

CHAPTER 4

THAI TRADITIONAL VIEW ON WOMEN AND HOW MEANING IS PROCESSED

4.0 Introduction

The linguistic analysis in this chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is the conceptual analysis reflecting the general traditional ideas of Thai women in comparing them to specific kinds of real world objects such as the moon, flowers, and animals. This part of the analysis comprises four theoretical models: Lakoff and Johnson (1980) on conceptual metaphor/ metonymy, Talmy (2000) on force dynamics, Lakoff (1987) on image schema, and Langacker (2000) on reference point constructions. The second part of the analysis is more specific and focuses on the conceptual integration network (Fauconnier 1994). Conceptual blending is used to analyze how proverbs derive meaning from discrete spaces (input and generic spaces) to establish the emergent structure in our understanding.

First of all, it is necessary to analyze the world view from the metaphors that appear in the data. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that metaphor plays a fundamental role in human thinking. From this it follows that the study of metaphor can tell us what people basically think, or how they perceive the world and reality. I adopt Burnett's definition that world view is a system of ideas and values or models to explain reality (Burnett 1990). Therefore, metaphorical expressions can show the world view behind them.

4.1 Conceptual analysis: conceptual metaphor and conceptual integration network

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) define a conceptual metaphor as the mapping of knowledge about one conceptual domain (the source domain) onto a different domain (the target domain). The mapping tends to go from concrete or basic domains such as time, space, and physical organs to abstract domains such as value and emotion. Metaphorical expressions that show concepts about Thai women are here classified into five major groups of concrete things, or real world objects: 1) moon and star, 2) flower, 3) animals, 4) food, 5) objects. These kinds of things provide source concepts about women from the traditional point of view. These source concepts are used as inputs for developing the emergent structure, that is the metaphor itself. The collected data are proverbs and sayings indexed and presented in Appendix 1. The grouping of the concepts is presented in the following table.

Target Concepts	Source concepts				
	Moon/ Star	Flower	Powerless	Animals Powerful	Food General objects
Status	x				
Softness	x				
Beauty	x	x			
Desirability	x	x	x		x
Delicacy		x			
Weakness			x		
Vulnerability			x		x
Untrustworthy				x	
Unrefinedness				x	
Auspiciousness				x	
Follower				x	
Freshness					x
Condition					x

Table 1: The analysis of conceptual metaphor

The table is organized according to conceptual metaphor analysis (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and with the source domains in the rows across the top and the target domains in the column on the far left. The more abstract concepts form the generic space from which the emergent structure in Fauconnier is built. This emergent structure is the actual proverbs with their understanding.

According to Fauconnier and Turner (1998), a small set of the composition processes works for creating meaning constructions in analogy, metaphor,

conceptual combination, counterfactuals or conditional sentences and the comprehension of grammatical constructions. Therefore, information from each space of blending operations also works for exploring the meaning construction in the proverbs.

4.1.1 The woman as moon or star

The first metaphor is a comparison of a woman with the moon or a star, when referring to a woman of high social status. The conceptual metaphor used in this expression is that the moon and star are always high in the sky, shine softly, and look beautiful. These concepts map to the concept of a woman who is in a high position in society and the woman as representing softness and beauty and desirability. The following examples of proverbs present these concepts.

- 15) *kratà:j* *mǎ:j* *tɕan*
 rabbit want moon

Rabbit desires to the moon.

‘A man in lower status loves a woman in higher status.’

- 16) *du:ən* *kʰá:ŋ* *fá*
 moon get stuck sky

The moon that remains in the sky

‘A female movie star who keeps her status, reputation or position in her career for a long time’

- 17) *da:w* *kʰá:ŋ* *fá*
 star get stuck sky

The star that remains in the sky

‘A female movie star who keeps her status, reputation or position in her career for a long time’

The application of the conceptual network to the first example is presented in the Figure 8.

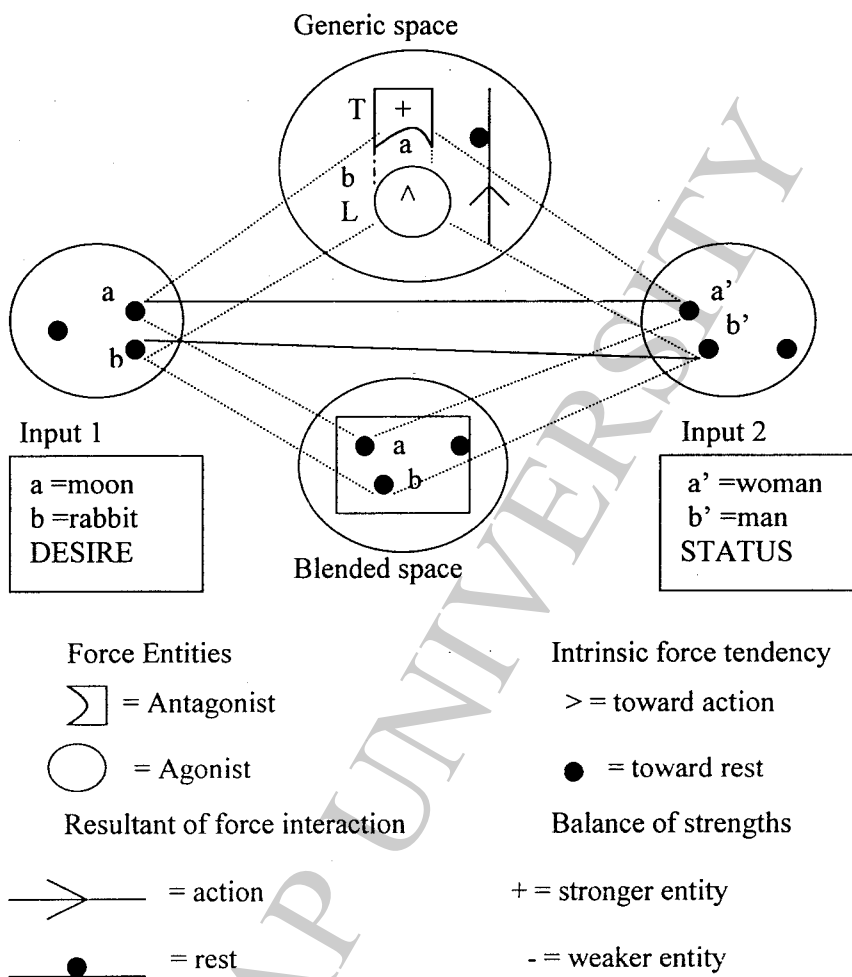


Figure 12: 'Rabbit desires the moon.'

From the proverb *kratà:jmä:jtçan* 'rabbit desires the moon', we set up two input spaces; a source space, and a target space. In input 1, there are two elements; **a** and **b**, related in the DESIRE frame. The element **a**, moon, contains various semantic ideas, such as, to be high in the sky, circular in shape, to appear at night, to be conspicuous, soft light, and to be beautiful. The **b** element, rabbit, contains the features; fur, four legs, long ears, small size, lives in a forest or on the earth, weak,

and powerless. Input 2 has two elements within a cultural STATUS frame: **a'** and **b'**⁶. The features of **a'** (counterpart of **a**), woman, are human, female, ability to give birth to a child, softness, weakness, and delicacy⁷. The counterpart **b'**, man, is structured by the features; human, male, and strong. The relation that connects the elements between the two inputs is the identity relation in which it maps some aspects, features, or structures of the element **a**, the moon, in the input 1 (source space) onto the **a'**, woman, in the input 2 (target space). Therefore, it is the access principle that identifies **a** with **a'**, and the same kind of identification relation makes **b**, rabbit, be **b'**, man.

The generic space, which allows these two separate input domains to be related based on some abstraction common to both, is presented in terms of a schema (Lakoff 1987) or abstraction about the position of a trajector and a landmark in which the trajector is above the landmark. It can be explained by the notion of something or someone in a lower position who desires someone in a higher position. It also shows the force dynamics in which the rabbit (a man) desires the moon (a woman) but cannot obtain it/ her. The rabbit is agonist that has the intrinsic force tendency toward action, which is obtaining the moon (or antagonist). The moon or, in this case, gravity, has the force tendency toward rest and it is so strong that it can block the strength of the weaker entity, which is the rabbit. In this way, gravity relates to the social pressure that forbids marriage across social class or social status as inappropriate. So, the rabbit cannot obtain the moon even though it desires the moon. Also, the conceptual metaphor that underlies this relation is HIGH STATUS IS UP. This conceptual metaphor has been established independently of this research, (see Ukosakul 1999).

⁶ Cultural background about social status or social class is mentioned in chapter three in the section on the Thai traditional world view.

⁷ These features are not the result of any feature analysis but rather salient points in a Thai view of woman described in 4.1.

Finally, the blended space which contains selected aspects from both inputs is presented as its own emergent structure is the actual proverb and its interpretation. The emergent structure is established by the three following processes: composition, completion and elaboration.

Composition establishes the new relationships between elements projected from the separate inputs. This relationship is the man is low object (by metaphor); and low object is low status (by metaphor), whereas the woman is high object; and high object is high status. In this way, the woman's status is high (by metaphor). The DESIRE frame relates to the man and woman's status in the way that the low status man desires the high status woman who is soft, beautiful, and lofty, but cannot obtain her.

The composition in this emergent structure is based on four types of relationships: identity, analogy, space, and cause-effect. Identity is the mapping of moon to the powerful, noble, rich woman, whereas the rabbit is the powerless, poor, or low status man. Analogy is shown by the concepts that like a rabbit, the poor man desires the noble woman, and like the moon, the woman is soft, beautiful, and too lofty to be touched. Spatial relationship presents the difference of status in that the rabbit is on the earth whereas the moon is in the sky, and the man is low status while the woman is of high status. On the other hand, the difference in position or status of the rabbit/ man and the moon/ woman shows the correspondence of space between social status and physical position. The last relationship is the cause-effect relation in which the moon is beautiful, conspicuous, high, and desirable, and because of the different status, the poor or low status man is not suitable for the noble woman. The second process, completion, needs cultural background knowledge to understand the given situation. This particular cultural knowledge is found in two separate domains, physics and social organization. This knowledge helps us to understand and fill in the context for rabbit and man. Even though the rabbit desires the moon, the rabbit is physically incapable of obtaining the moon.

Even though the low status man desires the high status woman, the man is socially prevented from obtaining the woman. These understandings are supplied by cultural knowledge.

The third and final process, elaboration, allows the emergent meaning to be extended. This is often based on context of speech. For example, the poor man desires the rich woman can be extended beyond social organization to include degree of attractiveness. The ugly man desires the beautiful woman. In contrast, if the high status woman desires the low status man, she is blamed by people in the society. But this can happen and fit into extended uses of this proverb. These are examples of extending the metaphor. These elaborations or extensions are understood based on the complex mappings already existent in the proverb.

The next examples (example 2-3), which are 'moon /star that remains in the sky', create two input spaces: the input 1 (source domain), and the input 2 (target domain). There is only one element in input 1, which is *a*, moon/star that is structured by the LOCATION frame. It has the semantic features of soft, light, beautiful, conspicuous, in the sky, and appears at night. Input 2 contains the element *a'*, woman, as the counterpart of *a* within the STATUS frame. The access principle (or identification principle) is applied to relate these two inputs by identifying *a* is *a'*. The relation across the inputs in terms of a cross-space mapping is the partial projection of the counterparts between the input spaces. The generic space contains the schema of the position of the trajector and the landmark in which the trajector (moon/star) is up. It can be explained in the sense that something or someone remains in the original position or status. This process depends on projection mapping to create the emergent structure. As mentioned above, the emergent structure is presented in the blended space. The blended space, here, comprises two types of information that are the emergent structure and its interpretation. The meaning of the proverb 'moon / star remains in the sky' is referred to as the female movie star who keeps her status or reputation in her career for a long time. The

composition process is set up in the emergent structure by creating the new relationships between sub-structures in the spaces. The moon/ star is high object and high object is high status (by metaphor). Also, woman's status is high and high object is high status (by metaphor). The LOCATION frame relates to the woman's status in the sense of keeping her original status. There are other kinds of relations in the process of composition that are identity, analogy, space and cause-effect. Identity is the identification of moon or star as the woman and the sky is the high status. Analogy is presented by, 'just as the moon or star remains physically in the sky, the female movie star who remains her status or reputation in her career' and 'like the moon or star is conspicuous in the sky, the movie star is popular in the society'. Space is the distance or position of moon or star that is high in the sky in relation to the position of the woman in the society or in her career, that is, social space is understood in terms of physical space. The conceptual metaphor POPULARITY IS UP (See Ukosakul 1999:72) underlies this relation. Because the female movie star can keep her status and reputation in her career, people still remember her. This presents the cause-effect relationship.

The process of completion relies on the cultural information that people have never seen the moon or stars fall to the earth, like the female movie star, who can keep her reputation and status in the career and people have never forgotten her. The process of elaboration for this proverb can refer to a high social status woman, who does not marry anyone, remains socially in her status because of the social value that the married life of a woman depends on her husband.

From the data both moon and star are used in mentioning the woman in high status. The underlying metaphors are HIGH STATUS IS UP, and HIGHER IS BETTER, or HIGHER IS MORE DESIRABLE. The cultural knowledge that identifies woman as moon or star presents social status, or the order of status or position in society, as coherent with the concept that the higher the person is, the

more honor they get. The social status is indicated by birth, money or property and that the more someone has, the higher they are.

4.1.2 The woman as a flower

The second metaphor is the mapping of the concept of flower to woman in the sense of delicacy, beauty, and desirability as shown in 18-20).

- 18) *kradaṅṅa:* *lon* *fai*
 kenanga heat over fire

Kenanga flower that is heated over fire

‘A widow has the ability to take care of a man very well because she has experience from her ex-husband, like the Thai flower, called kenanga, that smells better when it is heated over a fire.’

- 19) *dò:k fá* *kàp* *mă:* *wát*
 flower sky with dog temple

Heaven flower and a temple dog

‘A man of a lower status loves a woman of a higher status.’

- 20) *dò:kmái* *rim* *t^ha:ŋ*
 flower beside road

Flower along a road

‘Woman who has sex easily with a man’

Figure 13 below shows the process of the conceptual integration network that is applied for example 18).

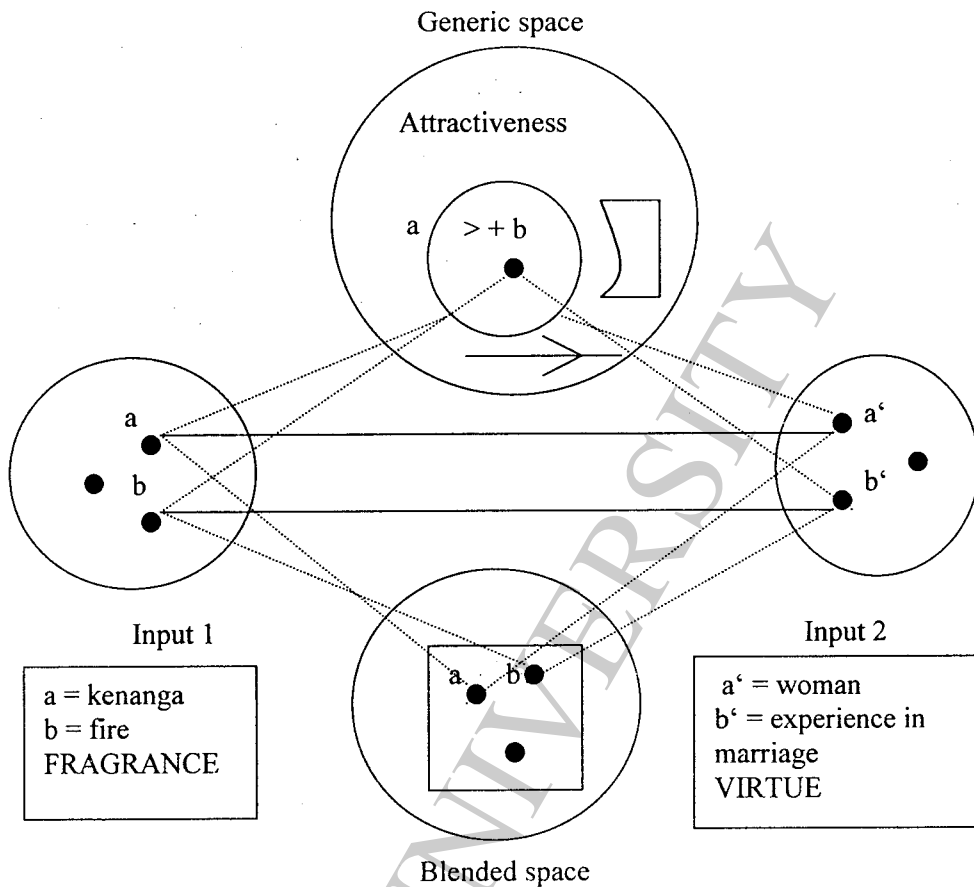


Figure 13: 'Kenanga that is heated over fire'

Example 18) 'Kenanga that is heated over fire' is the emergent structure of the information integration process that comprises two input spaces, a generic and a blended space. Input 1 has two elements: a , kenanga, and b , fire in the frame of FRAGRANCE. The element a , kenanga, is a kind of flower, has hard petals, is yellow, and emits fragrance especially in the evening. The element b , fire, gives a sense of heat, danger, light, burning, and smelting. Cultural background knowledge of flowers/ plants in FRAGRANCE frame reveals that when kenanga is heated it will create more fragrance and this can be more attractive to a person who smells it. Input 2 also has two elements: a' , woman, and b' , experience in marriage, in the VIRTUE frame as the counterparts of a , and b in the input 1. The b' consists of the features: needs patience, understanding, has ability to take care of husband well.

The **b'** is linked to knowledge coming from the Thai world view of woman discussed in chapter three. The cultural knowledge from chapter three informs the analysis here. Input 2 is the widow who has experience in married life, so she has the ability to take care of someone well. The connector across these two inputs is identification (access principle) and partial projection that express the kenanga that is heated over fire in input 1 as the widow in input 2. The generic space contains structure common in all input spaces, which in this case is attractiveness that is the result of experience in marriage in input 2 and fragrance in input 1. The blended space is divided into two types of information, emergent structure and its interpretation. The emergent structure is the relationships established between the projections from discrete input spaces. The interpretation is about the widow, who, because she has experience in married life, is able to take care of someone well, especially a second husband. The process depends on projection mapping.

In the blend, composition presents the new relationships as kenanga (flower) is woman, fire is experience in marriage, the kenanga that is heated over fire is the widow, and fragrance is the desirable ability in taking care of someone well. The FRAGRANCE frame relates to the VIRTUE frame as the desirable quality of woman. In the blend, there are also various relations of composition, namely, identity, analogy, cause-effect and time. Identity is represented by the conceptual metaphor 'woman is flower, experience is fire.' Like the Kenanga that is heated over fire, the widow who has the ability to take care of someone well shows analogy. The experience in married life makes a widow desirable (especially for male). This reveals a cause-effect relation such as the cause is the widow that has experience leads to the effect that she can take care of her next husband and that makes her desirable. The correspondence of time in the metaphor is that the point of time of being a fresh Kenanga and being a Kenanga that is heated over fire corresponds to and is a compression of the widow's married experience. Time starts with being a wife, thus gaining experience in married life, and after she divorces or her husband dies, she becomes a widow. Completion requires the cultural

knowledge of the heated kenanga. When a kenanga is put over a fire it becomes more fragrant.

The proverb in 19) derives from the integration of the two input spaces; input 1 as the source domain and input 2 as the target domain. Input 1 comprises two elements that are **a** (heavenly flower) and **b** (temple dog) within the DESIRE frame. The concept is that the heavenly flower is lofty in the imagination. It is beautiful and is high in the sky. Element **b**, the dog, contains the basic ideas; has a tail, fur, four legs, is undesirable, bad or ordinary looking, lives in the temple because no one want it, and is lower than other domestic animals. Input 2 has two counterparts; **a'** (woman) and **b'** (man) in the STATUS frame. The cross-space mapping relates the elements in input 1 and their counterparts in input 2 with the features in which the woman is beautiful and of high status, while the man is undesirable and low in status. The generic space is an abstract image schema with the position of the trajector higher than the landmark. The blended space will convey the emergent structure establishing the meaning of a lower status man that loves but cannot have the noble woman.

There are four new relationships presented here by composition. The first one is identity and is shown in the sense of the temple dog as a poor or low status man, and the heavenly flower as a high status woman. An analogy relationship can be stated, like a temple dog desiring a heavenly flower, a low status man desires the higher status woman, but cannot obtain her. The noble woman is so high she cannot be touched. The third relationship is spatial, in which the heavenly flower is high, but the temple dog is low and the woman is in high status but the man is in low status by the conceptual metaphor HIGH STATUS IS UP⁸. The last kind of the relationship in this composition process is the cause-effect. This can be expressed in a difference of status. The lower status man and the higher status woman are not

⁸ POPULARITY IS UP, UNPOPULARITY IS DOWN (Ukosakul 1999: 72). According to Ukosakul (1999: 8), she refers to Sanit (1975) saying that the most important part of human body is the highest part and because a head is at the highest part, it is the most important from Thai perspective.

suitable to be together. The process of completion is found in the temple dog desiring the heavenly flower. The dog desires the flower as the lower status man desires the high status woman, but the man is socially incapable of obtaining the woman. Nowadays, there is a new metaphor that expresses the same meaning. It is *mǎ: mɔ:ŋ k^hruŋ bin* ‘a dog looks to a plane.’ For elaboration, if a high status woman desires a low status man, she will be blamed by the people as *fài tà̃m* ‘yearning for inferiority’. A context such as this could potentially extend the meaning of this proverb to include reverse interpretations.

The proverb in 20), ‘flower along the road’, is composed of two input spaces, a generic and a blended space. The first input space (Input 1) contains the elements **a** (flower) and **b** (road) in the TRAVEL frame. Flower presents the ideas of beauty, fragrance, delicacy, and attractiveness. Road gives the idea of passing along a route, being a long distance, having a starting and the ending point of a road, and being a public access. Input 2 has **a'** (woman) and **b'** (man’s life) framed by the SEXUAL AFFAIR. The cross-space mapping relates some features of the elements in the input 1 and their counterparts in the input 2. The mapping between the **a** and **a'** is that woman presents concepts of beauty, delicacy, and attractiveness. The mapping between **b** and **b'** is the man’s life, which is a journey with a start (birth), continuance (growing up), and an end (death). The generic space presents an abstraction or image schema of proximity in that trajector (flower and woman) is within access to the landmark (road, man’s life). The blended space conveys the meaning that a woman who has sex easily with a man is worthless for him.

In the composition, the TRAVEL frame relates to the sexual relationship between man and woman and expresses the relationships of identity, analogy, cause-effect, and time. Identity is shown in terms of metaphor in that WOMAN IS FLOWER, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, and EXPERIENCE IS A TRAVERSED ROUTE. Analogy can be represented in a form like a flower along a road that is available anywhere, so the woman who has sexual relations easily with a man is

worthless to him. Cause is that the woman has sexual relations easily with any man produces the effect that she is worthless to him. This expresses the cause-effect relationship. The last kind of relationship in the composition process is the correspondence of time. Time in a journey begins with the starting point, and continues to some end. This corresponds to and is a compression of the time of life that starts with birth, continues with physical and mental growth, gathers experiences, and ends with death. The completion process needs the cultural knowledge about Thai morals that teach a good girl to keep her virginity until she is married to someone. The one who breaks this teaching will lose her reputation of being a lady or a good girl and then she and her parents will be blamed by the people in the society. When the flower along the road is easily picked and available anywhere, it is worthless. In this way, the woman who has sex easily with a man is not valuable to him. He will think that she is only a part of his experience and not so important that he should stop his whole life for her since this kind of woman is available anywhere. An elaboration example of this proverb can refer to a low status woman or any woman that the man thinks is not important enough for him to marry. In this way, the extension moves beyond a physical sexual relationship.

Ideas of flowers in general are about beauty, delicacy, and desirability. These concepts map the woman's image from the traditional view. Example 19) compares a woman with heavenly flower whereas 20) uses flower along the road to refer to a woman. The inherent meaning of *d̀̀:kmáirim^ha:ŋ* 'flower along the road' is the woman in low status that has less education, and protection, so it leads her to lose her virginity or to be easily deceived by the insincere man. In contrast, *d̀̀:kfá* 'heaven flower' in 19) refers to a woman in high status who is hard to deceive because she has to be concerned about her family honor. Also, she is usually protected by her family very well. On the other hand, a woman of lower status is more prone to be deceived than the one in higher status because of less protection and education. Therefore, the coherent metaphors hidden in this concept are UP IS

HIGH STATUS, DOWN IS LOW STATUS, and HIGHER STATUS IS MORE DESIRABLE.

4.1.3 The woman as an animal

The third major category that is often used in comparison is the various kinds of animals. They are divided into two kinds, powerless and powerful animals.

4.1.3.1 The woman as a powerless animal

The powerless animals that refer to women include cat and chicken. These animals are conceptualized in terms of weakness and vulnerability as presented in examples 21-22) below.

- 21) *jó:m mɛ:ɹw kʰǎ:j*
dye cat sell

To dye a cat for selling

‘To sell (someone) a fake’

- 22) *kài lǒŋ*
chicken get lost

The stray chicken

‘A woman who gets lost and becomes a victim of a man’

Figure 14 shows the conceptual integration network model that operates in example 21).

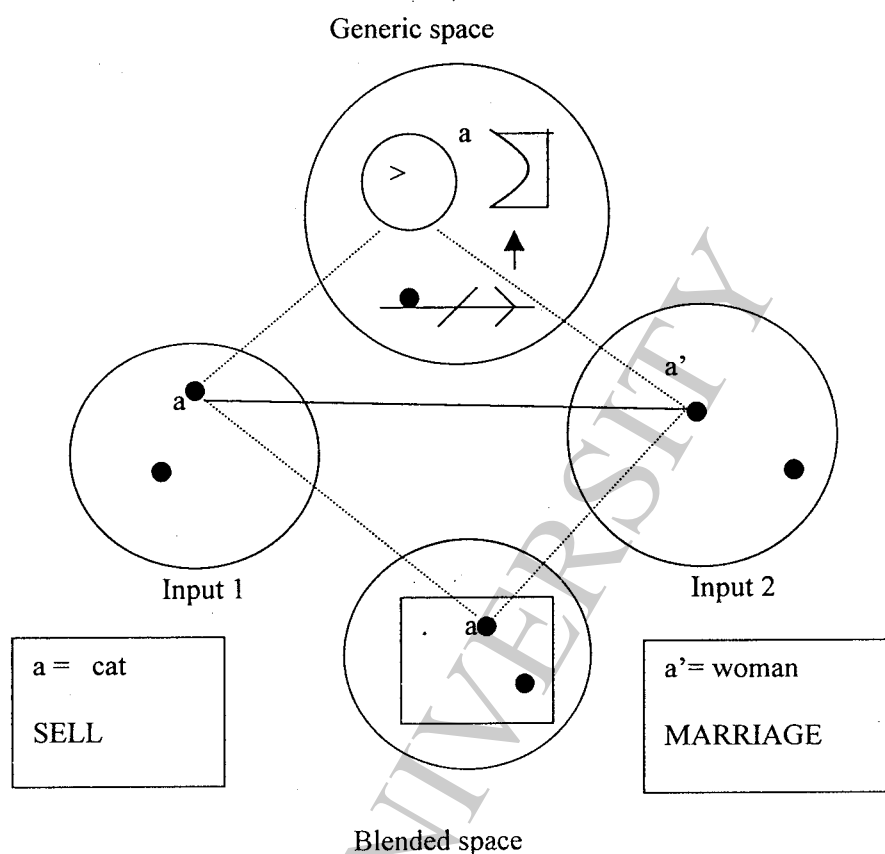


Figure 14: 'To dye a cat for sale'

The process starts with creating two input mental spaces. Input 1 is the source and input 2 is the target. Input 1 is framed by the SELL concept that is perceived with the buyer, seller, and goods, and the things for sale that usually are of good quality. Input 1 comprises element **a** (a cat). The element **a** (cat) presents the semantic features: fur, four legs, pet, tail, and sharp claws. The input 2 has the **a'** (woman) in the MARRIAGE frame, which is comprised of bride and bridegroom. The marriage frame includes complex cultural knowledge of marriage contracts. Deception falls within this transaction. The deception involves the MARRIAGE frame in case where a woman loses her virginity which makes her undesirable for marriage. So someone deceives a person who is interested in marrying this woman. They disguise her as a virgin in order to promote the idea that

she is good (acceptable or suitable) enough for marriage. The cross-space mapping maps some features of **a** to **a'**. The generic space, which comprises structure common in all input spaces, can be shown by force dynamics. The agonist is a cat/ a woman. The agonist's tendency is toward action (cat has tendency to be sold/ woman has tendency toward marrying). The antagonist is defect of the cat/ non-virgin woman. The antagonist's effect (defective cat that cannot be sold/ non-virgin with potential to obstruct the marriage) is the opposing force to the agonist. The agonist's force is toward action and the antagonist's force (to dye/ to deceive) blocks the agonist which is defective/ non-virgin (the defective cat can be sold/ non-virgin woman can marry someone). The blended space has in its emergent structure to dupe someone who asks for the hand of a woman by disguising her purity. The blending process is worked by projection mapping. Selected elements from each input are projected to the blended space, where new relationships are established between those elements.

There are three types of relationships presented in the proverb, identity, analogy and cause-effect. Identity relates the cat to the woman. The defective cat is the non-virgin woman, the selling frame relates to the marriage frame. From these frames the seller is the bride's parents, the buyer is bridegroom, and the goods is the bride. The analogy can be stated, "like dyeing the defective cat to look good for sale, someone disguises the non-virgin woman to be a virgin and suitable for marriage". The cause-effect relationship is shown by the cause, which is that a non-virgin is not desirable. The effect is that someone like her parents deceive a potential groom into thinking that she is still a virgin and has good virtue suitable for marriage. The cultural knowledge for completion is that, in marriage, the groom usually selects his bride and she is considered to depart from her original family to live in the groom's family. Also, the background about Thai morals is essential. It gives importance to the virginity of woman that is a valuable virtue for brides. So, if the girl is not a virgin before marriage, she has defective character (as a defiled woman). Thus one

of a woman's important virtues in the traditional view is that she has to remain a virgin until married. Elaboration is shown in this proverb in that it can be used in any context that relates to deceit when someone deceives another. The original meaning that relates to women is quite old fashioned. Now, it is usually used with any sort of deception.

The metaphor in 22), 'a stray chicken', establishes two input spaces, input 1 (the source) and input 2 (the target). The elements in input 1 are **a** (chicken) in the ANIMAL⁹ frame with CHICKEN as its sub-frame in which the chicken lives in a group for survival. The element **a** is a powerless animal that is small and easily vulnerable to a stronger animal. Input 2 has element **a'** (woman) in the FAMILY frame that is she lives with her family for safety. The cross-space mapping maps the element **a** (chicken) to **a'** (woman). The generic space comprises a causative concept with an external force that is stronger than an opposing force (see force dynamics). The agonist's tendency is toward action (chicken/ woman tends to wander). The antagonist's effect is group constraint (being in a group/ being with parents makes it/ her safe, but it/ she wanders out of the group leading her to be vulnerable/ dangerous). The agonist's result is vulnerability (being out of the group cause chicken/ woman to be in danger). Force dynamics helps to show what is common between the ANIMAL and FAMILY frames. The blended space has the emergent structure, deriving from processes of composition, and completion. The process of composition relates the projected element from the ANIMAL frame to the FAMILY frame in new relationships (identity, analogy, spatial, and cause-effect). Identity is seen in the chicken as the woman. The analogy can be stated, "Like a stray chicken, the woman who wanders from a group is vulnerable to a predator (a man)". The spatial relationship is shown by the concept of being in or out of a group. Being in the group by physical proximity provides safety and being out of the group creates vulnerability. The cause-effect relation is shown by the idea

⁹ This ANIMAL frame includes the cultural knowledge about animal characteristics and its behavior.

that the woman is weak, so she easily tends to be vulnerable to the man. The completion is that because a woman needs protection, especially by her family, getting lost from the family or group is dangerous. She risks being a victim of bad people (especially men) like the stray chicken that can easily become a victim of the stronger animal or human.

Both cats and chickens in the preceding data are presented as the vulnerable animals for someone. That person catches the stray hen to eat and dyes the cat to look good to sell. Even though these two examples express different meanings, they contain the same overall concept about women that in general people look at women as weak and vulnerable objects.

4.1.3.2 *The woman as a powerful animal*

Powerful animals, such as elephants and horses, are matched with women in the meanings of untrustworthy, unrefined, auspiciousness, and follower. The elephant in Thai society is an auspicious animal and Thais believe that it will bring good things to the one who is the owner, especially of the white elephant. The comparison of a woman with an elephant contains the positive connotation in which a good woman is desirable because she will bring good things to her family and the man whom she marries. However, untamed animals including elephants, horses, cobras, etc., present the concepts of untrustworthiness and unrefined. The data in 23-26) express these concepts:

23)	<i>sǎ:mi:</i>	<i>pen</i>	<i>tɕʰá:ŋ</i>	<i>tʰá:w</i>	<i>nâ:</i>
	husband	be	elephant	foot	front
	<i>pʰanraja:</i>	<i>pen</i>	<i>tɕʰá:ŋ</i>	<i>tʰáw</i>	<i>lǎŋ</i>
	wife	be	elephant	foot	back

Husband is the elephant's front feet, wife is the back feet.

'Husband is the leader, wife is the follower.'

- 24) *du:* *tɕʰá:ŋ* *hâi* *du:* *hǎ:ŋ*
 look elephant to look tail
du: *na:ŋ* *hâi* *du:* *mê:*
 look woman to look mother

Looking for a white elephant one should look at its tail, looking for a wife one should look at her mother.

‘If someone want to look for a white elephant, they should look at its tail first. And if they want to look for a wife, they should consider her mother’s character as well, because the girl will tend to have similar characteristics to her mother.’

- 25) *tɕʰá:ŋsǎ:n* *ŋu:hàw* *kʰâ:kàw* *miarák*
 formidable elephant cobra old servant dear wife

Formidable elephant, cobra, old servant, and dear wife

‘Don’t trust these four things: formidable elephant, cobra, ex-servant, and wife.’

- 26) *má:* *dì:t* *kalò:k*
 horse flick skull

The manner of horse bucking

‘Tomboy’

The figure 15 below is the application of the conceptual integration network to the proverb in example 23:

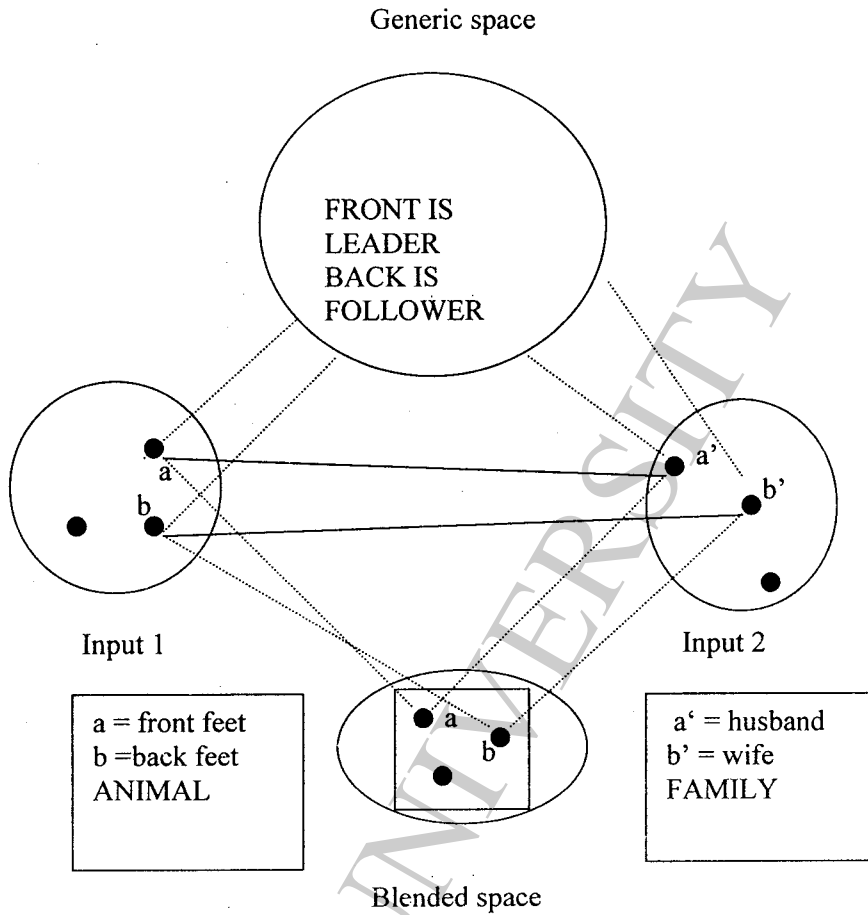


Figure 15: 'Husband is the elephant's front feet, wife is the back feet.'

This proverb consists of two inputs. Input 1 consists of elements **a** (front feet) and **b** (back feet) in the ANIMAL frame which is specified by an ELEPHANT frame as its sub-frame that relates to the motion of an elephant when it walks. In the motion of an elephant, the front feet (**a**) lead the back feet (**b**), and the back feet have to support that movement. Input 2 has **a'** (husband) and **b'** (wife) as elements in a FAMILY frame that indicates role of husband and wife in the family. The cross-space mapping maps **a** (front feet), **b** (back feet) to **a'** (husband) and **b'** (wife). The generic space presents the conceptual metaphor FRONT IS LEADER, BACK IS FOLLOWER. The front position is the leader whereas the back position is follower or supporter. The blended space has as its own emergent structure, the

husband as the leader of the family and the wife as the support to the husband (follower).

In the process of composition, identity relates the front feet to husband and the back feet to wife, and the elephant is the family. The ANIMAL frame relates to the role of husband and wife in the family. The relationship of analogy is presented in that, like the front feet of an elephant, the husband leads the family, and like the back feet, the wife follows and supports the husband's decisions in the family. The relationship of the spatial orientation is the conceptual metaphor FRONT IS LEADER and BACK IS FOLLOWER. Husband is physically and socially located in front of the woman. The concept such as NEAR- FAR, IN- OUT, FRONT- BACK, and UP- DOWN express the spatial concept of body function (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:56-57). The process of completion is established the cultural knowledge about the basic role of husband and wife in the family. The husband is the head of the family who makes the final decision while the wife is the supporter. It is this rich cultural knowledge of family and roles and expectations for family members that can be accessed when trying to process this proverb. Connections can be made between the two inputs because there are common structures to both. It is completion that provides the cultural interpretation on the proverb. The process of elaboration is that the original meaning about wife only emphasizes the role of follower of husband. Now, the meaning could be elaborated or extended to realize the role of the supporter who can show her opinion and can be the co-decision maker with her husband in leading the family, for example, 'the wife is the left front foot, and the husband is the right front foot'. This elaboration allows the original meaning to be stretched along with changing understanding of roles.

The next example (24), is 'looking for a (white) elephant should look at its tail, looking for a wife should look at her mother'. It sets up two input spaces. Input 1 (the source domain) is composed of two elements: **a** ((white) elephant) and **b** (tail) in an ANIMAL frame with an ELEPHANT as the sub-frame. Input 2 (the target)

has **a'** (wife) and **b'** (mother) in the FAMILY frame. The generic space can be analyzed using the notion of reference point phenomenon (Langacker 2000:173). This is the ability to invoke the concept of one thing by relating it to another, such as the possessives *my watch* and *her cousin*. The viewer relates things (reference point) to the ownership (target). In this case, the reference point is the tail/ mother that leads the viewer's thinking to the target, which is the white elephant / the daughter. On the other hand, the reference point can be understood in terms of the marking spot or example of something else. The blended space construes the meaning that looking for a wife should entail looking at her mother to consider her mother's character because the girl tends to have similar characteristics to her mother. The projection mapping works in this process by selectively projecting elements from each input to the blend where new relationships are established.

The various kinds of relationships in the composition process are expressed as identity, analogy, spatial, and cause-effect. Identity is established by the access principle, (white) elephant is the good wife, and tail is her mother. Analogy is that, like looking for the (white) elephant, a man who looks for a good wife should be concerned about the girl's mother's character, and the (white) elephant is like the good wife that is rare and auspicious. The spatial relationship is shown by the idea of the distance between other organs and the tail of the elephant in which they are in the same body and the relation between mother and daughter in the same family. Here, the spatial distance is physical but relates to a social distance or social orientation, not confined to a physical space. Cause-effect relationship presents the concept of the cause that a mother's character influences a daughter's behavior produces the effect that a man should consider her mother's characteristics as well. The background knowledge that is needed for the completion process is the (white) elephant as auspicious, and rare. Some parts of its body are white and the tail is the marking spot for the white elephant that can be observed easily. It is this knowledge that informs the mother's behavior as the best example for a man searching for the

girl. The mother has influence over her daughter because she is the one who looks after and teaches the girl closely.

The proverb 25) talks about the formidable elephant, cobra, old servant, and a dear wife. The first input mental space has **a** (formidable elephant), **b** (cobra), and **c** (old servant) structured by HAZARD frame. The element **a'** (wife) in input 2 is framed by the QUALITY. The cross-space mapping maps woman **a'** to these two dangerous animals via the access principle. The generic space that contains structure common in the input spaces is the concept of untrustworthy things. Notice that the generic space here is a general concept of 'untrustworthy things' and not an image schema. The blended space reveals four things that are untrustworthy, the formidable elephant, cobra, old servant, and dear wife. The blend creates its own emergent structure by composition, and completion. There are two kinds of relationships in the composition presented in this proverb. 'Like the formidable elephant, cobra, and old servant, the dear wife is also untrustworthy' represents the analogy. The cause-effect relationship is shown as the cause as being these four things can hurt/ harm people or the husband anytime, and the effect being that the husband should be careful and not completely trust them. The completion is filled with cultural background about these unreliable things. The formidable elephant is powerful, fierce, and dangerous. The cobra is untamable. The old servant is the one who knows everything about his boss. The wife is the person who gets close to the husband and knows him well. The formidable elephant and cobra are dangerous to safety, the old servant and wife are dangerous to reputation and safety.

The proverb in 26), 'unrefined horse', is composed of two inputs. The element **a** (horse) in the input 1 is framed by the ANIMAL. Input 2 has the element **a'** (woman) in the CHARACTER frame. The cross- space mapping relates the woman to the horse. The generic space is the concept of the unrefined manner of both horse and woman. The blended space produces the meaning of an unrefined woman or tomboy. Its own emergent structure is established via processes,

composition, completion, and elaboration. Composition relates the cultural knowledge of a horse to the behavior of the woman in order to refer to her character. There are three kinds of relationships in the composition presented that are identity, analogy, and cause-effect. Identity is the comparison of the manner of the horse in bucking to the manner of the tomboy. The horse is the woman, the unrefined horse (horse bucks) is unrefined woman (tomboy) who behaves ungracefully. The analogy can be stated, "Like the horse which bucks, an unrefined woman behaves ungracefully". Cause is that a woman behaves ungracefully, ungently, and impolitely and its effect is that she is unrefined socially. Completion needs the background knowledge that the manner of the horse refers to the manner of the woman. A bucking horse is not desirable because the woman is expected to behave gently, and softly.

To conclude, the comparison of a strong animal to a woman in example 24) presents the concept of elephant in the sense of favor or auspiciousness. In 23), the concept of front feet of the elephant maps the concept of leader whereas the follower maps the back feet.

The meaning of elephant in 25) is different from 23) and 24) because it is in the group of the untrustworthy things and the woman is also included within this group. Thus, the woman is also unreliable. The fact that elephant can be used to mean different things is due to projection mapping. Projection mapping is a selective projecting of elements into the blend. This could be of opposite nature depending on the new relationships established in the emergent structure.

Example 26) uses the manner of a horse kicking to refer to the woman who does not behave gently. So, the horse presents a concept of unrefined manner or improper behavior.

4.1.4 The woman as food

The fourth group of things that usually appear in Thai proverbs and metaphors is food. In these proverbs, food pertains to the ideas of vulnerability, freshness and desirability. The concept of woman from the traditional point of view maps the concepts of food as shown in examples 27-29).

- 27) *ná:mta:n* *klâi* *mót*
sugar near ant

Sugar is near an ant, so it is hard to believe that the ant will not eat the sugar.

‘Woman is sugar and man is an ant, so it is hard to believe that the man will not do or think anything bad of the woman.’

- 28) *fâ:k* *pla:jâ:ŋ* *wái* *kàp* *me:w*
leave grilled fish to with cat

Leaving grilled fish with a cat.

‘Woman is grilled fish and man is the cat. Naturally, the cat will eat the grilled fish, so don’t leave a girl with a man.’

- 29) *k^hòp* *p^hò?*
to bite the sound when someone bites a crispy fruit
Pubescent fruit

‘Pubescent, nubile woman’

Figure 16 presents the conceptual blending network applied to the example 27).

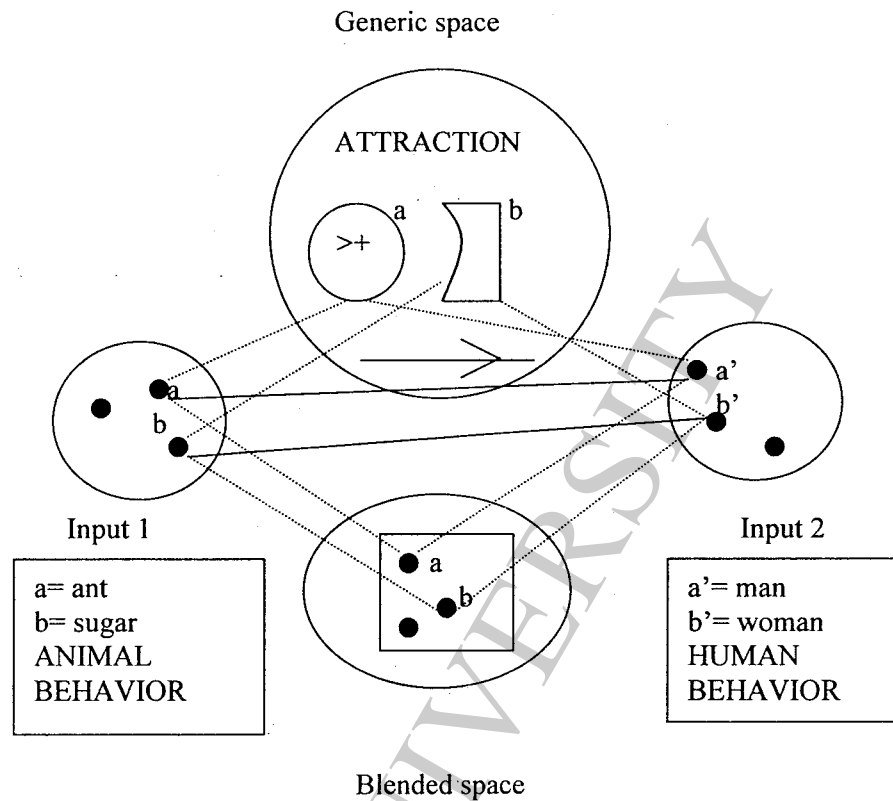


Figure 16: 'Sugar is near an ant.'

This proverb is the result of the conceptual integration network that consists of two input spaces. Input 1 contains elements **a** (ant) and **b** (sugar) in the ANIMAL frame with an ANT as its sub-frame. Input 2 consists of **a'** (man) and **b'** (woman) elements in the HUMAN BEHAVIOR frame. The cross-space mapping maps these elements between the input 1 and 2. The generic space is structured by attraction that can be analyzed using force dynamics. The agonist's tendency is toward action (that is the ant moves to eat sugar / man moves to have a physical or mental affair with woman). The agonist's force relative to antagonist's force is stronger (ant's force is stronger than sugar/ the man's force is stronger than the woman's.) The agonist's resultant is action (the ant eats sugar /the man has an affair with the woman). The blended space is that the man, who is by proximity located close to a woman, finds it hard to resist having a close emotional and physical attraction (i.e.,

the man will do or think something toward the woman). The process of composition relates the HUMAN BEHAVIOR frame to the location of a man in respect to a woman. The relationships of the composition process are shown by identity, analogy, space, and cause-effect. Identity presents the woman as sugar, and man as ant. The analogy could be stated, "Like the ant is near the sugar, it is hard to believe that a man will not have an affair with a woman who is close in proximity to him". The background knowledge for completion is that ants like to eat sugar. When there is some sugar near the ant, it tends to eat the sugar. Like the ant, a man tends to have a (physical or mental) affair with the woman close to him (by analogy). The spatial relationship is one to one, both physically delineated. The ant is physically close to the sugar in the same way that the man is in physical proximity to the woman. On the other hand, as the sugar is the ant's food, the woman is not literal food, but she is usually disadvantaged if she has an affair with the man because of the social judgement based on the moral expectations for being a good girl. Besides, the stronger force of the man in the force dynamics is the result of the social value that gives opportunity or scope of action for a man to express his feelings more openly than a woman.

The proverb in 28) 'leaving grilled fish with a cat' is set up with two input spaces. Input 1 is the source domain that consists of **a** (cat) and **b** (grilled fish) elements in the ANIMAL frame with a CAT sub-frame. Input 2 is the target domain that has the elements **a'** (man) and **b'** (woman) in the HUMAN BEHAVIOR frame. The cross-space mapping maps the elements **a** and **a'**, **b** and **b'** from these two inputs. The generic space is the attraction from 27) that conveys similar force dynamics. The agonist's tendency is toward action (cat intends to eat grilled fish/ man intends to have an affair with woman). The agonist's force relative to antagonist's is stronger (the cat/ man has a stronger physical form and social leave for action). The agonist's result is action (cat eats the grilled fish/ man has affair with woman). The cross-space mapping between the two inputs allows these elements to be projected to the blended space. The blend that is leaving a girl in a

man's close responsibility is dangerous to the girl. This emergent structure is established by composition, completion, and elaboration. Composition is expressed by relating the HUMAN BEHAVIOR frame to the closeness or proximity of man and woman.

The relationships in composition are identity, analogy, space, and cause-effect. Identity is that grilled fish is the woman, and the cat is the man. The analogy is expressed as "Leaving a girl in the man's close responsibility is like leaving a grilled fish with a cat, which is dangerous". The spatial relationship is that the cat is physically close to the grilled fish in the same way as the physical proximity of the man and woman. The cause is natural, the man intends to have physical or emotional relationship with the woman close to him in proximity. The effect is that one should not trust him by leaving one's daughter in his proximity. Completion involves the cultural knowledge that the cat likes to eat the grilled fish because it has a good smell. To entrust the cat to take care of the grilled fish poses the risk of losing the fish. Leaving the girl in the man's close proximity is a risk for the girl and the one who entrusted her to him because the man intends to have a physical and emotional relationship with the girl. Society assumes that the girl in the responsibility of a man who is not a blood-relative will respond to the close relationship with him unwittingly and draw blame on herself. The girl's reputation is usually damaged. The elaboration of this proverb it can be extended to a reverse sense of being a victim from the woman to the man by using the word *tɕap* 'to catch'. For example, *lòm tɕàp p^hù:tɕ^ha:j k^hon nǎn sa? jù: màt lej* 'she definitely gets that man' which means a woman can attract a man to love her and she is sure that he will not love anyone else and will marry her.

The next proverb in 29) 'pubescent fruit' refers to a pubescent woman. It integrates two input spaces. Input 1 contains the element **a** (fruit) in the LIFE CYCLE frame. Input 2 has **a'** (woman) as the counterpart to **a** in the LIFE CYCLE frame. The cross-space mapping relates some structures between these input spaces.

The generic space that contains the structure common to all inputs can be analyzed as a concept of YOUTH. Both inputs are conceptualized as young. The blended space presents pubescent, nubile woman as its emergent structure. In composition, the LIFE CYCLE frame relates to the age or youth of a woman. There are four types of relationships presented in this process. The fresh fruit is a young woman expresses the identity relationship between woman and fruit. The analogy is that, like fresh fruit, a young woman is desirable. The cause is the woman who is young, and the effect is that she is desirable. The time relationship is the correspondence between people's life that has the time of being young, then getting older, and dying, and the life or time of fruit that being fresh, then not fresh, and rotting. The longer time it takes a girl to mature and eventually die is compressed into the brief time it takes a fruit to mature, rot and die. Example 29) refers to fresh fruit that is usually crisp when it is eaten or bitten. This saying is always used when mentioning a young woman. The conceptual underlying metaphor here is YOUTH IS DESIRABLE. The process of completion contains the knowledge that the young woman is like the fresh fruit that is tight-skinned, still virgin, and looks good. Youth is the period that everyone covets. The young age of a woman is the time that she grows up physically and it is the time that her physical appearance is the most perfect, like a fresh fruit that is sweet, crisp, and delicious, i.e., all the desirable features of the fruit. The elaboration process in the proverb is the range of time when the women is considered a young. Interestingly, that age varies and can be 10-20, 15-20, 13-18, 12-15, 15-16, 14-15, 15-18 years old, etc., depending on each individuals view¹⁰. Also, there is a joke that Thai people usually make about their age that is the result of elaboration. For example, a woman says that she is 15 years old, but she deposits another 30 years of age in a bank.

¹⁰ These ranges of ages are from the interview.

4.1.5 The woman as object

The last major category used as a metaphorical expression is the condition of objects. There are two kinds of objects presented in the data, a basket and a boat. This is seen in 30) and 31).

30) *kratɕ^hɤ:* *kôn* *rûə*
basket bottom leak

The leaky basket

‘A lavish, wasteful, extravagant woman is like a basket with a leaky bottom that cannot contain anything’

31) *k^hûn* *k^ha:n*
up cradle/ beam

To be on a beam

‘The useless boat will be on the cradle like the spinster that has no one to marry with.’

Figure 17 presents the network for example 30).

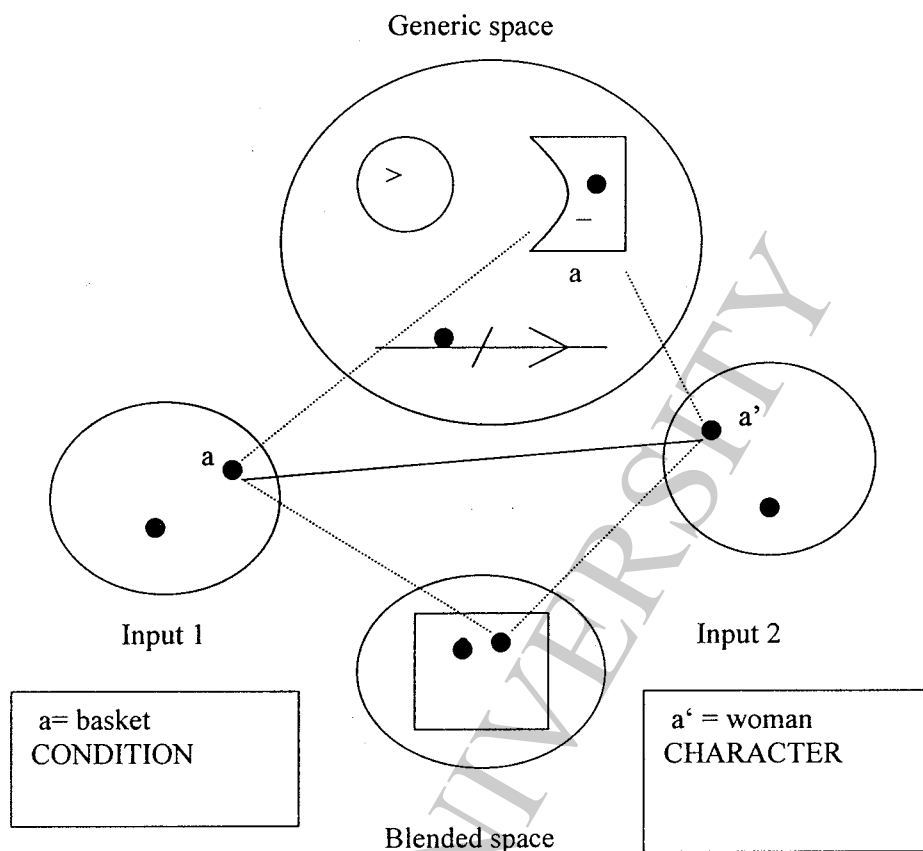


Figure 17: 'The leaky basket'

The proverb 'leaky basket' is the integration of two input spaces. Input 1 is the source domain that contains the element **a** (basket) in the **CONDITION** frame. The basket is a kind of weaving and wickerware that is used as a container. Input 2 is the target that has the element **a'** (woman) in the **CHARACTER** frame. The cross-space mapping relates sub-structures between the two inputs. The generic space is structured by force dynamics. The agonist (water/ money) intrinsic force tendency is toward action (leak/ spend). The antagonist (basket/ woman) force tendency is towards rest (contain/ keep), but its strength is weaker (imperfect condition or leak/ negative character or extravagance). Result of the force interaction is movement out of the container. The blended space presents the extravagant woman (cannot keep money) as its emergent structure.

Composition relates the CONDITION frame to the character of the woman. The new relationships are identity, analogy, and cause-effect. Identity is shown as, the leaky basket is the extravagant woman. The analogy can be shown as, “Like the leaky basket that cannot hold water, the extravagant woman cannot keep money’. The cause is that the woman is extravagant, and its effect is that she cannot manage money and it is an undesirable quality. The cultural background required for the completion process includes the knowledge of container to hold its contents. The knowledge of woman as the one who usually manages money of the family is necessary in order to understand the fact that, if she is extravagant, she may lead the family into trouble. This potential for money problems makes her undesirable. Therefore, the leaky basket is the extravagant woman who cannot keep money, in the same way as the leaky basket cannot contain its contents.

The final example is the metaphor ‘to be on a beam’ shown in 31). This is blended by two conceptual input spaces. Input 1 has the element a (boat) structured by the BOATING frame. Input 2 has the a’ (woman) structured by the MARRIAGE frame. The cross-space mapping maps sub-structures of these two inputs. The generic space can also be analyzed as an image schema where the trajector (boat/woman) is up on the beam. The blended space is an unmarried woman or spinster as an undesirable status in society. This is the emergent structure.

In composition, the BOATING frame relates to the unmarried woman by three kinds of relationships, identity, analogy, and cause-effect. Identity equates the boat to the woman and the boat on the beam is a spinster. The analogy is that, “Just as a boat that has been on a beam is unusable and unwanted, a spinster is a useless position in society”. The cause-effect relation shows the idea that the woman who does not marry and becomes a spinster is undesirable as the cause of the effect that she cannot give birth to a child and there by cannot play the basic role of being a woman, which is mother and wife. Completion is that the saying ‘to be on the beam’ refers to a spinster or unmarried woman, and that, as mentioned in chapter

three, this status is negative in the traditional point of view. The unused boat will be hung from a beam like the spinster who cannot be a wife or mother and still be with the parents at home. This saying can be elaborated with a new expression that derives from this metaphor: *jù: kʰa:n tʰɔ:ŋ niwê:d* ‘to be in the golden beam village’ referring to being a spinster. It applies the traditional metaphor ‘be on a beam’ to a modern idea that is ‘be in the Khaan Thong Nivet’ which is named as a village to correspond to the ‘beam’.

The basket in 30) refers to a lavish woman who cannot keep money as a basket that leaks on the bottom cannot be used to contain anything. Also, the boat in 31) is a useless boat and therefore is hung from the beam. This concept leads people to think about the spinster who is not able to give birth to a child. This is like a useless boat that cannot take people anywhere. The traditional idea of having a daughter is that she will marry and have children, and if she does not, she is perceived in society as being of lower status.

4.2 Conclusion

All the preceding proverbs and metaphors about woman are mentioned with two sides of an idea: desirability and undesirability. The desirable and undesirable qualities of woman concern status and condition. The concepts found in desirability consist of softness, freshness, beauty, follower and delicacy. In contrast, the undesirable qualities include weakness, vulnerability, uselessness, and untrustworthiness.

The blending analysis presented in chapter four helps us to understand how Thai people could process these proverbs and metaphors in their cognition. The conceptualization in all generic spaces include general concepts i.e., youth, image schema (e.g. up- down, front-back), force dynamics (e.g. attraction), and reference point constructions (e.g. marking spot for looking for something or example of someone). In this thesis, these sub-theories from other semantic frameworks help to

establish important abstractions for organizing mental space and blended space theories. The blended space theory makes use of these other notions in processing meaning from proverbs and metaphors. Once two distinct inputs can be found semantically and abstractly to have some concept in common, they are able to come together to create new meaning. This is accomplished by projecting into a blended space selected sub-structures from both inputs. Emergent structure occurs in the blended space where these projected sub-structures form new relationships via specially established processes. In this chapter, the processes used in the analysis of Thai metaphors about women were composition, completion and elaboration. It is in relating these sub-structures from discrete domains that new and creative meaning is understood.

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