəl ba: u:hə hoi: (It shall happen whatever is written on forehead)

ma:tʰa: tʃəməkət ba: / lɪla:r tʃəməkət ba: (the forehead is shining)

okār līla:r f̄āmākāt ba: ṽ d̄āru:r a:ge d̄ā:i: (his forehead is shining, he must progress in life)

Here, in these idiomatic expressions, the forehead is associated with fortune or good or bad luck and is the source for conceptual metonymy THE FOREHEAD STANDS FOR FORTUNE/GOOD FORTUNE. The above-mentioned examples show that this body part is conceptualized to give the meaning of fortune. In example (1) the source of conceptualization of *forehead stands for fortune* is exist in the experience that how something written on our forehead, cannot be erased, it means the human destiny is fixed. Similarly, example (2) conveys the sense of good luck that is cognitively associated with ‘shine’; if forehead is shining means something excellent trait is related to the person. Here, ‘shining’ doesn’t mean somebody’s forehead is shining like some light or metal, but it is a feeling that our cognition relates to it which means good luck, thus metonymically SHINING FOREHEAD STANDS FOR GOOD LUCK. Therefore, we can say that cognitive mechanisms motivate the meaning of the above expression above idioms.

2.6 Touching Forehead Stands for Love and Affection

The body-part term forehead is also used to express the emotion of love and affection. It is attested in the quite common cultural phenomena among the speakers of many societies to kiss on forehead affectionately. In Bhojpuri culture too forehead is involved to communicate love and affection. We can consider the following idiomatic expressions in Bhojpuri:

ma:t^ha: f̄ōma:īl (*Forehead is kissed*)

ṽ ma:re d̄ōla:r ke ma:t^ha: f̄ōm lehnə (he kissed forehead due to keen affection)

ma:t^ha: f̄^hṽ la: (*touch forehead*)

ṽ ma:re d̄ōla:r ke ma:t^ha: f̄^hṽm lehnə (he touched forehead due to keen affection)

Kissing on forehead signifies affection, that’s why our cognition motivates the correlation between forehead and love and affection on this experiential ground. Similarly, affectionately touching the forehead is common practice among Bhojpurians. All these social and cultural phenomena together with the conceptual metonymy help speakers to decipher the meaning of above-mentioned linguistic expressions.

3. Conceptual Metaphors

The central idea of Conceptual Metaphor theory is that metaphors, far from being purely linguistic devices, are conceptual in nature and grounded in bodily experience. Being conceptual in nature means that they are constitutive of cognition and being grounded in structuring abstract concepts. According to Kovecses (2010), the meaning of an idiom springs from our more general knowledge of the world embodied in our conceptual system.

Based on this theory, metaphorical conceptualization of *forehead* in Bhojpuri signifies certain abstract concepts which are considered under the following conceptual metaphors:

3.1 The Forehead Is Something Edible To Be Finished by Causing Lot of Nuisance

ma:tʰa kʰa: gəl (she ate my forehead)

o səbere se həma:r ma:tʰa kʰa: gəl (she ate my forehead since morning)

ma:tʰa fʰa:t gəl (she licked my forehead)

o səbere se həma:r ma:tʰa fʰa:t gəl (she licked my forehead since morning)

Here, in the above examples the two cognitive mechanisms, i.e., metonymy and metaphor along with the general knowledge about the edibles help to decipher the meaning of above linguistic expressions. At first the metonymy PART FOR WHOLE or CONTAINER STANDS FOR CONTAINED (FOREHEAD STANDS FOR BRAIN) and the metaphor BRAIN IS SOMETHING EDIBLE guide the meaning. We experience from our daily routine life that when we eat something we almost finish it and don't leave a bit to be eaten by others, since the semantics of objects around us emerge from our interactions with them, so the metaphor FOREHEAD IS EATABLE is stimulated by experience of eating something. The sense actually comes out is **to bug somebody so much that he/she is not able to think anymore**. Example (2) also corresponds to the same meaning, i.e., edibles are likable also, and many edibles are being eaten or consumed by licking.

3.2 FOREHEAD IS AN OBJECT AFFECTED BY CIRCUMSTANCES

This is another very general conceptual metaphor which motivates the idiomatic meaning of numerous constructions in Bhojpuri:

ma:a bʰa:ri: ho gəl (forehead became heavy)

sofət sofət ma:tʰa bʰa:ri: ho gəl (forehead became heavy thinking over it again and again)

I agree with Gibbs when he proposes that metaphorical thinking occurs by mental simulation of the actions described in the metaphor. Here, the above-mentioned linguistic expression is stimulated by the experience of bearing weight that how sometimes it becomes difficult to stand it due to more heaviness of weight. Similarly, *forehead* becomes heavy with the burden of thoughts and worry. Therefore, the cognitive vehicles or mechanisms that are conceptual metaphors and metonymy play a role in conceptualization of forehead. Thus, FOREHEAD IS WEIGHT is communicated with the sense of stress, pressure, or nervous tension.

On the contrary, we have this expression also:

ma:tʰa həllək ho gəl (forehead became light)

The previously mentioned metaphor and physical experience help us to decipher the meaning of the above linguistic expressions also. As we know that forehead becomes heavy with the burden of thoughts and worry in the same manner the worries or tension is resolved the forehead will be free. And this feeling is expressed with the above-mentioned linguistic expression.

3.3 The Stooped Forehead Is To Pay Homage Or Offering

The following metaphor is motivated by the conceptual metonymy THE RAISED FOREHEAD STANDS FOR PRIDE, along with the concerned metaphor. The meaning of Bhojpuri constructions like:

ma:t^ha: pər pər d^hər/ fəd^ha: da: (keep your forehead on feet *or* offer you forehead before someone's feet)

Our forehead becomes an offering or homage for somebody, if it stoops to someone's feet stoop. This idiomatic expression is related and contrary to the conceptual metonymy THE RAISED FOREHEAD STANDS FOR PRIDE because if the raising of *forehead* is construed as to be proud of something or someone, to bend down forehead with respect or honor to someone's feet signifies or can be conceptualized as offering or homage opposite to this the conceptual metonymy DOWN FOREHEAD STANDS FOR HUMILIATION, as discussed above, hung forehead is interpreted as humiliation or shamefulness.

3.4 The Forehead Is a Readable Object

Based on the above metaphors several linguistic expressions can be constructed in Bhojpuri containing the word *forehead*. We have already discussed two things that forehead signifies our overall personality traits, and our fate is embossed on our forehead. In other words, it is like a readable object but the reader must possess the quality of deciphering the matter embossed on forehead. For example:

ma:t^ha pəd^h lehənə (he read the forehead)

pəḍʒa:ri dʒɪ ma t^ha pəd^h ke kəl bəta: dehənə (the priest has revealed everything reading forehead)

ma:t^he pər lik^həl həv (written on forehead)

dʒəvən ma:t^he pər lik^hə gəjəl v̄hə hoi: (it must take place whatever written on forehead)

It happens literally when forecaster reveals someone's fate or future by reading one's forehead. Thus, in experiential sources such metaphorical conceptualizations take place. Since the reading-writing concept came from book, consequently our cognitive vehicles move to such conceptualization of forehead metaphorically, and stimulate the embodiment of body part terms in

Bhojpuri culture. Therefore, examples (1) and (2) link the literal meaning and help to perceive the sense of reading forehead or FOREHEAD IS BOOK.

3.5 The Forehead Is Something That Buzzes

Since there is a connection between brain, body and world, this is very interesting conceptual metaphor motivating the meaning of the following linguistic expression.

ma:tʰa: bʰanna: gəjəl (forehead buzzed).

okər ba:t sən ke həma:r ma:tʰa: bʰanna:e ləgəjəl (listening his talk my forehead started buzzing)

The linguistic expression implies that sometimes in annoyance and resentment we start thinking and murmuring in mind but do not utter. Buzzing sounds of insects stimulating this metaphor gives the meaning of aggravation. The conceptual metaphor THE FOREHEAD IS SOMETHING THAT BUZZES seems to be the motivating mechanism which induces the speakers of Bhojpuri to make sense of the linguistic expression which is ‘to murmur in mind in resentment and annoyance but do not utter in words’. Forehead and head is generally conceptualized as the locus of emotion of anger in Bhojpuri. Here, the insect’s buzzing sound is linked with the emotion of anger due to irritation caused by someone’s words or voice.

3.6 Trying Hard To Understand Is To Rub Forehead

Our day -to -day experience plays a crucial role not only in expressing people’s mind, but also in people’s understanding of the language they hear or read. The following linguistic expression is embodying the same experience to convey some emotion. For instance:

ma:tʰa: rəgər mərənə (to rub forehead bitterly)

ʊ matʰa: rəgər mərənə pər kuʃʰo səmədʒʰ na:hi: a:jəl (he rubbed his forehead bitterly but understood nothing)

Metaphors are produced on the basis of our daily experience or bodily experience, and the construal of the meaning is related to those experiences which actually help us to make out the sense. Here, the expression is related to our experience of rubbing things against to get some output (for example rubbing two stones for obtaining fire), similarly, the linguistic expression *ma:tʰa: rəgər mərənə* (rubbing forehead bitterly) relate the sense of ‘to strive hard’ to understand something. Therefore, our cognitive vehicles that are conceptual metaphors and metonymy moves to such conceptualizations to express such deeply felt emotions, and this type of constructions in Bhojpuri is used metaphorically.

3.7 Forehead Is A Container

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FOREHEAD (ma:tʰa: / lɪla:r) --

Embodiment and Metonymic and Metaphorical Expressions in Bhojpuri

This is another very general conceptual metaphor which motivates the meaning of numerous linguistic expressions and probably the most frequent conceptual metaphors which motivate many Bhojpuri linguistic expressions forming with the body-part term head are motivated by conceptual metaphor THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER metaphor which rests on the CONTAINER image schema. All major parts of the human body may be seen as containers (Yu 2009, Niemeier 2000) with the boundaries and the contents they carry, which may be emptied, spilled, poured, etc. The CONTAINER image schema, therefore, is inherently embodied. In the CONTAINER schema, the head is metaphorically understood as "a three-dimensional entity that can hold things inside." (Díez Velasco 2001/2: 53), meaning that the head is conceptualized as a bounded space with its inside and outside, where a content is stored. It is directly related with the size and shape of the human head which resembles a container. We know that a container is used to store things. In the same way, the head is perceived as a container for 'storing' ideas and thoughts of various kinds. In fact, the head is conceptualized as a container, similar to any other container, maybe filled with certain content. In other words, these expressions "focus either on its fullness vs. emptiness or on the dynamic process of filling or emptying it" (Niemeier 2008:363)

ma:tʰe me da:l gəjəl (something is put in the forehead)

i: baat okəre ma:tʰe me da:l gəjəl (this talk/matter is put into his forehead)

This linguistic expression implies that some idea is put into someone's mind. Thus, the idiom invokes an image of some idea contained in forehead. Here, forehead is conceptualized as a container to put some ideas into it. The more specific conceptual metaphor THE FOREHEAD IS CONTAINER FOR IDEAS. Another concept that emerges with the expression is IDEA IS OBJECT OR THING to put into the container.

Similarly, the expression: *kʰa:li: ma:tʰa:* conveys the sense if a person has no thoughts or idea to contribute, it is assumed that his forehead is empty. Here also forehead stands for the container of intelligence or idea. We know that if a container is empty, it is of little or no use to anybody. In the same way, if somebody has no ideas or interesting thoughts, he is regarded as the unintelligent, thoughtless or uneducated person. The above conceptual metaphor then links this knowledge to the meaning of this expression:

ma:tʰa: me go:bər bʰərəl ba: (forehead stuffed with cow dung (garbage))

Since we know that forehead is the seat of intelligence and thought, we can say that THE FOREHEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR THOUGHTS. If one's head is full of something, it conveys an image of a container being full of something which occupies the entire inside space of the container. In other word there is no space for other thoughts. This conceptual metaphor can be said

to motivate the meaning of above given expression of Bhojpuri which means to have one's head full of (garbage) something and therefore no space is left in the head for rational thinking or ideas.

The forehead is conceptualized as explosive y, but what are these explosives and where are lying? The following example in Bhojpuri with supportive sentences clarifies the sense.

ma:tʰa: fət gəjəl (forehead burst out).

gussa: me həma:r ma: tʰa: fət gəjəl (my forehead burst out in anger)

sofət sofət əsən ləgəl ki ma:tʰa: fət dʒa:i: (thinking again and again I felt like my mind will burst out.)

The above examples show intense emotional state, and the pressure is caused by anger or deep thinking which causes the forehead to burst out. The concept of explosion came from worldly experience, and it is a scientific fact too that there must be an intense internal pressure to cause something to explode. The above-mentioned metaphor is associated with the same scientific experience which is applied on the conceptualization of forehead with the help of cognitive mechanism. Thus, forehead explodes due to anger and recursive thinking which causes internal pressure and *forehead* is containing these explosives inside. Therefore, this expression is motivated by the conceptual metaphor THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS.

3.8 Forehead Is A Machine

In the following linguistic expressions *forehead* is conceptualized to express some emotion is grounded in the experience of external mechanical world. For example:

ma:tʰa: kʰəra:b ho gəjəl (forehead is out of order)

okər ba:t sən ke həma:r ma:tʰa: kʰəra:b ho gəjəl (my forehead is out of order to listen his talk)

ma:tʰa: ka:m na:hi: kərət həv (forehead is not working)

a:dʒ həma:r ma:tʰa: ka:m na:hi: kərət həv (today my forehead is not working)

These expressions are motivated by the conceptual metaphor FOREHEAD IS A MACHINE and the general knowledge of *machine* is that now and then it can be out of order or stop working. In these expressions forehead is taken as a machine. On the basis of universal bodily experience it happens that due to some reasons we become unable to think about concerned matter, and this concept is the source of such expression *ma tʰa: kʰəra:b ho gəjəl* it means mind is not working properly. As it is already mentioned that mind is the internal part of the head, and forehead

or head always represent thought or mind in Bhojpuri that's why any expression related to the process of thinking is motivated by this body part term.

4. Conclusion

The varied conceptualizations of *forehead* in this chapter are dealt metonymically and metaphorically. These metaphorical conceptualizations of forehead reveal people's attitudes and values in their communication. It shows that linguistic expressions of forehead in talks and understanding help us to perceive Bhojpurians cognitive approach towards the use of metaphor. The metonymic and metaphoric use of *forehead* in Bhojpuri expresses emotions in bulk; the examples mentioned in the chapter reveal contextual sense of the uses absolutely with cultural shades.

People use metaphor to think with, to explain themselves to others, to organize their talk, and their choice of metaphor often reveals – not only their conceptualizations– but also, and perhaps more importantly for human communication, their attitudes, and values. Beginning with specific instances of metaphor in talk, and understanding how people use metaphor, will help us construct better hypotheses about the nature of metaphor.

The fact that our experience is embodied – that is, structured in part by the nature of the bodies we have and by our neurological organization – has consequences for cognition. In other words, the concepts we have access to and the nature of the 'reality' we think and talk about are a function of our embodiment. We can only talk about what we can perceive and conceive, and the things that we can perceive and conceive derive from embodied experience. From this point of view, the human mind must bear the imprint of embodied experience.

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