

Intangible Heritage of the Folk: Study of Conceptual Metaphors in the Folk Bihu Songs of Assam

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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April 2025

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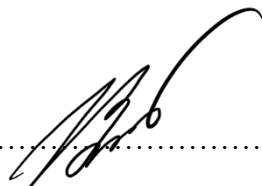
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Dedicated to all insignificantly significant people,
like the folk poets of Bihu, planting trees,
so that their future generations can rest in the shade.





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Abstract

Design is the process of creation, manifestation, and consumption of ideas. Yet the dominance of vision, and by extension, the focus on tangibility in the domain, potentially marginalizes Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH). However, ICH forms like folk songs and folklore frequently embed rich documentation connecting the tangible to the intangibles. This thesis investigates Assamese Folk Bihu songs (Bonghokhas), associated with Assam's state festival, as significant representations of ICH, aiming to explore the cultural knowledge and lived experiences they encapsulate through the lens of conceptual metaphors.

A corpus study was conducted on the earliest published Bihu songs from Dimbeswar Neog's "Bana-benu: Akul Pathik, Faguni, Bihuwati" (excluding the "Bihuwati" section), treating the songs as poems. The analysis employed Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which posits metaphors as cognitive mappings between familiar source domain knowledge and complex target domain ideas. A Codebook Thematic Analysis framework was utilised, using source and target domains from existing literature as preliminary codes.

The analysis revealed several key metaphorical themes mapping abstract concepts to tangible experiences: - 1) People (lovers/singers) are conceptualized through local Flora and Fauna, reflecting gendered dynamics and environmental interactions; 2) Ideas, along with subcases like words and abuses are understood as food or objects. Influencing perceptions of acceptance and communication; 3) Negative and Positive values are systematically associated with specific Directions, Colours, and Shapes (e.g., negativity with blackness/ direction down/ backside, positivity with round or straightness, fairness/vermillion red); 4) Fate is mapped onto a Flowing River or Divine writing on the forehead; 5)The experience of betel quid chewing understands the feeling of love and friendship; 6)Other emotions like Love, Desire, Grief are similarly structured metaphorically.

While affirming the universality of some conceptual metaphors, the study highlights unique, culturally specific manifestations within the Bihu songs (e.g. LOVE IS A DRUG is represented by betel-quid chewing). This research demonstrates how these songs function as a culture-specific knowledge base, documenting tangible and intangible realities and contributing to ICH preservation. It argues that this extracted

cultural knowledge offers a valuable resource for designers and creators seeking to develop culturally resonant artefacts, products, and systems within the Assamese context. The analytical framework presented is potentially adaptable for studying other forms of ICH in and outside Assam and Bihu.

Keywords: Intangible Cultural Heritage, Folk Bihu Songs, Metaphorical Mappings, Ethnography, Cultural Design Research



Chapter 1: Introduction

The concept of 'essence' is often invoked, albeit ambiguously, within scholarly and practical discourse concerning culture and design. This study was initially conceived to explore this notion, specifically investigating the potential 'essence' of Assamese culture, a focus informed by the researcher's regional background. Preliminary lines of inquiry drew upon standard definitions of 'essence'—pertaining to fundamental qualities or meanings—and attempted to correlate this concept with affective experiences (emotional reactions and feelings, encompassing a wide range of states like emotions, moods, and attachments), perceived realities (the subjective understanding and interpretation of reality by an individual, which can differ from objective reality), and the interplay between tangible and intangible cultural elements. The prominent role of intangible traditions, such as folk songs and narratives, in articulating and documenting cultural values initially suggested focusing on investigation within this domain.

However, the theoretical pursuit of a cultural 'essence' presented significant methodological challenges. Such an approach risks reductionism, potentially oversimplifying culture and identity's complex, dynamic, and often contested nature. This complexity is particularly noticeable in contexts like Assam, where the precise definitions of identity markers remain subject to the ongoing debate, such as the terms 'Axomiya janagan' (Assamese people), 'khilonjia' (Indigenous) and 'adi basinda' (original inhabitants). (Deb, 2022) Acknowledging these limitations, the research strategy evolved towards a holistic framework, recognising that cultural systems are more than the collection of their individual parts. This necessitated abandoning the ambiguous concept of 'essence'. Accordingly, the research focus was redirected towards a more clearly delineated and empirically grounded area: Assam's Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH). This study will, therefore, examine specific facets of Assamese ICH to contribute to a nuanced understanding of its cultural landscape, moving beyond abstract notions towards concrete cultural manifestations.

According to UNESCO, Cultural heritage does not end at monuments and collections of objects. It also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. We

can collectively call these practices and traditions **Intangible Cultural Heritage** (ICH). (UNESCO, 2018) The value of intangible cultural heritage lies in the knowledge and skills passed from generation to generation, not in the cultural manifestation itself.

ICH includes **traditions from the past** and **contemporary** practices, reflecting its traditional and **living** nature. It is **inclusive** and can encompass similar expressions across various regions, evolving over time and contributing to identity and continuity. These practices foster social cohesion and a sense of belonging. Such heritage is valued within communities, relying on transmitting knowledge and skills. **Community recognition** is crucial; it is considered heritage only when acknowledged by those who create and sustain it.

This research focuses on the **oral traditions** that are part of intangible cultural heritage, taking the **bihu songs of Assam** as its area of study.

1.1 The pastoral land of Assam

Assam, India's largest northeastern state by population, spans 78,438 square kilometres. Assam boasts a diverse landscape, nestled between Bhutan, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Bangladesh, and West Bengal. The population of Assam is 3,12,05,576 according to the 2011 census, with 958 females against 1000 males. The population density per square kilometre is 398. (*Directorate of Census Operations, Assam*, n.d.)

Geographically, Assam encompasses three of India's six physiographic divisions: the Northern Himalayas (Eastern Hills), the Northern Plains (Brahmaputra Plain), and the Deccan Plateau (Karbi Anglong). This unique mix of terrain contributes to its rich biodiversity and cultural diversity. This region, crisscrossed by tributaries of the mighty Brahmaputra River, encompasses 27 districts and boasts Dispur (in Guwahati) as its capital. The Barak Valley in the south presents a contrasting landscape. Assamese is the major indigenous and official language while Bengali is the official language in the three districts in the Barak Valley. (*Assam State Portal*, n.d.)

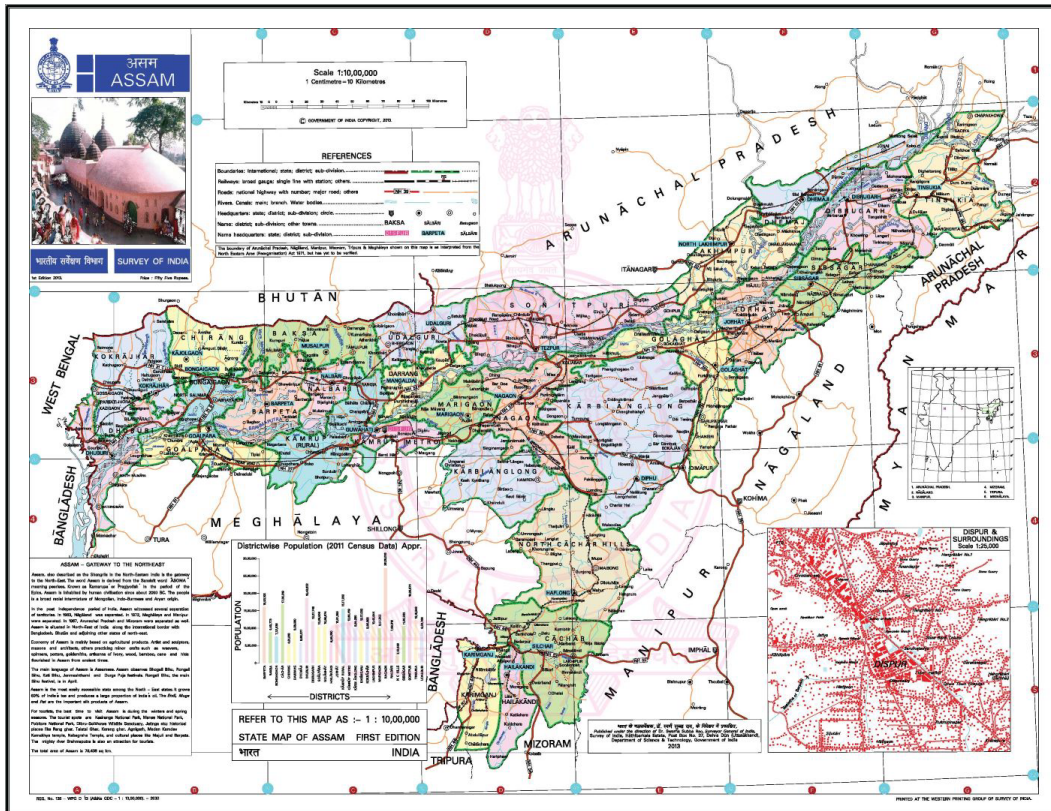


Figure 1-1 Political map of Assam by Survey of India

The Brahmaputra Valley's fertile alluvial soil, enriched by Himalayan sediments, supports robust agricultural production. The region's subtropical climate, with warm summers and mild winters, provides ideal growing conditions. The valley's fertile land has attracted settlers for centuries, contributing to its diverse population. Assam's rich tapestry is woven from a blend of ethnicities, including Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Mongoloid, and Aryan groups. Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Sikhism, and indigenous faiths coexist harmoniously, creating a vibrant cultural mosaic. This historical co-existence has fostered a continuous exchange of traditions, evident in the region's unique lifestyle.

As depicted in **Figure 1-2** significant hills surround Assam. These natural features and the rivers have served as historical landmarks, shaping the region's geography and influencing human settlements. This figure is provided as it does better justice to the fluid movement of people throughout history than contemporary political borders.

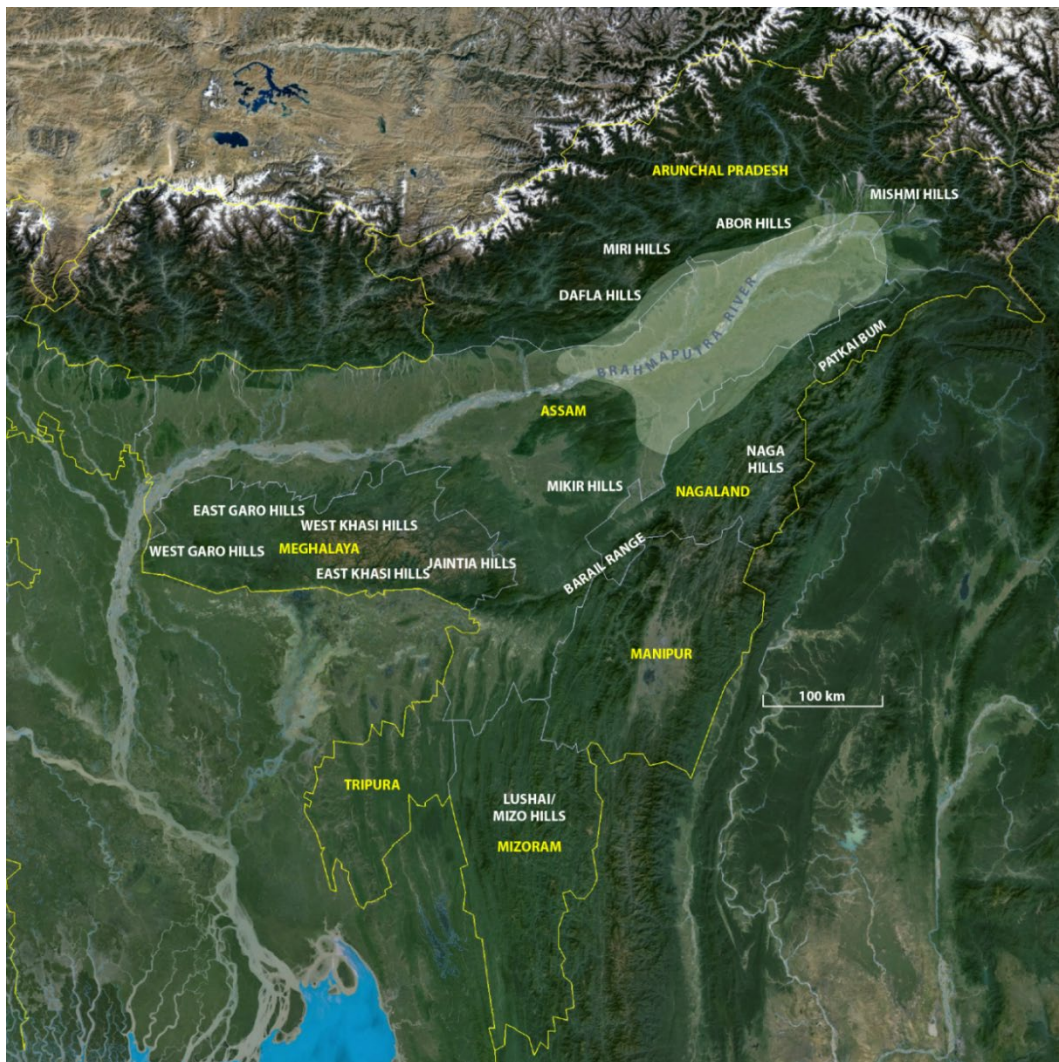


Figure 1-2 Map showing political borders and major hills around Assam. The highlighted area loosely shows Upper Assam. Yellow texts show the states and the white texts show the hills of the area (Source: Google Earth, labels done by the researcher)

1.1.1 Upper Assam

Upper Assam is an administrative division located in the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra Valley. It includes the districts of Biswanath, Jorhat, Dibrugarh, Dhemaji, Golaghat, Charaideo, Lakhimpur, Majuli, Sivasagar, and Tinsukia. The term '**Upper Assam (*Ujani Axom*)**' derives from its geographical location upstream of the Brahmaputra River, reflecting the historical importance of river transport in the region. The Assamese term *ujani* means upstream, and *namoni* means downstream. The roots of the festival of Bihu can be traced to this particular area, hence the focus.

The Chutia and Ahom kingdoms were two prominent kingdoms in Upper Assam of the medieval period. The Chutia Kingdom, centred around Sadiya, came to prominence in the late 14th century, and existed until 1524, when the Ahom Kingdom absorbed it. The Ahom Kingdom, or Kingdom of Assam, established in 1228, ruled the Brahmaputra Valley for nearly 600 years. Despite facing Mughal expansion, the kingdom maintained its independence. The kingdom's resilience and adaptability allowed it to thrive in the region. In its later years, the kingdom became significantly weaker due to a combination of civil war and repeated Burmese invasions. With the defeat of the Burmese after the First Anglo-Burmese War and the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826, control of the kingdom passed into the East India Company's hands. Both the Chutia Kingdom and Ahom Kingdom's influence exceeded the modern political boundary of Upper Assam.



Figure 1-3 The Rongali Bihu celebration is held in the courtyard of Rang Ghar, Sivasagar, Assam. The photo shows the 2017 version of this annual social event.

During the medieval period of Assam, the Ahom Kingdom played a pivotal role in the development and recognition of Bihu. Notably, King Rudra Singha (1665–1714) of the Ahom dynasty extended royal patronage to Bihu by permitting its performance in the courtyard of Rang Ghar. (Dambarudhar Nath, 1996, p. 206) The Rang Ghar ("House of Entertainment") is a two-storey structure historically serving as the royal sports pavilion. Here, Ahom kings and nobles observed various events, particularly those held during the Rongali Bihu festival in the Ahom capital of

Rangpur. Honouring this tradition, Rongali Bihu is celebrated in the courtyard of Rang Ghar every year with a public collective to this day.

1.2 Springtime in Assam

The Bihu festival, one of the most celebrated festivals in Assam, has carried centuries of cultural inheritance and emotional involvement for the people of Assam. There are three of its kind: Bohag Bihu, Kati Bihu, and Magh Bihu. The three Bihus are celebrated with varied rituals at three different periods in a year. Being agrarian in nature and origin, the three Bihus are intrinsically connected with the agricultural cycle of Assam (see **Figure 1-4**).

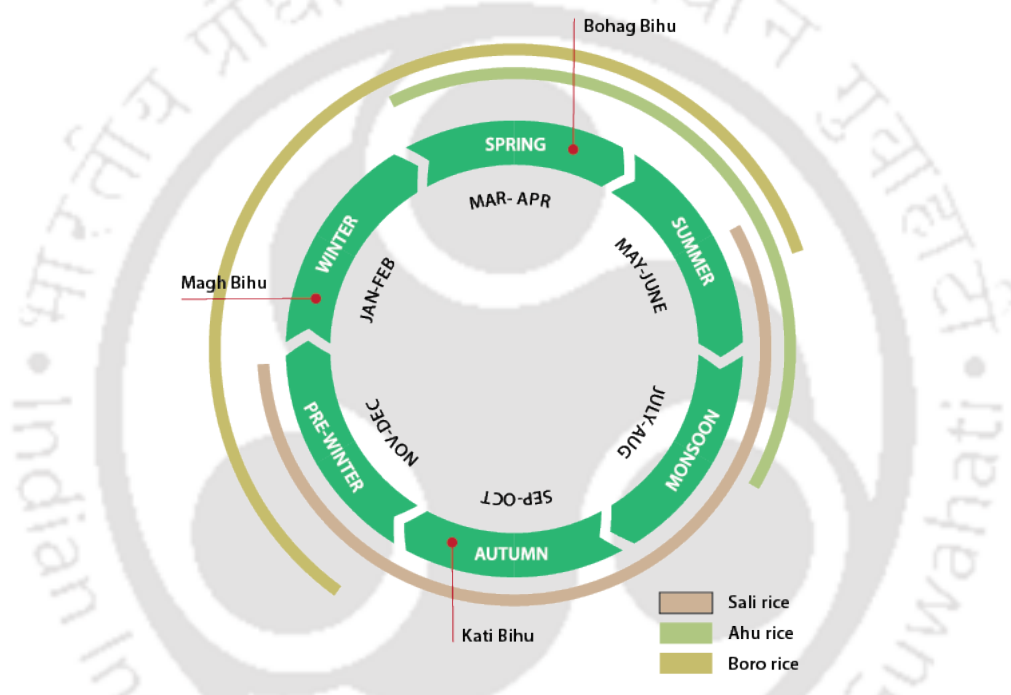


Figure 1-4 Infographic showing the seasonal and crop cycle of Assam.

This study focuses on its springtime version, Bohag Bihu (named after the Assamese month Bohag), also known as Rongali (meaning joyous). It is celebrated in mid-April with other springtime festivals held across the country. Bihu is the state festival of Assam, and bihu dance (*bihu nas*) is the state dance. Foxtail Orchid (*Kopou ful*), an orchid flowering in spring coinciding with Bohag Bihu, is used as a love motif and adorning women's buns. This orchid is recognised as the state flower of Assam. This recognition demonstrates the significance of bihu in Assamese culture.

Historically, Bohag Bihu was primarily celebrated in Upper Assam. During the Ahom Kingdom, its popularity grew, eventually spreading to Lower Assam districts, particularly after India's independence.

Figure 1-4 also shows Assam's three major rice varieties and how their cultivation is tied to the time of festivities. The Sali rice is cultivated throughout the state, and the other varieties are more regionally focused. The festival's rituals relate to agricultural activities like planting, nurturing crops, harvesting, and raising livestock. Several ethnic or tribal communities, which primarily practised animism or Indigenous faiths a few centuries ago, either adopted Hinduism or continued practising a syncretic form of Hinduism that incorporates elements of their traditional practices. This infusion of religious aspects into the rituals associated with Bihu has resulted in a complex blend of practices observed during the festival within the multi-ethnic framework of Assam and Assamese society. This combination of sacred and secular elements is inclusive, allowing participation from people of all castes and creeds. Bohag Bihu is celebrated with ritualistic activities without strict religious adherence. (Kashyap, 2017, p. 37)

According to the traditional ways, Bohag bihu itself is divided into seven kinds by the days of the month when it is celebrated. This segregation varies from place to place.

Table 1.1 Seven kinds of Rongali Bihu by days of celebration. Source (Gogoi, 2011, pp. 407–410)

Name	Description
Chaut Bihu (mid-March to mid-April)	When the month of Chaut enters, people tie a floral-worked Gamosa on a tree trunk in the jungle. This signifies the beginning of Bihu in people's minds, hinting at the upcoming festival. Later, under this tree, at the proper time, Bihu is officially concluded for the entire year.
Rati Bihu (Night Bihu)	Every night until the last night of Chaut, young men and women practice Bihu, enjoying the freedom of socializing with minimal restrictions.
Goru Bihu (Cattle Bihu)	On the last day of Chaut, prayers are offered to household cattle, which are bathed and given new ropes. The cowsheds are cleaned and smoked with medicinal plants, and different types of rice cakes are offered to the cattle on banana leaves to ward off evil spirits. People also bathe using a paste made from pulses, rice powder, and raw turmeric.
Manuh Bihu (People Bihu)	The next day of Goru Bihu is Manuh Bihu. On this day, everyone wears new clothes. Women present Bihuwans (a Gamosa presented

	with respect or love) to other family members. Young people bow to their elders to seek blessings.
Kutum Bihu (Kinfolk Bihu)	On the second day of Bohag, people visit each other to exchange greetings, and guests are treated to special snacks. Married daughters and sons-in-law visit their families to seek blessings, offering betel nuts and leaves in prayer.
Haat / Mela Bihu (Fair/ Exhibition Bihu)	On this day, people visit each other's homes and enjoy Gabhoru Bihu (performed by young women) dances under the trees, welcoming young visitors from other villages.
Chera Bihu (Pass-over Bihu)	As Bihu progresses, the initial excitement begins to wane, and young men and women get tired after dancing tirelessly. This signifies the beginning of the end of bihu for the year.

Once performed in fields, Bihu dances are now staged as grand community events and often feature competitions. Although, as seen in **Table 1.1**, not all kinds of Bohag Bihu accommodates singing and dancing. Some days are reserved for other social activities like visiting neighbours and families.

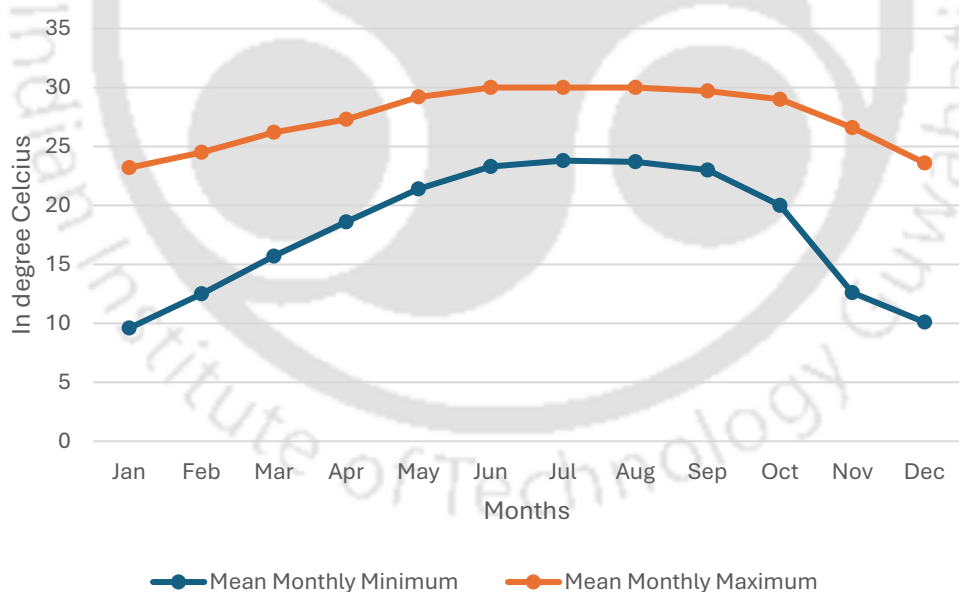


Figure 1-5 The graph shows the mean monthly temperatures recorded at Mohanbari Weather Station, Dibrugarh, Assam. Period: 1969-2024. The researcher drew a combined chart by using data from two separate charts.
Source: <https://www.imdpune.gov.in/>

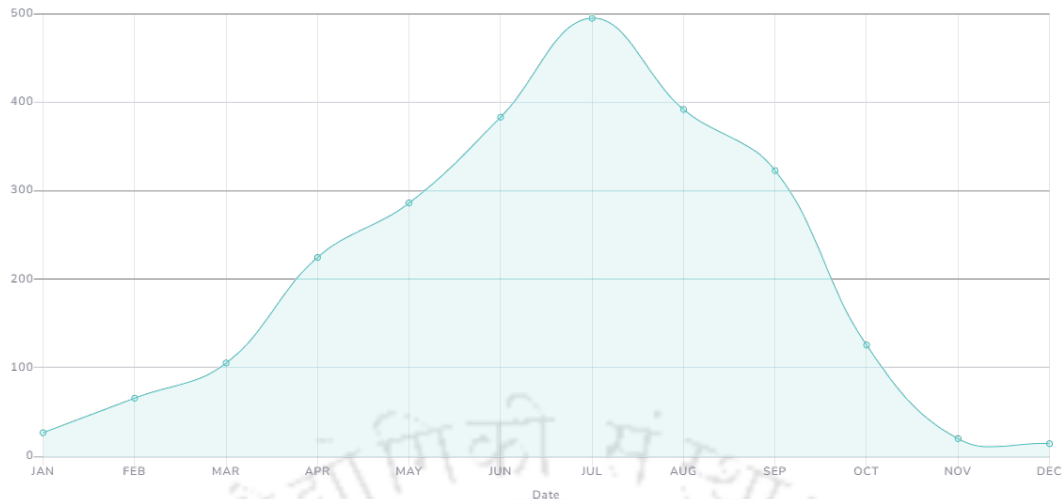


Figure 1-6 The graph shows the mean monthly rainfall in mm, recorded at Mohanbari Weather Station, Dibrugarh, Assam. Period: 1969-2024.
Source: <https://www.imdpune.gov.in/>

The **Figure 1-5**, and **Figure 1-6** shows the climatic conditions of Upper Assam, taking data from Mohanbari Weather Station, which is situated in Upper Assam. This helps situate the bihu festival and its celebration time according to the weather conditions throughout the year. As seen, the months of March and April, which is the time of Bohag Bihu, have relatively moderate temperatures, and the rainy season has not started yet. Upper Assam receives heavy rainfall from June onwards, and floods are common.

1.2.1 Nature of Bihu Songs and Dances

Regarding the traditions and ceremonies around bihu, RM Nath mentions that people gather in open fields to celebrate Bohag-Bihu with traditional songs and dances. Women wear garments with red borders and floral patterns and adorn their palms and feet with red pigment from myrtle leaves.

The spontaneous songs, inspired by nature and daily life, evoke tender emotions and feature simple expressions of love. Some might even consider these amorous obscene by modern standards. He also notes that the bihu dance is an apparent imitation of nature.

"Swaying of the upper part of the body backwards and forward with a sudden jerk, keeping the lower part stiff, was an imitation of the effect of the storm on trees. The bending of the upper part of the body backwards and forward was the effect of the high wind on bamboo and paddy plants. Sitting down suddenly represented the

breaking of trees. Shrieks represented the rustling sound of the storm. The movement of the hip with a sudden jerk represented the waving of the palms, cocoanuts or betel nuts on the trees by the wind, and the gentle fluttering of the stretched-out hands represented the ripples caused in the water of the great river." (R M Nath, 1945, p. 5)

Prafulla Dutta Goswami also mentions the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century disdain at bihu, which called the merrymaking rituals of bihu ugly and immoral. He points out the reason for this as the loss of independence of the Assamese to the British and the newly borrowed Western thinking from Kolkata (West Bengal, India), which culturally influenced the Assamese literates of that time. From the late 1910s onwards, a new generation of Assamese litterateurs has worked relentlessly to remove this stigma and reinstate bihu as the state festival of Assam. (Praphulladatta Goswami, 2012b, p. 17)

1.3 The Pastoral Songs of Bihu: Bonghokhas

Youth is beautiful, and also is spring. There rises an attraction towards beauty overall. With sexual attraction, even regular sight also becomes sexual. Then, it is only regular that attraction, and the spring weather creates songs unbound by societal rules. Songs sung during the time of Bihu, we will call them "Bihunaam," are broadly of two types. The first and the oldest one is of erotic nature, often sung and danced to in private, and the second one is non-erotic, sometimes spiritual in nature, to be performed in public. Leela Gogoi terms the first ones Bonghokha, who keep their original customs and function. "Bonghoshas are songs of the youthful heart. open nature, open emotions and empty fields that create them." (Leela Gogoi, 1985, p. 19) These essentially fall in the category of pastoral songs. Maheswar Neog categorizes them as Bongeet, meaning songs of the wild. (Maheswar Neog, 1986, p. 373) In this thesis, the term Bonghokha is used, or they are just said as bihu songs. Here onwards, "bihu song" should mean folk-bihu songs that are sung in the wild, unless specified otherwise. It also does not mean "modern bihu songs" that a single person often creates.

Hemango Biswas notes that the primeval philosophy of Bihu songs centres on non-religious, earthly matters and a strong love for a work-filled lifestyle. Initially a pre-Aryan festival, it later incorporated Aryan religious sentiments and became a Hindu festival. Bihu songs openly express love in a non-materialistic way, integrating

everyday work life with personal affection. They reflect a collective sense of healthy living. The foundation of Assamese culture is constructed upon the literature and music of Bihu songs. (Hemango Biswas, 2008, p. 109) According to Maheswar Neog, Assamese folk poetry creations (not limited to bihu songs) have a more lyrical nature, signifying a feeling, unlike the chronicle nature of some European ballads. (Maheswar Neog, 1986, p. 369) By 'bihu songs', he means Bonghokha. Some other forms of bihu also include narrative ballads. The themes found in the former highlight their pastoral nature.

Pastoral songs are a genre of music and poetry that depict and celebrate the idealized life of shepherds and herders in rural landscapes. Pastoral songs evoke the idyllic beauty of the countryside, celebrating nature, rural life, and the simplicity of pastoral landscapes. Nature is a character in these songs; the natural world plays a central role in pastoral songs. Common themes include lush meadows, flowing rivers, gentle breezes, and starry nights. Subject-wise, love between shepherds and shepherdesses, often accompanied by themes of separation and longing, is recurring. Pastoral music is typically characterized by simple, easy-to-remember melodies and often straightforward rhythms. This reflects the uncomplicated life of the shepherd. Pastoral songs often present a romanticized view of rural life, neglecting the realities of hard work, harsh weather, and the challenges shepherds face.

The cultural importance of bihu in the minds of Assamese folk can also be understood in the following way. When neo-Vaishnavite Assamese saint **Shankardeva** or Sankardev (late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries) popularized his teachings through the forms of Bargeet (devotional songs), Shravana-kirtan (the prayer system), Ankiya Naat (drama), and Sattriya (dance); he chose the symbol of child Krishna from the Bhagavata, seeking spiritual attainment through devotion. Here, Harekrishna Deka conjectures that Shankardeva's choosing this, instead of **Radha-Krishna**, the symbol of devotional love, may mean that the erotic needs of the Assamese mind were already fulfilled by the seasons and its festivals like bihu. The mother-child relationship of **Yashoda and Krishna** became a more appropriate vehicle for connecting with Mother Nature. "There is eroticism in Bihu dance and Bihu songs, but such expressions relate to the seasons, and not to the earth. The sensuous vehicle for aesthetic expression of eroticism has been the eyes, not the toiling hands." (Deka, 2005) And thus, Yashoda, belonging from a tribe

of cowherds, became the mother surrogate for the Assamese mind, situated in the pastoral landscape of Assam.

1.3.1 Categories of Springtime Bihu by Participants

The **Figure 1-7** shows the categorization of springtime bihu according to participants, performance time and subject matter. The names sometimes vary by geography. Hence, this chart includes all commonly used terms. Some of these terms can be translated literally, others not. Of the possible translated ones, *Gabhoru* is a female adolescent who has experienced menarche, or her first menstrual period; *Maiki* means woman in general; *Gostolor* means "of under the tree"; *Mukoli* means open; *Chotor/Sotor* means "of the month Chaut"; *Rati* means nighttime.

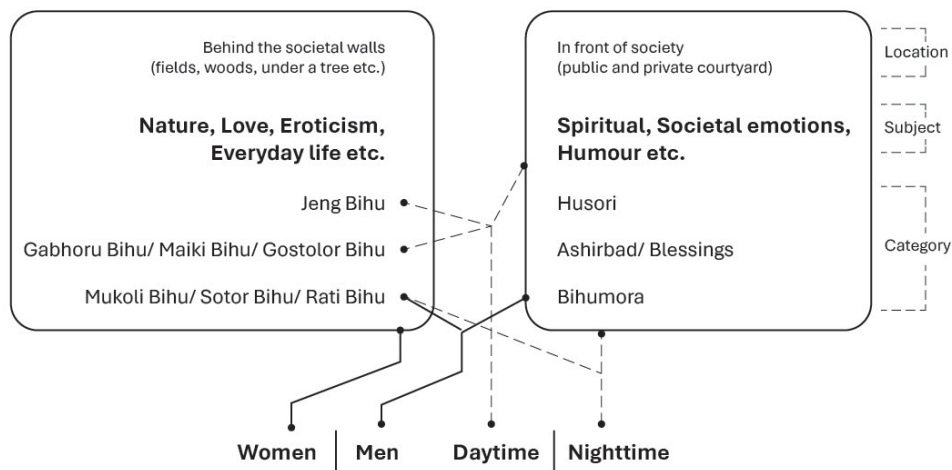


Figure 1-7 Some categories of Bihu, categorized by location, subject matter, performers, and time of day. Drawn with reference from (Gandhia, 2018)

Bonghokhas include *Jeng Bihu*, *Gabharu Bihu/ Maiki Bihu/ Gosotolor Bihu* (women's only), and *Mukoli Bihu/ Rati Bihu/ Sotor Bihu* (performed by girls and boys in private). Sometimes, a person herding cattle, picking firewood, or working in the paddy fields may also spontaneously sing these. Bihunam encompasses Husori Ghokha and Bihu Mora Naam, sung during Husori performances. Husori is traditionally a male-only activity performed in communal or public places such as someone's front courtyard. (Gandhia, 2018, pp. 1–19) In modern times, males and females performing bihu together publicly have gained social acceptance, and now this type is also broadly understood as Husori. In this research, the term *Husori* will be used in the traditional sense, as specified below unless otherwise specified.

Husori and Bihu are two distinct terms. Singing Bihu songs along with dancing bihu is called Bihu Mora. On the other hand, before *bihu-mora*, when the elders sing *Ghokha-pod*, that part is called Husori. First comes Husori, then blessings are bestowed to the household; then there is *bihu-mora* of the young (Padma Barkataki in Bihu: Husori: Shankardeva as cited in (Gandhia, 2018, p. 4). After the bestowal of blessings, the leader of the Bihu group asks the house owner for permission to perform and enjoy Bihu in his yard. After the permission, the group starts to do Bihu with a *Jojona*." (Gandhia, 2018, p. 6) Husori singers often perform Vaishnavite prayers or humorous ballads. Their repertoire may include songs that address social and spiritual obligations. As mentioned above, they are not supposed to sing bihu songs (Bonghokha) proper, which are rather erotic. (Goswami, 1954)

1.4 Research Gap and Motivation

Design practice often struggles to adequately incorporate the intangible dimensions of culture despite their crucial role in shaping human experience and interaction. Folk culture, such as Assam's Bihu festival and its associated songs (Bihugeet), represents a vital convergence point of tangible elements and intangible meanings, offering valuable insights into shared cultural memory and worldview. While Bihu's significance as Assamese ICH is well-established, translating the culture-specific meaning structure into straightforwardly applicable knowledge for design remains problematic.

Considerable scholarly attention has been devoted to Bihu from various perspectives, including its historical evolution, sociological impact, thematic content, symbolism in songs, performance aspects, and political discourse. (Baishya, 2004; Barua, 2009; Choudhury, 2014; Kashyap, 2017; Pathak & Kalita, 2019; Saikia, 2024; Sarma, n.d., 2020)

Despite this wealth of research, a significant gap persists from a design research perspective. Existing analyses, primarily rooted in the humanities and social sciences, do not typically provide findings in a format that is intuitively usable for designers seeking to understand core cultural concepts and cognitive frameworks. Specifically, there is a lack of studies that analyse Bihu songs through a lens focused on revealing their underlying conceptual structures in a manner relevant to design thinking and practice.

The motivation for this study stems directly from this gap. There is a pressing need for methodologies that allow designers, especially those unfamiliar with the specific culture, to gain deeper, more nuanced insights into the cognitive and affective landscape embedded within cultural expressions like Bihugeet. Drawing on cognitive science, which posits metaphor as a fundamental cognitive tool, this research proposes analysing conceptual metaphors within Bihu songs. This approach is motivated by its potential to uncover how Assamese culture conceptualises experiences related to nature, emotion, and social life, as expressed organically in these folk songs. By employing this ethnographic lens on Bihugeet, this study aims to generate culturally sensitive knowledge that can directly inform the design of more meaningful and appropriate products, services, and experiences within the Assamese context, thereby bridging the gap between cultural understanding and design application.

1.5 Research Questions

The following research questions guide this study:

1. How does analysing conceptual metaphors in Bonghokha (folk Bihu) songs reveal the underlying cultural concepts, themes, and cognitive frameworks associated with the Bihu tradition in Assam?
2. In what ways can the understanding of these conceptual frameworks, derived from Bihu songs, inform practical strategies for culturally sensitive design?
3. What methodological approach, centred on conceptual metaphor analysis, can designers use to study oral intangible cultural heritage like Bihu songs effectively?

1.6 Research Aim and Objectives

Aim:

The aim of this research is to elucidate the underlying conceptual framework shaping the culture and communication surrounding Bihu in Assam by analysing conceptual metaphors in Bonghokha (folk Bihu) songs, with a view towards informing culturally sensitive design practices.

Objectives:

1. To identify and analyse the dominant conceptual metaphors within a corpus of Bonghokha (folk Bihu) songs, interpreting their significance in structuring key themes and reflecting the associated Assamese cultural framework.
2. To evaluate how insights developed from these Bihu-related conceptual frameworks can inform principles or strategies for developing culturally appropriate designs.
3. To propose a methodological approach, utilising conceptual metaphor analysis, suitable for designers and design researchers to study Oral Intangible Cultural Heritage like Bihu songs and extract culturally relevant insights.

1.7 Research Justification

Before recent technological advancements, creating and consuming visuals on a large scale was challenging. In trying to address this, various visual art traditions emerged. In India, two distinct artistic traditions developed. One is associated with religious practices and supported by affluent and royal patrons, primarily created by male artists. The other is rooted in women's folk traditions and integrated into daily life. An example of the first tradition is Assamese miniature paintings (Das1 & Jain2, 2024, p. 14; Sarkar, 2017), while an example of the second tradition is Warli paintings from Maharashtra (Rao, 2022, pp. 208–209). The character of the first one means they provide an important but narrow view of society, looking from the top. The second one provides a more sincere picture of everyday life.

But we learn to speak before we learn to draw. Oral traditions go beyond visual ones. They require fewer tools, if any tools, to produce at all and hence have been the go-to medium of communication and expression. Oral traditions also capture the tangible world, as when people talk, they talk about all things, tangible and intangible. "The slow and intensive analysis of language and communication sheds light on small (but consequential) aspects of social practice, taking the ethnography into smaller, more focused spaces and drawing analytic attention to fine detail". (Snell et al., 2015, p. 8) Here in this research, we consciously try to defocus from our visually focused educational background. As seen in **Figure 1-8**, ideal ethnographic research considers both tangible and intangible factors. However, since intangible factors like folktales also document tangible elements, research on them can provide us with similar opportunities.

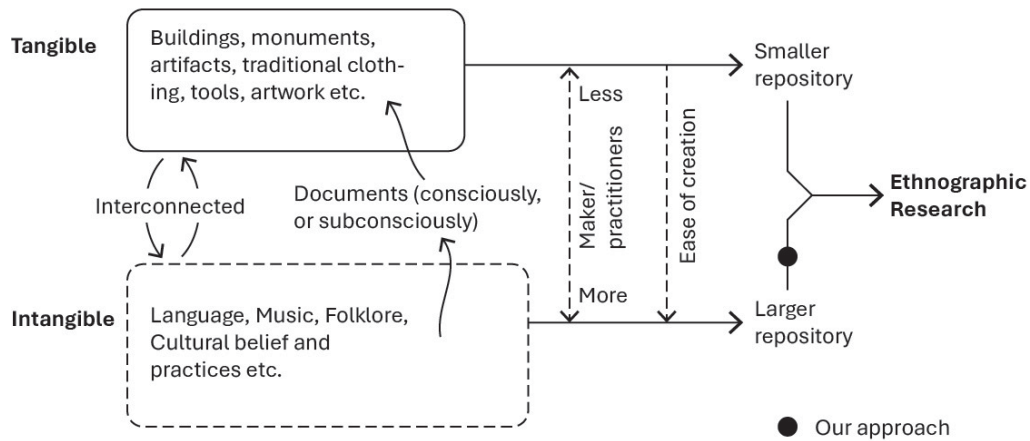


Figure 1-8 A diagram showing the rationale for research

1.8 Overall Thesis Structure

Chapter 1: This chapter introduces the northeastern Indian state of Assam and its principal cultural festival, Bihu. It offers a historical overview of the festival's origins and development, particularly emphasising the songs traditionally associated with Bihu. The chapter situates these songs within the broader framework of intangible cultural heritage, recognising them as a significant form of vernacular expression and cultural transmission. Following this contextual foundation, the chapter outlines the motivation for the present study and identifies existing gaps in the literature. From this critical assessment, the research questions and objectives are formulated. These, in turn, define the scope of the investigation, which centres on the conceptual metaphors embedded in Assamese Bihu folk songs. The study thus positions itself within the domain of intangible cultural heritage, aiming to explore the cognitive and cultural mappings these songs encode.

Chapter 2: This chapter engages with the key scholarly literature and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) theoretical foundations. It traces the development of the theory, highlighting significant revisions and expansions over time. In addition, the chapter examines the application of CMT across various modalities, including its relevance to visual representation and interpretation. The discussion further emphasises the necessity of conducting culture-specific metaphor research, underscoring the limitations of universalist approaches in capturing the nuances of culturally embedded metaphorical structures. Building upon this theoretical framework, the chapter concludes by presenting insights that inform the direction and design of the current study.

Chapter 3: This chapter outlines the research methodology employed in the study, focusing on the rationale for corpus selection, the structure and coding of Bihu song samples, and the analytical framework based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The research adopts a qualitative, mixed-methods design to explore the conceptual structures embedded in Assamese Bihu folk songs. The study primarily utilises Deductive Thematic Analysis (DTA) to identify metaphorical mappings and emergent themes, supported by Conceptual Content Analysis (CCA) for supplementary structural insights.

Chapter 4: Along with the next chapter, this chapter integrates data and analysis for a cohesive flow. Here, the Bonghokha songs explored in this study show themes of rich metaphorical language rooted in Assam's natural and cultural environment to express themes of love, intimacy, and gender dynamics. Through conceptual metaphors like PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, the songs map human traits onto flora and fauna, reflecting cultural views on beauty, fertility, power, and social roles. These metaphors reinforce traditional gender expectations and societal norms, using vivid imagery from everyday life, ritual practices, and visual symbolism.

Chapter 5: This chapter continues the integrated presentation and data analysis, specifically focusing on the cultural expression of ideas and emotions and their metaphorical associations with tangible and intangible elements. Central emotional themes—particularly love, intimacy, and separation—are emphasised, consistent. The chapter explores how songs express romantic longing through nature. It highlights the metaphorical connections made by folk poets, linking ideas to food, emotions to flowing rivers, sorrow to downstream movement, and the colour red to passion. It also discusses the cultural importance of chewing betel quid in Southeast Asia, particularly its associations with love and friendship in Assamese tradition. Finally, it illustrates how verbal metaphors evolve into visual motifs, showing their influence across various forms within the Bihu folk tradition.

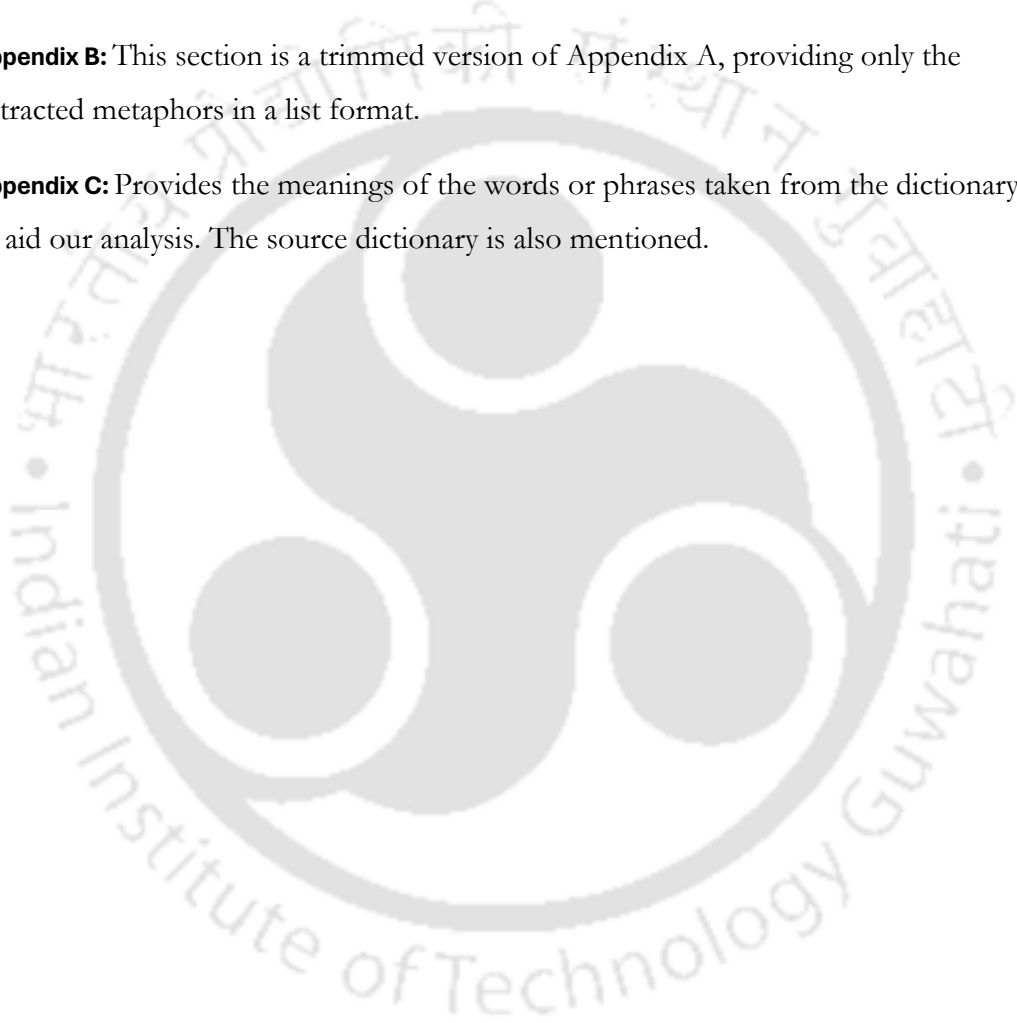
Chapter 6: This chapter revisits all the phases of the research and summarizes them. The discussions include the study's overall findings and potential lacunae in the process. Mentioning the scope and limitations of the study, the chapter concludes with its significance, contributions and future scope of the study.

1.9 List of Appendices

Appendix A: This section forms a major part of the research, where individual metaphorical analyses of the songs are provided in a tabulated format. It provides the Assamese and English versions of the songs, along with metaphorical mappings with culture-specific sources and targets. It also accompanies them with culturally specific details. This section should be viewed as the bridge between Chapter 3, i.e. the methodology chapter, and the next chapters. Chapter 3 onwards refers to this table in the body text, and references are given as the code of the songs.

Appendix B: This section is a trimmed version of Appendix A, providing only the extracted metaphors in a list format.

Appendix C: Provides the meanings of the words or phrases taken from the dictionary to aid our analysis. The source dictionary is also mentioned.



Chapter 2: Literature Review- Metaphors of the Mind

*"All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players;
They have their exits and their entrances;"*

- William Shakespeare in the play "As You Like It"

In this context, life is being compared to a play. Like actors in a theatre, people have roles, go through various stages of life, and eventually leave. This suggests that life is temporary and consists of different phases. By understanding life as a stage in a play, the newborns are understood as new characters entering the stage, while existing on the stage means death. Are metaphors like this just embellished thoughts, or do they help us understand complex themes like life and death?

The **traditional view** of metaphor often considers it a **rhetorical flourish** that deviates from ordinary language. Metaphors were seen primarily as a matter of language alone, not something that influenced thought or action. This perspective views metaphors as stylistic or ornamental elements rather than fundamental components of our conceptual system. (Garello, 2024; Han et al., 2022).

2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

By the late 1970s, this view of metaphor began to change as new theories emerged. According to Max Black's interaction view of metaphor (BLACK, 1977; Black, 1993), two interacting items exist in the context of a metaphorical statement, identified as the 'primary' item and the 'secondary' one. However, (Forceville, 1996) mentions that Black only briefly touched upon metaphor as a cognitive matter.

Unlike the traditional view of metaphor as a literary ornament, cognitive linguistics has established that metaphor is a fundamental cognitive process. This **Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)** challenges the notion that metaphorical expressions are merely linguistic phenomena. (Eubanks, 1999; Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, p. 205; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003)

According to this theory, our **embodied experiences** are crucial in understanding abstract concepts. We often use metaphors that draw on our physical and sensory experiences (**source domains**) to make these abstract ideas (**target domains**) more concrete and comprehensible. This is called the **Embodied Philosophy** view, which

builds upon CMT. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999a) Cognitively, the source domain concepts are easier to understand than the target domain ones.

For example, the 'LOVE IS JOURNEY' metaphor is a significant way to express and understand love across many cultures. By mapping the abstract concept of love onto the concrete experience of a journey, we can gain valuable insights into the nature and dynamics of relationships. The specific features of the journey metaphor, such as 'starting point,' 'progress,' 'obstacles,' and 'destinations,' can be used to convey a wide range of emotions and experiences related to love. Metaphors are articulated in written form as [TARGET] COPULA VERB [SOURCE]. (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003)

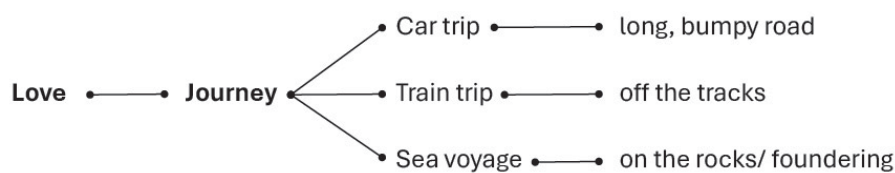


Figure 2-1 Different conceptual mappings of journey source domain that can be mapped to love.

The rich tapestry of metaphors that describe love reflects this emotion's cultural and personal significance. While the 'LOVE IS A JOURNEY' metaphor provides a foundational framework, other metaphors, such as 'LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (I was magnetically drawn to her)' or 'LOVE IS MADNESS (I'm crazy about her),' can be used to convey specific aspects of love that are culturally or personally relevant. This diversity of metaphors highlights the multifaceted nature of love and its ability to evoke a wide range of emotions and experiences. (Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, pp. 205–207; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003)

Table 2.1 Conceptual mappings in LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 295; Kovecses, 2005, p. 6) as cited in (Gibbons & Whiteley, 2018, p. 207)

Source: JOURNEY	→	Target: LOVE
The travellers	→	The lovers
The vehicle	→	The love relationship
The journey	→	Events in the relationship
The distance covered	→	The progress made
Obstacles encountered	→	Difficulties experienced
Decisions about which way to go	→	Choices about what to do
The destination of the journey	→	The goal(s) of the relationship

Metaphors are **selective**, focusing on specific aspects of an idea while neglecting others. In the 'LOVE IS A JOURNEY' metaphor, the concept of multiple travellers may not be explicitly mapped. However, novel metaphors can be created if they are consistent with existing metaphorical frameworks, as seen in poetry and art.

According to the **Invariance Principle**, "metaphorical mappings [preserving] the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain". The form expresses the metaphor but is not a metaphor. Metaphor is a thought process. (Lakoff, 1990)

Before proceeding further, we want to provide definitions of some key terms-

Image Schemas: Image schemas are cognitive structures derived from bodily interactions, linguistic experiences, and historical context. They help us understand and reason about spatiotemporal relationships from early infancy. These schemas are dynamic and engage all sensory modalities, not just vision. (Hampe, 2008; Johnson, 1989; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999b)

Domain: A domain refers to a specific area of experience or knowledge. It's the source or target from or to which we draw metaphorical mappings. Domains can be concrete (like physical journeys) or abstract (like emotions). They serve as the building blocks for conceptual metaphors. (Clausner & Croft, 1999)

Mental space: Mental spaces are cognitive constructs where we organise related information, memories, and emotions, and they can coexist. They can blend together to create new meanings, such as the phrase "Time flies," which merges concepts of time and a bird in motion. (Fauconnier, 1994)

Frame: A frame is a mental structure that shapes how we understand and interpret information. For example, the "argument" frame involves roles, objectives, and guidelines when resolving disputes. Frames serve as mental templates influencing our expectations and interpretations in various scenarios. (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Langacker, 1995)

Thus, the shift from viewing metaphors as mere rhetorical devices to recognising them as fundamental cognitive tools marks a significant advancement in linguistic and cognitive research, paving the way for innovative approaches to studying

language and culture. Understanding metaphors from this cognitive perspective opens new avenues for analysing and interpreting oral traditions, such as the Bihu songs of Assam. By examining the metaphorical language used in these songs, researchers can gain insights into the cultural and conceptual underpinnings of the community, providing a deeper appreciation of their social practices and beliefs.

2.2 Neural Basis of Metaphors

Metaphorical thinking is so embodied and subconscious that we often do not realize that a certain expression might be metaphorical. The **neural theory of metaphor** posits that metaphorical thinking is a fundamental cognitive process rooted in our brain's **neural architecture**. It suggests that the brain's ability to form analogies and connections between concepts is essential for understanding and communicating abstract ideas.

Metaphorical thinking is grounded in specific neural networks within the brain, particularly those involved in language, memory, and conceptual understanding. Our experiences and interactions with the physical world shape our conceptual understanding; metaphors often draw on these embodied experiences. The brain's ability to form connections between different concepts is due to the **overlapping neural representations** of these concepts. This overlap allows us to see similarities and relationships between seemingly unrelated ideas. (Feldman, 2006; Kövecses, 2011; Lakoff, 2009)

We understand a story by imagining ourselves in it or observing it, made possible by **mirror neurons** in the brain. (Cuccio et al., n.d.) Mirror neurons are a type of brain cell that fires both when an individual acts and when they observe someone else performing the same action, i.e. mirroring the behaviour of others. Metaphorical mappings are not fixed algorithms but flexible patterns influenced by individual experiences and neural connections. Depending on the specific context and the individual's cognitive processes, they can evoke or fail to evoke source domain knowledge. **Simulation** allows us to draw on our rich understanding of the world and social systems to make inferences. Hence, **metaphorical language is most effective when it preserves consistent conceptual types**, enabling us to understand the abstract in terms of the concrete. Maintaining and exploiting relational mappings between mental spaces is essential for our general simulation facility. (Feldman, 2006, p. 209, 212, 222) Metaphors follow brain-embodied patterns

with the sensorimotor apparatus, providing insights into societal behavioural patterns. This understanding is crucial for designing culturally specific solutions, reflecting the essence of the culture. (Borgohain et al., 2023)

2.3 Metaphor Comprehension

Conventional metaphors (Lakoff, 2004) refer to widely recognised figurative expressions deeply embedded in a language community's lexicon. These metaphors become so ingrained in everyday discourse that their figurative nature is often overlooked, allowing them to be processed as efficiently as literal expressions. As a result, conventional metaphors play a crucial role in shaping conceptual thought processes and linguistic behaviours within a cultural context.

A **novel metaphor** refers to a figurative expression that is fresh and original, created to provide new insight or perspective on a particular concept. Unlike conventional metaphors, novel metaphors are inventive and can stimulate cognitive processing by challenging the listener to make unique connections between disparate ideas. They engage the mind by requiring more effort to decode, thus facilitating deeper comprehension and retention of the underlying message.

Novel metaphors involve base terms that refer to a domain-specific concept but are not (yet) associated with a domain-general category. For example, the novel base term "glacier" in "Science is a Glacier" does not have a related metaphoric sense (e.g., "anything that progresses slowly but steadily"). Therefore, novel metaphors are interpreted as comparisons, the target concept structurally aligning with the literal base concept (here, "a large body of ice spreading outward over a land surface").

Conventional metaphors, on the other hand, like "blueprint" in "A gene is a blueprint," have both literal and metaphorical meanings linked by similarity and can be seen as comparisons or categorisations. They involve base terms referring both to the literal concept (here, "a blue-white photo plate showing an architect's plan") and associated metaphoric category (anything that provides a plan). (Bowdle & Gentner, 2005)

When we encounter novel metaphors of foreign culture for concepts like life or love, it can be challenging to understand the meaning conveyed. This novel, or creative metaphors, is not limited to "high" poetry but can be found in folk traditions. For example-

"From whence come the leeches?

From the swamp to the ricefields.

From whence comes this love?

From the eyes down to the heart."

This Malay *pantun*, a short, traditional verse, talks about love. (Goddard, 2004) The target domain, love, is conventional, but the source is novel. Understanding Malay *pantuns* requires detailed local knowledge. **Creativity usually involves identifying new source domains for pre-existing targets.** (Kovecses, 2005, p. 72)

When someone uses a metaphor consciously (**deliberate metaphor**), our brain can process it as quickly as literal language. If the metaphor is of unfamiliar origin, the brain takes a bit longer to process. However, once the metaphor becomes familiar, it is processed almost as fast as literal language. In Gerard Steen's **Deliberate Metaphor Theory (DMT)** (Steen, 2017, 2023), "all metaphors count as metaphors in communication and are also comprehended metaphorically through some form of cross-domain mapping (or analogy), while all metaphors that do not count as metaphors in communication do not. In DMT, metaphor comprehension is hence not about figures of thought but about figures of thought that count as such in communication."- (Steen, 2023) DMT focuses on the communicative function of the metaphor. On the other hand, the distinction between novel and conventional metaphors focuses on familiarity with the metaphor.

In a series of experimental studies, Kathleen Ahrens has shown that **conventional conceptual metaphors** score high in **acceptability** and **interpretability** ratings and behave similarly to literal language. On the other hand, **novel metaphors** that **follow the Mapping Principle** (the reasons governing the selection of a particular source domain by a particular target domain) get **slightly lower acceptability and interpretability ratings** and take slightly higher processing time. **Novel metaphors that do not follow** the mapping principle perform even **worse**. (Ahrens, 2010) This view is cohesive with Friederici (Friederici, 2011), whose studies show that language comprehension occurs in stages. The first phase, occurring 120-200ms after stimulus onset, involves early syntactic processes such as identifying syntactic categories and structuring sentences. The second phase, between 300-500ms, involves processing semantic features and assigning thematic relations. The third phase reflects late syntactic processes, including reanalysis and repair.

Conventional metaphors, behaving similarly to literal language, do not need extra semantic processing time, while novel metaphors do. Thus, when a designer creates a metaphor, he or she must be mindful of its comprehension by the users. A conventional metaphor may be the most acceptable but can be boring and less impactful. A novel that conforms to mapping principles might be less acceptable and interpretable than its conventional counterparts. However, it will still be better than novel metaphors that do not follow the mapping principles.

A study also found that pictorial metaphors are processed faster than verbal ones. Verbal context aids understanding of pictorial metaphors (making it multimodal), and **moderately novel, literally anchored metaphors are most effective in engaging viewers in terms of pictorial metaphors in advertising.** (Cao et al., 2021) This study is in line with previous research and confirms the effectiveness of verbal anchoring in aiding the comprehension of pictorial metaphors.

Mental images (a perceptual representation that is not directly triggered by sensory input) (Nanay, 2023) are not as stable or permanent as real images and differ among individuals. Mental images involve all the senses, unlike real pictures. Verbal imagery can also engage all the senses or none at all, sometimes merely suggesting abstract ideas like justice or evil. Images are inherently unstable and vary in perception, similar to dream images, involving multisensory apprehension and interpretation rather than being solely visual. (Brown & Mitchell, 1986, p. 13,14) Research indicates that mental images help us understand metaphors. For example, "time is money" might conjure a mental image of a wallet or coins symbolising time, enhancing our comprehension. (Agusalim et al., 2021; Garello & Carapezza, 2023) The conceptual mapping principles can probably be considered a proxy for this multisensory world inside the mind.

Thus, the designer must understand the mapping principles that govern target and source domains, even when creating novel metaphors. We have also seen that these mapping principles can vary from culture to culture. Hence, it becomes extremely important for a designer to dive into the bottom of culture-specific conceptual mappings. Understanding these cultural mappings allows designers to create effective metaphors that resonate with their audience. A metaphor that works in one culture may not in another, highlighting the need for thorough cultural research.

2.4 Visual Metaphors

Visual Metaphors (also called pictorial metaphors) are images or symbols that represent abstract concepts or ideas through a visual analogy. Within the conceptual metaphor framework, they are essentially conceptual metaphors that are expressed visually. They are a way to represent abstract concepts through concrete images, often relying on embodied experiences and cultural associations.

Like conceptual metaphors, they involve mapping abstract concepts onto concrete images. This mapping is often based on shared features or associations between the two concepts. Many of them draw on our embodied experiences and physical sensations. For example, the term "heavy heart" implies a physical weight associated with emotional distress and can be converted to an image showing a 'heavy heart.' The effectiveness of the communication may vary slightly, but they use the same conceptual mappings. **The brain processes visual metaphors similarly to literal language, suggesting that the same cognitive mechanisms are involved.** CMT provides that the translation from a verbal metaphor to a visual metaphor is possible using the same conceptual mappings or templates of our thinking. This is especially true with structural metaphors (by which we systematically understand one thing in terms of another, like TIME IS SPACE). (Forceville, 2016) But he also mentions that, as soon as one changes the medium via which a message (including both its factual and emotive aspects) is conveyed, the content of this message is changed as well. (Forceville, 2008)

Visual metaphors are used in various fields, including art, literature, advertising, and design and can be found in paintings, sculptures, logos, and even everyday objects.

The previously discussed LOVE IS A JOURNEY can be visually represented by images of a couple walking hand-in-hand, a road leading to a destination, or a compass pointing towards a goal. It may also evoke the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor where the couple are the partners in the journey. Similarly, the TIME IS MONEY conceptual metaphor can be visually presented by images of a clock showing passing time juxtaposed with a wallet or savings account.

By understanding the conceptual metaphor framework, we can better appreciate the cognitive processes underlying visual metaphors and their effectiveness in conveying complex ideas. For example, in Japanese comics, background drawings can metaphorically represent the characters' mental state (Shinohara & Matsunaka, 2009).



Figure 2-2 Fire representing anger (Crayon Shinchan vol. 1: 98, © Yoshito Usui) cited as in Shinohara & Matsunaka, 2009

In **Figure 2-2** fire consumes the whole body of the character due to anger. This metaphorical mapping is consistent with the folk theory that assumes the rising of temperature in an angry person's body. The study also provides examples of using "smoke" and "steam" in such drawings in a similar context of anger.



Figure 2-3 A hybrid pictorial metaphor cited as in Ojha et al., 2018)

In another example image, a man wearing headphones is lost in his music amidst a bustling airport crowd. However, the visual metaphor takes an unexpected turn: the heads of everyone around him are replaced by loudspeakers. This striking juxtaposition suggests that the noise emanating from the people (noisy person) is so overwhelming that it is akin to the deafening sound of a loudspeaker. (see **Figure 2-3**) The image effectively equates the human tendency to be loud and intrusive with

the amplified noise of a speaker, highlighting the pervasive nature of unwanted sound in our daily lives. (Ojha et al., 2018)

Kövecses suggests that comprehending or interpreting all of these visual experiences, including sign-like and non-sign-like alike, uses the same metaphorical processing mechanisms. The visual metaphors evoked by visual experiences can be based either on correlations or resemblance. (Kövecses, 2020)

2.5 Multimodality of Metaphors

If metaphors are "primarily a matter of thought and only derivatively a matter of language" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003), logically, they should manifest in language and other nonverbal modalities, and they do. **Multimodal metaphors** involve using multiple channels or modes to **combine and convey** a metaphor. In this case, all available modalities activate the mappings between the source and target domain. The modalities may include **spoken language, written language, visuals, music, sound, gestures, smell, taste, and touch**. (Forceville, 2016) In short, this approach recognises that metaphors can be expressed through visual, auditory, and other sensory modalities on top of language.

Many metaphors are not cued in a single mode/modality but draw on two or more modes simultaneously. **Monomodal** metaphors are "metaphors whose target and source are exclusively or predominantly rendered in one mode" (Forceville, 2008), while **multimodal** metaphors are "metaphors whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes" (Forceville, 2008). Multimodal metaphors combine multiple modes of expression, such as language, visuals, sound, or gestures, to convey a metaphorical meaning. For a multimodal metaphor to be effective, the combined modes of expression must be seamlessly integrated and complementary in nature to create a coherent message.

For example, an advertisement may use the text "Our soup is a warm hug," with an accompanying image showing a cosy soup bowl cradled in someone's hands. This is a multimodal metaphor since it combines literal text with images, enforcing the same idea. The warmth of the hug (abstract concept) is linked to the warmth of the soup (concrete experience). If the background of this imagery evokes the mountains or any colder climate, this metaphor may become even stronger. In that scenario, the physiological need for warmth gets mapped with the psychological need for a hug. This idea is grounded in the conceptual metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH. The

embodiment of this metaphor lies in that the experiences of affection and warmth often coincide when children are lovingly held by their parents, reinforcing the metaphor 'Affection is Warmth.' (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003)

Research suggests that the **conceptual metaphors prevalent in language also manifest in nonverbal communication, including gestures, visual representations, and artistic expressions.** While these metaphorical expressions may not be identical to spoken or written language, a significant overlap exists, indicating a shared cognitive framework underlying human communication.

Elisabeth El Refaie's work, *Visual Metaphor and Embodiment in Graphic Illness Narratives*, highlights the distinctive communicative potential of visual media, particularly graphic novels. These narratives offer unique perspectives that language alone cannot convey. El Refaie demonstrates the power of graphic narratives in exploring illness experiences, providing insights into how this medium can help us understand and navigate our own and others' health challenges. The communicative strength of graphic narratives arises from our shared human embodiment. Physical beings possess brains connected to bodies that interact with the world. This embodiment encourages the use of metaphors that link abstract concepts to concrete, embodied experiences to abstract domains such as being happy or sad. (Cienki & Müller, 2012; El Refaie, 2019; Forceville, 2012)

2.6 Cultural Universality or Uniqueness of Metaphors

In line with current anthropology, culture can be understood as a set of shared understandings that characterise smaller or larger groups of people (D'Andrade, 1995; Shore, 1996; Strauss & Quinn, 1997, as cited in (Kovecses, 2005, p. 1)). While this definition omits physical objects, artefacts, institutions, and practices, it highlights the shared understandings connected with these elements.

Regarding the cultural universality of metaphors, if metaphors are embodied and humans have similar types of bodies, one might question the need to study culture-specific metaphors. Although there is significant research on metaphors, it is worth considering whether these findings can be directly applied in different cultural contexts. "Cognitive linguists have overemphasised the universality of some of the metaphorical structures they found and ignored the many cases of non-universality in metaphorical conceptualisation." (Kovecses, 2005, p. xii)

Kovecses also dwells upon the probable causes that may impact the universality or lack thereof across cultures, which he calls metaphor variation. He divides them into two large classes: **differential experience** and **differential cognitive preference** or styles. In other words, he highlights the variations among human experiences and the variations of cognitive preferences and styles of people for creating new metaphors.

He mentions the following factors for these variations-

1. Physical environment (geography, landscape, flora and fauna, dwellings, other people, etc.)
2. Social context (power relations like for women and men, social pressure etc.)
3. Cultural context (the governing principles and key concepts of special importance)
4. Topic
5. Physical setting (e.g., proximity to certain source domains in certain conditions)
6. Social history (in the embodied language of the culture, its social history is codified)
7. Personal history (individual history also influences the choice of metaphor)
8. Social concerns and interest (shared particular interest of certain social groups that is of immediate concern to them.)
9. Experiential focus (the universal bodily basis on which universal metaphors could be built is not utilised in the same or to the same extent in different languages and varieties)
10. Viewpoint preference (certain culture simply choosing between well motivated ways of looking at things), e.g., front of the tree
11. Prototype and framing (source concepts may have several versions, influencing the conceptual metaphors that are based on them) e.g., prototypical chair can be different for USA and India.
12. Metaphor vs metonymy preference (in one culture a concept can be understood with metaphors, while in another culture they may use metonymy for that)
13. Creativity

(Kovecses, 2005, pp. 117–302)

Referring to multiple studies, he says that certain metaphors are potentially universal or near-universal. These are usually "simple" or "primary" metaphors or complex metaphors that are based on universal human experiences.

Primary metaphors are basic, instinctive connections humans make between concepts based on embodied experiences. They arise from our physical interactions with the world and form the basis for more complex metaphorical thinking. (Grady & Ascoli, 2017) On the other hand, Complex metaphors combine multiple layers of meaning, often blending various domains to convey intricate ideas or concepts. They rely on the reader's understanding of the surface meaning and the deeper connections between seemingly unrelated elements. An example of a complex metaphor is THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURISED CONTAINER. Kovecses also believes that complex metaphors are more important to cultural considerations than primary metaphors like MORE IS UP.

2.7 Critical Synthesis

The study of metaphor has transitioned significantly from viewing it as mere linguistic decoration to understanding it as a fundamental aspect of human cognition. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) reveals that metaphor is not just in language but deeply ingrained in thought itself, functioning as a neural phenomenon. Metaphorical mappings, realised physically as neural maps learned largely unconsciously from embodied experience, allow us to comprehend abstract concepts by recruiting sensory-motor inference. Hundreds of primary metaphors for core domains like time, emotion, and morality form the superstructure for more complex metaphorical thought, learned automatically through interacting with the world.

Crucially, these underlying conceptual mappings demonstrate consistency across different modalities and time. A metaphor like LIFE IS A STAGE, articulated verbally by Shakespeare, resonates centuries later as a central theme in a visual medium like the film "The Truman Show" (the movie follows an insurance salesman who is oblivious to the fact that his entire life is a TV show, and his family members are mere actors) showcasing the endurance of certain core conceptual structures. While the medium may influence the message slightly, the fundamental mapping often persists, suggesting that insights from analysing verbal metaphors (like those in songs) can potentially inform multimodal design, such as visual, interactive, etc.

This cognitive, embodied, and cross-modal nature makes CMT highly suitable for analysing oral traditions like the Folk Bihu songs of Assam. As repositories of intangible cultural heritage, these songs are rich sources of the metaphors that structure the Assamese worldview. Analysing them through CMT allows for the identification and interpretation of:

- **Culturally Significant Conventional Metaphors:** These widely shared metaphors are processed efficiently and reveal the core, often implicit, understandings within the Assamese cultural context.
- **Culturally Specific Novel Metaphors:** While potentially requiring more interpretive effort, novel metaphors unique to Bihu songs can offer deeper insights into specific cultural nuances, creative expressions, and areas where the culture might differ from universal tendencies.
- **Underlying Cultural Frameworks:** By mapping the source and target domains used in conventional and novel metaphors, researchers can uncover the unique conceptual system shaped by the specific Assamese environment, social structures, history, and cultural concerns. While some primary metaphors might be near-universal, their specific usage and the complex metaphors built upon them reveal cultural distinctiveness.

Relevance and Application for Culturally Sensitive Design

The recognition that metaphor structures thought, not just language, makes CMT directly relevant to the design field, which is centred on human experience.

Understanding the culture-specific metaphorical mappings derived from sources like Bihu songs is crucial because culture-appropriate design necessitates using culture-appropriate conceptual structures.

CMT serves as a powerful tool for designers, applicable in various ways:

- **Design Anthropology/Ethnography:** Analysing the metaphors used in language (like Bihu songs) provides a method to access the "collective psyche" and understand subtle yet significant aspects of everyday life, social practices, and cultural values, refining ethnographic understanding and directing analytical attention to nuanced elements. (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 8)

- **Concept Generation:** Metaphors can help define design problems, map user understanding, clarify needs, and foster creative problem-solving by drawing analogies between domains, especially dissimilar ones.
- **Culturally Resonant Communication:** Insights into a culture's conventional metaphors allow designers to communicate effectively. Understanding the mapping principles can enable designers to create novel, engaging, culturally interpretable metaphors or designs. Or they may opt for culturally conventional metaphors for faster processing and better acceptance.

In conclusion, applying Conceptual Metaphor Theory to Assamese Folk Bihu songs allows a deep investigation into the embodied, cognitive, and culturally specific framework underlying the Bihu tradition, which, in extension, touches a substantial portion of present-day Assamese culture. This understanding moves beyond surface interpretations, providing designers with invaluable, nuanced insights needed to develop design solutions – from communication strategies to product concepts – that are truly sensitive to and resonant with the Assamese cultural context.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

Although subject to adaptation over time, Bihu songs continue to circulate widely within Assamese communities and are transmitted across generations through oral tradition. Typically performed by young men and women, these songs are often rendered in antiphonal style, accompanied by melodies that complement the rhythmic movements of the Bihu dance. The repertoire of Bihu songs is vast, with some compositions tracing their origins back several centuries.

Celebrated for their lyrical richness, Bihu songs explore various emotional and psychological themes, including love, longing, frustration, and sorrow. These poetic expressions reflect the community's aesthetic sensibilities and offer valuable insights into folk psychology. They reveal the poetic creativity of ordinary individuals and provide nuanced portrayals of social, domestic, and interpersonal dynamics.

In contrast to everyday speech, Bihu songs frequently employ distinctive poetic devices and culturally embedded metaphors to articulate emotions, particularly those related to love and desire (Praphulladatta Goswami, 2012a)

3.1 Selection of Corpus

Various collectors have compiled anthologies of Bihu songs from the early twentieth century to the present. As expected, more recent compilations tend to be larger in volume, incorporating traditional and newly composed songs. However, for the purposes of this study, priority was given to the earliest published collections in order to preserve the historical form of the genre as faithfully as possible. This methodological choice reflects an effort to engage with what may be considered a less adulterated version of the folk tradition, thereby establishing a foundational benchmark for future research that may incorporate more contemporary material.

This approach led to the selection of two significant early twentieth-century collections. The first, *Bohagi* (Assamese: বহাগী), was compiled by Nakul Chandra Bhuyan, a noted Indian historian, playwright, essayist, and short story writer in the Assamese language. The second, *Bana-benu: Akul Pathik, Faguni, Bihuwati* (Assamese: বন-বেনু: আকুল পথিক, ফাগুনী, বিহুৱতী), was compiled by Dimbeswar Neog, a distinguished writer, literary critic, educator, and poet within Assamese literature. These two collections were published in close succession: *Bana-benu* in 1922 and

Bohagi in 1923. The title Bana-benu translates to "flute of the forest," invoking a pastoral and emotive connection to the folk tradition.

Combining both collections for analysis would have introduced considerable challenges, particularly concerning the duplication of songs. Given the nature of oral transmission, many songs exist in variant forms that differ only subtly, making identifying and eliminating duplicates complex and beyond the scope of this study. To maintain methodological clarity and avoid the need for extensive editorial intervention, a decision was made to select only one of the two collections.

Although either collection would have served the research objectives, the study ultimately adopted the earlier of the two: Neog's Bana-benu, specifically the version published in Dimbeswar Neog Rasanawali, Volume II, a posthumous compilation of his works issued by the Publication Board, Assam in 2015. Notably, in this edition, the title Bana-benu is not explicitly mentioned. Instead, the components of the original collection are presented under the title "Akul Pathik, Faguni, and Bihua", with Bihuwati—originally denoting a female Bihu dancer—renamed Bihua, a term more generally associated with the Bihu festival.

Within this collection, Akul Pathik comprises Bonghokhas (songs) of young men, Faguni contains Bonghokhas of young women, and Bihua encompasses other categories such as Husori and Bihunam. As outlined in the introductory chapter, the present study is confined to Bonghokhas; therefore, the Bihua section falls outside the scope of analysis.

3.1.1 Labelling the Samples

The categorisation of the selected corpus has been retained in accordance with its original compilation. The collection is organised into chapters based on the thematic content or the dominant emotion expressed in the songs. The material is subdivided into sections within each chapter, most of which contain 20 four-line songs.

For the purposes of this study, the original structural organisation has been preserved to maintain the integrity of the source material. However, a systematic labelling scheme has been introduced to facilitate analysis and referencing. Songs from the Akul Pathik section are designated with the prefix "AP", while those from Faguni are marked with the prefix "F". Subsequent subsections within each chapter are

identified alphabetically (A, B, C, etc.) and are preceded by a hyphen. Individual songs within each subsection are then numbered using Arabic numerals.

For example, the label "AP-C19" refers to the 19th song in subsection C of the Akul Pathik chapter. The first chapter of Akul Pathik, which does not include a subsection designation, is marked simply as "AP", followed directly by the song number.

Table 3.1 Labelling of songs in the corpus according to preorganised chapters and sections for the purpose of the study

Akul Pathik (আকুল পথিক, Bonghokhas of young men)	Faguni (ফাগুনী, Bonghokhas of young women)
Pranati (প্রণতি, Greetings) (section AP)	
Purbaraag (পূর্ববাগ, Beginning of love) (sections AP-A to AP-D)	Angaraag (অঙ্গবাগ, the act or process of dressing or grooming oneself) (sections F-A, F-B)
Anuraag (অনুবাগ, Intense fondness or longing) (sections AP-E to AP-I)	Navaraag (নববাগ, New desire or attachment) (sections F-C to F-G)
Biraag (বিবাগ, Indifference) (sections AP-J to AP-P)	Biraag (বিবাগ, Indifference) (section F-H)

Sections 'AP' and 'AP-I' hold 10 songs each. This gives us 320 songs in Akul Pathik and 160 in Faguni, making a corpus of 480 songs for our study.

3.2 Research Design

This study employs a primarily qualitative, **mixed-method research** design to achieve a panoramic understanding of the conceptual framework embedded within Assamese folk Bihu songs rather than a pinpoint quantitative analysis, which is often suited for large, annotated datasets, such as seen in (Ahrens et al., n.d.), where they have examined 2000 random examples of 'economy' (jingji) in Mandarin Chinese and postulate Mapping Principles based frequency. In a similar process (Ahrens & Jiang, 2020), they have worked on verifying keywords for the source domain of BUILDING.

As seen in Figure 3-1 Research Flow Diagram, the research initially explored the notion of "Assamese Essence" in design, evolving through an exploratory phase consistent with **Grounded Theory** (GT) principles (Giles et al., 2013; Martin & Turner, 1986; Turner & Astin, 2021), ultimately identifying **Conceptual Metaphor**

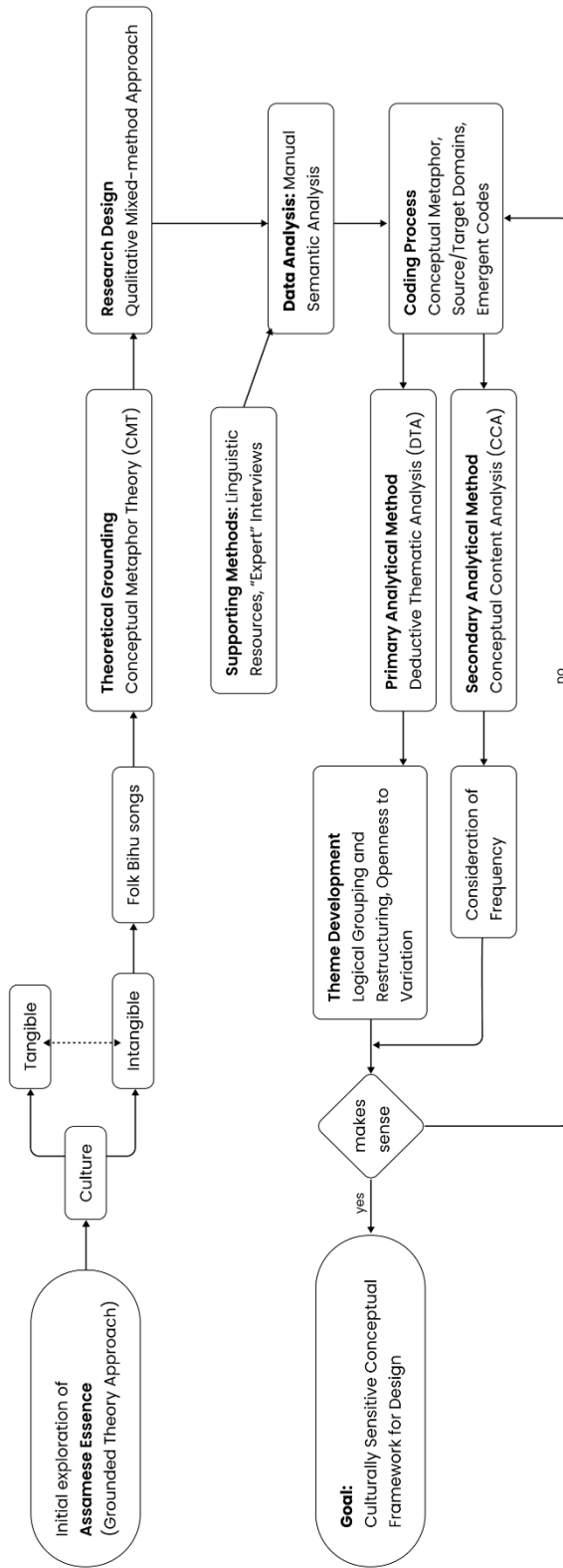


Figure 3-1 Research Flow Diagram

Theory (CMT) (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003) as a key theoretical lens connecting folk culture (specifically oral traditions like Bihu songs) and design. Given this theoretical grounding, the study primarily utilises **Deductive Thematic Analysis** (DTA) (Braun & Clarke, 2006), supplemented by **Conceptual Content Analysis** (CCA) (Drisko & Maschi, 2015) where appropriate.

3.2.1 Core Analytical Framework: CMT, Thematic Analysis, and Content Analysis

The central analytical framework is Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which posits that metaphors are fundamental cognitive tools for structuring understanding.

- **Deductive Thematic Analysis (DTA):** This theory-driven qualitative method is the primary approach for analysing the Bihu song corpus. Its flexibility allows the analysis to be initially guided by existing conceptual metaphors identified in the literature (top-down) while permitting new themes and metaphorical concepts to emerge inductively from the data (bottom-up). Existing source and target domains from academically established metaphors, such as the "Master Metaphor List" (Lakoff et al., 1991), act as initial codes, with new codes developed iteratively based on the data.
- **Conceptual Content Analysis (CCA):** While DTA provides interpretive depth, Conceptual Content Analysis is employed systematically but sporadically in a complementary role. CCA can be used to systematically identify and potentially quantify (although at the surface level) the frequency of specific linguistic expressions representing particular source/target domains across the corpus. This offers a structured overview and helps ensure comprehensive identification.
- **Why combine both?** Conceptual Content Analysis and Deductive Thematic Analysis work effectively in this study. CCA provides a systematic approach to identifying metaphorical elements and their frequency, allowing us to prioritise study sections based on how often certain codes or themes appear. DTA builds upon this by interpreting these metaphors' patterns, relationships, and deeper cultural meanings to identify the overarching themes they create. While CCA offers a broad and systematic identification process, DTA provides interpretive depth and contextual understanding,

resulting in a more comprehensive analysis of the conceptual framework within Bihu songs.

However, the frequency data obtained from CCA can sometimes be misleading. For example, this study considers each sampled song as equal, but in reality, they differ significantly in terms of popularity and, thus, importance. A particular metaphor might appear in just one song, but that song could be the most popular and widely recognised among all. Therefore, the cultural significance of a metaphor or theme cannot be determined solely by its frequency in our analysis.

3.2.2 Data Analysis Process:

Given the moderate size of the dataset and the abstract, nuanced language of the Bihu songs, a manual semantic analysis employing the constant comparative method was chosen over automated quantitative approaches. This allows for a deeper, more thorough examination of the conceptual mappings in these songs.

- 1. Metaphor Identification:** Identifying potential metaphors within the song texts (quatrains that make a Bihu song)(Goswami, 1994). This requires determining the two parts of the metaphor (target/primary subject and source/secondary subject) and identifying the specific feature(s) being mapped from the source to the target, guided by context (Forceville, 2016). Often, in Bihu quatrains, the first two lines present the setting of the matter (which can be seen here as the source domain), and the latter lines act as the main subject of the song, which is emphasised (which can be seen as the target), though variations exist. Contextual factors like singer/target gender are also considered to aid a gendered understanding of the culture.
- 2. Coding:** A combination of scanning entire poems and line-by-line analysis is used, emphasising identifying overall metaphorical concepts within each song. The primary codes are the identified source domains, target domains, and the overarching conceptual metaphor. Other keywords were used temporarily during analysis to help structure concepts. Newer codes can emerge according to the data analysed. The following example from the dataset describes a coding process.

বাঁহৰে আগলৈ চাই পঠিয়ালো,
বাঁহৰ কোনেডালি পোন ।

শহৰৰ ঘৰতে দেখি থৈ আহিছো
সাইলাথ পূৰ্ণিমাৰে জোন ।।

The literal translation goes something like this,
"I sent my vision towards the tip of the bamboo (tree),
(to see) which one is straight?
I've seen it in my father-in-law's house
Identical to the full moon."

However, in this study, I found that maintaining the meaning and feel while translating a poem that does justice to the original to another language is complicated and was deemed beyond the scope of the study. In its place, I have provided a descriptive text alongside each original Assamese poem that tries to closely capture the meaning. The descriptive text of this sample song is-

"He directs his gaze to the bamboo tip to determine which one is straight. He saw her at his father-in-law's house, radiant like a full moon."

Although, in the original Assamese text of the song, the singer's gender is not explicit. But we know this is sung by a male singer, targeted towards a female for several reasons (explained later in this chapter). Using the conceptual metaphor, PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, we get two main codes, "people" from the target domain and "plants" from the source domain. After going through the data inductively, the code "people" later developed into related codes such as "men", "women", "male lover", "female lover", etc.

- 3. Theme Development:** Coding and theme development are iterative and concurrent processes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Codes are logically grouped, and categories are iteratively revised or abandoned based on ongoing analysis. Emerging themes may necessitate revisiting and restructuring the coded data. Existing metaphors from the literature are used as starting points, but the analysis remains open to culturally specific variations.

3.2.2.1 Supporting Methods for Contextual Understanding:

To ensure accurate interpretation, especially given the historical and cultural nuances of the songs, the analysis is supported by:

- **Linguistic Resources:** The researcher possesses fluency in Assamese, the language in which the song is composed. However, due to the historical nature of the compositions, the language employed therein occasionally

diverges from contemporary colloquial usage. To accurately interpret archaic or uncommon terms and expressions, reference was made to two authoritative Assamese dictionaries. The first, Candrakanta Abhidhana, is an Assamese-to-English dictionary originally compiled and published by the Assam Sahitya Sabha in 1933, comprising 36,819 entries. The online edition consulted is "<https://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/candrakanta/>", based on the work's third printed edition. The second source is a print dictionary entitled Byavaharik Asamiya Abhidhan, first published in 2013.

- **Informal Interviews:** When dictionary meanings or cultural context remain unclear, informal, semi-structured discussions are held with "experts" – typically common individuals from the relevant geographical area possessing traditional knowledge (e.g., weavers, woodworkers, fishermen) – whose perspectives are considered vital for understanding folk traditions. In this context, they are considered to be experts on the subject.

The following contextual factors were considered during metaphor mapping:

- **Gender:** The singer's gender provides crucial context for interpreting the song's concepts and often indicates the intended audience. For instance, a male singer typically addresses a female target. However, in a female-only circle, female singers may adopt male roles, so many women's songs are sung toward female audiences. The song in the corpus (or any other folk bihu songs), categorized by performance gender by the original collector, is antiphonal. When women dance without men, one woman may impersonate the male role. Conversely, when girls dance, men often provide musical accompaniment. (Prabhulladatta Goswami, 2012a, p. 13) Regarding the Target's Gender, lexical terms, such as gender-specific epithets, can also indicate the target's gender. References to tasks or activities associated with a particular gender, whether performed by the singer or the target, can further clarify gender roles within the song.

This multi-faceted approach, combining theory-driven analysis (CMT, DTA) with data-driven exploration and contextual enrichment, aims to provide a reliable and insightful understanding of the conceptual metaphors in Bihu songs for application in culturally sensitive design.

3.2.3 Coding and Mapping Process with Example

It is generally observed that in these four-line poems or songs, the first two lines often represent the source domain, while the last two elaborate the target domain. This structure enables the identification of metaphorical mappings between the two sections. The analysis follows an iterative process: initial mappings are recorded, and as additional samples are examined, further patterns and metaphors emerge through repeated and attentive review, revealing underlying thematic connections.

The mappings were done digitally in Microsoft Excel, where columns of different fields were made to aid our analysis and the readers (e.g. the transliteration and translation colour). These are mentioned below-

Table 3.2 Division of fields in Metaphorical Mappings by column

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Serial No (Label)	Assamese Lyrics	Transliterated Lyrics	Description	Metaphor Present	Source Domain	Target Domain	Specifics	Dictionary Definitions

The 1st column shows the unique ID, i.e. the label name of the sample. The 2nd column gives the poem as found in the corpus, which is in Assamese. The 3rd column gives its transliteration in English. We have used Google Translate <https://translate.google.co.in/?sl=as&tl=en&op=translate> for consistency in transliterating the Assamese lyrics. Minor adjustments have been made in some places as this tool is not completely perfect.

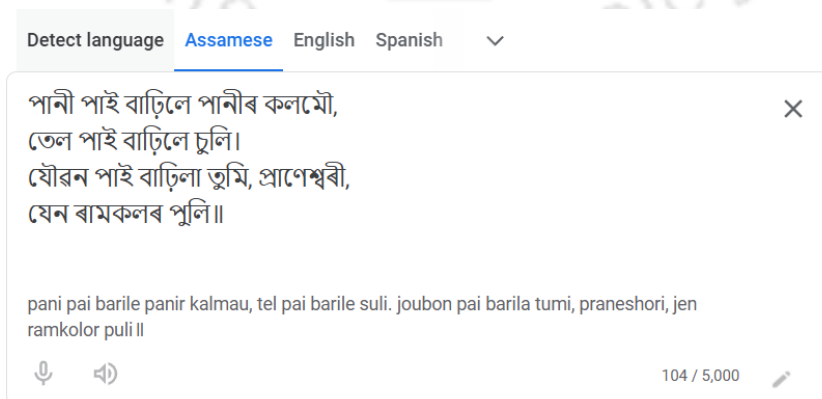


Figure 3-2 Transliteration from Assamese to English using Google Translate

The 4th column gives the translation of the song in prose format, as we could not have done justice to the poetic translations while keeping its original beauty. The translation tries to provide the poem's essence without distortion while adding additional information like English or scientific names of animals or plants. The 5th column shows the metaphor that is found in the sample. The source and target domain are placed in the 6th and 7th columns. The metaphor column shows the general metaphor, and the source or target column shows the cultural specificity. The 8th column gives extra information on specifics about the mapping, where needed. The 9th column provides dictionary definitions according to the need mentioned below.

We will now explain this process using one example (sample F-H1) from the corpus.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics	Word meanings
F-H1	বৰঘৰৰ মুখতে উঁৰালৰ টুপতে, চৰাই ফুটকলা খায়। মোৰ মনে জানে, বুকুত ধানে বানে, তোমাৰ জানো মনতে নাই ॥	Borghoror mudhote bhoralor tupote, Chorai futkola ki; Mor mone jane, bukut dhane bane, Tumar jano manate nai.	On the ridge of the main house and on the gable end of the granary, a bird eats futkola (Indian rhododendron, Melastoma malabathricum) fruit. The singer says that her mind knows and asks her lover if he can't remember. Her chest/heart pounds.	IDEAS ARE FOOD	Indian Rhododendron Being Eaten By A Bird	Remembering About Lover	Remembering/understanding is digesting or regurgitating food. A bird eating indian rhododendron here.	ফুটক phutokol: এবিধ বনজীৱ সৰু গছ, a kind of shrub; Melastoma malabathricum. CA ফুটকলা phutokola: বি ফুটক গছৰ ফলি, the fruit of a phutokla plant. CA টুপ tupu: আশু বি বৰক বেনেজি টুপ, a gabled roof. 2) অগ্নি স্তম্ভৰ শীৰ্ষক, the crown of a jila. 3) বৈষ্ণৱ ধৰ্মৰ বনি বা হাতীৰ পৰা; a high sand-bank of the bend of a river. CA
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bird	Female Lover	The female lover remembering her lover is the bird eating the fruit.	
				HEART IS A MACHINE	Sound And Vibration Of A Rice Pounder	Heart	The sound and vibration of pounding the rice is similar to the heart's pounding.	

Figure 3-3 A screenshot of the Excel sheet showing the metaphorical mapping and preliminary analysis of the sample F-H1

Assamese Lyrics	Translation
বৰঘৰৰ মুখতে উঁৰালৰ টুপতে, চৰাই ফুটকলা খায়। মোৰ মনে জানে, বুকুত ধানে বানে, তোমাৰ জানো মনতে নাই ॥	On the ridge of the main house and on the gable end of the granary, a bird eats futkola (Indian rhododendron, Melastoma malabathricum) fruit. The singer says that her mind knows and asks her lover if he can't remember. Her chest/heart pounds rice.

First, coming to the contexts around the song, this sample is from the "Faguni" section of the corpus, meaning this is a song of the women. From looking at all the samples, we have also seen that the imagery mentioned in the women's songs is usually in and around the house. Sometimes, this also gives us a clue of the singer's gender when it is not mentioned in other ways. Here, the song talks about the main house and the granary. In Assamese culture, a granary is kept quite close to the main house for safety and security purposes. It is probably more important than the main

house for an agrarian society. Also, a simple traditional bamboo house could be erected in Assam in a day or two with the community's help.

We can spot three major metaphors acting in this song from our introductory studies of existing metaphors. The folk poet cleverly mentions a bird eating Indian rhododendron fruit at the gable end of the granary. The granary stores food (paddy) for humans, and juxtaposing it with the fruit the bird eats makes us interpret the metaphor as PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, where the female lover is the bird. The mappings are as follows-

Bird →	Female lover
Indian rhododendron fruit →	Granary of the house

The second major metaphor located was the IDEAS ARE FOOD metaphor. In conceptual mappings of the mind, ideas are often understood as food; upon eating which, the idea is accepted or understood. Some birds also regurgitate food; the regurgitation process is mapped to remembering an idea. The mappings are as follows-

Bird eating	→	Female lover accepting the idea
Regurgitating, i.e. food coming to mouth again	→	Idea coming back to mind, or mouth again

Coming to the third metaphor, we could spot the metaphor HEART IS A MACHINE. Here, the cultural variation is more like CHEST IS A RICE POUNDER. In the mapping table in Appendix A, the present columns give the generic metaphor, HEART IS A MACHINE. However, the source and target domain columns break this metaphor to its cultural uniqueness.

In this metaphor, the beats of the heart are metaphorically mapped to a pounder husking rice. As the rice pounder can move fast or slow, the heart also can do the same. Anxiousness in love can lead to the heart beating fast and heavily. A rice pounder also needs to be heavy-hitting to be able to husk the rice effectively. Sensorimotor-wise, a person can know a rice pounder in action by seeing visually, or hearing the impacts, or feeling the vibration emitting from the pounding process. One may also know about the pounding with the smell of the husked rice, but that seems like a special case. Here in this song, the auditory and vibration-sensing modes

seem evoked the most through the metaphor HEART IS A MACHINE (RICE POUNDER). This also shows the inherent multimodal input in construing these conceptual metaphors.

The previous paragraphs discuss the underlying thought processes while mapping the metaphors. This process is not visible in detail in the Appendix A table for individual samples. However, recurring themes are discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5 in the thematic analysis.

3.3 Discussions

The integrated findings from grounded theory, thematic analysis, and content analysis offer a comprehensive understanding of the metaphorical mapping structures embedded in Assamese thought, particularly within the cultural context of Bihu. These metaphors, with their culturally specific source and target domains, reveal the underlying conceptual frameworks that shape collective cognition. Through thematic analysis, these mappings are organised into interpretable and expandable thematic categories that capture the broader cultural narratives.

To draw an analogy, the conceptual mappings presented in "Appendix A" may be seen as foundational units—akin to handcrafted bricks—passed down through generations of cultural expression and scholarly interpretation. The thematic analysis then assembles these units into a cohesive structure, much like building a traditional house that is accessible and meaningful to the wider community.

One limitation of our methodological approach lies in the inherently subjective nature of metaphor interpretation. What appears metaphorical to one individual may not be perceived as such by another. However, given the breadth of our dataset—comprising 480 folk songs—we believe this subjectivity is substantially mitigated. Furthermore, collaborative discussions throughout the research have enhanced the interpretive validity of the metaphors identified.

From an ethical standpoint, careful attention was given to ensure cultural sensitivity and factual accuracy, with a particular effort to avoid any misrepresentation that might inadvertently harm or mischaracterize the traditions or communities involved.

Chapter 4: Men and Women – Animals, Plants, and Objects

By coding the metaphorical mappings of the entire corpus into a table, we start to identify recurring themes. These themes can be classified in various ways, such as by metaphor, source domain, or target domain. Combined with the context of each poem, these classifications offer us distinctive mental spaces of the folk.

The coded data that form the foundation of this research are presented in the Appendix A section of this thesis, as their tabular format was not considered suitable for inclusion in the main body of the thesis. While Chapters 4 and 5 frequently reference this data, they do so in a manner more conducive to the academic narrative by organising the content thematically. In this respect, both chapters integrate data presentation and discussion, reflecting the dual function of analysis and interpretation.

Given the qualitative nature of this study and the moderate size of the dataset, it was deemed more effective to present findings alongside their interpretation. This approach allows for a more cohesive and fluid narrative, enabling immediate explanation of the significance of the findings, minimizing redundancy, and offering contextualised insights as the results are introduced.

The rationale for dividing the discussion into two chapters lies in their thematic distinction. This chapter (Chapter 4) focuses on themes rooted in more tangible elements, such as people, nature, and animals, though these are explored through the lens of intangible cultural expression. Chapter 5, by contrast, addresses themes of a predominantly intangible nature, including emotional and conceptual constructs such as anger, love, hunger, and ideas.

Naturally, the folk space of bihu shows the interaction of people with its surroundings, which include plants, animals, scenery, and other everyday objects. Whatever information those folks found interesting or important, they weaved into these songs. These songs are of the youth, mostly sung in the wild. Hence, they also portray the youths' worldview, happiness, and pain. As spring comes to the doorstep, and as they gear for another year's grind, momentarily, they try to forget about work and be lost in the beauty of nature and love.

This chapter will discuss the major themes surrounding these folk people. Animal and plant metaphors in relation to people are probably one of the oldest. People have long been understood through their surroundings, such as plants, animals, and objects. The metaphors PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS make up most of the instances found in the corpus.

A total of 895 metaphorical instances with 238 separate metaphors were mapped in the corpus. Out of these, 108 instances of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, and 53 instances of the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor were found. Which form a major part of the metaphorical world of this setting. For comparison, the most used metaphor directly related to love in the corpus is LOVE IS UNION, which was used 19 times. Since these bihu songs are, at their core, love songs, it is only natural for a LOVE metaphor to be this high. It shows that the cultural and natural settings surrounding bihu allow folks to abundantly use these PEOPLE, ANIMALS, PLANTS, and OBJECTS metaphors.

4.1 PEOPLE ARE PLANTS

This metaphor often connects native flora, especially those prominent during Bihu in early spring, with people, typically linking to lovers of both genders.

Table 4.1 The metaphorical instances of PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, along with the specific target and source domains. The serial number (SN) shows the exact song in which the metaphor is located.

Target domain	Source Domain	SN
Elderly people/ dead people	Tree stump	F-B14
Female lover	Aquatic grass (<i>Hymenachne amplexicaulis</i>)	AP-C9
	Areca palm (<i>Areca catechu</i>)	AP-I2
	Areca palm- tall	F-A4
	Ash gourd plant (<i>Benincasa hispida</i>)	AP-H15
	Bamboo- Bholuka (<i>Bambusa balcooa</i>)	AP-E6
	Bamboo- Mokal (<i>Bambusa nutans</i>)	AP-E6
	Bamboo plant	AP-B15
	Banana- Ramkal	AP-A15
	Betel leaf plant (<i>Piper betle</i>)	AP-C7
	Bitter gourd plant (<i>Momordica charantia</i>)	AP-H15
	Black pepper plant (<i>Piper nigrum</i>)	AP-C7
	Bottle gourd plant (<i>Lagenaria siceraria</i>)	AP-D17

Target domain	Source Domain	SN
	Chili plant	AP-H20
	Indian banyan (<i>Ficus indica</i>)	AP-E7
	Indian jujube plant (<i>Ziziphus mauritiana</i>)	F-F17
	Indrajit maloti	AP-B3
	Keteki (<i>Pandanus odorifer</i>)	AP-O4
	Keya ban (<i>Kyllinga brevifolia</i>)	AP-I3
	Khorikajai (<i>Jasminum auriculatum</i>)	AP-N1
	Koupat (<i>Phrynium pubinerve</i>)	AP-K16
	Lemon tree (<i>Citrus limon</i>)	F-B2
	Lotus	AP-N11
	Malabar spinach (<i>Basella alba</i>)	AP-D17
	Mamoi areca tree (<i>Dyopsis lutescens</i>)	F-B19
	Plants	AP-H2
	Rice- Maniki Madhuri	AP-N16
	Rice paddy	AP-P8
	Rice paddy- ripe	AP-F9, AP-H14, F-F11
	Rice seedling	AP-C9
	Ridge gourd flowers (<i>Luffa acutangula</i>)	F-A20, F-D17
Female lover	Rose	AP-K5
	Rose apple plant (<i>Syzygium jambos</i>)	AP-H8, F-G11
	Sacred fig tree (<i>Ficus religiosa</i>)	F-A15
	Silk cotton tree (<i>Bombax malabaricum</i>)	AP-K6, AP-L18, AP-M8
	Tora plant (<i>Alpinia nigra</i>)	F-A1
	Water spinach (<i>Apomoea aquatica</i>)	AP-A15
Female lover's friend	Elephant grass (<i>Phragmites karka</i>)	F-G5
	Indian jujube plant (<i>Ziziphus mauritiana</i>)	F-F3
Lover	Areca palm (<i>Areca catechu</i>)	AP-C7
	Indian coral tree (<i>Erythrina variegata</i>)	AP-C7
	Queen's flower (<i>Lagerstroemia speciosa</i>)	AP-N4
	Rice paddy	AP-C14
	Tree trunk	AP-L3
	Wild taro plant	F-D3
Male lover	Chili plant- short	F-G2
	Keteki (<i>Pandanus odorifer</i>)	F-A13

Target domain	Source Domain	SN
	Titaful	AP-K5
People	Tree	AP-J9, AP-N13
Female lover's face	Flower petal	AP-B17

In **Table 4.1**, the target domain has segregated the metaphorical instances, like FEMALE LOVER, MALE LOVER, LOVER, etc. The source domain shows the specific plant, or part of the plant, when available. For the source domain plants, common English is preferred, along with the scientific name. In cases where the English scientific name could not be found, the Assamese name is used. The location of the target and source pairings are shown in the 'SN' column, which contains the song serial number. If the pairing is found multiple times, it is shown in different rows, as seen in the PEOPLE-PLANTS generic pairing.

4.1.1 FEMALE LOVER IS A PLANT

This is the most employed sub-metaphor. The table indicates that it appears most frequently in the bihu songs of men (Akul Pathik), suggesting that men often likened women to various plants. There are also some instances of this metaphor in women's bihu songs, indicating its acceptance among women as well. Here, I will explore the folk concepts behind these metaphorical associations.

4.1.1.1 Visual Beauty

When a male singer sees Bholuka (*Bambusa balcooa*) bamboo leaning towards the river, and the Mokal bamboo (*Bambusa arundinacea*) leaning towards the paddy field, he imagines the movement of the bamboo plant as the sway of the female lover's slender waist when she walks (AP-E6). Both bamboo species are larger in diameter than other common species of bamboo found in Assam. This aspect may infer the fullness or plumpness of the woman, which is the cultural standard of beauty (can be seen in AP-B8, AP-H3, AP-H10, etc.) at that time.

Sometimes, he sees a cluster of nuts in a very tall betel tree. He finds the cluster very beautiful. The shine of the cluster of nuts is compared to the shine of the face or hands of the female lover. (AP-I2) The shine of the cluster can be due to not only the shiny surface of the nuts but also the height of the plant, which makes it less prone to be covered in the shadow of something else. In other examples, the flower

of the plant is associated with the female lover, more specifically with the face. For example, when the sparkling flower petals are associated with the sparkling smile of the female lover (AP-H2). Here the body of the plant is understood as the body of the female lover, and the flowers as the face of the lover. In this folk understanding, the most important or beautiful part of a plant and a lover is said to be the flower and face. When a young man sets up a flower garden with utmost care and love, he associates the beauty of the Khorikajai (*Jasminum auriculatum*) flowers in his garden with his lover. When they wilt in the bud, he feels like his love has also wilted (AP-N1).

Some other time, the female singer notices her friend wearing a new Muga-riha, on bihu, which she associates with the sacred fig tree changing its leaves in springtime (F-A15). Other examples show the importance of betel nut and betel leaf plants in Assamese households. Here, a female singer associates the home's beauty with the tall betel trees in the front yard and betel leaf plants in the back yard with the beauty of a young unmarried woman in the home. (F-A4). She says that one day, the young woman will have to leave her paternal home, but in doing so, the home will lose its charm.

4.1.1.2 Usefulness

বাঁহৰে আগলৈ চাই পঠিয়ালো,
বাঁহৰ কোনেডালি পোন ।
শহুৰৰ ঘৰতে দেখি থৈ আহিছো
সাইলাখ পূৰ্ণিমাৰে জোন ॥

"He directs his gaze to the tip of the bamboo to determine which one is straight. At his father-in-law's house, he saw her, radiant like a full moon." (AP-B15)

Here, the young man associates his beloved with a bamboo plant. In Assamese culture, bamboo is of utmost importance, from being a construction material to being material for everyday objects like hats, fans, fishing equipment, etc. A straight bamboo is better and easier to work with for these purposes. He associates the usefulness of the bamboo with his prospective wife. (see **Figure 4-1**) Straightness can also be associated with inherent qualities in a person (like MORALITY IS STRAIGHTNESS). The full moon also shows the apparent perfection of the young woman (PERFECT IS REGULAR). In both these cases, the bamboo and the full

moon, the singer looks up to see them. Thus, he places these, or his beloved, in higher status than him.

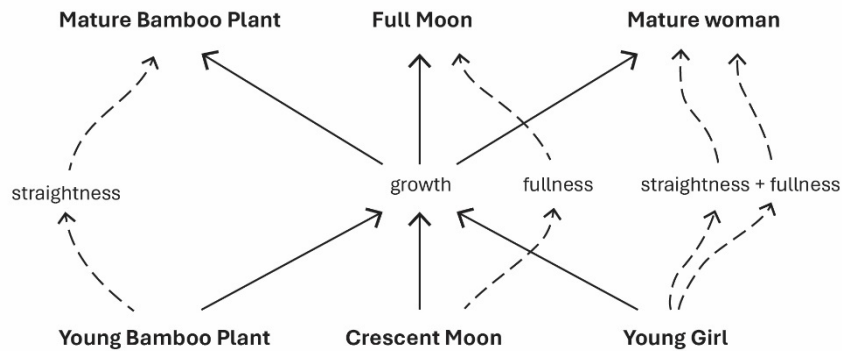


Figure 4-1 Schema showing straightness of bamboo, fullness of the moon, and mature woman

If we consider bamboo as a building material for this sample (see **Figure 4-2**) We can also relate the conceptual domain of a home to the lover or wife. The man wants to procure a straight bamboo for its ease of working and to make his house more secure. He hopes to find the same qualities with his woman.

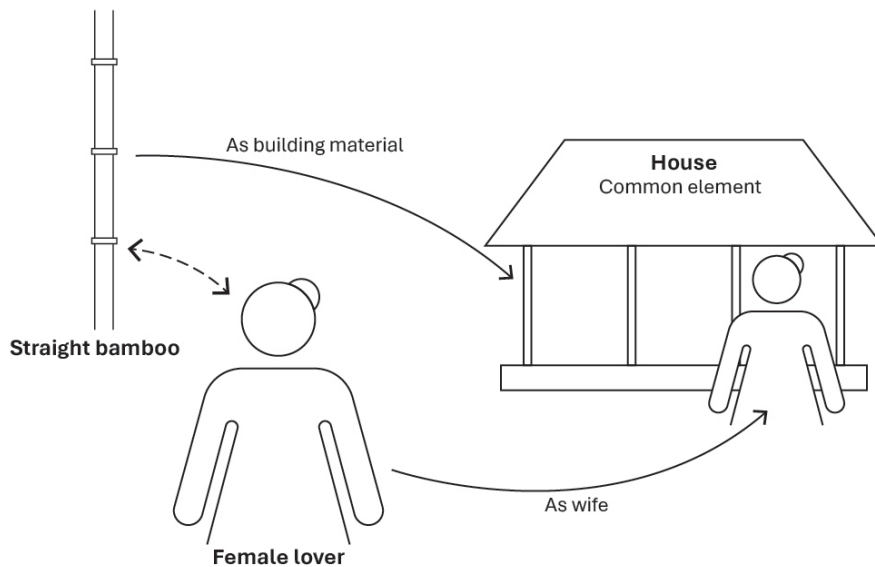


Figure 4-2 The ideal female lover is a straight bamboo plant

In the opposite case, the lack of usefulness of the female lover is also highlighted. "Why has the Madar flower bloomed, and why has it thrown (produced) a bud? It is not needed for the *Guru* or the *Bhakata*; it should remain on the ground." (AP-B1)

Madar (India coral tree or *Erythrina variegata*) is an ornamental plant, the flowers of which bloom in the spring before its leaves appear. The co-occurrence of the flowers with bihu allows it to be used in the songs. But culturally, the flower of the Madar is not used in any form of offering to the gods or to a guru. Probably because it does not possess any significant fragrance and has pain-inflicting spikes on the trunk. Hence, the young man links the non-usefulness of the flower with that of his beloved (if she does not reciprocate his love for her).

Sometimes, the boy sees two sisters reaping paddy in a field. And he wonders whom he should choose (AP-F9). The close relationship between this paddy and the reapers allows them to be metaphorically connected. The paddy is probably the most useful plant in society, and the man implicitly associates that with the prospective lover.

4.1.1.3 Growth of plants and sexual maturity of women

"পানী পাই বাঢ়িলে পানীৰে কল-মৌ,
তেল পাই বাঢ়িলে চুলি ।
যৌৱন পাই বাঢ়িলে আমাৰ প্ৰাণেশ্বৰী,
যেনে ৰামেকলৰ পুলি ॥"- (AP-A15)

"Water spinach thrives with ample water; hair flourishes with nourishing oil. His lover blossoms like a robust banana plant of the variety Ramkal."

Here, this song only focuses on the (rapid) growth aspect of the plant and the lover. It does not explicitly say about reaching maturity, but it shows that the growth has been significant enough to be noticeable.

The various stages of plant growth, from being a seedling to a full-grown plant producing flowers and fruits, can be mapped to the stages of a woman's growth. The folk space of bihu mostly highlights the mature stage, i.e. flowering and fruiting. Here, the male is seen as the consumer of the plant or the female with different levels of consumption (see **Figure 4-3** **Figure 4-1**). The male can consume it via vision at the flowering stage, even from afar. As the male lover moves closer, he may also be able to smell the flower if it carries any significant fragrance. So, his level of

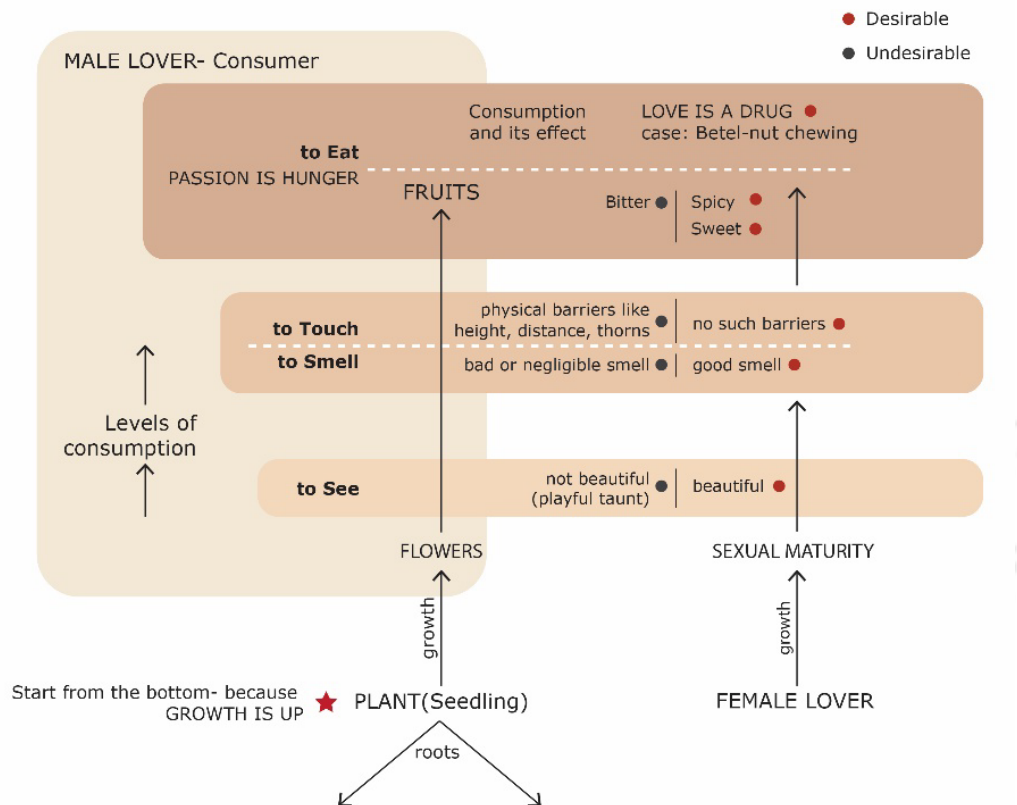


Figure 4-3 FEMALE LOVER IS A PLANT growth schema

consumption grows. Now, he can consume it by seeing and smelling it. If he moves close enough, he can also touch the flowers. When the flowers become fruits, the male can see, smell, touch, and eat the fruits, thus achieving maximum sensory consumption. The obstructions in this consumption process may include a lack of fragrance and physical barriers like height, distance, thorns, bitterness, etc.

In the corpus, we can also find the metaphor **MALE LOVER IS A WILD ANIMAL** (discussed later in this chapter). In conjunction with the **FEMALE LOVER IS A PLANT** metaphor, it shows that the male lover (a wild animal) consumes the female lover (a plant).

In another instance, the female lover describes her love relationship with her husband with the roots/rhizomes of the wild taro plant. She pleads with him to let her go to bihu and assures him that she will always be his woman till she dies (F-D3). The rhizome of the plant is all interconnected and cannot be separated (without force). By virtue of the connection of the rhizomes, the visible plants above ground are also interconnected, almost like a single body. Praphulladatta Goswami mentioned in this sample that the first two lines are not related to the rest. (Goswami, 1988)

4.1.1.4 Touch and pain

তোমাৰ বাৰীত ফুলিলে ইন্দ্রজিত মালতী,
আমাৰ বাৰীত পৰিলে ছাঁ ।
ফুলৰে গোক্ৰ পাই ব'বকে নোৱাৰো,
দেই-পুৰি মাৰিছে গা ॥

"In the lover's compound, the Indrajit Maloti flower has bloomed, casting a shadow over the singer's domain. He cannot resist the fragrance, and his body burns with longing."

Indrajit Maloti is a kind of thorny plant and fragrant flower. The young man sees the flower blooming in the compound of his beloved's house. The apparent physical distance is highlighted as it is not in his compound. The flower's fragrance does travel to him, though, making him only madder in love and lust. The shadow of the flowering plant casts a shadow on his compound. (See **Figure 4-4**) This also shows a form of touch that he can feel but cannot reciprocate. The thorniness of the plant is not mentioned in the lyrics, but it is intelligible from cultural knowledge. While the man appreciates the beauty and the fragrance of the plant, he also understands the pain that may be caused by the thorns. When he sees the plant, he touches it by vision (EYES ARE LIMBS, discussed in detail in the next chapter), and the feeling of pain is transferred. The burning sensation in his body is due to passion inside him (PASSION IS FIRE) and is also relatable to the pain from the thorns.

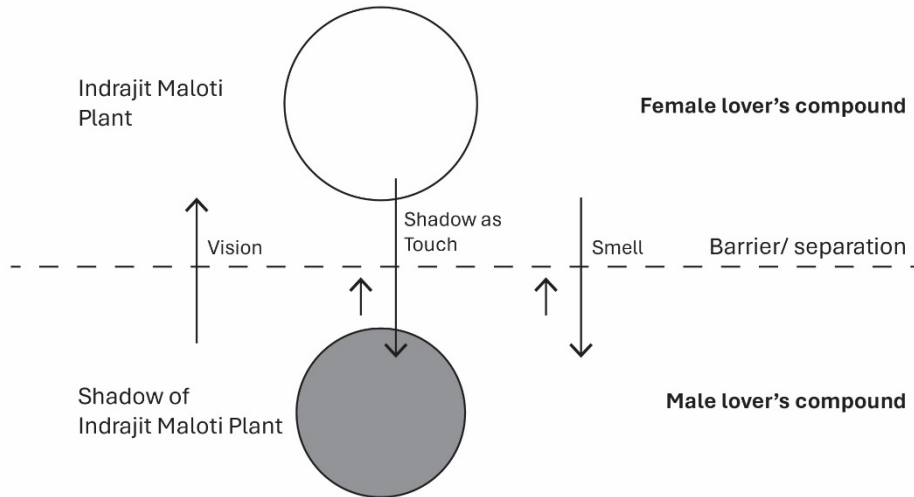


Figure 4-4 Schema showing Indrajit Maloti's flower of the female lover's compound, casting a shadow on the male lover's compound and sending fragrance.

We can also find the reply for this song from the female side, not in bihu songs, but in a popular song by Jyoti Prasad Agarwala, a noted Indian playwright, songwriter, poet, writer and filmmaker and a cultural icon of Assam. The song says-

"মোৰ বাৰীত ফুলিলে ইন্দ্ৰজিত মালতী
 তোৰ বাৰীত পৰিলে ছাঁ
 তোৰে মনৰ কথা উটুৱাই আনিলে
 সন্ধিয়াৰ বাউলী বা ।
 বাউলী বাৰে আউলী চুলি
 কাৰ কথা কৈয়ে
 মাত কু-উ বুলি ?

ৰূপহ কলীয়া কুলি ॥ " Play- Lobhita (1948)

In the female singer's compound, the Indrajit Maloti flower has bloomed; it casts a shadow on the compound of her lover. The evening's mad wind (seen as female here) has carried the lover's thoughts of her lover. The hair of the mad wind is deranged. The singer asks, whose message the beautiful but black cuckoo is delivering/singing?

This song expands upon the original bihu song. Here, air is seen as a liquid body, like a river, that carries (by drifting) the thoughts of her lover. The mad wind of the

evening is seen by a woman with deranged hair, almost as if the invisible hair has become visible by being the deranged hair of a woman.

Other such associations are as follows: Silk cotton tree (AP-K6, AP-L18, AP-M8), Keteki (*Pandanus odorifer*) (AP-O4), Indian jujube plant (F-F17), Keyabon (*Kyllinga brevifolia*) (AP-I3). The silk cotton tree and the above-discussed Indian coral tree have spike-like thorns on their trunk and branches. Keteki plant's leaves have small, sharp teeth on their edges. In all these associations, the pain from the thorns from touching or just from looking is compared to the pain one may find in the journey of love. In the case of the silk cotton tree, this comparative tallness of the tree and, thus, the unreachability of the flowers or cotton pods is also in focus. The singer often sees the cotton pods float away, but he or she is not able to touch them.

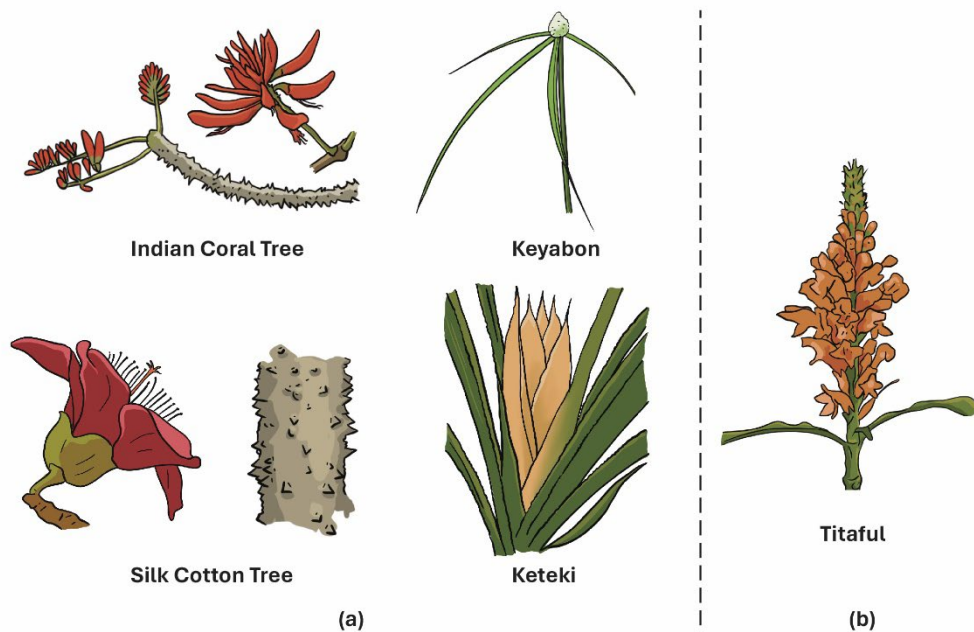


Figure 4-5 (a) Thorns and teeth of plants as obstacles in love, (b) Titaful- the bitterness of the flower symbolises the undesirability of the lover

The leaves of the keyabon are also sharp, the micro-cuts of which can affect barefoot walkers. The folk lyricists have associated this with the painful restlessness one may incur from being given a magic potion (or a magic spell). This does not go away even when someone jumps into the water to cool down. This connects with the young love's physiological effects on one's body. **Figure 4-5** (a) shows the thorny nature of the Indian Coral and Silk cotton trees, and the sharp leaves of Keteki and Keyabon.

Figure 4-5 (b) shows Titaful, a bitter edible flower (discussed in 4.1.1.6)

This metaphorical mapping also highlights the challenges of pursuing a woman, using thorns as a symbol of obstacles or difficulties, giving us the metaphor DIFFICULT TO ATTAIN WOMEN ARE FLOWERS WITH THORNS. (Borgohain & Barua, 2025)

4.1.1.5 Taste and Lingering Pain

In AP-C7, the female lover is associated with the black pepper vine ascending on the betel tree and the betel leaf vine climbing in the Indian coral tree. As discussed above, the Indian coral tree by itself evokes pain from its thorny appearance. However, the black pepper and the betel leaf can also cause lingering pain or a burning sensation. For the singer, this pain is noticeable but not undesirable. Sometimes, a ripe chilli plant near the river is also associated with a sexually mature woman (AP-H20). The nearness to the river may show excellent plant growth from the fertile lands on the riverbank.

4.1.1.6 Physical Closeness

In 'AP-C7', the pairing of Betel nut plant, black pepper vine, and Indian coral tree and betel leaf plant also shows the inseparable nature of the love relationship. The pair of plants can just be seen as the pair of lovers without focusing on gender. (Figure 4-6 (a)) Similarly, in 'AP-H15', the song talks about a bitter gourd plant climbing the granary ridge and an ash gourd plant creeping on the roof. In these songs, the LOVE IS PHYSICAL UNION metaphor is in action. The vines and creepers in these songs can probably be seen as female lovers, as males are rarely seen as plants, let alone as creepers or vines. These plants attaching themselves to the host plant or surface is seen as a physical union, maybe a hug in these songs.

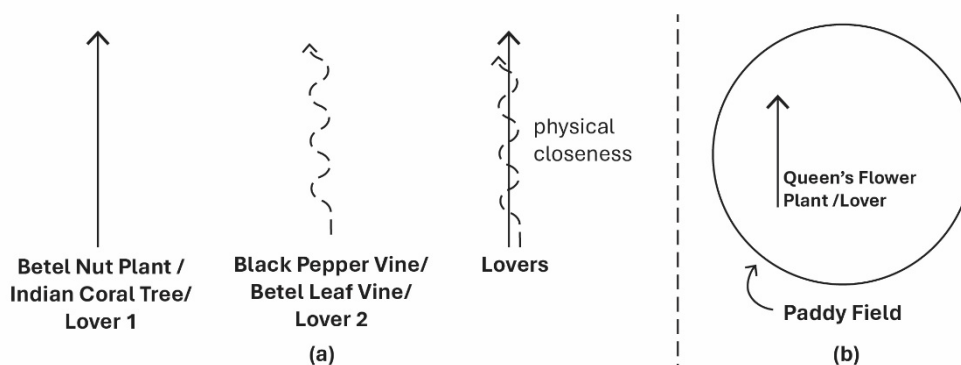


Figure 4-6 (a) Schema of lovers as plants and physical closeness, (b) Schema of lover as a lonely plant

Standing alone among the vast paddy fields, the lonely Queen's Flower (or Queen's crepe-myrtle) tree is seen as a lonely lover, deserted by love. (AP-N4) (**Figure 4-6** (b)) Here, gender is also not important; it is just a yearning lover stranded without love. The figure contrasts both these scenarios: one of togetherness or union and the other of loneliness.

With love comes the pain of separation, be it mental or physical. The young man relates him and his beloved as a flowering rose and a titaful (Phlogacanthus pubinervius), the rose probably signifying the woman. The rose and the titaful are separated by physical distance; one is planted in the compound, and the other is in the embankment of the compound (AP-K5). Titaful in Assamese literally means 'bitter flower' and is used for eating, not as a decorative flower. This may also show the difference of the lover by the difference of use. One is beautiful and only decorative, while the other is functional but bitter in taste. The rose's thorns and the titaful's bitterness also highlight the apparent problems regarding their union (**Figure 4-5** (b)).

4.1.2 MALE LOVER IS A PLANT and Others

MALE LOVER IS A PLANT metaphor in the corpus is rarer than FEMALE LOVER IS A PLANT metaphor. This shows that men are commonly not understood as plants. In the instances found, the mappings for this metaphor are the same as above.

In 'F-G2', a female singer teases her beloved as a short chilli plant. While the lovers or friends of all her peers are bigger chilli plants, hers is small. The desirable trait of spiciness is mapped here. And the height of the plant, or the lack of it, is mapped to the height of her lover. We have already discussed the instance of titaful in 'AP-K5'. Here, both Rose and titaful can be seen as lovers, with negative parts highlighted due to the pain of separation.

In one instance, pain caused by the Keteki flower's sharp leaves is also mapped in relation to a male lover. (F-A13)

In cases where the gender is not evident, there the source domain of the plant is mapped to the target domain of the lover without the gender.

4.1.2.1 End of a life- a tree stump

"পথাৰৰ মাজৰে মুঢ়া, মোৰ চেনাই ঐ

পথাৰৰ মাজৰে মুঢ়া।

পৰুৱা শিপিনীৰ টোলোঠা কাটোতে

গাঁৱৰ মৰিল চাৰি বুঢ়া ॥"- F-B14

"The singer refers to a tree stump in the paddy field. While cutting Tolotha for an ant-weaver (female lover), four elderly men have died."

Tolotha is a type of horizontal beam used in the traditional Assamese handloom. It is cylindrical, and the clothes are kept rolled on this. This song merges multiple mental images. First is the female weaver whose workaholic nature is mapped from the always working ant; second is the extremely difficult or time-consuming process of making a wooden cylindrical beam with only hand tools; third is the death of four elderly people of the village who died making it, fourth is the tree stump in the paddy field.

One interpretation of the song is that the tree from which the Tolotha is to be prepared is the one that was in the paddy field. Only the stump is left. Also, in making the Tolotha, so much time has passed that the people have grown old and died doing so. Yet, from the discussions in the preceding sections, we can also map the plant's life cycle with a person's life cycle. Hence, a tree stump is a dead or near-dead person.

4.2 PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

In the space of bihu, this metaphor is complementary to the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor in many ways. When some parts or characters of people are understood in terms of plants, others are easier to understand in terms of animals. Naturally, the animals commonly found in this geographic location and those of cultural importance are used. Above all, the suitability of the desired communication is of utmost importance. We will first investigate the female lover and animal mapping.

4.2.1 FEMALE LOVER IS AN ANIMAL

Table 4.2 Instances of FEMALE LOVER IS AN ANIMAL metaphor

Class	Source Domain	Count of Class
Birds	Bird	5
	Bird With Red Beaks	1
	Blue-Throated Barbet (Megalaima Asiatica)	1
	Common Hill Myna (Gracula Religiosa)	2
	Common Myna (Acridotheres Tristis)	1
	Crow	1
	Cuckoo	2
	Dove	1
	Duck	3
	Duckling	1
	Falcon	1
	Grey Headed Swamphen (Porphyrio Poliocephalus)	1
	Indian River Tern (Sterna Aurantia)	2
	Owl	1
	Pallas Fish Eagle (Haliaeetus Leucoryphus)	1
Red Collared Dove (Streptopelia Tranquebarica)	1	
Birds	White Breasted Waterhen (Amauornis Phoenicurus)	1
	Yellow Bird	1
Birds Total		27
Fish	Fish	2
	Mola Carplets (Amblypharyngodon Mola)	2
	Poisonous Fish	1
Fish Total		5
Invertebrates	Ants	7
	Blue Beetle (Chrysochus Cobaltinus)	1
	Clam	1
	Firefly	1
	Honeybee	1
	Water Ant	1
Invertebrates Total		12
Mammals	Buffalo	3
	Cow Or Bull	2

Class	Source Domain	Count of Class
	Deer (Axis Porcinus)	1
	Elephant (Elephas Maximus)	5
	Elephant Baby	1
	Elephant Domestic	1
	Elephant Wild	1
	Horse	2
	Otter	1
	Sunga Baduli (A Small Sized Bat)	1
	Swine	1
	Untethered Cow or Bull	1
Mammals Total		20
Reptiles	Tortoise	1
Reptiles Total		1
Grand Total		65

From **Table 4.2**, we can see that birds are the most used source domain to be conceptually related to female lovers, followed by mammals. A basic class system has been adopted for the classification of animals, which is the most likely conceptual setup in the folk's minds. This only shows a broad understanding of the mappings. Looking closely, different animals can signify distant concepts even in the same class. We will now look at these concepts or themes.

4.2.1.1 Visual Landscape

Like the domain of plants, the creators of the songs have also found a way to associate the beauty of the animal kingdom with the female lover. Like the following-

"দলনিৰ ওপৰে কি চৰাই উৰিলে,
আটাই বঙা বঙা ঠোঁট।
একে বগীতৰা সোণৰ গিলিপ মৰা,
কপালত সেন্দূৰৰ ফোঁট।।"

"Birds that have flown over the wetland possess a red-coloured beak. Similarly, the lover (Bogitora- a lady of fair complexion) is adorned in gold and has a vermilion mark on her forehead." (AP-H4)

Here, the exact name of the bird is not specified. But from the description, like the red beak and its habitat, we can infer the bird to be a Grey-headed swamphen. This bird has a vibrant blue body, which makes it stand out from the background. The singer has also found the female lover to be a standout. Yet, it is the red beaks of the bird that are in the highlight in the minds of the folk. The similarity of colour and location with respect to the body makes it possible to connect the red beak of the bird with the vermilion dot (bindi) of the female lover. Red, or vermilion-red, is also the colour of passion (discussed in the next chapter). In 'AP-E12', the singer talks about a bird chirping in the backyard and focuses on its beak. He then connects it with the female lover wearing a bindi sitting in front of the mirror. So, here, the beak or head of the bird is conceptually connectable to the bindi or head of the woman.

In 'F-G13', the singer sees a grey-headed swamphen on the tip of the bamboo plant, preening its feathers. This imagery is relatable to the female lover grooming herself. The bird's higher physical location (at the tip of the bamboo) in this imagery may signify perceived good qualities of the lover or her beauty, which is impossible not to notice.

The other similar thematic occurrences are visible in the following: the beauty of a bird perching under the short aubergine plant and the beauty of female lover (AP-A8); the woman's additional beauty compared to a beautiful buffalo (AP-A16); the beauty of an Indian river tern in the river, in relation to the beauty of women in bed (AP-A18, AP-E11, F-A6); the shimmering of ants floating on water to the shine of lover's cheeks (AP-B17); the hands of the female lover resembling an elephant trunk (AP-H3), etc.

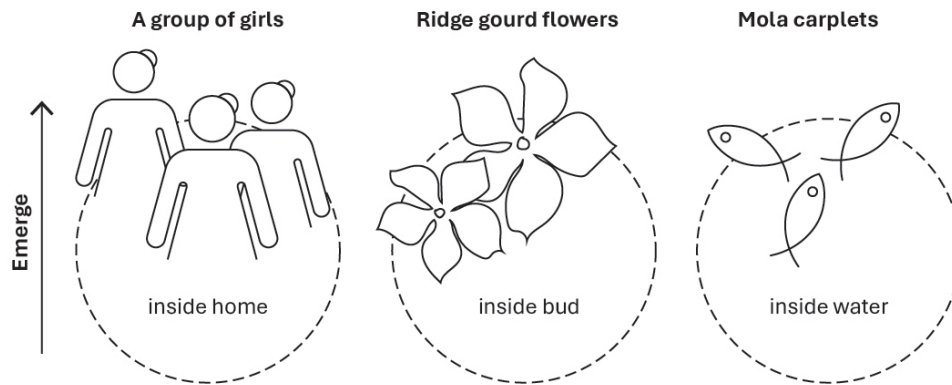


Figure 4-7 Image schema of a group of girls going out to the village in the afternoon. A group of women going out to the village is likened to ridge gourd flowers blooming in the evening or a shoal of Mola carplets making visible movements in the water. (F-A20)

4.2.1.2 Yearning and the Aural Landscape

In the season of spring and bihu, the young folk look for love. Yet not everyone can succeed, or sometimes one must pass through the stages of agony before success in love. In such scenarios, the lovers' hearts cry involuntarily, and the cry can be heard echoing in the sound of birds and insects.

“কুহ কুহ কৰি কুপতি বিনালে,
 দাউকে কান্দিলে বৈ।
 মাকৰ ডিঙিত ধৰি জীয়েকে কান্দিলে,
 ধনৰ লগত আতাৰি হৈ ॥ ”

"The cuckoo cried its *kuhu-kuhu* call while the white-breasted waterhen stayed in place, crying out. The singer's lover wept, clinging to her mother after their separation." (AP-K7)

Separation from her beloved has made the female lover cry aloud on the shoulder of her mom. This is aurally relatable to the sound of the cuckoo, which is only audible in the spring season, or the vocalisation of the white-breasted waterhen. Both are perceived as human cries due to their similarity. Sometimes, the call of the cuckoo is not perceived as a cry but rather as a pleasing voice or a song. In 'AP-O16', the male singer finds the voice of his beloved like the call of the cuckoo, so smooth that it enchants him. Or sometimes it can be quite the opposite, as the following example illustrates,

“কত কেলকেলার, ভদীয়া কাউৰী!

মোলৈ বা আনিছ কি।

তাই নিদাৰুণী মৰম লগাই গৈছ

বুকুৰ সুমেথিৰা দি ॥”

"Where does the Crow, born in the month of *Bhado*, cry *kel-kel*? What has it brought to the singer? The singer's unkind lover has given him love (by touch) by offering him the oranges from her bosom." (AP-M7)

The harshness of the female lover's behaviour towards him is relatable to the harshness of the crow's voice. The negative aspect can be enforced by the colour of the bird, which is black. Blackness is culturally associated with negativity (discussed in the next chapter). The cuckoo, or Indian Koel, can also be of darkish colour, yet it is not connected to negativity culturally. The reasons for this could be that, firstly, it is not as dark as the crow, and secondly, while the call of the cuckoo makes it conspicuous in the breeding season, visually, they are not easily noticeable as they hide behind the foliage. Hence, in the minds of the folk, their darkness is not in focus.

The sound of the cicadas and *Sunga baduli* (a type of small bat) are also found to relate to the agony of the self by the female singer (F-C14, F-F16). The mating call/cry of the cicadas is usually heard in the daytime, mostly at noon. While the cry of the bats is heard during twilight or nighttime. This may imply the meaning that the lover in agony is crying day and night. The singer also mentions hearing the cry of the Blue-throated barbet, and upon hearing it, she abandons her work and wants to go to him (F-C18). Her mind also screeches like an owl from the day she became a woman (F-C2).

4.2.1.3 Imagery of Pain

“চৰাইৰ কপটীয়া শেন ঐ মইনা,

চৰাইৰ কপটীয়া শেন ।

আগতকৈ দুগুণে জেউতি চৰিলে,

দেখো চান্দ সূৰুযে হেন॥” AP-I17

Here, the singer sees the falcon as the most crooked among the birds. He also sees his lover glowing twice than before, akin to the Sun or the Moon. Only being able to enjoy his lover from a distance, he equates his inner turmoil with this crooked bird, possibly mapping the claws and sharp beaks with violence and pain.

In the same vein, not understanding the motives of the women, the male singer sometimes equates them to Pallas fish eagles that have taken nests in a big silk cotton tree on the other side of the river (AP-M8). The imagery of the claws of the bird and the spikes on the trunk of the tree (discussed previously in the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS section) inflicts pain in his mind.

4.2.1.4 As a possession

The bihu songs often portray women as some form of possession of the men, possibly mirroring the folk psyche of the patriarchal society. This theme is discussed below with references from the corpus.

“নগাই বেচিলে নৰা জাঙেফাই,
মিৰিয়ে বেচিলে কি।
মাতলৈ তুলিলে মাতৰে মইনা,
ধনলৈ তুলিলে জী।। “

“The Nagas have sold amber ornaments, but what have the Miri people sold? (The parents of the lover) raised a Common Hill Myna for singing and a daughter for him.” (AP-G2)

This song talks about consumable items, like amber from the Naga people or something unspecified from the Miri people. The parents of the female lover have also raised a Common Hill Myna for its singing. These all relate to the female lover, who is also seen as a possession. These are all forms of possession, where the male lover is seen as the eventual owner.

“হাতী হেৰুৱালো লিহিৰি বনতে,
ঘোঁৰা হেৰুৱালো দোপত।
পাই হেৰুৱালো শহুৰৰ জীয়েকক
চোতালৰ দুবৰি বনত ॥“

Continuing the theme, the male lover talks about losing an elephant (or elephants) in the grasslands and losing a horse (or horses) in a bog. He relates this to his loss after gaining his beloved in her parents' courtyard. (AP-J1) (F-C10, same except showing a girl is singing it)

Losing in the courtyard may mean that the singer got acquainted with his beloved when he went to her house as a participant in the Husori group (bihu). There, their love bloomed, but for some reason, he eventually lost her. Talking about the animals,

historically, there were divisions of people assigned by the kings for a specific profession, such as caring for elephants and horses, due to their importance in those times. Losing them is comparable to losing a precious item, as the offender can be punished dearly. A male singer sometimes also sings this; he can scale mountains and tame an elephant with tusks, but he finds it difficult to tame his lover (AP-F13). The inability to tame an elephant who suddenly acts wild is also compared to his lover, who was domesticated before but has gone wild after meeting someone (AP-F14). The man losing his cattle and swine as they break off their enclosure is associated with his lover getting lost after falling in water (AP-P7).

The female lover confirms this sentiment. She suggests that her beloved choose and buy saddles for his horse and elephant based on the animals. In the same way, he should buy a Muga-mekhela worthy of the female lover (F-D7). In addition to this, she also says that as the birds have raised their chicks to adorn the branch, her parents have raised her to adorn someone else's home (F-C8). At other times, the poet sees birds chirping among themselves. He imagines this as birds planning among themselves, wanting to eat plant seeds. This imagery is then in the minds of the folk and is relatable to the parents of the woman who want to eat by selling off their daughter (AP-K19). Selling here likely means giving their daughter in marriage in return for customary compensation. The young woman also sees her as an unhappy firefly on the sheath of a betel nut tree. This arouses the thought that her paternal home is not truly hers, and soon she will be given out (married off) to someone (F-C4). The same sentiment is carried on in 'F-C5' when she sees herself as a honeybee, momentarily resting at her parents' house.

Sometimes, the female lover teases a man, a cattle keeper, asking for the names of his buffaloes (F-D9). The names resemble the names of women, and in fact, these names have been used as women's names in accompanying songs. At that time, it was common for men to have multiple wives. The three buffalos mentioned by name here may refer to the wives (or potential wives) of his.

From this, female lovers are seen as cows or bulls (the Assamese term *goru* combines both), buffalo, horses, or elephants. In all the cases, they are seen as a possession, which is a domesticated or tamed animal. Both genders seem to have accepted this as a cultural norm.

4.2.1.5 Symbolism of Dove

“কাকিনী তামোলত কপৌ বাহে ল'লে,
পরে যেন পরে যেন দেখো।
সকটি মনেমা নবীয়া পৰিলে,
মরে যেন মরে যেন দেখো।।”

“Doves have built their nests on the high betel nut trees; the singer senses one falling. His beloved becomes ill (fall ill), and he perceives her nearing death.” (AP-C12)

The female lover is seen as a dove about to fall from its nest in the tall betel nut trees. This also uses the metaphor BAD IS DOWN (opposite of HAPPY IS UP), or ILLNESS IS DOWN. In 'AP-I6', the singer associates the (mentally) wounded face of the female lover with a wounded, Red-collared dove. The redness of the coat of the bird resembles the female lover in grief, with blood oozing out. Hence, a dove in distress is seen as a symbol of the unwell person (mental or physical), the female lover.

4.2.1.6 Companionship and Separation

The singer notices the lover wandering on the road along a Rufous treepie bird and mourns their situation as the creator (fate) has not united them (AP-I19, and F-F7). These birds usually live in pairs, and their breeding season coincides with bihu. Seeing these birds in pairs courting each other fills the lovers' minds with sadness. The bird also has conspicuous musical calls. This may mean that the lover wandering on the roads sings a song which prompts his beloved to notice her from her home. Here, the relation between the bird and the gender of the person does not seem to be of importance. However, the dark head of the bird and mostly muted colours may be interpreted as being relatable to the male lover.

“গা ধুই শালিকি ব'দতে জিৰালে,
ছাঁতে জিৰালে গৰু ।
সৰুৰে-এপৰা পিৰিতি কৰিলো,
এতিয়া কেনেকৈ এৰো ॥” (AP-G4)

Here, the following picture has been described: after taking a bath, a Common Myna bird rests in the sun, while a cow/bull rests in the shade. The singer has loved since he was young; how can he now leave (this love)? In a countryside setting, this would

be a common scene: a Common Myna sitting on top of the cattle, preening its feathers. In the song, the animals are physically separated; one is in light, and the other is in shade. Looking at the overall theme, one can relate the bird to the female lover and the cattle to the male lover, separated in love. Sometimes, the male singer just mentions being tied with the rope of love by his beloved (AP-M2). Here, the male lover can also be seen as a tethered domesticated animal.

The singers sometimes talk about the deep-water paddy on the other side of the river that dies because of excess water, and about the birds that fly in pairs. In agony, the singer says that the lovers were not able to do the same. The paddy can be seen as lovers, using the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor, or it can be seen as their love relationship. Either way, their love faces an unfortunate ending, as the deep-water paddy dying off excess water is also unfortunate. Often, the animals in pairs, which is mostly evident in the case of birds, evoke the feeling of companionship in love. Failure leads to the grief of separation. In the songs of bihu, happiness in companionship and sadness in separation are coupled. The combination of these only gives a fuller picture of young love in bihu.

4.2.1.7 Others

The busy and workaholic lifestyle of women is likened to the life of worker ants. She as a cook and feeder (F-B6, F-B9, F-B16), as a weaver (F-B12, F-B14, F-B15, F-B16),

In a common theme of people being mapped with cattle, the man constructs a house, hoping to marry his beloved. When it does not happen, the house becomes a cattle shed (AP-J6, F-F18). The adolescent mind of the female lover is related to untethered cattle, which is difficult to control (F-F4).

In one sample, the stepmother is likened to a carnivorous or predatory animal by the female singer, who will eat her heart if she does an imperfect job.

Noticing tortoises laying eggs on the sands of river Luit, the girl thinks about her own sexual maturity. A fire is burning on her body, and mustard seeds are popping, seeing her beloved on the bank. (F-C19)

The following example shows the mind/ body container metaphor in relation to the animal metaphor.

"শালে ভুমুকিয়ায় শ'লে ভুমুকিয়ায়,
 চেঙাই ভুমুকিয়ায় খালত ।
 প্রাণৰে ভিতৰত ধনে ভুমুকিয়ায়,
 তালৈ পৰি থাকে মনত ॥ "

The Shal fish peeps, the Shol fish peeps, and the Senga fish peeps in the water channel. Inside the singer's life (mind), his lover peeps, and the singer's thoughts consistently return to that scene. (AP-B12)

Here, the singer's body or mind is a container where ideas, emotions, etc., reside. These fish, peeping from the water body container, give the imagery of something suddenly emerging in front of the eyes, like the ideas inside the body container. The fishes are mapped to the female lover. Thus, peeping symbolises ideas or thoughts about her peeping in the mind of the male lover.

4.3 MALE LOVER IS AN ANIMAL and others

Table 4.3 Instances of MALE LOVER IS AN ANIMAL metaphor

Class	Source	Count of Class
Birds	Crow	1
	Falcon	1
	Little Egret (Egretta Garzetta)	1
	Rufous Treepie (Dendrocitta Vagabunda)	1
Birds Total		4
Invertebrates	Blue Beetle	2
	Cicada	2
	Honeybee	1
Invertebrates Total		5
Mammals	Buffalo	1
	Carnivorous Animal	1
	Cow Or Bull	3
	Cow Or Bull (Black)	1
	Deer (Axis Porcinus)	1
	Deer In Bog	1
	Domestic Animal	1
	Fox	1
	Goat	1

Class	Source	Count of Class
	Hoolock Gibbon (Hylobates Hoolock)	1
	Male Elephant	1
	Sunga Baduli (A Small Sized Bat)	1
Mammals Total		14
Grand Total		23

4.3.1.1 Consumption

“গৰু চৰাবৰে কঠীয়া তলিখন,
ম'হে চৰাবৰে দল।
মুঠিৰ কটা তামোল মুঠিতে শুকালে,
দিবলৈ নাপালো চল।।” (AP-C9)

The singer explains the perfect location for grazing cattle; for cows or bulls, it is the rice seedling bed, and for the buffalo, it is the aquatic grassland. He then proceeds to describe how he has failed in love due to his inability to give his beloved a betel quid. Here, paddy seedlings and aquatic grasses are mapped to the female lover and the cattle to the man. The young plants are the favourites of the cattle. This may hint at the cultural preference of men for comparatively young girls in those times. In a slightly contrasting example, a cow or bull breaks the fence and eats ripe paddy (AP-H14). The cattle here are also mapped with the male lover and the paddy with the female lover. But here, the ripeness of the paddy, or the sexual maturity of the woman, is in focus, not her youth.

The woman wants to be consumed too, as evident in the following example,

“আষাঢ়ে শাওনে আম-কঁঠাল পকিলে,
ক'লীয়া হলৌৱে খায়।
চৰকাৰী কামতে মোৰ ধন আছেগৈ,
মোৰে বহে-বতৰ যায় ॥” (F-E5)

When mangoes and jackfruits ripen in the months of Aasar and Shaon, a black hoolock gibbon eats them. She talks to herself in agony that her love is in a government job, employed elsewhere, and her seasons keep passing away. An adult male hoolock gibbon is all black except for white eyebrows. So, we can infer the meaning that she sees herself as a fruit (FEMALE LOVER IS A PLANT or part of the plant) and sees her lover as a black gibbon. Blackness is also associated with

males in bihu songs. For other details regarding this connection, please see section 4.1.1.3.

4.3.1.2 LOVE IS A HUNT

“হাঁহৰে পোৱালি শিয়ালে লই গ'ল,
মাউতক লই গ'ল শেনে।
তোমাৰ সমনীয়াক যেনে হেন দেখিবা,
আমাকো দেখিবা তেনে।।”

"The ducklings were taken by the fox, and the elephant keeper was taken by the falcon. He requests his lover to look at him in the same manner as she does for her peers." (AP-F15)

The singer equates the blisters on his back while fishing for Mola carplets to his lover biting him on his hand. (AP-I1) The singer also knows many methods of fishing, like digging or cutting narrow channels. He also knows numerous ways to bring or attract girls and highlights the secluded cavities under many trees. (AP-K18)

Love is equated to hunting or fishing, where the female lover must be acquired by force.

4.3.1.3 Freedom of flight

“উৰি যাওঁ বগলীৰ লগত, ঐ লাহৰী!
উৰি যাওঁ বগলীৰ লগত।
নাখাই চাৰি সাজি থাকিব পাৰো মই,
তৰাদৈ মইনাৰ লগত।।”

“The singer departs with the Little Egrets. He can skip four meals as long as he remains with his beloved.” (AP-D18)

Sometimes, he sings about seeing the Indian river terns soaring high in the air, which evokes the feeling of happiness and freedom in his mind (AP-L4). But not being able to do so, along with his beloved, creates grief in him.

These white or whitish birds soaring in the air symbolise the lovers' desire to be free from everyday problems and fly in love.

4.3.1.4 Agony in Love to Death in War

The agony inside the lover due to the failure in love is like dying. Or feels that dying will free him from the agony. He equates the death of a deer in a bog near the river to his going to the Sadiya war and meeting his death (AP-G19). Or a deer being killed in the mountains/ hills and a barking deer being killed in the forest relates to him going to the war in Diburu and dying in his beloved's grief (AP-O3). In both cases, he sees himself as a prey, fate being the predator.

In the medieval Ahom kingdom, in the Paik system, a type of corvée labour system, adult and able males, called *paiks*, were obligated to render service to the state and form its militia in return for a piece of land for cultivation owned by the kingdom. The singers above are most likely to be *paiks* who are to be sent to the respective wars. (Guha, 1966)

4.3.1.5 Symbolism of blue beetle

“ওপৰে উৰিলে কালিন্দী ভোমোৰা,
ভৈয়ামত পৰি গ'ল ছঁয়া।
তোমাকে, লাহৰী ! দেখো সমাজিকত,
কোনে কৰি যাব দয়া।।”

“The blue beetle flew above, casting a shadow over the plains. In his dreams, he envisions his lover and wonders who will be kind to him.” (AP-C8)

“গাতে গা লাগিলে বায়ুকৈ বতাহে,
পদূলিত আছিলো বৈ।
বাটেদি মইনা সৰকি আহিলো
কালিন্দী ভোমোৰা হৈ ॥”

“The wind brushed the singer's body when he was at the entrance. He then transformed into a blue beetle and slipped through a gap (to enter his lover's house).” (AP-I16)

“ক'লৈ যাব, কলীয়া! গধূলি বেলিয়া,
মোকে গৰু-বাটত থই।
বুধি-ছলনেৰে ছলিলি, কলীয়া !
কালিন্দী ভোমোৰা হই ॥”

"Kaliya, the dark-skinned one (a peer of the singer), would disappear into the evening shadows, leaving the singer alone on the cow path. With cunning trickery, he had deceived the singer, transforming into a blue beetle." (AP-N15)

Kalindri Bhomora (blue beetle) is probably connected to the imagery of the night due to the dark blue body (exoskeleton), which is also the colour of the night. Its small size and colour make it invisible at night, allowing it to trick, deceive people, or enter places it is not supposed to go. A lover who goes to meet his or her beloved secretly at night is seen as a blue beetle. The shadow of a flying blue beetle on the plains is also associated with dreams. For the shadow to be cast, it is unnecessary to be daytime. Dreams usually come at night, and their existence is almost like a shadow, somewhere between reality and imagination. The blackness (of the beetle) here is also associated with negativity.

4.4 Objects

The qualities of people are also understood by the qualities of easy-to-understand everyday objects. Some of these objects may not be a good source domain for today's folks, as the traditional knowledge that comes with day-to-day interaction with those objects may be missing today.

4.4.1 FEMALE LOVER IS A BOAT and Others

"চুটিমুটি নাওখন নাকাটিবা, শহৰ ঐ!

গুৰি দি আমনি লাগে।

অবুজন জীয়েৰক নিদিবা, শহৰ এ!

কথা বুজাই আমনি লাগে।।" (AP-F11)

The male lover asks his prospective father-in-law not to make a short boat, as controlling this boat becomes annoying. Compared to this, he asks him not to give him his uncomprehending daughter. Explaining her things will be as annoying as controlling the boat.

In another sample, the male lover advises his peers not to make boats from bishop wood, as controlling becomes difficult. He relates this to the girls of the Rangpur district, who find understanding things difficult. (AP-F12)

The women also resonate with this mapping sometimes. She says,

"নাও সাজিবলৈ লাগে কত বেলি,
বঠা সাজিবলৈ টান।
জীয়ৰী হ'বলৈ লাগে কত বেলি,
বোৱাৰী হ'বলৈ টান ॥" (F-C5)

She says that it takes less time to construct a boat than to make a paddle. Similarly, it is easier to be a young woman, but being a daughter-in-law is difficult. (F-C9) The concept of self-control overlaps with the concept of the paddle controlling the speed and direction of the boat. She sometimes associates herself with a traveller or a boatman, who momentarily comes to the bank of the river to have food. This relates to her being at her father's house, which, according to her, is merely a temporary resting place.

These mappings show that in the Assamese society of this time, men were expected to explain things and control women's actions. The relatively young age of the brides compared to the grooms can also be a factor in this.

The overflow or lack of emotions in one's body or mind is associated with rivers by a female singer in the following sample.

"দৰিকা দিছাঙত পানী বাঢ়ি গ'ল,
দিখৌ এৰা সূতি হ'ল।
আমাৰে পীৰিতি জানোচা হেৰাব,
বুকু চমচমাই গ'ল ॥" (F-G10)

The water levels have risen in the Dorika and Disang rivers, while Dikhow has turned into an abandoned river (a horseshoe lake). Her heart burns with agony that their love might get lost. Using the universal metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS, the singer explains that while some rivers have overflowed with water or emotions, one river, probably associated with herself, has dried. This means a lack of emotions, here love. This folk poetry cleverly uses the burning of the heart due to agony, lack of water, or emotions.

In 'AP-E11', the male lover associates his wife, the partner in bed, with matchsticks. This evokes the PASSION IS HEAT or LUST IS FIRE metaphors.

4.4.2 LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT

The beauty of the female lover is usually associated with shimmering or sparkling objects. These include a shimmering grand barge (AP-C5), Amber Keru or earrings (AP-H6, AP-J10), bright sands on the bank of Luit (AP-D4), cheeks in sunshine (F-E10), coral necklace (AP-E16), face of female lover (AP-I2), petals of a flower (AP-H2), golden pearl and shiny clothes (AP-I14), plum-coloured gemstones (AP-H6), shimmering water ants (AP-H2), shiny hair (AP-H18), etc.

The male lover is also showered with such associations. These include gold (F-B1), the smooth body of a lover in the sunshine (F-G6), and cheeks in the sunshine (F-E10).

4.4.3 LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY

This metaphor is very much in the same theme as the previous one. But rather than associating lovers with earthly objects, they are associated with celestial bodies. The sun's intensity in the daytime shows the intensity of the lover's beauty. (AP-I17, AP-P1) A full moon may show the fullness or the completion of growth. (female lover in AP-A2, AP-B15; male lover in F-B11) The smile of the female lover is associated with lightning, as the smile can be sudden, like lightning (AP-C4) or the lover herself (AP-H11) is compared to lightning. The new moon can signal the coming of a new season, spring in this case, and the female lover changing her clothes appropriate to the season. (AP-E7)

Sometimes, when the folk poets see the stars and the moon together in the sky, they associate them with lovers or partners.

4.4.4 LOVER IS A PRECIOUS OBJECT

Sometimes, the male singer associates his beloved with a finely woven bamboo hat. He wants to bring her, as she is young and more desirable. (AP-G14) Women of higher status often wear this bamboo hat. Hence female lover's high status is also implied. Other times, she can also be termed a gold and coral bead (F-A18) or pure gold (F-D7).

4.5 Conclusion

The Bonghokha Bihu songs analysed in this study primarily explore themes of love and intimacy, which are deeply situated within the natural environment of Assam and serve as a rich source of metaphorical inspiration and association. Recurring motifs from the region's indigenous flora and fauna are systematically mapped onto human subjects, primarily through the conceptual metaphors PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. These metaphors facilitate understanding human behaviour and character by projecting qualities derived from the natural world.

In the cultural imagination reflected within these songs, plants, particularly flowering varieties, are frequently associated with feminine beauty. However, the desirability symbolised by plants is nuanced by specific characteristics: thorns often link to emotional pain or romantic obstacles, while unscented flowers, despite the visual appeal, may represent diminished desirability. Spicy plants can convey the bittersweet allure and discomfort of romantic desire. Furthermore, a plant's cultural utility is sometimes mapped onto a woman's perceived value, and the plant growth cycle metaphorically represents female sexual maturity and readiness for 'consumption' by a male lover. This connection between nature's fertility, particularly in spring, and human emotions/sexuality may resonate with Assam's Tantric heritage. As one of South Asia's ancient 'seats of power' (sakta pitha) and locus of the Goddess's yoni (In Sanskrit, "yoni" translates to "womb," "source," or "female genitalia"), Assam represents a symbolic 'womb' where esoteric traditions negotiating Sanskritic and Indigenous rituals developed (Gray, 2016, pp. 1–3; Urban, 2011). The Bonghokha's focus on raw, natural fertility, including references to animal offerings (e.g., samples 'AP-5', 'AP-6', 'AP-9'), potentially aligns more closely with these Tantric roots than the more Sanskritic Vaishnavite leanings often found in Husori Bihu songs (not considered in this study). The association between women and plants extends to visual beauty mappings, such as deciduous trees gaining new leaves being likened to a lover wearing new clothes, evoking the Assamese tradition of gifting hand-woven garments in Bihu, the Assamese new year. Until the recent past, every Assamese woman was a capable weaver, enough to weave a piece of fabric overnight, starting from cotton pods (gifted to the husband as protection during the time of war as he leaves home). Mahatma Gandhi also mentioned this aspect of Assamese culture during his visit to Assam in 1921, "Assamese women weave dreams on their looms." (Sentinel Digital Desk, 2023) Additionally, interconnected plants like creepers can

symbolise lovers' desired physical or emotional closeness, while tree growth relates to human (physical) development and stumps to death or decline.

Similarly, women are often represented metaphorically as animals, typically less powerful species like birds, fish, or invertebrates. However, when portrayed as causing emotional pain, they are likened to predatory birds (falcons, eagles) or dangerous creatures, mapping emotional hurt into physical pain. Conversely, men often appear as human observers, hunters, or possessors of these metaphorical animals or are associated with wild animals symbolising untamed nature, even when represented by domestic species like cattle breaking free. In scenarios where men are animals, women may be depicted as plants or fruits being consumed. While both genders can be represented as companion animals, the metaphors often reinforce traditional power dynamics or societal expectations regarding domestication and control, particularly for mature women.

This pattern extends to object metaphors, where, for instance, a woman of marriageable age might be likened to a boat requiring steering, reflecting societal views on guidance and control. Visual metaphors also appear, with lovers comparing each other to luminous objects or celestial bodies perceived as romantic partners.

This chapter has explored the intricate web of metaphorical associations linking humans, animals, plants, and objects within the Bihu folk context. These metaphors, deeply rooted in the embodied experiences of the Assamese natural and cultural environment, structure the expression of complex themes like love, intimacy, gender dynamics, and social expectations. While drawn from the specific song corpus, the power of these conceptual mappings makes them recognisable and relevant for understanding broader Assamese folkloric expression and cultural cognition. This analysis provides a foundational framework for identifying and interpreting these metaphoric relationships in wider cultural settings.

Chapter 5: Ideas, Emotions and Associations

This chapter builds on the analysis presented in the preceding chapter, continuing the integrated approach of data presentation and interpretive analysis, thereby fulfilling the dual objectives of empirical demonstration and theoretical reflection. While the previous chapter investigated gender dynamics, focusing on how men and women are perceived both by each other and by themselves (using mostly tangible objects) within the folk setting of Bihu, it also introduced several interrelated conceptual dimensions.

In this chapter, the focus shifts toward exploring abstract concepts such as emotions, thoughts, and ideas, which are understood as vital elements of Assamese intangible cultural heritage. Particular emphasis is placed on the cultural articulation of emotional states, including happiness, sorrow, love, friendship, enmity, and anguish, as conveyed through the Bihu folk tradition.

The Bihu songs, especially those performed by youth in natural and rural settings, offer a valuable lens through which to examine these affective and cognitive experiences. By tracing the metaphorical associations that link these complex emotional states to more concrete or culturally resonant symbols, this chapter aims to elucidate the underlying conceptual structures that inform emotional expression within Assamese folk culture.

5.1 Ideas and Words

Cambridge Dictionary defines 'idea' as "a suggestion, thought, or plan; an understanding, thought, or picture in your mind; a belief or opinion; knowledge or understanding about something; or a purpose or reason for doing something." In this section, we will look at how Ideas and words are categorized and interpreted in the minds of Assamese folk people. From the mappings in the corpus, we have found two major themes regarding this. The two metaphors conforming to the themes are IDEAS ARE FOOD, and IDEAS ARE OBJECTS. We have mapped 18 instances of the former and 12 instances of the latter in the corpus. We will first discuss the IDEAS ARE FOOD metaphor in Assamese bihu songs.

5.1.1 IDEAS ARE FOOD

Table 5.1 Instances of IDEAS ARE FOOD metaphors, along with specific sources, targets, and translations of the source songs. The table is in alphabetical order according to the source.

Source	Target	Song Translation	SN
A Juicy Bush Being Eaten by A Baby Elephant	Female Lover Seeing Her Male Lover	The singer likens his beloved to a baby elephant eating a juicy bush with her trunk. Though she sits at the loom, her eyes are on the road, and she keeps raising her head to look.	F-E15
Betel Quid	Ideas	Flat-bellied water body in the woods, sand dam, and lime from clams (of the shells). The female lover has forgotten (him) after giving him betel nut; she forgot the words/ideas (she had given).	AP-G18
Betel Quid Shared with Enemy	Accepting Words of Enemy	Despite her denial, the singer's lover accepted the enemies' words and even shared betel quid with them.	AP-L17
Bitter Orange and Hibiscus Cannabinus	Harsh Words of Lover	Pulp from unripe Hibiscus Cannabinus and Bitter Orange (<i>Citrus aurantium</i>). In a single utterance, the singer's lover has caused him to weep; what response can he offer?	AP-J8
Drinking Deadly Poison	Forgetting His Lover	Eating what will make the singer forget his lover? In the Mishimi land, consuming a deadly poison (Indian aconite) will erase her from his memory.	AP-O1
	Forgetting Her Lover	The singer wonders if she can forget her beloved by eating something. There is a deadly poison in the land of Mishimi that, if consumed, would make her forget her sorrow.	F-H15

Source	Target	Song Translation	SN
Fish and Lemon Curry	Thoughts Of Lover	The singer's partner has fetched Pabo catfish (Ompok pabo) from the Digholi market, which she prepares with ripe lemon. As she serves herself the meal and thinks of him, she weeps before the plate.	F-E14
Food	Ideas	The singer's mind eats (likes) the daughter of his father-in-law, and he has come to take her. He asks his father-in-law if he will give him both of their 'wealth of love'.	AP-E9
Indian Rhododendron Being Eaten by A Bird	Remembering About Lover	On the ridge of the main house and on the gable end of the granary, a bird eats futkola (Indian rhododendron, <i>Melastoma malabathricum</i>) fruit. The singer says that her mind knows and asks her lover if he can't remember. Her chest/heart pounds.	F-H1
Magic Potion Fed Without Knowledge	Lack Of Love Towards the Male Lover	The female lover used to save Nol-suti Saul (a special rice) for the singer by refraining from eating it herself. Now, she speaks harshly and gruffly, raising the question of who has fed her (some magical potion) to influence her.	AP-L8
Poisonous Fish	Thoughts Of Lover	Dibrugarh has it all, like the reeds for Muga silk weaving. The singer succumbs to exhaustion (almost asleep), worn out from thoughts of his lover, likened to a toxic (poison-touching) fish.	AP-N6
Rice Eaten by Bird	Ideas Accepted by Lover	A bird consumed the rice, and also caused some grains to scatter. He crafted flowers from banana leaf midrib, yet his partner was not fond of them.	AP-I12

Source	Target	Song Translation	SN
Rice Eaten by Duck	Accepting Words of Back- Biter	The singer scared off the ducks while they ate Aaroi rice in the back courtyard. She doesn't turn around when he gazes at his lover; the backbiter has captured her (mind).	AP-L6
Rice- Nol Suti	Love Towards Male Lover	The female lover used to save Nol-suti Saul (a special rice) for the singer by refraining from eating it herself. Now, she speaks harshly and gruffly, raising the question of who has fed her (some magical potion) to influence her.	AP-L8
Shoots Of Thatching Grass Being Eaten by A Black Cattle	Remembering About Lover	A black cow or bull grazes on shoots of thatching grass behind the white ant hill. When the thought of his beloved comes to his mind, his body turns black.	AP-P9
Spotted Snakehead Fish (Channa Punctata)	Thoughts In Mind	The Spotted Snakehead fish retreated to the mud while Little Egrets flew overhead. Unspoken thoughts remained within his stomach, as the lovers did not meet for the words to be exchanged.	AP- M14
Water Fermented Rice	Verbal Abuses of Mother	A mother's scolding is beneficial like rice water (boiled rice is kept in water for subsequent meals), while a father's verbal abuse is troublesome. An elder brother's harsh words are intense, causing much distress in the heart like pounding rice.	AP- H16
		Verbal abuse from a mother is like the water from rice soaked overnight or an Athiya banana (Musa balbisiana) kept on a bamboo platform. The singer suggests that his beloved consume them and tie strength to her waist (back).	F-G7

In 'F-E15', the female lover working on the handloom is associated with a baby elephant. (PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS) Her continuous gaze towards the road is understood as the elephant extending its trunk and eating the grass. (SEEING IS TOUCHING) Here, the elephant by its trunk and the lover with her eyes are touching and eating. This means she is eating or accepting the ideas or information she is receiving from her gaze. Below, some other themes relating to ideas and food are discussed.

5.1.1.1 Giving and Accepting Betel Quid as Communication of Ideas

In 'AP-G18' and 'AP-L17', the male singer talks about eating or sharing betel quid between him with his lover, and his lover with an enemy. In the former, he laments about his lover forgetting him after giving him a betel quid once. Her giving the betel quid means the idea of love and friendship, and his accepting that. In the same theme, the female lover's eating of betel quid together with a person whom the male lover terms an enemy means her accepting the words or ideas of the enemy. We will discuss in detail the cultural importance of betel quid chewing later in this chapter.

5.1.1.2 Words and Abuses as Food

The harsh or undesirable words of the female lover have made the male lover cry. He relates these words to the taste of the unripe pulp of the Moritenga (*Hibiscus Cannabinus*) and the pulp of bitter orange (*Citrus × aurantium*). The sourness and the bitterness of the fruits have been mapped to the harsh words or ideas. (AP-J8) A Pabo catfish (*Ompok pabo*) curry with ripe lemon may also suggest negative feelings of separation. (F-E14) Sourness is highlighted here.

Poita Bhat (Assamese: পইতা ভাত) consists of cooked rice soaked and fermented in water. It is a rice-based dish prepared by soaking rice, generally leftover, in water overnight. Poita Bhat has more micronutrients than fresh rice. (Ali Monal et al., 2018) The lovers have associated this with verbal abuses of their respective mothers, one of whom gives them strength. (AP-H16, and F-G7) In the later sample, Athiya banana (*Musa balbisiana*) is also added to this conceptual mapping. Water-fermented rice is probably not the most desirable food and may even be looked at as the food of the poor because of the use of leftovers. Athiya banana is also a banana with many seeds, which complicates the eating process and is less desirable for many. In both cases,

there are obstructions or perceived negative associations. However, according to the cultural knowledge echoed by the songs, the positives outweigh the negatives. The verbal abuse of the mother does the same.

5.1.1.3 Magic Potions and Poisons

The male lover wonders how his lover's behaviour towards him changed. The person who used to save the best rice by herself, not eating, now speaks harshly to him. He associates this with her being fed something (like a magic potion, or any food laden with magic) by someone without her knowledge. (AP-L8) The magic potion is associated with some idea being fed to someone without his or her knowledge. After drinking/ eating, the person cannot help but accept the idea. In many areas of Assam, the belief in black magic and other related forms of magic is commonplace and is still prevalent today. (Ijsrp, 2015, pp. 8–13; Kalita, n.d.)

The lovers sometimes reflect on how to deal with the grief of separation or failures in love. The solution they have found is to drink a deadly poison (Indian Aconite) found in the land of the Mishimi. (The Mishimi people are an ethnic group of Tibet and Arunachal Pradesh, India. The area is known as the Mishimi Hills.) Drinking this poison will make the drinker forget about his or her beloved. (AP-O1, F-H15). The poison is seen here as a killer or remover of an idea.

When problems in love become too much, the male lover becomes weary and succumbs to exhaustion from thoughts of his lover. These thoughts about his lover are associated with a poisonous fish. (AP-N6) This signifies that the ideas associated with his lover are so disturbing to him that this is like the physiological symptoms shown by the body having eaten a poisonous fish. Negative ideas about the lover are emphasised here.

In Assam, similar superstitions are not uncommon, even today. This can be something like the girl's family believing that the girl has been taken against her will by a man feeding her some kind of magical food. Now, she has fallen completely in love with him. To reverse this, the girl's family may go to another enchanter who will give another magic-laden food. Upon eating this food, the girl will vomit. This act of vomiting is probably conceptually mapped with the removal of an idea. **Figure 5-1** explains this process.

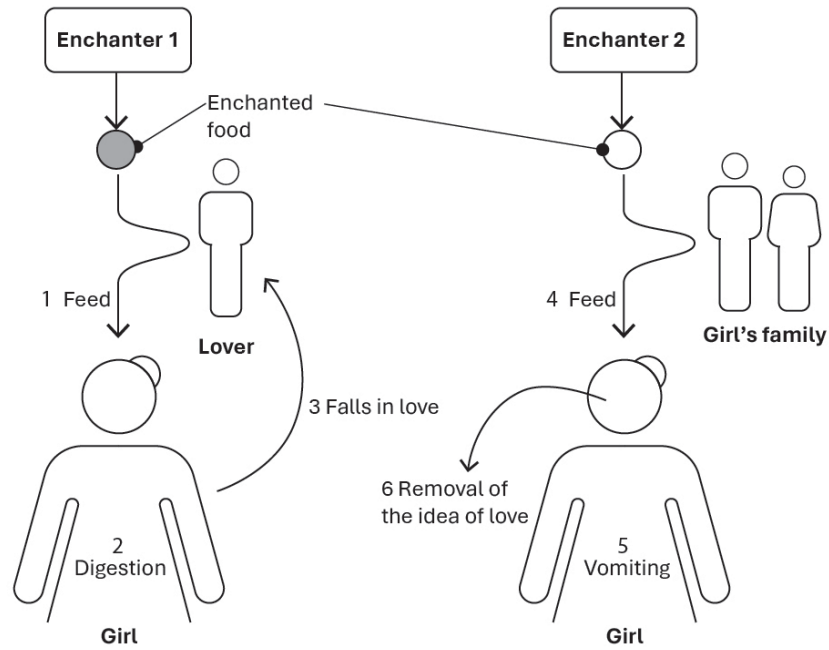


Figure 5-1 A diagram showing the conceptual mappings of IDEAS ARE FOOD and its implication as enchanted food for enchanting

5.1.1.4 Eating, Regurgitating Food: Accepting, Rejecting, Remembering Ideas

The female lover sees a bird perching on the ridge of the granary in front of the main house and eating an Indian rhododendron fruit. Seeing this imagery, the female lover reminisces about her lover and wonders if he would do the same. (F-H1) While not all birds can regurgitate food, many do and can be seen commonly while feeding their chicks and in courtship. The bird eating or regurgitating the fruit is seen as thoughts of her beloved coming to and being accepted in her mind. (Remembering is regurgitating)

In a different sample, a bird eats some paddy rice grains (probably while sun drying the paddy), and in this process, some rice grains get bounced off. The rice grains are like the male lover's declaration of love to his lover, which he does by crafting her flowers from the midrib of a banana leaf. (AP-I12) The bird's eating will show the female lover's acceptance of his love (or just the flowers). The wasted food, i.e. the scattered rice grains, means the non-acceptance of the idea, which is in focus in this song.

“হাফলুর আঁৰতে চৰে ক'লা গৰু

উলুৰে গজালি খাই।

তোমালৈ যেতিয়া মনত মোৰ পৰিব,
 দেহা ক'লা পৰি যায়।।" (AP-P9)

Behind the white ant hill, a black *goru* (Assamese: গৰু, cow or bull) grazes the shoots of thatching grass. The singer has associated this with him remembering his lover and his body becoming black (in grief). We have already discussed the eating and regurgitating of birds, which have been replaced here with a black cow. The cow eating the grass is him remembering his lover. The male lover is the black *goru* here (PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS). The blackness of the cow/ bull can either be related to the general theme of connecting blackness to males, as evident in other samples, or his body becoming black in grief. The shoot of the grass means his lover (PEOPLE ARE PLANTS), where her youthfulness is emphasised. **Figure 5-2 (a)** explains this with the help of the metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD.

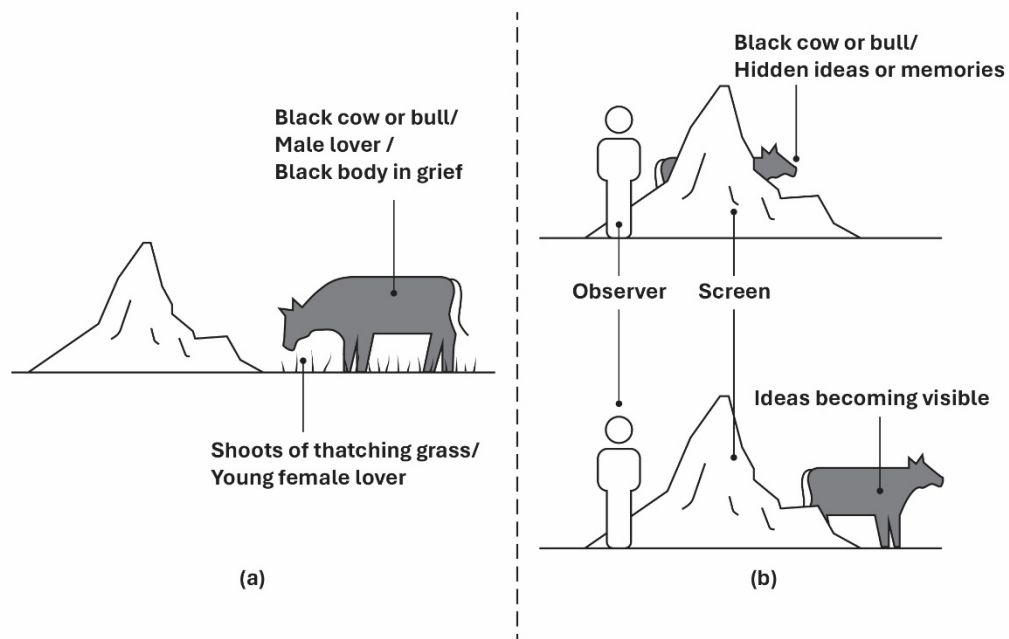


Figure 5-2 IDEAS ARE FOOD. Sample- black cow or bull near a white ant hill, eating shoots of thatching grass

The anthill can also be seen as a visual barrier, like a screen between the observer and the black cow or bull eating the grass. Either the observer or the cow making movements beyond the screen will make the cow be seen. The blackness of cow/ bull here can mean ideas that were in the dark, i.e. those that were not accessible before they came to light and sight. Here, IDEAS ARE MOVING OBJECTS, metaphor is in action, and **Figure 5-2 (b)** illustrates this.

Similarly, a little egret flies above and a spotted snakehead fish retreats to the mud. (AP-M14). This visual imagery relates to the male lover being unable to meet his beloved, and his thoughts remaining in his stomach. This sample also used both IDEAS ARE FOODS and IDEAS ARE MOVING OBJECTS metaphors. The fish can be looked at as food for the little egret, conforming to the first metaphor, or the fish retreating to the mud can be seen as moving ideas retreating to a stomach container, conforming to the latter. More on this will be discussed in the next section.

5.1.2 IDEAS ARE OBJECTS

Ideas are not only seen as food; they can also be seen as everyday objects in the folk psyche. In this section, various cultural examples of this metaphor will be discussed. In the corpus, 12 separate instances of this have been found.

Table 5.2 Instances of IDEAS ARE OBJECTS metaphors, along with specific sources, targets, and translations of source songs. The table is in alphabetical order according to the Target.

Target	Source	Song Translation	SN
Bird Laying Eggs on The Grass	Remembering About Lover	The blue-throated barbet (<i>Psilopogon asiaticus</i>) has cried and laid its eggs on the grass. When thoughts of her beloved come to her mind, the singer immediately abandons the task of spinning thread and cotton.	F-C18
Discovering A Hidden Dark Object	Remembering	A black cow or bull grazes on shoots of thatching grass behind the white ant hill. When the thoughts of his beloved come to his mind, his body turns black.	AP-P9
Fish In Water	Thoughts In Mind	The Shal fish peeps, the Shol fish peeps, and the Senga fish peeps in the water channel. Inside the singer's life, his lover peeps, and the singer's thoughts consistently return to that (scene).	AP-B12
Moving Objects Like the Sun, Little Egrets	Ideas Moving Inside Mind	The Sun of the East moved toward the West; the Stork swirled in the wind. Thoughts within the mind circled endlessly, unable to converge.	AP-B9
Objects Kept in The Corner, In the Dark	Unexpressed Words or Ideas	The singer's lover ate warm rice and departed, leaving his cattle peg in a corner. He left without a word to her, keeping his thoughts in his chest.	F-H10

Target	Source	Song Translation	SN
Objects Kept on The Head	Sacred Ideas	The singer purchases a goat and offers it as a sacrifice to the deity Maheswar. Holding Songs, Gurus, and Devotees in high regard (raising on his head), the singer strikes a tree with a weapon.	F-B11
Objects Taken from An Enemy	Words Of an Enemy	The singer implores his beloved not to take (to disregard) the words of an adversary, as those words will be her death (undoing). Even a thousand hopes could be shattered by such words.	AP-L16
Objects That Can be Given	Spoken Words	The singer moves in and out through the plinth (entrance) of his lover's home. He called out to her each time, but she remained unresponsive.	AP-O12
Objects That Can be Kept Inside Body	Ideas In the Mind	The goats have bleated, and the crows have cawed; to whom can the singer confide what he has inside (the stomach)? He desires to put his beloved inside his body.	AP-I7
Spotted Snakehead Fish (Channa punctata)	Thoughts in Mind	The Spotted Snakehead fish retreated to the mud while Little Egrets flew overhead. Unspoken thoughts remained within his stomach, as the lovers did not meet for the words to be exchanged.	AP-M14
Threads	Words	The lover of him is a foreign thread on the woof of a woven cloth. She winds his mind like one winds a spool of thread but keeps her heart's true thoughts hidden.	AP-D1

In general, ideas or words are perceived as objects that can be given, received or kept as it is, as seen in the following samples. In 'AP-O12', the male lover gives his beloved a call from the entrance, and in 'AP-I7', the male lover intends to keep his beloved (the idea of her) inside his body. Some other time, the male lover asks his beloved not to take the words of the enemy. Those words are like Yama, the deity of the afterlife, meaning trusting or accepting those words will lead to her death. (AP-L16) Other specific cases are discussed below.

5.1.2.1 Moving objects

Like the sun moves in the sky, from east to west, and the little egrets swirl in the wind, the thoughts also move inside his mind. (AP-B9) (Figure 5-3 number 1) The

moving objects like the sun and the little egrets are seen as ideas here, and the mind container is related to the sky or wind. Another example of the same theme has been discussed in 5.1.1.4, along with **Figure 5-2** in the sample where a black cow or bull is behind a white anthill. The movement beyond the barrier makes the idea be seen or interpreted. (AP-P9) Different types of fish (female lovers) peeping from a water channel are also seen by the male observer or lover as ideas of his beloved coming to his mind. (see **Figure 5-3** number 2) and (AP-B12) In a previously discussed sample, a spotted snakehead fish retreating to the mud is also seen as ideas retreating to the mind, where they become invisible. (AP-M14) (**Figure 5-3** number 3)

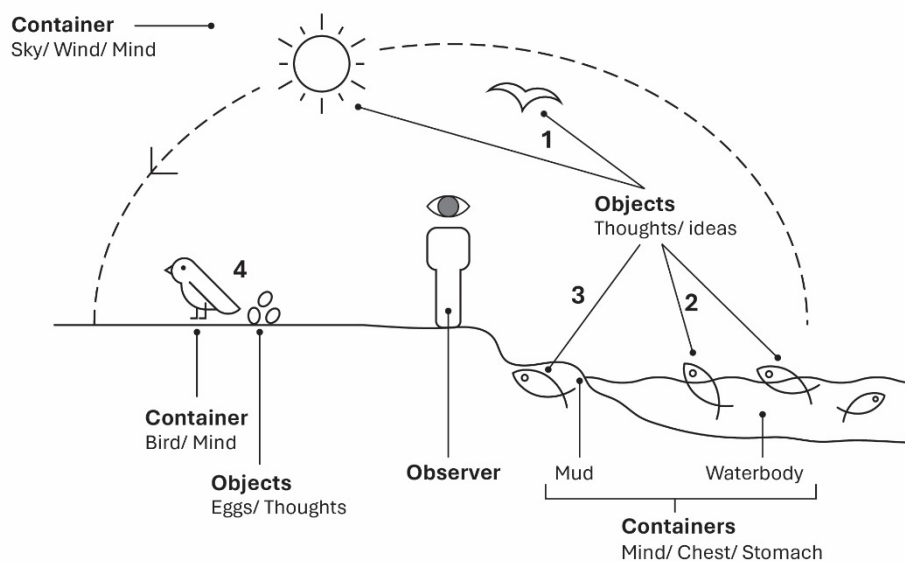


Figure 5-3 Schematic diagram of ideas as moving and emerging objects. 1-Moving sun and little egret bird, 2-Moving and emerging different types of fish from water, 3-moving and disappearing fish to mud, 4- Emerging eggs from bird

5.1.2.2 Hidden Ideas and Its Emergence

"কি চৰাই কান্দিলে হেটুলুক, হেটুলুক,

কণীবোৰ পাৰিলে বনত।

সূতা কটা এৰি যাওঁ পাঁজি কটা এৰি যাওঁ

ধনলৈ পৰিলে মনত ॥" (F-C18)

A blue-throated barbet laying eggs on the grass is associated by the female lover with her beloved or the idea of him coming to her mind. The eggs are seen as ideas, and when they become visible, i.e. when the bird lays the eggs, the ideas also become

visible to the person. (Figure 5-3 number 4) Or a black cow or bull in the sample 'AP-P9' been seen by the observer also means ideas becoming visible.

"ভাতে খাই গ'লা তপতে তপতে,
খুটি খই গ'লা চুকত।
যাবরে বেলিকা মাত নলগালা,
কথা খই গ'লা বুকত।।" (F-H10)

At the time of the departure, the male lover left his cattle peg in a corner of a room. At first glance, this looks like a scene of a common occurrence in an agrarian society, showcasing the relationship between cattle and people. But then the female lover connects this scene with her beloved not talking to her before he left, and him keeping words or thoughts in his chest. The room is seen as a container here, like the chest. The corners of the room are less accessible or not easily visible. Keeping the words or objects in these less accessible places means words or thoughts that were kept inside.

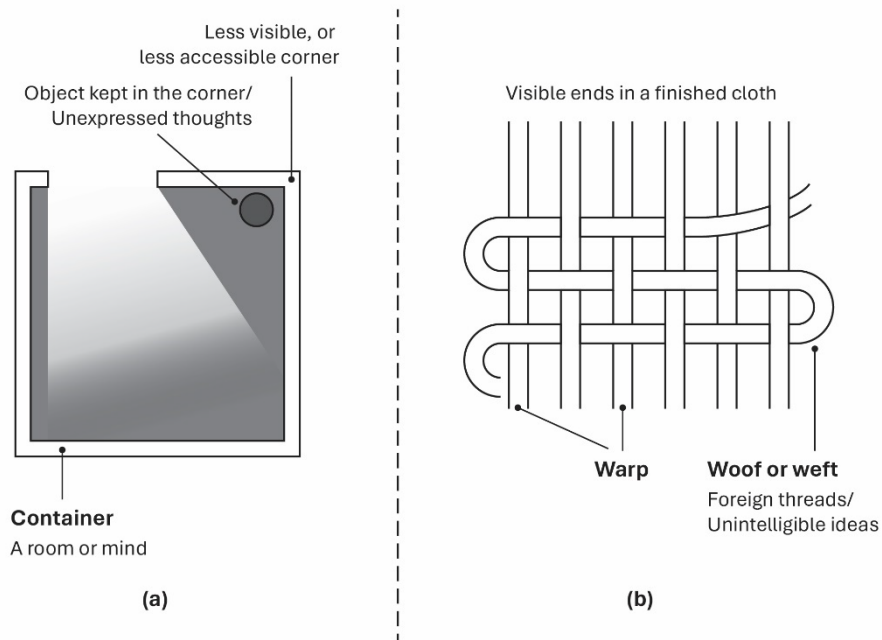


Figure 5-4 Diagram of Ideas as hidden objects (a) A peg in the corner, (b) Weft of cloth

Sometimes, the male lover associates his beloved with foreign threads on the woof of a woven cloth. (AP-D1) Foreign is used negatively here, symbolising unintelligible due to its origin. In a finished cloth, it is difficult to distinguish the thread of the woof. On the other hand, the warp is simple to look for as these threads can be

visible at the ends of the cloth piece. These difficult-to-notice or see threads are compared to difficult-to-understand thoughts inside his beloved. Assamese women's common association with weaving makes this metaphor more culturally appropriate.

5.1.3 Words

Table 5.3 maps all the instances of target domains related to "words". According to the type of words, the force exerted, the subjects of them, etc., can construe different metaphorical mappings. Sometimes, controlling the flow of words or songs,

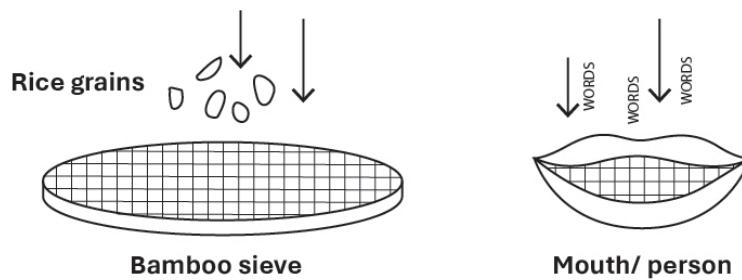


Figure 5-5 Image schema of WORDS ARE RICE GRAINS, where dense bamboo sieve is a person/ mouth

especially by the main singer, is seen as controlling a boat, where the main one steers the boat while the other may paddle. (AP-1) Unspoken words by the female lover are associated with her using a dense bamboo sieve, which does not let the rice grain pass optimally. (AP-K14) The sieve can be seen as her mouth, which does not utter words.

Table 5.3 Metaphorical instances of WORDS

Metaphor present	Source	Target	SN
WORDS ARE BOATS	Controlling a boat	Controlling the flow of songs	AP-1
WORDS ARE OBJECTS	Rice grains that do not pass through a dense sieve	Unspoken words	AP-K14
WORDS ARE PROJECTILES	Chopped Firewood	Spoken Words	AP-K12
	Glue of banana stem	Words	AP-E5
WORDS ARE THREADS	Threads	Words	AP-7, AP-8, F-C12, F-E11
		Words of His Lover	AP-D1
		Songs	AP-4

Metaphor present	Source	Target	SN
WORDS ARE VINES	Flowers On the Vine	Sweet Words About Female Lover	AP-M20
	Vines	Words Of an Enemy	AP-K15
	Vines- Bhebeli Lota	Words	AP-M20
	Vines- Vitis Indica	Words	F-C12, F- E11
WORDS ARE WEAPONS	Weapons	Words	AP-A7, AP-E5
Grand Total			16

5.1.3.1 WORDS ARE PROJECTILES

The male lover chops firewood in front of the main house. Sometimes, a piece or two of wood flies off during this process. These pieces of firewood that are not in control are associated with the unintentional words he may have spoken to his beloved. These words have made his beloved not to talk to him. (AP-K12) The words are seen as uncontrolled projectiles that can hurt if someone gets hit by them. These can be intentional or unintentional. In this sample, the singer highlights the unintentionality of his actions. In a similar example, while cutting a leaf of an Athiya banana, the glue/sap of the stem splashes without control. (AP-E5) This uncontrolled splashing of the sap droplets is compared to the words of his beloved. The lover advises her to be a little more careful while using harsh words.

In the first sample, the flying pieces of wood can hurt a person upon impact, and in the second sample, the sap droplets can create unwanted stains on clothes.

5.1.3.2 WORDS ARE THREADS

In 'AP-4' and 'AP-8', the singers ask goddess Saraswati to remind them of the forgotten songs like raw cotton is spun to create a thread. In addition to that, in 'AP-7', they ask the deity to untangle the words or songs like untangling threads. In AP-D1, the male singer accuses his beloved of being the wool threads of foreign origin. He relates this to her being difficult to understand. This is also discussed in section 5.1.2.2.

In 'F-C12' and 'F-E11', the female lover associates her having to rebuke her beloved (for consistently giving her a call from the backside) with the annoyance of eating Lota Poniyo (a wild grape) and weaving. The sourness of the fruit, the vines, and the

threads tangling are conceptually blended to create a feeling of annoyance on her part.

5.1.3.3 WORDS ARE VINES

In AP-K12, the vines (aerial roots) of the *Ficus infectoria* plant create problems when the male lover gathers firewood under the tree. He has associated these vines with the words of a backbiter to his beloved. Similar examples to this are in 'F-C12', and 'F-E11' as mentioned above.

In a positive turn, the seemingly never-ending nature of the vine, Bhebeli lota has been associated with the words about the male lover's beloved. (AP-M20) His words for her also do not have ends.

5.1.3.4 WORDS ARE WEAPONS

In 'AP-A7' and 'AP-E5', harsh words or the gruff of the female lover are perceived as weapons. The use of the phrase *Ketera mar* (Assamese: কেটেৰা মাৰ, to strike with harsh word) shows this.

5.2 Cultural Negative Associations

The following table maps all the instances of negative associations found in the bihu songs. The term negative has been chosen to group them together, like badness, unfortunate, inauspicious, death, separation, etc.

Table 5.4 Metaphorical instances of negative associations

Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	SN
NEGATIVE IS BACKSIDE	Backside of The	Mouldy	AP-E12
	Compound	Bad News of Beloved	F-H17
		Backbiter	AP-L6
NEGATIVE IS BLACKNESS	Black Beans	Bad News of Beloved	F-H17
	Black Coloured Cloth	Bad For Young	F-A16
		Woman	
		Dark Skinned Person	Bad (Tease)
	Female Lover	Bad (Tease)	AP-M7
NEGATIVE IS CALLING FROM BACK	Calling From Back	Inauspicious	F-A12
NEGATIVE IS COLOUR WHITE	White Coloured Cloth	Bad For Young	F-A16
NEGATIVE IS DARK COMPLEXION	Dark Male Lover	Bad For Young	F-A16
		Woman	
	Dark Skinned Person	Bad (Tease)	AP-I19 AP-I20 F-F7

Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	SN
		Deceiver	AP-N15
NEGATIVE IS DOWN	Bending Down to Pick Up Leftovers	Lover Committed to Someone Else	AP-G11, AP-H13
	Falling Down	Illness	AP-C12
NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM	Downstream	Death	AP-I8
			AP-K9
			F-F14
		Grief In Love	AP-J17
			AP-J18
		Separation	AP-F20
		House Becoming Cattle Shed	AP-J6
			F-F18
		Death or Separation	F-H3
	Downstream Journey	Bad News of Beloved	AP-C10
NEGATIVE IS SATURDAY	Saturday	Unfortunate Events	AP-P7
NEGATIVE IS UNKNOWN PLACES	Unknown Places	Death	AP-I8
		Where Lover Forgets About Him	AP-J3
		Unknown Places - Jorhat	Where Lover Forgets About Him

5.2.1 NEGATIVE IS BACKSIDE

The back side of the compound, or the back courtyard, is often associated with negative feelings. On two occasions, it is used in association with the context of

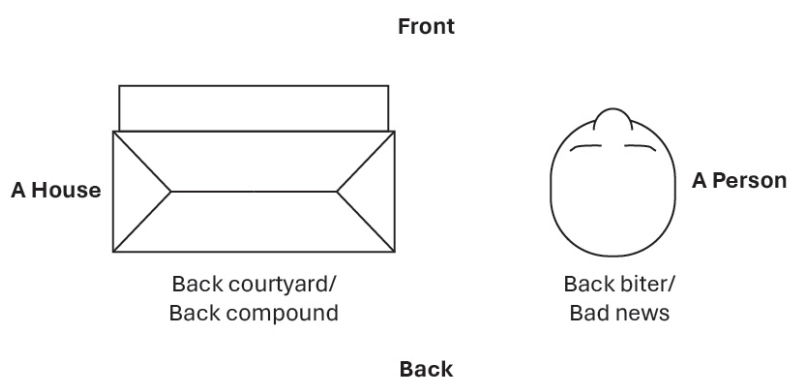


Figure 5-6 Negative is the backside of a house

backbiters. Maybe the house is understood as a person here, which allows one to map the happenings of the back courtyard with words and the influence of a backbiter. (AP-L6, and AP-L7). The use of this is also seen when the female lover does not get the good news about her beloved. (F-H17) (see **Figure 5-6**)

5.2.2 NEGATIVE IS BLACKNESS

Brown beans (Black beans in Assamese), in conjunction with the back courtyard, are associated with the bad news of the beloved. (F-H17) For a young woman, neither black clothes nor white clothes are seen as culturally appropriate. The lover asks her to wear red clothes instead. (F-A16)

The male lover is often explicitly called a dark person or mapped to a dark-coloured animal. (AP-I19, AP-I20, F-E5, F-F7) Female lovers can also be related in this way, but it is rare. (AP-M7) A peer of the male lover, who he terms as a trick and deceiver, is also related to blackness. (AP-N15) Associations with person to colour is usually playful in nature.

5.2.3 NEGATIVE IS DOWN

One bending down, in conjunction with picking up leftover food, is associated by the male lover with his beloved, who is also courting another prospective partner or husband. Probably, the female lover is associated with the domain of food, and hence, someone else's woman (or a woman accepting another man's proposal) is seen by the male lover as leftover food. (AP-G11, AP-H13) Here, probably, we shouldn't look at the association of leftover food with female lovers as deprecating female worth. Rather, we can see this as her becoming a food (idea) unpalatable to the male lover. Once she becomes someone else's idea, she can no longer become the male lover's idea.

A dove falling down from its nest is associated with a female lover falling ill. (AP-C12, discussed before).

5.2.4 NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM

In the space of bihu, we have found that downstream or lower lands are often used negatively. When the lover becomes unsuccessful in his love endeavours for any reason, he associates it with moving downstream, where he will meet his death. (AP-I8, AP-K9, F-F14, F-H3) Even if the lover does not die in the lower lands, the grief of the person is associated with him or her moving there.

The theme of separation is strong here. Downstream emphasises the pain of separation, where the house of the male lover becomes a cattle shed due to failures in

love, or him moving downstream, or the combination of both. (AP-J6, F-F18).

Below, we will discuss the reasons for this cultural association.

River transport was the most used and developed medium of transport for longer distances in medieval Assam. Brahmaputra, slicing through Assam, was the river that afforded this communication. The bihu songs collected in the corpus are from the eastern part of present-day Assam, also termed Upper- Assam. The western part, which is the lower lands, is called Lower Assam. The songs naturally touch upon this river transportation aspect interweaved with the folk life. The males are often seen as someone who participate in the journey, as merchants, government employees, casual travellers, etc. The reasons for the negative association with downstream may be one or a combination of the following reasons.

- As the singers of the songs are from the upper lands (Upper-Assam), they can associate downstream as just unknown places.
- It can also be conceptually grounded in metaphors such as HAPPY IS UP, GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, etc. The lower land on the downstream side is seen as a worse place than the place of the observer/ singer.
- The flow of a river is also associated with fate. (Discussed later) One moving downstream along with the river's current is associated with the person accepting fate. If he or she fights the current and moves opposite to it, it is seen as making decisions about life on their own.
- From the eastern reaches of Upper Assam, it becomes difficult to journey upstream as the gradient of the river becomes steeper as it touches the Himalayas. Hence, the samples of the upstream journey are scarce in the corpus. This leaves the downstream journey as the most viable form of journey to distant lands. Thus, downstream journeys are mentioned in the songs to show a journey to an unknown, distant land.

5.2.5 Others

Culturally, Saturdays are associated with unfortune and inauspiciousness. (AP-P7)

Unknown places (states) are also associated with the traveller dying there (AP-I8) or forgetting about his or her past (love relationships). (AP-J3, AP-K2)

5.3 Cultural Positive Associations

Table 5.5 Metaphorical instances of positive associations

Metaphor present	Source	Target	SN	
GOOD LOOKS IS PLUMPNESS	Plump Figure of Woman	Beauty	AP-H10	
			AP-H3	
			F-B3	
GOODNESS IS GOLD	Gold	Beauty	AP-E12	
GOODNESS IS ROUNDNESS	Round Face of Woman	Goodness	AP-H4	
			F-E16	
GOODNESS IS STRAIGHTNESS	Straight Bamboo	Goodness	AP-B15	
	Straight Road	Goodness	F-E6	
GOODNESS IS WHITENESS	Cleaned Cotton	Female Lover's Body	F-F20	
			Fairness	Beauty
		Fairness Or Whiteness	Beauty	AP-E12
		White Objects	Offerings	AP-5
				AP-6
				AP-7
				AP-8
				AP-9
		Whiteness of Rose Apple Fruit	Beauty	AP-H8
				F-G11
POSITIVE IS UPSTREAM	Upstream	Finding the Desired Object	F-B8	
	Upstream Journey	Good News	AP-C10	
			AP-C11	

5.3.1 Colours

In these songs, the male lover sometimes associates the beauty of his beloved with gold-coloured cloth or jewellery (adorned in gold). (AP-E12, AP-H4) But more than that, the beauty or goodness of the lover is signified by whiteness or fairness. The beauty of the female lover is like cleaned cotton (F-F20) or the whiteness of the fruit rose apple (Assamese: বগী জামুক, literal meaning: white plum). (AP-H8, F-G11)

While making an offering to the gods and deities, a white object is chosen. The objects as seen in the songs include Maloti flowers (a type of jasmine) and white pigeons, (AP-5) Seuti flowers (a small white rose-like flower) and chitala fish (Chitala chitala), (AP-6), Togor flower (Gardenia) and rice, (AP-7), Khorikajai flowers (Jasminum malabaricum) and rice flour, (AP-8), Bakul flowers (Mimus opselengi) and a white goat. (AP-9)

5.3.1.1 Colour of Passion

As seen in **Table 5.6** the target domain of passion can be mapped using red-coloured sources. Sometimes, the singer sees his beloved as a bird with red beaks (specific bird name not mentioned), but other times, he clearly mentions a bird called grey-headed swamphen, which also has prominent red beaks and a red front head. It is interesting to see that the bird's English name focuses on the overall greyness of the head, but the folk poets focus on the redness of the beak.

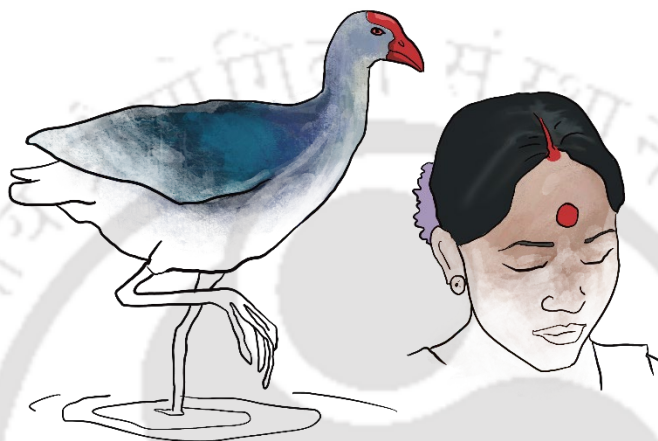


Figure 5-7 Grey-headed swamphen and Assamese bihu dancer

The bird in Assamese is called *Kam Sorai* (কাম চৰাই). Probably in a related theme, the Hindu god of love and erotic desire is also called Kam (or Kama, the cupid). The Hindu tradition of married women putting a red (vermillion) bindi on their heads is also highlighted, visually relating to the red beaks of the bird. (see **Figure 5-7**)

Table 5.6 Specific colour sources for the target domain of Passion

Metaphor present	Source	SN
PASSION IS	Bird With Red Beaks	AP-H4
COLOUR RED	Red Coloured Cloth	AP-E17, F-A16
	Red Coloured Gamosa	F-G16
	Red Coloured Hand fan	F-G17
	Red Coloured Hasoti (Handkerchief)	AP-M11
	Red on Beaks and Part of Head of Grey-Headed Swamphen	F-G13
	Vermillion Colour of Mercury Sulfide, Colour of Orpiment	F-B2
	Vermillion Coloured Sickle	AP-F9, AP-C16
	Vermillion Dot on Head, Red Riha on Body	F-D5
	Vermillion Hue of Boat, Paddle, and Bamboo Hat	F-A19

When the lady wears a red riha or when a man carries a red-hand fan, these objects are highlighted in the narrative. Other times, when the male lover sees prospective lovers reaping paddy on the fields, the lyrics highlight the vermilion colour of their sickles. One may imagine that this can probably be from the reflection of the evening sunrays on the sickle or because of the rust and age of the sickles.

Even when the lady lover talks about her lover, she associates him with coming in a boat, where the boat, the roof, the paddle, and the bamboo hat he is wearing, all have a vermilion hue.

5.3.2 Size and Shape

The plump figure of a woman is culturally seen as desirable. (AP-H10, AP-H3, F-B3) This probably stems from the genetic makeup of the folks celebrating bihu, of which women were comparatively short and plump.

The desired shape of a woman is round. (F-E16) The straightness of a road (F-E6) and a bamboo plant is mapped with the goodness of a young woman. (AP-B15). In the case of the road, the song evokes a curve or bend in the road, which is associated with the lover being in grief and crying.

5.3.3 Upstream Journey

In a few samples, the upstream journey is associated with positivity and the arrival of good news. When the male lover must find a Tolotha (a horizontal wooden beam used in Assamese handloom), he looks everywhere before finding it in the upper lands. (F-B8). In a sample, the singer, a traveller, hears his beloved's voice while travelling upstream by boat. (AP-C10) Or an upstream travelling ship of (Steam Navigation) Company brings the news of the lover. (AP-C11). The Steam Navigation Company introduced steamers in the middle of the 1800s, mainly for the benefit of tea gardens. (Goswami, 1988)

In these cases, the intentionality of the action is focused, which is then associated with good news and positive outcomes.

5.4 More Ideas and Their Associations

The following section encompasses various other ideas and beliefs found in the corpus. These are varied in subject and themes. This can be viewed as a snippet of the folk mind captured in fragments.

5.4.1 Fate and God

The cultural belief system plays a role in how folks see the world in terms of believing in the existence of the supernatural. Here, we will discuss how God and fate are described in the songs.

5.4.1.1 God

Table 5.7 Instances of metaphorical mappings related to God

Metaphor present	Source	Target	SN
GOD IS A CREATOR	Creator	God	AP-A5, AP-P5
GOD IS A WEAVER	A Weaver	God	AP-A6
LIFE IS A COURTROOM	Judge	God	AP-L11
	Regulator	God	AP-O7
	Witness	God	AP-L11, AP-L7, AP-M9
LIFE IS A PLAY	Fate	God	AP-H1
	Play	Life	AP-A10, AP-I10, AP-I19, AP-J5, AP-L14, AP-L20, AP-O10, AP-O19, AP-O7
	Playwriter	God	AP-J5
	Writer	Creator	F-F12, F-F7

Here, God is seen as a creator, a universal phenomenon. Other than that, a culture-specific metaphor is GOD IS A WEAVER. Here the weaver weaves flowers on the forehead of the female lover, seeing which the male lover fell in love. (AP-A6) This shows the importance of weaving in Assamese culture. As weaving in most households is seen as a women's activity, this may infer to the possibility of God being a woman.

Life is sometimes seen as a courtroom, where God is a witness (AP-L11, AP-L7, AP-M9), a judge (AP-L11) and a regulator (AP-O7).

The corpus's most common metaphor related to God is LIFE IS A PLAY, where replacing play with fate is also possible. He writes the fate on the forehead of the people, discussed in the next section. God as creator can also be superimposed with this metaphor, where the writer is also the creator.

5.4.1.2 Fate

"ভাটীলৈ ভটীয়াই যামগৈ, লাহৰী!

নাথাকো কুস্পানীৰ দেশত।

তোমাৰ যেই গতি, মোৰ সেই গতি

দুইগতি মিলামগৈ শেষত ॥"

"The lover declares his intention to head downstream, choosing not to remain in the territory governed by the (East India) Company. Whatever situation his beloved endures, he too will experience the same. Ultimately, both of their fates will converge." AP-P2

Here, the inevitability of the river flowing downstream is mapped to the inevitability or fate in a person's life. The fate of the singer and his beloved will flow like a (same) river, which means sooner or later they will unite. In the same theme, the male lover went by the flow of water and did not look back at his lover, even if she called. (F-H3) In this sample, the fate as river is not explicit and can be debatable. But looking at the converging themes relating to upstream and downstream travel, it is a possibility. This gives us the metaphor FATE IS A RIVER. (see **Figure 5-8**)

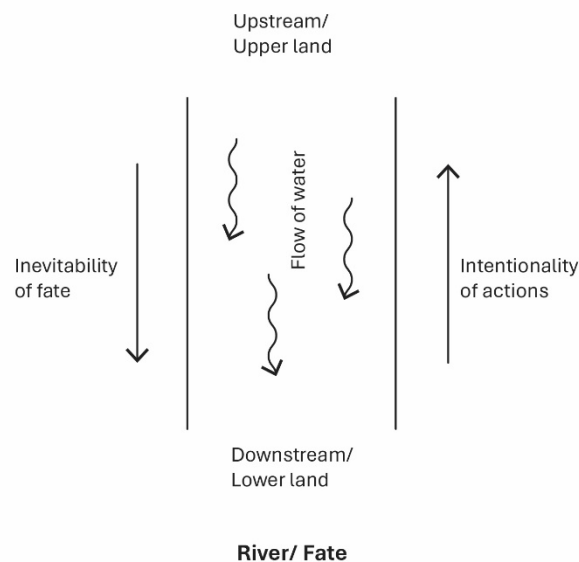


Figure 5-8 Schema showing FATE IS A RIVER metaphor

In 'AP-F2', the male lover utters that going upstream is a lot of fun, but moving downstream is difficult. Rather than leaving love, he intends to leave his body with his beloved. Here also, the fate as the river may be in action. Going upstream is mapped to joy or happiness, relating to HAPPY IS UP.

Another common metaphor related to fate is FATE IS FOREHEAD. Here, a person's forehead is associated with his fate and karma. This metaphor is probably related to LIFE IS PLAY or its variations. Culturally, the ideal or average size of one's forehead is said to be four fingers tall (see **Figure 5-9(a)**).

The male lover asks his beloved why she has become like this and has not reciprocated his love properly. He accepts this as whatever is about to happen to his

forehead will happen , and questions how much time his lover has left to relish (eat). (AP-L10) Bad luck or fate, for which the male lover has been unable to meet his beloved, is associated with his forehead on fire. (AP-N17). Sometimes, the male lover accepts that he cannot attain his beloved as she is not on his forehead. (AP-O11) Bad things happening to the forehead are also shown by a big centipede moving along the tie beam of a house and a snake slithering on the purlins. (AP-P3) A person is seen as a house here; the top part of the house, i.e. the roof consisting of the tie beams and purlins, is mapped to the top part of a person, i.e. the head or forehead. (see **Figure 5-9(d)**)

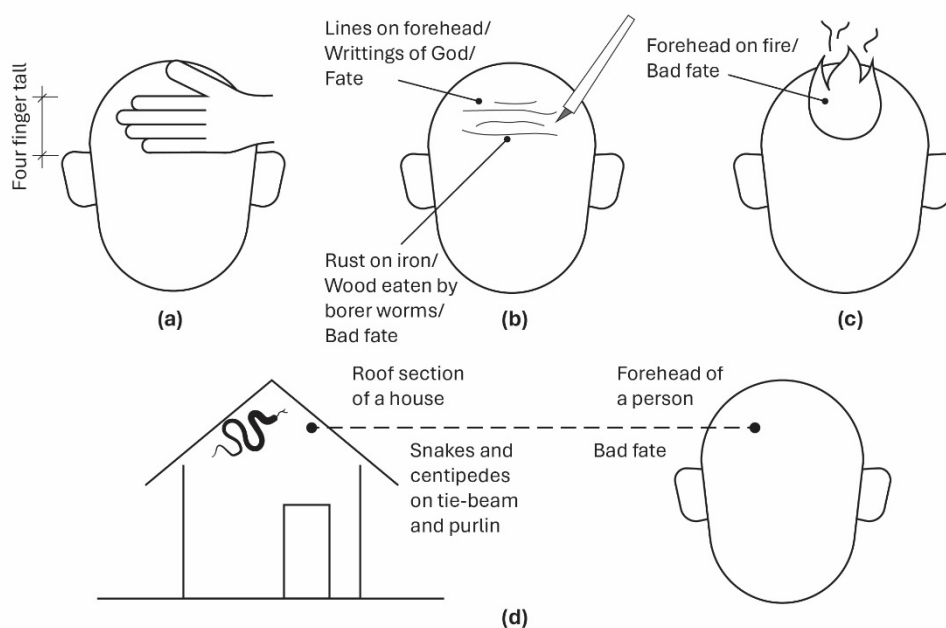


Figure 5-9 Variations of FATE IS FOREHEAD metaphor

In one sample, the singer says to God that he has written good things on his forehead, but the lover himself has diverged from it due to his non-understanding mind. (AP-O7) Similarly, the lover wonders why God has written like this on his four-finger wide (tall) forehead that male ducks have laid eggs. This shows bad luck or misfortune. (AP-O10)

Regarding undesirable fate, the male lover says that God's writings on his forehead are like rust eating into iron or borer worms eating into the handle of an umbrella. One must scrape and smooth the forehead with a sharp weapon to remove this fate, but he wonders who can do that. (AP-O19) This mapping probably relates to the lines visible on one's forehead, which are seen as the writing of God. The

imperfections and damages in the writings are associated with imperfect or bad fate. One can change his fate if he or she can erase or change those lines. Although there wasn't any mention of it here, palmistry is probably also related to this embodied thinking.

5.4.2 A LIFETIME IS A DAY

"কেলেই আহিলা য়ুরন-কুমলীয়া।

দেখি মৰম লাগিল মোৰ।

এই নো দুপৰীয়া, য়ুরন-কুমলীয়া !

লোৱাহি প্ৰেমৰে জুৰ ॥" AP-E4

The singer asks his lover (or the stage of youth) why it has come at noon. He then says this is the time to relax in the coolness of love. (AP-E4) In 'AP-E3', the singer asks his lover why she has come in at noontime, as he cannot talk to her now. It is time for his bamboo weaving, or basketry and hers for weaving. In these samples, the time of love is seen as noon. In the folk's minds, this may mean the stage of young adulthood. Also seen in 'AP-G7'.

"ই তিনি পৰীয়া দলৌ কাণে মাৰি,

ছকুৰি কুকুৰাৰ ভাৰ ।

জনমে জনমে শুজিব নোৱাৰো

থুৰিয়া তামোলৰ ধাৰ ॥" AP-N20

In the afternoon, the singer carries the weight of one hundred and twenty chickens on a bamboo pole over his shoulder. He believes he can never (in many births) repay the debt of betel quids she gave him. (AP-N20) When he talks about repaying the debt in later life, it infers that he does not have enough time to repay in this life. This is mapped with the time of the day, which is the afternoon. (see **Figure 5-10**)

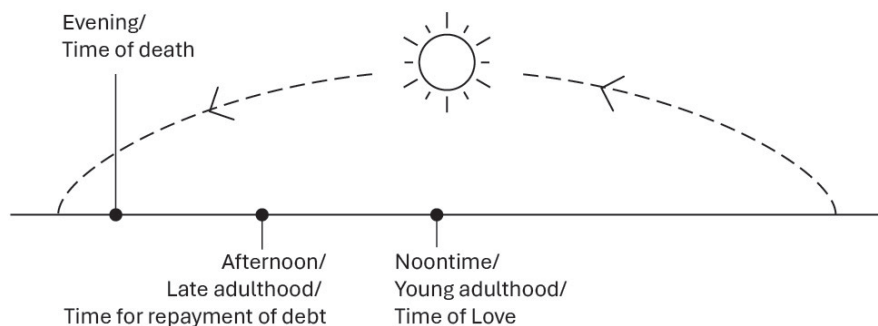


Figure 5-10 Image schema of A LIFE IS A DAY metaphor

"পদূলি পদূলি মই ফুরো গধূলি,
বাঘে খায় ঘোঙে খায় থক।
নেৰো মই নেৰো মই সৰুটি কলিজা,
যায় যদি দেহাটি যক।।" AP-D3

Here, the male lover roams in the evening, probably due to the restlessness of love. He refuses to abandon his beloved and does not care if a tiger or clouded leopard kills him. (AP-D3) Here, the evening time is related to the time of death. This need not be a natural death due to old age.

It is to be noted that the average adult life expectancy of the period might influence this mapping. A person in their twenties in those times may feel like half of their life is over, hence mapping that to noon.

5.4.3 Vision and Seeing

In a previously discussed sample, "F-E15", the female lover working on the handloom and constantly checking the road for her lover is associated with a baby elephant eating grass, extending its trunk. Here, her gaze towards the road is seen as touching, like the extended trunk of the elephant. This complies with the metaphor SEEING IS TOUCHING. This metaphor is also in action when two lovers look at each other and their eyes 'meet', i.e. touch. (AP-M1) A blue beetle flying above and its shadow falling on the plains (AP-C8, AP-L9) is also an example of this. Here, a shadow is seen as touch and a dream, providing the metaphor DREAMS ARE SHADOWS. The nature of dreams is that they feel real but are not exactly real. In the mind of the folk poets, shadows are also like that. They are like variations of the actual object, here a blue beetle. (See **Figure 5-11(a)**).

In 'F-G3', the singer sends her vision (*sai pothiyalo*, Assamese: চাই পঠিয়ালো) to the flower garden, same in 'AP-B15' where the singer sends his vision to the tip of the

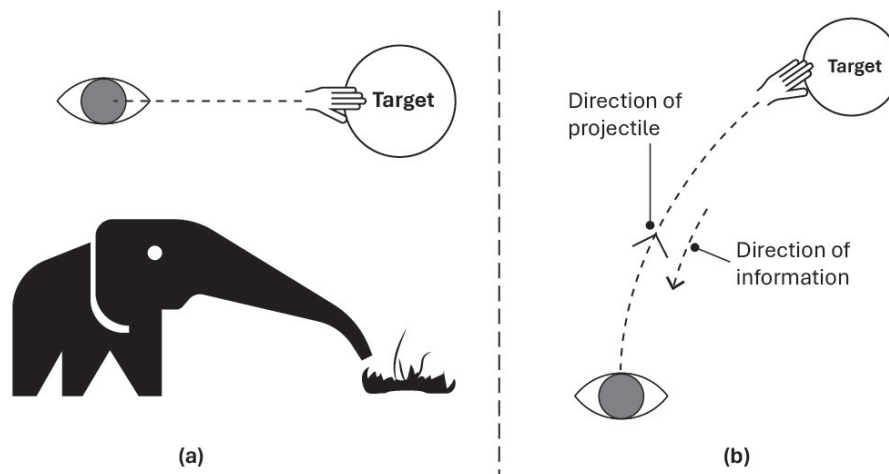


Figure 5-11 Image schema of (a) SEEING IS TOUCHING, and (b) VISION IS A PROJECTILE

bamboo plant. In both these examples, vision can be seen as a projectile that one can send in one direction or location. Upon reaching the target, the projectile touches it, and the information is transmitted back to the observer. See **Figure 5-11(b)**.

5.4.4 SOUND IS A PROJECTILE

Similar to vision, some sounds are also seen as projectiles. A whistle or similar sounds are seen as projectiles. (F-C11, F-C20, F-E1) Other times, spoken words are also seen as projectiles, like flying wood chips while chopping firewood in 'AP-K12' and sap of banana stem splashes while cutting in 'AP-E5'. In both cases, the unintentional or hurtful words are seen as uncontrolled projectiles, which, upon impact, may hurt the hearer.

5.4.5 Others

Time is generally seen as a moving object, where the observer is static. (F-G19, AP-I10, AP-M20, etc.) But time as static and observer moving is also seen. (AP-D7) Internal strength is seen as external support that one ties around the waist. (F-G7) The **threads** in the loom are related to the **hair**, which **tangles** a lot, and **weaving to picking lice**. (F-D8) Having a **co-wife** is related to doing a **difficult** task. (F-D13, F-B17) **Birds** are seen as **messengers** who bring the news of the lover. (AP-A13) The mild heat of the sun is related to affection. (F-F20, F-G20).

The restlessness of the body due to not being able to see the lover is also associated with a boat. Using the culturally unique metaphor **BODY IS A BOAT**; the singer explains that **restlessness** is like going upstream and downstream. This is similar to doing forward and backwards movement while walking, but travel by water is so easily understood and prominent in the culture that it can be used as a source domain. The added instability of water, then being on foot, might enhance the metaphor. (F-E3, F-E6)

The process of rusting on iron is understood as rust eating the iron. (AP-O19) We can possibly categorise it as a complex **CHEMICAL PROCESS** that IS AN **OBSERVABLE BIOLOGICAL PROCESS**.

The complete list of all the metaphors is provided in Appendix A.

5.5 EMOTIONS

In the previous sections of this current chapter, we have discussed the categorization and mental structuring of various ideas in the space of bihu. Here, we will discuss the mappings related to emotions. The chapter will not discuss all the metaphors related to emotions mapped in the corpus. We will focus more on metaphors that show unique regional examples. For example, if intense emotions are mapped to the domain of heat, we will focus on the heat source, usually showing regional thought processes. These give us the culturally unique perspectives of otherwise universal conceptual metaphors.

5.5.1 Love

As bihu songs of the wilderness are songs of love, everything in these songs is connected to the emotion of love in some way or another. Here, we will only dwell upon some selected themes that, in our view, use culturally unique examples.

From the singer's perspective, the difficulties in love are associated with other seemingly difficult jobs, like cutting an abnormally large tree (F-B8) or making a Tolotha, a circular beam in a handloom which must have been very difficult without modern tools (F-B12, F-B13, F-B15), or using a large dragnet for fishing (F-B12), or fishing for particularly difficult to catch fishes (F-B13, F-B15). This can be seen as the metaphor **LOVE IS A DIFFICULT JOB**. In some ways, this metaphor overlaps with the metaphor **LOVE IS A QUEST**. Examples are Climbing Creepers, Climbing Hills, Taming Elephants, etc. (AP-F13). Related to this metaphor, the singer also sees

love as a garden he has prepared carefully. The flowers of the garden are also seen as a love relationship. (AP-N1, F-H7)

The extra effort a lover must put into the love relationship is seen in the following examples. A woman making double-fried flattened rice (F-E18), cleaning the veins of the betel leaf such that it looks like weaving flowers (F-G13), or making an effort to weave a handkerchief (F-B18), or cleaning cotton from cotton pods (F-F9). We can name this as LOVE IS EFFORT. Naturally, this metaphor is not very different from the LOVE IS A DIFFICULT JOB metaphor. Perhaps in some situations, they are interchangeable.

We also find the theme where love is seen as a duty for the young. Like in the caste system of Hinduism, there are different duties prescribed to different castes; the singer mentions that the youth should also "do love" at that age. (AP-F1) This gives us the metaphor LOVE IS A DUTY. Another similar example is found in 'AP-M17', where the singer mentions not being able to stop doing love as it is a habit, giving us the metaphor LOVE IS A HABIT. This is also related to the metaphor, LOVE IS ADDICTION. Here, the addiction to women and love is related to the addiction to alcohol. (AP-F17)

In the summer's heat or noontime, love is seen as the coolness (like the feeling of a breeze under a tree) and a cooling draught that remedies the lover's heat/passion. (F-A8, AP-E4, AP-H17)

Some examples of LOVE IS A HUNT are as follows: a male lover captured in a net (AP-B13) catching fish, (AP-I1) a male lover as a hunter like a fox hunting ducklings, (AP-F15) multiple ways of catching fish as multiple ways of enticing women, (AP-K18) or pouncing (AP-M15).

Love is also seen as a PRECIOUS POSSESSION. (AP-D11)

Other than these, love is also seen as a drug (discussed later), a feeder, a lamp, a journey, a mistake, a rope, a story, a union, an action, a doll, caring, sharing companionship, consumption, physical closeness, togetherness, distraction, flying, magic, madness, a poison, restlessness, shyness, stupidity, wealth, an undoing etc.

5.5.1.1 Difficulties in Love

These songs are as much of grief and separation as they are of love and union. The yin and yang of life and love are replicated in these songs beautifully. Here, I have divided the difficulties into two themes. The first theme is related to the obstruction to love caused by people around the lovers. Here, these people are termed as antagonists of love. The second theme deals with other obstructions where a person is not directly seen as responsible. We have called this section Impediments in Love.

5.5.1.1.1. Antagonist of Love

Table 5.8 Instances of the metaphor ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE

Source	Target	SN
Backbiter	Antagonist of Love	AP-L15, AP-N18
Calamity of Life	Lover	AP-J21
Enemy	Antagonist of Love	AP-L16, AP-L9
Enemy For Life	Lover	AP-K6, AP-L18, AP-M1, F-H5, F-H6
Mortal Enemy with Bow and Arrow	Antagonist of Love	AP-F10
	Father of the Female	AP-G17
	Lover	
One Deserving Hell	Lover	AP-M3

Here, the singers, sometimes with reason and sometimes unreasonably, blame a second or third person for the failures in the love relationship. Often, his or her beloved is termed an enemy or an enemy for life due to his/her non-reciprocation of love. Sometimes, the person is also called a calamity of life. Some other times, the level of enmity is depicted with an enemy with a bow and arrow and hiding nearby. Also, when the love relationship between the lovers suffers or breaks down, it is seen as the work of a backbiter who has filled the ears of the female lover.

5.5.1.1.2. Impediments in Love

Table 5.9 Instances of metaphors related to impediments in love

Metaphor	Target domain	SN
IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE IMPEDIMENTS IN EATING	Impediments In Eating the Fruit	AP-O9
IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE MAGICAL IMPEDIMENTS	Magical Impediments	AP-L8
IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE PHYSICAL IMPEDIMENTS	Entrance Gate as Barrier	AP-I18
	Long Distances	AP-J16, AP-J4, AP-K1, AP-K2

River	F-C15
Thorns	AP-L18
Thorns in road	AP-D6

In 'AP-O9', the singer plants a banana with no seed in his compound, but somehow it turns out to be a different species of banana with seeds. Mapping plants or fruits to women shows that the banana seeds in banana consumption are like impediments in their love relationship. In 'AP-L8', the singer blames someone for feeding his beloved some magic potion without her knowledge, making her talk to him harshly.

Related to the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, the impediments in the journey are seen as the impediments in the love relationship. In 'AP-I18', the entrance gate of the female lover's house is seen as a barrier between their love. In the case of distance as a barrier, places like Sadiya, Kaliyabor, Jorhat, etc., are mentioned; from the singer's point of view, these are seen as distant lands. Other times, the rivers are seen as unbridgeable barriers dividing lovers. Thorns on plants or the road are seen as impediments to achieving the journey.

Sometimes, difficulties in love are believed to be the retribution of the sins of lovers' past lives. (AP-O6, AP-O5)

5.5.2 Love, Drugs and Betel Quid Chewing

Betel nut chewing, betel quid or areca nut chewing involves consuming areca nuts with slaked lime and betel leaves for their stimulant effects, primarily due to the psychoactive compound arecoline. This practice is common in South and Southeast Asian countries. ("Betel-Quid and Areca-Nut Chewing and Some Areca-Nut Derived Nitrosamines,," 2004)

In Assamese culture, the significance of betel nut and leaf is paramount. They permeate every aspect of social life, from festive occasions to everyday hospitality. The offering of a betel quid is a gesture of respect and reconciliation, often used to seek forgiveness or mend strained relationships.

Betel quid also plays a central role in courtship and marriage rituals. It is considered a symbol of love and affection. In many Assamese homes, the new bride and groom are told to keep a silver betel nut (or a green betel nut instead) while visiting other homes. Young women often express their romantic interest by discreetly offering

their admirers a betel quid wrapped in a silk handkerchief.

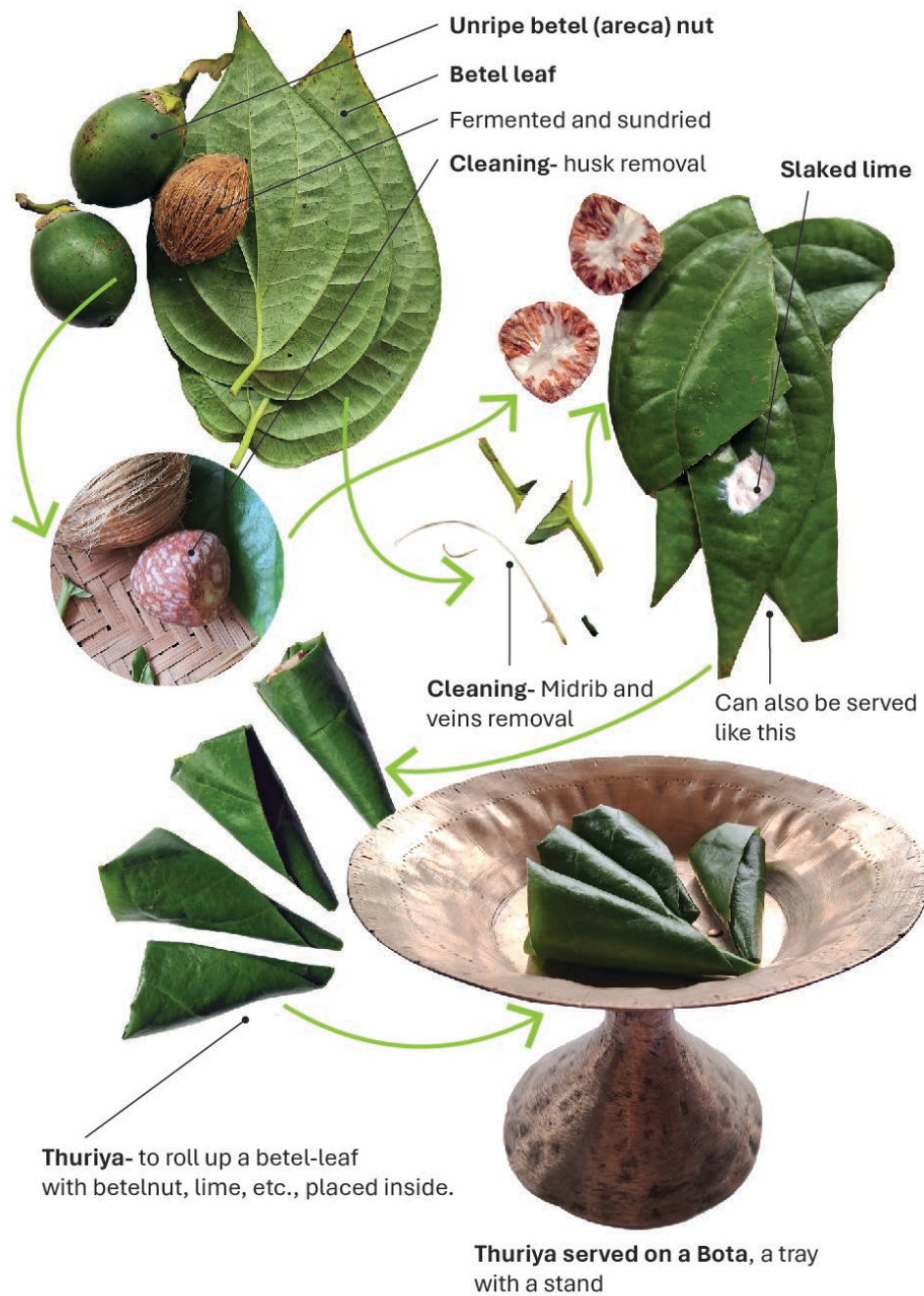


Figure 5-12 A betel quid preparation process and serving

The power of betel quid in romantic relationships is undeniable. Once someone has received a betel quid from another, the memory of that gesture can be deeply enduring, even for the most hardened hearts. Young men often carry betel quid wrapped in their Gamosa (Assamese traditional cloth) tied in the waist. Women, in turn, desire to receive such a token from their admirers, creating a mutual exchange

of romantic sentiment. Young men also desire the same. (Tokendra Nath Chetiapator, 1951, pp. 7–13)

Bihu songs capture a large volume of social interactions around betel nut chewing. From the nuts and leaves growing in the plants to their procurement, their preparation and consumption are mapped in the songs. The social practices regarding offering and sharing are also on record. Then, the aftereffects of betel quid chewing are related to love and friendship. Below, we will discuss these concerning individual samples from the corpus.

Table 5.10 Metaphorical instances of betel quid chewing

Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	SN
BETEL QUID CHEWING	Betel Quid Accepted Before	Debt	AP-N20
	Not Offering Betel Quid	Rejection of Love	AP-N3
	Offering Betel Quid	Expression of Love	AP-A3, AP-B10, AP-B11, AP-G18, F-B20, F-G14, F-G16, F-G17, AP-C9, AP-C17
		Hospitality	AP-G9, AP-O20
		Invitation for Ceremony	AP-O15
	Offering Betel Quid with Cloves	Expression of Love	AP-L12
	Offering Small Piece of Betel Nut	Misery	AP-F5
	Sharing Betel Quid	Hospitality	AP-L17
		Romantic Commitment	AP-N19, F-F6
	Sharing Betel Quid with Another Person	Romantically Committing to Someone Else	AP-G11, AP-H13, F-G1
Throwing Away Betel Quid	Rejection of Love	AP-J7, F-F2	
LOVE IS A DRUG	Betel Quid Chewing	Madly In Love	AP-I3
		Falling in Love Together	AP-H19, AP-I18
	Betel Quid with Elephant Musth	Madly In Love	AP-C13
	Sharing Betel Quid	Falling in Love Together	AP-J12

5.5.2.1 Expression of Love

"নই দেখি লাগিলে পানীৰে পিয়াইটি,
তোমাক দেখি লাগিলে দয়া ।

হাতৰ কটা তামোল হাতত মৰহিলে,

নহ'লা নিজৰে গঞা ॥" AP-A3

"উজনি মাৰিলো নামনি শুকালে,
চেঙেলি পৰিলে তল।

মুঠিৰ কটা তামোল মুঠিতে শুকালে,

দিবলৈ নাপালো চল ॥" F-G14

The male lover sees a river and feels thirsty; he sees his beloved and feels pity. He prepared a betel quid for his lover, which dried in his palms. Because of this, the female lover could not become his family. (AP-P3) Or the female lover pictures the drying of the water body like this: she travelled upstream, the downstream (lower lands) dried up, causing Assamese snakehead fish to be visible (in mud). The betel quid in her fist, dried up as she did not get to give this to her lover. (F-G14)

In both these samples, the theme of emotional dryness is prominent, using the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS. The man wanting to drink some water shows his emotions, and the woman mentioning that the water bodies have dried up shows the lack of emotions or lack of opportunity for her to be attached to the emotion of love. When a lover offers the other lover a betel quid, it is conceptually associated with them forming a love bond. Hence, in the first example, the female lover could not become a member of his family, as the betel quid could not be delivered. The dryness of the betel quid and the dryness of the water bodies map the lack of emotional bonding.

ইৰিণা বিৰিণা গোহাঁইৰে লিগিৰা

ৰঙাকৈ বিচনি লই।

কঁকালৰ গামোচা কৰে তিৰবিৰ,

তামোলখনি দি যোৱা ৰই ॥ F-G17

Here, a young woman singer teases the helper of a minister of the Ahom kingdom, describing his appearance. She highlights the red-coloured hand fan he's carrying and the shining Gamosa tied to the waist. She asks to wait for a bit and give her a betel quid. (F-G17) Gamosa is usually white, red, or a combination of both. Here, the red colour can probably be inferred. Red is the colour of passion, and betel quid chewing

also produces a reddish extract to be spat out. This also stains the teeth, lips and mouth with a red hue. Combining the imagery of red-coloured items and cultural associations with betel quid chewing here means that the lady demands the man of love.

কিনো তামোলখনি দিলি, ঐ মইনা !

দুখনি হাতেৰে ল'লো ।

সেই তামোলখনি খাবৰে-এপৰা,

তোমাৰ লগত বলিয়া হ'লো ॥ AP-B10

Here, the male lover accepts and consumes a betel quid that his beloved offers. After consuming the betel quid, he has become mad with her. The madness of his can be associated with the stimulant and narcotic effects of betel quid chewing on the brain.

তামোলটি কাটিলো, দুখনি কৰিলো,

ৰংপুৰ বজাৰৰ পাণ।

পথাৰে পথাৰে বিচাৰি ফুৰিলো,

ক'তে দাই আছিলি ধান ॥ AP-C17

Here, the male lover brings betel leaf from the Rangpur market, showing the speciality of the item or the effort, he has put in. He cuts the betel nut into two pieces and looks for his lover in the paddy fields. (AP-C17) His wanting to offer the betel quid to his lover shows the expression of his love. Cutting the nut into two pieces shows the lovers as a union of two complementary objects, here, two pieces of the same object.

If a lover offers the betel quid with extra ingredients like clove, extra effort has been put into the preparation of the quid and in the love relationship. (AP-L12)

5.5.2.2 Rejection of/ in Love

"যাওঁ বেগে ধৰি, ভৰি যায় পিছলি,

বদতি মুখেৰে আলি।

কিনো নিদাৰুণে হ'লি, ঐ লাহৰী !

তামোল কাটি অকলে খালি ॥" AP-N3

The male singer expresses the inner turmoil here. He says that his feet slip when he walks fast on the road. He accuses his beloved of being heartless as she ate betel quid by herself and did not offer him. Here, not offering the betel quid to the lover is seen as not taking the necessary step in the journey of love.

In 'F-F2', the female lover tosses away a pouch containing betel quids (thuriya) in anger. This can also be seen as a rejection of love. This may infer that the singer wanted to share the betel quid with her beloved and hence kept it in the carrying pouch; being unable to do so makes her angry.

5.5.2.3 Hospitality

"হাবিত নামে গালো, দদায়ে শুনিলে,
ঘৰতো নিদিয়া ঠাই।
দুবৰি বনতে ইমানটি হ'লোহি,
লোকৰ কটা তামোল খাই।।"

Here, the singer talks about his uncle removing him from his home because he sings bihu songs in the woods. The uncle sees them as immoral songs. Because of that, he grew up on other people's courtyards, eating betel quid provided by them. (AP-G9) This shows the use of betel quid in Assamese hospitality. This also implies that those other people have provided him with food to survive, betel quid just being a complement.

Sometimes, the female lover shares a betel quid with another person, which can be seen as a hospitality gesture. But the male singer terms the person as an enemy. Her sharing the betel quid with the person and not with the male lover means accepting the enemy's words. (AP-L17)

In one sample, when the father-in-law of the male lover cuts a betel nut into excessively small pieces, he is called a miser as he is not hospitable enough. (AP-F5)

5.5.2.4 Romantic Commitment to Others

"উজাই নাওৰীয়া বালিত ভাত খালে,
কুজা হৈ বোটলে ছুৱা।
তোমাৰে ঘৰতে কৈ থৈ আহিছে,
লোকৰ নাভাঙিবা গুৱা।।" AP-G11

Here, the male lover explicitly asks the female lover not to offer betel quid or to show hospitality to another man coming to her house, as it would mean her romantically committing to that person. In this case, the singer evokes the imagery of an upstream travelling boatman bending down and picking leftover food on the bank of the river. Thus, her being committed to someone else is inferred as her being leftover food for him.

But the female lover is also not such subservient. She mentions that she dresses herself by wearing a *mekbela* like her elder sister and makes a bun like her mother. She then meets a young man at her house, whom she offers betel quid. She tells her lover that the young man is also like him, thus hinting that the man is his competition. (F-G1)

5.5.2.5 LOVE IS A DRUG

Across many cultures, love is seen as a drug due to its similarities. Human love is a powerful emotion, bringing euphoria and a strong attraction to a partner. Its psychology mirrors drug addiction, from initial encounters to withdrawal. Research indicates that the same neurochemical systems involved in addiction also play roles in social attachment. (Burkett & Young, 2012; Insel, 2003)

Here in Assam, it takes the form of betel quid chewing. In a constantly occurring theme, Betel nut chewing is compared to being in love. Betel quid chewing quickly causes palpitation, sweating, warmth, and alertness within 2-6 minutes due to rapid absorption, mainly through the oral cavity. Effects vary by habit and dose; occasional users feel stronger effects than habitual ones. The consumption of one or two quids mainly activates sympathetic activation, while more triggers parasympathetic responses. (N. S. Chu, 2002; N.-S. Chu, 2001) These reactions or symptoms relate to being in love in the folk psyche.

"হাতীৰে হীমেজু খুৱালা, লাহৰী!
খুৰিয়া তোমোলত ঘাঁহি।
যেতিয়া তোমালৈ মনত পৰি যাব
কাল্দো চাৰি-পাচিত বহি।।"

Here, the male lover accuses his beloved of feeding him a betel quid laced with elephant musth (the fluid flowing from the temples of an elephant in a rut). This has made him accept the properties of the mad male elephant. In this song, the combination of betel quid, which has drug-like properties, with the elephant's musth increases the effect. This also shows the use of the metaphor LOVE IS MADNESS.

The effect of betel quid chewing is also related to one's lover mixing a love potion with the betel quid. Upon consumption, the person feels restless pain in his body; even jumping into the water will not improve it. (AP-I3) The heightening of the side effects of betel quid chewing is focused here as one's use of a love spell or potion.

জাকৈ খালে খালে বাবি ঐ লাহৰী !
 জাকৈ খালে খালে বাবি।
 বিৰিণাৰ তলতে তামোল থৈ আহিছো ,
 হেৰা পালো বুলি খাবি।। AP-H19

In this song, the male singer asks his lover to consume the betel quid he has hidden under the Khus grass under the pretext of going to fish. Even though in this scenario, the lovers do not meet face to face, consuming the betel quid given by the other shows both being in love or sharing a similar drugged state.

In 'AP-J12', the female lover makes three betel quids. To share this, the male lover wanders in the paddy field, looking for her. The number of betel quids can be random to fit the rhyme. But this can also mean the ideal amount to feel the desired sensations. This also seems possible because betel quid chewing is seen as a unit in other contexts in Assamese culture; for example, a short to medium walkable distance is called a "distance enough to eat one betel quid".

5.5.3 Fire and Heat

In this section, multiple emotions, all using the domain of heat and fire as sources, will be discussed collectively. The following table maps the emotions connected to the domain of fire and heat.

Table 5.11 Metaphorical instances of emotions relating to fire and heat source domains

Target domain	Source	SN
Anger	Fire	AP-H16
Desire	Blisters from Sun Exposure	AP-N7
	Burning on the Body	AP-B3, AP-C6
	Fire Inside Body	AP-N11
	Firewood	AP-N9
	Ripe Chili	AP-H20
Grief	Burning From Chilies and Pepper	F-H12
	Fire Inside Body	AP-C15, AP-N2
	Fire on Body	AP-I20, F-H18, F-H20
	Intermittent Fever	AP-N8
	Living Breathing Fire	AP-M11, AP-N12

Anger is simply mapped with fire in one sample. No specification or description in terms of the source is given.

5.5.3.1 Desire

Desires, on the other hand, showcase multiple specific sources. In one sample, the male singer complains about having to herd cattle in the sun's heat, which has also caused him blisters on his skin. Hence, he demands that his peers bring his beloved before him. (AP-N7) In 'AP-B3' and 'AP-C6', the singer complains about feeling a burning sensation when he sees his lover but cannot attain her. In 'AP-N11', he sees a lotus dancing in the lake, symbolising his lover. Seeing this, he feels a fire of love burning inside his body.

In 'AP-N9', the male singer wonders how to split a mango trunk to make firewood, and how to make a fire with it, symbolising strong desire in the mind.

5.5.3.2 Grief

The body also burns when a person feels intense grief or agony. In 'F-H12', the lover's grief in love is like the burning from chilli and black pepper. In "AP-N2, AP-C15, AP-I20, F-H18, and F-H20", the grief is like fire on or inside the body. This may stem from regrettable past decisions, not being able to see the lover, not understanding love, not being able to sleep with thoughts of the lover, etc. In 'AP-N8', the grief in him is comparable to an intermittent fever while on the boat, and a burning fire in his chest.

5.5.3.3 Lust

Table 5.12 Metaphorical instances of lust

Target Domain	Source	SN
Lust	Female Lover as Matchstick	AP-E11
	Fire In Body	F-H9
	Fire on Body, Mustard Seeds Popping	AP-D4
	Firewood	F-G5
	Fuel for Fire	F-H14
	Heat From Chilli	F-G2
	Heat From Edi Cloth in Winters	AP-M15
	Heat of Six Layers of Clothes	F-G9
	Heat of Summer	F-E5
	Heat of the Sun in Summer	F-E4
Requiring Cooling Draught	F-F10	

In 'AP-E11', the male singer compares his wife to matchsticks, which symbolically ignites the fire of lust in him. In 'F-C19', the specific type of burning is also mentioned. The female singer sees the tortoises laying eggs on the riverbank,

symbolising sexual maturity. After seeing her lover on the water collection spot of the river, a fire is burning on her body, its heat equivalent to mustard seeds popping in a hot pan.

In 'F-G5', the singer associates a group of girls with elephant grass reeds used as firewood. When the singer calls one, all four come out, like the reeds, four coming with one. The explicit use of the term firewood, not just reeds, symbolises a theme of lust. In 'AP-M15' and 'F-G9', the heat from the layer/s of clothes is mapped with physical touch and lust. Other times, the heat of the summer sun is mapped with lust. In this heat, the singer wants to eat her lover like a cucumber or a musk melon to cool down her lust. (F-E5) Alternatively, she wants to be eaten as mangoes or jackfruits by a male hoolock gibbon (her lover). (F-E5)

In 'F-H14', the singer mentions burning a lamp for the entirety of the night. Then, she relates this to her desire to pour herself over her beloved. In 'F-F10', the singer becomes dizzy in lust and wants to go to her lover's place and drink a cooling draught.

5.6 Others

Grief is also understood as the combination of inability to do a thing/work, inability to eat, inability to stay normal, physical loss, physical pain, separation of lovers, etc.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored a range of regionally embedded metaphors associated with abstract ideas and emotions, understood as integral elements of Assamese intangible cultural heritage. While the metaphors themselves—such as IDEAS ARE FOOD or LOVE IS A DRUG—are often universal or near-universal in scope, their specific instantiations within the cultural framework of Assam provide unique insights into local cognitive and symbolic systems.

For instance, the metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD is illustrated through culturally specific imagery, such as a bird perched on a granary roof consuming fruit or seeds—symbolising the internalisation of a thought or memory, particularly one associated with a lover. In this context, the act of regurgitation, a known behaviour in some bird species, becomes a metaphor for the return of an internalised idea to consciousness. The human body is conceptualised as a container wherein the idea—like food—is stored, and its reappearance in the mind mirrors the physical return of digested

matter to the mouth. Variants of this metaphor appear with other animals, such as cows or bulls, reinforcing the metaphorical mapping between consumption and cognitive processes.

Another example involves a baby elephant extending its trunk toward tender grass, which is metaphorically linked to a female lover gazing down a road in anticipation of her beloved. Here, SEEING IS TOUCHING, and reaching for the grass becomes a metaphor for gathering information through observation. The metaphor continues through the stages of grasping and consuming the grass, representing the acquisition and acceptance of an idea or impression. The choice of a baby elephant, rather than a mature one, aligns with earlier themes from Chapter 4, where youth and innocence are idealized in potential partners.

Emotions are also encoded in regionally specific metaphors. The concept of love, for example, is metaphorically understood across cultures as an intoxicating or altered state. In Assamese culture, this metaphor is localised through the symbolic importance of betel quid (a mixture of betel nut and leaf), which connotes affection, hospitality, and social bonding. This association is so deeply embedded that even visual motifs referencing betel quid have become culturally meaningful, independent of the actual act of consumption.

Figure 5-13 (a) (next page) demonstrates this motif in use on an invitation card for a religious ceremony, where betel nuts and leaves are partially visible beneath a Gamosa—a traditional Assamese cloth—placed on a Xorai, a ceremonial tray. The Xorai, typically made of bell metal, is a symbolic vessel for offerings and is never traditionally presented empty. While modern practices include gifting the Xorai as a memento, the absence of content in visual depictions can lead to misinterpretation. In **Figure 5-13** (b), The motif appears on an award certificate, but the contents beneath the Gamosa are not visible, potentially leading to ambiguity in its intended cultural message. Although the act of covering with a Gamosa may imply the presence of something in there, and from cultural expectations, it is probably betel nut/s.

The Gamosa, when used alone atop the Xorai, may either serve as a symbolic cover or, when given and placed on the receiver's shoulders, as a gift (with respect) itself. Additional elements, such as banana leaf tips, are sometimes used as protective



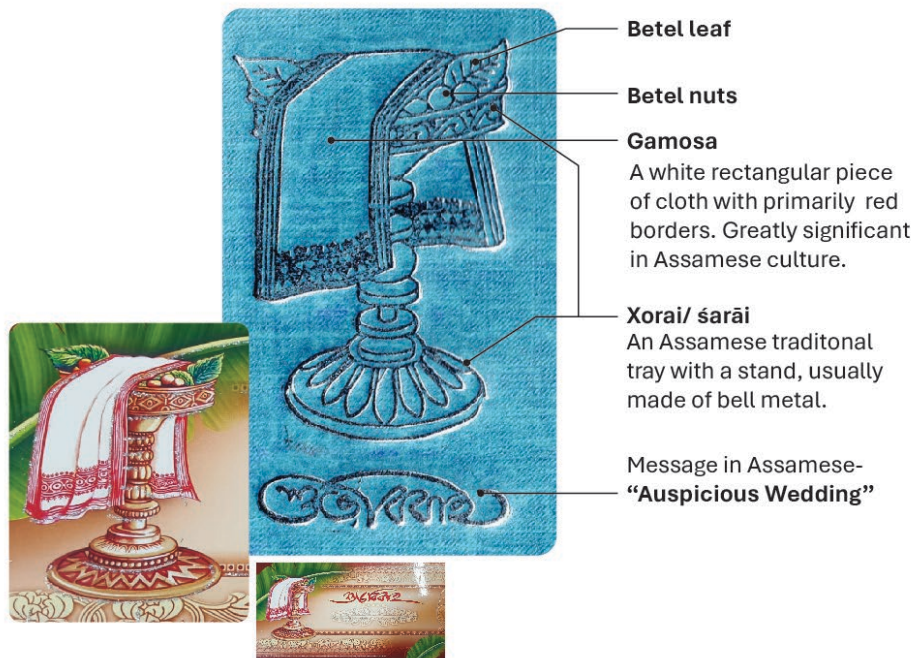
Figure 5-13 Use of betel nuts and leaves as a motif in Assamese (a) Invitation for religious ceremonies, (b) Award certificate

coverings for the offerings, further enriching the metaphorical meaning of concealment and safeguarding the presented object. It also seems probable that the Indian/Assamese habit of placing a cover on top of many things, such as tables, TVs, fridges, etc., maybe not only for the practical need to deter dust but also for the

behavioural need, practised through history, to put a cover for protection, even when there is no dust.

The Xorai also operates as a metaphor for social hierarchy. Its height is associated with elevated status (HIGH STATUS IS UP), and the intricacy of its craftsmanship contributes to perceptions of social value. Similarly, floral patterns on the Gamosa reflect hierarchical significance—greater intricacy suggesting higher cultural value.

Figure 5-14 (a) presents another instance of metaphorical motifs in a wedding invitation card, where two distinct visual representations—a coloured drawing and a line drawing—are employed. However, a deviation from cultural accuracy is observed: three betel nuts are depicted, which contradicts the traditional use of



(a)

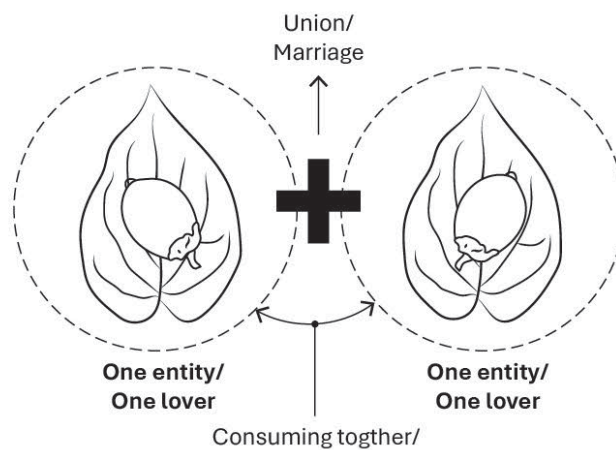


Figure 5-14 (a) Motif of betel nut and leaf on an Assamese wedding invitation card, **(b)** Schematic diagram of the motif signifying the lovers

paired elements in wedding symbolism. In Assamese culture, a pair of betel nuts and leaves represents a romantic union; each pair symbolises one married couple. This misrepresentation highlights a lack of cultural understanding or an error in design intention. The appropriate representation (two pairs of betel nuts and leaves presented physically as a wedding invitation) is explicitly mentioned in their the following sample of Biyanaam (Assamese folk wedding song).

"যোৰা পাণ তামোলে নিমন্ত্ৰণ জনালে,
আজি আইদেউৰ বিয়া;
উদুলি-মুদুলি লাগিল ঘৰেখনি,
অতিথি নভৰা ৰতা ।"

The song loosely translates into this-
"With a pair of betel nuts and leaves, the invitation was given,
Today is Aideo's (a respectable address for a girl) wedding;
The house is bustling,
There is no more space in the pandal for guests."

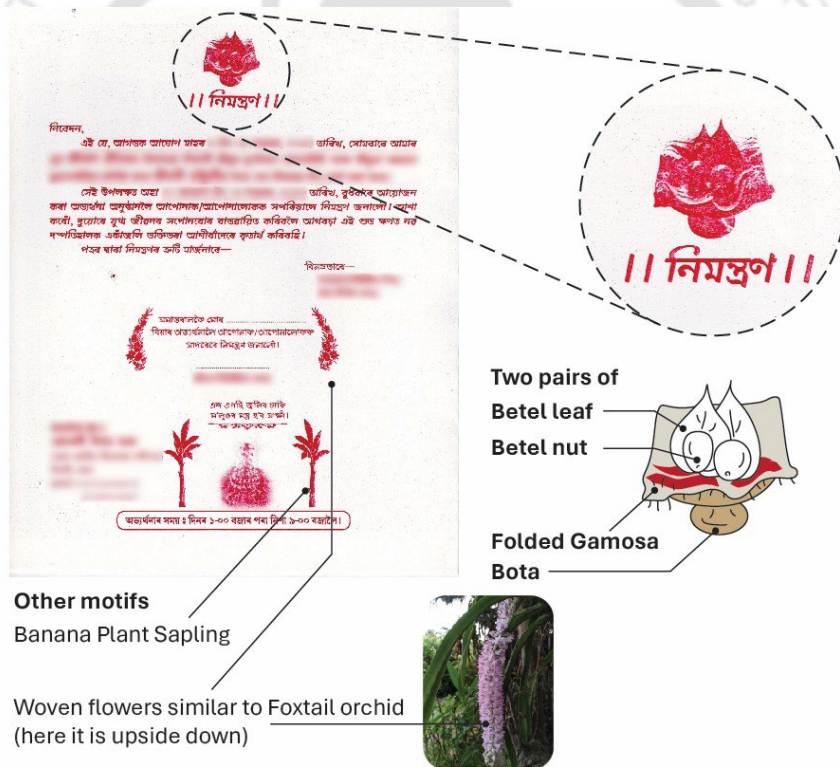


Figure 5-15 Assamese wedding invitation card with representation of motifs

Conversely, **Figure 5-15** correctly portrays this motif, featuring two pairs of betel nuts and leaves placed atop a folded Gamosa on a Bota, another traditional offering vessel. This card also incorporates additional culturally significant motifs: the Foxtail Orchid (*Rhynchosytilis retusa*), traditionally brought by male lovers during Bihu, and banana saplings, which metaphorically represent the betrothed couple using the metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS.

The specific use of *Musa balbisiana* (Bhim Kal or Athiya Kal) banana plants carries symbolic weight due to their robust physical characteristics and reproductive symbolism, highlighting both fertility and resilience. These plants reproduce through suckers, symbolising lineage continuity. This reproductive metaphor aligns with cultural rituals such as Tuloni Biya, a puberty ceremony where a girl is symbolically wed to a banana tree. (Kundu, 2023) In this ritual, the banana tree stands for the future husband, further reinforcing the metaphorical mapping of people as plants.

The motif persists in contemporary settings as well. In **Figure 5-16**, two banana saplings decorate the groom's vehicle during a wedding, symbolising the couple's union. The same motif, when expanded to four saplings, as seen in **Figure 5-17** is used in religious congregations to signify community or societal gatherings. This suggests that visual metaphorical representations are consistent with verbal metaphors found in folk songs and deeply embedded within Assamese material culture.



Figure 5-16 A snippet from an Assamese Hindu wedding. Here, the people from the bride's side greet the groom's people seated in the car.



Figure 5-17 An Assamese religious congregation

In conclusion, this chapter demonstrates that metaphorical thought in Assamese folk culture is conceptual and embodied, manifesting across verbal and visual media. The examples examined reveal that metaphor is not confined to linguistic expression alone but extends into material culture, where objects, motifs, and rituals encode complex cognitive and emotional associations. These insights underscore the importance of culturally informed interpretation in design and communication, particularly when adapting traditional motifs into contemporary visual forms. Misrepresentation, as illustrated in some visual samples, can lead to cultural distortion and miscommunication. Therefore, a nuanced understanding of metaphorical mappings and their cultural underpinnings is essential for preserving the integrity and meaning of intangible cultural heritage.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This research was motivated by the observed gap between design practice and the deep understanding of intangible cultural dimensions, particularly within rich oral traditions like Assam's Bihu songs (Bihugeet). While existing scholarship has explored Bihu from historical and sociocultural perspectives, a significant need remains for an analysis that translates the underlying cultural conceptual structures into knowledge intuitively usable for designers aiming for cultural sensitivity. Consequently, this study aimed to elucidate the underlying conceptual framework shaping the culture surrounding Bihu by analysing conceptual metaphors in Bonghokha (folk Bihu) songs, specifically to inform culturally sensitive design practices. This chapter synthesizes the key findings, discusses their implications, acknowledges limitations, and proposes directions for future research.

6.2 Summary of Key Findings

The thematic analysis of conceptual metaphors within the selected corpus of Bonghokha songs revealed a complex and deeply contextualized Assamese conceptual framework. Key findings include:

- **Dominant Conceptual Metaphors:** The study identified prevalent metaphors such as PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, used extensively to understand human characteristics, behaviour, and particularly the relationship between lovers through analogies with local flora and fauna. Other significant metaphors included those relating ideas and emotions to tangible experiences (IDEAS ARE FOOD/HIDDEN OBJECTS, WORDS ARE THREADS/VINES/WEAPONS, SEEING IS TOUCHING, EMOTIONAL PAIN IS PHYSICAL PAIN from thorns/claws), and metaphors structuring social interaction and fate (FRIENDSHIP/LOVE IS BETEL QUID CHEWING, FATE IS WRITTEN/WOVEN (by God)).
- **Core Cultural Themes:** These metaphors collectively structure key themes central to the Bihu context, including:
 - 1) The profound connection between human life/emotions and the natural environment (spring, plants, animals).

- 2) Expressions of love, intimacy, longing, and the pain of separation, often using metaphors of consumption, physical closeness (creepers), or physical pain (thorns).
 - 3) Gendered perspectives, revealed through associations (plants with women, varying animal associations for men/women) and possession metaphors (captive birds).
 - 4) Cultural practices and beliefs, such as the significance of betel quid in social bonding and relationships, beliefs about fate and the forehead, and potentially echoes of Tantric heritage in offerings and symbolism.
- **Unique Conceptual Framework Elements:** The analysis highlighted culturally specific mappings, such as the negative connotation of downstream journeys and the particular ways abstract concepts like ideas, vision, and acceptance are grounded in tangible or embodied experiences distinct to the Assamese context.

6.3 Discussion of Findings and Research Questions

1. **(RQ1: How does analysing conceptual metaphors reveal the underlying framework?)** The analysis demonstrated that identifying dominant metaphors such as PEOPLE ARE PLANTS/ANIMALS, etc. and interpreting their use within the Bihu songs effectively reveals core cultural concepts (views on nature, love, fate), significant themes (intimacy, separation, social bonding), and the underlying cognitive framework associating abstract experiences with the tangible, embodied world of rural Assam.
2. **(RQ2: How can this framework inform design strategies?)** The elucidated framework offers concrete insights for designers. For instance, understanding that betel quid (chewing) symbolises acceptance and bonding provides direct input for designing culturally appropriate invitations, packaging, or social interaction platforms in Assam. Recognising the deep connection to specific flora/fauna can inform visual language and product semantics. Awareness of culturally specific negative connotations (e.g., downstream journey) helps avoid inadvertent negative messaging. The study highlights that using cultural motifs without understanding their underlying conceptual metaphors can lead to inappropriate designs.
3. **(RQ3: What methodological approach can designers use?)** This research demonstrated the viability of using Conceptual Metaphor Theory, primarily

implemented through Deductive Thematic Analysis (supported by Content Analysis), as a methodological approach for designers to systematically analyse oral intangible cultural heritage. This approach allows for both leveraging existing theoretical knowledge (CMT) and discovering culturally specific, emergent patterns within the data itself.

6.4 Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis contributes to knowledge in several key areas:

- **Theoretical:** It provides an empirical application of Conceptual Metaphor Theory within the specific context of Assamese oral folk traditions (Bihu songs), illustrating mechanisms of metaphor variation and the importance of complex, culturally situated metaphors.
- **Methodological:** It presents and validates a combined qualitative approach (CMT-informed DTA/CA) suitable for design researchers seeking to extract deep cultural insights from intangible heritage, bridging linguistic analysis and design thinking.
- **Empirical:** It offers the first known systematic analysis of the conceptual mappings (based on CMT) within this corpus of Bonghokha songs, creating a structured database of metaphors and themes that documents a significant aspect of Assamese cultural and cognitive heritage.
- **Practical (Design & Heritage Preservation):** It translates complex cultural understandings into a more accessible format for designers, providing a foundation for more culturally sensitive design practices. Furthermore, creating a new context of use (design research and application) contributes to this intangible cultural heritage's ongoing relevance and potential preservation.

6.5 Implications of the Study

The findings hold implications beyond the immediate research scope:

- **For Design:** This study advocates incorporating linguistic and cognitive analysis methods into design research and education to achieve deeper cultural understanding, moving beyond surface-level aesthetics or intuition. It

provides a concrete example of how such methods can yield actionable insights.

- **For Cultural Studies:** It offers a detailed snapshot of the worldview embedded in a specific, historically significant layer of Assamese folk culture, potentially informing studies on Assamese identity, gender representation in folklore, and the evolution of cultural expressions.
- **For ICH Preservation:** Demonstrating a practical application (in design) for understanding intangible heritage like Bihu songs provides a contemporary rationale for their study and preservation efforts.

6.6 Limitations of the Study

This research acknowledges the following limitations:

- **Corpus Scope:** The analysis was based on a historical corpus of 480 songs. While significant, it may not represent the entirety of Bihu folk song traditions, potentially limiting the completeness of the identified framework.
- **Song vs poems:** In this study, the Bihu songs were treated as poems for the purpose of analysis. This approach inevitably led to losing certain performative elements intrinsic to their musical form, such as tonal nuances, vocal textures, and layered intentions.
- **Interpretive Nature:** The identification and interpretation of metaphors inherently involve a degree of subjectivity, influenced by the researcher's cultural and linguistic knowledge, despite efforts towards systematic analysis and contextual validation through dictionaries and informal interviews.
- **Frequency vs. Significance:** While frequency counts were noted at times, the study recognises that a metaphor's cultural impact or importance may not correlate directly with its frequency in the corpus.
- **Translation:** Nuances may be lost in describing and analysing Assamese concepts and metaphors in English.

6.7 Recommendations for Future Research

Building upon this study, future research could

- Expand the analysis to include a broader range of Bihu song samples, including more contemporary variations, to trace potential shifts in the conceptual framework over time.

- Extend the conceptual metaphor analysis to other forms of Assamese intangible and tangible culture related to Bihu (e.g., dance forms, rituals, visual motifs, material culture) to build a more holistic understanding.
- Develop the resulting database of Assamese conceptual mappings further, potentially covering broader aspects of the culture beyond Bihu, creating a comprehensive resource for designers, researchers, educators, and creative practitioners.
- Conduct empirical design studies to test the effectiveness of applying the identified conceptual framework in creating culturally resonant designs and evaluate user responses.
- Undertake comparative analyses of conceptual metaphors across different cultural groups within Assam or Northeast India.

6.8 Concluding Remarks

This thesis sought to bridge the gap between the rich, intangible heritage embedded in Assamese Bihu songs and the practical needs of culturally sensitive design. The study successfully elucidated a significant portion of the underlying conceptual framework shaping Assamese culture as expressed in this vital folk tradition by applying conceptual metaphor theory, primarily through thematic analysis. The research demonstrated that metaphors are not mere linguistic devices but windows into culturally specific ways of thinking and feeling, offering invaluable, actionable insights for designers. It underscores the potential of rigorous, culturally attuned analysis of oral traditions to inform design practices that are aesthetically pleasing, deeply resonant and respectful of the cultures they engage with.

6.9 Coda: Illustrative Examples

- **Illustrative Application- Concept Generation Framework:** A hypothetical concept generation process for a design product is presented below to illustrate a potential application of this study's findings.

Hypothetical Design Brief: The Assam Police Department requires a new design for an outdoor hat for traffic police personnel. A key requirement is that the design draws inspiration from Assamese culture.

Figure 6-1 illustrates a schematic framework for concept generation utilising the database of conceptual associations derived from the Bihu song analysis conducted in this research. A designer could query this database based on

desired parameters, such as specific materials, intended emotional responses, or functional attributes. The system would return relevant conceptual associations (metaphorical mappings) from Assamese folk culture. Appropriate or promising mappings identified during this initial search could be selected for further consideration. Multiple selected mappings might be synthesised or combined through an iterative process to generate novel design concepts. Alternatively, the search and selection process can be repeated using different parameters or exploring alternative mappings. Significantly, the database also includes identified negative cultural

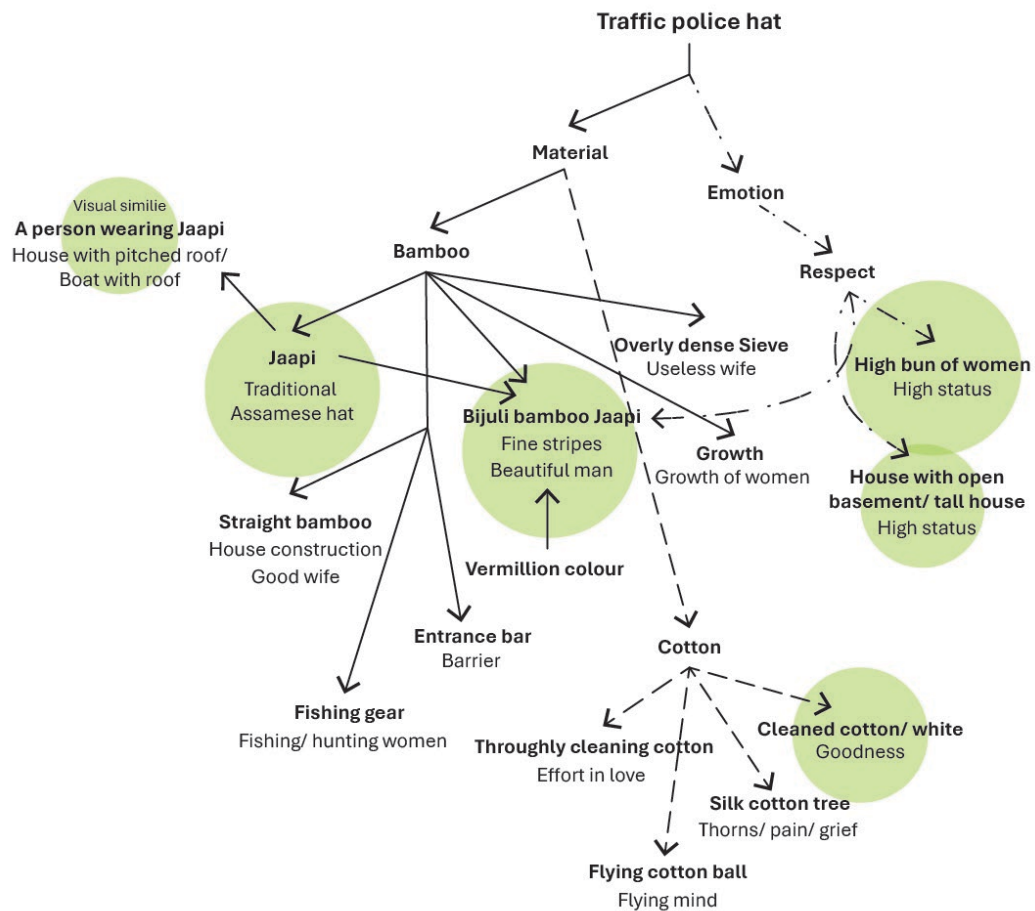


Figure 6-1 Schematic diagram of conceptual mappings and their links- for concept generation of a traffic police hat design

associations, enabling designers to consciously avoid conceptual mappings that might lead to culturally inappropriate or negatively perceived designs, thereby enhancing potential user acceptance.

- **Adapting Folk Metaphors for Design:** The conceptual metaphors identified within the folk tradition (Bihu songs) can be adapted or translated by designers into various media. For instance, the conceptual metaphor

HEART IS A RICE POUNDER (identified in the corpus as F-H1) could be visually interpreted by juxtaposing or superimposing imagery of a traditional Assamese rice pounder (*dheki*) onto a representation of the human chest

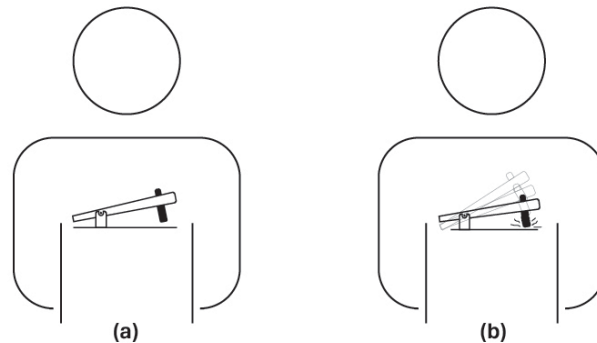


Figure 6-2 Pictorial translation of HEART IS A RICE POUNDER

Figure 6-2 (a). In audio-visual media, this metaphor could be employed by synchronising the visual representation of an anxious individual with the low-pitched, resonant sound characteristic of a rice pounder in operation. This leverages the cross-modal mapping where auditory pitch correlates with perceived verticality and resonance within the body (Shayan et al., 2011). The efficacy of such metaphorical representations might be further enhanced by including temporal elements, such as illustrating the pounder's dynamic impact and resulting vibrations, as suggested in **Figure 6-2 (b)**. However, as noted by (Borgohain & Barua, 2025), translating metaphors across modalities requires careful consideration, as the primary sensory modality of the source metaphor (in this case, potentially auditory and kinaesthetic) influences the effectiveness of its representation in a different medium, like static visuals.

-----the end-----

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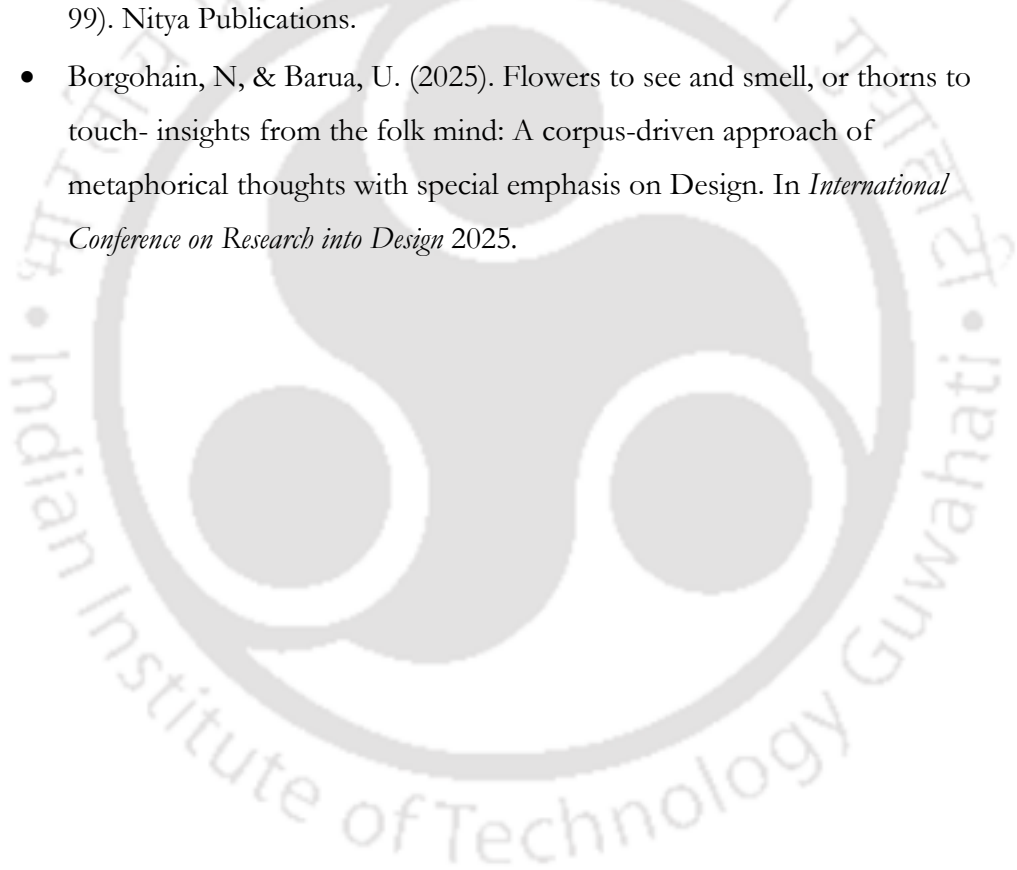
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List of Publications

Conference proceedings:

- Borgohain, N., Barua, U., & Madhukailya, M. (2023, January). When Designing for a Culture: Folk Literary Metaphors in Design Anthropology. In *International Conference on Research into Design* (pp. 137-146). Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore.
- Borgohain, N., & Barua, U. (2023). Beauty, touch, and pain: Metaphorical mappings of the folk mind – A corpus-driven approach. In D. Kumar, R. Sahni, & R. K. Vidhate (Eds.), *Insights, Inclusions & Innovations – I3* (pp. 94–99). Nitya Publications.
- Borgohain, N., & Barua, U. (2025). Flowers to see and smell, or thorns to touch- insights from the folk mind: A corpus-driven approach of metaphorical thoughts with special emphasis on Design. In *International Conference on Research into Design 2025*.



Appendix A: Conceptual Mappings of Bihu Songs

Coding of the Bihu songs according to conceptual mappings between source and target domain with local variations.



SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
	প্রণতি	Pronoti	Greetings				
AP-1	প্রথমে প্রণমো দেৱী সৰস্বতী, দ্বিতীয় প্রণমো হৰি । তৃতীয় প্রণমো গাঁৱৰ বুঢ়া-মেথা, ধৰি যাওঁ নামৰে গুৰি ॥	Prothome pronmoo dewi saraswati, Dwitiya pronamo hori; Tritiy pronmoo gawor bura-metha, Dhori jao namre guri.	The first prayer is dedicated to the goddess Saraswati, the second to the god Hari, and the third to the elders of the village. Then, the lead singer will orchestrate.	WORDS ARE BOATS	Controlling A Boat	Controlling The Flow of Songs	One singer is the leader, he takes control of how everything goes, much like the person controlling the boat (not paddling).
AP-2	নামৰে কঠীয়া ঈশ্বৰে দিছিলে, ব্ৰহ্মায়ে চৰজা নাম । বেয়া নাম ওলালে খেমিবা সদৌৱে, পোনতে পিৰিতি গাম ॥	Namre kothiya ishore disile, Brohmaye choroja nam; Beya nam olale khemibaa sadauwe, Ponate piriti gam.	The concept of songs was bestowed by God in the form of paddy seedlings. The singers seek forgiveness in advance, as they will be performing songs of love.	IDEAS ARE SEEDLINGS	Paddy Seedlings	Ideas	The idea of songs were given by the God in the form of paddy seedlings
AP-3	ছাগৰ চাল ছেলাবৰ ডবুৱা কটাৰি, পহুৰ ছাল ছেলাবৰ মিত । গাঁৱৰ বুঢ়া-মেথা দায় নধৰিবা, গাই যাম বতৰৰ গীত ॥	Sagor chal chelabor doboowa kotari, Pohur sal chelabor mit; Gawor bura-metha day nodhoribaa, Gai jam botoror git.	To skin a goat, a specific type of knife is required; to skin a deer, another type of knife is needed. The singers ask for forgiveness beforehand and will sing songs of the season, which are about love.	(APPROPRIATE) SONGS OF SEASON ARE APPROPRIATE (PROCESS)	Correct Process To Do Something	(Appropriate) Songs Of Season	
AP-4	আই সৰস্বতী মাৰে পাৰেৱতী, তোমালৈ বান্ধি যাওঁ শৰাই । পাহৰা পদকে সোঁৱৰাই দি যাবা, যেনে পাঁজিকটা শলাই ॥	Aai saraswati mawe parewotee, Tumaloi bandhi jaon sharai; Pahora podke soworai di jaba, Jene pajikota shalaa.	Offerings are being presented to the mother goddesses Saraswati and Parvati. In return, the singers have requested to get reminded the forgotten songs, much like threads are spun from cotton pods.	WORDS ARE THREADS	Threads	Songs	
AP-5	আই সৰস্বতী, ৰংফুল মালতী, তোমালৈ মানি যাওঁ পাৰ । পাহৰা নামকে সোঁৱৰণ কৰিবা, যেনে উজনীয়া নাৰ ॥	Aai saraswati, rongful malotee, Tumaloi mani jaon par; Pahora namke soworon karibaa, Jene ujoniya nar.	To the mother goddess Saraswati, Maloti flowers and (white) pigeons have been offered. In return, the singers ask her to remind them of songs like "Upstream Swimming Naro Fish."	GOODNESS IS WHITENESS	White Objects	Offerings	Colour white is offered to Goddess Saraswati. Maloti flower is white, Paro/Pigeon can be of many colours, but often white ones are used for offerings.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				REMEMBERING IS SWIMMING UPSTREAM	Swimming Upstream	Remembering	Goddess Saraswati is being asked to remind verses that were forgotten by the singers. This is comparable to Naro fish swimming upstream. Maybe if words stay in the body container, and remembering is coming close to mouth/brain, which means upward journey.
AP-6	আই সৰস্বতী, বংফুল সেউতী তোমালৈ মানি যাওঁ চিতল। পাহৰা নামকে সোঁৱৰণ কৰিবা ডিঙি কৰি যাবা শীতল ॥	Aai saraswati, rongful seuti Tumaloi mani jaon sital; Pahora namke soworon karibaa Dingi kari jaba sheetal.	To the mother goddess Saraswati, Seuti flowers (<i>Rosa moschata</i>) and Chitala (<i>Chitala chitala</i>) fish have been offered. In return, the singers have requested her to help them remember the songs and keep their throats cool.	GOODNESS IS WHITENESS	White Objects	Offerings	Goddess Saraswati is being asked to remind verses that were forgotten by the singers in return of the offering of white flowers. Chitala is also comparatively white fish.
				THROAT OF A PERSON IS CHITALA FISH	Texture Of Chitala Fish Skin	Texture Of Throat, Singing	The chitala fish is quite smooth in shape and texture, which maps the smoothness of voice/ throat.
				THROAT OF A PERSON IS CHITALA FISH	Temperature Of Chitala Fish	Temperature Of Throat	Fish are cold-blooded animals. The coldness of the fish is mapped to coolness of the throat while singing.
AP-7	আই সৰস্বতী, বংফুল তগৰী, তোমালৈ মানি যাওঁ চাউল। পাহৰা নামকে সোঁৱৰণ কৰিবা, গীতৰ ভাঙি যাবা আউল ॥	Aai saraswati, rongful togori, Tumaloi mani jaon saul; Pahora namke soworon karibaa, Gitor vangi jaba aaul.	To the mother goddess Saraswati, Tagari (tagar) flowers and rice have been offered. In return, the singers are asking her to help them untangle the songs.	GOODNESS IS WHITENESS	White Objects	Offerings	Goddess Saraswati is offered Cape jasmine, and rice in offerings. Both are white in colour.
				WORDS ARE THREADS	Threads	Words	As threads can be tangled, words/verses can also get tangled.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-8	আই সৰস্বতী, বংফুল খৰিকা, তোমালৈ মানি যাওঁ পিঠা। পাহৰা নামকে সোঁৱৰণ কৰিবা যেনে পাঁজিকটা সূতা।।	Aai saraswati, rongful khorika, Tumaloi mani jaon pitha; Pahora namke soworon karibaa Jene pajikota suta.	To the mother goddess Saraswati, offerings of Kharika (Kharikajai) flowers and rice flour have been made. In return, the singers have requested her to help them remember the songs, just as threads are spun from cotton pods.	GOODNESS IS WHITENESS	White Objects	Offerings	Goddess Saraswati is offered Wild jasmine, and rice flour in offerings. Both are white in colour.
				WORDS ARE THREADS	Threads	Words	Singing a verse is like spinning thread from a roll of cotton.
AP-9	আই সৰস্বতী, বংফুল বকুলী, তোমালৈ মানি যাওঁ কি। তোমালৈ মানি যাওঁ শুকুলা ছাগলী, মাহে-পৰেসাদে দি।।	Aai saraswati, rongful bokuli, Tumaloi mani jaon ki: Tumaloi mani jaon shukula saglee, Mahe-poresade di.	To the Mother Goddess Saraswati, Bakuli (Bakul) flowers and white goat are offered along with pulses.	GOODNESS IS WHITENESS	White Objects	Offerings	Goddess Saraswati is offered Mimus opsengli, which is white in colour and a white goat.
AP-10	আই সৰস্বতী, দেৱী পাৰেৱতী তোমাকে বুলি যাওঁ আই। বতৰৰ গীতকে আমি গাই যামে, দি যাবা মনতে পেলাই।।	Aai saraswati, dewi parewotee Tumake buli jaon aai: Botoror gitke ami gai jame, Di jaba manate pelai.	Goddess Saraswati and Goddess Parvati are referred to as mothers. In return, the deity is asked by the singers to be reminded the songs of the season.				
	পূৰ্বৰাগ (প্ৰেম প্ৰণয়ৰ পাতনি)	Purbaraag	Beginning of love				
AP-A1	নামৰো আছিলো ঘাই, তই বান্ধে ঐ! গীতৰো আছিলো ঘাই। নামো পাহৰিলো গীতো পাহৰিলো, তোমাৰে বাতৰি পাই।।	Namaro aasilo ghai, toi bandhoi oi! Gitaro aasilo ghai. Namo pahorilo gito pahorilo, Tumare batori pai.	Upon hearing her news, he forgets every song and verse, despite being the best at it.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO WORK	Inability To Do A Thing	Grief In Love	
AP-A2	তোমাৰে মুখনি পূৰ্ণিমাৰ জোনে যেন সুৱলা তোমাৰে মাত। তাঁতৰে শালতে দেখিবৰে পৰা পেটলৈ যোৱা নাই ভাত।।	Tumare mukhoni purnimar jone jen Suwala tumare mat; Tatore shaalote dekhibore pora Petloi jowa nai bhat.	Her face resembles the full moon, and her voice is as smooth as silk. Ever since he glimpsed her at the handloom, he has lost his appetite.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO EAT	Inability To Eat	Grief In Love	
				LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Full Moon	Female Lover	Like the full moon.
AP-A3	নই দেখি লাগিলে পানীৰে পিয়াহীট, তোমাক দেখি লাগিলে দয়া। হাতৰ কটা তামোল হাতত মৰহিলে, নহ'লা নিজৰে গঞা।।	Noi dekhi lagile panire piiti, Tumak dekhi lagile daya; Hator kota tamol hatot marahile, Noh'la nijore goya.	He experienced thirst as he gazed at the river; and he experienced pity as he looked at her. Unable to offer her betel nut which shrivelled in his palm, he realized she could never become part of his family.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Expression of Love	Love gives the same sensations betel chewing gives.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-A4	মাটিত বহি থেৰেজু লেখোঁ, ঐ লাহৰী ! পাটিত বহি থেৰেজু লেখোঁ । তোৰ ঘৰ সিপাৰে, মোৰ ঘৰ ইপাৰে, ৰাতি সমাজিকত দেখো ॥	Matit bohi thereju lekhn, oi lahari! Patit bohi thereju lekhn; Tor ghor sipare, mor ghor ipare, Rati somajikot dekho.	He counts the Thereju (<i>Docynia indica</i>), sitting here and there. Her house is on the other bank; he sees her in his dreams.	IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVER ARE PHYSICAL IMPEDIMENTS	Geographical Barriers	Barriers In Love	Lovers homes are separated (by a water body) and he sees (can only see) her in his dreams.
AP-A5	তোমালৈ চাই চাই চকু দুটি বিষালে, থিয় হই বিষালে ভৰি । কোনজন ঈশ্বৰে তোমাক চৰজিলে মৰম নাইকিয়া কৰি ॥	Tumaloi chai chai choku duti bikhale, Thiy hoi bikhale bhari; Konjon ishore tumak chorojile Maram naikia kari.	As he gazed at his lover, his eyes began to ache, felt pain in his feet standing up (for long duration). Which god could have created her devoid of any love?	GOD IS A CREATOR	Creator	God	God has created his lover with no love.
AP-A6	জেতা পিন্ধিবলৈ লাগে লাগে-বিজে, সাজি লঙ কঁঠালৰ খৰম । তোমাৰে কপালত বিধি ফুল বাচিলে, দেখি মোৰ লাগিলে মৰম ॥	Jota pindhiboloi lage laje-bije, Saji lau kodhalor khorom; Tumare kapalot bidhi ful bachile, Dekhi mor lagile maram.	He shies away from wearing shoes, opting instead to craft wooden sandals from the jackfruit tree. He falls in love, captivated by the divine artistry of flowers woven into his lover's forehead.	GOD IS A WEAVER	A Weaver	God	God has made his lover like a skilful weaver would make floral patterns by weaving.
AP-A7	চকুৱে চকুৱে কি চাৱ, মইনা ! মই চালে তলমূৰ কৰ । তই নউ মাতোতে মাতিব পাৰো মই, জানোচা কেটেৰা মাৰ ॥	Chokuwe chokuwe ki chawa, moina! Moi chale tolmur kar: Toi no matote matib paro moi, Janocaa ketera mar.	His lover looks down when their eyes meet. He can call her before she calls, but he fears the sting of her harsh words.	WORDS ARE WEAPONS	Weapons	Words	Harsh words are like a strike that can inflict pain to others.
AP-A8	চৰাই মনোমতী, মনকে মুহিলা কোটাৰি বেঙেনাৰ তলত । কিনো মোহনিৰে আমাৰ মন মুহিলা, থাকিব নোৱাৰো ঘৰত ॥	Chorai manomati, manke muhili Kotahi bengonar tolot; Kino mohanire amar mon muhili, Thakib nuwaro ghorot.	A beautiful bird (his lover) has captured his heart beneath the Kotahi Bengena plant (horse nettle plant). The allure of his lover has enchanted him so deeply that he cannot bear to stay at home.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bird	Female Lover	Lady lover is a like bird of male lover's choice.
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL DISTRESS	Pain from the Spikes of the Horse Nettle Tree	Grief	The experience of early stage love is like going near/under the Horse nettle tree. One gets stung by its spikes.
AP-A9	উজাই নাৱৰীয়াই বালিত ভাতে খালে, গচকি পুতিলে ছুৱা । কিনো দায়ে-জগৰ লগালো, চেনেহী, নেদেখো গধূলি-পুৱা ॥	Ujai naworiyai balit bhate khale, Gachaki putile suwa; Kino daye-jogor lagalo, senehee, Nedekho godhuli-puwa.	The boatman moving upstream had eaten rice on the riverbank and buried the leftovers under the sand. What offense did he commit, for which he does not see her morning or evening?	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Objects	People	The boatman burying the leftover food under the sands, becomes invisible; similarly male lover is unable to see his love. Object not visible is person not visible.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Physical Touch	Transfer Of Properties	<i>Loga</i> (লগা) means to touch. Here the expression is <i>daay loga</i> (দায় লগা), dictionary meaning of which is to offend, but can be read as to touch with offence.
AP-A10	হাললই লিখিলে মোকে, ঐ লাহৰী! কোৰলৈ লিখিলে মোক! চাৰি আঙুল কপালখন বিধাতাই লিখিলে তেলই নিলিখিলে মোক ॥	Halloi likhile moke, oi lahori! Korloi likhile mok! Sari aangul kapalkhon bidhatai likhile Tuloi nilikhile mok.	God has destined him to plough and to hoe. He has been given a broad (four finger wide) forehead, but not a lover.	LIFE IS A PLAY	Play	Life	God is the writer of the play, and people are characters in the play.
AP-A11	নলনিত কান্দিলে হেঁতুলুকা চৰাইটি হেঁতুলুক কৰিলে বনত। হাতৰ বনে সৰি গুণনি ধৰেহি ধনৰ কথা পৰিলে মনত ॥	Nolonit kandile hetuluka choraiti Hetuluka karile bonot; Hator bone sari gunoni dhorehi Dhonor katha porile manat.	In the grassland and the woods, the Hetuluka bird has cried. When thoughts of a lover arise, the task slips from his hands.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO WORK	Inability To Work	Grief In Love	When the lover remembers his counterpart, he becomes anxious and becomes unable to work.
AP-A12	আৰ্ছিৰ কনুৱা গণ, ঐ লাহৰী! আৰ্ছিৰ কনুৱা গণ। ৰাখিব পাৰো মই হাতৰ পানীচলু, ৰাখিব নোৱাৰো মন ॥	Aarsir konoowa gon, oi lahori! Aarsir konoowa gon; Rakhib paro moi hator panisolu, Rakhib nuwaro mon.	The singer utters Kanua (Woolly-necked Stork). He then says that he can hold water in his palm, but cannot hold his mind.	MIND IS WATER	Water	Mind	
AP-A13	উঁৰ গল কনুৱা, কৈ গল বাতাৰ চেনাই কোনে হাতে আছে। বৰঘৰৰ মুখেতে চেনাইৰ তাঁতশালে, বহি গুটিফুল বাচে ॥	Uri go'la konoowa, koi go'la batori Senai kone hate aase; Borghoror mudhote senair tathale, Bohi gutiful bache.	Kanua bird took flight and provided directions of his beloved, who is busy weaving flowers on the loom by her home.	BIRDS ARE MESSENGERS	Messengers	Birds	The woolly-necked Stork gives directions.
				DIRECTIONS ARE HANDS	Hands	Directions	On which hand (way) is my lover?
AP-A14	সলগুৰি বাগিচা অননি-বননি, তাতো নবহিলে মন। সুমলাৰ তাঁতশাল সোণাপুৰ নগৰখন তাতো বহি গল মন ॥	Salagubi bagisa ononi-bononi, Tato nobohile mon; Sumlar tathal sunapur nogorkhon Tate bohi go'la mon.	The Salaguri tea garden felt like a jungle to him, and he couldn't find peace there. On the other hand, Sumala's handloom in Sonapur town was where his mind truly sat (felt) at home.	EMOTIONAL STABILITY IS CONTACT WITH THE GROUND	Contact With The Ground	Emotional Stability	(Mon boh- Mind sit) means that one's mind has sat down and is now emotionally comfortable.
AP-A15	পানী পাই বাঢ়িলে পানীৰে কল-মৌ, তেল পাই বাঢ়িলে চুলি। যৌৱন পাই বাঢ়িলে আমাৰ প্ৰাণেশ্বৰী, যেনে ৰামেকলৰ পুলি ॥	Pani pai barile panire kal-mau, Tel pai barile suli; Joubon pai barile amar praneshori, Jene ramekolor puli.	Water spinach thrives with ample water, hair flourishes with nourishing oil. His lover blossoms like a robust banana plant of the variety Ramkal.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Banana- Ramkal	Female Lover	Growth of people is like the growth of plants.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Water Spinach (Apomoea Aquatica)	Female Lover	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				PEOPLE ARE LIVING ORGANISMS	Living Organisms	People	Like hair it grows.
				STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Locations	States	When the lover steps into youth, she grows like a banana seedling.
AP-A16	ম'হতকৈ মোহনি নাই লগৰীয়া ! ম'হতকৈ মোহনি নাই । তাতেকৈ মোহনি শহুৰৰ জীয়েক ঐ, নেদেখি তৰণি নাই ॥	Ma'hotkoi mohani nai lagariya! Ma'hotkoi mohani nai; Tatukoi mohani shahuror jiyek oi, Nedekhi toroni nai.	Nothing rivals the beauty of a water buffalo. Yet, the daughter of his father-in-law surpasses even the buffaloes in her allure. And there is no escape without seeing.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Buffalo	Female Lover	Farmers love their cattle a lot. Buffalows are beautiful, but not as beautiful as the his lover.
AP-A17	দিনৰে দিনটো ফুৰো অনাই-বনাই, পেটত নাইকিয়া ভাত । নাখাই চাৰি সাজি থাকিব পাৰো মই শুনিলে মোৰ ধনৰ মাত ॥	Dinore dinto furo onai-bonai, Petot naikia bhat; Nakhai sari saji thakib paro Moi shunile mor dhonor mat.	The lover, who has spent the entire day without food, can easily forgo four meals upon hearing their beloved's voice.				
AP-A18	নৈৰে শুরনি গঙাকৈ চলনী, পৰ্বতৰ শুরনি মিৰি । ঘৰৰে শুরনি ঘৰৰ বুঢ়া-মেথা, পাটিৰে শুরনি তিৰী ॥	Noire shuwani gongakoi chilni, Porbatar shuwani miri; Ghorore shuwani ghoror bura-metha, Patire shuwani tiree.	The Indian river tern is beautiful in the river, the Miri people are beautiful in the hills, elderly people are beautiful at home, and a ladylove is beautiful in bed.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Indian River Tern (Sterna Aurantia)	People	River and bed is the location. Indian river tern looks good in river and wife on bed.
AP-A19	নৈৰ ঘুৰণীয়া ডবক্, ঐ লাহৰী ! নৈৰ ঘুৰণীয়া ডবক্ । ফুলচ'তি লগায়ে বৰঘৰ সাজিলো, মোৰ ধন নাইকিয়া লগত ॥	Noir ghuronea dobok, oi lahuri ! Noir ghuronea dobok; Fuls'ti lagaye borghor sajilo, Mor dhon naikia lagat.	The singer mentions a part of round river that does not increase or decrease (probably a horseshoe lake). He built his house with minor tie beams (better than average house), but he does not have his lover to live with.				
AP-A20	ৰিবে ৰিবে কৰি বতাহজাকি মাৰিলে, উৰি গ'ল চোতালৰ ধূলি । তোমাৰ পদূলিলৈ কৰো অহা-যোৱা, মতা ম'হ হেৰালে বুলি ॥	Ribe ribe kari botahjaki marile, Uri go'la sotalor dhuli; Tumar poduliloi karo oha-jowa, Mota ma'ho herale buli.	The wind has softly swept through, carrying away the dust from the courtyard. Under the guise of searching for his male buffalo, he frequently visits his lover's gate.				
AP-B1	কেলেই ফুলালি, ৰূপহী মদাৰ ঐ ! কেলেই পেলালি কলি । গুৰুতো নালাগে ভকততো নালাগে, থাক তলে ভৰি সৰি ॥	Kelei fulili, ruphi madar oi! Kelei pelali koli; Guruto nalage bhokotto nalage, Thak tole bhari sari .	Why has the Madar flower bloomed, and why has it thrown (produced) a bud? It is not needed for the Guru or the Bhakata; it should remain on the ground.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Indian Coral Tree (Erythrina Variiegata)	Female Lover	Madar is beautiful when it flowers and buds, but is not used for any kind of offerings. Female lover is like that, beautiful but useless.

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AP-B2	ঘৰতো নপৰে মন, সমনীয়া ! পথাৰত নপৰে মন । কমোৱা তুলাবোৰ যেনেকৈ উৰিছে, তেনেকৈ উৰিব মন ॥	Ghorto nopore mon, somoniya! Potharot nopore mon; Comuwa tulabor jenekoi urise, Tenekoi uribor mon.	The mind neither 'falls' (settles) at home nor falls in the fields. It yearns to soar like the silk cotton pods drifting through the air.	MIND IS A MOVING OBJECT	In Flight Cotton Ball	Mind/Desire	A flying silk cotton ball does not have any control over its flight. The singers mind also fly away like this, because his cannot focus on the work of home, or paddy field.
AP-B3	তোমাৰ বাৰীত ফুলিলে ইন্দ্ৰজিত মালতী, আমাৰ বাৰীত পৰিলে ছাঁ । ফুলৰে গোক পাই ষ'বকে নোৱাৰো, দেই-পুৰি মাৰিছে গা ॥	Tumar barit fuile indrojtit malotee, Amar barit porile sa; Fulore gondh pai r'boke nuwaro, Dei-puri marise ga.	In the lover's compound, the Indrajit Maloti flower has bloomed, casting a shadow over the singer's domain. He cannot resist the fragrance, and his body burns with longing.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Indrajit Maloti	Female Lover	
				SHADOW IS TOUCH	Touch	Shadows, Unfulfilled Desires	The shadow casted by the plant on singer's side of land is seen as extended form of touch.
				INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Burning in the Body	Desire	
AP-B4	কাৰ আগত কই যাম দুখৰ কথাষাৰি, কোনে পাতি যাব কাপ । চকুত নাই টোপনি, তোমালৈ চিতনি, দেহালৈ পৰিছে টান ॥	Kar agot kai jam dukhor kathasari, Kone pati jab kan; Chokut nai tuponi, tumaloi sitoni, Dehaloi porise tan.	To whom can he confide his sadness? Who will lend an ear? No sleep in his eyes, thoughts of his lover, and his body is not well.	GRIEF IS PHYSICAL DISTRESS	Physical Distress	Sadness	
AP-B5	বকুল-বৰা ধানৰ আখে ভাজিছিলো, ছপোৱা গাখীৰৰ দৈ । তুমি যে নহ'লে খাবকে নোৱাৰো, থাকো মই আগতে লৈ ॥	Bokul-bora dhanor akhoi bhajisilo, Sapowa gakhiror doi; Tumi je noh'le khaboke nuwaro, Thako moi agote loi.	The singer prepared fried puffed Bokul-Bora rice to be enjoyed with high-quality curd. However, the singer cannot partake in it unless the lover is present.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO EAT	Inability To Eat	Longingness	Even though great food is available, he/she can't eat it.
				LOVE IS TOGETHERNESS	Togetherness	Love	
AP-B6	মইনা লৰি মৰে পানীয়ে পানীয়ে, মই লৰি মৰো বামে । চকুৰে পানীৰে দুগাল তিতি গ'লে, কপাল তিতি গলে ঘামে ॥	Moina lari more paniye paniye, Moi lari maro bame; Chokure panire dugal titi go'le, Kapal titi gole ghaame.	The lover dies running on water; the singer dies running on land. Tears from the eyes wet the cheeks; sweat wets the forehead.	GRIEF IS DEATH	Death	Grief	From separation.

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AP-B7	হাঁহ হই চৰিমগৈ তোমাৰে পুখুৰীত, পাৰ হৈ পৰিমগৈ চালত । ঘাম হই সোমামগৈ তোমাৰে শৰীৰত, মাখি হই চুমা দিম গালত ॥	Hah hoi choringoi tumare pukhurit, Par hoi poringoi chalot; Ghaam hoi somamgoi tumare sharirot, Makhi hoi suma dim galot.	He wants to be a duck to 'graze' on her pond, a pigeon to sit on top of her roof, sweat to enter her body, and a fly to kiss her cheeks.	LOVE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS	Physical Contact	Love	Duck to water, pigeon to roof, sweat to the body, and fly to cheeks; it is about physical contact.
AP-B8	উজাই চালো মই, ভটিয়াই চালো মই, তোমাৰ মান শূৱনি নাই । দেৱে হৰিলে নে, মনিছে নিলে নে, মাতি মাত পাবলৈ নাই ॥	Ujai chalo moi, bhatiyai chalo moi, Tumar man shuwani nai; Dewe horile ne, manise nile ne, Mati mat pabolo nai.	He looked both upstream and downstream but could not find anyone as beautiful as her. Had she been stolen by a deity or taken by a person? It was impossible to get any word in return.				Upstream- Downstream - Neutral. Stolen/kidnapped by a deity- cultural myth.
AP-B9	পূবৰে অৰুণে পছিমত ঘূৰিলে, মলয়াত ঘূৰিলে বগ । মনৰ কথাষাৰি মনতে ঘূৰিলে, ক'বলৈ নাপালো লগ ॥	Pubore arune poshimot ghurile, Malayat ghurile bog; Monor kathasari manate ghurile, Ka'boloi napalo lag.	The Sun of the East moved toward the West; the Stork swirled in the wind. Thoughts within the mind circled endlessly, unable to converge.	TIME IS MOVEMENT OF CELESTIAL OBJECTS	Movement Of Sun	Time	Sun moving from east to west
				IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	Moving Objects Like The Sun, Little Egrets	Ideas Moving Inside Mind	Ideas revolving inside mind. Moving ideas are moving objects.
				MIND IS A CONTAINER			Mind is a container that keeps ideas, just like the sky/wind container that the Stork is in.
AP-B10	কিনো তামোলখনি দিলি, ঐ মইনা ! দুখনি হাতেৰে ল'লো । সেই তামোলখনি খাবৰে-এপৰা, তোমাৰ লগত বলিয়া হ'লো ॥	Kino tamolkhoni dili, oi moina! Dukhoni hatere la'lo; Sei tamolkhoni khabore-epora, Tumar lagat bolia ho'lo.	What kind of betel nut the lover gave, he accepted with both hands. After chewing that betel nut, he became madly in love with her.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Expression of Love	Beetle nut is not just an object in Assamese culture; it can mean hospitality and love.
AP-B10	কিনো তামোলখনি দিলি, ঐ মইনা ! দুখনি হাতেৰে ল'লো । সেই তামোলখনি খাবৰে-এপৰা, তোমাৰ লগত বলিয়া হ'লো ॥		What kind of betel nut the lover gave, he accepted with both hands. After chewing that betel nut, he became madly in love with her.	LOVE IS MADNESS	Madness	Love	
AP-B11	নাখাইও নোৱাৰি খালেও নামুৱায়, বান্ধৈৰ থুৰি তামোলখনি । থুৰিয়া তামোলত কি যাদু কৰিলি, মতা হাঁহে পাৰিছে কণী ॥	Nakhaio nuwari khaleo namuway, Bandhoir thuri tamolkhoni; Thuria tamolot ki jadu karili, Mota hahe parise konee.	The singer can't help but eat it, and he doesn't even feel cloyed afterward—the Tamol (betel quid) given by his lover. What kind of magic has she done with that even the male duck has laid eggs?	LOVE IS MAGIC	Magic	Love	Male duck laying an egg is impossible/ magic, just like love

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Expression of Love	
AP-B12	শালে ভুমুকিয়ায় শ'লে ভুমুকিয়ায়, চেঙাই ভুমুকিয়ায় খালত । প্ৰাণৰে ভিতৰত ধনে ভুমুকিয়ায়, তলৈ পৰি থাকে মনত ॥	Shaale bhumukii sh'le bhumukii, Sengai bhumukii khalot; Pranore bhitrot dhone bhumukii, Talo pori thake manat.	The Shal fish peeps, the Shol fish peeps, and the Senga fish peeps in the water channel. Inside the singer's life, his lover peeps, the singer's thoughts consistently return to that (scene).	MIND IS A CONTAINER	Liquid	Emotions	The body container is like a water body, a channel here.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Fish	Female Lover	Fish peeping in water- lover peeping inside life/body.
				IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	Fish In Water	Thoughts In Mind	Moving ideas are moving objects like animals.
AP-B13	জপা গৰকিলে জপাৰ বৰ কাপোৰে, দেহা গৰকিলে প্ৰেমে । প্ৰেমেৰে জালতে মৰো কলমটিয়াই, মাৰিও নিনিযে যমে ॥	Japaa gorkile jopar bor kapore, Deha gorkile preme; Premore jalote maro kolomtiyai, Mario niniye jame.	The clothes tramped the box that contained them, just as love tramped the body. In the net of love, the singer dies wearily; even Yama (God of the Afterlife) does not take him immediately.	LOVE IS A HUNT	Captured In Net	Fall In Love	Being in love is like (an animal) tangled in a net.
				STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Half Sleep (Half Death)	Being In Love	The clothes passing the boundary of the box and love treading on the body- means the movement of an object from one location to another.
				GRIEF IS DEATH	Weary Death	Grief In Love	
				DEATH IS BEING TAKEN AWAY BY YAMA	Being Taken By Yama	Death	
AP-B14	হাতেৰে আঙুলি পবালি পবালি, ভৰিৰে আঙুলি ঘন । কোন কটাৰ জীয়ে জীয়াৰী তুলিলে, চাই থাকিবৰে মন ॥	Hatere aanguli pobali pobali, Bharire aanguli ghon; Kon kotar jiye jiyori tulile, Chai thakibore mon.	The fingers of his lover's hand are long, and her toes are dense. Whose daughter (lover's mother) has raised this daughter (lover)? The mind can't help but keep looking.				Cultural standard of beauty.
AP-B15	বাঁহৰে আগলৈ চাই পঠিয়ালো, বাঁহৰ কোনেডালি পোন । শহুৰৰ ঘৰতে দেখি থৈ আহিছো সাইলাখ পূৰ্ণিমাৰে জোন ॥	Bahore agoloi chai pothiyalo, Bahor konedali pon; Shahuror ghorote dekhi thoi ahiso Saailakh purnimare jon.	He sends his gaze to the tip of the bamboo to determine which one is straight. At his father-in-law's house, he saw her, radiant like a full moon.	LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Full Moon	Female Lover	Full moon radiates the most light, full moon is the fullest it can be, anything less can be termed as incomplete (object).

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Bamboo Plant	Female Lover	The bamboo is 'straight' for being cut and used, the lover is ready for marrying.
				GOODNESS IS STRAIGHTNESS	Straight Bamboo	Goodness	
				VISION IS A PROJECTILE	A projectile	Vision	Sends his vision.
AP-B16	ওলায় জকেমকী আকাশী চন্দ্রমা, ওলায় জকেমকী তৰা । ওলায় জকেমকী আমাৰ প্ৰাণেশ্বৰী, শহুৰৰ ঘৰবেপৰা ॥	Olay jokemkee akakhi chondroma, Olay jokemkee tora; Olay jokemkee amar praneshori, Shahuror ghororepora.	The Moon has appeared in the sky, sparkling, along with the stars. The lover emerges from his father-in-law's house, also sparkling.	LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Moon	Female Lover	The container for celestial bodies is sky or space, the container for his lover is her house.
				LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Stars	Female Lover	
AP-B17	পানীত জকেমকায় পানীৰে পৰুৱা, ফুলৰ জকেমকায় পাহি । চেনাইৰ গাল দুখনি তেজে জকেমকায়, মুখত জকেমকায় হাঁহি ॥	Panit jokemkay panire poruwa, Fulor jokemkay pahii; Senair gal dukhoni teje jokemkay, Mukhot jokemkay hahi.	In the water, the ants shimmer, and the petals of a flower glisten. The lover's cheeks flush with blood, and a smile lights up their face.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Flower Petal	Female Lover'S Face	As the flowers petals shimmer on the flower, a smile shimmers on her face.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Water Ant	Female Lover	
AP-B18	হাঁহে বাটে বুলে লুডুৰে-পুডুৰে, পাৰই বাটে বুলে ৰই । চেনাই বাটে বুলে চেউনী আলিতে লগৰ সমনীয়া লই ॥	Hahe bate bule ludure-poodure, Paroi bate bule roi; Senai bate bule seunee aalite Lagar somoniya lai.	A duck waddles plumply; a pigeon moves by stopping intermittently; the lover travels along Seuni Road with her peers.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Duck	Female Lover	Walking/ moving style of animals to walking style of lover with friends.
					Pigeon	Female Lover	
AP-B19	উৰিয়ামৰ খুৱালি বানো কেনেকাৰি বকুল-বৰা ধানৰ কড়াই । ত'তে দেখিলো, এখেতে চিনিলা, মোৰে ধন জিলিকি যায় ॥	Uriamor khuwali bano kenekori Bokul-bora dhanor karai; To'te dekhilo, ekhete chinilo, More dhon jiliki jay.	Pounding parched Bakul-Bora rice is a challenging task. Wherever the singer looks, immediately recognize his lover, who sparkles with every movement.	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Parched Rice Flour	Male Lover	The parched Bakul-bora rice is shinier than other parched rice.
AP-B20	টিনপাতৰ বঙলা তলেদি ভোমোলা, দিয়ে তুলাপাতৰ সোপা । ধনক চিনিবলৈ লাগে কেতেবেলি, মুৰত আছে নেঘেৰী খোপা ॥	Tinpator bongla toledi vumula, Diye tulapator sopa; Dhonok chiniboloi lage ketebeli, Moorot aase negheree khopa.	The bungalow has tin roofs and holes at the bottom which is filled with paper (possibly a raised platform with paper like insulation or filler). How much time is required to recognize the lover, given that she has a Negheri Khopa (a top bun) on her head?				A person is a house, a visual simile. The Tin roof of the house is the top bun of the lover.
				HIGH STATUS IS UP	Physical Height	Status	The roof of the house and the bun are both high.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				A PERSON IS A HOUSE	House	Person	
AP-C1	ধনশিৰি ভোটেলে জেঙে-জাবৰে, সোৱণশিৰী ভোটেলে কোনে । ভগা খোলাকটি কুমাৰে গঢ়িলে, যৌৱন গঢ়ি দিলে কোনে ॥	Dhohhiri vetile jenge- jabore, Sowanshree vetile kone; Vagaa kholakti kumare garile, Joubon gari dile kone.	Twigs and debris have blocked the Dhansiri River; who has obstructed the Subansiri? The potter has crafted broken earthen pots; who has shaped the youth?	LIFE IS RIVER	River Or Flowing Water Body	Life	
				YOUTH IS AN OBJECT	Object- Broken Earthen Pot	Youth	Broken object is broken youth
AP-C2	কিনো খুৱাই বঢ়ালা মতা ম'হৰ গলধন, আলিৰ কাটি এৰালি-দল । কিনো খুৱাই বঢ়ালা চেনেহৰ চুলিতাৰ, হাজাৰীৰ গোলাৰে তেল ॥	Kino khuwai borala mota ma'hor golodhon, Aalir kati erali-dol; Kino khuwai borala senehor sulitar, Hazarir golare tel.	What did the lover feed the male buffalo to increase the size of the back of his neck? Was it Erali-dol, a type of aquatic grass? And what did she use to make her hair grow? Was it oil from the shop?	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Buffalo	Female Lover	
							Hair is very important culturally (to women.)
AP-C3	দিনৰ চিকুণে আকাশী সৰ্বিতা, ৰাতিৰ চিকুণে জোন । তাতোকৈ চিকুণী আমাৰ প্ৰেমৰ মইনা, নাচাই বা থাকিব কোন ॥	Dinor chikune akakhi sabita, Ratir chikune jon; Tatukoi chikunee amar premor moina, Nasai ba thakib kon.	The Sun graces the day with its brilliance, while the Moon adorns the night. One cannot refrain looking at his lover, who is even more beautiful than the aforementioned ones.	LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Sun in Daytime	Female Lover	
				LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Moon in Nighttime	Female Lover	
AP-C4	মইনাজানৰ মুখলৈ চাবকে নোৱাৰি, মুখত মিচিকিয়া হাঁহি । বিজুলী চমকে আমাৰ মন মুহিলে পদূলিবাটলৈ আহি ॥	Moinaajanor mukholoi chaboke nuwari, Mukhot michikia hahi; Bijuli chomke amar mon muhile Podulibatoloi ahi.	The singer cannot look at his lover's face, as a smile is there on her lips. She impressed his mind like a lightning strike appearing on the gateway.	LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Lightning	Female Lover	Smile is like lightning
AP-C5	জিলিকি আহিছে মোৰ ধনৰ চ'ৰানাও জিলিকি আহিছে চৈ। ত'ৰে-এপৰা এখেলৈ জিলিকে মোৰ ধনৰ মুখনি অই ॥	Jiliki ahise mor dhonor ch'rano Jiliki ahise choi To're-epora ekheloi jilike Mor dhonor mukhoni ai.	The singers lover's grand barge gleams, with its roof also shining. The lover's face sparkles in the distance.	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	A Shimmering Grand Barge	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Grand/ Stately Barge	Female Lover	The roof gleaming with sunlight is compared to the face.

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AP-C6	চুঙাৰে বাদুলি কান্দে কি এ বুলি, ডালতে কান্দিলে জিলি। গাৰে ধন পোৰণি মাৰিব পৰা নাই, কিয় গা দেখা দি গ'লি।।	Sungare baduli kande ki a buli, Dalote kandile jili; Gare dhon poroni marib pora nai, Kiy ga dekha di go'li.	Sunga (pipe) Baduli, a tiny bat, cries inside a pipe; cicadas cry on the tree branch. The appearance of the female lover has set the singer's body aflame.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Sunga Baduli (A Small Sized Bat)	Male Lover	Male cicadas are known for their mating cry.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cicada	Male Lover	
				INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Burning in the Body	Desire	
AP-C7	তামোলত বগালে বাৰী-জালুকজুপি, মদাৰত বগালে পাণ। নেদেখি থাকিলে থাকিব পাৰো মই, দেখিলে থকাটো টান।।	Tamolot bogale bari-jalukjupi, Madarot bogale pan; Nedekhi thakile thakib paro moi, Dekhile thokato tan.	The black pepper vine ascended the betel tree, while the betel leaf climbed the Indian coral tree. Staying apart is manageable if he does not notice her, but once he does, it becomes challenging.	DESIRE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE	Physical Force	Desire	
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Areca Palm (Areca Catechu)	Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Black Pepper Plant (Piper Nigrum)	Female Lover	Spicy
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Indian Coral Tree (Erythrina Variegata)	Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Betel Leaf Plant (Piper Betle)	Female Lover	Mildly spicy
AP-C8	ওপৰে উৰিলে কালিন্দী ভোমোৰা, ভৈয়ামত পৰি গ'ল ছঁয়া। তোমাকে, লাহৰী! দেখো সমাজিকত, কোনে কৰি যাব দয়া।।	Opore urile kalindi bhomora, Bhoiamot pori go'la soya; Tumake, lahari! dekho somajikot, Kone kari jab daya।।	The blue beetle flew above, casting a shadow over the plains. In his dreams, he envisions his lover and wonders who will be kind to him.	DREAMS ARE SHADOWS	Shadow	Grief	Shadow as an instrument of physical distance.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Blue Beetle (Chrysochus Cobaltinus)	Female Lover	
				SEEING IS TOUCHING	Vision / Shadow	Touch	
AP-C9	গৰু চৰাবৰে কঠিয়া তলিখন, ম'হে চৰাবৰে দল। মুঠিৰ কটা তামোল মুঠিতে শুকালে, দিবলৈ নাপালো চল।।	Goru chorabore kothiya tolikhon, Ma'he chorabore dol; Muthir kota tamol muthite shukale, Diboloi napalo sol.	To graze a cow or bull there is the rice seedling bed, and to graze a buffalo there is the aquatic grassland. He couldn't give her the betel quid, and it dried in his hand.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Expression of Love	Betel nut as a form of sharing intoxication.
				LOVE IS CONSUMPTION	Consumption Of Food	Love	Cattle consuming grass, lovers consuming love.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cow Or Bull	Male Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Buffalo	Male Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Rice Seedling	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Aquatic Grass (Hymenachne Amplexicaulis)	Female Lover	
AP-C10	উজাই গৈ আছিলো ধনৰ মাত শুনিলো, কাষলৈ চপালো নাও। ধনৰে বাতৰি নাপাও ভালৈ কৰি, ভাটিলৈ ভটিয়াই যাওঁ।।	Ujai goi aasilo dhonor mat shunilo, Kakhloi chopalo nao; Dhonore batori napao bhale kari, Bhatiloi bhatiyai jaon.	While journeying upstream, the singer heard the voice of his beloved and brought the boat closer to the bank. However, he did not receive any good news about her and thus proceeded downstream.	POSITIVE IS UPSTREAM	Upstream Journey	Good News	Importance of river transport
				NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM	Downstream Journey	Bad News of Beloved	
				LOVE IS A JOURNEY	Journey	Love	
AP-C11	উজাই আহিলে কোম্পানীৰ জাহাজ ঐ, পৃথিৱী টলবল দেখো। চপাই দে, চপাই দে কলিকতাৰ জাহাজ ঐ মনোমতীৰ বাতৰি সোধো।।	Ujai ahile kompanir jahaz oi, Prithiwi tolbol dekho; Chopai de, chopai de koliktar jahaz oi Manomatir batori sodho.	The East India Company ship has sailed upriver, creating tremors in the world. He requests the vessel from Kolkata to come nearer to the shore so he can hear news about his beloved.	POSITIVE IS UPSTREAM	Upstream Journey	Good News	
AP-C12	কাৰ্কিনী তামোলত কপৌ বাহে ল'লে, পৰে যেন পৰে যেন দেখো। সৰুটি মনেমা নৰীয়া পৰিলে, মৰে যেন মৰে যেন দেখো।।	Kakini tamolot kapau bahe la'le, Pore jen pore jen dekho; Saruti monema noriya porile, More jen more jen dekho.	Doves have built their nests on the high betel nut trees; the singer senses one falling. His beloved becomes ill, and he perceives her nearing death.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Dove	Female Lover	A dove falling from its nest in the tall betel nut tree is like one being unwell.
				NEGATIVE IS DOWN	Falling Down	Illness	
AP-C13	হাতীৰে হীমেজু খুৱালা, লাহৰী ! থুৰিয়া তামোলত ঘঁহি। যেতিয়া তোমালৈ মনত পৰি যাব কাপ্পো চাৰি-পাটিত বহি।।	Hatire heemeju khuwala, lahori! Thuria tamolot ghi; Jetiya tumaloi manat pori jab Kando dhari-patit bohi.	The lover combined the elephant's musth with betel quid and gave it to him (without him knowing). Whenever he thinks of her, he sits and weeps.	LOVE IS MADNESS	Madness Of Male Elephant	Love	Musth-secreting elephants are characterised by aggressive behaviour and a large rise in reproductive hormones.
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	Elephant Musth	Intense Love	The elephant musth contaminated betel quid transfers the properties of the musth-secreting elephants to him.
				LOVE IS A DRUG	Betel Quid with Elephant Musth	Madly In Love	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Male Elephant	Male Lover	

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AP-C14	সিপাৰৰ বাওধান পানীয়ে মাৰিলে, চৰাইৰ নগজিলে পাখি। উৰণীয়া চৰায়ে ফুৰে যোৰা পাতি তাৰো সমান নহ'লো আমি॥	Siparor baodhan paniye marile, Chorair nogojile pakhi; Uronea choraye fure jora Pati taro soman noh'lo ami.	The flood destroyed the deep-water paddy on the opposite bank; the birds' wings did not also grow (develop). Birds in flight move as pairs, which lovers cannot match.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Rice Paddy	Lover	Baodhan (a kind of deep water paddy) dying from access of water is very unfortunate.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bird	People	A bird without its wings is very unfortunate and is like person without love.
				LOVE IS COMPANIONSHIP	Companionship Between Birds	Love Between Lovers	Many birds live in pairs, and it seems to be a natural phenomenon. The life of a person without a companion is not a worthy life.
AP-C15	তোমাকে নেদেখি থাকো কেনে কৰি সন্তাপে মাৰিছে খাই। দেহৰে ভিতৰত প্ৰেমাগ্নি জ্বলিছে, নুমুৱাই দিওঁতা নাই।।	Tumake nedekhi thako kene kari Santape marise khai Dehre bhtorot premagni jjolise, Numuwai diota nai.	How can he remain without seeing his lover? His grief is consuming him. The fire of love burns within, with no one to extinguish it.	GRIEF IS AN ANIMAL	Animals	Grief	Grief can eat a person, just like an animal could do.
				INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Fire Inside Body	Grief	Passion is a fire inside the body, and the person who can put out the fire is the saver/lover.
				BODY IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS	Container	Body	Since body is a container, a fire can burn inside the body.
AP-C16	ধানে কাটিবৰে হেঙুলীয়া কাচিখন, এখনিয়ে নাকাটে বন। ঘৰতে আছে মোৰ সৰুটি কলিজা, পথাৰত নপৰে মন।।	Dhane katibore henguliya kachikhon, Ekhoniye nakate bon; Ghorote aase mor saruti kolija, Potharot nopore mon.	The vermilion red sickle is meant for harvesting rice, not for cutting grass. At home, his lover waits, distracting him in the field.	PASSION IS COLOUR RED	Vermillion Coloured Sickle	Passion	Vermillion coloured sickle, and the heart (lover).
AP-C16	ধানে কাটিবৰে হেঙুলীয়া কাচিখন, এখনিয়ে নাকাটে বন। ঘৰতে আছে মোৰ সৰুটি কলিজা, পথাৰত নপৰে মন।।		The vermilion red sickle is meant for harvesting rice, not for cutting grass. At home, his lover waits, distracting him in the field.	MENTAL DISTANCE IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE	Physical Distance	Mental Distance	HEART FOR LOVER - metonymy
AP-C16	ধানে কাটিবৰে হেঙুলীয়া কাচিখন, এখনিয়ে নাকাটে বন। ঘৰতে আছে মোৰ সৰুটি কলিজা, পথাৰত নপৰে মন।।		The vermilion red sickle is meant for harvesting rice, not for cutting grass. At home, his lover waits, distracting him in the field.	MIND IS AN OBJECT	Fying Object	Mind	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-C17	তামোলাট কাটিলো, দুখনি কৰিলো, ৰংপুৰ বজাৰৰ পাণ। পথাৰে পথাৰে বিচাৰি ফুৰিলো, কতে দাই আছিলো ধান।।	Tamolti katilo, dukhoni karilo, Rongpur bojaror pan; Pothare pothare bisari furilo, Ka'te dai aasila dhan.	He cuts the betel nut in half and fetches betel leaf from Rangpur. He searches for her in the fields and wonders where she might be reaping paddy.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Expression of Love	Offering betel nut.
				LOVE RELATIONSHIP IS A UNIFIED OBJECT	Etel Nut- Whole	Love Relationship	A whole betel nut, split in half and shared with a lover, is a love relationship shared.
AP-C18	লীলাই পথাৰতে চিলাই ধানে দালে, ঘিলা কাকলীয়া মুঠি। আটাইকে দেখো মই, চেনাইটিক নেদেখো, চাওঁ চতিয়নাত উঠি।।	Leelai potharote chilai dhane dale, Ghila kakoliya muthi; Ataike dekho moi, senaitik nedekho, Chaon chotiyonat uthi.	His partner is harvesting paddy in the field, gathering it by forming a round disk to grab. He looks around but cannot spot his partner. So, he climbs a blackboard tree (Alstonia scholaris) for a better view.				The Chatiyana plant (blackboard tree) is poisonous. Hence, it is used in a negative context.
AP-C19	উজাই চালো মই, ভটীয়াই চালো মই, তোমাৰ মান সুৱলা নাই। কেচা কলে কাটি কৰো দেৱীপূজা, তেওঁ তোমাক পাবলৈ নাই।।	Ujai chalo moi, bhotiyai chalo moi, Tumar man suwala nai; Kesa kole kati karo dewipuja, Teo tumak pabolo nai.	He gazed both upstream and downstream, yet no one matched the melody of his beloved. Despite praying to the goddess with offerings of raw bananas, his lover remained elusive.				
AP-C20	চাওঁ তিনিবেলি মাটিৰে মঙলে, চাওঁ তিনিবেলি গণক। পদূলি ওলায়ে মাৰো গিৰিপনি, এবেলি নেদেখো ধনক।।	Chaon tinibeli matire mongole, Chaon tinibeli gonok; Poduli olaye maro giriponi, Ebeli nedekho dhonok.	He performs his magical calculations three times daily. Despite this, he does not see his lover and stamps his heels in frustration.				
AP-D1	বিলাতী সূতলৰ বানি, তই বান্ধে ঐ ! বিলাতী সূতলৰ বানি । সূতা পকোৱাদি মোৰো মন পকালি, চিতৰ কথা নকলি ভাঙি ॥	Bilati sutlor bani, toi bandhoi oi! Bilati sutlor bani; Suta pokowadi moro mon pokali, Sitor katha nokoli vang.	The lover of him is a foreign thread on the woof of a woven cloth. She winds his mind like one winds a spool of thread, but keeps her heart's true thoughts hidden.	MIND IS CONTAINER	Container	Mind/ Heart	The container mind keeps the words inside.
				MIND IS A FRAGILE OBJECT	Fragile Object	Mind	By breaking the object one can know what is inside.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				WORDS ARE THREADS	Threads	Words of His Lover	The Bani threads on a cloth are on the wide side, not on the length side. Unlike the Deegh (length side) threads, it is difficult to know about the Bani without destroying the piece of cloth.
				MIND IS A THREAD	Threads	Mind	One can twist one's mind like winding threads
AP-D2	শৰীৰ ক'লা হ'লে ৰ'দে-বৰষুণে, কাপোৰ ক'লা হ'লে ঘামে। তোমাৰ সন্তাপত হৃদয় ক'লা হ'লে, নাখায় বনৰীয়া বাঘে।।	Sharir ka'la ho'le r'de-borsune, Kapor ka'la ho'le ghaame; Tumar santapot hridai ka'la ho'le, Nakhay bonoriya baghe.	The sun and rain darkened his body, and his clothes became black with sweat. If his heart becomes black/dark in the grief of his lover, even a wild tiger would not eat it.	GRIEF IS COLOUR BLACK	Colour Black, Blackened Heart	Grief	Possible metonymy. The blackening of the heart can lead to the blackening of the body.
AP-D3	পদূল পদূল মই ফুৰো গধূল, বাঘে খায় যোগে খায় খক। নেৰো মই নেৰো মই সৰুটি কলিজা, যায় যদি দেহাটি যক।।	Poduli poduli moi furo godhuli, Baghe ki ghunge ki khok; Nero moi nero moi saruti kolija, Jay jadi dehati jok.	The singer wanders aimlessly near the gate (of his lover) in the evening, unconcerned if he may be eaten by a tigers or a clouded leopard. He refuses to abandon his beloved, his little heart, even if it means sacrificing his own life (his body goes) .	DESIRE IS AN ANIMAL	Animals	Desire	
				DEATH IS LOSS OF THE BODY TO THE UNKNOWN	Movement From Body From The Known Bounded Object	Death	
				A LIFETIME IS A DAY	Evening	Time Of Death	
AP-D4	লুইতৰে বালি বগী চকেচকা, কাচই-কণী পাৰে লেখি। গাতে জুই জুলিছে, সৰিয়হ ফুটিছে, চেনাইক পানী-ঘাটত দেখি।।	Luitore bali bogee chokesoki, Kachoi-konee pare lekh; Gate jui jjolise, sarih futise, Senaik pani-ghatot dekhi.	The sand of the Luit River shimmers with a white hue. Turtles have laid their eggs there, counting them carefully. The singer's body burns and mustard seeds are popping as he sees his beloved at the riverbank's water collection spot.	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Bright Sands on The Banks of Luit	Female Lover	Intensity of a shining object is intensity of beauty (of lover)

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				LUST IS HEAT	Fire on Body, Mustard Seeds Popping	Lust	Intensity of lust is intensity of fire. Mustard seeds pop at comparatively high temperature. One's lust can also be mapped on the intensity axis of fire/ temperature
AP-D5	চ'তে চ'তে গই ব'হাগো পালেহি, ফুলিলে বাবৰি ফুল। তোমাৰে লগতে মৰো যদি মৰিম ঐ! এৰি যাম নিজৰে কুল।।	Ch'te ch'te goi bo'haago palehi, Fulile babori ful; Tumare lagate maro jadi morim oi! Eri jam nijore kul.	The month of Chout has passed, and Bohag has arrived, bringing with it the blooming Babori flowers. The singer is prepared to abandon his caste for the sake of his beloved, even if it means risking his own life.	MOVING TIME METAPHOR	Objects	Time	The motion of objects past the observer means the passage of time. That is how the month of Chout went and Bohag has reached.
AP-D6	তোলৈ চাওঁতে জপনা দেওঁতে বিন্ধিলে অঘৈয়া হুলে। তোৰো মনে গ'লে, মোৰো মনে গ'লে, কি কৰিব কলিতা কুলে।।	Tuloi chaonte jopona deute Bindhile aghoia hule; Toro mone go'le, moro mone go'le, Ki karib kolita kule.	As the singer gazed at his lover and leaped over the gate, he was impaled on a jagged spike. If their minds (hearts) are truly united, what can the Kalita caste possibly do (to separate them)?	GRIEF IS PHYSICAL DISTRESS	Physical Anguish	Mental Anguish	
				IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE PHYSICAL IMPEDIMENTS	Thorns in road	Impediments In Love	Japana (a gate) is seen here as a boundary and physical hinderance in the movement along a path. (Also probably the person is crossing the gate by jumping/ deu di). This is relatable to the social hindrance to love/ marriage due to the lovers being from different casts
AP-D7	বয়সৰ লগতে মই বাঢ়ি গ'লো, তুমি দিলা যৌৱনত ভৰি। এতিয়ানো কিয় এৰি গুচি যোৱা এথানি-এবানি কৰি।।	Boyosor lagate moi bari go'lo, Tumi dila joubonot bhari; Etiyano kiy eri gusi jowa Ethani-ebani kari.	The singer has grown with age, and his beloved has also set foot in young adulthood. Why does she now abandon him, leaving him feeling helpless?	TIME- MOVING OBSERVER	Moving Observer	Time	
				STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Bounded Region	Youth	The lover can step foot on youth.
					Bounded Region	Experience	The lover can leave the singer in a state of grief

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-D8	ডিবুৰুৰ ৰণেখন শাদিয়াত লাগিলে, মিৰিয়নী কান্দিলে ডালত! সৰুৰে-এপৰা পিৰিতি কৰিলো, নেৰিবা দুখৰে কালত।	Diburur ronekhon shdiat lagile, Mirioni kandile dalot! Sarure-epora piriti karilo, Neribaa dukhore kalot.	The war of Diburu is raging in Sadiya, and a Miri woman has wept on a tree branch. The singer, who has loved his beloved since childhood, pleads with her not to abandon him during these difficult times.		Damages In War	Failed Love	Failed love can feel like the war happening nearby and its damages.
							Mirioni (a woman from Mising tribe) is crying on a trunk (of a tree). Probably tell about how Mising people live in Changghars (a stilt house).
				LOVE IS AN ACTION	Action	Love	The term 'karilo' means completing a task or an action. Here love is one action that can be done.
AP-D9	শিৱসাগৰ পুখুৰী নতুনকৈ খনালে, ইটাৰে বন্ধোৱা পাৰ। এনেকুৱা পিৰিতি এৰ যদি মইনা! নগা-যাঠী মাৰিয়ে মাৰ।।	Sibohagor pukhuri notunokoi khonale, Itare bondhowa par; Enekuwa piriti er jadi moina! Noga-jathi mariye mar.	The newly dug pond in Sibsagar has its banks tied (reinforced) with bricks. The singer expresses that if his lover abandons such a love, it would be better to kill him with a Naga-spear.	STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Locations	Love	One can leave Love (piriti) as it was some location.
					Death	Failed Love	
AP-D10	কামলৈ যাবলৈ টাইম চিনি পাবলৈ আনি ল'ম কোম্পানীৰ ঘৰি। এনেকুৱা পিৰিতি এৰ যদি, চেনাই ঞ্ৰ! মৰিম পকা-নাদত পৰি।।	Kamoloi jaboloi time chini pabolo Aani la'ma kompanir ghor; Enekuwa piriti er jadi, senai oi! Morim poka-nadot pori.	The singer states that to be punctual for work and recognise (keep track of) time, he will bring a clock from the company (a British tea-producing company). The singer expresses that if his lover abandons such love, he will die falling on a brick/stone well.	TIME IS AN OBJECT	Object	Time	Time as an object can be recognized and known.
				STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Locations	Love	One can leave Love (piriti) as it was some location

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-D11	প্ৰিৰিতি শুদা গুণ, মহগুৰ কেচা লোণ, থবা যতনেৰে বান্ধি। কিবা ময়া কৰি হেৰাব লাগিলে বিচাৰি নাপাবা কান্দি।।	Piriti shuda gun, mohongor kesa lon, Thabaa jatanere bandhi; Kibaa moya kari herab lagile Bisari napaba kandi.	The precious attributes of love and the salt of flesh (means very rare) should be carefully stored (in a pouch or box). If, by some magical means, these treasures are lost, the lover will have to weep and search tirelessly to retrieve them.	LOVE IS A PRECIOUS POSSESSION	Precious Object	Love	The object love is very precious like salt (historically) and should be kept carefully packed. If it gets lost, one may never find it.
AP-D12	প্ৰিৰিতিৰে দৰে, হেৰা প্ৰাণেশ্বৰী ! কিবা সুখ আছেনে আৰু। যদি মিছা কৈছে, হেৰা প্ৰাণেশ্বৰী ! নিজে গুণি চোৱা বাক।।	Piritire dore, hera praneshori! Kibaa sukh aasene aaru; Jadi misa koiso, hera praneshori! Nije guni chuwa baru.	The singer questions his beloved if there is anything else in the world that can bring happiness equal to that of love. The singer insists that if he is lying, she should consider this for herself.	LOVE IS HAPPINESS	Happiness	Love	Though both abstract terms, maybe one (happiness) is easier to understand for a folk mind.
				THINKING IS KNOWING	Knowing	Thinking	To think (and see) something leads to knowing that thing.
AP-D13	দিখৌ নৈ এৰিব পাৰো, ঐ লগৰী ! জাজী নৈ এৰিব পাৰো। আই নো কৈ বোপাই ঐ এৰিব পাৰো, মই তোমাক ধন কেনেকৈ এৰো ।।	Dikhou noi erib paro, oi lagari! Jajee noi erib paro; Aai no koi boopai oi erib paro, moi, Tumak dhon kenekoi ero.	The singer states that he could leave the Dikhow and Jaanji rivers, and even abandon his mother and father, but he could never abandon his lover.	STATES ARE LOCATIONS	State Of Being In Love	Locations Like Dikhow, Jaaji	The singer can leave his familiar locations, but cannot leave the location of being in love with his lover.
AP-D14	দিহিঙৰ আগলি তিনি ভেঙুৰীয়া, দিচৈতে উটাই যাওঁ ভুৰ। তোমাৰে ঘাটতে তুৰে চাপে খাব, চেনেহ বুজি ল'বা মোৰ।।	Dihingor agali tini bhenguriya, Dichoite utai jaon bhur; Tumare ghatote bhure chape khab, Seneh buji la'ba mor.	The upper reaches of the Dihing River have three bends. The singer floats a raft down the Dicho River. The raft will approach the bank where his lover resides, and he asks her to comprehend his love.	LOVE IS A JOURNEY	Journey (Naval Journey)	Love	The singer is travelling by raft on the river Dicho, like a journey in love.
				EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS	Waterbody/ River	Love	Journey through water is like journey in love.
AP-D15	বৰঘৰৰ মুখেতে চেনাইৰ তাঁতশালে, দি যাওঁ হাতীদাঁতৰ মাকো। দুয়ো লগ হ'বলৈ লাগে কেতেবেলি, পাৰি দিয়া প্ৰেমৰে শাকো।	Borghoror mudhote senair tathale, Di jaon hatidator mako; Duyo lag ho'boloi lage ketebeli, Pari dia premore shaako.	The handloom of the singer's lover is on the ridge (near the gable end) of the main house, and he gives her a maako made of elephant teeth. How much time it takes to unite the two, the singer asks his lover to lay a footbridge of love.	LOVE IS JOURNEY	Impediments	Impediments In Love	The impediments like water bodies or trenches can be overcome by laying a bridge, much like in love.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
							The "maako" moving from one side to the another, left to right and vice versa is like creating a bridge between both the sides.
AP-D16	চাউল চালিবৰে সেৰেঙা চালনি, ধানে জাৰিবৰে কুলা। তোমাৰ আশয় একো নাপাওঁ এতেদিনে, যেনেকুৱা শিমলু তুলা।।	Saul chalibore serenga chaloni, Dhane jaribore kula; Tumar aashay eku napaon etedine, Jenekuwa shimalu tula.	A fine sieve for sifting rice, and a bamboo winnowing fan for sorting paddy. The singer expresses his uncertainty about his beloved's state, as she wanders like a silk cotton bunch.	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	In Flight Cotton Bunch	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Chaloni (Sieve)	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Kula (Winnowing Fan)	Female Lover	
AP-D17	লাৱলৈয়ে বুলি হেদালি দিছিলো, বগল কেনেকৈ পুৰৈ। তোমালৈয়ে বুলি আশা কৰিছিলো, সিও আশা কতবা দুৰৈ।।	Lawoloie buli hedali disilo, Bogal kenekoi puroi; Tumaloie buli aasa karisilo, Sio aasa katba duroi.	The singer constructed an elevated bamboo stand for the bottle gourd, but Malabar Spinach grew there instead. He had hoped for her presence, yet that hope remains distant.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Bottle Gourd Plant (Lagenaria Siceraria)	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Malabar Spinach (Basella Alba)	Female Lover	
AP-D18	উৰি যাওঁ বগলীৰ লগত, ঐ লাহৰী! উৰি যাওঁ বগলীৰ লগত। নাখাই চাৰি সাজি থাকিব পাৰো মই, তৰাদৈ মইনাৰ লগত।।	Uri jaon bogolir lagat, oi lahoi! Uri jaon bogolir lagat; Nakhai sari saji thakib paro moi, Toradoi moinar lagat.	The singer departs with the Little Egrets. He can skip four meals as long as he remains with his beloved.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Little Egret (Egretta Garzetta)	Male Lover	
				LOVE IS FLYING	Being In Flight Like Little Egret Bird	Being In Love	All kind of bird flight may not be equivalent to being in love.
AP-D19	তোমাৰ মুখলৈ চাবকে নোৱাৰি, মাৰি দিয়া মিচিকাই হাঁহি। এদিন দুদিন কৰি আমাৰ মন মুহিলা পদুলি মুখলৈ আহি ।।	Tumar mukholoi chabokey nuwari, Mari dia michikai hahi; Edin dudin kari amar mon muhila Poduli mukholoi ahi.	The singer is unable to look into his lover's eyes as she (assumes to) smile at him. Day by day, she enchants his thoughts by appearing at the doorway.				
AP-D20	এবাট নহৰু, এবাট পনৰু, এবাট গাখীৰৰ দৈ। আজি তোমাৰ ঘৰলৈ যাম, প্ৰাণেশ্বৰী, থাকিবা পদূলিত ৰৈ।।	Ebati nohoru, ebati ponoru, Ebati gakhiror doi; Aaji tumar ghorloi jam, praneshori, Thakibaa podulit roi.	The singer plans to visit his lover's house with bowls of garlic, onions, and curd, asking her to wait at the entrance.				
0	অনুৰাগ (ধাউতি)	Anuraag	Intense fondness or longing				

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-E1	প্ৰিতি প্ৰাণৰ ধন, ভাবি চোৱা তোমাৰ মন, প্ৰিতি আন্ধাৰৰ চাকি। প্ৰিতিয়ে নিদিলে দিওঁতা নাইকিয়া, ভোকৰ ভাত পিয়াহৰ পানী।।	Pirity pranor dhon, vabi chuwa tumar mon, Pirity aandharor chaki; Piritye nidile diota naikia, Bhokar bhat piahor pani.	Love is life's treasure and a lamp in darkness. If love does not, there is no one else to provide rice for hunger and water for thirst.	LOVE IS WEALTH	Money	Love	Love is like the wealth of life/vitality, or a lamp in the dark, and the only feeder of when in hunger or thirst.
				LOVE IS LAMP	Lamp	Love	
				LOVE IS A FEEDER	Feeder	Love	
AP-E2	প্ৰিতি প্ৰিতি চেঙেলীয়া প্ৰিতি, ক'লেও নপৰে ওৰ! সাদিনৰ বাটতে তোলৈ মনত পৰি শৰীল মৰি আহে মোৰ।।	Pirity pirity sengeliya pirity, Ka'leo nopore or! Sadinor batote tuloi manat pori Sharil mori ahe mor.	This youthful and fervent love story defies a complete narration. Recalling his beloved during a seven day long journey, his body begins to die.	LOVE IS A STORY	Story	Love	The lover can't finish telling the story of young love as it is so long.
AP-E3	কেলেই আহিলা দিনৰে দুপৰত, লগাব নোৱাৰো মাত। মোৰো খতি হ'লে হাতৰ কাঠি-কামি, তোমাৰ খতি হ'লে তাঁত।।	Kelei ahila dinore duporot, Lagaab nuwaro mat; Moro khoti ho'le hator kathi-kami, Tumar khoti ho'le tat.	The lover has arrived in the noon time, but the singer can't talk to her, halting his work. Her weaving has also ceased because of this.	A LIFETIME IS A DAY	Noon	Time of Love	
AP-E4	কেলেই আহিলা যুৱন-কুমলীয়া। দেখি মৰম লাগিল মোৰ। এই নো দুপৰীয়া, যুৱন-কুমলীয়া! লোৱাহি প্ৰেমৰে জুৰ।।	Kelei ahila juban-kumliya Dekhi maram lagil mor; Eai no duporiya, juban-kumliya! Lowahi premore jur.	Why has the young lover arrived? Seeing her, he felt love blossom. This noon time, he invites the young lover to relax in the coolness of love.	A LIFETIME IS A DAY	Noon	Time of Love	The stage of youth is like the noon time of the day. It can be naïve, but lovely.
				LOVE IS COOLNESS	Coolness	Love	Love is coolness in (hot) noon time.
AP-E5	আঁঠীয়া কলৰে পাত নাকাটবা, চিটিকি পৰিব এঠা। লোককে দেখুৱাই কেটেৰা মাৰিবা, ভিতৰি নেৰিবা বেথা।।		When cutting the leaves of an Aathiya banana, glue (sap) splashes everywhere. The singer requests his lover to speak harshly in public but keep their love private.	WORDS ARE WEAPONS	Weapons	Words	The singer is asking his lover to throw harsh words at him only to show others, and not to abandon affection.
AP-E5	আঁঠীয়া কলৰে পাত নাকাটবা, চিটিকি পৰিব এঠা। লোককে দেখুৱাই কেটেৰা মাৰিবা, ভিতৰি নেৰিবা বেথা।।		When cutting the leaves of an Aathiya banana, glue (sap) splashes everywhere. The singer requests his lover to speak harshly in public but keep their love private.	WORDS ARE PROJECTILES	Glue of banana stem	Words	
				STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Location	Emotions	

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AP-E6	নৈলৈ হালিলে নদালী ভলুকা, হালে পথাৰলৈ মকাল। খোজতে হালিছে খোজতে জালিছে, ধনৰ খামুচীয়া কঁকাল।।	Noiloi halile nodali bholuka, Hale potharloi mokal; Khojote halise khojote jalise, Dhonor khaamuchiya kokal.	The Bholuka bamboo near the river leans towards the river, while the Mokal bamboo inclines towards the paddy fields. Similarly, his beloved's graspable in one hand (slender) waist sways gracefully as she walks.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Bamboo- Bholuka (Bambusa Balcooa)	Female Lover	The Bholuka and Makal bamboos dance near the river and field(in the wind). Female lovers waist also dances while walking.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Bamboo- Mokal (Bambusa Nutans)	Female Lover	
AP-E7	ন জোন,ওলালে বৰণটি সলালে, সলায় বৰেগছে পাত। আমাৰ সাদৰীয়ে বৰণটি সলালে, মুগা বিহা মেৰালে গাত।।	No jon, olale boronti salaale, Salai boregose pat; Amar sadoriye boronti salaale, Muga riha merale gat.	A New Moon has appeared, altering its hue. The Indian fig tree has likewise transformed, changing its leaves. His lover also changes her appearance by draping herself in a Muga Riha, a type of silk saree.	LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	New Moon	Female Lover	The new Moon changes colour(shape), the Indian fig tree also changes colour, the female lover also changes colour by wearing Muga (silk) cloth.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Indian Banyan (Ficus Indica)	Female Lover	
				CELESTIAL BODIES ARE LIVING ENTITIES	People	Moon	The celestial bodies, or a plant can change its appearance just like a person can.
				PLANTS ARE PEOPLE	People	Indian Banyan (Ficus Indica)	
AP-E8	জোনৰে সাৰথি তৰা, সমনীয়া ! জোনৰে সাৰথি তৰা। আমাৰে সাৰথি আনিম বিয়া কৰাই শহুৰৰ ঘৰৰে পৰা।।	Jonare sarothi tora, somoniya! Jonare sarothi tora; Amare sarothi anim bia korai Shahuror ghorore pora.	The Stars are the companion of the Moon. The singer will bring his companion by marrying his lover from his father-in-law's home.	LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Moon	Lover	
				LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Stars	Lover	
				MARRIAGE IS COMPANIONSHIP	Companionship	Marriage	Stars and the Moon are companions like a married couple. Based on the Gestalt's law of proximity, and similarity (colour).

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AP-E9	শহুৰৰ জীয়েকত মোৰো মনে খালে, আহিছো নিবৰে মন। দিবা নে নিদিয়া কোৱাচোন, শহুৰ ঐ ! তোমাৰ আমাৰ চেনেহৰ ধন।।	Shahuror jiyekot moro mone khale, Ahiso nibore mon; Dibaa ne nidia kowason, shahur oi! Tumar amar senehor dhon.	The singer's mind eats (likes) the daughter of his father-in-law and he has come to take her. He asks his father-in-law if he will give him both of theirs 'wealth of love'.	IDEAS ARE FOOD	Food	Ideas	The singer's mind eats the idea, means accepts the idea.
AP-E9	শহুৰৰ জীয়েকত মোৰো মনে খালে, আহিছো নিবৰে মন। দিবা নে নিদিয়া কোৱাচোন, শহুৰ ঐ ! তোমাৰ আমাৰ চেনেহৰ ধন।।		The singer's mind eats (likes) the daughter of his father-in-law and he has come to take her. He asks his father-in-law if he will give him both of theirs 'wealth of love'.	PEOPLE (of affection) ARE MONEY	Money	People	The term ' <i>dhon</i> ' means a dearly loved person, but also means money.
AP-E10	জোনেৰে লগতে তৰাট ওলালে পৰেবত শুৱনি কৰি। আমাৰে লগতে সৰু চেনাই ওলালে আলিবাট শুৱনি কৰি।।	Jonare lagate torati olale Porebat shuwani kari; Amare lagate saru senai olale Aalibat shuwani kari.	The Star has appeared alongside the Moon, enhancing the beauty of the hills. The lover of the singer joins him, adding charm to the road.	LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Moon	Lover	The celestial bodies beautifying the hills are the lovers beautifying the road.
				LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Stars	Lover	
AP-E11	পৰ্বতৰ শুৱনি গঙাকৈ চলনী, ব্ৰহ্মপুত্ৰ শুৱনি মিৰি। জুইশলা শুৱনি ডখৰা-ডখৰি, শোৱাপাটি শুৱনি তিৰি ॥	Porbatar shuwani gongakoi chilni, Brommoputra shuwani miri; Juixala shuwani dokhora-dokhori, Showapati shuwani tiri.	The Indian river tern adds beauty to the hills, and a Miri woman enhances the charm of the Brahmaputra River. A matchstick is appealing when it's in pieces (easy to catch fire); his lover looks appealing in bed.	LUST IS HEAT	Female Lover as Matchstick	Lust	Female lover is like matchstick that burns the fire in the male river.
AP-E11	পৰ্বতৰ শুৱনি গঙাকৈ চলনী, ব্ৰহ্মপুত্ৰ শুৱনি মিৰি। জুইশলা শুৱনি ডখৰা-ডখৰি, শোৱাপাটি শুৱনি তিৰি ॥		The Indian river tern adds beauty to the hills, and a Miri woman enhances the charm of the Brahmaputra River. A matchstick is appealing when it's in pieces (easy to catch fire); his lover looks appealing in bed.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Indian River Tern (Sterna Aurantia)	Female Lover	The female lover is compared to a Indian River Tern, a Miri woman, and to Matchsticks.
AP-E12	বাৰীৰ পিছে ফালে কি চৰাই মাটিছে, কিনো খাই মলঙিল ঠোঁট। একে বগীতৰা সোণৰ গিলিপ মৰা, দাপোণ চাই লগাইছে ফেট। ॥	Barir pise fale ki chorai matise, Kino khai malangil thunt; Eke bogitora sonor gilip mora, Dapon chai lagaaise funt.	Which bird has chirped in the backyard? Eating what its beak has become mouldy? His lover, adorned in gold and gazing into the mirror, is placing a Bindi on her forehead.	GOODNESS IS WHITENESS	Fairness Or Whiteness	Beauty	
				GOODNESS IS GOLD	Gold	Beauty	

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				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bird	Female Lover	The beak of the bird is the mouth of the female lover. Used sarcastically here, since it talks about the beak becoming mouldy.
				NEGATIVE IS BACKSIDE	Backside of The Compound	Mouldy	Mould is bad, the backyard is associated with this process.
AP-E13	ৰিঙেকৈ পহুৰে শিঙা ঐ ৰাঙলী ! ৰিঙেকৈ পহুৰে শিঙা। চেনাইলৈ কপৌফুল পালোগৈ বিচাৰি চটাই পৰেবতৰ টিঙা ॥	Ringekoi pohure sing oi rongilee! Ringekoi pohure sing; Senailoi kapauphul palogoi bisari Chotai porebatar ting.	The speaker begins by discussing deer antlers. He then describes his journey to the mountain's summit in search of a Foxtail orchid to present to his beloved.				DEERS ANTLERS FOR MOUNTAIN PEAK. Antlers are mostly found in males- and mountains are also seen as masculine in the culture.
AP-E14	মইনাৰ গালতে চুমা পিছলিলে, হাতৰ পিছলিলে কাহী। এইপাহি ফুলকে মইনাক দিয়ে যাবা, পেলাব মিচিকাই হাঁহি।।	Moinar galote suma pisolile, Hator pisolile kahee; Eipahi fulke moinak diye jaba, Pelab michikai hahi.	A smile slips on his partner's face; a plate slips away from her hand. He sends a flower to his lover to make her smile.	ACTION IS CONTROL OVER POSSESSIONS	A Spontaneous Smile	A Plate Slipping Away From Hand	As one can not control the act of a plate slipping away from hand, he or she cannot control a spontaneous smile.
AP-E15	উজানৰে জীয়া ধোৱাকৈ চান্দীয়া, ন জোনৰ মুখেৰে পানী। সৰুকৈ কাটিবা মুগাৰে বটীয়া, আনিম সোণ-পোৱালৰ মণি।	Ujanire jiya dhowakoi chondia, Ne junor mukhore pani; Sarukoi katibaa mugare botiya, Aanim son-powalor moni.	The singer mentions water in the crescent moon's mouth. He then asks his lover who is from Upper Assam to craft small twines from Muga silk, promising to bring her gold and pearls in return.				
AP-E16	শুৱায় কি নুশুৱায় সোণৰ পোৱালমণি, বনিয়াই বনিয়াই চাঙা। শুৱায় কি নুশুৱায় মোৰ ধন চেনাইক ঐ, পিদ্ধাই আগে-গুৰি চাঙা।	Shuway ki nusuway sonor powalmoni, Boniai boniai chaon; Shuway ki nusuway mor dhon senaik oi, Pindhai age-guri chaon.	He carefully examines his partner to determine if the gold and coral jewellery enhances her appearance, then has her wear them.	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Coral Necklace	Female Lover	The singer examines his lover as one does a coral necklace.
AP-E17	ক'লা চোলাই নুশুৱায় তোক ঐ সাদৰী বগা চোলাই নুশুৱায় তোক। ৰংপুৰ জিলাতে আছে ৰঙা চোলা, সেয়ে হে শুৱাব তোক।।	Ka'la chulai nusuway tok oi sadori Boga chulai nusuway tok, Rongpur jilate aase rongha chula, Seye he shuwab tok.	Neither a black top nor a white top complements his partner. There is a red top in the Rangpur district that will suit her perfectly.	PASSION IS COLOUR RED	Red Coloured Cloth	Passion	Black and white colours are not culturally associated with affection.

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AP-E18	পথাৰে পথাৰে ক'লে যোৱা, মইনা ! লগত ভনীয়েৰলক লই। তোমাক এটি কথা ক'বলৈ নাপালো মুখতে মুখখনি থই।।	Pothare pothare ka'loi jowa, moina! Lagat bhonyerlok lai; Tumak eti katha ka'boloi napalo Mukhote mukkhoni thoi.	Where is his lover going with her sister through the paddy fields? He couldn't speak to her keeping his mouth on her mouth.	LOVE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS	Physical Touch	Intimacy	The singer was unable to show intimacy to his lover as she was with her sister.
AP-E19	জাকৈয়া ওলালে, খালৈয়া ওলালে, মাৰে কোন বিলৰে মাছ । সৰুটি চেনাইকে শিঙিয়ে ফুটিলে, পৰিল ডেকা ল'ৰাৰ পাছ।।	Jakoia olale, khaloia olale, Mare kon bilore mas; Saruti senaie singiye futile, Poril deka la'rar pas.	The girls have arrived at the lake equipped with various fishing gear. Unfortunately, a stinging catfish (Heteropneustes fossilis) has injured one of them, and now she is seeking assistance from the young boys nearby.				
AP-E20	বৰঘৰ সোমায়ৈ চিঠিখন লিখিলো দি গ'লো পিয়নৰ হাতত। চিঠিৰে ভিতৰত যি কথা লিখিলো, নপৰে লোকৰে কাণত।।	Borghor somaye sithikhon likhilo Di go'lo pionor hatot; Sithire bhitorot ji katha likhilo, Nopore lokare kanot.	He wrote a letter in his main house and sent it via a postman. The writings in the letter are not for (other) people's ears.				
AP-F1	গা ধুই বামুণে কৰে গোসাই-সেৱা ডোমে সেৱা কৰে নাও। পদূলি ওলায়ে মনত চিন্তা কৰো, আজি কোন পোনে যাওঁ।।	Ga dhui bamune kare gusai-sewa Dome sewa kare nao; Poduli olaye manat chinta karo, Aaji kon pone jaon.	A Brahmin (the priestly caste in Hinduism) bows to the god after taking a bath, while a Dom (a caste of fishermen) bows to the boats. The singer, upon reaching the entrance, ponders which way to go.	MIND IS A CONTAINER	Container For Thought	Mind	The singer thinks inside his mind.
				LOVE IS A DUTY	Duty According to Caste	Love According to Lovers	As the Brahmin, and the Dom has their duty or everyday rituals, the singer has the duty to love.
AP-F2	উজাই যাবলৈ ৰঙেকৈ ধেমালি, ভটিয়াই যাবলৈ টান। মইনাৰ লগতে দেহাটি এৰিম মই, পিৰিটি এৰাটো টান।।	Ujai jaboloi rongekoi dhemali, Bhatiyai jaboloi tan Moinar lagate dehati erim moi, Piriti erato tan.	Going upstream brings a lot of joy, while moving downstream is difficult. The singer will part with his physical form alongside his beloved, but letting go of love itself will be tough.	FATE IS A RIVER	River	Fate	
				DEATH IS DOWNSTREAM	Moving Downstream	Moving Towards Death	The river dies when it reaches its delta.
AP-F3	পিৰিতি ইয়াকুল, পিৰিতি বিয়াকুল, পিৰিতি গলৰে জৰী। যিমান মেৰ খুৱাবি সিমান মেৰে খাব, পিৰিতি নপৰে খহি।।	Piriti iyakul, piriti biyakul, Piriti golore jori; Jiman mer khuwabi siman mere khab, Piriti nopore khohi.	Love creates a sense of anxiety and feels like a rope around the neck. It tightens as much as one allows and it does not fall off.	LOVE IS A ROPE	Rope	Love	Love is a rope around the lover's neck that keeps on tightening.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-F4	বাঁহৰ তলে তলে বাঁহী বজাইছিলো চেনায়ে শুনকগৈ বুলি। শাহু আয়ে শুনিলে মিচিকি হাঁহিলে, জোঁৱাই ল'ৰাই বজাইছে বুলি ॥	Bahor tole tole bahee bojaisilo Senaye shunakgoi buli; Shaahu aye shunile michiki hahile, Juwai la'rai bojaise buli.	The male lover performed the flute beneath the bamboo trees, wishing his beloved would listen. Instead, it was his mother-in-law who heard the melody and smiled, acknowledging her son-in-law's playing.				
AP-F5	মাকে চাউল চালে চালনি নুঘুৰে, বোপাই তামোল কাটে সৰু মৰমৰ জীয়েকক দিছে ধৰম-বিয়া, উছৰগত নিদিলে গৰু।।	Make saul chale chaloni nughure, Boopai tamol kate saru; Moromor jiyekok dise dhorom-bia, Usorgot nidile goru.	The mother of his lover does not know how to properly use a bamboo sieve to sift rice, while the father cuts the betel nut into (undesirably) small pieces. They have married off their daughter in a ceremony but did not offer a cow or bull.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Small Piece Of Betel Nut	Misery	The father of the female lover is a miser who also refuses to offer a cow in the wedding ceremony. The mother is also an incapable worker.
AP-F6	কেলেই আমন-জিমন কাৰি থাকা, মইনা ! কেলেই মাৰি থাকা মন। আমাৰ ঘৰেবাৰী তোমাকে গতালো, তুমি হ'লা হৃদয়ৰ ধন।।	Kelei amon-jimon kari thaka, moina! Caloi mari thaka mon; Amar ghorebari tumake gotalo, Tumi ho'la hridayor dhon.	The singer inquires why his lover is sad and gives her the house and property, as she is the wealth of his heart.	MIND IS A LIVING ENTITY	Person	Mind	"mon mari thaka" literally means "mind kill/dead stay". The mind like a living organism can die, which means sadness.
				LOVER IS MONEY (OF HEART)	Money	Female Lover	dhon' can mean one's beloved, or money
AP-F7	চাহপাত চাঙালো, চটাইত মোলাছিলো, তেতেলিপতীয়া হ'ল। শহুৰৰ জীয়েকক আনিবৰে পৰা খুটিৰ মহ বিকৰে গ'ল।।	Sahpat singilo, chotait melisilo, Tetelipotiya ho'; Shahuror jiyekok aanibore pora Khutir moh bikare go'la.	He tore some tea leaves and spread them on a bamboo mat. When it dried, he become like the tamarind leaves. When he married his father- in-law's daughter, he had to sell his buffaloes.	MARRIAGE IS POVERTY	Poverty	Marriage	Expenses in a marriage can lead to poverty.
				WEALTH IS PHYSICAL SIZE	Physical Size	Wealth	The tea leaves are bigger and fuller than the tamarind leaves. Once the tea leaves dry, it become like the later. Maps the journey from abundance to poverty.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-F8	দকৈ পথাৰত ধান দাই আছিলে, ঘিলা-চকলীয়া মুঠি। আটাইকে দেখো মই, মোৰ ধনক নেদেখো, চাওঁ চটিয়নাত উঠি।।	Dokoi potharot dhan dai aasile, Ghila-chokoliya muthi; Ataika dekho moi, mor dhonok nedekho, Chaon chotionat uthi.	His lover was gathering rice in a distant field, each handful resembling flat seeds of Entada scandens. He couldn't spot her among the others, so he climbed an Alstonia scholaris tree to find her.	LOVE IS LONGING	Longing	Love	
AP-F9	পথাৰৰ মূৰতে ধান দাই আছিলে, হাতত হেঙুলীয়া কাচি। বায়েক ভনীয়েক ঐ দুইজনী সমানে, আনিম কোনোজনী বাছি ।।	Potharor moorote dhan dai aasile, Hatot henguliya kasi; Bayek bhonyek oi duijoni somane, Aanim konojoni bachi.	His lover was harvesting rice at the field's edge with a vermilion hued sickle in hand. Both sisters are equally alike, so who should the singer choose?	PASSION IS COLOUR RED	Vermillion Coloured Sickle	Passion	henguliya' means the colour of Mercury Sulphide, a brilliant red pigment
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Rice Paddy- Ripe	Female Lover	The male lover is wondering which of the sisters should he choose.
AP-F10	কি চাইছ ভেলেঙী ডিঙ মেলি মেলি, ৰঙতে মগনা হই। ওচৰৰ জোপাতে শতুৰু আছেহি, হাতত ধনু-কাঁড়ে লই।।	Ki chaisa velengi dingi meli meli, Rongote mogona hoi; Osarar jopate shaturu aasehi, Hatot dhonoo-kaare lai.	While his naïve lover gazes, lost in happiness, an enemy with a bow and arrow lurks on the nearby tree.	ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Mortal Enemy With Bow and Arrow	Antagonist Of Love	The one who opposes or obstructs their love, is like an enemy hiding with bow and arrow.
AP-F11	চুটিমুটি নাওখন নাকাটিবা, শহুৰ ঐ! গুৰি দি আমনি লাগে। অবুজন জীয়েৰক নিদিবা, শহুৰ ঐ! কথা বুজাই আমনি লাগে।।।	Sutimuti naukhon nakatibaa, shahur oi! Guri di amni lage; Obujon jiyerok nidibaa, Shahur a! katha bujai amni lage.	He requests his father-in-law not to cut (make) a short boat, because it is difficult to steer. He also asks not to offer the uncomprehending daughter, as explaining things is exhausting.	FEMALE LOVER IS A BOAT	Short Boat	Female Lover	A short boat is difficult to steer or control, much like the singer's to be wife. Shows that in the cultural context males are seen as the controller.
				LIFE IS A RIVER	River	Life	In the river of life, one must steer his boat well.
AP-F12	উৰিয়ামৰ নাওখন নাকাট, সমনীয়া ! গুৰি ধৰি যাবলৈ টান। ৰংপুৰ জিলাৰে ছোৱালী নানিবা, কথা বুজাবলৈ টান।।	Uriamor naukhon nakat, somoniya! Guri dhor jaboloi tan; Rongpur jilare sowali nanibaa, Katha bujaboloi tan.	The singer asks his peers not to cut (make) a boat from Bishop wood, as it is difficult to steer. He also advises them not to bring a girl from the Rangpur district as making her understand things difficult.	FEMALE LOVER IS A BOAT	Boat Made Of Bishop Wood	Female Lover	The singer says that a boat made of Bishop wood is difficult to steer, much like the girls from Rangpur district.
AP-F13	পৰ্বতে পৰ্বতে বগাব পাৰো মই, লতাত বগাবলৈ টান। যুৰীয়া হাতীকো বৰাব পাৰো মই, চেনাইক বৰাবলৈ টান ।।	Porbote porbote bogab paro moi, Latat bogaboloi tan; Juriya hatiku borab paro moi, Senaik boraboloi tan.	The singer can scale mountains, but struggles with climbing a creeper. He can tame elephants, yet finds it challenging to control his lover.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Elephant	Female Lover	A pair of elephants or an elephant with pair of tusks, and to-be wife should be controlled by the man.

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				LOVE IS A QUEST	Climbing Creepers, Climbing Hills, Taming Elephants	Love	
AP-F14	হাবিৰে লাওকাও হাতী, ঐ মইনা ! হাবিৰে লাওকাও হাতী। কাৰ নো লগে পাই হ'লি তই লালকাও, আগেয়ে আছিলি জাতি।।	Habire laokaao hati, oi moina! Habire laokaao hati; Kar no lage pai ho'li toi lalakaao, Ageye aasili jati.	The singer mentions that his lover has become a wild untamed elephant. He suspects, it is due to her meeting someone, contrasting with her previously domesticated nature.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Elephant Domestic	Female Lover	According to the singer, his lover was a like a domesticated elephant. But upon meeting someone else she has become wild.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Elephant Wild	Female Lover	
AP-F15	হাঁহৰে পোৱালি শিয়ালে লই গ'ল, মাউতক লই গ'ল শেনে। তোমাৰ সমনীয়াক যেনে হেন দেখিবা, আমাকো দেখিবা তেনে।।	Hahore powali shiyale lai go'la, Mautak lai go'la shene; Tumar somoniyak jene hen dekhibaa, Amako dekhibaa tene.	The ducklings were taken by the fox, and the elephant keeper was taken by the falcon. He requests his lover to look at him the same manner as she does for her peers.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Duckling	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Fox	Male Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Falcon	Male Lover	
				LOVE IS A HUNT	Hunter	Male Lover	
AP-F16	বাৰীৰে আমেগছ তিনি ফেৰেঙীয়া, তাতে বহি মাভিলে কুলি ! গধূলি বেলিকা আহিবা, লাহৰী? চালনি আনোঁগৈ বুলি।।	Barire amegs tini ferengiya, Tate bohi matile kuli! Godhuli belika ahibaa, lahoi? Chaloni aanooogi buli.	The compound's mango tree has three branches, and a cuckoo calls from it. He requests his lover to visit in the evening under the guise of fetching a sieve.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cuckoo	Female Lover	The call of the Cuckoo can be related to the spring season. Or it can be a secret call by the male lover.
AP-F17	উজাই আহিলে বাগিচাৰ চাহবাট, চাৰাপ খাই পেলালে চিচা । অতক ধনে-বস্তু কেহেলই লাগিছে, ছোৱালী নহ'লে মিছা ।।	Ujai ahile bagisar sahapti, Sarap khai pelale sisa; Atok dhone-bostu keheloi lagise, Sowali noh'le misa.	The master of the (tea) plantation has arrived from downstream. After drinking, he dropped the glass. Why does one need so many possessions? Without a girl (companion), life seems pointless.	LOVE IS AN ADDICTION	Alcohol Addiction	Addiction Of Women	Love is seen as a drug, and with its association women can also be seen as an addiction.
AP-F18	চৰকাৰী চাকৰি নালাগে, লাহৰী ! নালাগে তলপৰ ধন। বিয়া-বাৰু কৰিলে হ'ব মতা ল'ৰা, পথালি কোলাতে ল'ম।।	Chorkari chakori nalage, lahoi! Nalage tolpur dhon; Bia-baru karile ho'bo mota la'ra, Pothali kolate la'ma.	The singer has no desire for a government position, and does not want money being a subordinate. When he marries and has a son, he envisions holding the child lovingly in his arms.				Culturally male child is see as more important.

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AP-F19	চ'ততে চকৰি, ব'হাগত বগৰি, জেঠতে আমনা ধান। বৰলা ভকতক কন্যাদান কৰিবা, পাবা বৈকুণ্ঠতে থান।।	Ch'tote chokori, bo'hagot bogori, Jethate amna dhan; Borola bhokotok kanyadan karibaa, Paba boikunthate than.	There are specific tasks to be done in specific months. He asks (the lover's parents) to give away their daughter to an unmarried devotee (himself). He declared that this act will provide them with a seat in the heavens.	GIVING AWAY THE DAUGHTER IN MARRIAGE IS A DUTY	A Duty	Giving Away Daughter In Marriage	The duties are doing specific tasks in specific months such as <i>Amona</i> paddy plantation to start at the <i>Jeth</i> month. Giving away daughter to a unmarried devotee is also a duty of her parents.
AP-F20	চাহাব যায় চুটা লৈ, মই যাওঁ ভাটিলে, অকলে থাকিবা শুই। কুমলীয়া শৰীলত কোনো দুখ নিদিবা, মোৰ মনত নিদিবা জুই।।	Sahab jay suti loi, moi jaon bhatiloi, Okole thakibaa shui; Kumliya sharilot kono dukh nidibaa, Mor manat nidibaa jui.	The master (of the tea garden) departs; the singer travels downstream, while the lover rests in solitude. The singer then requests his beloved not to burden his youthful body with sorrow or fire in his mind.	NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM	Downstream	Separation	Going downstream is connected to separation/negative emotions.
				GRIEF IS BURNING	Fire	Grief	
AP-G1	আয়ে তুলিলে কটনা কাটিয়ে কৰি খাব নাজানো কাম। মহৰিও নহ'লো, কেৰেণী নহ'লো, তোমাক কেনে কৰি পাম।।	Aaye tulile kotona katiye Kari khab naajano kam; Mahario noh'lo, kerenee noh'lo, Tumak kene kari pam.	The singer's mother raised him with great difficulty, and he doesn't know how to work for survival. He couldn't become a clerk (a good position of the time), so how could he attain her?	LOVED ONE IS A POSSESSION	Possession Of Lover	Love	The singer can attain his lover.
AP-G2	নগাই বেচিলে নৰা জাঙেফাই, মিৰিয়ে বেচিলে কি। মাতলৈ তুলিলে মাতৰে মইনা, ধনলৈ তুলিলে জী।।	Nogai besile nora jaangefai, Miriye besile ki; Matoloi tulile matore moina, Dhonoloi tulile ji.	The Nagas have sold amber ornaments, but what have the Miri people sold? (The parents of the lover) raised a common hill Myna bird for singing and a daughter for him.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Common Hill Myna (Gracula Religiosa)	Female Lover	The Common Hill Myna can be trained to mimic human voice in captivity. The singer says that his lover was also trained by her parents for him.
				LOVED ONE IS A POSSESSION	Possession Of Goods	Female Lover	Female lover is a sellable goods like amber ornaments. The parents are the sellers.
AP-G3	কিনো ফুল বাচিলি তই, ঐ বচকাঁ ! আটাইবোৰ বাবৰি চকা। অকলে লগ দি বলিয়া কৰিলি, হাতত নাইকিয়া টকা।।	Kino ful bachili toi, oi rosoki! Ataibor babori choka; Okole lag di bolia karili, Hatot naikia toka.	The female lover weaves flowers on cloth like those from Babari (pot herb). She makes him mad meeting him alone, and he doesn't have any money with him (to marry).	LOVE IS MADNESS	Madness	Love	The lover is the drug, which makes the men mad.

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AP-G4	গা ধুই শালিকি ৰ'দতে জিৰালে, ছাঁতে জিৰালে গৰু । সৰুৰে-এপৰা পিৰিতি কৰিলো, এতিয়া কেনেকৈ এৰো ॥	Ga dhui shaaliki r'dote jirale, Sate jirale goru; Sarure-epora piriti karilo, Etiya kenekoi ero.	The common Myna bird rests in the sun after bathing, and the cow/bull rests in the shade. The singer has loved the his lover since he was young, so how can he now leave her/the love?	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Common Myna (Acridotheres Tristis)	Female Lover	
					Cow Or Bull	Male Lover	
							The separation comes from physical distance of location, and behaviour, shadows versus in the Sun.
				LOVE IS AN ACTION	Action	Love	One can do it.
AP-G5	চিন্তায়ো মাৰিছে খাই, মোৰ চেনাই ঐ! চৰ্চায়ো মাৰিছে খাই। যৌৱনৰ কালতে ফুৰো অনাই-বনাই, ছোৱালী খোজোতা নাই।	Chintaayo marise khai, mor senai oi! Chorsayo marise khai; Joubonor kalote furo onai-bonai, Sowali khojota nai.	Anxiety and discussions have consumed the singer. He roams around alone in his youth because he has no one (elder in his family) to ask for a girl for him.	GRIEF IS AN ANIMAL	Carnivorous Animals	Worrisome Thoughts	Worrisome thoughts like anxiety can eat (and kill) a person.
				STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Location	State Of Youth	The singer wonders alone in the location of youth.
AP-G6	আয়ে নোখোজে জীয়াৰী ছোৱালী, বোপায়ে নোখোজে গপত। মই, সমনীয়া ! যিজনীক চান্দিছো, আনি যাম চকুৰে টিপত।	Aaye nokhoje jiyori sowali, Boopaye nokhoje gopot; Moi, somoniya ! jijonik chandiso, Aani jam chokure tipot.	The singer's mother doesn't ask for a girl for him, and his father doesn't ask out of pride. The girl he seeks in secret, he will bring her in the blink of an eye.	LOVE IS QUEST	Quest	Love	
				LOVED ONE IS A POSSESSION	Possession	Female Lover	The singer wishes to possess his lover in a quest.
AP-G7	আইৰ আলসুৱা, বোপাইৰ আলসুৱা, চেনাইৰ আলসুৱা মই। চেনাইলৈ বাটে চাই দুপৰৰ ৰ'দতে, থাকো গছৰ তলত শুই।	Aair aalsuwa, boopair aalsuwa, Senair aalsuwa moi; Senailoi bate chai duporor r'dote, Thako gosor tolot shui.	His mother and father delicately raised the singer, and he is also delicate to his lover. He sleeps under the tree in the noon sun, waiting for his lover.	A LIFETIME IS A DAY	Noon	Time of Love	The singer relates the whole lifetime with a day. Here the noontime is compared to youthful stage of a person.
AP-G8	আই নাই, ভাই নাই, সমনীয়া ককাই নাই, কোনে কৰি যাব মৰম। বৰলা ভকতক কন্যাदान কৰিব, লা'ব কলি কালৰ ধৰম।	Aai nai, bhai nai, somoniya kokaioi nai, Kone kari jab maram; Borola bhokotok kanyadan karib, La'bo koli kalor dhorom.	The singer has neither a mother nor similarly aged brothers to love him. He asks the female lover's parents to offer their daughter to an unmarried devotee (him) as a noble deed.	GRIEF IS LONELINESS	Loneliness	Lack Of Love	Love from parents or siblings.
				GIVING AWAY THE DAUGHTER IN MARRIAGE IS A DUTY	A Duty	Giving Away Daughter In Marriage	The duty for the girl's parents.

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AP-G9	হাৰিত নামে গালো, দদায়ে শুনিলে, ঘৰতো নিদিয়া ঠাই। দুবৰি বনতে ইমানটি হ'লোহি, লোকৰ কটা তামোল খাই।।	Habit name galo, dodaye shunile, Ghorto nidiye thai; Dubori bonote emanti ho'lohi, Lokar kota tamol khai.	The singer sang in the woods, and his uncle heard him and removed him from his home. He grew up on the scutch grass and eating betel nuts cut by others.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Hospitality	The Bihu songs sung in private in the woods can be explicit and immoral for the society, which offends the uncle of the singer. He removed the singer from his home, and hence the singer has been brought up by other people
AP-G10	কাঁহৰে বাটতে সাৰিয়হ পিছলে, নিয়ৰত পিছলে ভৰি। কথাৰে লাচতে কথাটি পিছলে, কথাত ব'বা খোপনি ধৰি।।	Kahore batite sariyah pisole, Niorot pisole bhari; Kathare lasote kathati pisole, Kathat r'ba khopani dhori.	Mustard seeds slide around in the bell metal bowl, and the feet slip in the dew. The singer says that words can slip in the flow, so one should be cautious and press their toes down in the words to avoid slipping.	SPEAKING IS WALKING	Walking	Speaking	While talking one must be cautious and press their toes down in earth not to let unwanted words slip.
AP-G11	উজাই নাওৰীয়া বালিত ভাত খালে, কুজা হৈ বোটলে ছুৱা। তোমাৰে ঘৰতে কৈ থৈ আহিছে, লোকৰ নাভাঙিবা গুৱা।।	Ujai nauriya balit bhat khale, Kuja hoi bootle suwa; Tumare ghorote koi thoi ahise, Lokar navangibaa guwa.	The boatmen traveling upstream eat their food on the sand and gather up the leftovers bending down. The singer has already sent a proposal to his lover's home, so he asks her to avoid offering betel quid to other men.	NEGATIVE IS DOWN	Bending Down to Pick Up Leftovers	Lover Committed to Someone Else	The poem explicitly says that one bends down to gather the leftover food. Leftover food is undesirable, and bending down is related to it.
				LOVER IS FOOD	Leftover Food	Lover Committed to Someone Else	Once one's prospective lover entertain another man by sharing betel quid, she becomes leftover food for him.
				BETEL QUID CHEWING	Sharing Betel Quid With Another Person	Romantically Committing to Someone Else	
AP-G12	মাৰে নিদিয়া, বাপেৰে নিদিয়া, তোমাৰ আহিবৰে মন। তোমাক আনিবৰে মোৰো মন আছিলে, হাতত নাইকিয়া ধন।।	Mare nidiye, bapere nidiye, Tumar ahibore mon; Tumak aanibore moro mon aasile, Hatot naikia dhon.	The singer's lover wants to come, but her mother and father do not approve. He also wanted to bring her, but he doesn't have enough money.				

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-G13	পৰলৈ নিদিবা মন, ঐ মইনা ! পৰলৈ নিদিবা মন। হাড়ক মাটি কৰি, তেজক পানী কৰি, তোমালৈ ঘটিছে ধন।।	Porloi nidibaa mon, oi moina! Porloi nidibaa mon; Harok mati kari, tejok pani kari, Tumaloi ghotisel dhon.	The singer asks his lover not to give her mind (heart) to someone else. He is breaking his back to earn enough money for her.	MIND IS AN OBJECT	Object	Mind	the object mind is transferrable
AP-G14	জাপি সৰুদৈয়া টুপ, ঐ লাহৰী ! জাপি সৰুদৈয়া টুপ। তোমাক সৰু দেখি আনিব খুজিলো, বাপেৰে নল'লে ৰূপ।।	Japi sarudoia tup, oi lahori! Japi sarudoia tup; Tumak saru dekhi aanib khujilo, Bapere nol'le rup.	The singer wanted to bring the girl home who is similar to the tip of the small and finely woven hat. But he can't as her father does not accept the silver compensation for her.	LOVER IS A PRECIOUS OBJECT	A Finely Woven Bamboo Hat	Female Lover	This hat is small in size, made of thin wickers, and worn by women of higher status. Young girl is also more desirable.
AP-G15	ৰেলৰ আলিৰ দুবাৰি বন, প্ৰাণেশ্বৰী ! ৰেলৰ আলিৰ দুবাৰি বন। হাড়ক মাটি কৰি তেজক পানী কৰি মিছতে ঘটিলো ধন।।	Re'lar aalir dubori bon, Praneswori ! re'lar aalir dubori bon; Hadak mati kari tejok pani kari Misate ghotilo dhon.	There is scutch grass on the railway tracks. The singer has made money, breaking his back in vain.	FAILURE IN LOVE IS WORTHLESSNESS			The scutch grass is wonderful to walk on and is common among Assamese houses. The grass on a railway track is hence worthless.
AP-G16	মাৰও নৰকী, বাপেৰও নৰকী, দিলে নৰকতে বুৰ। তাতোকৈ নৰকী মাজুটো ককায়েৰ, ৰাতি খেদি ফুৰে চোৰ।।	Marou noroki, baperau noroki, Dile norokote bur; Tatukoi noroki majuto kakaayer, Rati khedi fure sor.	The mother and father of the singer's lover are worthy of hell, and they dive into it. Her middle brother is even more deserving of hell, as he roams at night expelling the thief (male lover).	HELL IS A LIQUID BODY	Liquid Body	Hell	The parents of the lover dive into hell.
				LOVER IS A THIEF	Thief	Male Lover	Male lover is a thief, who roams around night near his lover's house and who might steal the lover herself or her honour according to her family.
AP-G17	হাতত গোটা থাক কোনে দিলে, লাহৰী ! বহিলে জুনুকাই বাজে। তোমাৰে বাপেৰে আমাক মাৰিবলৈ বাটত কাঁড়ে-ধনু পাতে।।	Hatot gota kharu kone dile, lahori! Bohile junukai baje; Tumare bapere amak mariboloi Batot kaare-dhonoo pate.	Who has given the female lover the bracelets or the rattling anklets? The girl's father sets a bow and arrow to kill the male lover.	ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Mortal Enemy With Bow and Arrow	Father Of The Female Lover	The father of the lover is against their love and would not hesitate from mortally harming him.
AP-G18	হাবিৰ হেৰেপতা, দি যাওঁ বালিৰ ভেটা, জোনপাই শ্যামুকৰ চূণ। খুৱাই পাহৰিলা থুৰি তামোলখনি, কথাৰ পাহৰিলা গুণ।।	Habir herepata, di jaon balir veta, Jonpai shaamukor choon; Khuwai pahorila thuri tamolkhoni, Kathar pahorila gun.	Flat-bellied water body in the woods, sand dam, and lime from clam (of the shells). The female lover has forgotten (him) after giving him betel nut; she forgot the words/ideas (she had given).	IDEAS ARE FOOD	Betel Quid	Ideas	After offering him the betel quid if she forgets about it, it is like forgetting the words/promises she had given before.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Expression of Love	Betel quid chewing- the poem describes how one procures the lime to mix with betel nut.
AP-G19	নেৰ বঙা গড়া দলান-দোপানি, হৰিণা চিঞৰে বনত। তোমাৰে সন্তাপত থাকিব নোৱাৰি মৰিমগৈ শদিয়াৰ বণত।।	Noir ronga gara doloni-dopani, Horina siore bonot; Tumare santapot thakib nuwari Morimgoi Sadiar ronot.	The red embankment of the river is a bog—a deer cries in the woods. The singer will go to war in Sadiya to die in the grief of his lover.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Deer In Bog	Male Lover	Here deer trapped in a bog is used as a motif of a powerless creature, like the soldiers in a war waiting for eventual death.
				GRIEF IS DEATH	Death	Grief	
AP-H1	দুচকু মুদিও তোক দেখো, প্ৰেমৰ মইনা, দুচকু মুদিলেও দেখো। কোনজন ইশ্বৰে এনেকৈ মিলালে, একেটি দেহা যেন দেখো।।	Dusku mudio tok dekho, premor moina, Dusku mudileo dekho; Konjon ishore enekoi milale, Eketi deha jen dekho.	The singer still envisions his lover even when he shuts his eyes. It feels as though they are united as one by a divine plan.	LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	
				LIFE IS A PLAY	Fate	God	
AP-H2	পানীত জিকেমিকায় পানীৰে পৰুৱা, ফুলৰ জিকেমিকায় পাহি। চেনাই জিকেমিকায় দুগালৰ তেজেৰে, মুখত মিচিকিয়া হাঁহি।।	Panit jikemikay panire poruwa; Fulor jikemikai pah; Senai jikemikay dugalor tejere, Mukhot michikiya hahi.	The water ants glistens in the water and the petals shimmer within the flowers. His beloved's cheeks flush with a blood oozing (rosy) glow, accompanied by a smile on her mouth (lips).	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Shimmering Water Ants	Female Lover	Water ants shimmering on water
				LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Flower Petal	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Plants	Female Lover	The flowers of the plants are like the face of the female lover and the petals are like her smile.
AP-H3	হাতলৈ কি চাবা হাতীৰ শুৰে যেনে, ভৰিৰ নো কি চাবা গোটা। মুখলৈ কি চাবা দোলা-দাপোণ যেনে, কঁকালৰ বীণৰে গোটা।।	Hatoloi ki chaba hatir shure jene, Bharir no ki chaba got; Mukholoi ki chaba dola-dapon jene, Kokalar binore got.	His lover's hands resemble elephant trunks (in the best way); the feet are equally striking. The face is beautiful, and the waist curves gracefully like a Veena (a musical instrument).	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Elephant- Trunk	Female Lover	The hands of the female lover is plump like elephant trunk.
							VEENA FOR WAIST- Visual simile
				GOOD LOOKS IS PLUMPNESS	Plump Figure of Woman	Beauty	Cultural definition of beautiful women is more plump than slim

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AP-H4	দলনিৰ ওপৰে কি চৰাই উৰিলে, আটাই বগা বগা ঠোঁট। একে বগীতৰা সোণৰ গিলিপ মৰা, কপালত সেন্দূৰৰ ফোঁট।।	Dolonir opare ki chorai urile, Atai rongra rongra thunt; Eke bogitora sonor gilip mora, Kapalot senduror funt.	Birds that have flown over the wetland possesses a red-coloured beak. Similarly, the lover (Bogitora- a lady of fair complexion) is adorned in gold and has a vermilion mark on her forehead.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bird With Red Beaks	Female Lover	The bird with red beak whose habitat is the wetlands is similar to his lover who wears vermilion mark on her forehead.
				GOODNESS IS WHITENESS	Fairness	Beauty	Bogitora term is used for a woman with fair complexion
				PASSION IS COLOUR RED	Bird With Red Beaks	Passion	
				GOODNESS IS GOLD	Gold	Beauty	
AP-H5	হাতৰে শূৱনি হাতৰ গামেখাৰু, কঁকালৰ শূৱনি ৰিহা। মূৰে শূৱনি দীঘলকৈ সঁওতা, গলধনৰ শূৱনি খোপা।।	Hatore shuwani hator gamekharu, Kokalar shuwani riha; Moorore shuwani digholokoi seota, Golodhonor shuwani khopa.	Gamkharu (a type of bracelet) adorns the hand, while Riha (a piece of cloth resembling saree) enhances the waist. An extended hair partition beautifies the head, and a bun graces the back of the neck.				
AP-H6	জাংফাই কেৰুযোৰ পনিয়লী বাখৰবোৰ, কাণত জিকেমিকে কৰে। চেনাইটিৰ ফাললৈ চাবকে নোৱাৰি, শোণে খুন্দা মাৰি ধৰে।।	Jaangfai kerujor ponioli bakhorbor, Kantot jikemike kare; Senaitir falloi chaboke nuwari, Shoghe khunda mari dhore.	Amber Keru (a type of earrings), shimmering plum-coloured gemstones, adorn her ears. The singer, overwhelmed by grief, cannot look at his lover.	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Amber Keru	Female Lover	
				LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Plum Coloured Gemstones	Female Lover	
				GRIEF IS POUNDING	Pounding	Grief	
AP-H7	দেহি ঐ লাহৰী ! দেহি ঐ চেনাইটি ! কোনে চাই থাকিব পাৰে। সোণতে সূৰগা কঁকালৰ মেখেলা, দেখি মনে-প্ৰাণে হৰে।।	Dehi oi lahori ! dehi oi senaiti ! Kone chai thakib pare; Sunte suboga kokalar mekhela, Dekhi mone-prane hore.	Who can resist admiring their beloved? The Mekhela, a skirt wrapped around the waist, enhances the beauty even more like refined gold.				
AP-H8	আহাতে দেখো ধন, যাওতে দেখো ধন, বগী জামুকৰে পুলি। খোৱাৰো নহ'লি, পিন্ধাৰো নহ'লি, চকুৰ পোৰণি হ'লি ॥	Ahute dekho dhon, jaote dekho dhon, Bogee jamukore puli; Khowaro noh'li, pindharo noh'li, Chokur poroni ho'li.	The singer sees his lover while coming and going; she is like a rose apple seedling. She is neither of use of wearing nor eating; she has just become a burning in his eyes.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Rose Apple Plant (Syzygium Jambos)	Female Lover	Bogijamuk (Rose apple)- Bogi means whitish/fair colour like the fruit. The variety which is common in Assam has a light yellowish colour.
				GOODNESS IS WHITENESS	Whiteness of Rose Apple Fruit	Beauty	
				ENVY IS BURNING	Burning	Envy	

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AP-H9	গালে কতি কৰি নাচাবা, মইনী ! মোৰে শপত লাগিব বেয়া। জনমে জনমে থাকিম একেলগে, যদি কৰে ঈশ্বৰে দয়া।।	Gale kati kari nachaba, moinee! More shapat lagib beya; Janme janme thakim ekelge, Jadi kare iswore daya.	The singer requests his partner to avoid glancing sideways as it makes him feel uneasy. He expresses a wish, God willing, to remain together for many lifetimes.	LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	According to cultural beliefs, the union of love is a union of multiple lifetimes/ births.
AP-H10	কিনো মনোমোহা ডবহা-ডাবাই, লহঙা-লহঙি হাত। কোনটো সতেৰে পাহৰি থাকিম এ, চেনাইৰে থনুৱা মাত ॥	Kino manomoha doboha-dabohi, Lahanga-lahangi hat; Konto satere pahori thakim oi, Senaire thonoowa mat.	How enchanting are the plump hands of his beloved! Which mind could possibly forget her, especially with that melodious voice of hers?	GOOD LOOKS IS PLUMPNESS	Plump Figure of Woman	Beauty	For woman, but can also be for man.
AP-H11	মেঘতে জিলিকে বিজুলী চমকে, শুইনত জিলিকে তৰা । পৃথিৱীত জিলিকে আমাৰে মইনা, তাতোকৈ একাচি চৰা।।	Meghote jilike bijuli chomke, Shuinot jilike tora; Prithiwit jilike amare moina, Tatukoi ekasi chora.	Lightning glistens in the clouds, and stars shine in the void, but his lover sparkles the most on earth.	LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Stars	Female Lover	The level of brilliance is the level of beauty of the lover.
				LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Lightning	Female Lover	
AP-H12	লুইতৰ এসুতি, দিচৈৰে এসুতি, মোৰ ধন এসুতিয়ে যায় । চকু তিৰেবিৰে, বুকুৰে নসহে, হাবি ভাঙি ভাঙি যায়।।	Luitor esuti, dichoire esuti, Mor dhon esutiye jai; Choku tirebire, bukuwe nohohe, Habi vangi vangi jay.	One branch of the Luit River, another of the Dichoi; his lover travels by one branch. Her eyes shine brightly, his heart can't bear it and clears the woods to follow.	EMOTIONS ARE HEAVY OBJECTS	Heavy Objects	Emotions	
				EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS	Liquid	Emotions	
AP-H13	ধনে ভাতে খোৱা কাঁই পানে ধোৱা চাপৰি বোটলো ছুৱা । বিদায় লৈ আহোতে কৈ থৈ আহিছো, পৰৰ নাভাঙিবা গুৱা।।	Dhone bhate khowa kahi pane dhowa Chapori bootalo suwa; Biday loi ahute koi thoi ahiso, Poror navangibaa guwa.	The bell metal plate with floral edges is used for eating. The lover cleans up the leftovers by bending down. As she said goodbye, the singer advised her not to offer betel nuts to anyone else.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Sharing Betel Quid With Another Person	Romantically Committing to Someone Else	Love is being in a state that is similar to being in drugs.
				LOVER IS FOOD	Leftover Food	Lover Committed to Someone Else	
				NEGATIVE IS DOWN	Bending Down to Pick Up Leftovers	Lover Committed to Someone Else	One bending down to pick up leftover food.

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AP-H14	হাটতে কিনি মই বাটতে ভাঙিলো শালমরা কুমারৰ চৰু। নতুন তাঁতি ভাঙি খালে পকা ধানে সৰুটি চেনাইৰে গৰু।।	Hatote kini moi batote vangilo Shaalmora kumaror choru; Notun tati vang khale poka dhane Saruti senaire goru.	The singer broke an earthen pot acquired from the Shalmora potter. His beloved's cow or bull has broken the new fence and consumed the ripe paddy.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cow Or Bull	Male Lover	The untamed cow or bull enters and eats people's paddy.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Rice Paddy- Ripe	Female Lover	
				LOVE IS CONSUMPTION	Consumption	Love	Consumption by a lover
AP-H15	উৰালৰ টুপতে কেৰেলা বগাব, কোমোৰা বগাব চালত। জীৱনে-মৰণে নেৰিবা চেনাই ঐ ! নেৰিবা বিপদৰ কালত।।	Bhoralor tupote kerela bogab, Komora bogab chalot; Jibone-marane neribaa senai oi! Neribaa bipodor kalot.	Bitter gourd will climb the granary ridge, ash gourd will creep on the roof. The singer pleads with his lover to stay with him through life, death, and danger.	LOVE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS	Physical Closeness	Love	Bitter gourd-ridge of granary, ash gourd-roof of house. They are examples of physical union.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Bitter Gourd Plant (Momordica Charantia)	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Ash Gourd Plant (Benincasa Hispida)	Female Lover	
AP-H16	আইৰে শপনি ভাতৰে পোতনি, বোপাইৰ শপনি টান। বৰ ককাইৰ শপনি জ্বলিছে অগনি হিয়াতে বানি যায় ধান।।	Aaire shapani bhatore potani, Boopair shapani tan Bor kakaair shapani jjolise agani; Hiyate bani jay dhan.	A mother's scolding is beneficial like rice water (boiled rice is kept in water for subsequent meals), while a father's verbal abuse is troublesome. An elder brother's harsh words are intense, causing much distress in the heart like pounding rice.	IDEAS ARE FOOD	Water Fermented Rice	Verbal Abuses Of Mother	ABUSES ARE FOOD is a subcase of IDEAS ARE FOOD metaphor.
				HEART IS A MACHINE	Rice Pounder	Heart	
				ANGER IS HEAT	Fire	Anger	
AP-H17	আয়ে মাতিলে গজৰে-পাথৰে, মাহী আয়ে কলিজা খায়। তাৰে পাছতে চেনায়ে মাতিলে, শৰীৰ চেঁচা পৰি যায়।।	Aye matile gojore-gathore, Mahee aye kolija khay; Tare pasote senaye matile, Sharir checha pori jay.	The mother berates him with a growl, while the stepmother eats his heart (treats him with malice). However, when his lover reaches out, his troubled body cools down (finds solace).	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Carnivorous Animal	Stepmother	The stepmother eats the singer's heart.
				LOVE IS COOLNESS	Coolness	Love	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-H18	তেলে পৰি পিছলে তোমাৰে বৰণাট চুলি তিৰবিৰে কৰে। তোমাৰে নিচিনা ক'তো নেদেখিলো, উজনি-নামনি ফুৰি।।	Tele pori pisole tumare boronti Suli tirbire kare; Tumare nisina ka'to nedekhilo, Ujani-namani furi.	Oil glides smoothly on his lover's body, and her hair shines. The singer has journeyed upstream and downstream (far and wide) but hasn't found anyone like her.	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Shiny Hair	Female Lover	
AP-H19	জাকৈ খালে খালে বাৰি ঐ লাহৰী! জাকৈ খালে খালে বাৰি। বিৰিণাৰ তলতে তামোল থৈ আহিছো, হেৰা পালো বুলি খাবি।।	Jakoi khale khale babi oi lahori! Jakoi khale khale babi; Birinar tolote tamol thoi ahiso, Hera palo buli khabi.	The singer asks his lover to fish with a Jakoi (a bamboo sieve like fishing instrument) in the ditches, mentioning he left a betel quid under the Khus grass for her to find and eat.	LOVE IS A DRUG	Betel Quid Chewing	Falling in Love Together	The Jakoi is useful in fishing in shallow waters like in ditches.
				LOVE IS EXTENDED PHYSICAL TOUCH	Extended Physical Touch	Love	Physical touch is transferred through the betel quid and through time
AP-H20	নৈ-কামৰীয়া পকা জলকীয়া। তললৈ মেলিলে শিয়া। বামুণক চোৱালো, গণকক চোৱালো, হক ব'হাগতে বিয়া।।	Noi-kakhoriya poka jolokiya Tololoi melile shiya; Bamunok chuwalo, gonokok chuwalo, Hok bo'hagote bia.	A mature chili plant roots itself along the riverbank. He has sought advice from astrologers and hopes to marry in Bohag, a spring month.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Chili Plant	Female Lover	The Chilies have ripened, thus inviting the male lover to consume it.
				INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Ripe Chili	Passion	
AP-11	মোৱা মাছ মাৰোতে পিঠিৰ ছাল ছিগিলে, বিচাৰি নাপালো বেজ। হাতৰে আঙুলিত কামুৰি গ'লি ঐ, ৰখাব নোৱাৰো তেজ।।	Mowa mas marote pithir sal sigile, Bisari napalo bej; Hatore aangulit kamuri go'li oi, Rokhab nuwaro tej.	While searching for Mola carplets, he tore the skin on his back and couldn't find a healer. (His female lover) bit his fingers, causing bleeding that wouldn't stop.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Mola Carplets (Amblypharyngodon Mola)	Female Lover	
				LOVE IS A HUNT	Fisherman	Male Lover	
AP-12	এঙনি-জেঙনি দেখিবলৈ শূৱনি, কাকিনী তামোলৰ থোক। মুখৰ জিলিঙনি, হাতৰ জিলিকনি, কেনেকৈ পাহৰো তোক।।	Engni-jengni dekhiloloi shuwani, Kakini tamolor thok; Mukhor jilingni, hator jilikni, Kenekoi paharo tok.	The scattered betel nuts on the tall trees look stunning. With a radiant face and bright hands, how can the singer forget their beloved?	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Face of Female Lover	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Areca Palm (Areca Catechu)	Female Lover	Visual simile

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-13	আহো কেঞাবনে যাও কেঞাবনে, কেঞাবনে কাটিলে গা। থুৰিয়া তামোলত আহুদি কৰিলা, পানীত পৰি নুজুৰায় গা ॥	Aho keyabone jao keyabone, Keyabone katile ga; Thuria tamolot ahudi karila, Panit pori nujuray ga.	Treading on Keyabon (Kyllinga brevifolia) injures the skin. The singer blames his partner for adding a love potion to the betel quid; even water cannot soothe the body.	LOVE IS MAGIC	Magic Spell / Potion	Love	
				LOVE IS A DRUG	Betel Quid Chewing	Madly In Love	
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Pain	Grief In Love	A person under love spell experiences a continuous pain, like the minor but sharp cuts from the Kyllinga brevifolia grass.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Keya Ban (Kyllinga Brevifolia)	Female Lover	
AP-14	আগলৈ এখুজি কৰো ঐ মইনা, পিছলৈ এখুজি কৰো। যেতিয়া তোমালৈ মন পৰি যাব, খোজত হুমুনিয়া' কাঢ়ো।।	Agoloi ekhuji karo oi moina, Pisoloi ekhuji karo; Jetiya tumaloi mon pori jab, Khojot humunia' kadho.	The singer moves back and forth. As he reflects on his lover, he sighs deeply with each step.	MIND IS A CONTAINER	Container	Mind	
AP-15	আলিয়া হ'লো মই, বলিয়া হ'লো মই, কৰাকে ঘূৰায়ে কৰো। ৰাতিৰে ৰাতিটো টোপনি নধৰে, চাৰিপাটত বাগৰি ফুৰো ॥	Olia ho'lo moi, bolia ho'lo moi, Korake ghuraye karo; Ratire ratito tuponi nodhore, Dharipatit bagori furo.	The singer appears to have lost his sanity; he repeatedly works on tasks that are already completed. Unable to sleep at night, he continuously tosses and turns in bed.	LOVE IS RESTLESSNESS	Restlessness	Love	
				LOVE IS MADNESS	Madness	Love	
AP-16	কোনে মাৰি গ'লে হাৰুৱা কপৌটি, কোনে উঘালিলে নেজ। মইনাৰ গালতে কোনে আঁচুৰিলে, দুগালে দুধাৰি তেজ ।	Kone mari go'le haruwa kapauti, Kone ughalile nej; Moinar galote kone aasurile, Dugale dudhari tej.	Who killed the red-collared dove and tore its tail away? Who wounded his lover's cheeks, leaving twin trails of blood?	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Red Collared Dove (Streptopelia Tranquebarica)	Female Lover	
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Pain	Grief In Love	Pain from the scratch.
AP-17	ছাগে বে-বেৱালে, কোৱাই কেলকেলালে, কাকে পেটৰ কথা ক'ম। এনে মনে লাগে তোমাক ঐ মইনা, শৰীলত সুমুৱাই থ'ম ॥	Sage be-bewale, kowai calcalale, Kake petor katha ka'ma; Ene mone lage tumak oi moina, Sharilot sumuwai th'ma.	The goats have bleated and the crows have cawed; to whom can the singer confide what he has inside (the stomach)? He desires to put his beloved inside his body.	STOMACH IS A CONTAINER	Container	Stomach	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	Objects That Can Be Kept Inside Body	Ideas In The Mind	Ideas are objects inside stomach
				LOVE IS UNION	Unity	Love	Merging two bodies to become one.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Goat	Male Lover	In the sense of trying to talk.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Crow	Male Lover	In the sense of trying to talk.
AP-18	ভাটিলৈ ভাটিয়াই নাযাবা লাহৰী ! শুকান পিঠাগুড়ি খাই কোনোৰা ৰাজতে ছলে ফুটি মাৰিব, তোমাৰ লগত কান্দোতা নাই ॥	Bhatiloi bhatiyai najaba lahori! Shukan pithagudi khai; Konoba rajte hule futi marib, Tumar lagat kandota nai.	The singer requests that his lover avoid traveling downstream and consuming dry rice flour. If she were to die from being pierced by thorns in another state, there would be no one to mourn with.	NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM	Downstream	Death	
				NEGATIVE IS UNKNOWN PLACES	Unknown Places	Death	In this case the negative place is both in the downstream and also unknown.
AP-19	মোৰ লগত কান্দিব, আইনো কে বোপায়ে কান্দিব ডালৰে মিৰি। পাটিৰে তিকুতাই ছমাহলৈ কান্দিব, ক'লৈ গৈ আছিল বুলি।।	Mor lagat kandib, aaino koi boopaye Kandib dalore miri; Patire tirutai shmaholoi kandib, Ka'loi goi aasila buli.	The singer's mother, father and a woman from Miri tribe will share his sorrow. The woman who shares his bed would mourn for six months, wondering about his whereabouts.				Woman in bed for wife or partner.
AP-110	কিয় মোৰ মইনা আইলা বাৰিষা, গ'ল চ'তৰ বিহু আজি। তোমাৰ মোৰে যোৰ বিধাতাই মিলালে পণ্ডিতে মেলিছে পাঁজি ॥	Kiya mor moina ahila barisa, Go'la ch'tor bihu aaji; Tumar more jor bidhatai milale Pondite melise paji.	Why has the singer's beloved arrived during the rainy season? Sot Bihu has ended. The divine force has united the pair of lovers, and the astrologer has consulted the almanac.	MOVING TIME METAPHOR	Moving Object	Time	
				LIFE IS A PLAY	Play	Life	God is the playwright
				LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	
AP-111	তৰাণ হাবিলৈ চাই পঠিয়ালো, তৰা তিৰেবিৰে কৰে । তোমাৰে ফাললৈ চাই পঠিয়ালো, জালুকে পোৰা দি পোৰে ॥	Torani habiloi chai pothiyalo, Tora tirebire kare; Tumare falloi chai pothiyalo, Jaluke pora di pore.	The singer sent his vision to the Tora plants (Alpinia nigra) and the sparkling stars (Tora). His then sent his vision towards his lover, making him burn like black pepper.	LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Stars	Female Lover	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-I11	তৰাণি হাবিলৈ চাই পঠিয়ালো, তৰা তিৰেবিৰে কৰে । তোমাৰে ফাললৈ চাই পঠিয়ালো, জালুকে পোৰা দি পোৰে ॥		The singer sent his vision to the Tora plants (Alpinia nigra) and the sparkling stars (Tora). His then sent his vision towards his lover, making him burn like black pepper.	WILD GINGER JUNGLE IS SKY FULL OF STARS			Stars in the sky, and Alpinia nigra plant are both called Tora.
AP-I11	তৰাণি হাবিলৈ চাই পঠিয়ালো, তৰা তিৰেবিৰে কৰে । তোমাৰে ফাললৈ চাই পঠিয়ালো, জালুকে পোৰা দি পোৰে ॥		The singer sent his vision to the Tora plants (Alpinia nigra) and the sparkling stars (Tora). His then sent his vision towards his lover, making him burn like black pepper.	GRIEF IS BURNING	Burning	Love	Burning sensation from black pepper, and even from Alpinia nigra (black cardamom).
AP-I11	তৰাণি হাবিলৈ চাই পঠিয়ালো, তৰা তিৰেবিৰে কৰে । তোমাৰে ফাললৈ চাই পঠিয়ালো, জালুকে পোৰা দি পোৰে ॥		The singer sent his vision to the Tora plants (Alpinia nigra) and the sparkling stars (Tora). His then sent his vision towards his lover, making him burn like black pepper.	VISION IS A PROJECTILE	A Projectile	Vision	He sent his vision towards her. Vision can also touch.
AP-I12	চৰায়ে খাই গ'ল, ধান, ঐ লাহৰী! উফৰি পৰিলে কণ। কল-ঠকুৱাৰে ফুল গুঠিছিলো, মইনাৰ নাখালে মন ॥	Choraye khai go'la, dhan, oi lahori! Ufori porile kon; Kal-tharuware ful guthisilo, Moinar nakhale mon.	A bird consumed the rice, and also caused some grains to scatter. He crafted flowers from banana leaf midrib, yet his partner was not fond of them.				MIND FOR PERSON
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bird	Female Lover	
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	Rice Eaten By Bird	Ideas Accepted By Lover	Wasted food is rejected ideas.
AP-I13	দকৈ পথাৰত হাতী পানী খালে, নেগুৰে মাৰিলে ছাতি । মোৰে কইনাক ফুল যোগাবলৈ দিয়া চাৰি মলা গাঁথি ॥	Dokoi potharot hati pani khale, Negure marile sati; More kainak ful jogabolo dia sari mala gathi.	The elephant drank from the deep paddy field, its tail whipped up a water trail. The singer requests a flower garland for his lover.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Elephant	Female Lover	Not explicit in meaning
AP-I14	বাৰীত জিলিকিলে সোণেকৈ মুকুতা কাপোৰ জিলিকিলে গাত । ওলাই আহোতে মোৰ শাছ-আয়ে আকাশত শুনিলে মাত ॥	Barit jilikile sonokoi mukuta Kapor jilikile gat; Olai ahute mor shaahu-aye Akasot shunile mat.	A golden pearl shone in the yard, and the girl's clothes glittered on her. When she stepped outside, the singer's mother-in-law heard a voice in the sky.	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Golden Pearl, Shiny Clothes	Female Lover	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
							VOICE IN THE SKY FOR THUNDER & THUNDERSTORM FOR LIGHTNING. The shiny object metaphor is strengthened by thunderstorms and lightning metonymy.
				CELESTIAL BODIES ARE LIVING ENTITIES	Clouds	Living entity	The voice of the clouds is thunder.
AP-I15	অনা-বতাহতে লৰিল ঠুৰিপাতে, মাটি সবলৰে লাই। বায়ু-বতাহ বুলি মোৰ শাহু-আয়ে থিয় হৈ আছিলে চাই ॥	Ona-botahote laril thuripate, Mati sobolore lai; Bayu-botah buli mor shaahu-aye Thiya hoi aasile chai.	A young leaf swayed even without a breeze, benefiting from the rich soil. The mother-in-law observed it intently, mistaking it for strong wind.				A budding leaf due to nutritional soil is similar to leaf swaying in wind.
AP-I16	গাতে গা লাগিলে বায়ুকৈ বতাহে, পদূলিত আছিলো বে। বাটেদি মইনা সৰকি আহিলো কালিন্দী ভোমোৰা হৈ ॥	Gate ga lagile bayukoi botahe, Podulit aasilo roi; Batedi moina sarki ahilo Kalindree bhomora hoi.	The wind brushed the singer's body when he was at the entrance. He then transformed into a blue beetle and slipped through a gap (to enter his lover's house).	WIND IS TOUCH	Touch	Feeling Of Air	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Blue Beetle	Male Lover	Dark colour is for male.
AP-I17	চৰাইৰ কপটীয়া শেন ঐ মইনা, চৰাইৰ কপটীয়া শেন । আগতকৈ দুগুণে জেউতি চৰিলে, দেখো চান্দ সূৰুযে হেন ॥	Chorair kapatiya shen oi moina, Chorair kapatiya shen; Agotkoi dugune jeuti chorile, Dekho chand suruze hen.	The falcon stands out among the birds as (the most) crooked. The singer sees his lover glowing twice as brightly akin to the Sun or Moon.	LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Sun	Female Lover	
				LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Moon	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Falcon	Female Lover	Due to perceived hypocrisy of the female lover.
AP-I18	নঙলা, নঙলা পদূলিৰ নঙলা, দিয়া বাট, লাহৰী, যাওঁ। অতি চেনেহেৰে লাহৰী হাতেৰে দিয়া তামোল কাটি খাওঁ ॥	Nongola, nongola podulir nongola, Dia bat, lahori, jaon; Ati senehere lahori hatere Dia tamol kati khaon.	The singer requests his lover to remove the bamboo bar at the entrance so he can come in and enjoy the betel quid made by her lovely hands.	LOVE IS SHARING	Food	Love	Betel quid sharing.
				LOVE IS A DRUG	Betel Quid Chewing	Falling in Love Together	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE PHYSICAL IMPEDIMENTS	Entrance Gate As Barrier	Impediments In Love	nongola' is a bamboo or wooden bar at the gateway to close it. It can be seen as an impediment between the lovers.
AP-119	আলিয়ে আলিয়ে যায়, সমনীয়া ! হাতত কলা খোৱা চৰাই। চকুৱে চকুৱে পৰিল, সমনীয়া ! বিধাতাই নিদিলে জোৰাই ॥	Aaliye aaliye jay, somoniya! Hatot kola khowa chorai; Chokuwe chokuwe poril, somoniya! Bidhatai nidile jorai.	The singer (in third person or the female lover) and a Rufous treepie on hand move from one road to the next. Their (lovers) eyes lock, but fate has not destined their union.	NEGATIVE IS BLACKNESS	Dark Skinned Person	Bad (Tease)	
				LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	
				LIFE IS A PLAY	Play	Life	God is the playwright
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Rufous Treepie (Dendrocitta Vagabunda)	Lover	Rufous treepies typically live in pairs for life. Their breeding season also coincides with Bihu.
AP-120	গৰুটি কজলা, মন মোৰ অজলা, নুবুজো একোকে মই। কিয় ভালে পালি, কিয় ভালে পালো, গাতে জ্বলিছে জুই ॥	Goruti kojola, mon mor ajola, Nubujo ekuke moi; Kiya bhale pali, kiya bhale palo, Gate jjolise jui.	The cow/bull is kojola (dark-skinned), and the singer's mind as ajola (a simpleton), indicating a lack of understanding. He is puzzled about why his lover fell in love or why he did. This emotional turmoil feels like a fire burning within him.	NEGATIVE IS BLACKNESS	Dark Skinned Person	Bad (Tease)	
				INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Fire on Body	Grief	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cow Or Bull (Black)	Male Lover	
AP-J1	হাতী হেৰুৱালো লিহিৰি বনতে, ঘোঁৰা হেৰুৱালো দোপত। পাই হেৰুৱালো শহুৰৰ জীয়েকক চোতালৰ দুবৰি বনত ॥	Hati heruwalo lihiri bonote, Ghora heruwalo dopat Pai heruwalo shahuror jiyekok Sotalor dubori bonot.	In the tall, sleek grasslands, the singer lost an elephant (elephants), and in a bog, he lost a horse (horses). Additionally, after gaining his father-in-law's daughter, he lost her on the courtyard grass.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Elephant	Female Lover	
					Horse	Female Lover	
				LOVED ONE IS A POSSESSION	Possession	Love	The female lover is a possession of the male lover like the elephant and horse.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-J2	পাতো কলে-বাৰী ল'ৰাই খাব বুলি, মেলিছে জাহাজী থোক। দেখি কলবাৰী ধৰে খুন্দা মাৰি, সন্তাপে দহিছে মোক ॥	Pato kole-bari la'rai khab buli, Melise jahajee thok; Dekhi kolbari dhore khunda mari, Santape dohise mok.	The singer readies a banana plantation for his future children; the Jahajee banana is beginning to form clusters. Gazing at this plantation, he is overwhelmed and burnt by grief.	GRIEF IS BURNING	Burning	Grief	
				GRIEF IS POUNDING	Pounding	Grief	
AP-J3	ওলায়ে দেখিলো চিচি মুখৰ কলে ঘৰ, দুৱাৰখন মুকলি হ'ল। মোৰে যে লাহৰী মোকেনো পাহৰি নেদেখা ৰাজলৈ গ'ল ॥	Olaye dekhilo sisi mukhor kole ghor, Duwarkhon mukoli ho'la, More je lahari mokeno pahori Nedekha rajoloi go'la.	As the singer steps outside, he spots the Sisimukh factory. Meanwhile, his lover has disappeared to an unknown destination, forgetting about him.	NEGATIVE IS UNKNOWN PLACES	Unknown Places	Where Lover Forgets About Him	
AP-J4	মাৰো শদিয়াৰ, বাপেৰো শদিয়াৰ, তোকো শদিয়ালৈ দিলে। আহিব যাবলৈ লগ নাইকিয়া অকলশৰীয়ালৈ দিলে ॥	Maro Sadiyar, bapero Sadiyar, Toko Sadiyaloi dile; Ahibo jaboloi lag naikia Okoloshariyaloi dile.	Both the singer's lover's father and mother come from Shadiya; she is also married off into Shadiya. She was wed to a solitary individual, leaving her without any company for coming and going (social interactions).	IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE PHYSICAL IMPEDIMENTS	Long Distances	Impediments In Love	Sadiya, as one of the easternmost places in the Ahom Kingdom is commonly seen as a distant place among people from the central areas.
AP-J5	আই নাইকিয়া, বোপাই নাইকিয়া, আৰু নাইকিয়া পিতা। কপটীয়া বিধিয়ে দুখকে লিখিলে, মনত ঐ নুগুচে চিতা ॥	Aai naikia, boopai naikia, Aaru naikia pita Kapatiya bidhiye dukhoke likhile, Manat oi nuguचे sita.	The singer is bereft of family; he has no mother, father, or any relatives. The malevolent creator has written nothing but grief in him, and thoughts of the funeral pyre linger constantly in his mind.	LIFE IS A PLAY	Play	Life	Where the God has written only sorrows for him.
				LIFE IS A PLAY	Playwriter	God	
AP-J6	বজাৰত কিনিলো ৰেছেমৰ ৰুমালখন, ৰেলগাড়ী ভাটিয়াই গ'ল। বিয়া কৰিম বুলি বৰ ঘৰ সাজিলো, গৰু-বন্ধা গোহালি হ'ল ॥	Bojarot kinilo resemor rumalkhon, Re'lagadee bhatiyai go'la; Bia karim buli bor ghor sajilo, Goru-bondha gohali ho'la.	The singer purchased a silk handkerchief and the train travelled downstream. He built a house with marriage in mind, but it is now a cowshed.	NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM	Downstream	House Becoming Ca	DOWNSTREAM OR LOWERLANDS
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cattle	People	The cowshed is worse than an ideal home.
				A TRAIN JOURNEY IS A BOAT JOURNEY	Boat Journey	Train Journey	It talks about the train going downstream, like a boat.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-J7	উৰাই মাৰিলো, ঘূৰাই মাৰিলো, মাৰিলো পমিলাৰ গুটি। খঙৰে বেগতে মাৰি পঠিয়ালো, খুৰিয়া তামোলৰ মুঠি ॥	Urai marilo, ghurai marilo, Marilo pomilar guti; Khongore begote mari pothiyalo, Thuria tamolor muthi.	The singer tossed aside a Pamila seed (Dysoxylum hamiltonii Hiern). He also threw away a pouch containing betel quids in anger.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Throwing Away Betel Quid	Rejection of Love	
AP-J8	কেচা মৰী টেঙাৰ জিম, ঐ মইনা, চকলা টেঙাৰে জিম। একেষাৰ কথাৰে কন্দুৱাই পেলালা, কিনো উত্তৰষাৰে দিম ॥	Kesa mari tengar jim, oi moina, Chokola tengare jim; Ekekhar kathare kanduwai pelala, Kino uttorsare dim.	Pulp from unripe Hibiscus Cannabinus and Bitter Orange (Citrus x aurantium). In a single utterance, the singer's lover has caused him to weep; what response can he offer?				Weeping for sadness.
				SADNESS IS SOUR	Sour	Sadness	Intensity of sourness is intensity of sadness.
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	Bitter Orange	Harsh Words Of Lover	
AP-J9	কুকুৰাই কৰিবৰ কেও, ঐ লাহৰী, কুকুৰাই কৰিবৰ কেও। গছৰ ডাল ভগাদি আমাৰ মন ভাগিলে জোৰাওঁতা নহ'লে দেও ॥	Kukurai karibor keo, oi lahori, Kukurai karibor keo; Gosor dal vagaadi amar mon vagile Joraaonta noh'le deo.	The chicken will make a keo sound. The singer's mind fractures like a tree branch snapping, with no one there to mend it.	MIND IS A FRAGILE OBJECT	Tree Branch	Mind	
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Tree	People	If a plant is seen as a person, then the branch of the plant can be seen as the mind, which is fragile and can break.
AP-J10	কাণত জিলাঁকলে নৰা জাঙেফাই, হাঁহোতে জিলিকিল দাঁত। শোৱা চাৰিপাটি সজালো-পৰালো, শুবলৈ নাপালো তাত ॥	Kanot jilikile nora jaangefai, Hahute jilikil dat; Showa dharipati sajalo-poralo, Shuboloi napalo tat.	Amber jewellery crafted by the Nara people gleams on the ear, and teeth shine in a smile. The singer neatly prepared the bed but never got to sleep in it.	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Amber Keru	Female Lover	
AP-J11	দলানি পথাৰত খেতি কৰিছিলো, উঁৰাল ভাঙি খালে চোৰে। তোমাৰে সন্তাপত টোপনি নাহিলে, জালুক-জলকীয়াই পোৰে ॥	Doloni potharot kheti karisilo, Bhoral vangi khale sore; Tumare santapot tuponi nahile, Jaluk-jolokiyai pore.	The singer did hard work in the deep paddy field, thieves stole from his granary. Grief in the sleepless nights over his love feel as painful as burning black pepper or chilies.	GRIEF IS PHYSICAL LOSS	Physical Loss	Grief	Physical loss of grains that was stolen by the thieves.
				GRIEF IS BURNING	Burning	Grief	Sustained burning sensation from certain spicey food.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-J12	থুৰিয়াই কাটীলা তামোল তিনিখনি, নুৰিয়াই বান্ধিলা পাণ। পথাৰে পথাৰে বিচাৰি ফুৰিলো, ক'তে দাই আছিলো ধান ॥	Thuriai katila tamol tinikhoni, Nuriai bandhila pan; Pothare pothare bisari furilo, Ka'te dai aasila dhan.	The singer's partner has prepared three rolls of betel nut, leaf, and lime. He searched for her across various fields; where could she be harvesting paddy?	LOVE IS SHARING	Food	Love	Offering food.
				LOVE IS A DRUG	Sharing Betel Quid	Falling in Love Together	
AP-J13	পুৱা ঐ নেদেখো তোমাক, ঐ লাহৰী! গধূলি নেদেখি মৰো। দিনত ঐ এবেলি নেদেখি লাহৰী! বুকু ধৰেফৰে কৰো ॥	Puwa oi nedekho tumak, oi lahori! Godhuli nedekhi maro; Dinot oi ebeli nedekhi lahori! Buku dhorefore karo.	The singer does not meet his beloved in the morning or the evening, and this causes him death (great sorrow). If he goes a day without seeing her, his heart is tossed around with pain.	LOVE IS RESTLESSNESS	Involuntary Flouncing	Longing In Love	Longing in love is involuntary flouncing of the body,
				LONGING IS DEATH	Death	Longing	
AP-J14	তোমাক ঐ ভাবোতে, চকুপানী টোকোতে, হাতত শিৰামুৰি ধৰে। শোগে খুন্দা মাৰে কান্দিব নোৱাৰো, চকুপানী দুধাৰে পৰে ॥	Tumak oi vaboote, chokupani tokote, Hatot shiramuri dhore; Shoge khunda mare kandib nuwaro, Chokupani dudhare pore.	Reflecting on his lover and wiping away tears, the singer feels cramps forming in his hands. The sorrow pounds (inside), yet he cannot sob; instead, tears silently stream down his face.	GRIEF IS POUNDING	Pounding From Inside Body	Grief	
AP-J15	ৰাতি পৰে পৰে তোলৈ মনত পৰে, চকুপানী দুধাৰে বয়। তললৈ মুৰেকৈ গুণিবলৈ ধৰিলো আগতে চাকিটি লই ॥	Rati pore pore tuloi manat pore, Chokupani dudhare boy; Tololoi moorekoi guniboloi dhorilo Agote chakiti lai.	At night, the singer's thoughts turn to his lover, bringing two streams of tears to his eyes. With an earthen lamp before him, he gazes downward, deep in sad thought.	SADNESS IS DOWN	Down	Sadness	Opposite of happy is up. The singer gazes downward in sad thought.
AP-J16	লুইত পাৰে হ'লো, দিখৌ পাৰে হ'লো, জিৰালো কলীয়াবৰত। তোমাকে বিচাৰি এৰো ঘৰেবাৰী, নাথাকো ডিবুৰুগড়ত ॥	Luit pare ho'lo, dikhou pare ho'lo, Jiralo kaliyaborot; Tumake bisari ero ghorebari, Nathako diburugart.	The singer travelled across the Luit and Dikhou rivers, eventually stopping to rest in Kaliabar. He leaves his home and land behind in pursuit of his beloved, choosing not to remain in Dibrugarh.	LOVE IS A JOURNEY	Journey	Love	Impediments in the journey is impediments in love.
				IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE PHYSICAL IMPEDIMENTS	Long Distances	Impediments In Love	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-J17	নগাঁৱৰ বাতৰি গড়গাঁৱত শুনিলো, কাচষপাই যাওঁ নাও । তোমাৰে সন্তাপত ঘৰত ঐ নাথাকো, ভাটিলে ভটিয়াই যাওঁ ॥	Nogawor batori garogawot shunilo, Kachyapaai jaon nao; Tumare santapot ghorot oi nathako, Bhatiloi bhatiyai jaon.	The singer learned of Nagaon's news in Gargaon and brought his boat to the shore. He refuses to stay home in his lover's sorrow; he's heading downstream.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO STAY NORMAL	Inability To Stay Normal	Grief	To do the normal such as staying at home.
				NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM	Downstream	Grief In Love	
AP-J18	কামে কৰি কৰি আমনি লাগিলে, মনত পৰি পৰি কান্দো। তোমাৰে সন্তাপত ঘৰত ঐ নাথাকো, ভাটিলে ভটিয়াই যাওঁ ॥	Kame kari kari amni lagile, Manat pori pori kando; Tumare santapot ghorot oi nathako, Bhatiloi bhatiyai jaon.	When the singer becomes weary from his work, thoughts of his beloved bring him to tears. He prefers not to remain at home consumed by sorrow; instead, he chooses to go downstream.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO STAY NORMAL	Inability To Stay Normal	Grief	
				NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM	Downstream	Grief In Love	
AP-J19	কামে কৰি কৰি আমনি লাগিলে, মনত পৰি পৰি কান্দো। তোমাৰে সন্তাপত থাকিব নোৱাৰি গোসাই ঘৰত টোপোলা বান্ধো ॥	Kame kari kari amni lagile, Manat pori pori kando; Tumare santapot thakib nuwari Gusai ghorot tupula bandho.	When the singer feels exhausted, he thinks of his lover and weeps. To overcome the sorrow, he prepares an offering for the gods.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO STAY NORMAL	Inability To Stay Normal	Grief	
AP-J20	তোমাৰ গুণৰ কথা কাহানি পাহৰিম, যম ৰজাই নামাৰে মানে । মোৰ দুখৰ কথা কাকে নো কৈ যাম, আত্মা-শৰীলেহে জানে ॥	Tumar gunor katha kahani pahorim, Jam rojai namare mane; Mor dukhor katha kake no koi jam, Aatmaa-shareelehe jane.	The singer will remember his lover's qualities until Yama (god of death and afterlife) takes him. Who would he share his sorrow with before dying? Only his soul knows.	DEATH IS BEING TAKEN AWAY BY YAMA	Being Taken By Yama	Death	Yama, the god/king of afterlife is the one who takes the dead to the afterlife.
							SOUL AND BODY FOR PERSON
AP-J21	কেলেই এনে হ'লি, মইনা-লাহৰী ! কিয় হ'লি জন্মৰ কাল। হাবি-বননিয়ে ফুৰি ভালে লাগে, ঘৰত মোৰ নালাগে ভাল ॥	Kelei ene ho'li, moina-lahori! Kiy ho'li janmor kal; Habi-bononiye furi bhale lage, Ghorot mor nalage bhal.	What caused the singer's lover to turn into an enemy for life (adversary)? Now, he prefers wandering through the forest over being at home.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO STAY NORMAL	Inability To Stay Normal	Grief	Grief in love.
				ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Calamity of Life	Lover	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-K1	জেনেক চকলা জিম, ঐ লাহৰী, জেনেক চকলা জিম। যোৰহাট জিলাতে আছে মোৰে লাহৰী, কাৰ আগত বাতৰি দিম ॥	Jeneru chokola jim, oi lahori, Jeneru chokola jim; Jorhat jilate aase more lahori, Kar agot batori dim.	The thin circular pulp of the Jeneru (Citrus acida) fruit. The singer's beloved is in Jorhat district. Who will deliver the message?	SADNESS IS SOUR	Sourness Of Citrus Acida	Sadness	Intensity of the sourness is intensity of sadness. This particular citrus fruit is more sour than the most.
				IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE PHYSICAL IMPEDIMENTS	Long Distances	Impediments In Love	Implicitly means that his lover who stays in Jorhat district is far from his home
AP-K2	যোৰহাট জিলালৈ নাযাবা বুলিলো, কাৰে বুধি পাই গ'লা। কাৰে লগে পাই আমাকে তেজিলা, জনমলৈ আতাৰি হ'লা ॥	Jorhat jilaloi najaba bulilo, Kare budhi pai go'la; Kare lage pai amake tejila Janmoloi aatari ho'la.	Despite the singer's warning, his lover went to Jorhat district on someone else's advice. This lead to her leaving him forever.	LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	Lack of love is separation for life
				IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE PHYSICAL IMPEDIMENTS	Long Distances	Impediments In Love	Implicitly means that his lover who stays in Jorhat district is far from his home
				NEGATIVE IS UNKNOWN PLACES	Unknown Places - Jorhat	Where Lover Forgets About Him	
AP-K3	চোতালৰ আগৰে বেল, ঐ লাহৰী ! চোতালৰ আগৰে বেল। তোমাৰে বেজাৰত বন-বাৰী কৰা নাই, মূৰতো দিয়া নাই তেল।।	Sotalor agore bel, oi lahori! Sotalor agore bel; Tumare bejarot bon-bari kora nai, Moorto dia nai tel.	The Bael (Aegle marmelos) tree stands in front of the courtyard. Mourning for his beloved, the singer hasn't done any work or even oiled his hair.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO STAY NORMAL	Inability To Stay Normal	Grief	Unable to do the regular tasks
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Physical Pain	Grief	The Bael fruit is not in focus, but the spikes on its trunks are
AP-K4	এৰিলা এবুৰি, এৰিলা ছবুৰি, এৰিলা নদীৰে কুল। একে চ'হাই, লাহৰী ! এৰি পঠিয়ালা, আমাৰ পৰিতিৰে গুণ ॥	Erila eburi, erila chaburi, Erila nodeere kul; Eke chhai, lahori ! eri pothiyala, Amar poritire gun.	The singer's partner has not only abandoned eburi and chaburi (units of amount) but also the caste of the river, leaving behind the virtues of his love all at once.	STATES ARE LOCATION	Location	States	The state of love of the female lover for the singer is the (familiar) bank of the river.
				STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Location	State of Love	The female lover leaves/ physically distances from the qualities/virtues of love.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-K5	বাৰীৰ মাজে মাজে গোলাপ ফুল ফুলিলে, তিতা-ফুল ফুলিলে চাপত। তোমাৰে আমাৰে যোৰা নাপাতিলে কোনোবা জনমৰ পাপত ॥	Barir maje maje golap ful fulile, Tita-ful fulile dhapot Tumare amare jora napatile Konoba janmor papot.	A rose has blossomed within (scattered) the compound, while the titaful (<i>Phlogacanthus pubinervius</i>) has flourished on the embankment (of the compound). Due to their past life's sins, (the god) has prevented the lovers from being united.	GRIEF IS BITTER	Bitterness From Titaful	Grief	The bitterness of <i>Phlogacanthus pubinervius</i> is similar to grief of the singer.
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Physical Pain	Grief	From the spikes of the rose plant
				LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Rose	Female Lover	The lovers are different types of plants and flowers that cannot be united due to the difference of properties and location.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Titaful	Male Lover	
AP-K6	এইনো চ'ত মহীয়া শিমলু ফুলিলে, ওপৰে উৰিলে তুলা। লোকৰে বুধি পাই আমাকে এৰিলা, জনমৰ শত্ৰু হ'লা ॥	Eaino ch'to mohiya shimalu fulile, Opore urile tula; Lokare budhi pai amake erila, Janmor shatru ho'la.	During Chaut month, silk cotton trees burst into bloom, releasing their cotton pods into the air. The singer's beloved departed, and becoming an enemy for life after hearing others' words.	ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Enemy For Life	Lover	
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Physical Pain	Grief	From the spikes of the silk cotton tree
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Silk Cotton Tree (Bombax Malabaricum)	Female Lover	
AP-K7	কুহু কুহু কৰি কুপতি বিনালে, দাউকে কান্দিলে বৈ। মাকৰ ডিঙিত ধৰি জীয়েকে কান্দিলে, ধনৰ লগত আতাৰি হৈ ॥	Kuhu kuhu kari kupoti binale, Dauke kandile roi; Makor dingit dhori jiyeye kandile, Shonor lagat aatarai hoi.	The cuckoo cried its kuhu-kuhu call while the white-breasted waterhen stayed in place, crying out. The singer's lover wept, clinging to her mother after their separation.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cuckoo	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	White Breasted Waterhen (Amaurornis Phoenicurus)	Female Lover	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	
AP-K8	লুইতৰ শুবানি মাজুলি চাপৰি শ্বৰগৰ শুবানি তৰা। কোনটো চিতেৰে আমাকে এৰি থৈ খালা দোৱা-ভজা চিৰা ॥	Luitor shuwani majuli chapori Shorgor shuwani tora; Konto sitere amake eri thoi Khala dowa-voja sira.	The Luit river graces Majuli's grasslands, just as stars adorn the heavens. How could the lover enjoy double-fried flattened rice without their beloved?	LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	Union of Luit river and Majuli grasslands, or Stars and Heaven
				LOVE IS SHARING	Food	Love	Double fried flattened rice means more effort and better tasting. Not sharing this means lack of love.
AP-K9	ভাটিলে ভাটয়াই যামগৈ, মইনা ! ধৰিমগৈ সন্ন্যাসীৰ বেশ। তোমাৰে লগতে মৰি যাম, মইনা ! এৰি যাম অসমৰ দেশ ॥	Bhatiloi bhatiyai jamgoi, moina! Dhorimgoi sannyasir bekh; Ttumare lagate mori jam, moina! Eri jam asomor dekh.	The singer says he will go away downstream and take the guise of a hermit. He will die away with (because of) her and will leave the country of Assam.	GRIEF IS DEATH	Death	Grief	
				NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM	Downstream	Death	
				STATES ARE LOCATION	Location	States	Changing of state from being alive to being dead is change in location from inside Assam to outside.
AP-K10	বছৰি বছৰি আমে মলিয়ালে, বছৰি বছৰি খাওঁ। ইবেলি বছৰি আমে নাইকিয়া, কোনোবা-কেনিবা যাওঁ ॥	Bosori bosori ame maliale, Bosori bosori khaon Ibeli bosori ame naikia, Konoba-kenibaa jaon.	The mango tree flowers annually, and each year, the singer enjoys its fruit. This year, however, there are no mangoes, prompting him to seek them elsewhere.	LUST IS HUNGER	Hunger	Lust	
				PEOPLE ARE FRUITS	Mango	Female Lover	
AP-K11	হাতৰে আঙুলি চিৰিলি চিৰিলি, ভৰিৰে আঙুলি ঘন। ভৰিৰ আঙুলিৰে মাটি খুচৰিছ, কালৈ বা কৰিছ মন ॥	Hatore aanguli sirili sirili, Bharire aanguli ghon; Bharir aangulire mati khursorisa, Kaloi ba karis mon.	The singer's lover has fingers like fringe and dense toes. She digs the earth with her toes; the singer wonders who she might be hoping for.				
AP-K12	বৰ ঘৰৰ মুধতে খৰি ফালিছিলো, উফৰি পৰিলে চলি। কিনো কথাষাৰি ক'লো ঐ চেনাইটি ! মুখৰে নমতা হ'লি ॥	Bor ghoror mudhote khori falisilo, Ufori porile soli; Kino kathasari ka'lo oi senaiti! Mukhore nomota h'li.	While the singer chopped firewood close to the main house, a piece flew off. What word did he say that caused the lover to refuse talking?	WORDS ARE PROJECTILES	Chopped Firewood	Spoken Words	Uncontrollable projectiles like woodchips are like uncontrolled words.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-K13	চতৈকে মইয়া নাহৰ ফুল ফুলিলে, ব'হাগত পেলালে কলি। আমাৰে দুখৰ দিন আহিলে, লাহৰী চকুৰে নোচোৱা হ'লি ॥	Ch'tekoi mohiya nahor ful fulile, Bo'hagot pelale koli; Aamare dukhor din ahile, Lahori chokure nuhuwa ho'li.	In Chaut, Nahor flowers bloom; in Bohag, they bud. Sad days for the singer has come as his lover refuses to look towards him.				
AP-K14	আৰে ধান লোচিয়া, বানিৰি কোতিয়া, কুলাতকৈ চালনি ঘন। চকুৰে চাইছ, মুখেৰে নামাতে, কালে বা কৰিছ মন ॥	Aaroi dhan lesiya, banibi ketiya, Kulatkoi chaloni ghon; Chokure chaisa, mukhere namate, Kalo ba karisa mon.	The singer asks his lover when she'll husk the Aaroi rice, noting that the bamboo sieve she is using is denser than the kula (a bamboo winnowing fan). She glances at him but remains silent; he's unsure who she prefers.	WORDS ARE OBJECTS	Rice Grains	Words	A very dense bamboo sieve does not let the grains pass. The lover of the singer's mouth is also like that. Words do not pass through it.
AP-K15	জৰি গছৰ তলতে খাৰি লুৰিছিলো, আজুৰি ছিঙিলোঁ লতা। চকুলৈ চাইছ মুখেৰে মতা নাই, ল'লি টুটকীয়াৰ কথা ॥	Jori gosor tolote khori lurisilo, Aajuri singilo lata; Chokuloi chais mukhere mota nai, La'li tutkiyar katha.	The singer gathered firewood and tore creepers by pulling beneath the fig tree. She gazes into his eyes without speaking; he believes that she has taken the words of a slanderer.	WORDS ARE VINES	Vines	Words Of An Enemy	
AP-K16	চকুৰে দেখিও তই মুখেৰে নামাত, নিয়ৰত নিতিতে ভৰি। কেঁচা কেঁপাততে যুগেনো বিন্ধিলে, হ'লা জীয়াই জীয়াই বৰি ॥	Chokure dekhio toi mukhere namat, Niyarat nitite bhari; Kecha koupatote ghuneno bindhile, Ho'la jiyai jiyai bari.	The singer notices that his lover yet remains silent, and her feet do not get wet in dew. Woodworms have burrowed into the tender leaves of the Koupat plant (<i>Phrynium pubinerve</i>), and his lover has become a widow alive.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Koupat (<i>Phrynium Pubinerve</i>)	Female Lover	Young Koupat (<i>Phrynium pubinerve</i>) is like young woman. Defects in it like being burrowed by woodworms is similar to a young widow.
				WIDOWHOOD IS PHYSICAL DEFECT	Physical Defect	Widowhood	
AP-K17	লুইতে নাযাবা বালি, ঐ বাইটা, লুইতে নাযাবা বালি। মুনিহৰ কথাকে নক'বা বাইটা, ভিৰী হৈ জন্মিছা তুমি ॥	Luite najaba bali, oi baitee, Luite najaba bali; Munihor kathake nok'ba baitee, Tiree hoi janmisa tumi.	The singer asks his lover not to go by the sands (bank) of river Luit. She must not speak about (other) men; as she was born as a woman.				As one of the major transportation channels, Luit river sees lots of traffic. The singer asks his lover not to go near these unknown men.
AP-K18	মাছে মাৰিবৰে কত বুধি জানো, দীঘলী কাটিবৰ লোৰ। ছোৱালী আনিবৰ কত বুধি জানা, জোপাৰ তলে তল খোৰ ॥	Mase maribore kot budhi jano, Digholi katibor lor, Sowali aanibor kot budhi jana, Jopar tole tol khor.	The singer is aware of various methods for fishing, such as creating a narrow, shallow channel. Similarly, there are numerous ways to bring (attract) a girl; beneath each tree lies a secluded cavity.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Fish	Female Lover	Catching fish is catching female lover

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				LOVE IS A HUNT	Multiple Ways of Fishing	Multiple Ways of Capturing Women	Fishing
AP-K19	চৰায়ে চৰায়ে আলচখন পাতিলে, গছৰ গুটি খাবৰে মন । আইনো কৈ বোপায়ে আলচখন পাতিলে, তোমাক বেচি খাবৰ মন ॥	Choraye choraye aalskhon patile, Gosor guti khabore mon; Aaino koi boopaye aalskhon patile, Tumak besi khabore mon.	The birds discussed among themselves; they wanted to eat some seed. The parents of the girl lover discuss that they want to eat by selling off the her.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Birds	Parents Of The Lover	The birds want to eat seed, the parents of the girl also want to eat by selling off (marrying her off in return of compensation).
AP-K20	ঘৰৰ ফুলে চ'তি মাৰলি মাৰলি বগায় কাৰেশলা সাপ। মোৰ জানো কপালত যি হ'বৰ হইছে, মইনা ! তই কুশলে থাক ॥	Ghoror fule ch'ti marli marli Bogay kareshala sap; Mor jano kapalot ji ho'bor hoise, Moina ! toi kuxale thak.	A Dendrelaphis snake glides across the roof frame of the house. Regardless of what transpires on the singer's forehead (fate), he hopes for his lover's safety.	A PERSON IS A HOUSE	House	Person	A typical A-frame house is said to be similar to a person. Which means that the roof of the house is related to the head of the person. Hence a snake gliding on the roof frame of the house, is bad luck for the person (forehead is related to fate).
							FORHEAD FOR FATE
0	বিৰাগ	Biraag	Indifference				
AP-L1	ফুলাম চেলেঙৰ দহী, তই চেনাই এঁ, ফুলাম চেলেঙৰ দহী। কোন টুটকীয়াই শতুক শালিলে, মুখত নাই মিচিকি হাঁহি॥	Fulam selengor dohee, toi senai oi, Fulam selengor dohee; Kon tutkiyai shaturu shaalile, Mukhot nai michiki hahi.	The female lover resembles the fringes of a richly flowered Seleng. Which slanderer has turned her into an adversary, that there is no smile on her face?	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Heavily Flowered Fringes Of A Seleng	Female Lover	<i>Seleng</i> is a thin cloth wrapped round the body or over shoulders.
AP-L2	এনে কঠোঁচতে কেলেই হ'লা, মইনা, মাতিলে নমতা হলা। কাৰ খোচনীয়া কথা পাই আমালৈ চকু নুঘূৰোৱা হলা॥	Ene kothosite kelei ho'la, moina, Matile nomota hola; Kar khosoniya katha pai amaloi Choku nughuruwa hola.	Why has the female lover become so hard-hearted, refusing to speak to him? On words of which slanderer she even refuses to look at him?	HEART IS AN OBJECT	Hard Object Like Wood	Heart	Metonymically HEART FOR PERSON. So this means a cold person.
AP-L3	ধান বহাবৰে গোটেঙা টোটি, সুৱৰ্ণ বিৰিখৰ খৰি। কোনে মন ভঙালে, কোনে মন ছিঙালে দুইকো দুফালি কৰি॥	Dhan bohaboro gotoonga tooti, Suwarna birikhor khori; Kone mon vongale, kone mon singale Duiko dufali kari.	(One should take) A spherical pot for boiling rice and firewood from golden trees (or golden firewood). Who has broken and torn the minds of the lovers and separated them?	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Tree Trunk	Lover	The lovers were a single tree trunk before they were split into pieces to make firewood.
				LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	One tree trunk.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				MIND IS AN OBJECT	Object	Mind	One that can be broken or torn. Combining with MIND FOR PERSON means a broken person.
AP-L4	ওপৰে উৰিলে গঙাকৈ চিলনী, পাখিয়ে নললে ঘোৰ। তুমিয়ে আমি়ে একেটি আছিলোঁ, কোনে ভাঙি গলে ঘোৰ॥	Opore urile gongakoi chilni, Pakhiye nolole ghor; Tumiye amiye eketi aasilo, Kone vangi gole jor.	The Indian River Tern soared overhead; its wings do not bend. The lovers were once a united body, but the pair had been split by someone.	LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	Indian river terns flying together.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Indian River Tern (Sterna Aurantia)	Lover	
				HAPPY IS UP	Up	Happy	The birds flying up seems happy to the singer.
AP-L5	বৰ ঘৰৰ মুধতে খৰি ফালাছিলোঁ উফৰি পৰিলগৈ চলি। কিনো দায়-জগৰ লগালোঁ মইনা, মুখেৰেও নমতা হলি॥	Bor ghoror mudhote khori falisilo Ufori porilogoi soli; Kino day-jogor lagalo moina, Mukhereo nomota holi.	While chopping firewood near the main house, the singer accidentally struck a piece that flew off. Why has the lover become so upset, refusing to speak to him?	UNINTENTIONAL ACTIONS ARE UNCONTROLLED PROJECTILES	Wood Piece Accidentally Flying Off	Unintentional Actions	The male lover has to be extremely careful while chopping wood or being in a love relationship. If he is not careful, some pieces can fly off and injure nearby people.
AP-L6	বাৰীৰ পাছে ফালে হাঁহ খোদাছিলো, চোতালত আৰৈ ধান খালে। চকুলৈ চালে তই মুখলৈ নাচাৰ, তোকে টুটকীয়াই পালে॥	Barir pase fale hah khedisilo, Sotalot aaroi dhan khale; Chokuloi chale toi mukholoi nachawa, Toke tutakiyai pale.	The singer scared off the ducks while they ate Aaroi rice in the back-courtyard. She doesn't turn around when he gazes at his lover; the back-biter has captured her (mind).	NEGATIVE IS BACKSIDE	Backside of The Compound	Backbiter	The female lover is seen as a duck, who ate the Aaroi Rice (kept in Sun) in the backyard. The rice being on the backside of the house is seen as negative, like the words of a back-biter. Eating the rice means accepting the words of the back-biter.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Duck	Female Lover	
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	Rice Eaten By Duck	Accepting Words Of Back-Biter	
				NEGATIVE IS BACKSIDE	Backside of The Compound	Backbiter	
AP-L7	অৰ্জুনৰ গছতে ভাটোটি পৰিলে, কোনে ভাঙি গলে পাখি। তোমাৰে আমাৰে কোনে ঘোৰ ভাঙিলে, ঈশ্বৰক কৰিছোঁ সাক্ষী।	Arjunor gosote bhatouti porile, Kone vangi gole pakhi, Tumare amare kone jor vangile, Ishorok karisu saakhee.	A parrot perched on the Arjuna tree (Terminalia arjuna); its wings have been broken by someone. The bond between lovers has also been severed by someone; God is the witness.	LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	Union of two wings makes it capable for a bird to fly or union of two parrots to form a strong bond.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Parrot	Lover	Parrots often live in pairs.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				RELATIONSHIPS ARE OBJECTS	Functioning Object	Love Relationship	Two functioning wings make a bird capable of flight. If someone breaks the wing/s, the bird can no longer fly.
				LIFE IS A COURTROOM	Witness Courtroom	God Life	God also can be the judge.
							The comparatively tall nature of Arunja tree can use the HAPPY IS UP metaphor. When the singer sees the birds up above, he feels that they are happy.
AP-L8	আপুনি নাখায়ে মৌলৈ সাঁচিছিল নল-চুটি চাউলৰ ভাত। এতিয়া, মইনা! কোনে কি খুৱালে, কেটেৰা-জেঙেৰা মাত॥	Aapuni nakhaye moloi hasisil Nol-suti saulor bhat; Etiya, moina! kone ki khuwale, Ketera-jengera mat.	The female lover used to save Nol-suti Saul (a special rice) for the singer by refraining from eating it herself. Now, she speaks harshly and gruffly, raising the question of who has fed her (some magical potion) to influence her.	IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE MAGICAL IMPEDIMENTS	Magical Impediments	Impediments In Love	
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	Rice- Nol Suti	Love Towards Male Lover	Nol suti Saul' means love.
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	Magic Potion Fed Without Knowledge	Lack Of Love Towards The Male Lover	Feeding the female lover with some magic potion reduces the love in her for her lover.
AP-L9	চকু চাই চকু চাই মনকে মুহিলি, হাঁহি মাৰি লগালি বেখা। তোক আনিম বুলি আশা পালি আছিলোঁ, শতুৰৰে লগালে লেঠা॥	Choku chai choku chai manke muhili, Hahi mari lagali betha; Tok aanim buli aasa pali aasilo, Shaturuwe lagale lethha.	The female lover captivated the singer with her gaze and a smile, sparking love in him. He wanted to bring her close, but an enemy caused trouble.	ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Enemy	Antagonist Of Love	The one who opposes or obstructs their love relationship, is an enemy of him.
				SEEING IS TOUCHING	Physical Touch	Vision	The meeting of the eyes.
AP-L10	কেলেই এনেকুৱা হালি তই, বাক্কে ঐ! চকু টেৰোৱাকৈ চালি। আমাৰ কপালে যি হৈছে হইছে, তইনো কেই কালে খাবি॥	Kelei enekuwa holi toi, bandhoi oi! Choku terowakoi chalil; Amar kapale ji hoise hoise, Toino kei kale khabi.	What has caused the female lover to change, as she gazes at him with narrowed eyes? Whatever unfortunate event is imminent will befall the singer (his forehead). How much time will the lover have left to relish?	FATE IS FOREHEAD	Forehead	Fate	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-L11	চকুলৈ চালে তই মুখলৈ নাচাৰ, ঈশ্বৰক কৰিছো সাক্ষী। মই যদি তোমালৈ অহিতহে চিন্তিছো, ঈশ্বৰে নথব ৰাখি ॥	Chokuloi chale toi mukholoi nachawa, Ishorok kariso saakhee; Moi jadi tumaloi ahithe chintiso, Ishore nothob rakhi.	When the singer gazes into his lover's eyes, she avoids looking at his face; god is the witness. If he harbours ill thoughts about her, god will not spare his life.	LIFE IS A COURTROOM	Witness	God	
				LIFE IS A COURTROOM	Judge	God	
				STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Location	States	The state of being alive and dead. God will not keep him alive (here).
AP-L12	থুৰিয়াই থুৰিয়াই তামোল কাটি দিছিল, তাৰ মাজত দিছিলি লঙু। মোলে আহিম বুলি কাপোৰ ধুই দিছিলি, মনত লগাইছিলি ৰঙু॥	Thuriai thuriai tamol kati disili, Tar majot disili lang; Moloi ahim buli kapor dhui disili, Manat lagaaisili rong.	The singer's lover would lovingly prepare betel quid with cloves for him, and she always took care of his laundry, eager to be come (by getting married) to him. With these gestures she had painted his mind with colour/joy (bring him joy).	MIND IS A CANVAS	Canvas	Mind	If we take the meaning of 'rong' as colour, we get, on the canvas of mind, one can put colour. But it also means joy directly.
				TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Physical Touch	Transfer Of Properties	In both meanings of 'rang', it is being 'put' in the mind. Thus transferring the colour, or joy to his mind.
				BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid With Cloves	Expression of Love	
AP-L13	তোমালৈয়ে বুলি গঢ়না গঢ়ালো, হাতলৈ গঢ়ালো খাৰু। দুয়ো শুমে বুলি তুলীখন কৰালো, মাদুৰী তুলাৰে গাৰু॥	Tumaloie buli garna garalo, Hatoloi garalo kharu; Duyo shume buli tuleekhon karaalo, Maduri tulare garu.	The singer commissioned ornaments, such as bracelets, for his lover. He also had a mattress and pillows made with <i>Scripus tegetus</i> cotton, with the hope that they would share it.	LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	Sleeping together to create an union.
AP-L14	কেলেই স্ৰজিলি চৰেজন দেৱতা, কেলেই তুলিলি আই। মনৰে কামনা পুৰাব নোৱাৰি মৰোঁ বৰে বিহে খাই ॥	Kelei srojili chorejon dewota, Kelei tulili aai! Monore kamona purab nuwari Maron bore bihe khai.	For what purpose did the creation deity bring the singer into being? Why did his mother raise him? Unable to achieve his heart's desire, he perishes by consuming poison.	GRIEF IS DEATH	Death	Grief	
				LIFE IS A PLAY	Play	Life	It talks about the creation and purpose of the singer.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-L15	পুৰাণি জেওৰা নৰবি, মইনা ! লোকে খৰি পুৰি খায়। লগনীয়া কথাকে নলবি, আমাৰে যোৰা ভাঙিবলৈ যায়।।	Puroni jeora nobobi, moina! Loke khori puri khay; Laganiya kathake nol'bi, amare Jora vangiboloi jay.	The singer requests avoiding an old bamboo fence, as it might be used for firewood. He also urges his lover not to accept a backbiter's attempts to break them apart.	LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	
				RELATIONSHIPS ARE OBJECTS	Objects	Relationship	Functioning relationships are functioning objects, which can be broken.
				ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Backbiter	Antagonist Of Love	
				ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Backbiter	Antagonist Of Love	
AP-L16	শতুৰুৰ কথাকে নলবি লাহৰী ! সি কথা তোমাৰে যম। হেজাৰ আশা কৰা পামে-খামে বুলি, সি আশা কৰিব ভণ্ড ॥	Shaturur kathake nol'bi lahari Si katha tumare jam; Hejar aasa kora pame-khaame buli, Si aasa karib vang.	The singer implores his beloved not to take (to disregard) the words of an adversary, as those words will be her death (undoing). Even a thousand hopes could be shattered by such words.	ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Enemy	Antagonist Of Love	
				ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Enemy	Antagonist Of Love	
				LOVE IS SHARING	Food	Love	
				IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	Objects Taken From An Enemy	Words Of An Enemy	Objects taken from the enemy. Taking/ accepting/ believing ideas from enemies.
				HOPE IS AN OBJECT	Fragile Object	Hope	That can be shattered.
AP-L17	শতুৰুৰ কথাকে নলও নলও বুলি শতুৰুৰ কথাকে ললি। মোকে আগত থই শতুৰুৰ লগত লই তামোল কাটি অকলে খালি ॥	Shaturur kathake nolou nolou buli Shaturur kathake la'li; Moke agot thoi shaturuk lagat lai Tamol kati okole khali.	Despite her denial, the singer's lover accepted the enemies' words and even shared betel quid with them.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Sharing Betel Quid	Hospitality	
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	Betel Quid Shared With Enemy	Accepting Words Of Enemy	Sharing food with enemy is similar to sharing ideas with the enemy i.e. accepting the ideas provided by the enemy.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-L18	চ'তৰ বাৰে খৰত শিমলু ফুলিলে, বতাহত উৰিলে তুলা। কাৰ নো বুধি পাই নাহা কাষে চাপি, জনমৰ শতুৰু হ'লা ॥	Ch'tor bare khorot shimalu fulile, Botahot urile tula; Kar no budhi pai naha kaxe chapi, Janmor shaturu ho'la.	During the dry season of Chaut, Silk Cotton trees have blossomed, and their pods are carried away by the wind. Due to whose advice, the beloved stays away and turns into a lifelong adversary.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Silk Cotton Tree (Bombax Malabaricum)	Female Lover	Silk cotton trees have spikes, the cotton pods also fly high, which is difficult to attain.
				IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE PHYSICAL IMPEDIMENTS	Thorns	Impediments In Love	The Silk Cotton tree has spikes on its trunk, also the cotton pods fly high. These factors make the female lover difficult to attain.
				ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Enemy For Life	Lover	Ideas given by the enemy which make the lovers go distant.
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Physical Pain	Grief	Pain from the spikes.
AP-L19	আয়ো আছিলে, বোপায়ো আছিলে, আটাইৰে আতাৰি হ'লো। মনেসনা পুখুৰীত কোনে বিহ ঢালিলে, পানী খাব নোপোৱা হ'লো ॥	Ayo aasile, boopayo aasile, Ataire aatari ho'lo; Monesona pukhurit kone bih dhalile, Pani khabo nupuwa ho'lo.	The singer had parents, but he grew apart from them. Someone has poured poison in his desire-pond, which has made him devoid of drinking water.	DESIRE IS HUNGER	Food	Desire	Here EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS, and DESIRES ARE FOOD is combining.
				EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS	Drinking Water Pond	Desire	
AP-L20	ভাবোতে ভাবোতে ভাবনা লাগিলে, পেটতো নালাগে ভোক। কণা বিধাতাই ঐ কপালত লিখিলে, লোকে ইহা কৰিলে মোক।।	Vaboote vaboote vabona lagile, Petoto nalage bhok; Kona bidhatai oi kapalot likhile, Loke hanha karile mok.	While he was deep in thought, he felt so absorbed that hunger did not affect him. The blind creator has written on his forehead in a way which makes people laugh at him.	LIFE IS A PLAY	Play	Life	God is a playwright; a blind God is a playwright who makes mistakes in his play.
				FOREHEAD IS A PAPER	Paper	Forehead	Forehead is a paper on which the fate is written.
AP-M1	কেলৈ এনেকুৱা, হ'লি তই মইনা! কেলৈ এনেকুৱা হ'লি। চকুলৈ চালে তই মুখলৈ নাচাৰ, জনমৰ শতুৰু হ'লি ॥	Caloi enekuwa , ho'li toi moina! Caloi enekuwa ho'li; Chokuloi chale toi mukholoi nachawa, Janmor shaturu ho'li.	What has caused the singer's lover to be (act) this way? When he gazes into her eyes, she no longer meets his gaze; she has become a lifelong adversary.	SEEING IS TOUCHING	Physical Touch	Vision	The gazes of both the lovers meet physically.
				ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Enemy For Life	Lover	Here the female lover herself is the opposer of their love.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-M2	প্ৰেমৰে ডোলেৰে বান্ধিলা, মইনা ! প্ৰথমৰ পিৰিতি জৰী। নেৰিবা নেৰিবা এনেকুৱা পিৰিতি এথানি-এবানি কৰি ॥	Premore dolere bandhila, moina! Prothomor piriti jori; Neribaa neribaa enekuwa piriti Ethani-ebani kari.	The singer feels bound by his lover's affection (rope of love) and implores her not to abandon this love, leaving him helpless.	STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Locations	State Of Love	
				LOVE IS A ROPE	Rope	Love	The female lover has tethered the male lover in love.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Domestic Animal	Male Lover	LOVE IS A TETHER is possible due to this metaphor, as we can associate people with animals.
AP-M3	তোমালৈ যিমানটি চিতনি-ভাবনি আইনোকৈ বোপাইলৈ নাই। আশা কৰাই কৰাই নিৰাশা কৰালা, তোমাৰমান নৰকী নাই ॥	Tumaloi jimanti sitoni-vaboni Aainokoi boopailoi nai; Aasa korai korai nirashaa karaala, Tumarman noroki nai.	The singer's thoughts for his lover surpass those he has for his own parents. Initially, she filled him with hope, but ultimately, she let him down. In his view, she deserves hell because of this.	ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	One Deserving Hell	Lover	Here the female lover herself is the opposer of their love as once she gave her hope, but then she disappointed him.
AP-M4	কিতাপ পঢ়ি পঢ়ি কান্দ, প্ৰেমৰ মইনা। চিঠি পঢ়ি পঢ়ি কান্দ। ভাতৰ পাতত বহি লই, অময়া গুণন্তী ! কালই চিন্তা কৰি থাক ॥	Kitap pori pori kanda, premor moina; Sithi pori pori kand; Bhator patot bohi lai, omoya gunontee! KaloI chinta kari thak.	The singer's partner weeps, immersed in books and letters. As they sit before their meal, who occupies their thoughts?	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO EAT	Inability To Eat	Grief	
AP-M5	মাৰি যাওঁ মৰণে তোমাৰে কাৰণে, নাচাওঁ সমনীয়াৰ মুখ। গাতে জুই জুলিছে, সৰিয়হ ফুটিছে, ক'তো যে নিমিলে সুখ ॥	Mori jaon marane tumare karone, Nasaon somoniyar mukh; Gate jui jjolise, sarih futise, Ka'to je nimile sukh.	The singer is willing to sacrifice his life for his beloved, ignoring his peers completely. A fire rages (within) him, and mustard seeds are crackling; there is no place for happiness.	GRIEF IS BURNING	Fire	Grief	The fire burning in/on him produces heat that is enough to crackle mustard seeds.
				GRIEF IS DEATH	Wilful Death	Grief In Love	
AP-M6	জিৰণীয়া মোৱে জিৰাইছে, লাহৰী ! গছৰে ডালতে পৰি। মই জিৰণীয়া, জিৰাবলৈ নাপালো তোমাৰে যৌৱনত ধৰি ॥	Jironea mauwe jiraise, lahori! Gosore dalote pori; Moi jironea, jiraboloi napalo Tumare joubonot dhori.	Honey bees take a break by perching on tree branches, while the weary singer finds no rest, clinging to the 'youth' of his lover.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Honey Bee	Male Lover	The male lover associates him with the honey bees, who are almost always busy, yet they also sometimes get to rest on a branch of a tree.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Locations	State Of Love	The branch of a tree where the honey bees are perching, is a location just like the location of his beloved's youth.
				TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Physical Touch	Transfer Of Properties	The singer/lover 'clings' to the location of youth. Clinging to something is physically in contact with that thing, which let the properties be shared.
AP-M7	কত কেলকেলার, ভদীয়া কাউৰী ! মোলৈ বা আনিছ কি। তাই নিদাৰুণী মৰম লগাই গৈছ বুকুৰ সুমেথিৰা দি ॥	Kot calcalawa, bhodiya kauri! Moloi ba aanis ki; Tai nidarunee maram lagaai goisa Bukur sumethira di.	Where does the Crow, born in the month of Bhado, cries kel-kel? What has it brought to the singer? The singer's unkind lover has given him love (by touch) by offering him the oranges from her bosom.	FEMALE BOSOMS ARE FRUITS	Oranges	Female Bosom	It will only be a visual simile if it only conceptually connects the shapes of the two. But if it also connects the love is consumption concept, then it becomes a metaphor.
				LOVE IS AN OBJECT	Object	Love	
				TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Physical Touch	Transfer Of Properties	The female lover give love, then that love touches him (his body or mind) = love is transferred from her to him.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Crow	Female Lover	Highlights the crying aspect.
				NEGATIVE IS BLACKNESS	Female Lover	Bad (Tease)	The crow is of black colour. When an animal or object is chosen for negative connotation, it is often dark/black in colour.
AP-M8	নৈৰে সিপাৰে নাৰায়ণ শিমলু, তাতে ল'লে কুৰুৱাই বাহ । এই নাৰী জাতি মৰম নাইকিয়া, চিনিব নোৱাৰি আঁহ ॥	Noire sipare narayon shimalu, Tate la'le kuruwai bah; Eai nari jati maram naikia, Chiniba nuwari aah.	There is a big Silk Cotton tree on the other side of the river, Pallas fish Eagles have taken nest there. The womenfolk do not have any love in them; it is difficult to understand their fibres.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Pallas Fish Eagle (Haliaeetus Leucoryphus)	Female Lover	The Pallas Fish Eagle as a predatory bird has sharp talons and powerful curved beaks for tearing flesh.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Silk Cotton Tree (Bombax Malabaricum)	Female Lover	The Silk Cotton Trees have prickles/spikes all around its trunk.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Pain From Prickles, Sharp Talons, Beaks	Grief	
				PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Fibres of The Object	Qualities of Women	It can be a cloth, or some edible object.
AP-M9	তুমিয়ে আমিয়ে পিৰিতি কৰিলো, ঈশ্বৰক কৰিছো সাক্ষী। চৰাই হোৱা হ'লে উৰি গ'লোহেঁতেন, তালৈকো নাইকিয়া পাখি ॥	Tumiye amiye piriti karilo, Ishorok kariso saakhee; Chorai howa ho'le uri go'loheten, Taloiko naikia pakhi.	The lovers have shared their affection, with god as their witness. Had they been birds, they would have taken flight, but they lack wings.	LIFE IS A COURTROOM	Witness	God	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bird	Lover	Ability to fly is related with freedom.
AP-M10	তোমাক চাই আমনি নালাগে, লাহৰী! পেটতে নালাগে ভোক। তোমাৰ গঢ়ে-পিতে কোনে সাজি দিব প্ৰেমৰে পুতলি মোক ॥	Tumak chai amni nalage, lahori! Petoto nalage bhok; Tumar goṛee-pite kone saji diba Premore putli mok.	The singer never grows weary of gazing at his lover, and he doesn't feel any hunger at his stomach. Who will create a "doll of love modelled" after his beloved?	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO EAT	Inability To Eat	Grief	
				LOVE IS AN OBJECT	A Doll Of Love	Love	Doll of love in the shape of his beloved.
AP-M11	ৰঙত দিয়ে গ'লি ৰঙৰে হাচতি, খঙত লই গ'লি কাঢ়ি। গাতে দিয়ে গ'লি জীয়া-জুই একুৰা, মুখৰ লই গ'লি হাঁহি ॥	Rongot diye go'li rongore hasoti, Khongot lai go'li kadhi; Gate diye go'li jiya-jui ekura, Mukhor lai go'li hahi.	The singer's partner gifted him a joyful handkerchief (hasoti), only to withdraw it in anger. She gave a living-breathing fire in his body and took away the smile from his face.	INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Living Breathing Fire	Grief	
				FIRE IS A LIVING ENTITY	Living Entity	Fire	Living breathing fire.
				LOVE IS EXTENDED PHYSICAL TOUCH	Extended Physical Touch	Love	Hasoti is a small piece of cloth for holding betelnuts or for wiping face.
				PASSION IS COLOUR RED	Red Coloured Hasoti (Handkerchief)	Passion, Happiness	Hasoti is often white in colour with prominent red borders all around. A hasoti used regularly will also pick up a reddish hue from the betel quids.

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AP-M12	ইমান দিন, মোৰ ধন ঙ্ৰ! মনকে বুজালো, তোমাৰ মুখখনিলৈ চাই। তোমাৰে সম্ভাপত মৰিব পাৰো, মই, মিচিমিৰ বৰবিহ খাই ॥	Eman din, mor dhon oi! manke bujalo, Tumar mukhkhoniloi chai; Tumare sambhapot morib paro, moi, Misimir borbih khai.	For long time, the singer tries to console his mind gazing at his beloved. He imagines himself succumbing in agony, consuming a fatal dose of Indian aconite, a potent poison from the Mishimi people.	GRIEF IS DEATH	Wilful Death	Grief	By consumption of potent poison.
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	Deadly poison	Forgetting ideas	MIND FOR PERSON
AP-M13	শহুৰৰ বঙলা দোখিবলৈ শুরলা, দুৱাৰত ইংৰাজী লিখা । মনৰে বাঞ্ছিতে পুৰাব নোৱাৰো, থাকিলে তোমালৈ আশা ॥	Shahuror bongla dekhiboloi shuwala, Duwarot ingrajee likha; Monore banchite purab nuwaro, Thakile tumaloi aasa.	The singer's father-in-law has a beautiful bungalow and something written in English on its (front) door. He couldn't fill (achieve) his wish; his feelings for her remained unfulfilled.	MIND IS A CONTAINER	Container	Mind	Talks about filling his mind with his wishes.
							The written English on the door of the Bungalow shows the higher status of the female lover. It implicitly says that the status of the male lover below that.
AP-M14	বোকাৰে গৰৈ মাছ বোকাতে সোমালে, ওপৰে উৰিলে বগ। পেটৰে কথাটি পেটতে থাকিলে, ক'বলৈ নাপালো লগ ॥	Bookare goroi mas bookate somale, Opore urile bog; Petore kathati pette thakile, Ka'boloi napalo lag.	The Spotted Snakehead fish retreated to the mud while Little Egrets flew overhead. Unspoken thoughts remained within his stomach, as the lovers did not meet for the words to be exchanged.	IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	Spotted Snakehead Fish (Channa Punctata)	Thoughts in Mind	The water body and the stomach is a container. The fish retreating into the mud is like words retreating to the stomach.
				STOMACH IS A CONTAINER	Container		Where words stay.
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	Spotted Snakehead Fish (Channa Punctata)	Thoughts In Mind	The Little Egrets eat fish. Since the fish retreated to the mud, it can't eat them. Hence the idea cannot be transmitted.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Spotted Snakehead Fish (Channa Punctata)	Lover	Both are separated by distance.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Little Egret (Egretta Garzetta)	Lover	

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AP-M15	মইনাজানৰ দুখন গাল দেখিবলৈ এনে ভাল , আনিবলৈ নাপালো থাপত। এইনো জাৰেকালি শুবলৈ নাপালো এৰিয়া কাপোৰৰ জাপত ॥	Moinaajanor dukhon gal dekhiboloi ene bhal, Aaniboloi napalo thapot; Eaino jarekali shuboloi napalo Eria kaporor japot.	The female lover's cheeks are stunning; the singer couldn't attain them by pouncing. He couldn't sleep under thick Edi silk cloth in winter.	LUST IS HEAT	Heat From Edi Cloth in Winters	Lust	The heat of the Edi cloth (blanket) in winter.
				LOVED ONE IS A POSSESSION	Possession	Love	The male lover wants to possess the cheeks of his lover by pouncing.
				LOVE IS A HUNT	Pouncing	Love	pounce
AP-M16	তুমি প্ৰাণেশ্বৰী প্ৰেমৰে পুতলা, কোলাতে বহুৱাই ল'ম। বাৰ-শতুৰুলৈ ভয় নকৰিবা, কাপোৰ দি লুকুৱাই থ'ম ॥	Tumi praneshori premore putla, Kolate bohuwai la'ma; Bar-shaturuloi bhoy nokoribaa, Kapor di lukuwai th'ma.	The singer's beloved is cherished like a doll of love; he intends to keep her close. He reassures her not to fear their adversaries, as he will hide her by wrapping her in a cloth.	LOVER IS A TOY	Toy	Lover	
AP-M17	ইস্কুল পঢ়িবলৈ এৰিলো, লাহৰী ! ল'লো ৰাখিবলৈ গৰু। আগেয়ে, মইনা ! পিৰিতি কৰিলো, এতিয়া কেনেকৈ এৰো ॥	Iskul poriboloi erilo, lahori! La'lo rakhiboloi goru; Ageye, moina ! piriti karilo, Etiya kenekoi ero.	The singer quit school to herd cattle. He used to pursue love; how can he abandon it now?	LOVE IS A HABIT	Habit	Love	Habits like herding cattle.
AP-M18	হাতীদাঁতৰ থুৰীয়া, নেজ বাখৰ-পতোৱা, কাণে লওঁ মুৰে লওঁ কৰে। নখত তেলে ঘঁহি নাহিবা, লাহৰী ! মন মোৰ কেনেবা কৰে ॥	Hatidator thuriya, nej bakhor-potowa, Kane lau moore lau kare; Nokhot tele ghi nahibaa, lahori! Mon mor keneba kare.	Crafted from an elephant tusk and adorned with rubies, the ear ornament leaves the excited female lover unsure of where to wear it (on head or on the ears). The singer requests that she avoids coming after polishing her nails, which causes his mood to turn peculiar.				MIND FOR PERSON
AP-M19	কিনো ক'ম, লাহৰী ! দুখৰে বাতৰি, ক'লে চকুপানী পৰে। কেনো কৈ থাকিলে ওৰকে নপৰে, শোগে খুন্দা মাৰি ধৰে ॥	Kino k'ma, lahori ! dukhore batori, Ka'le chokupani pore; Koino koi thakile orake nopore, Shoge khunda mari dhore.	Speaking of sorrowful news, tears stream down from the singer's eyes. The tale stretches on endlessly; grief pounds from within.	GRIEF IS POUNDING	Pounding From Inside	Grief	
AP-M20	চ'তে গই গই ব'হাগো পালেহি, ফুলিলে ভেবেলি-লতা। কৈ নো কৈ থাকিলে ওৰকে নপৰে, আটাইবোৰ তোমাৰে কথা ॥	Ch'te goi goi bo'haago palehi, Fulile bhebeli-lata; Koi no koi thakile orake nopore, Ataibor tumare katha.	With month of Chaut gone and month of Bohag here, the Bhebeli creepers (Convolvulus arvensis, or field bindweed) have blossomed. Words about his lover seem endless.	MOVING TIME METAPHOR	Movement	Time	The months come and go, here the observer is stationary.
				WORDS ARE VINES	Vines- Bhebeli Lota	Words	Field Bindweed are rhizomatous creepers that seem never ending.

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				WORDS ARE VINES	Flowers On The Vine	Sweet Words About Female Lover	As spring bloomed, the creeper's flowers unfurled. And the singer found his tongue filled with endless sweet nothings for his beloved.
AP-N1	অতি চেনেহেৰে ফুলবাৰী পাতিলো, তাৰে মাজে খৰিকাজাই। অতি চেনেহেৰে পিৰিতি কৰিলো, ঢোপাতে মৰহি যায় ॥	Ati senehre fulbari patilo, Tare maje khorikajai; Ati senehere piriti karilo, Dhupate marahi jay.	The singer meticulously cultivated a flower garden with Jasminum auriculatum, tending to it with deep love and care. Despite his dedicated efforts and affection, it wilted before blooming.	LOVE IS A GARDEN	Garden of Jasminum Auriculatum	Love	FLOWER GARDEN
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Khorikajai (Jasminum Auriculatum)	Female Lover	Love relationships are like a budding flower, the failed ones are like wilted flowers that did not even bloom fully.
AP-N2	কি কথা কৰিলো, কি বুধ কৰিলো, বাৰীত বামেকলা ৰুই! আগেয়ে নাজানো, এতিয়া জানিলো শৰীলত কিমানৰ জুই ॥	Ki katha karilo, ki budhi karilo, Barit ramekola rooi! Ageye naajano, etiya janilo Sharilot kimanor jui.	The singer planted Ramkal bananas in his compound, unfamiliar with their nature/properties. He now understands the never felt before fire inside the body.	INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Fire In Body	Grief	
				LOVE IS A MISTAKE	Mistake	Love	
AP-N3	মাও বেগে ধৰি, ভৰি যায় পিছলি, বদতি মুখেৰে আলি। কিনো নিদাৰুণে হ'লি, ঐ লাহৰী! তামোল কাটি অকলে খালি ॥	Jaon bege dhor, bhari jay pisoli, Bodoti mukhore aali: Kino nidarune ho'li, oi lahari! Tamol kati okole khali.	While speeding down the road in Badati-mukh, the singer's feet lose their grip. It is heartless of his lover to eat betel quid by herself.	LOVE IS A JOURNEY	Journey	Love	Difficulties in the journey, like losing grip are difficulties in love relationship.
				BETEL QUID CHEWING	Not Offering Betel Quid	Rejection of Love	Sharing food- betel quid
AP-N4	পথাৰৰ মাজেৰে এজাৰ, ঐ মইনা! পথাৰৰ মাজেৰে এজাৰ! চেঙেলীয়া কালতে পিৰিতি এৰিলা, মনত দিয়ে গ'লা বেজাৰ ॥	Potharor majore ejar, eo moina! Potharor majore ejar! Sengeliya kalote piriti erila, Manat diye go'la bejar.	The Queen's Flower tree amidst the rice paddies. The singer's beloved left her love in her youth; this has given him sorrow.	STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Location	States	The state of sadness in youth is the location of the Queen's Flower tree amidst the rice paddies.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Queen'S Flower (Lagerstroemia Speciosa)	Lover	The tree is lonely amidst the vast paddy field.
				STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Locations	Emotions	That can be given.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-N5	বগাকৈ বগলি উৰে জাকি মাৰি, পাখিতে লগালে পাখি। আমি উৰণীয়া উৰিবলৈ নাপালো, মুখতে মুখখনি যাচি ॥	Bogakoi bogoli ure jaki mari, Pakhite lagale pakhi; Ami uronea uriboloi napalo, Mukhote mukkhoni jasi.	A flock of white Little Egrets fly closely, wings brushing against each other. The lovers, wannabe flyers, however, could not fly with their mouths touching.	LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	Little Egrets flying so close that their wings touch each other.
				LOVE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS	Physical Touch	Love	LOVE IS UNION
				HAPPY IS UP	Up	Happy	Flying above.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Little Egret (Egretta Garzetta)	Lover	
AP-N6	ডিবুৰুগড়তে কিনো নাহাঁকয়া, আছে মুগাবোৱা ৰাচ। তোমাক ভাবি-চিন্তি মৰো কলমতিয়াই, যেনে বিহে-লগা মাছ ॥	Diburugarte kino naikia, Aase mugabowa ras; Tumak vabi-chinti maro kalmotiyai, Jene bihe-lagaa mas.	Dibrugarh has it all, like the reeds for Muga silk weaving. The singer succumbs to exhaustion (almost asleep), worn out from thoughts of his lover, likened to a toxic (poison-touching) fish.	IDEAS ARE FOOD	Poisonous Fish	Thoughts Of Lover	Ideas about the female lover.
				LOVE IS POISON	Poison	Love	Slow death like half asleep from poisonous fish.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Poisonous Fish	Female Lover	IDEAS ARE FOOD metaphor here also can be seen like this. Here the poisonous fish is the female lover.
AP-N7	মহ-গুৱাল নিদিবি মোক, সমনীয়া ! গৰুগুৱাল নিদিবি মোক। ৰ'দেও দাকিছে, পানীজলা ফুটিছে, চেনাহাঁটিক আনি দে মোক ॥	Moh-guwal nidibi mok, somoniya! Goruguwal nidibi mok; Rodeo dakise, panijola futise, Senaitik aani de mok.	The singer pleads with his peers not to make him tend cattle (neither buffalo nor cows), citing the harsh sun and painful blisters (the Sun bites or cause corrosion). He demands his lover be brought to him instead.	INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Blisters from Sun Exposure	Desire	The heat of sun creating blisters.
				CELESTIAL BODIES ARE LIVING ENTITIES	Living Beings	The Sun	The sun can bite or create corrosion. The Assamese word 'ডাক (Daak)' is used in the following meanings- sting or bite (like a hairy caterpillar) or to corrode (like lime).

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-N8	উজনিমুরাকৈ নাও নেমেলিবি, নারৰ টিঙত নাযাবি শুই। কিনো ডোমেজুৰে পালে মোক, লাহৰী ! বুকুত দিয়ে গ'লা জুই।	Ujanimuwakoi nao nemelibi, Nawor tingot najabi shui; Kino domejore pale mok, lahori! Bukut diye gola jui.	The singer advises against traveling upstream by boat and warns not to sleep at the boat's ends. The intermittent fever has gotten him, and his lover has given a fire in his chest.	LOVE IS A JOURNEY	Upstream Boat Journey	Love	The singer advises not to travel upstream by boat and not to sleep on its ends. Probably because due to the current, the boat can be unstable and hence the careless traveller can fall from it. Difficulties in this journey is difficulties in the love relationship.
				INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Intermittent Fever	Grief	A kind of intermittent fever, feels like fire in the chest. The cause is his lover.
							CHEST FOR MIND/ PERSON
AP-N9	বাৰীৰ আমখাৰি ফালিম কেনেকাৰি, জ্বলাম কেনেকাৰি জুই। মনৰে আশাটি মনত মাৰে গ'লে, টোপনি নধৰে শুই ॥	Barir amkhori falim kenekori, Jolam kenekori jui; Monore aashati manat mare go'le, Tuponi nodhore shui.	How would the singer split the mango log in his compound for firewood, and how would he start a fire? The desires of his mind go out of sight in the mind, keeping him awake.	MIND IS A CONTAINER	Container	Mind	মাৰ গ'ল (maar gol)- In the mind container, the hopes go out of sight/ dry up.
				INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Firewood	Desire	Mango firewood of his compound. The compound and the mind are both containers where fire must be lit.
AP-N10	প্রথমৰ পিৰিত আজলি-কাজলি, প্ৰেমত মজি গ'লে মন । পেটত ভোকে-পানী নালাগে, লাহৰী ! সদায় মোৰ তোমালৈ মন ॥	Prothomor piriti aajoli-kajoli, Premot moji go'le mon; Petot bhoke-pani nalage, Lahori ! saday mor tumaloi mon.	First love is naive; it makes the mind addicted to love. The stomach feels no hunger, as his mind is focused on his beloved.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO EAT	Inability To Eat	Grief	
							STOMACH FOR PERSON
AP-N11	জুইৰে পোহৰত, চাকিৰে পোহৰত, পদুমী নাচিছে বিলত। শৰীলৰ ভিতৰত প্ৰেমগ্নি জ্বলিছে, এফেৰিও নুগুচে মনত ॥	Juire poharat, chakire poharat, Podumi nasise bilat; Sharilor bhitort premagni jjolise, Eferio nuguche manat.	A lotus flower dances in the lake, illuminated by fire, and an earthen lamp. A flame of love ignites within the singer's body, and thoughts of her constantly occupy his mind.	INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Fire Inside Body	Desire	The light from a fire and a earthen lamp. A fire of love is burning inside the body.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Lotus	Female Lover	A lotus (flower) is dancing in the lake at the nighttime.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				BODY IS A CONTAINER	Container	Body	Inside his body, a fire is burning.
AP-N12	আশাতে নিৰাশা কৰালা, সাদৰী ! তুমি কত কালে খাবা। মোকে দিয়ে গ'লা জ্বলা জুই একুৰা, তুমিও সেই কুৰা পাবা ॥	Aasate nirashaa karaala, sadori! Tumi kot kale khaba; Moke diye go'la jola jui ekura, Tumio sei kura paba.	The singer's partner has let him down; how long will she eat (relish this)? She'll also face the fire she's ignited and gave to him.	INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Living Breathing Fire	Grief	The female lover has given a fire to the male lover.
							EATING FOR LIVING
AP-N13	আশাতে নিৰাশা কৰালা, লাহৰী ! তুমি খাবা কতবা কাল। ঠনৰ ঠনৰ কৰি ভাগে বুকুখনি, যেনে বিৰিখৰে ডাল ॥	Aasate nirashaa karaala, lahori! Tumi khaba katba kal; Thonor thonor kari vage bukukhoni, Jene birikhore dal.	The singer feels let down by his lover's failed promises; how long will she eat (live) with this? His chest snaps like a breaking branch, sounding than-than.	MIND IS AN OBJECT	Fragile Object	Mind	That can break like a branch of a tree.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Tree	People	If a person is a tree, the branch of a tree can be a part of the person, here mind.
							CHEST FOR MIND
AP-N14	গাখীৰৰ টেকেলি ভাগিলে, লাহৰী ! গাখীৰৰ টেকেলি ভাগিল। পকা সুমেথিৰাৰ চেপি বসে খালো, বাকলিত বহনা লাগিল ॥	Gakhiror tekeli vagile, lahori! Gakhiror tekeli vagil; Poka sumethirar sepi rose khalo, Bakolit bohona lagil.	The clay vessel containing the milk has shattered. The singer consumed the juice of ripe oranges by squeezing them and has also grown fond of the fruit's peel.	LUST IS HUNGER	Hunger	Lust	The male lover imagines the female bosom as various edibles.
				FEMALE BOSOM IS CLAY VESSEL CONTAINING MILK	Clay Vessel Containing Milk	Female Bosom	The milk inside the vessel is milk of the female lover.
				FEMALE BOSOMS ARE FRUITS	Ripe Oranges	Female Bosom	The juice of the ripe oranges is milk of the female lover. The skin of the orange is the skin of the lover. Ripeness of oranges is sexual maturity of the lover.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-N15	ক'লৈ য়াৰ, কলীয়া ! গধূলি বেলিয়া, মোকে গৰু-বাটত থই। বুধি-ছলনেৰে ছলিলি, কলীয়া ! কালিন্দ্রী ভোমোৰা হই ॥	Ka'loi jaw, kaliya ! godhuli belia, Moke goru-batot thoi; Budhi-solonere solili, kaliya! Kalindree bhomora hoi.	Kaliya, the dark-skinned one (a peer of the singer), would disappear into the evening shadows, leaving the singer alone on the cow path. With cunning trickery, he had deceived the singer, transforming into a blue beetle.	NEGATIVE IS BLACKNESS	Dark Skinned Person	Deceiver	A dark skinned person, the evening, A blue beetle or Kalindree Bhomora (very dark beetle); all insinuate darkness.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Blue Beetle	Male Lover	It is not the singer, but a peer of him who has deceived him (and met/taken his beloved).
AP-N16	একোতে নাপাওঁ মই সুখ, ঐ লাহৰী ! একোৱে নিদিয়ে সুখ ! ভাল পাওঁ লাহৰীৰ হাঁহিৰে মলঙা মাণিকি-মধুৰি মুখ ॥	Ekute napaon moi sukh, oi lahori! Ekowe nidiye sukh! Bhal paon lahoreer hahire malanga Maniki-madhuri mukh.	The singer derives no happiness from anything else. He finds joy solely in his lover's face, musty with a smile. It resembles Maniki-madhuri rice.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Rice- Maniki Madhuri	Female Lover	The face of the female lover resembles Maniki Madhuri rice, which is a delicate and fragrant rice.
				LOVE IS CONSUMPTION	Consumption	Love	This poem also may mean that the male lover is able to consume the rice/female lover.
AP-N17	আজি বহুত দিনো দেখা নাই চেনাই ঐ ! মনতো লগা নাই ভাল। যাকে চাই ফুৰো তাকে ঐ নেদেখো, কিনো জুয়ে-লগা কপাল ॥	Aaji bohut dino dekha nai senai oil! Manato lagaa nai bhal; Jake chai furo take oi nedekho, Kino juye-lagaa kapal.	The singer's mind is troubled because he hasn't seen his lover for many days. This is all due to the forehead of him with fire.	TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Transfer Of Properties	Physical Touch	
				FATE IS FOREHEAD	Forehead	Fate	The forehead of the singer is on fire which means his fate is not good.
AP-N18	সৰুৰে-এপৰা, হেৰা প্ৰাণেশ্বৰী ! আছিলো তোমালৈ ধিয়াই। এথানি-এবানি কৰি গ'লা সি আশা, লগনীয়াৰ কথাৰে পাই ॥	Sarure-epora, hera praneshori! Aasilo tumaloi dhiyai! Ethani-ebani kari go'la si aasa, Laganiyar kathake pai.	The singer had cherished a lifelong dream of his beloved, nurtured since childhood. However, her belief in back-biters had made his wishes homeless.	ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Backbiter	Antagonist of Love	The opposer or obstructor to his love relationship.
				HOPE IS A LIVING BEING	Living Beings	Desire	A living being that can go homeless.
AP-N19	ন আলি বন্ধালে ন জন কোঁৱৰে, টেঙী আলি বন্ধালে কোনে। একেখন হাঁচতিত তামোল খাই আহিছে, তাৰো মন ভঙালে কোনে ॥	Na aali bondhale ne jon kowore, Texee aali bondhale kone; Ekekhon hachotit tamol khai ahiso, Taro mon vongale kone.	Nine princes built Na-aali road; who built the Taxi-aali road? The lovers have exchanged betel quids from the same handkerchief; who has broken the female lover's mind?	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Sharing Betel Quid	Romantic Commitment	Sharing food, here betel quid.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	Both lovers have eaten betel quids from the same handkerchief (in which people carry the betel quids).
AP-N20	ই তিনি পৰীয়া দলৌ কাণে মাৰি, ছকুৰি কুকুৰাৰ ভাৰ । জনমে জনমে শুজিব নোৱাৰো থুৰিয়া তামোলৰ ধাৰ ॥	I tini poriya dolou kane mari, Sokuri kukurar bhar; Janme janme shujiba nuwaro Thuria tamolor dhar.	In the afternoon, the singer carries one hundred and twenty chickens on a bamboo pole over his shoulder. He believes he can never (in many births) repay the debt of betel quids she gave him.	MIND IS AN OBJECT A LIFETIME IS A DAY	Fragile Object Afternoon	Mind Middle or Later Adulthood	That breaks. "তিনি পৰ /Third Par or Prahar" means the Afternoon. Here it may that the singer is in his later years. He feels that the repayment of the debt will not be possible in this birth, and may not even be possible in his later births.
				DEBT IS WEIGHT ON SHOULDER	Weight On Shoulder	Debt	Here the signer talks about debt of betel quid/s that his beloved gave to him once. It is equal to the weight of 120 chickens on the shoulder.
				BETEL QUID CHEWING	Betel Quid Accepted Before	Debt	
AP-O1	কিনো খাই পাহৰিম তোক, ঐ লাহৰী ! কিনো খাই পাহৰিম তোক! মিছিমিৰ দেশতে আছে বৰেবিহে, তাকে খাই পাহৰিম তোক ॥	Kino khai pahorim tok, oi lahori! Kino khai pahorim tok! Misimir dekhote aase borebihe, Take khai pahorim tok.	Eating what will make the singer forget his lover? In the Mishimi land, consuming a deadly poison (Indian aconite) will erase her from his memory.	IDEAS ARE FOOD	Drinking Deadly Poison	Forgetting His Lover	Forgetting about the idea of his beloved is also an idea. To achieve this the singer must drink a poison.
AP-O2	তোমাৰে সন্তাপত, হেৰা প্ৰাণেশ্বৰী ! এবেলা আছিলো মৰি। একেটি দেহাৰে কোনে ফালি দিলে দুইনোকো দুফালি কৰি ॥	Tumare santapot, hera praneshori! Ebela aasilo mori; Eketi dehare kone fali dile Duinoko dufali kari.	The singer was deceased for half a day, consumed by grief from his lover. The lovers were united as one body; who caused their separation?	GRIEF IS DEATH	Death	Grief	Here the singer feels like he was dead for half a day in grief.
				LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	
AP-O3	পৰ্বতত মাৰিলে হাৰিণা পছটি, সুগৰি মাৰিলে বনত। তোমাৰে বেজাৰত মৰিমগৈ, মৰিমগৈ, ডিবুৰুৰ জয়ন্তী ৰণত ॥	Porbatat marile horina pohuti, Sugori marile bonot; Tumare bejarot morimgoi, morimgoi, Diburur jayontee ronot.	A deer lost its life in the mountains, while a barking deer met the same fate in the forest. Overwhelmed with sorrow for his beloved, the singer decides to go to the Jayanti War in Diburu where he will die.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Deer (Axis Porcinus)	Male Lover	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
					Barking Deer (Muntiacus Muntjak)	Male Lover	
				GRIEF IS DEATH	Death	Grief	In his thought, the war is not about the hope of winning, but the reality of losing lives.
AP-O4	লাহিকৈ কেতেকীৰ পাহি তই, চেনাই ঐ! লাহিকৈ কেতেকীৰ পাহি । বুকত দিয়ে গ'লি জ্বলা জুই একুৰা, মুখৰ লৈয়ে গ'লি হাঁহি ॥	Lahikoi ketekir pahi toi, senai a! Lahikoi ketekir pahi; Bukot diye go'li jola jui ekura, Mukhor loie go'li hahi.	The Keteki flower's (Pandanus odorifer) leaves are delicate. His beloved has given him a blazing fire in his chest and taken away his smile from his face.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Keteki (Pandanus Odorifer)	Female Lover	A fragrant flower that has teeth on its leaves.
				SMILE IS A POSSESSION	Possession	Smile	Can be taken.
				GRIEF IS BURNING	Fire	Grief	
AP-O5	তোমাকে ভাবেতে, চকুপানী টোকোতে হাতত শিৰামুৰি ধৰে। কোনোবা জনমত মহাপাপ কৰিলো, নহ'ল জোৰা তোমাৰে মোৰে ॥	Tumake vaboote, chokupani tokote Hatot shiramoori dhore; Konoba janmot mohapap karilo, Noh'la jora tumare more.	As he thinks about the singer's lover and wipes away tears, his hand cramps. He believes they can't unite due to a grave sin he must have committed in a past life.	LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	KARMA
				DIFFICULTIES IN LOVE IS RETRIBUTION OF SINS OF PAST LIVES	Sins Of Past Lives	Difficulties In Love	
AP-O6	তোমালৈ চিতনি, তোমালৈ গুণনি, থাকো অনাহাৰে শুই। কোনোবা জনমত মহাপাপ কৰিলো, দি গ'লা শৰীলত জুই ॥	Tumaloi sitoni, tumaloi gunoni, Thako onahare shui; Konoba janmot mohapap karilo, Di go'la sharilot jui.	Obsessed with thoughts of his lover, the singer sleeps without eating. It's likely he committed a severe sin in a past life, resulting in the fire in his body given by his beloved.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO EAT	Inability To Eat	Grief	
				DIFFICULTIES IN LOVE IS RETRIBUTION OF SINS OF PAST LIVES	Sins Of Past Lives	Difficulties In Love	
				GRIEF IS BURNING	Fire	Grief	His beloved has given fire to his body/ to him. BODY FOR PERSON

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-O7	হায় ঐ বিধাতা ! ভাগ্যত লিখোতা, কপালত লিখিলা ভাল। অবুজন মনকে বুজাব নোৱাৰো, নিজে চপাই ল'লো কাল ॥	Hay oi bidhata! vakyat likhota, Kapalot likhila bhal; Obujon manke bujab nuwaro, Nije chopai la'lo kal.	Though the creator has inscribed positive things in his forehead, his inability to control his thoughts has led him close to peril or death.	FATE IS FOREHEAD	Forehead	Fate	Forehead is the surface where fate is written.
				LIFE IS A PLAY	Play	Life	God is the writer.
				LIFE IS A COURTROOM	Regulator	God	
AP-O8	চৰাই কুমলীয়া উৰিব নোৱাৰে, ঘূৰি ঘূৰি ডালতে পৰে। মন কুমলীয়া পাহৰিব নোৱাৰে, ঘূৰি ঘূৰি মনতে পৰে ॥	Chorai kumliya urib nuware, Ghuri ghuri dalote pore; Mon kumliya pahoriba nuware, Ghuri ghuri manate pore.	An immature bird fails to fly and goes back to the branch. Similarly, a young mind cannot forget, and goes back to memories.	MIND IS A LOCATION	Tree Branch	Mind	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bird- Immature	Lover	MIND FOR PERSON
				TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Transfer Of Properties	Physical Touch	The idea is transferred when from the first to the second object when both touches.
AP-O9	বাৰীতে জাহাজী কল ৰুই গ'লো, মেলিলে আঁঠিয়াই ঠোক। চেনেহৰ পীৰিতি চোপাত মৰহিলে, সন্তাপে দহিছে মোক ॥	Barite jahajee kal rooi go'lo, Melile aathiyai thok; Senehor peeriti dhupat marahile, Santape dohise mok.	The singer planted Jahaji bananas in his garden, yet Aathiya bananas have unexpectedly peeped/emerged. Love has withered at its inception, leaving the singer strung by grief.	LOVE IS A FRUIT	Jahaji Banana	Love	The singer had hoped for Jahaji banana, or one specific type of love.
				LOVE IS A FRUIT	Aathiya Banana	Love	These bananas are of big sizes and have comparatively large seeds inside.
				IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE IMPEDIMENTS IN EATING	Impediments In Eating The Fruit	Impediments In Love	The large seeds of the Aathiya banana prevents someone from enjoying fully the otherwise tasteful banana.
				GRIEF IS BURNING	Burning	Grief	দহ্ (dah)- means to burn. His griefs burn him.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-O10	আজি কিয়ে বাৰ শনি, ঐ মইনা, আজি কিয়ে বাৰ শনি। চাৰি আঙুল কপালত বিধাতাই লিখিলে, মতা হাঁহে পাৰিছে কপী ॥	Aaji kiye bar shani, oi moina, Aaji kiye bar shani; Sari aangul kapalot bidhatai likhile, Mota hahe parise konee.	Why is today Shani (Saturday, traditionally associated with misfortune)? The deity's plan is inscribed on his large (four finger tall) forehead. Meanwhile, male ducks are reportedly laying eggs.	FATE IS FOREHEAD	Forehead	Fate	The size of the forehead signifies the amount of good fate. A four finger tall forehead is said to be optimum/large.
				LIFE IS A PLAY	Play	Life	The screenplay of the life is written on someone's forehead.
AP-O11	সৰুৰে-এপৰা, প্ৰাণেশ্বৰী হেৰা, আছিলো তোমাকে ধিয়াই। দেখিলো বুলিয়ে পাম কেনে কৰি, মোৰ যে কপালত নাই ॥	Sarure-epora, praneshori hera, Aasilo tumake dhiyai; Dekhilo buliye pam kene kari, Mor je kapalot nai.	The singer has been reflecting on his beloved since his youth. He can see her, but he cannot reach her, as it is not destined for him.	FATE IS FOREHEAD	Forehead	Fate	If his beloved is not (written) in his forehead, he cannot deny his destiny. The lines in ones forehead are lines in the story.
AP-O12	পিৰালিয়ে ওলালো, পিৰালিয়ে সোমালো, তোমাৰ পিৰালিয়ে বাট। ওলাওতে মাতিলো, সোমাওতে মাতিলো, ওলাই তেও নিদিলো মাত ॥	Piraliye olalo, piraliye somalo, Tumar piraliye bat; Olaote matilo, somaote matilo, Olai teo nidila mat.	The singer moves in and out through the plinth (entrance) of his lover's home. He called out to her each time, but she remained unresponsive.	IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	Objects That Can be Given	Spoken Words	Can be given, in this case his beloved refuses to give him a call.
AP-O13	ইবাৰীত ওলায়ে সিবাৰীত সোমালো, বাটত আছিল বগৰী জেং। তোমালৈ চাওঁতে জেঙে আঁচুৰিলে, ভাগিলে দুখনি ঠেং ॥	Ibarit olaye sibarit somalo, Batot aasil bogori jeng; Tumaloi chaonte jenge aasurile, Vagile dukhoni theng.	The singer moved between compounds, where leafless Jujube twigs on the road. Distracted by his lover, he was scratched and broke both legs.	GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Pain	Grief In Love	From the thorns of the Jujube twigs and from his broken legs.
				LOVE IS DISTRACTION	Distraction	Love	Distraction leads to him get hurt.
AP-O14	ছাতিৰে পানীৰে চেলেং তিতি গলে, দুৱাৰ মেলি দিয়া সোমাওঁ। জাৰও লাগিছে বতাহো লাগিছে, জুই ধৰি দিয়া ফুৰাওঁ ॥	Satire panire seleng titi go'le, Duwar meli dia somaon; Jaro lagise botaho lagise, Jui dhori dia furaon.	The singer's Seleng cloth became wet from umbrella water, prompting him to ask his lover to open the door. Feeling cold and windy, he requests a fire to be made (blow fire).	AFFECTION IS WARMTH	Wet Cloth	Lack Of Affection	The Seleng cloth is used for warmth. A wet cloth means LACK OF AFFECTION IS COLDNESS

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AP-O15	ব্ৰহ্মপুত্ৰৰ পাৰতে বৰ্হমথুৰি এজুপি, আমাৰ খৰি লোৰা ঠাই। উটুৱাই নিনিবা ব্ৰহ্মপুত্ৰ দেৱতা, তামোল দি মাতোতা নাই ॥	Brohmaputror parote borhamathuri ejupi, Amar khori lora thai; Utuwai ninibaa brommoputra dewota, Tamol di matota nai.	On the bank of the river Brahmaputra stands a Barhamthuri (Magnolia pterocarpa, Watt) plant where they gather firewood. The singer implores the deity of the Brahmaputra not to carry him away, as there is no one to offer betel quid for his funeral rites.	RIVERS ARE LIVING BEINGS	Living Beings	Brahmaputra River	The river Brahmaputra (means the son of Brahma) is considered as a deity, who can take someone away drifting.
				BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Invitation for Ceremony	In Assamese culture betel quid is offered with the invitation to attend a ceremony, here the last rites of the singer.
AP-O16	তোমাৰ মতেষাৰি কুলিৰ মতে যেনে, মতেৰে মুহিলা মোক। আগৰে কথাই মনত পৰি গ'লে দুনাই জুলি আহে শোক ॥	Tumar matekhari kulir mate jene, Matere muhila mok; Agore kathaloi manat pori go'le Dunai jjoli ahe sok.	The singer's lover has a voice like a cuckoo, enchanting him with its sound. Recalling past memories makes the sorrow burn again.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cuckoo	Female Lover	The voice of the female lover is like a Cuckoo bird. Here only the aural medium is in focus.
				GRIEF IS BURNING	Fire	Grief	Burns again.
				TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Transfer Of Properties	Physical Touch	"Monot pori gol"- When an idea touches the mind, it gets transferred.
AP-O17	কেলেই আহিলা অথান্তৰ বেলিকা, কিনো দি সান্তনা কৰো। কোনে আনি দিব ফাঁকৰে মিত্ৰদা শৰীলত ঘপিয়াই মৰো ॥	Kelei ahila athantor belika, Kino di saantona karo; Kone aani dib fakore mitda Sharilot ghopiai maro.	Why has the singer's lover come in this time of misfortune or distress? How can he console himself? Who will bring the mit-da (a pointed knife) from the scabbard so that he can slash himself dead?	GRIEF IS DEATH	Death	Grief	The grief of not being successful in love is equivalent to one slashing himself dead with a knife.
AP-O18	মনৰো ঠিকনা নাই প্ৰাণেশ্বৰী, চিতৰো ঠিকনা নাই। ঘৰত মনে পাৰি থাকো কেনে কৰি, সন্তাপে মাৰিছে খাই ॥	Manaro thikona nai praneshori, Sitaro thikona nai; Ghorot mone pari thako kene kari, Santape marise khai.	The singer's thoughts and emotions are uncertain. He cannot remain at home feeling dejected, as sorrow is consuming him.	STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Locations	States	ঠিকনা (Thikona) means certainty or address. Here his mind is not certain- i.e. it is not in one certain location.
				MIND IS AN OBJECT	Object	Mind	Mind and heart do not have certainty.
				GRIEF IS AN ANIMAL	Carnivorous Animal	Grief	An animal that eats a human being.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-O19	লোৱকে বিন্ধিলে লোৱৰে মামৰে ছাতিৰ নালত বিন্ধিলে ঘুণে । চাৰি আঙুল কপালত বিধাতাই লিখিলে চাঁচি বা গুচাব কোনে ॥	Lowake bindhile loware maame Satir nalot bindhile ghune; Sari aangul kapalot bidhatai likhile Chachi ba guchab kone.	Rust has eaten into the iron, and borer worms have damaged the umbrella handle. Who can erase what the creator has inscribed on a four-finger tall forehead?	COMPLEX CHEMICAL PROCESS IS A OBSERVABLE BIOLOGICAL PROCESS	Borer Worm Eating Timber	The Process Of Rusting	The way borer worms eats out timber, same way rust also eats out metal. Hence RUST IS A LIVING ORGANISM
				LIFE IS A PLAY	Play	Life	God is a the writer of the play, here the writer is defected as he has only written negatives in the fate of the singer.
				FATE IS FOREHEAD	Forehead	Fate	BAD FATE IS IMPERFECTIONS ON TIMBER OBJECT. Bad fate has to be scraped and smoothed with a cutting weapon from his forehead.
AP-O20	পাণে দিয়া পাণেদৈ! চুণে দিয়া চুণেদৈ ! তামোল দিয়া তামোলদৈ খাওঁ । মনৰ দুখে-কষ্টে মনতে মাৰিবা, এতিয়া ঘৰলৈ যাওঁ ॥	Pane dia panedoi! choone dia sunedoi! Tamol dia tamuldoi khaon; Monor dukhe-kaste manate maribaa, Etiya ghorloi jaon.	The singer requests a betel quid made of betel nut, betel leaf, and slaked lime and asks his lover to soothe (kill) the pain inside (mind), as he/they return home.	EMOTIONS ARE LIVING BEINGS	Living Beings	Emotions	Can be killed.
				MIND IS A CONTAINER	Container	Mind	
				BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Hospitality	
AP-P1	চতিয়নাৰ ওপৰে বোল ঘূৰে দুপৰে, মেলোঙত গধূলি হ'ল । সৰুটি মনেমা ফাটেকত পৰিলে, আফিলত মুকলি হ'ল ॥	Chotiyonar opare beli ghure dupore, Melengot godhuli ho'la; Saruti monema phatekot porile, Afilat mukoli ho'la.	At noon, the sun shines (roams) over the Chatiyana tree (Alstonia scholaris); evening has arrived in Meleng. The singer's beloved was imprisoned (fell in prison) but has been released on appeal.	A LIFETIME IS A DAY	Noon	Time of Love	These songs are sung by young adults. Noon time- when the Sun is above the Chatiyana tree representative of the stage of theirs. Implicitly says that the female lover is in this stage.
				LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Sun	Female Lover	Evening is the time when the Sun sets. Sun setting is his beloved falling in prison.
							Chatiyana tree (Alstonia scholaris) is also a poisonous tree, which may associate negativity.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-P2	ভাটিলে ভটায়াই যামগে, লাহৰী ! নাথাকো কুম্পানীৰ দেশত। তোমাৰ যেই গতি, মোৰ সেই গতি দুইগতি মিলামগৈ শেষত ॥	Bhatiloi bhotiyai jamgoi, lahori! Nathako kumpanir dekhhot; Tumar jei goti, mor sei goti duigoti Milamgoi hekhot.	The lover declares his intention to head downstream, choosing not to remain in the territory governed by the (East India) Company. Whatever situation his beloved endures, he too will experience the same. Ultimately, both of their fates will converge.	FATE IS A RIVER	River	Fate	Travelling with the flow of the water means that the river is in control and the traveler is just passive observer of the actions. Fate is seen as the eventuality of the river moving downstream.
				LOVE IS UNION	Union	Love	The lovers' fate will get united at the end, like two rivers meeting.
AP-P3	চতীয়ে বগালে চতীৰ বৰে চেলা, মাৰলিত বগালে সাপ। আমাৰে কপালে যি হ'বৰ হৈছে, মইনা ! তই মঙলে থাক ॥	Chotiyे bogale chotir bore sela, Marlit bogale sap; Amare kapale ji ho'bor hoise, Moina ! toi mongole thak.	A big centipede moves along the tie beam while a snake slithers among the purlins of the (bamboo) house. The inevitable is going to occur (happen to his forehead), and the singer hopes for his lover's well-being.	A PERSON IS A HOUSE	House	Person	The upper part of the house, consisting of the tie beam or purlins is associated with the forehead of a person.
				MISFORTUNE IS POISONOUS	Poisonous	Misfortune	
				FATE IS FOREHEAD	Forehead	Fate	
AP-P4	এটা বাটিত নহৰু এটা বাটিত পনৰু এটা বাটিত সূতৰা শাক ! মূৰৰ চুলি ছিঙি আশীৰ্বাদ কৰিছো, চেনাই ! তই কুশলে থাক ॥	Eta batit nohoru eta batit ponoru Eta batit sutora shaak! Mooror suli singi aashirbad kariso, Senai ! toi kuxale thak.	There is a bowl containing garlic, another one with onions, and a third with Amaranthus viridis. The singer blesses his lover's well-being by pulling out his hair.	LIFE IS GROWTH OF HAIR	Growth Of Hair	Life	One of the most visible part of human growth is the growth of hair. It is faster and hence more noticeable than growth of other parts, or organs. Pulling one's hair out to bless someone, may mean that one is giving away something important i.e. part of his life.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-P5	প্রথমে প্রণমো জয় সৰস্বতী, দ্বিতীয়ে প্রণমো হৰি। কোনজন বিধতাই আমাক চৰজিলে এথানি-এবানি কৰি ॥	Prothome pronmoo jay saraswati, Dwitiye pronmoo hori; Konjon bidhotai amak chorojile Ethani-ebani kari.	First, they offer prayers to the goddess Saraswati; then, they pray to the god Hari. Which creator has created them making them helpless?	IMPORTANCE IS PRECEDENCE			The goddess Saraswati is mor important than the god Hari in this case, as Saraswati is considered knowledge, education, learning, arts, speech, poetry, music, purification, language and culture.
				GOD IS A CREATOR	Creator	God	
AP-P6	চকলা কাঠৰে মই ফাৰ্গ কাটিলো লেদেঙৰ খোপালৈ চাই। আজি নিশা সপোনত বেয়াকৈ দেখিলো, ফণিখন হেৰা পাই ॥	Chokola kathare moi foni katilo Ledengor khopalo chai; Aaji nishaa saponat beyakoi dekhilo, Fonikhon hera pai.	Observing his lover's bun, the singer fashions (cuts) a comb from a circular, flat piece of wood. One night, he has a troubling dream in which the comb goes missing.				A comb is an important object in traditional culture. This may due to the usefulness and its time and labour intensiveness in making.
AP-P7	গৰু লৰে মাৰি ভাঙে শলে মাৰি, গাহৰিয়ে ভাঙিলে গৰাল। শনিবাৰৰ দিনাখন কালৈখন লাগিলে চেনাই পানীত পৰি হেৰাল ॥	Goru lare mari vange shale mari, Gaahoriye vangile goral; Shanibaror dinakhon kaloikhon lagile Senai panit pori heral.	The bulls escaped and shattered the yoke, while the pigs demolished their pen. An unfortunate event took place on Saturday: the singer's lover fell into the water and got lost.	NEGATIVE IS SATURDAY	Saturday	Unfortunate Events	Unfortuante things happen on Saturdays.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cow Or Bull	Female Lover	Bull escaping from the yoke, or pigs breaking their sty is comparable to his beloved falling into water and getting lost.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Swine	Female Lover	
AP-P8	এইবেলি আহুধান পানীয়ে মাৰিলে, আৰু বেলি আহুধান পাম। মোৰ যে মইনা গ'লে সিপুৰীলৈ আকৌ কোনে কালে পাম ॥	Eibeli ahudhan paniye marile, Aaru beli ahudhan pam; Mor je moina go'le sipurilo Aako kone kale pam.	This year, flooding destroyed the Ahu rice paddy; the singer will have another chance to cultivate it next season. However, if his lover leaves him (goes to the other side), he won't be able to get her back.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Rice Paddy	Female Lover	The life of his beloved is compared to the life of the rice paddy.
				STATES ARE LOCATIONS	Location	States	Death is change of location from this side to the other side.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
AP-P9	হাফলুৰ আঁৰতে চৰে ক'লা গৰু উলুৰে গজালি খাই। তোমালৈ যেতিয়া মনত মোৰ পৰিব, দেহা ক'লা পৰি যায়।।	Haflur aanrate chore ka'la goru Ulure gojali khai; Tumaloi jetiya manat mor poriba, Deha ka'la pori jay.	A black cow or bull grazes on thatching grass shoots behind the white ant hill. When the thoughts of his beloved comes to his mind, his body turns black.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cow Or Bull	Male Lover	
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	Shoots Of Thatching Grass Being Eaten By A Black Cattle	Remembering About Lover	Accepting or remembering an idea is eating. Grass and cattle here.
				IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	Discovering A Hidden Dark Object	Remembering	A black cow or bull was eating grass behind an ant hill, which implies hidden.
AP-P10	নকাৰিবি ভয়ে এ, নাকান্দিবি চেনেঙ এ ! মনত শোগ নলবি তোৰ। ইপুৰী যে এৰি থৈ পামেগৈ সিপুৰী, দুখৰো পৰিব ওৰ ॥	Nokoribi bhoye e, nakandibi seneng oi! Manat shog nolbi tor; Ipuri je eri thoi pamegoi sipuri, Dukhoro porib ur.	The singer reassures his lover not to fear, cry, or dwell on sorrow (take grief in mind). He will depart this life and go to the other region, where grief will end.	STATES ARE LOCATION	Location	States	Death is change of location from this side to the other side.
				GRIEF IS DEATH	Death	Grief	
				TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Transfer Of Properties	Touch	
	ফাগুনি	Faguni	Bonghokhas of young women				
	অঙ্গৰাগ	Angaraag	The act or process of dressing or grooming oneself				
F-A1	ই নৈত বুৰ মাৰি সি নৈতে ওলালে, কাৰে পোহনীয়া উদ্ । মাটি ফুটি ওলালে তৰাৰে গজালি, বুকু ফুটি ওলালে দুদ্ ॥	I noit bur mari si noite olale, Kare pohaniya ud; Mati futi olale torare gojali, Bku futi olale dud.	The otter has dived and disappeared into one river and reappeared in another. The Tora (Alpinia nigra) sprouts have emerged piercing the earth, bosoms has emerged piercing chest.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Tora Plant (Alpinia Nigra)	Female Lover	The bodily growth of the female lover is the growth in the Tora plant sprouts.
				BODY IS A CONTAINER	Container	Body	Here a river, earth, and human body are containers from which an otter, Tora sprots and bosoms emerge.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Otter	Female Lover	An otter is an wild animal, even when domesticated its wild nature will not go away completely. Hence the female lover is somewhere between domestic and wild.
F-A2	ঘৰতো নপৰে মন, সমনীয়া, পথাৰত নপৰে মন। কমোৱা তুলাবোৰ যেনেকৈ উৰিছে, তেনেকৈ উৰিবৰ মন।।	Ghorto nopore mon, somoniya, Potharot nopore mon; Comuwa tulabor jenekoi urise, Tenekoi uribor mon.	The mind finds no solace (does not fall) at home, nor does it in the paddy fields. The singer aspires to soar like pure cotton fibres (or cotton fibres while cleaning).	TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Physical Touch	Transfer Of Properties	The mind, when it falls into something (an idea or place) it accepts the idea or its properties.
				MIND IS A MOVING OBJECT	In Flight Cotton Ball	Mind/Desire	A flying silk cotton ball does not have any control over its flight. The singers mind also fly away like this, because his cannot focus on the work of home, or paddy field.
F-A3	চাউলৰ চিকুণে খুদ, ঐ লাহৰী ! চাউলৰ চিকুণে খুদ। ডেকাৰে চিকুণে ভৰিৰ কলা ফুলে, গাভৰুৰ চিকুণে দুদ।।	Saulor chikune khud, oi lahuri ! Saulor chikune khud; Dekare chikune bharir kola fule, Gabharur chikune dud.	The smoothest and the most excellent of rice are the small ones. For young men, it is the calves, and for young women, it is the bosoms.	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Small Rice Grain	People	The smoothness and excellence of the small rice grain is comparable to the best parts of young men and women.
F-A4	আগবাৰী শূৱনি কাকিনী তামোল ঐ, পিছ-বাৰী শূৱনি পাণ। বৰ ঘৰ শূৱনি জীয়ৰী ছোৱালী, উলিয়াই দিবলৈ টান।।	Agbari shuwani kakini tamol oi, Pis-bari shuwani pan; Bor ghor shuwani jiyori sowali, Uliai diboloi tan.	The charm (comely) of a front yard is old, tall betel nut trees, and that of backyard is betel leaves. The main house's charm lies in a young daughter, though giving her away is hard.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Areca Palm- Tall	Female Lover	The compound is related to the house. The relation of betel nut and leaf plants to the compound, is similar to a daughter to the house. Betel quid chewing is associated to love and friendship.
F-A5	কুলাতকে চালনি ঘন, মোৰ চেনাই ঐ, কুলাতকে চালনি ঘন। কোন কটাৰ জীয়ে জীয়ৰী তুলিলে, চাই থাকিবৰে মন ।।	Kulatko chalani ghon, mor senai oi, Kulatko chalani ghon; Kon kotar jiye jiyori tulile, Chai thakibore mon.	The bamboo sieve is more tightly woven than the bamboo winnowing fan. The singer can't help but admire the daughter raised by a daughter of a mother.	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Excessively Dense Bamboo Sieve	Female Lover	The singer vexes his lover comparing her to a dysfunctional/less functional object.

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F-A6	নেৰে শূৱনি গঙাকৈ চিলনি, পৰ্বতৰ শূৱনি মিৰি। ভৈয়ামৰ শূৱনি কেঁকাই পথাৰখনি, পাটিৰে শূৱনি তিৰি।।	Noire shuwani gongakoi chilni, Porbatar shuwani miri; Bhoiamor shuwani kekai potharkhoni, Patire shuwani tiri.	The Indian River Tern graces the river, the Miri women graces the mountains, the Kekai field beautifies the plains, and a woman adorns the sleeping mat.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Indian River Tern (Sterna Aurantia)	Female Lover	Different things are beautiful in different locations/ settings. Indian River Tern (Sterna aurantia) are beautiful in river and women in bed.
				PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Kekai Field	Female Lover	The beauty of the Kekai field is compared to the beauty of the woman. Kekai can also mean curvy in shape.
				WOMEN ARE FERTILE LANDS	Fertile Lands	Women	A paddy field also can be a metaphor for fertility.
F-A7	হাঁহে বাটে বুলে লুডুৰে-পুডুৰে, পাৰই বাটে বোলে ৰই। বান্ধৈ বাটে বুলে চেউনি আলিয়ে, লগৰ সমনীয়া লই।।	Hahe bate bule ludure-poodure, Paroi bate boole roi; Bandhoi bate bule seuni aaliye, Lagar somoniya lai.	The duck waddles, and the pigeon pauses as it walks. The friend of the singer strolls along Seuni road with their peers.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Duck	Male Lover	Walking/ moving style of animals to walking style of lover with friends.
					Pigeon	Male Lover	
F-A8	গাৰে জুৰণি ৰি-ৰিয়া বতাহে, পেটেৰে জুৰণি ভাত। বুকুৰে জুৰণি চেনাইৰে দুখনি কোমল কুমলীয়া হাত।।	Gare juroni ri-ria botaha, Petore juroni bhat; Bukure juroni senaire dukhoni Komal kumliya hat.	The breeze is a cooling draught of the body, rice is the same of the stomach, and the young beloved's soft hands are the cooling draught to the chest.	LOVE IS COOLNESS	Cooling Draught	Love	When the body/mind is hot/ in fire in passion, or the stomach is in fire due to hunger, a cooling draught helps the body cool down.
				LOVE IS SHARING	Rice	Love	Food when hungry.
F-A9	সৰুকৈ আছিলো, গৰু ৰাখিছিলো, বৰ হৈ লগালো তাত। তাঁতৰে শালতে দেখিবৰে পৰা পেটলৈ যোৱা নাই ভাত।।	Sarukoi aasilo, goru rokhisilo, Bor hoi lagalo tat; Tatore shaalote dekhibore pora Petloi jowa nai bhat.	In her youth, the singer was a cattle herder. As she matured, she began working on a handloom. However, when she saw her lover while she was at work on the loom, she has lost all her appetite (rice does not go to the stomach).	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO EAT	Inability To Eat	Grief	
F-A10	হাতে কুটে কুটায়, আঙুলি বঢ়িয়াই, নবঙ এনেকুৱা তাত। ফুৰি থৈ আহোঁগৈ মোৰ ধনৰ চুবুৰিত, লগাই থৈ আহোঁগৈ মাত।।	Hate kutekutai, aanguli botiyai, Nobou enekuwa tat; Furi thoi ahugoi mor dhonor suburit, Lagaai thoi ahugoi mat.	Twisting threads causes pain to the joints of the fingers (the joints of the fingers bite). The singer is reluctant to work in such a loom. She longs to visit her beloved's neighbourhood and call out to him.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO WORK	Inability To Work	Grief	
				LOVE IS RESTLESSNESS	Restlessness	Love	

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F-A11	আৰ্ছৰ কেনুৱা গণ, লগৰীয়া আৰ্ছৰ কেনুৱা গণ। ৰাখিব পাৰো মই হাতৰ পানীচলু, ৰাখিব নোৱাৰো মন।	Aarsir kenuwa gon, lagariya Aarsir kenuwa gon ; Rakhib paro moi hator panisolu, Rakhib nuwaro mon.	The singer ponders the various kinds of mirrors. While she can hold onto a handful of water, her thoughts remain elusive (cannot keep her mind).	EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS (IN A CONTAINER)	Liquids	Love	Her mind is like water, that cannot be contained in her palms even if she tries.
F-A12	তাঁত বাট কৰোতে নাহিবি বুলিলো, বহি বই আছিলোতা তাঁত। মোৰে মুৰে খোৱা, তই যে সোণামুৱা, পিছৰ পৰা লগালি মাত।	Tat bati karote nahibi bulilo, Bohi boi aasilota tat; More moore khowa, toi je sunamuwa, Pisor pora lagali mat.	The singer requests her lover to stay away while she weaves at the loom. She refers to him as cause of her death (eater of her head), as he calls out to her from behind.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Carnivorous Animal	Male Lover	The male lover can be a cause of her death (eater of her head). Relatable to wild carnivorous animal.
				NEGATIVE IS CALLING FROM BACK	Calling From Back	Inauspicious	Cultural belief.
F-A13	লাহিকৈ কেতেকীৰ পাহি ঐ পিলিঙা, লাহিকৈ কেতেকীৰ পাহি। বুকুতে দিয়ে গ'লি জীয়া জুই একুৰা, মুখৰ হৰি নিলি হাঁহি ॥	Lahikoi ketekir pahi oi pilinga, Lahikoi ketekir pahi; Bukute diye go'li jiya jui ekura, Mukhor hori nili hahi.	The Keteki flower's tiny, fragile leaves. Her beloved gave her a breathing fire and stole the smile from her face.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Keteki (Pandanus Odorifer)	Male Lover	Keteki is fragrant, but has teeth on the leaves.
F-A13	লাহিকৈ কেতেকীৰ পাহি ঐ পিলিঙা, লাহিকৈ কেতেকীৰ পাহি। বুকুতে দিয়ে গ'লি জীয়া জুই একুৰা, মুখৰ হৰি নিলি হাঁহি ॥		The Keteki flower's tiny, fragile leaves. Her beloved gave her a breathing fire and stole the smile from her face.	GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Physical Pain	Grief	Pain from Keteki leaves, or fire in chest.
F-A13	লাহিকৈ কেতেকীৰ পাহি ঐ পিলিঙা, লাহিকৈ কেতেকীৰ পাহি। বুকুতে দিয়ে গ'লি জীয়া জুই একুৰা, মুখৰ হৰি নিলি হাঁহি ॥		The Keteki flower's tiny, fragile leaves. Her beloved gave her a breathing fire and stole the smile from her face.	GRIEF IS BURNING	Burning	Grief	Burning in the chest from fire.
F-A13	লাহিকৈ কেতেকীৰ পাহি ঐ পিলিঙা, লাহিকৈ কেতেকীৰ পাহি। বুকুতে দিয়ে গ'লি জীয়া জুই একুৰা, মুখৰ হৰি নিলি হাঁহি ॥		The Keteki flower's tiny, fragile leaves. Her beloved gave her a breathing fire and stole the smile from her face.	SMILE IS A POSSESSION	Possession	Smile	Possession that can be stolen.
F-A13	লাহিকৈ কেতেকীৰ পাহি ঐ পিলিঙা, লাহিকৈ কেতেকীৰ পাহি। বুকুতে দিয়ে গ'লি জীয়া জুই একুৰা, মুখৰ হৰি নিলি হাঁহি ॥		The Keteki flower's tiny, fragile leaves. Her beloved gave her a breathing fire and stole the smile from her face.	FIRE IS A LIVING ENTITY	Living Entities	Objects	Living breathing fire.
F-A14	তই যে ক'লীয়া, আলিয়া-বলিয়া, মোকো কৰি গ'লি বাউল। জালিকটা বেৰেদি সুছৰি মাৰিলি, হোৱা ভাতক কৰিলি চাউল।	Toi je ka'liya, olia-bolia, Moko kari go'li baul; Jalikota beredi suhuri marili, Howa bhatok karili saul.	The singer refers to her beloved as a blacky and someone who is irrational, driving her to madness as well. He whistles through the woven bamboo wall and turns the cooked rice back into its uncooked form.	LOVE IS MADNESS	Madness	Love	Whistling through the weaved bamboo wall- may be literal bamboo striped wall, or someone's teeth as a visual simile.
				LOVE IS UNDOING	Undoing	Love	

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F-A15	আঁহতে সলাবৰ পাত, মোৰ বাকৈ ঐ! আঁহতে সলাবৰ পাত। তুমি যে লাহৰী বৰণটি সলালা, মুগা-ৰিহা মেৰালা গাত।।	Aahote salaabor pat, mor bandhoi oi! Aahote salaabor pat; Tumi je lahari boronti salaala, Muga-riha merala gat.	It is the season for the Sacred fig tree (Ficus religiosa) to shed its leaves. The young woman has altered her colour, and wrapped her body with a Muga-Riha.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Sacred Fig Tree (Ficus Religiosa)	Female Lover	As the Sacred Fig tree changes leaves by season, the young woman also changes her clothes by wearing Muga-Riha.
				PLANTS ARE PEOPLE	Person	Sacred Fig Tree	The tree can change its appearance by changing its leaves, like a person changing clothes.
F-A16	ক'লা চোলাই নুশুৱায় তোক ঐ লাহৰী, বগা চোলাই নুশুৱায় তোক। বংপুৰ জিলাতে আছে বঙা চোলা, সেয়েহে শুৱাব তোক।।	Ka'la chulai nusuway tok oi lahari, Boga chulai nusuway tok; Rongpur jilate aase rongga chula, Seyehe shuwab tok.	Neither a black top nor a white top complements his partner. There is a red top in the Rangpur district that will suit her perfectly.	PASSION IS COLOUR RED	Red Coloured Cloth	Passion	Red top from Rangpur (the city of joy).
				NEGATIVE IS BLACKNESS	Black Coloured Cloth	Bad For Young Woman	
				NEGATIVE IS COLOUR WHITE	White Coloured Cloth	Bad For Young Woman	Only in the case of love.
F-A17	হাতৰে লাহৰে খাৰুযোৰ পিন্ধিলা, ভৰিৰে লাহৰে কৰি। গলধনত পেলায়ে খোপাটি বান্ধিলা, এহাত এমুঠন কৰি।।	Hatore lahore kharujor pindhila, Bharire lahore pori; Golodhonot pelaye khopati bandhila, Ehat emuthon kari.	The young woman adorned her hands with bangles (though we're uncertain if she also adorned her ankles with cowrie shells). She styled her hair into a bun that reached the nape of her neck and measured approximately two cubits minus the width of four fingers.				Long hair is culturally accepted as a standard of beauty.
F-A18	শুৱায় নে নুশুৱায় সোণ পোৱাল-মণি উলিয়াই উলিয়াই চাওঁ। শুৱায় নে নুশুৱায় মোৰে ধন লাহৰীক, আগে পিছে কৰি চাওঁ ॥	Shuway ne nusuway son powal-moni Uliai uliai chaon; Shuway ne nusuway more dhon lahorik, Age pise kari chaon.	The singer brings out the gold and coral beads to check their suitability (beauty). He/she looks at the lover from different angles to determine if she will appear beautiful.	LOVER IS A PRECIOUS OBJECT	Gold And Coral Bead	Female Lover	
F-A19	নাও হেঙুলীয়া, বঠা হেঙুলীয়া, আৰু হেঙুলীয়া হৈ। চেনাইৰে মূৰে জাপি হেঙুলীয়া, বিজুলী বাঁহৰে দৈ ॥	Nao henguliya, botha henguliya, Aaru henguliya soi ; Senaire moorore japi henguliya, Bijuli bahore doi.	The boat, paddle, and roof are all vermilion. Her lover's bamboo hat is also vermilion, made from fine stripes of Bijuli bamboo (Bambusa nutans).	PASSION IS COLOUR RED	Vermillion Hue of Boat, Paddle, and Bamboo Hat	Passion	

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				PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Objects	People	The male lover is associated with a boat. The roof of the boat becomes the bamboo hat of the person, both of which shines in vermilion colour.
F-A20	আবেলি বেলিকা জিকা ফুল ফুলিলে, মাৰে মোৱা মাছে জাকি। আমাৰে লাহৰী গাঁৱলৈ ওলালে, লগত সমনীয়াৰ জাকি।।	Abeli belika jika ful fulile, Mare mowa mase jaki; Amare lahari gawoloi olale, Lagat somoniyar jaki.	In the afternoon, Ridge gourds have blossomed, and Mola carplets make a sudden move (visible from above). The beloved of all is heading out to the village with a group of her friends.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Ridge Gourd Flowers (Luffa Acutangula)	Female Lover	The ridge gourd flowers usually open in the evening. When a bud becomes a flower, it becomes more visible; same way when the young women comes out of their homes, they become more visible.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Mola Carplets (Amblypharyngodon Mola)	Female Lover	A shoal of Mola carplets making movement resembles the group of young women strolling outside.
F-B1	ই বোলে মইনা সি বোলে মইনা, মই বোলো বুকুৰে সোণ। মইনাৰ ফাললৈ চাবকে নোৱাৰি, যেনে পূৰ্ণিমাৰে জেন ॥	I boole moina si boole moina, Moi boolo bukure son; Moinar falloi chaboke nuwari, Jene purnimare jon.	The singer refers to her lover as the treasure of her heart (gold of her chest), while others call him Moina (meaning beloved). His radiance is so bright, like a full Moon, that looking at him is impossible.	LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	Full Moon	Male Lover	
				LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Gold	Male Lover	
F-B2	বৰঘৰৰ মুখতে তাত বই আছিল, মুৰত নেমুটেঙাৰ ভৰণ। গজে কি মুকুতা চিনিব নোৱাৰি, হেঙুল হাইতালৰ বৰণ।।	Borghoror mudhote tat boi aasila, Moorot nemutengar bharan; Goje ki mukuta chinib nuwari, Hengul haitalor boron.	Near the main house, a young woman worked at the loom under a lemon tree laden with fruit (the head of the woman is filled with lemon fruits). The singer fails to recognize the pearl of vermilion colour being germinated.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Lemon Tree (Citrus Limon)	Female Lover	The lemon tree is laden with fruits, signifying its maturity.
				ANIMALS ARE PLANTS	Plant	Clam	The pearl inside a clam germinate like a plant.

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				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Clam	Female Lover	A mature clam can produce a pearl, hints about the sexual maturity of the woman.
				PASSION IS COLOUR RED	Vermillion Colour of Mercury Surfide, Colour of Orpiment	Passion	vermilion red, or warm yellow
F-B3	বাট বুলিবৰে লহৰে পহৰে, তুমি কোন গাঁৱৰে ডেকা। ধুনীয়া চুবীয়া থুবীয়াই পিন্ধিছা, তোমাৰে হাঁচটি ফটা ॥	Bat bulibore lahare pohore, Tumi kon gawore deka; Dhuniya suriya thuriyai pindhisa, Tumare hasti fota.	The singer's potential love interest is a plump young man she meets on the road. She asks about his village and notices he wears his beautiful Suriya (a waist cloth) with its end folded at the front, but then playfully points out that his handkerchief is torn.	GOOD LOOKS IS PLUMPNESS	Plump Figure of Woman	Beauty	Plumpness in young males is a culturally desirable trait.
							The lover is a blend of perfection (beautifully worn Suriya) and imperfection (torn handkerchief).
F-B4	হয় কি অহয়ে হয় ঐ লাহৰী, হয় কি অহয়ে হয় । হাঁচটি এখনি খুজিব খুজিছো, দিয়া নে নিদিয়া বই।।	Hoy ki ohoye hoy oi lahori, Hoy ki ohaye hoy; Hasti ekhoni khujib khujiso, Dia ne nidia boi.	The singer asks the young women for a yes or no. He wants to ask her for a handkerchief, and wants to know if she will weave him one.	IMPORTANCE IS WOVEN HASOTI	Woven Hasoti	Importance	A Hasoti (type of handkerchief) woven by the female lover is of paramount importance to her beloved.
F-B5	হাই দি তুলিবৰ লাই, সোণামুৱা, হাই দি তুলিবৰ লাই। তুমি যে ডেকাটি খুজিলা হাঁচটি, ববলৈ টোলোঠা নাই।।	Hai di tulibor lai, sunamuwa, Hai di tulibor lai Tumi je dekati khujila hasti, Boboloi tolotha nai.	The singer advises that one must raise spoiled children (her beloved) with clamour. Her beloved asked for a handkerchief, but she lacks a Tolotha (one of the beams in the loom) to weave it.	IMPORTANCE IS TOLOTHA	Tolotha	Importance	Every Assamese woman knew weaving, and hence the process was of paramount importance. Lack of a Tolotha (a loom beam) makes the weaving impossible.
							agony-burning like mustard seeds on hot pan
							hasoti significant

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-B6	ভাতে বান্ধি দিয়া খাওঁ ব্ৰ পৰুৱা, পানী আনি দিয়া খাওঁ । চাউল মুঠিচৰেক বান্ধি দিয়া পৰুৱা, টোলোঠা বিচাৰি যাওঁ ॥	Bhate randhi dia khaon oi poruwa, Pani aani diya khaon; Saul muthicherek bandhi diya poruwa, Tolotha bisari jaon.	The singer calls his beloved an ant and requests her to prepare rice to eat and bring water for to drink. He plans to search for a Tolotha (a loom beam) and asks the ant to pack a handful of rice.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Ants	Female Lover	The female lover is busy working as an ant.
				IMPORTANCE IS TOLOTHA	Tolotha	Importance	
F-B7	শালি ধানৰ মৰণা মাৰিলো লাহৰী, কঠীয়াৰ নথ'লো সঁচ। উজনি নামনি কেউ ৰাজ মাৰিলো, টোলোঠাৰ নাপালো গছ।।	Shaali dhanor marana marilo lahori, Kothiyar noth'lo hoch; Ujani namani keu raj marilo, Tolothar napalo gos.	The singer mentions that he threshed Shali rice grain with cattle but didn't save any seeds for planting. He wandered across high and low lands, yet couldn't locate a tree suitable for (crafting) Tolotha.	COMPLETING A WORK IS KILLING OR BEATING	Beating	Travelling Around States	মাৰ (maar) means to kill or to beat, though there are other meanings also. Dhaan mora (beating paddy) means threshing, and Keu raaj mora (killing/ beating several states) means travellign around multiple states.
							Not finding the tree for making Tolotha is comparable to not saving rice seeds for planting.
F-B8	আহুৱে শালিয়ে মৰণা মাৰিলো, জোকাৰি পেলালো খেৰ। উজনি ৰাজতে টোলোঠা পালোগৈ যোল হাত এমুঠন বেৰ ॥	Ahuwe shaaliye marana marilo, Jukari pelalo kher; Ujani rajte tollotha palogoi Jol hat emuthon ber.	The singer threshed Ahu and Shali rice grains using cattle, then separated the straw by shaking. In Ujoni's (upstream/ upper lands) kingdom, he discovered Tolotha, which had a circumference measuring sixteen hands and one fist.	COMPLETING A WORK IS KILLING OR BEATING	Beating	Threshing	
				POSITIVE IS UPSTREAM	Upstream	Positive	The Ujoni kingdom is seen as positive, as there the singer finds the tollotha.
				LOVE IS A DIFFICULT JOB	Cutting A Large Tree	Love	The circumference of the tree for tollotha seems extremely difficult. Managing to achieve this is comparable to being successful in love.
				IMPORTANCE IS TOLOTHA	Tolotha	Importance	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-B9	ভাত বান্ধি দিয়া খাওঁ এঁ পৰুৱা, পানী আনি দিয়া খাওঁ। গাঁৱৰ চুবুৰীয়াক মাতি আনা পৰুৱা, টোলোঠা কাটিবলৈ যাওঁ ॥	Bhat randhi dia khaon oi poruwa, Pani aani dia khaon; Gawor suburiyak mati aana poruwa, Tolotha katiboloi jaon.	The singer refers to his partner as an ant and requests her to prepare rice to eat and fetch water to drink. He further instructs her to gather the neighbours to join him in searching for and cutting Tolotha.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Ants	Female Lover	
				IMPORTANCE IS TOLOTHA	Tolotha	Importance	
F-B10	হাবিত ফুলিবৰ তুলা মোৰ চেনাই এঁ, হাবিত ফুলিবৰ তুলা। এটি দুটি কৰি আহিল চাৰিটি টোলোঠা কাটিবৰ বেলা ॥	Habit fulibor tula mor senai oi, Habit fulibor tula; Eti duti kari ahil sariti Tolotha katibor bela.	It is the season when cotton pods bloom in the forests. One by one, four Belas (one Bela is half a day) have come for cutting Tolotha.	MOVING TIME METAPHOR			The observer is stationary and the time is moving. Here the time comes when cotton pods bloom and the singer must go to cut tolotha.
							The red flowers of the silk cotton trees bloom around March-April and the cotton pods can be seen floating in the wind around early May. This coincides with the end of festivities and hence signalling time to work.
F-B11	ছাগ কিনি আনি দি যাওঁ বলি কাটি, চৰাও মহেশ্বৰক ভোগ। নাম-গুৰু-ভকতক শিৰত তুলি লই গছত মাৰিলো কোব ॥	Sag kini aani di jaon boli kati, Chorao Moheshorok vog; Nam-guru-bhokotok shirot tuli lai Gosot marilo kob.	The singer purchases a goat and offers it as a sacrifice to the deity Maheswar. Holding Songs, Gurus, and Devotees in high regard (raising on his head), the singer strikes a tree with a weapon.	IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	Objects Kept On The Head	Scared Ideas	The names of Songs, Gurus, and Devotes are ideas. As an object one can hold them and raise above head showing respect and importance.
				IMPORTANCE IS HEAD	Head	Importance	In Assamese culture, showing respect involves touching something with the head, whereas using the foot to do so is considered disrespectful.
							Ritual- animal sacrifice for good luck before beginning a job.

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F-B12	নাওখন বাবৰ উঠাৰ ঐ পৰুৱা, নাওখন বাবৰ উঠাৰ। পৰুৱা শিপিনীৰ টোলোঠা কাটোতে, ছৰ্ভাৰা ভাগিলে কুঠাৰ ॥	Naukhon babor uthar oi poruwa, Naukhon babor uthar; Poruwa sipinir tolotha katote, Saura vagile kuthar.	The singer talks about traveling by boat and employing a large drag-net. While cutting the Tolotha for the ant-weaver (his lover), he broke six Ora (an Ora is a set of four, making a total of 24) axes.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Ants	Female Lover	
				LOVE IS A DIFFICULT JOB	Employing A Large Drag-Net	Love	Love is as difficult as employing a large drag-net or cutting/making a tolotha in which process twenty four axes got broken.
				LOVE IS A DIFFICULT JOB	Cutting A Tolotha	Love	
F-B13	কি মাছ মাৰিবৰ এলেঙু ঐ লাহৰী ! কি মাছ মাৰিবৰ এলেঙু। পৰুৱা শিপিনীৰ টোলোঠা কাটোতে ফাটিল সৰু-সূতাৰ চেলেঙু ॥	Ki mas maribor eleng oi lahori ! Ki mas maribor eleng; Poruwa sipinir tolotha katote Phatil saru-sritar seleng.	The singer talks about fishing for Eleng (Megarasbora elanga). While cutting the Tolotha for an ant-weaver (his beloved), his Seleng (a thin fabric wrap) woven from delicate threads tore apart.	LOVE IS A DIFFICULT JOB	Cutting A Tolotha	Love	The Seleng cloth of the singer got torn doing this difficult task.
				LOVE IS A DIFFICULT JOB	Fishing For Eleng	Lover	Eleng fish (Megarasbora elanga) is caught using a drag-net, which is difficult task and requires multiple people.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Ants	Female Lover	
F-B14	পথাৰৰ মাজেৰে মুঢ়া, মোৰ চেনাই ঐ পথাৰৰ মাজেৰে মুঢ়া। পৰুৱা শিপিনীৰ টোলোঠা কাটোতে গাঁৱৰ মৰিল চাৰি বুঢ়া ॥	Potharor majore mooraa, mor senai oi Potharor majore moora; Poruwa sipinir tolotha katote Gawor moril sari bura.	The singer refers to a tree stump in the paddy field. While cutting Tolotha for an ant-weaver (female lover), four elderly men have died.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Ants	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Tree Stump	Elderly People/ Dead People	The stub of the of the tree is compared to elderly people who died cutting a tolotha.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-B15	কি মাছ মাৰিবৰ শল, ঐ লাহৰী, কি মাছ মাৰিবৰ শল। পৰুৱা শিপিনীৰ টোলোঠা কাটোতে এমাহে এটি যুগ গ'ল ॥	Ki mas maribor Shol, oi lahiri, Ki mas maribor Shol; Poruwa sipinir tolotha katote Emahe eti jug gol.	The singer talks about fishing for Shol fish (Striped Snakehead, Channa striata). While cutting the Tolotha for ant -weaver (his lover), a month and twelve years have gone by.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Ants	Female Lover	
				LOVE IS A DIFFICULT JOB	Fishing For Striped Snakehead	Love	Striped Snakehead is often found in the lakes and it takes time while fishing for them, as they hide under plants like water-hyacinths.
				LOVE IS A DIFFICULT JOB	Cutting A Tolotha	Love	Cutting a tolotha takes so much time that the singer feels as though it's been twelve years and a month.
F-B16	পৰুৱাই ৰান্ধিলে পৰুৱাই বাঢ়িলে পৰুৱাই নাখালে ভাত। ৰাতিৰে ভিতৰত কাটে পাজি-সূতা, পুৱালৈ তৰিলে তাঁত ॥	Poruwai randhile poruwai bareele Poruwai nakhale bhat; Ratire bhitorot kate paji-srita, Puwaloi torile tat.	The ant has cooked and served, but she did not eat rice. She prepares cotton for spinning thread in a single night, and starts weaving on the loom in the morning.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Ants	Female Lover	The young woman does everything from cooking, serving, work in the loom from evening to morning without taking rest like a worker ant.
							Traditionally, an Assamese woman must spin yarn and weave a cloth overnight for her husband to wear in battle, believing it will protect him.
F-B17	দীঘলে বাণি ঐ, তাঁত-বাটি কৰো মই, লেখে বুঢ়ী আয়ে বিহা। ভালকৈ লেখিবা বুকুৰে বুঢ়ী আই, সতিনী অঁহীয়া বিহা ॥	Dighole bani oi, tat-bati karo moi, Lekhe buree aye biha; Bhalokoi lekhiba bukure buree aai, Satini ohiya riha.	The singer mentions that she weaves long weft fabric, with her grandmother assisting in counting the weave (counts in the multiple of twenty). She requests her dear grandmother to count carefully, as the Riha she is weaving is like a co-wife (or for co-wife).	HAVING A CO-WIFE IS A DOING A DIFFICULT TASK	Difficult Task	Having A Co-Wife	The long weft of the fabric makes it difficult to weave and one must do a double count of the threads to do it right. This difficulty is similar to having to live with a co-wife.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-B18	হাঁচাট হাঁচাট কৰ, তই ডেকাট, হাঁচাট থৈছে বই। হাঁচাটিক পাবি মোকহে নাপাবি। কান্দিবি আগতে লই ॥	Hasti hasti kar, toi dekati, Hasti thoise boi; Hastik pabi mokhe napabi. Kandibi agote lai.	The singer's lover frequently requests a handkerchief from her. She has already made one. She tells him that he will receive the handkerchief, but not her, and then he will have to cry while holding it.	LOVE IS EFFORT	Effort To Weave A Handkerchief	Love	The effort put by the female lover while making the hasoti/handkerchief.
				IMPORTANCE IS WOVEN HASOTI	Woven Hasoti	Importance	
F-B19	ওপৰৰ পৰা তললই হালিলে মামৈ তামোলৰ থোক। লাগে চাৰি কুৰি ভৰিব পাৰো মই এৰিব নোৱাৰো তোক ॥	Oparar pora tololoi halile Maamoi tamolor thok; Lage sari kuri bharib paro moi Erib nuwaro tok.	The cluster of Mamoi areca nuts (Areca gracilis) has drooped from above. The singer can offer eighty units of currency (specific type not mentioned) as compensation, but cannot part with his loved one.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Mamoi Areca Tree (Dypsis Lutescens)	Female Lover	The fully laden Mamoi areca nut plant shows the maturity of the tree which is comparable to the female lover.
				LOVE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS	Physical Proximity	Love	The cluster of the areca nuts drooped down from above. This makes it more accessible to the potential consumers. The male lover is the consumer here while the fruit signifies the female lover.
F-B20	ঘৰৰে ওপৰে ঘৰ মোৰ চেনাই ঐ ঘৰৰে ওপৰে ঘৰ। ঘৰৰ ওপৰে দি যাওঁ তামোলখনি চেনাই হাত পাতি ধৰ ॥	Ghorore opare ghor mor senai oi Ghorore opare ghor; Ghoror opare di jaon tamolkhoni Senai hat pati dhor.	The singer mentions that their house is atop another and expresses a desire to offer their lover a betel quid from/in the house, asking the lover to accept it.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Expression of Love	Consumption of betel quid and love both have similar effects.
	নৱৰাগ	Navaraag	New desire or attachment				
F-C1	কিনো ফুল দি গলি লুকাই, ঐ লাহৰী, কিনো ফুল দি গলি লুকাই। সমনীয়াৰ আগতে পিন্ধিব নোৱাৰো, থাকে কৰণিতে শুকাই ॥	Kino ful di go'li lukai, oi lahori, Kino ful di go'li lukai; Somoniyar agote pindhib nuwaro, Thake karanite shukai.	The singer reflects on the flower his lover secretly gave him. Unable to display it before his peers, he leaves it dried on a bamboo or wooden tray.	LOVE IS SHYNESS	Shyness	Love	Inability to show the love publicly.

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F-C2	নৈয়ে গুমে গুমায় কুম্পানীৰ জাহাজখন, টেঁকী গুমে গুমায় থোৰা। বুকু চমে চমায় মনে কুকলিয়ায় গাভৰু হ'বৰে পৰা ॥	Noie gume gumay kumpanir jahazkhon, Dheki gume gumay thora; Buku chome chomay mone kuruliyai Gabharu ho'bore pora.	The (East India) Company's ship makes a gumgum (imitative sound of a blazing fire or dull heavy sound) sound, similar to the wooden rice pounder. The singer's chest creates a feeling of chomchom (burning sensation), and her mind screeches like an owl as she grows into womanhood.	HEART IS A MACHINE	A Ship Of East India Company	Heart	The mechanism and the sound of the heart is relatable to a steam engine ship.
				HEART IS A MACHINE	A Wooden Rice Pounder	Heart	The mechanism and the sound of the heart is relatable the pounding sound from the grain pounder.
				GRIEF IS BURNING	Burning	Grief	Burning sensation inside the chest
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Owl	Female Lover	Her mind shriek continuously like an owl or dove. Mind for person.
F-C3	ইয়ে বোলে বেপাৰী, সিয়ে বোলে বেপাৰী, নালাগে বেপাৰৰ ধন। ঘৰতে থাকিবা, ৰামায়ণ পঢ়িবা, শুনি থাকিবৰে মন ॥	Iye boole bepari, siye boole bepari, Nalage beparor dhon; Ghorote thakibaa, ramayon poribaa, Shuni thakibore mon.	The singer prefers that her beloved remains at home rather than becoming a merchant, as she is uninterested in the wealth it may bring. She desires him to stay and read the Ramayana aloud, which she enjoys listening to.	LOVE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS	Physical Closeness	Love	The singer wants her lover not to stay away even if it means wealth.
F-C4	তামোলৰ ঢকুৱা জোনাকী পৰুৱা, কিয় মনে মাৰি থাক । থাকো মনে মাৰি লোকৰ-ঘৰেবাৰী, কাইলই উলিয়াই দিব ॥	Tamolor dhokuwa junaki poruwa, Kiya mone mari thak; Thako mone mari lokar-ghorebari, Kailoi uliai dib.	The singer addresses his beloved as a firefly and references the betel-nut tree sheath. He wonders why she is so sad, and she explains that her paternal home isn't truly hers since she'll soon be given out (married off).	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Firefly	Female Lover	The betel-nut sheath is the temporary home of the fireflies. Similarly the paternal home is the temporary home for a daughter.

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F-C5	উজাই নৱৰীয়াই বালিত ভাতে খালে, গছকি পুতিলে টৌ। আই নাকান্দিবা, বোপাই নাকান্দিবা, আমি জিৰণীয়া মৌ ॥	Ujai naworiyai balit bhate khale, Gosoki putile tou; Aai nakandibaa, boopai nakandibaa, Ami jironea mau.	The boatmen sailing upstream ate on the sandy shore and trampled (the sand to create a pit) and put the cooking pot. The singer reassures her parents, asking them not to cry since she is merely a resting honey bee.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Honey Bee	Female Lover	The daughter in her paternal home is like a resting honey bee, she's there only for a small duration.
				FEMALE LOVER IS A BOATMAN	Boatman	Female Lover	Upstream travelling boatmen temporarily camps on the shore. It is similar to a daughter's being at her paternal home.
							Travelling upstream boatman is probably seen as her prospective partner.
F-C6	নৰাই বেচিলে নৰা জাংফাই, মিৰিয়ে বেচিলে কি। মাতলৈ তুলিলে মাতৰে মইনা, ধনলৈ তুলিলে জী ॥	Norai besile nora jaangfai, Miriye besile ki ; Matoloi tulile matore moina, Dhonoloi tulile ji.	While the Nora people offered Nora Jaangfai (amber) for sale, what did the Miri people trade? The parents of the female beloved raised a Common Hill Myna (Gracula religiosa) for singing and talking, along with a daughter for the male lover.	LOVED ONE IS A POSSESSION	Nora Jaangfai Or Amber	Female Lover	Consumable good that is sold or bartered. E.g., Amber collected/ produced by the Nora people.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Common Hill Myna (Gracula Religiosa)	Female Lover	It is popular talking bird, compared to the female lover. Both are said to be raised by her parents.
F-C7	ধনলৈ কৰিলা মন, ঐ পিতাদেউ, ধনলৈ কৰিলা মন। অকহি পুৰুষক নৰকত পেলালা, জীৱৰো মাৰিলা কণ ॥	Dhonoloi karila mon, oi pitaadeu, Dhonoloi karila mon; Okohi purukhok norokot pelala, Jiworo marila kon.	A fatherly figure's desire for a young girl has condemned twenty-one generations to hell and destroyed the reproductive power of women (probably means end of his lineage).	PUNISHMENT FOR IMMORAL DESIRE IS ETERNAL HELL FOR DESCENDANTS	Eternal Hell For Descendants	Punishment For Immoral Desire	A fatherly figure's desire towards a young woman is frowned upon by the society.
F-C8	চৰায়ে তুলিলে ছকুৰি পোৱালি গছৰ ডাল শুৱনি কৰি। আমাকে তুলিলে আয়ে- বোপায়ে, লোকৰ ঘৰ শুৱনি কৰি ॥	Choraye tulile sokuri powali Gosor dal shuwani kari; Amake tulile aaye- boopaye, Lokar ghor shuwani kari.	Birds have nurtured one hundred and twenty chicks, decorating the tree branch. The singer's parents have raised her, embellishing someone else's home.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bird	Female Lover'S Parents	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bird	Female Lover	By extension of female lover's parents are birds metaphor. The branch is the home for the birds, and the husband's house is the home of the singer.
				WOMEN ARE ADORNMENTS	One Who Adorns Her Husband'S Home	Women	
F-C9	নাও সাজিবলৈ লাগে কত বেলি, বঠা সাজিবলৈ টান। জীয়ৰী হ'বলৈ লাগে কত বেলি, বোৱাৰী হ'বলৈ টান ॥	Nao sajiboloi lage kot beli, Botha sajiboloi tan; Jiyori ho'boloi lage kot beli, Boowari ho'boloi tan.	The singer says that it does not take much time to build a boat, but it is difficult to make the paddles. It does not take much time to reach puberty, but it is difficult to be a daughter in law.	LIFE IS A RIVER	River	Life	As the river flow automatically, aspects of life also passes automatically.
				FEMALE LOVER IS A BOAT	Boat And Paddle	Female Lover	The puberty comes easily and automatically, like a boat on flowing water. But to be a daughter in law is to have control over actions, like paddling a boat.
F-C10	হাতী হেৰুৱালো লিহিৰি বনতে, ঘোঁৰা হেৰুৱালো দোপত। পাই হেৰুৱালো জীয়ৰী ছোৱালী চোতালৰ দুবৰি বনত ॥	Hati heruwalo lihiri bonote, Ghora heruwalo dopat; Pai heruwalo jiyori sowali Sotalor dubori bonot.	The singer mentions that he lost an elephant in the land of slender grass, and lost a horse in the marsh. He gained and then lost the young maiden on the Bermuda grass (Cynodon dactylon) in the courtyard.	LOVED ONE IS A POSSESSION	Precious Object	Young Women	Historically there were divisions of people assigned by the kings for a specific profession such as to care for elephants and horses, due to its importance in those times. Losing them can be dreadful for the person.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Elephant	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Horse	Female Lover	
F-C11	মহ মেলি গুৱালটি চাপৰি পালেগৈ বাটত ছিঙি খালে কলা। পিছৰটি গুৱালে উকিটি মাৰিলে নুঘূৰে যতৰৰ শলা ॥	Moh meli guwalti chapori palegoi Batot singi khale kola; Pisorti guwale ukiti marile Nughure jatarar shala.	Having released the buffaloes, the keeper headed towards the alluvial plain and ate a banana along the way. Meanwhile, the second keeper made a loud whistle-like call, which caused the singer's spindle on the spinning wheel to stop.	SOUND IS A PROJECTILE	Projectile	Sound	The second buffalo keeper threw his whistle with force (উকি মাৰ/ uki maar).

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				GRIEF IS INABILITY TO WORK	Inability To Work	Grief In Love	
				DESIRE IS HUNGER	Eating Banana	Love	Desires are hunger, hence eating banana and yearning for love is connected.
F-C12	খাই খাই আমনি লতাকৈ পনিয়ল, বই বই আমনি তাঁত। কই কই আমনি তোকে ঐ পিলিঙা, দিয় ঘনে ঘনে মাত ॥	Khai khai amni latakoi poniol, Boi boi amni tat; Kai kai amni toke oi pilinga, Diy ghone ghone mat.	The singer became tired and frustrated with eating Vitis Indica (a wild grape vine) and weaving. She got annoyed by constantly having to her lover not to call her (from backside).	DESIRE IS HUNGER	Eating Wild Grapes	Love	The sourness of the fruit is relatble to annoyance with her lover.
				WORDS ARE VINES	Vines- Vitis Indica	Words	Chain of words, thoughts or ideas are seen as annoying creeper plant as it tangles.
				WORDS ARE THREADS	Threads	Words	Chain of words, thoughts or ideas are seen as threads on the loom, which may tangle creating annoyance.
				WORDS ARE VINES	Vines	Words	
F-C13	হাতৰে আঙুলি পবালি পবালি, ভৰিৰে আঙুলি ঘন। কোনজন ঈশ্বৰে তোমাক সৰজিলে, চাই থাকিবৰে মন ॥	Hatore aanguli pobali pobali, Bharire aanguli ghon; Konjon ishore tumak sarajile, Chai thakibore mon.	The fingers of his lover's hand are long, and her toes are dense. Whose god has created his lover? The mind can't help but keep looking.				Cultural standard of beauty.
F-C14	ৰৈনো ৰৈ কান্দিলে চুঙাৰে বাদুলি, ৰৈনো ৰৈ কান্দিলে জিলি। এনেয়ে মৰিছো মনৰে সন্তাপত, আকৌ গা দেখা দি গলি ॥	Roino roi kandile sungare baduli, Roino roi kandile jili; Eneye moriso monore santapot, Ako ga dekha di go'li.	Sunga Baduli (a small bat) and the cicadas cried sporadically. The singer expresses mental torment (dying in mind's agony), questioning why the lover has reappeared.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Sunga Baduli (A Small Sized Bat)	Female Lover	Cicadas usually cry in the daytime, mostly in the noontime. The cry is the mating call of the male cicadas. and the small bats during twilight/night time means the person is crying day and night.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cicada	Lover	The bats cry at twilight or in the nighttime. Combining the bats and the cicadas, one can infer that the lovers are crying day and night.

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F-C15	সৰুতে পিতাদেউ, জকাই সাজি দিলা, নালতো বিন্ধিলে ঘুণে। দিখৌ পাৰে কৰি নিলে বিয়া ধৰি, সৰু মাছ মাৰিব কোনে ॥	Sarute pitaadeu, jokai saji dila, Nalato bindhile ghune; Dikhou pare kari nile bia dhori, Saru mas marib kone.	When the singer was young, her father crafted her a Jokai, a bamboo fishing scoop. The handle is now riddled with weevil holes. If someone marries her and takes her across the Dikhow river, who will catch the small fish?	RELATIONSHIPS ARE OBJECTS	Objects	Relationships	Functioning relationship is functioning object. The handle the fishing equipment punctured/eaten by the weevils means weakening of the relationship.
				IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE PHYSICAL IMPEDIMENTS	River	Impediments In Relationships	Barriers in the physical world liker rivers create barriers in life and relationships.
F-C16	পদূলি মুখৰে তামোল তিনি জুপি, বাঁহনি চাপৰে পাণ। হাতৰে বাঢ়নি দি যাওঁ দলি মাৰি, শুনি যাওঁ ধনৰে নাম ॥	Poduli mukhore tamol tini jupi, Bahoni dhapore pan; Hatore barhoni di jaon doli mari, Shuni jaon dhonore nam.	By the gate, three betel nut trees stand, and a betel leaf plant grows by the levee near the bamboo. She discards the bamboo broom from hand and yearns to hear her beloved's song.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO WORK	Inability To Work	Love	
							The broom can be made from fine bamboo strips, or from the leaves of the betel-nut tree. These plants are mentioned probably for this link.
F-C17	চাপতে মাৰি যাওঁ চাপালিকা চৰাইট, পৰ্বতত মাৰি যাওঁ টুনি । খোৱা ভাতে-পানী তেনেই হ'ল আথানি মোৰ ধনৰ বাহিৰ মাত শুনি ॥	Dhapote mari jaon dhapolika choraiti, Porbatat mari jaon tuni; Khowa bhate-pani tenei ho'la athani Mor dhonor baheer mat shuni.	The singer reveals that she hunts (kills) the striated babbler (Argya earlei) along the levee and the red munia (Amandava amandava) in the mountains. Upon hearing the melody of her beloved's flute, her food (rice and water) got spoilt.	LOVE IS RESTLESSNESS	Restless Eagerness	Love	The female lover cannot control herself upon hearing the melody of her beloved's flute. She wishes to run fast and does not care if she runs over the birds mentioned.
F-C18	কি চৰাই কান্দিলে হেটুলুক, হেটুলুক, কণীবোৰ পাৰিলে বনত। সূতা কটা এৰি যাওঁ পাজি কটা এৰি যাওঁ ধনলৈ পৰিলে মনত ॥	Ki chorai kandile hetuluk, hetuluk, Konibor parile bonot; Suta kota eri jaon paji kota eri jaon Dhonoloi porile manat.	The blue-throated barbet (Psilopogon asiaticus) has cried and laid its eggs on the grass. When thoughts of her beloved come to her mind, the singer immediately abandons the task of spinning of thread and cotton.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Blue-Throated Barbet (Megalaima Asiatica)	Female Lover	The birds cry, the female lover also feel like crying.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				MIND IS A CONTAINER	Container	Mind	The bird is a container, when the lays the eggs it comes out of the container becomes visible. The thoughts about her lover also becomes visible/perceptible when it comes out from her mind.
				IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	Bird Laying Eggs On The Grass	Remembering About Lover	
F-C19	লুইতৰে বালি বগী ঢকেঢকি, কাছই কণী পাৰে লেখি। গাত জুই জ্বলিছে, সৰিয়হ ফুটিছে, ধনক পানী ঘাটত দেখি ॥	Luitore bali bogee dhokerdhoki, Kasoi konee pare lekhi; Gat jui jjolise, sarih futise, Dhonok pani ghatot dekhi.	The sand of the Luit River shimmers with a white hue. Turtles have laid their eggs there, counting them carefully. The singer's body burns and mustard seeds are popping as she sees her beloved at the riverbank's water collection spot.	INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Fire on Body, Mustard Seeds Popping	Desire	The intensity of agony is the intensity of fire. Here it is mustard seeds on hot pan or the heat of the Sun which makes the sand shine with a white hue.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Tortoise	Female Lover	The act of laying eggs, shows sexual maturity and thus reminds the singer of his/her beloved.
F-C20	চিৰিপ চিৰিপ কাৰি কাপোৰ ধুই আছিলো, চিৰি লুইতলৈ চাহি চিৰি লুইততে শুছৰি মাৰিলে, ধনে নাও মেলি যায় ॥	Sirip sirip kari kapor dhui aasilo, Siri luitoloi chai; Siri luitote shuhuri marile, Dhone nao meli jay.	As the singer does her laundry by the Luit river, she creates a sirip-sirip sound (an imitative sound). Meanwhile, her lover whistles from a boat as he travels along Luit.	SOUND IS A PROJECTILE	Projectile	Sound	Some sounds like a whistle is a projectile.
F-D1	শিলৰ খটেখটি, পানীৰ ঢকেঢকি, সাগৰে খেড়ি খেলায়। সাগৰৰ মাজতে ফটিকৰ ডম্বৰু, মনে উৰি উৰি যায় ॥	Hilor khotekhoti, panir dhokerdhoki, Sagore khedi kheli; Sagoror majte fotikar domboru, Mone uri uri jay.	The steps are of stone, the water is shimmering white, the sea dances playfully. In the sea lies a quartz domboru (a small hour glass shaped drum), the singer's mind drifts away.	MIND IS A MOVING OBJECT	Flying Objects Or Animal	Mind	It can be an object or an flying animal.
F-D2	বাট গ'ল বাট গ'ল ভলুকাৰ গাজাট কাউৰি পৰিয়ে ভাগে। বৰটি ককায়ে টকা সাজি দিলে, বিহু মাৰিবলৈ লাগে ॥	Bari go'la bari go'la bholukar gazti Kauri poriyee vage; Borti kakaaye toka saji dile, Bihu mariboloi lage.	The shoot of the bholuka bamboo has grown, and it breaks if a crow sits on it. The singer's elder brother has crafted a toka (a bamboo clapper), and she is eager to perform or participate in bihu.	DESIRE ARE PLANTS	Bholuka Bamboo Shoot	Desire	Desire grows like the bamboo, which is a fast growing plant.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-D3	কলীয়া কচুৰে শিয়া ঐ লাহৰী , কলীয়া কচুৰে শিয়া । জীয়াই থাকো মানে তোমাৰে তিৰুতা, বিহুলৈ পঠিয়াই দিয়া ॥	Ka'liya kochure shiya oi lahuri , Ka'liya kochure shiya; Jiyai thako mane tumare tiruta, Bihuloi pothiyai dia.	The singer refers to the roots of the Koliya kochu (a type of wild taro plant). She tells her man that she will be his woman for as long as she lives and asks him to let her go to Bihu.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Wild Taro Plant	People	The wild taro plant, the lovers are connected through the rhizomes.
				LOVERS ARE INSEPARABLE ENTITIES	Rhizomes Of A Wild Taro Plant	Love Relationship	The rhizomes of the plant are interconnected and cannot be separated easily. Parts of the plants are parts in the relationship.
F-D4	বিহুলৈ কেইদিন আছে সমনীয়া, বিহুলৈ কেইদিন আছে। উজনি নামনি মাৰো কেউখনি, বিহুলৈ বাৰদিন আছে ॥	Bihuloi keidin aase somoniya, Bihuloi keidin aase; Ujani namani maro keokhoni, Bihuloi bardin aase.	How many days remain until Bihu? The singer desires to travel both upstream and downstream with joy, as there are only twelve days left until Bihu.				
F-D5	কেঁহকলি নিকলি, কপাহ সূতা মুকলি, ঠেহ পাতি নাখালি ভাত । এপুৰা সেন্দূৰৰ যোৰ-ফোঁট মাৰিলি, লালি ৰঙা ৰিহা গাত ॥	Kehokoli nikoli, kapah suta mukoli, Theh pati nakhali bhat; Epura senduror jor-funt marili, La'li rongra riha gat.	The singer affectionately addresses his beloved as Kehkoli, mentioning that she has not eaten sulking. She adorns her head with two dots and a significant amount (epura- used in land measurements) of vermilion powder, while draping herself in a red-riha.	PASSION IS COLOUR RED	Vermillion Dot on Head, Red Riha on Body	Passion	Colour of the vermilion powder.
F-D6	বিহুলীৰ নাচনী কোন ঐ নাচনী, বিহুলীৰ নাচনী কোন। বিহুলীৰ নাচনী আমাৰ সৰু ভনী খোপাত বান্ধি গৈছে সোণ ॥	Bihutliir nasoni kon oi nasoni, Bihutliir nasoni kon; Bihutliir nasoni amar saru bhoni Khopat bandhi goise son.	Who is the female dancer of the Bihutoli (open space for bihu celebration)? She is the young sister adorned with gold in her hair bun.				
F-D7	হাতী চাই কিনিবা হাতীৰে লেঙেটা, ঘোঁৰা চাই কিনিবা জীণ । মুগাৰে মেখেলা ভাল চাই কিনিবা, তেহে কেঁচা সোণটিক দিম ॥	Hati chai kinibaa hatire lengesi, Ghora chai kinibaa jin; Mugare mekhela bhal chai kinibaa, Tehe kecha suntik dim.	The singer suggests that just as one should choose a saddle based on the horse or elephant, one should also buy a high-quality muga-mekhela to suit his female lover whom he calls pure-gold.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Elephant	Female Lover	Domesticated.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Horse	Female Lover	Domesticated.
				LOVER IS A PRECIOUS OBJECT	Pure Gold	Female Lover	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-D8	বিৰ দি মাৰি যাও বিঢ়াকৈ ওকণী, খোপিয়াই মাৰি যাও লেখি। এখনি গামোচা বৈ থৈ আহিছে, পাণতে পদুম ফুল বাচি।।	Bir di mari jao bearakoi okani, Khepiyai mari jao lekhi Ekhoni gamocaa boi thoi ahiso, Panote podum ful basi.	The singer parts the hair to kill the adult louse, and kills the nits by feeling for them. She has finished weaving a Gamosa, adorned with lotus flowers on betel leaves.	WEAVING IS PICKING LICE	Picking Lice	Weaving	
				THREADS ON CLOTHS ARE HAIR ON THE HEAD	Hair On The Head	Threads On Cloths	Parting, feeling, and finding of hair while picking lice or threads in the loom.
F-D9	ম'হৰে গুৱালাট কতিৰাম ককাহাঁট, মহৰ কি-এ কি-এ নাও। এজনী হাৰলী, এজনী পাৰলী, এজনীৰ নুমলী নাও ॥	Ma'hore guwalti Katiram kakaaiti, Mahar ki-a ki-a nao; Ejoni Haroli, ejoni Paroli, Ejonir Numali nao.	What are the names of Brother Katiram's buffaloes? They are Haroli, Paroli, and Numali.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Buffalo	Female Lover	The names mentioned here are also girl names.
F-D10	হাৰলীয়ে খুজিলে হাৰ-কটা মাদলি, পাৰলীয়ে খুজিলে মণি। বুকুৰ নুমলীয়ে খুজি পঠিয়ালে এখন হাতী দাঁতৰ ফণি ॥	Haroliye khujile har-kota madoli, Paroliye khujile moni; Bukur numliye khuji pothiyale Ekhon hati dator foni.	Haroli requested a necklace, whereas Paroli desired pearls. Numali, the youngest and dearest, wished for a comb crafted from elephant ivory.	DEAREST IS THE YOUNGEST	Youngest Wife	Dearest	
F-D11	হাৰলীলৈ কিনিলো হাৰ কটা মাদলী, পাৰলীলৈ কিনিলো মণি। বুকুৰ নুমলীকে বৰাবি বুজাবি, নাপাও হাতী দাঁতৰ ফণি ॥	Haroliloi kinilo har kota madoli, Paroliloi kinilo moni; Bukur numlike borabi bujabi, Napaon hati dator foni.	The singer purchased a necklace for Haroli and pearls for Paroli. He intends to explain to the Numali, the youngest of heart, that he was unable to find an elephant ivory comb.	DEAREST IS THE YOUNGEST	Youngest Wife	Dearest	
F-D12	এইবোলৰ বিছাট চেৰেঙা-চেৰেঙা চ'তৰ বিহুত যুঁজাবৰ কণী। গোন্ধতেল এবটল আনি দিবা চেনাই ঐ, নলঙ ম'হৰ শিঙৰ ফণি ॥	Eibelir bihuti serenga-serenga Ch'tor bihut jojabor konee; Gondhotel ebotal aani dibaa senai oi, Nolou ma'hor singor foni.	This year's Bihu feels inconsistent; participating in the egg-fight tradition during Chout Bihu is important. The singer requests her beloved to bring sweet-scented oil for her, preferring it over a comb made of buffalo horn.	OCCASIONS ARE OBJECTS	Objects	Occasions	The occasion of this years Bihu is like a temporary sunshine and heat (one that appears and disappears).
F-D13	দাঁঘেকৈ বাণী ঐ কৰো তাঁতে বাট, লেখে বুটা আয়ে বিহা। ভালকৈ লেখিবা বুকুৰ বুটী আই ঐ, সতিনী লগীয়া বিহা।	Dighekoi banee oi karo tate bati, I Lekhe burhee aaye biha; Bhalokoi lekhibaa bukur buree aai oi, Satini lagea riha.	The singer mentions that she weaves long weft fabric, with her grandmother assisting in counting the weave (counts in the multiple of twenty). She requests her dear grandmother to count carefully, as the Riha she is weaving is like a co-wife (or for co-wife).	HAVING A CO-WIFE IS A DOING A DIFFICULT TASK	Difficult Task	Having A Co-Wife	The long weft of the fabric makes it difficult to weave and one must do a double count of the threads to do it right. This difficulty is similar to having to live with a co-wife.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-D14	আইটা নাযায় ঐ, কোরাগৈ বুজাই ঐ, লাগে ফুলে বচা ৰিহা। আনা হাতে ধৰি, দিয়া আগে কৰি, ডেকালে দিয়াই বিয়া ॥	Aaitee najay oi, kowagoi bujai oi, Lage fule bosa riha; Aana hate dhor, diya age kari, Dekaloi diahi bia.	The singer(s), who are friends of the female lover, say she won't go unless given a flower-adorned riha. They pretend by holding her hand and present her for marriage to a young man.	WOMEN ARE OFFERINGS	Offering	Prospective Bride	
F-D15	খুৱাই পঠিয়াও দেৱা-কৰকৰা, ধুৱাই পঠিয়াও ভৰি। চাকিৰে পোহৰত সজাই পঠিয়াও, তেতেলি পিলিঙা কৰি ॥	Khuwai pothiyao dewa-karkora, Dhuwai pothiyao bhari; Chakire poharat sajari pothiyao, Teteli pilinga kari.	The singer offers her beloved crunchy fried flattened rice and washes his feet. Under the earthen lamp's glow, she tends to him, making his body and mind light like tamarind leaves.	HAPPINESS IS LIGHTNESS	Light As A Tamarind Leaf	Happiness	The slender leaves of a tamarind tree seems light which sways in the wind.
F-D16	হাতৰে লাহৰে থাকোৱাৰ পিন্ধিলা, ভৰিৰে লাহৰে কৰি। গলধনত পেলায় খোপাটি বান্ধিলা, এহাতে এমুঠনে কৰি ॥	Hatore lahore kharujor pindhila, Bharire lahore pori Golodhonot pali khopati bandhila, Ehate emuthane kari.	The young woman decorated her hands with bangles (though it's unclear if she also decorated her ankles with cowrie shells). She styled her hair into a bun that extended to the nape of her neck, measuring about two cubits less the width of four fingers.				Long hair is culturally accepted as a standard of beauty.
F-D17	আবেলি বেলিকা জিকা ফুল ফুলিলে, মাৰে মোৱা মাছে জাকি। গধূলি বেলিকা আইটা ওলাইছে, আনন্দে নধৰে আজি ॥	Abeli belika jika ful fulile, Mare mowa mase jaki; Godhuli belika aatee olaise, Aanonde nodhore aaji.	In the afternoon, Ridge gourds have blossomed, and Mola carplets make a sudden move (visible from above). The beloved of all is heading out to the village with a group of her friends.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Ridge Gourd Flowers (Luffa Acutangula)	Female Lover	The ridge gourd flowers usually open in the evening. When a bud becomes a flower, it becomes more visible; same way when the young women comes out of their homes, they become more visible.
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Mola Carplets (Amblypharyngodon Mola)	People	Women are fish. Fish seen above water, women seen outside (home).
F-D18	ন পানী বঢ়া নাই, নাহৰ ফুল ফুলা নাই, বিহু বিহু লগা নাই গাত। গাঁৱৰ ডেকা ল'ৰাই জুমেৰে বঢ়া নাই, গোন্ধ-তেল ঘঁহা নাই গাত ॥	Ne pani boraa nai, Nahor ful fula nai, Bihu bihu lagaa nai gat; Gawor deka la'rai jumere boraa nai, Gondh-tel gha nai gat.	The floodwaters have not yet surged, the Ceylon ironwood (Mesua ferrea) trees are still not in bloom, and the essence of Bihu has not been felt. The young men of the vilalge have not gathered (surged) in numbers or applied fragrant oil.	TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Physical Touch	Transfer Of Properties	When Bihu touches the body, the feeling of bihu gets transferred.

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F-D19	মিকিৰ বৰচাঙত বজায় বৰকাহী, ভৈয়ামত বজালে ঢোল। চেঙেলীয়া মনকে বান্ধিব নোৱাৰো, চিঙে মৰাপটিৰ ডোল ॥	Mikir borosangot bojay borkahee, Bhoiamot bojale dhul; Sengeliya manke bandhib nuwaro, Singe morapator dol.	In the main stilt house of the Mikir hills, they use large bell metal plates for music. In the plains, they play the dhol drum. The singer's restless mind breaks free, snapping the jute rope.	MIND IS AN ANIMAL	Animals	Young Mind	Mind is restless as a young animal or man, which cannot kept in leash with a jute rope.
F-D20	আগলৈ এখোজে কৰো ঐ মইনা, পিছলৈ এখোজে কৰো। তোমাৰে কথালৈ মনত পৰি পৰি খোজত হুমুনিয়াহ কাঢ়ো ॥	Agoloi ekhoje karo oi moina, Pisoloi ekhoj karo; Tumare kathaloi manat pori pori Khojot humuniah kadho.	The singer paces back and forth, sighing whenever thoughts of her lover cross her mind.	MIND IS A CONTAINER	Container	Mind	When the idea falls to mind, it touches the mind and gets transferred.
F-E1	তুমি যেতে বেলি সুহুৰি মাৰিলা, মই তেতে বেলি ৰান্ধো। কেঁচা খৰি বুলি আফালি সাফালি, ধোঁৱাই খাইছে বুলি কান্দো ॥	Tumi jete beli suhuri marila, Moi tete beli randho; Kecha khori buli afali safali, Dhonwai khaise buli kando.	Whenever the singer's beloved whistles from outside, she starts cooking. She sheds tears out of longing but acts as if the smoke from the damp firewood is causing her to cry (the smoke eats her).	SOUND IS A PROJECTILE	Projectile	Whistle	
				SMOKE IS AN ANIMAL	Carnivorous Animal	Smoke	Smoke can eat a person.
F-E2	মই থাকোঁ চোতালত, আই থাকে আখলত, তুমি থাকা ভঁৰালৰ মুধত । বোপাই বৰিত থাকে, ককাই ধানত লাগে, দেখাও নিদিয়া পাকত ॥	Moi thako sotalot, aai thake akholot, Tumi thaka bhoralor mudhot; Boopai barit thake, kakaai dhanot lage, Dekhao nidia pakot.	The singer remains in the courtyard, her mother is in the kitchen, and her beloved lingers at the granary's far end. The father is situated in the garden, while her brother attends to the paddy fields, and she complains the her lover does not show himself in this opportunity.				
F-E3	গধূলি ভাত খাও, পদূলি ওলাই চাওঁ, গাত মাৰি চেলেঙৰ চাটি । তোমাকে নেদেখি থাকিব নোৱাৰি, দেহে কৰে উজনি-ভাটি ॥	Godhuli bhat khao, poduli olai chaon, Gat mari selengor chati; Tumake nedekhi thakib nuwari, Dehe kare ujani-bhati.	In the evening, the singer eats rice and checks the gateway while wrapped in her seleng. She cannot bear to be without seeing him; her body does upstream- downstream (feels restless).	BODY IS A BOAT	Boat	Body	Involuntarily the body does upstream and downstream, showing restlessness.
				LOVE IS RESTLESSNESS	Restlessness	Love	

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F-E4	এইনো চ'তমহীয়া ৰ'দে চৌ-চৌ, পেটতো লাগিছে ভোক। তিয়হো নহ'লি, চিৰালো নহ'লি, কেঁচাই খালোহেঁতেন তোক ॥	Eaino Ch'tomohiya r'de sou-sou, Petto lagise bhok Teeyoho noh'li, siralo noh'li, Kechai khaloheten tok.	During the month of Chout, the sun's rays swiftly stream (sou-sou, mimicking rapidly flowing water), and hunger grips the stomach. If her sweetheart were a cucumber or a musk melon, she would have devoured him uncooked.	LIGHT IS A FLUID	Flow Of Water	Sunshine	The imitative word <i>sou-sou</i> is in the verbal modality. So the seemingly invisible sunrays and its accompanying heat is converted to water that is visible, and can be touched. That is then translated to the verbal modality.
				LUST IS HEAT	Heat of the Sun in Summer	Lust	The heat of the sun.
				TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Physical Touch	Transfer Of Properties	Hunger touches the stomach.
				LUST IS HUNGER	Hunger	Lust	The singer would have devoured her lover like the fruits or vegetables.
				LOVERS ARE EDIBLES	Cucumber	Male Lover	
					Musk Melon	Male Lover	
F-E5	আষাঢ়ে শাওনে আম-কঁঠাল পৰ্কিলে, ক'লীয়া হলৌৱে খায়। চৰকাৰী কামতে মোৰ ধন আছেগৈ, মোৰে বহে-বতৰ যায় ॥	Aasare shaone am-kodhal pokile, Ka'liya holouwe ki; Chorkari kamote mor dhon aasegoi, More bohe-botor jay.	During the months of Aasar and Shaon, when mangoes and jackfruits ripen, the black hoolock gibbon feeds on them. Her lover is employed in a government job elsewhere, and her seasons pass away.	PEOPLE ARE FRUITS	Mango	Female Lover	Female lover is consumable here.
				PEOPLE ARE FRUITS	Jackfruit	Female Lover	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Hoolock Gibbon (Hylobates Hoolock)	Male Lover	Adult male hoolock gibbons are black all over, with the exception of a striking feature: remarkable white eyebrows.
				NEGATIVE IS BLACKNESS	Dark Skinned Person	Bad (Tease)	Men are often playfully related with blackness.
				LUST IS HUNGER	Hunger	Lust	Male hoolock gibbon eating the fruits.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				LUST IS HEAT	Heat of Summer	Lust	June, July, August, these months are few of the hottest months in Assam. The heat of the sun is heat of lust.
F-E6	আলিৰে কেঁকুৰি, চেনাই যায় ফেকুৰি, কাণৰে থুৰিয়া লৰে। তোমাৰ কথা ভাবি শোকে খুন্দা মাৰি দেহে উজান-ভাটি কৰে ॥	Aalire kekuri, senai jai fekuri, Kanore thuria lare; Tumar katha vabi soke khunda mari Dehe ujan-bhati kare.	At the curve in the road, his lover weeps, her earring swaying with each sob. In his mind, he is pounded by grief for her, and his body does upstream-downstream (feels restless).	LOVE IS RESTLESSNESS	Restlessness	Grief	
				BODY IS A BOAT	Boat	Body	Involuntarily the body does upstream and downstream, showing restlessness.
				GOODNESS IS STRAIGHTNESS	Straight Road	Goodness	The curve or bend of the road is associated with the lover crying.
				GRIEF IS POUNDING	Pounding	Grief	Grief pounds (from inside).
F-E7	পিয়াহৰ সুরদি নৈৰ পানী চলু, ভোকৰে সুরদি ভাত। তাতোকৈ সুরদি তোমাৰ মাতেশাৰি, লগাই থৈ যোৱা মাত ॥	Piahor suwadi noir pani solu, Bhokare suwadi bhat; Tatukoi suwadi tumar matekhari, Lagaai thoi jowa mat.	The satisfaction of quenching thirst is found in a handful of river water, and the fulfillment of hunger comes from rice. Yet, nothing is sweeter than hearing her beloved's voice as she requests him to call her.	TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Physical Touch	Transfer Of Properties	the most common meaning of লগা / maat loga is to join. Join the voice (with ther reciver) is understood as giving or receiving a call.
				DESIRE IS HUNGER	Rice And Water In Thirst And Hunger	Love	Lover's voice is like food in hunger.
F-E8	ৰাঙলী হৰিণীৰ জিবা, মোৰ মইনা, ৰাঙলী হৰিণীৰ জিবা। ঘৰত ভাত-পানী তেনেই হ'ল আথানি, কোনোবাই খুৱালে কিবা ॥	Rangoli horineer jibaa, mor moina, Rangoli horineer jiba; Ghorot bhat-pani tenei ho'la athani, Konobai khuwale kibaa.	The singer references the deer's red-hued tongue. The food at home became spoiled, possibly because someone added something unusual (like a magic potion).	LOVE IS A SPELL	Spell	Love	The magic potion has rendered his lover incapable of eating or drinking.

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				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Deer (Axis Porcinus)	Female Lover	The reddish color of the deer's tongue could indicate unwellness, similar to someone under a spell. Alternatively, it might be that a deer's tongue is an ingredient in a magical potion.
F-E9	হাবিৰ লতা পাতে বাটাট ভেটিলে, বেলিয়ে মেলিলে ঠেং। তোমাৰে ঘৰলৈ যাবকে নোৱাৰি, বাটত দিলা বগৰি জেং ॥	Habir lata pate batti vetile, Beliye melile theng; Tumare ghorloi jaboke nuwari, Batot dila bogori jeng.	The creepers and leaves in the woods obstructed the path when the sun spreads it leds (at sunset). The singer can't reach her beloved's house because he placed spiky Indian jujube twigs along the way.	CELESTIAL BODIES ARE LIVING ENTITIES	Living Entity As A Person	Sun	The sun spreading is legs are the beams of light during sunset. Here the sun is seen a person or animal which has legs.
F-E9	হাবিৰ লতা পাতে বাটাট ভেটিলে, বেলিয়ে মেলিলে ঠেং। তোমাৰে ঘৰলৈ যাবকে নোৱাৰি, বাটত দিলা বগৰি জেং ॥		The creepers and leaves in the woods obstructed the path when the sun spreads it leds (at sunset). The singer can't reach her beloved's house because he placed spiky Indian jujube twigs along the way.	PLANTS ARE LIVING ENTITIES	Living Entity That Can Move	Creepers, Leaves	The creepers can block a path on their own.
F-E9	হাবিৰ লতা পাতে বাটাট ভেটিলে, বেলিয়ে মেলিলে ঠেং। তোমাৰে ঘৰলৈ যাবকে নোৱাৰি, বাটত দিলা বগৰি জেং ॥		The creepers and leaves in the woods obstructed the path when the sun spreads it leds (at sunset). The singer can't reach her beloved's house because he placed spiky Indian jujube twigs along the way.	HINDRANCES ARE CREEPERS	Creepers	Hindrances	Creepers are often associated with perceived hindrance in a path or a task.
F-E9	হাবিৰ লতা পাতে বাটাট ভেটিলে, বেলিয়ে মেলিলে ঠেং। তোমাৰে ঘৰলৈ যাবকে নোৱাৰি, বাটত দিলা বগৰি জেং ॥		The creepers and leaves in the woods obstructed the path when the sun spreads it leds (at sunset). The singer can't reach her beloved's house because he placed spiky Indian jujube twigs along the way.	RELATIONSHIPS ARE JOURNEYS	Journey	Relationships	Impediments during the journey like jungle, night time, thorns in the road are impediments in the relationship.
F-E10	কিনো হাত দুখনি, কিনো ভৰি দুটি, কিনো তোমাৰ সুরলা মাত। ৰ'দ পাই জিলিকে তোমাৰ গাল দুখনি, হাঁহিটত জিলিকে দাঁত ॥	Kino hat dukhoni, kino bhari duti, Kino tumar suwala mat; R'do pai jilike tumar gal dukhoni, Hahitit jilike dat.	The singer admires her lover's hands, feet, and voice. She mentions that his cheeks glow under the sun and his teeth sparkle when he smiles.	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Cheeks in Sunshine	Male Lover	Cheeks glowing in the sun, teeth sparking with smile.

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F-E11	খাই নো খাই আমনি লতা-পনীয়ালি, বইনো বই আমনি তাত। দেখি অসহনি পিলাঙা ডেকাটি, লগায় পিছৰ পৰা মাত ॥	Khai no khai amni lata-poniyoli, Boino boi amni tat; Dekhi axahani pilinga dekati, Lagay pisor pora mat.	The singer became tired and frustrated with eating vitis Indica (a vine) and weaving. She got annoyed by constantly having to her lover not to call her (from backside).	DESIRE IS HUNGER	Eating Wild Grapes	Love	The sourness of the fruit is relatble to annoyance with her lover.
				WORDS ARE VINES	Vines- Vitis Indica	Words	Chain of words, thoughts or ideas are seen as annoying creeper plant as it tangles.
				WORDS ARE THREADS	Threads	Words	Chain of words, thoughts or ideas are seen as threads on the loom, which may tangle creating annoyance.
F-E12	চকুলৈ চালেই হাঁহা মিচিকিয়াই হাঁহিতে লগালা বেথা। তোমাক আনিবলৈ মনে লিকেলিকায়, সৰু হৈ লগালা লেঠা ॥	Chokuloi chalei haha michikiyai Hahite lagala betha; Tumak aaniboloi mone licalikay, Sar hoi lagala letha.	The singer feels affection when his lover smiles at him. To bring her, his mind feels a greedy longing (liklika-sound made by the tongue while greedlily looking for food), she has created a problem by being (too) young.	DESIRE IS COVETOUSNESS	Covetousness	Strong Desire	The man's greed charged desire of marrying the young girl.
F-E13	চমকত চাবলৈ নহঁও মই বিজুলী, নহঁও মই বোরতী নৈ। চৰায়ো নহঁও মই ষ্ঠিতাতে উৰি গৈ, থাকিম মই সাৰটি লৈ ॥	Chomokot chaboloi nohon moi bijuli, Nohou moi boowati noi; Choraio nohou moi thitate uri goi, Thakim moi saabti loi.	The singer states she is neither lightning seen in a flash, nor a flowing river. She is also not a bird that can immediately fly to embrace her beloved.	MIND IS A MOVING OBJECT	Lightning, Running River, Birds	Desire/Mind	The speed of movenet can vary from a lightning, a flowiing river to a flying bird.
F-E14	দীঘলী বজাৰৰ পাভ মাছ আনিলা, পকা নেমু দিয়ে ৰাফো। বাটিত আঞ্জা বাটি, তোলৈ মনত পৰি ভাতৰ পাটত বহি লৈ কাপো ॥	Digholi bojaror paabh mas aanila, Poka nemu diye randho; Batit aanja bari, tuloi manat pori Bhator patot bohi loi kando.	The singer's partner has fetched Pabo catfish (Ompok pabo) from the Digholi market, which she prepares with ripe lemon. As she serves herself the meal and thinks of him, she weeps before the plate.	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO EAT	Inability To Eat	Grief	
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	Fish and Lemon Curry	Thoughts Of Lover	
				TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Physical Touch	Transfer Of Properties	When the fruit (idea) falls (pora) / touches the ground/ the mind, it becomes accesible.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-E15	হাতী ঐ, হাতী ঐ পোরালি হাতী ঐ, শুৰ মেলি মলহা খায়। বহে তাঁতপাটত চকু আলিবাটত, ঘনাই মুৰে দাঙি চায় ॥	Hati oi, hati oi powali hati oi, Shur meli malahaa ki; Bohe tatopatot choku aalibatot, Ghonai moore dangi si.	The singer likens his beloved to a baby elephant eating a juicy bush with her trunk. Though she sits at the loom, her eyes are on the road, and she keeps raising her head to look.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Elephant Baby	Female Lover	
				SEEING IS TOUCHING	Limbs	Eyes	Though the female lover sits on the loom at her home, her eyes like an elephant trunk is touching the road.
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	A Juicy Bush Being Eaten By A Baby Elephant	Female Lover Seeing Her Male Lover	As the baby elephant eats the juicy bush, the female lover eats the information/ idea of her lover showing up with her eyes.
F-E16	ডিঙিতে গেজেৰা মুখনি চকলা, কাণতে এতোলা সোণ। জীৱনে-মৰণে নেৰিবা লাহৰী, তোমাৰ নাপাহৰো গুণ ॥	Dingite gejera mukhoni chokola, Kanote etola son; Jibone-marane neribaa lahori, Tumar napaharo gun.	The singer observes his lover's necklace, her round face, and gold earrings weighing etula (weight of one rupee) each. He pleads with her to stay by his side in life and death, promising never to forget her attributes.	LOVE IS TOGETHERNESS	Togetherness	Love	Togetherness for life and death.
				GOODNESS IS ROUNDNESS	Round Face of Woman	Goodness	A round shaped face is seen as the ideal face shape in the culture.
F-E17	নাও হ'ল এলোঙি, বঠা হ'ল সেলোঙি, টিঙত হ'ল আকোৰা চে। ৰাজ আলিবাটত মানুহে দেখিব, থাকিম কেনেকৰি ৰৈ ॥	Nao ho'la elengi, botha ho'la selengi, Tingot ho'la akura choi; Raj aalibatot manuhe dekhiv, Thakim kenekori roi.	The singer's boat is a fishing vessel, with a red paddle reminiscent of flush from betel quid chewing and a curved roof. He wonders how he can wait on the main road without being noticed.				The uniqueness of the boat, the paddles, or its roof make is very difficult to be non-noticeable.
F-E18	ভিতৰত দোখিলো সোণৰ খাট পালেং পদূলিত শ্যামৰে পীৰা। গেলা-পঁহতা-মুঠি বিচাৰি আহোঁতে, পালো দোৱা-ভজা চিৰা ॥	Bhitorot dekhilo sonor khat paleng Podulit shyamre peera; Gela-poita-muthi bisari ahonte, Palo dowo-voja sira.	The singer notices a gold bed inside and a Shyam (blakish, or a caste of people) low stool at the entrance. He came seeking spoiled soaked boiled rice but was given double-fried flattened rice instead.	LOVE IS EFFORT	Double Fried Flattened Rice	Love	It takes more time and effort to make.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-E19	গুণৰ গুণজৰী লগত সৰু ভনী, বহি গাঁথিছিলো মণি । দুইৰো দুখৰ কথা হ'বলৈ নাপালো, পাছতে ওলাহি শনি ॥	Gunor gunjri lagat saru bhoni, Bohi gathisilo moni; Duiro dukhor katha ho'boloi napalo, Pasote olahi shani.	The singer and her sister were weaving beads together, still deep in conversation about their sorrows when Shani, the male lover, suddenly showed up.	MALE LOVER IS A MISCHIEVOUS PERSON	Mischievous Person	Male Lover	A mischievous person like deity Shani.
F-E20	লাহৰী বুলিয়ে নাহৰে মাতিলে, হেঁপাহেৰে মুখলৈ চাই । কেলেই মাতিলি দুখীয়া নাহৰ ঐ, চৰুতো পঁহিতা নাই ॥	Lahori buliye nahore matile, Hepahere mukholoi chai; Kelei matili dukhiya nahor oi, Choruto pohota nai.	Nahor gazes longingly at his beloved whom he lonvingly calls as Lahori. She sorrowfully asks him why he called, noting his poverty, as he cannot even afford soaked cooked rice.				
F-F1	লুইতৰ শুরনি মাজুলী চাপৰি, স্বৰগৰ শুরনি তৰা । কোনটো চিতেৰে আমাকে এৰি থৈ খালা দোৱা-ভজা চিৰা ॥	Luitor shuwani majuli chapori, Sworgor shuwani tora; Konto sitere amake eri thoi Khala dowa-voja sira.	Just as the beauty of the Luit River lies in Majuli's alluvial plains, the stars embody the elegance of the heavens. The singer questions her lover, wondering what state of mind allowed him to enjoy double fried flattened rice by himself.	LOVE IS TOGETHERNESS	Togetherness	Love	Luit river and Majuli, hevena and stars, and the lovers.
F-F2	উৰাই মাৰিলো, ঘুৰাই মাৰিলো, মাৰিলো পমিলাৰ গুটি। খঙৰে বেগতে মাৰি পঠিয়ালো, থুৰিয়া তামোলৰ মুঠি ॥	Urai marilo, ghurai marilo, Marilo pomilar guti; Khongore begote mari pothiyalo, Thuriya tamolor muthi.	The singer tossed aside a Pamila seed (Dysoxylum hamiltonii Hiern). She also threw away a pouch containing betel quids in anger.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Throwing Away Betel Quid	Rejection of Love	
F-F3	লগৰীয়ে বগৰি খায়, লগৰীয়া, লগৰীয়ে বগৰি খায় । কিয় লগৰীয়া শতৰু শালিলা, জাপি কাতি কৰি চাই ॥	Lagariye bogori khay, lagariya, Lagariye bogori khay ; Kiya lagariya shataru shaalila, Japi kati kari chai.	The singer's female friend eats Indian jujube. She asks her friend (or her lover) why she/he has turned into her enemy and looks at her sideways, tilting the bamboo hat.	ENMITY IS SOURNESS	Sourness	Enmity	The sourness of the Indian jujube.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Indian Jujube Plant (Ziziphus Mauritiana)	Female Lover'S Friend	The friend of the singer eats the Indian jujube, and by association she is seen like that plant. This thorny plant is then associated with the inherent bad qualities of the friend.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-F4	ককিলা মুখৰে চৰু, লগৰীয়া, ককিলা মুখৰে চৰু। চেঙেলীয়া মনকে বুজাব নোৱাৰো। যেনে নবন্ধোৱা গৰু ॥	Kakila mukhore choru, lagariya, Kakila mukhore choru; Sengeliya manke bujab nuwaro. Jene nobondhowa goru.	The singer references earthen pots from Kakilamukh. Expressing that she struggles to control her adolescent mind, which she likes to an untethered cow.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Untethered Cow Or Bull	Female Lover	Mind for person. Young mind is like untethered cow or bull.
F-F5	থেকেচি ভাঙি যাওঁ ৰূপহী যঁতৰাট, ভুকুৱাই ভাঙি যাওঁ মাকো। আমাৰে লগৰীক যদি ধৰি নিয়ে, আমি কাৰ লগতে থাকো ॥	Thekesi vangi jaon ruphi ztorti, Bhukuwai vangi jao mako ; Amare lagarik jadi dhori niye, Ami kar lagate thako.	The singer shatters the lovely spinning wheel with a hurl, and she breaks the weaving shuttle with a blow. If someone forcibly elopes with her friend, who will accompany her?				The singer shows anger and frustration upon her friend being forcibly taken for marriage.
F-F6	আমাৰ ঘৰ ইপাৰে, তোমাৰ ঘৰ সিপাৰে, মাজত কুঁহিয়াৰৰ বাৰী। আহো বুলি নাহিলা তামোল-পাণ কটোলা, সান্দহ চিৰা কৰালা বাহী ॥	Amar ghor ipare, tumar ghor sipare, Majot kuhiyaror bari; Aho buli nahila tamol-pan kotala, Saandoh sira karaala bahee.	The singer mentions her home is on one side and her lover's is on the other, with a sugarcane field in between. Despite his promise, he did not come. She prepared betel quids and rice delicacies (wet rice parched and pounded into coarse powder, and flattened rice), but they went to waste.	LOVE IS A JOURNEY	Journey	Love	The impediments in love are physical impediments like a river, or a sugarcane field. Sugarcane leaves have a rough texture due to the presence of tiny, sharp hairs on the surface. These hairs can penetrate the skin upon contact, causing irritation.
			The singer mentions her home is on one side and her lover's is on the other, with a sugarcane field in between. Despite his promise, he did not come. She prepared betel quids and rice delicacies (wet rice parched and pounded into coarse powder, and flattened rice), but they went to waste.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Sharing Betel Quid	Romantic Commitment	
				GRIEF IS SEPARATION	Physical Distance	Grief	
F-F7	আলিয়ে আলিয়ে গলা, ঐ পিলিঙা, হাতত কলাখোৱা চৰাই। চকুৱে চকুৱে পৰিল, সমনীয়া, বিধতাই নিদিলে জোৰাই ॥	Aaliye aaliye gola, oi pilinga, Hatot kolakhowa chorai; Chokuwe chokuwe poril, somoniya, Bidhotai nidile jorai.	The singer observes her lover strolling along the road, with a rufous treepie bird (Dendrocitta vagabunda) perched on his hand. Their eyes meet, but destiny (creator) has not brought them together.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Rufous Treepie (Dendrocitta Vagabunda)	Male Lover	The bird is perched on his hand. Due to physical proximity the male lover is compared to the bird. The bird has loud musical calls. Which may mean that the lover strolls on the road singing a song, making him conspicuous.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				NEGATIVE IS BLACKNESS	Dark Skinned Person	Bad (Tease)	The bird's body is cinnamon coloured with a black head and long bluish grey tail with black tip.
				LOVE IS TOGETHERNESS	Togetherness	Love	The lover wishes to be united.
				LIFE IS A PLAY	Writer	Creator	The creator makes writes the play/ fate.
F-F8	কাহানি ছিগিলে বতাহত উৰিলে, এই ডালি মইনাৰ চুলি। তোমাৰে বাতিৰ নাপাওঁ ভালে কৰি, আহিছো চাওঁগৈ বুলি ॥	Kahani sigile botahot urile, Eai dali moinar suli; Tumare batir napaon bhale kari, Ahisochaongoi buli.	The singer spots a hair drifting in the wind and realizes it belongs to her beloved. She wonders when it fell off. Concerned after not receiving good news about him, she decides to visit him.	LIFE IS GROWTH OF HAIR	Growth Of Hair	Life	Broken hair or loss of hair is seen as negative, here bringing bad news.
F-F9	তোমাক ত্ৰি লাহৰী ক'লো ভাল কৰি, কপাহৰ বাচিবি জোলা। ল'বলৈ লাগিব জপাৰ বৰ-কাপোৰ, যাবলৈ লাগিব দোলা ॥	Tumak oi lahari ka'lo bhal kari, Kapahor bachibi jula; La'boloi lagib jopar bor-kapor, Jaboloi lagib dola.	The singer firmly instructs her peer to clean the cotton pods for spinning. She will require a Borkapor (a coarse winter cotton wrap) from the cloth basket and will have to depart with a palanquin.	LOVE IS EFFORT	Thoroughly Cleaning The Cotton	Love	The cloth is associated with love/ affection. For this one has to put much effort cleaning the cotton pods.
				AFFECTION IS WARMTH	Warmth From The Wrapper	Affection	
F-F10	নৈ ঘূৰণীয়া, মূৰ ফুৰণীয়া আনি দে জুৰণি খাওঁ। ধন মোৰ যোৱাগৈ দুৱাৰ মেলি দিয়াগৈ, মই ভিতৰলৈ যাওঁ ॥	Noi ghuronea, moor furanea Aani de juroni khaon; Dhon mor jobagoi duwar meli diagoi, Moi bhitloroi jaon.	The singer mentions a round river (probably a whirlpool), and that she is feeling light-headed. This prompts her to request a cooling draught. She asks her lover to unlock and open the door from the inside so she can enter.	LUST IS HEAT	Requiring Cooling Draught	Lust	The singer wants to enter her lover's house/ room indicating lust for which she needs a cooling draught to cool her down.
							Dizziness is associated with a whirlpool in the river.
F-F11	হাটতে কিনিলো, বাটতে ভাঙিলো শালমাৰা কুমাৰৰ চৰু। নতুন তাঁতি ভাঙি খালে পকা-ধান, সৰুটি চেনাইৰে গৰু ॥	Hatote kinilo, batote vangilo Shaalmora kumaror choru; Notun tati vangi khale poka-dhan, Saruti senaire goru.	The singer broke an earthen pot acquired from the Shalmora potter. His beloved's cow or bull has (broken the newly prepared warp in the loom- unclear) and consumed the ripe paddy.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cow Or Bull	Male Lover	The owner of the cow or bull is the male lover. By association he is a cow or bull.
				PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Rice Paddy- Ripe	Female Lover	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				LUST IS HUNGER	Hunger	Lust	
F-F12	নগাৱৰ নলানি, দেৰগাৱৰ দলানি, কুঁহিয়াৰৰ-চাপৰিৰ মাটি। চাৰি আঙুল কপালত বিধতাই লিখিলে, চোতালত খপিলো ৰাতি ॥	Nagawor noloni, Dergawor doloni, Kuhiyaror-chaporir mati; Sari aangul kapalot bidhotai likhile, Sotalot khopilo rati.	The singer mentions the reed-covered region of Nagaon, the aquatic grasslands of Dergaon, and alluvial sugarcane farms. On his four finger wide (or tall) forehead, the creator has written for him to temporarily stay (wait) in his beloved courtyard at night.	LIFE IS A PLAY	Writer	Creator	The creator makes writes the play/ fate.
F-F13	দেহ হ'ল আলিয়া, দেহ হ'ল বলিয়া, দেহ হ'ল দিহিঙৰ গড়া। তোমাৰ লগতে হ'লো মই বলিয়া, চিনা-চিনি হ'বৰে পৰা ॥	Deh ho'la olia, deh ho'la bolia, Deh ho'la dihingor gara; Tumar lagate ho'lo moi bolia, China-chini ho'bore pora.	The singer compares her restless state to the embankment of the river Dihing, illustrating her turmoil since meeting her beloved for the first time.	LOVE IS RESTLESSNESS	Restlessness In The Body And Mind	Love	
				EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS	River Dihing	Love And Passion	
				PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Embankment Of A River	Female Lover	Like the current of the river breaking the embankment, love emotions have slowly broken her body.
F-F14	ভাটিলৈ ভাটিয়াই যাবগৈ নালাগে শুকান পিঠাগুৰি খাই। কোনোৰ ৰাজতে ছলে ফুটি মাৰিব, তোমাৰ হৈ কান্দোতা নাই ॥	Bhatiloi bhatiyai jabogoi nalage Shukan pithaguri khai; Konoba rajte hule futi marib, Tumar hoi kandota nai.	The singer tells her beloved not to travel downstream (to the lowlands) eating dry rice powder. In another state, he might die by a pointed thorn, and there will be no one to mourn for him.	NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM	Downstream	Death	Travelling downstream or going to the lower lands is seen as negative.
F-F15	চৰাই হালধীয়া পাখি বিনন্দীয়া অৰণ্যৰ ভিতৰৰ টোপ। দিনটোৰ ভিতৰত এবাৰ নেদেখিলে পেটতো নালাগে ভোক ॥	Chorai haldhiya pakhi binandiyai Aronyar bhitoror toop; Dintor bhitorot ebar nedekhile Petto nalage bhok.	The singer talks about yellow birds with beautiful feathers and its food inside the forest. If she doesn't see her beloved every day, her stomach does not feel hungry (loses appetite).	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Yellow Bird	Female Lover	The yellow bird and its food in the forest, is related to the female lover and her lack of appetite.
				GRIEF IS INABILITY OF EAT	Inability To Eat	Grief In Love	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-F16	আহো এড়ি এড়ি, যাওঁ এড়ি এড়ি, এড়া গছত মাতিলে জিৰী। নেদেখি থাকিলে থাকিব পাৰো মই, কেলেই গা দেখা দিলি ॥	Aho edi edi, jaon edi edi, Eda gosot matile jilee; Nedekhi thakile thakib paro moi, Kelei ga dekha dili.	The singer mentions that she endures coming and going alone (separated from him). The cicadas have sung from the castor oil plant. She claims she can remain alone until she meets her beloved, questioning why he has revealed himself (body).	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cicada	Male Lover	The cicada or the male lover give her a call.
F-F17	চোতালৰ আগৰে জুতুলা বগৰি পছিমলৈ মেলিলে ডাল। দিয়ে কি নিদিয়ে সোণৰে আঙঠি ওফোন্দাই পেলালে গাল ॥	Sotalor agore jutula bogori Poshimoloi melile dal; Diye ki nidiye sonore aangothi Ophondai pelale gal.	The singer describes a small, stunted Indian jujube tree near the courtyard, its branches reaching westward. Not receiving the gold ring, she pouts in childish pique.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Indian Jujube Plant (Ziziphus Mauritiana)	Female Lover	The height and shape of the tree is relatable to the female lover. The plant spreading its branch towards west is visually relatable to the female lover sulking and puffing her cheeks.
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Pain From The Thorns Of Indian Jujube	Grief	
F-F18	বজাৰত কিনিলা ৰেছমৰ কমালখন, ৰেলগাড়ী ভটিয়াই গ'ল। মোক নিবা বুলি বৰ ঘৰ সজালা, গৰু-বন্ধা গোহালি হ'ল ॥	Bojarot kinila resmor rumalkhon, Re'lagadee bhatiyai go'la; Mok nibaa buli bor ghor sajala, Goru-bondha gohali ho'la.	The singer tells her beloved that he bought a silk handkerchief from the market, and the train has left downstream. He built a main-house hoping to bring her, but it has now become a cattle shed.	NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM	Downstream	House Becoming Cattle Shed	
				PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cow Or Bull	Lover	The main house construction in the hope of marriage, becomes a cow shed.
F-F19	সেইনো চ'তমহীয়া নাহৰ ফুল ফুলিলে, ব'হাগত পেলালে কলি। কিনো দায়-জগৰ লগালো, লাহৰী ! চকুৰে নোচোৱা হ'লি ॥	Seino ch'tomohiya nahor ful fulile, Bo'hagot pelale koli; Kino day-jogor lagalo, lahari ! Chokure nuchuwa ho'li.	During Chout, nahor (Ceylon ironwood, Mesua ferrea) flowers blossom, and in Bohag, their buds appear. What wrong has he done for his lover to turn away from him?				Talks about the scene of the season.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-F20	ৰ'দৰে কাচলিত ৰৌ-মাছ, বাছিলো, বজাৰৰ আনিলো দা। আমাৰে দেহাটি চুবলৈ নাপালা, কমোৱা তুলাৰে গা ॥	R'dore kasolit rau-mas, basilo, Bojaror aanilo da; Amare dehati suboloi napala, Comuwa tulare ga.	In the gentle morning sun, the singer used a market-bought knife to clean and cut the Rohu fish (Labeo rohita). She told her lover that he was not able to touch her pure cotton like body.	LIGHT IS A FLUID	Touch By A Physical Entity	Sunrays	The singer's beloved was not able to touch her as the morning sunshine did.
				AFFECTION IS WARMTH	Sunshine	Lover'S Touch	
				GOODNESS IS WHITENESS	Cleaned Cotton	Female Lover'S Body	Whiteness and the softness of the cotton is associated with the body of the female lover.
F-G1	বাইৰে নিচিনা মেখেলা পিন্ধিলো, আইৰে নিচিনা খোপা।। একেটি বঁটাতে তামোল খাই আহিছে, তোমাৰে নিচিনা ডেকা ॥	Baire nisina mekhela pindhilo, Aaire nisina khopa Eketi botate tamol khai ahise, Tumare nisina deka.	The singer dresses in a mekhela, a type of skirt, just like her elder sister, and styles her bun in the same way as her mother. She tells her beloved that someone resembling him has shared betel quid from the same plate as hers.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Sharing Betel Quid With Another Person	Romantically Committing to Someone Else	Sharing, eating from the same plate.
F-G2	চাপৰ জলকীয়া চাপৰ মোৰ চেনাই ঐ, চাপৰ জলকীয়া চাপৰ। লোকৰ লগৰীয়া দীঘলে-ডাঙৰে আমাৰ লগৰীয়া চাপৰ।	Dhapor jolokiya chapor mor senai oi, Dhapor jolokiya chapor; Lokar lagariya dighole-dangore Amar lagariya chapor.	The singer mentions that the chili plants on the embankment are small. She playfully teases her beloved by comparing him to her peers' partners, stating they are tall and big, while he is short.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Chili Plant- Short	Male Lover	Male lover is short like a chili plant.
				LUST IS HEAT	Heat From Chillli	Lust	Spicey like the chili.
F-G3	ফুলনিবাৰীলৈ চাই পঠিয়ালো, ধুনৰ কোন পাহি ফুল। তোমাৰে লগতে দেহা দিলোহেঁতেন, তুমি হ'লা অজাতিৰ কুল ॥	Fulonibariloi chai pothiyalo, Dhonor kon pahi ful; Tumare lagate deha diloheten, Tumi ho'la ajatir kul.	She sent her vision to the flower garden, trying to find her lover's flower. She would have offered herself to him if he weren't from a lower caste.	VISION IS A PROJECTILE	A Projectile	Vision	The vision can be sent.
				SEEING IS TOUCHING	Touch	Vision	Touch can transfer properties.
				LOVE IS CONSUMPTION	Consumption	Love	Consumption with all the senses. The flower can be consumed with vision, touch and smell.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-G4	টেমাট পৰিলে, ঘাটঙাই বাজলে, কটাৰি পৰিলে ধাৰে। চিয়াঁৰৰ কথাৰে বুজিব নোৱাৰা, কেলে তুলিলে মাৰে ॥	Temiti porile thitingai bajile, Kotari porile dhare; Ciaror kathake bujib nuwara Kelei tulile mare.	The lime pot drops and makes a far-off noise, the knife falls on its blade. The singer questions the young woman about her comprehension, asking why her mother raised her if she doesn't understand a hint.	LOVE IS RESTLESSNESS	Restlessness	Love	Things are slipping and falling from hand due to restlessness.
F-G5	এদালি কাটিলে আহে চাৰি ডালি লুইতৰ খাগৰি খৰি। এজনী মাতিলে আহে চাৰিজনী ডিঙিত ধৰাধৰি কৰি ॥	Edali katile ahe sari dali Luitor khagori khori; Ejoni matile ahe sarijoni Dingit dhoradhori kari.	The singer explains that cutting one elephant grass reed for firewood results in four being pulled together. Similarly, if she invites one friend, all four arrive closely side by side.	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Elephant Grass (Phragmites Karka)	Female Lover'S Friend	The elephant grass reeds are packed densely, difficult to separate one, similar to group of friends of the singer.
				LUST IS HEAT	Firewood	Lust	The young friends of the singer are filled with passion and lust, which must burn like a firewood.
F-G6	তেল পৰি পিচলে তোমাৰে বৰণটি, ৰ'দত তিৰেবিৰে কৰি। তোমাৰে নিচিনা ক'তো নেদেখিলো উজনি নামনি ফুৰি ॥	Tel pori pisole tumare boronti, R'dot tirebire kari; Tumare nisina ka'to nedekhilo Ujani namani furi.	The singer claims his beloved's skin is so smooth that oil glides off it, shinning in the sunlight. He searched upstream and downstream (far and wide) but found no one like her.	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	Smooth Body of Lover on Sunshine	Male Lover	A shinning object is beautiful in folk mind.
F-G7	আইৰে শপনি পইতা-পোতনি চাঙৰ আঠিয়া কল। খাই ল খাই ল মোৰ ধন লাহৰী, কঁকালত বন্ধাই ল বল ॥	Aaire shapani poita-potani Sangor athiya kal; Khai la khai la mor dhon lahari, Kokalot bondhai la bol.	Verbal abuse from a mother is like the water from rice soaked overnight or an Athiya banana (Musa balbisiana) kept on a bamboo platform. The singer suggests that his beloved consume them and tie strength to her waist (back).	IDEAS ARE FOOD	Water Fermented Rice	Verbal Abuses Of Mother	Strength comes with eating and being able to digest others abuse.
				MENTAL STRENGTH IS STRENGTH OF THE WAIST/ BACK	Strength Tied To The Waist/ Back	Mental Strength	
				STRENGTH IS EXTERNAL SUPPORT	External Support	Strength	That can be tied to the waist or back.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-G8	জুই ধৰি দিয়া ফুৱাওঁ, এ লিগিৰা, ছাই ধৰি দিয়া ফুৱাওঁ। গাখীৰৰ টেকেলি নমাই দিয়া লিগিৰা, ধনক চাউল-চিৰা খুৱাওঁ ॥	Jui dhori dia phuwaon, oi ligira, Sai dhori dia phuwaon; Gakhiror tekeli nomai dia ligira, Dhonok saul-sira khuwaon.	The singer requests her male household help to catch some fire for her, so she can blow it. Then, she asks him to lower the earthen pitcher containing curd because she intends to serve rice and flattened rice to her beloved.	FIRE IS AN OBJECT	Object	Fire	Can be held or caught (catching fire)
F-G9	তোমাৰ তিনিখনি, আমাৰ তিনিখনি, ছখনি কাপোৰৰ জাপ। তোমাৰ তিনিখনি, লোৱা বাচি-কুচি, শুনিছো কুকুৰাৰ ডাক ॥	Tumar tinikhoni, amar tinikhoni, Chkhoni kaproror jap; Tumar tinikhoni, lowa basi-kusi, Shuniso kukurar dak.	Three layers of clothes of the singer, three of her lover are folded together. She asks her lover to quickly pick out his three, as she hears the rooster crowing.	LOVE IS CARING LOVE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENES	Feeding Physical Closeness	Love	The layers of clothes are touching each other.
F-G10	দৰ্ৰিকা দিছাওঁত পানী বাঢ়ি গ'ল, দিখৌ এৰা সূতি হ'ল। আমাৰে পীৰিতি জানোচা হেৰাব, বুকু চমচমাই গ'ল ॥	Dorika dichangot pani bari go'la, Dikhou era suti ho'la; Amare peeriti janocaa herab, Buku chomosomai go'la.	The water levels have risen in the Dorika and Disang rivers, while Dikhow has turned into an abandoned river (a horseshoe lake). Her heart burns with agony that their love might get lost.	LUST IS HEAT EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS	Heat of Six Layers of Clothes River Water	Lust Love	Heat from layers of clothes. While two rivers have overflowed with water/emotions, one has become an abandoned river.
F-G11	আহোতে দেখো ধন, যাওঁতে দেখো ধন, বগী জামুকৰ পুলি। খোৱাৰো নহ'লি, পিন্ধাৰো নহ'লি, চকুৰে পোৰণি হ'লি ॥	Ahute dekho dhon, jaute dekho dhon, Bogee jamukor puli; Khowaro noh'li, pindharo noh'li, Chokure poroni ho'li.	The singer observes a young rose apple plant (Syzygium jambos) on his way. He remarks that his lover is neither for adornment nor consumption, thus she has become a burning in his eyes.	FEMALE LOVER IS A RIVER GRIEF IS BURNING PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	River Burning In The Chest Rose Apple Plant (Syzygium Jambos)	Female Lover Grief Female Lover	She does not want to the abandoned river. The literal meaning of Bogi Jamuk (rose apple) is Assamese is white berry. From the name itself, the fruit or plants whiteness is in focus.
				GOODNESS IS WHITENESS	Whiteness of Rose Apple Fruit	Beauty	White/ lighter colour is desirable specially in terms of women.
				LOVE IS CONSUMPTION	Consumption	Love	The male lover wishes to consume the female lover by wearing or eating.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				ENVY IS BURNING	Burning In The Eyes	Envy	
F-G12	আয়ে মাৰিলে, দাং মাৰি ভাঙিলে, ঘৰতো নিদিলে ঠাই। দুয়ো বাই-ভনী ফুৰো বাটে-ঘাটে লোকৰ কটা তামোল খাই ॥	Aye marile, dang mari vangile, Ghorto nidile thai; Duyo bai-bhoni furo bate-gbate Lokar kota tamol khai.	The singer's mother struck her, broke the bamboo pole supporting the loom, and made her leave home. Now, both sisters wander the streets, accepting betel quids given by others.				The sisters survive with the help of others who feed them. In Assamese culture one is offered betel quid after food, and sometimes before food also. Sisters getting offered betel quid means they are being offered food too.
F-G13	বাহৰে আগলিত পৰে কাম চৰাই, উভতি কোটালে পাখি। কোনেনো খুৱালে কটা তামোলখনি পাণতে বাবৰি বাচি ॥	Bahore agolit pore kaam chorai, Uvti kotale pakhi; Koneno khuwale kota tamolkhoni Panote babori basi.	Perched atop the bamboos, a grey- headed swamphen (Porphyrio poliocephalus) turns its head as it meticulously preens its feathers. The singer speculates about who might have presented him a betel nut neatly wrapped in a beautifully prepared betel leaf.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Grey Headed Swamphen (Porphyrio Poliocephalus)	Female Lover	The bird is of striking colour. The Assamese name of the bird is Kaam, which also means carnal desire.
				PASSION IS COLOUR RED	Red on Beaks and Part of Head of Grey Headed Swamphen	Passion	The red part of the head and beak is visually striking against its bluish body.
				LOVE IS EFFORT	Effort Of Cleaning The Betel Leaf	Love	The veins of the betel leaf are cleaned/ removed before serving. One may put the extra effort to decoratively cutting and cleaning this.
F-G14	উজনি মাৰিলো নামনি শুকালে, চেঙেলি পৰিলে তল। মুঠিৰ কটা তামোল মুঠিতে শুকালে, দিবলৈ নাপালো চল ॥	Ujani marilo namani shukale, Sengeli porile tol; Muthir kota tamol muthite shukale, Diboloi napalo sol.	The singer journeyed upstream (to the higher lands) while downstream (the lower lands) have dried up, causing the Assamese snakehead fish (Channa stewartii) to burrow into the mud. She missed the opportunity to offer her beloved a betel quid, which dried on her palm.	EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS	Fluids	Love	Emotions dry up similar to the water in the lower lands. Or the moisture of the betel nut.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Expression of Love	
F-G15	তোমাৰ কটা তামোল নাখাও ঐ লাহৰী , আমাৰে মৰিব কুল। অজাতি নহওঁ মই, বিজাতি নহওঁ মই, তোমাৰ আমাৰ একেটি কুল ॥	Tumar kota tamol nakhao oi lahari, Amare morib kul; Ajati nohou moi, bijati nohou moi, Tumar amar eketi kul.	The singer laments that he cannot partake the betel quid prepared by his beloved, fearing it would lead to death of his caste. In response, his lover insists that they belong to the same caste, dispelling his concerns.	TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	Physical Touch	Transfer Of Properties	Accepting the betel nut from a perceived lower caste person will transfer his or her lower caste properties to the acceptor.
F-G16	ৰঙাকৈ গামোচা মাজে শেল দিয়া, তুমি তামোল কাটি খোৱা। লাহৰী হাতেৰে নুৰিয়াই থুৰিয়াই আমাকো এখনি দিয়া ॥	Rongakoi gamosa maje shel diya, Tumi tamol kati khowa; Lahori hatere nuriai thuriai Amako ekhoni diya.	The narrator describes a red gamosa adorned with stripes of a different colour. His beloved prepares and consumes a betel quid. He requests that she also offer him one, crafted by her delicate hands.	BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Expression of Love	
				PASSION IS COLOUR RED	Red Coloured Gamosa	Passion	The colour of the cloth is red. The juice of betelnut when chewed also becomes reddish in colour.
F-G17	হাঁৰিণা বিৰিণা গোহাঁইৰে লিগিৰা ৰঙাকৈ বিচনি লই। কঁকালৰ গামোচা কৰে তিৰবিৰ, তামোলখনি দি যোৱা ৰই ॥	Irina birina gohaire ligira Rongakoi bisoni lai; Kokalor gamocaa kare tirbir, Tamolkhoni di jowa roi.	The singer refers to khus grass (Chrysopogon zizanioides) and a minister's attendant with a red bamboo fan. She notes his shimmering gamosa around the waist and asks him to stop and give her a betel quid.	PASSION IS COLOUR RED	Red Coloured Handfan	Passion	The colour of the hand fan is red. The juice of betelnut when chewed also becomes reddish in colour.
				BETEL QUID CHEWING	Offering Betel Quid	Expression of Love	

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-G18	নগাৰ চাঙতে পেপাটি বজালে, ডফলাই বজালে টকা। লা'ৰা-বুৰা জীয়ৰী বঙতে বলিয়া, তুমি ক'ৰ বিহুৱা ডেকা ॥	Nogar sangote pepati bojale, Dofolai bojale toka; La'ra-bura jiyori rongote bolia, Tumi ka'r bihuwa deka.	On the elevated bamboo platform of the Nagas, they played a pepa (a wind instrument typically crafted from buffalo horn), while Dafala people played a toka (a bamboo percussion instrument). The singer mentions that young boys, elders, and young ladies are all filled with joy. She then inquires of her beloved about his origins, noting his skill in bihu.				Dafala people are in the north of the Ahom kingdom, the Naga people are in the south. So means bihu is everywhere, from north to south.
				MERRYMAKING IS MADNESS	Madness	Merrymaking	The merrymaking in bihu is almost like happy madness.
F-G19	কাহানিকৈ আহিব ব'হাগৰ বিহুটি, কাহানিকৈ কান্দিব কুলি। কাহানিকৈ ধৰিবা হাতত মুঠি মাৰি মোকে ধনে চেনাইটি বুলি ॥	Kahanikoi ahib bo'hagor bihuti, Kahanikoi kandib kuli; Kahanikoi dhoribaa hatot muthi mari Moke dhone senaiti buli.	The singer questions when the Bohag Bihu will arrive and when the cuckoos will sing. She wonders when her beloved will hold her hand, affectionately calling her dhon-senaiti.	MOVING TIME METAPHOR	Moving Object	Time	The observer is static.
F-G20	আঁহতৰ পাতে কৰে তিৰেবিৰে, আমি পাতো সান্দহৰ খোলা। এতিয়াই আহিব মোৰ ধন পিলিঙা দিবহি সাদৰী কোলা ॥	Aahotor pate kare tirebire, Ami pato saandohor khola; Etiyai ahib mor dhon pilinga Dibohi sadori kola.	The leaves of the sacred fig tree glimmer as the singer and others prepare Sandoh. She wonders when her beloved will come and lovingly take her in his lap.	AFFECTION IS WARMTH	Warmth Of The Sun	Affection	Warmth of the sun, the fire, or lap.
	বিভাগ	Biraag	Indifference				
F-H1	বৰঘৰৰ মুখেতে উৰালৰ টুপতে, চৰাই ফুটকলা খায়। মোৰ মনে জানে, বুকুত ধানে বানে, তোমাৰ জানো মনতে নাই ॥	Borghor mudhote bhoralor tupote, Chorai futkola ki; Mor mone jane, bukut dhane bane, Tumar jano manate nai.	On the ridge of the main house and on the gable end of the granary, a bird eats futkola (Indian rhododendron, Melastoma malabathricum) fruit. The singer says that her mind knows and asks her lover if he can't remember. Her chest/heart pounds rice.	IDEAS ARE FOOD	Indian Rhododendron Being Eaten By A Bird	Remembering About Lover	Remembering/understanding is digesting or regurgitating food. A bird eating indian rhododendron here.

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F-H1	বৰঘৰৰ মুখেতে উৰালৰ টুপতে, চৰাই ফুটকলা খায়। মোৰ মনে জানে, বুকুত ধানে বানে, তোমাৰ জানো মনতে নাই ॥		On the ridge of the main house and on the gable end of the granary, a bird eats futkola (Indian rhododendron, Melastoma malabathricum) fruit. The singer says that her mind knows and asks her lover if he can't remember. Her chest/heart pounds.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bird	Female Lover	The female lover remembering her lover is the bird eating the fruit.
F-H1	বৰঘৰৰ মুখেতে উৰালৰ টুপতে, চৰাই ফুটকলা খায়। মোৰ মনে জানে, বুকুত ধানে বানে, তোমাৰ জানো মনতে নাই ॥		On the ridge of the main house and on the gable end of the granary, a bird eats futkola (Indian rhododendron, Melastoma malabathricum) fruit. The singer says that her mind knows and asks her lover if he can't remember. Her chest/heart pounds.	HEART IS A MACHINE	Sound And Vibration Of A Rice Pounder	Heart	The sound and vibration of pounding the rice is similar to the heart's pounding.
F-H2	ধনৰ চেওমানি, বাটীয়া পুৰাণি, পহু-শিঙৰ হাকোটা ত খলো । নিগনি শলিয়াই শতুক শালিলে, ধনৰ লগত আতাৰি হ'লো ॥	Dhonor seomani, botiya puroni, Pohu-singor hakotat th'lo ; Nigni shaliai shaturu shaalile, Dhonor lagat aatari ho'lo.	The singer had a bracelet made of beads and some old twines kept on the deer antlers mounted on the wall (likely a common place to store such things). However, the enemy mice destroyed them, causing her grow apart from her lover.	MEMORIES ARE OBJECTS	Stored Objects	Memories	Memories are important objects that are stored. Here the bracelet, and the twines are stored on the deer antlers.
F-H3	নৈৰ ধাৰে ধাৰে গ'লি ঐ মইনা, পানীৰ ধাৰে ধাৰে গ'লি। মইনা মইনা বুলি মাতো তিনি বেলি, উভতি নোচোৱা হ'লি ॥	Noir dhare dhare go'li oi moina, Panir dhare dhare go'li; Moina moina buli mato tini beli, Uvati nuchuwa ho'li.	The singer's beloved was carried away by the current. Despite calling him three times, he did not look back.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM	Mice Downstream	Enemy Death or Separation	Moving downstream is often accompanied with negative emotions.
				FATE IS A RIVER	Travelling By the River	Fate	The singer's lover went with his fate, and he did not try to fight it.
F-H4	চোতালৰ আগৰে বেল, ঐ লাহৰী, চোতালৰ আগৰে বেল। তোমাৰ বেজাৰত বাহী-বন কৰা নাই, মূৰতো ঘঁহা নাই তেল ॥	Sotalor agore bel, oi lahuri, Sotalor agore bel; Tumar bejarot bahee-bon kora nai , Moorto gha nai tel.	The singer notes a bael tree (Aegle marmelos) in front of the courtyard. Grieving for her lover, she hasn't done any outdoor chores or styled her hair with oil.	SEEING IS TOUCHING	Limbs That Can Touch	Eyes	When the singer sees the Bael tree, her eyes can touch the plant and feel the pain from the thorns.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Physical Pain	Grief	Bael tree has thorns all round, the physical pain from the thorns is mental grief.
				GRIEF IS INABILITY TO WORK	Inability To Work	Grief In Love	Love and grief are intermixed here.
F-H5	কেলেই এনেকুৱা হ'লি তই, মইনা, হ'লি মোৰ শত্ৰু কাল। হাবি-বননিয়ৈ ফুৰি ভালে লাগে, ঘৰত মোৰ নালাগে ভাল ॥	Kelei enekuwa ho'li toi, moina, Ho'li mor shatru kal; Habi-bononiye furi bhale lage, Ghorot mor nalage bhal.	The singer questions her lover's hostility, feeling more at ease wandering through jungles than being at home.	LOVE IS RESTLESSNESS	Restlessness	Love	Inability to stay at home, and wandering in the jungle.
				ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Enemy For Life	Lover	Here the prospective lover himself is the antagonist.
F-H6	চ'তৰে মাহতে শিমলু ফুলিলে ওপৰে উৰিলে তুলা। কাৰে বুধি পাই আমাকে এৰিলা, জনমৰ শত্ৰু হ'লা ॥	Ch'tore mahote shimalu fulile Opore urile tula; Kare budhi pai amake erila, Janmor shaturu ho'la.	In the month of Chout, silk cotton trees bloom, releasing their cotton pods into the air. The singer wonders whose advice led her lover to leave and become an enemy for life.	SEEING IS TOUCHING	Limbs That Can Touch	Eyes	When the singer sees the silk cotton tree, her eyes can touch the plant and feel the pain from the thorns.
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Physical Pain	Grief	Silk cotton tree has thorns all round, the pain from the thorns is mental grief.
				LOVE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS	Physical Closeness	Love	see below.
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL SEPARATION OF LOVERS	Separation of lover	Grief in love	As the cotton pods fly away from the main tree, a lover has also moved (was moved) away.
				ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	Enemy For Life	Lover	Here the prospective lover himself is the antagonist.
							There is probably a cultural tendency to give blame to someone/ something for an undesirable situation.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-H7	অতি চেনেহৰে ফুলবাৰী পাতিলো, তাৰ মাজে খৰিকাজাই। অতি চেনেহৰে পিৰিতি কৰিলো, চোপাতে মৰহি যায় ॥	Ati senehre fulbari patilo, Tar maje khorikajai; Ati senehre piriti karilo, Dhupate marahi jai.	The singer has lovingly cultivated a flower garden, which includes the Kharikajai (Jasminum auriculatum) flower. Despite her careful attention and affection, it withered before it could fully bloom.	LOVE IS A FLOWER	Flower/Bud	Love	Dying young love is like withernig of about to open bud of a flower. It died before it actually matured.
							White flowers, fragrant, does not have thorns
F-H8	কাৰ আগত কই যাম দুখৰ কথাষাৰি, কোনে পাতি যাব কাণ। চকুত নাই চোপনি তোমালৈ চিতনি, দেহলৈ পৰিছে টান ॥	Kar agot kai jam dukhor kathasari, Kone pati jab kan; Chokut nai tuponi tumaloi sitoni, Deholoi porise tan.	Who will the singer confide in about her sorrow, and who will lend an ear? She can't sleep, she worries about him, and her body is troubled.	LOVE IS COMPANIONSHIP	Companionship	Love	Someone to talk to, who listens.
				GRIEF IS PHYSICAL DISTRESS	Physical Distress	Grief	Mental distress is bodily distress.
F-H9	চুলিৰে আলৈ অই, চুলিৰে বিলৈ ঢ্ৰ, থাকো চুলি পাৰি শুই। তামোলাটি হ'ব যেন, ফালি দেখুৱামগৈ শৰিলত যি কুৰা জুই ॥	Sulire aaloi ai, sulire biloi oi, Thako suli pari shui; Tamolti ho'bo jen, fali dekhuwamgöi Sharilot ji kura jui.	The singer's hair reflects her restlessness as she sleeps on it. Were her body akin to a betel nut, she would split it to reveal the intensity of the fire within.	LUST IS HEAT	Fire In Body	Lust	Betel quid chewing raises body temperature.
							Hair is of utmost importance in women.
F-H10	ভাতে খাই গ'লা তপতে তপতে, খুটি খই গ'লা চুকত। যাবৰে বেলিকা মাত নলগালা, কথা খই গ'লা বুকত।।	Bhate khai go'la topote topote, Khuti thoi go'la sukot; Jabore belika mat nologala, Katha thoi go'la bukot.	The singer's lover ate warm rice and departed, leaving his cattle peg in a corner. He left without a word to her, keeping his thoughts in his chest.	IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	Objects Kept In The Corner, In The Dark	Unexpressed Words Or Ideas	Unexpressed thoughts are objects kept in the corner.
				MIND IS A CONTAINER	Container	Mind	Mind for chest. Here chest, and the house/ room are both containers, where unexpressed words are in the corner hiding.
F-H11	তোমাকে ভাবোতে চকুপানী টোকোতে, হাতত শিৰামুৰি ধৰে । দুখৰে কথাটি ক'ব মই নোৱাৰো, শোগে খুন্দা মাৰি ধৰে ॥	Tumake vaboote chokupani tokote, Hatot shiramuri dhore ; Dukhore kathati ka'bo moi nuwaro, Shoge khunda mari dhore.	As she thinks of her beloved, the singer wipes away her tears, and her hand develops cramp. She struggles to express her sorrow as grief pounds her.	GRIEF IS POUNDING	Pounding Object	Grief	Grief feels like pounding from inside.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-H12	দলনি পথাৰত খেতি কৰিছিলো, উঁৰাল ভাঙি খালে চোৰে। তোমাৰে সন্তাপত মৰো কলমতিয়াই, জালুক-জলকিয়াই পোৰে ॥	Doloni potharot kheti karisilo, Bhoral vangi khale sore; Tumare santapot maro kalmotiyai, Jaluk-jolkiai pore.	In the aquatic grasslands, the singer once cultivated rice paddies, but thieves have invaded and plundered the granary. Overcome by the sorrow of a lost love, the singer experiences a profound starvation that can be likened to the fiery sting of black pepper and chillies.	DESIRE IS HUNGER	Hunger	Desire	The desire for her lover is like hunger inflicted by thieves.
				INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Burning From Chillies And Pepper	Grief	Grief feels like burning from chillies or pepper.
F-H13	ধানে বহাবৰে গোটোঙা টোটি, সুৰ্ণ বিৰিখৰ খৰি। একেটি দেহকে কোনেনো ফালিলে, দুইকো দুফালি কৰি ॥	Dhane bohaborer gotoonga touoti, Suwarna birikhor khori; Eketi dehke koneno falile, Duiko dufali kari.	To cook raw rice, one must use a deep pot with a narrow mouth and golden-colored firewood. The singer muses on who divided one body into two.	GRIEF IS BURNING	Burning	Grief	Physical separation is agony, and it burns like golden firewood.
				LOVE IS A UNION	Unity	Love	Firewood before it was split.
F-H14	গধূলিৰে পৰা পুৱালৈ লগালো এপোৱা তেলৰে চাকি। তোমাকে লাহৰী দিবলৈ নাপালো, দেহতে দেহাটি বাকি ॥	Godhulire pora puwaloi lagalo Epowa telare chaki; Tumake lahari diboloi napalo, Dehate dehati baki.	Throughout the night until dawn, the singer kept the earthen lamp burning with a pua (a unit of measurement) of oil. Yet, she could not pour her body to the body of her beloved.	BODY IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS	Container Of Emotions	Body	The container containing all the emotions.
				EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS	Oil	Lust	Like the oil of the earthen lamp.
				LUST IS HEAT	Fuel For Fire	Desire	To burn like the fuel on the earthen lamp.
				PASSION IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS	Physical Closeness	Passion	The physical closeness of the lovers' bodies.
F-H15	কিনো খাই পাহৰিম তোক, ত্ৰি পিলিঙা, কিনো খাই পাহৰিম তোক। মিছিমিৰ দেশতে আছে যে বৰবিহ, তাকে খাই পাহৰিম শোক ॥	Kino khai pahorim tok, oi pilinga, Kino khai pahorim tok; Mishimir dekhote aase je borbih, Take khai pahorim sok.	The singer wonders if she can forget her beloved through eating something. There is a deadly poison in the land of Mishimi that, if consumed, would make her forget her sorrow.	GRIEF IS DEATH	Death By Poison	Grief	Sekf inflicted death by consuming poison.

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
				IDEAS ARE FOOD	Drinking Deadly Poison	Forgetting Her Lover	To forget (the idea of) someone, one has to eat or drink poison which will wash away the idea/food already inside.
F-H16	বকুল বৰা ধানৰ আঁঠে ভাজিছিলো, ছপোৱা গাখীৰৰ দৈ। তুমি যে নহ'লে খাবকে নোৱাৰো, থাকো মই আগতে লৈ ॥	Bokul bora dhanor akhoi bhajisilo, Sapowa gakhiror doi; Tumi je noh'le khaboke nuwaro, Thako moi agote loi.	The vocalist prepared bokul bora-fried puffed rice and curd from collected milk. She sits before the meal, uneaten, longing for her lover's company.	LOVE IS TOGETHERNESS	Togetherness	Love	
				GRIEF IS INABILITY TO EAT	Inability To Eat	Grief In Love	Grief can ruin one's appetite, no matter how delicious the food.
F-H17	বাৰীৰ পিছে ফালে কজলা উৰাই, পাতে তিৰেবিৰে কৰে। তোমাৰে বাতৰি নাপাওঁ ভালে কৰি শোণে খুন্দা মাৰি ধৰে ॥	Barir pise fale kojola urohi, Pate tirebire kare ; Tumare batori napaon bhale kari Shoge khunda mari dhore.	The singer describes shimmering leaves of (black) butter beans behind the compound. She receives bad news about her beloved, and grief pounds her.	NEGATIVE IS BACKSIDE	Backside of The Compound	Bad News of Beloved	Behind or back of the compound.
				NEGATIVE IS BLACKNESS	Black Beans	Bad News of Beloved	Butter beans are called black beans (kojola urohi) in Assamese. Here associated with bad news.
				GRIEF IS POUNDING	Pounding	Grief	
F-H18	ধনক ভাবি-গুণ নধৰে চোপনি, থাকো মই লঘোণে শুই। ৰাতিৰে ৰাতিটো চোপনি নধৰে, শৰীলত জ্বলেহি জুই ॥	Dhonok vabi-guni nodhore tuponi, Thako moi laghone shui ; Ratire ratito tuponi nodhore, Sharilot jjolehi jui.	The singer can't sleep or eat while thinking of her lover. She stays awake all night, and feels a fire in her body.	INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Fire on Body	Grief	Body is in fire.
							Catch sleep- catching is aquiring.
				LOVE IS RESTLESSNESS	Restlessness	Love	Can't sleep, can't eat.
F-H19	তোমাৰে কথাটো কেতিয়া পাহৰিম, যম ৰজাই নি নিয়ে মানে। মোৰে দুখৰ কথা কাৰ আগত কৈ যাম, আতমা শৰীৰে জানে ॥	Tumare kathati ketiya pahorim, Jam rojai niniye mane ; More dukhor katha kar agot koi jam, Aatma sharire jane.	The singer vows to remember her beloved until Yama (death) takes her. Only her soul and body understand the depth of her sorrow.	DEATH IS BEING TAKEN AWAY BY YAMA	Taken Away By Yama	Death	Cultural belief. Yama is the Hindu god of death and justice, responsible for the dispensation of law and punishment of sinners in his abode, Naraka (hell).

SN	Assamese Lyrics	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor present	Source Domain	Target domain	Specifics
F-H20	কি কথা কৰিলো, কি বুধি কৰিলো, বাৰীত বামেকলে কই। আগেয়ে নাজানো, এতিয়া জানিলো, শৰীলত কি কুৰা জুই ॥	Ki katha karilo, ki budhi karilo, Barit damekole rooi; Ageye naajano, etiya janilo, Sharilot ki kura jui.	The singer planted Ramkal bananas in his compound, unfamiliar with their nature/properties. She now understands the never felt before fire inside the body.	RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLANTS	Ramkal Banana	Love	This big banana species have seeds inside, which can be seen as barreirs in enjoying to fruit. Implies the problems in the relationship.
				LOVE IS STUPIDITY	Stupidity Of Planting Ramkal	Love	Knowingly planting this banana species (the big plants also takes more space, leaving less for others) in ones compound.
				INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	Fire on Body	Grief	Fire in the body.

Appendix B: List of Metaphors Present

This provides all the metaphors that were mapped in the corpus. The metaphors are sorted in alphabetical order. The 'Instances' column gives the number of instances of that particular metaphor.

No	Metaphor present	Instances
1	(APPROPRIATE) SONGS OF SEASON ARE APPROPRIATE (PROCESS)	1
2	A LIFETIME IS A DAY	6
3	A PERSON IS A HOUSE	2
4	A TRAIN JOURNEY IS A BOAT JOURNEY	1
5	ACTION IS CONTROL OVER POSSESSIONS	1
6	AFFECTION IS WARMTH	4
7	ANGER IS HEAT	1
8	ANIMALS ARE PLANTS	1
9	ANTAGONIST OF LOVE IS ANTAGONIST OF LIFE	15
10	BARRIERS IN LOVE ARE GEOGRAPHICAL BARRIERS	1
11	BETEL QUID CHEWING	25
12	BIRDS ARE MESSENGERS	1
13	BODY IS A BOAT	2
14	BODY IS A CONTAINER	2
15	BODY IS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS	2
16	CELESTIAL BODIES ARE LIVING ENTITIES	4
17	COMPLETING A WORK IS KILLING OR BEATING	2
18	COMPLEX CHEMICAL PROCESS IS AN OBSERVABLE BIOLOGICAL PROCESS	1
19	DEAREST IS THE YOUNGEST	2
20	DEATH IS BEING TAKEN AWAY BY YAMA	3
21	DEATH IS DOWNSTREAM	1
22	DEATH IS LOSS OF THE BODY TO THE UNKNOWN	1
23	DEBT IS WEIGHT ON SHOULDER	1
24	DESIRE IS AN ANIMAL	1
25	DESIRE IS COVETOUSNESS	1
26	DESIRE IS HUNGER	6
27	DESIRES ARE PLANTS	1

No	Metaphor present	Instances
28	DESIRES IS A PHYSICAL FORCE	1
29	DIFFICULTIES IN LOVE IS RETRIBUTION OF SINS OF PAST LIVES	2
30	DIRECTIONS ARE HANDS	1
31	DREAMS ARE SHADOWS	1
32	EMOTIONAL STABILITY IS CONTACT WITH THE GROUND	1
33	EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS	7
34	EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS (IN A CONTAINER)	1
35	EMOTIONS ARE HEAVY OBJECTS	1
36	EMOTIONS ARE LIVING BEINGS	1
37	ENMITY IS SOURNESS	1
38	ENVY IS BURNING	2
39	FAILURE IN LOVE IS WORTHLESSNESS	1
40	FATE IS A RIVER	3
41	FATE IS FOREHEAD	7
42	FEMALE BOSOM IS CLAY VESSEL CONTAINING MILK	1
43	FEMALE BOSOMS ARE FRUITS	2
44	FEMALE LOVER IS A BOAT	3
45	FEMALE LOVER IS A BOATMAN	1
46	FEMALE LOVER IS A RIVER	1
47	FIRE IS A LIVING ENTITY	2
48	FIRE IS AN OBJECT	1
49	FOREHEAD IS A PAPER	1
50	GIVING AWAY THE DAUGHTER IN MARRIAGE IS A DUTY	2
51	GOD IS A CREATOR	2
52	GOD IS A WEAVER	1
53	GOOD LOOKS IS PLUMPNESS	3
54	GOODNESS IS GOLD	2
55	GOODNESS IS ROUNDNESS	1
56	GOODNESS IS STRAIGHTNESS	2
57	GOODNESS IS WHITENESS	10
58	GRIEF IS AN ANIMAL	3
59	GRIEF IS BITTER	1
60	GRIEF IS BURNING	13
61	GRIEF IS COLOUR BLACK	1

No	Metaphor present	Instances
62	GRIEF IS DEATH	12
63	GRIEF IS INABILITY OF EAT	1
64	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO DO A THING	1
65	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO EAT	9
66	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO STAY NORMAL	5
67	GRIEF IS INABILITY TO WORK	5
68	GRIEF IS LONELINESS	1
69	GRIEF IS PHYSICAL DISTRESS	4
70	GRIEF IS PHYSICAL LOSS	1
71	GRIEF IS PHYSICAL PAIN	12
72	GRIEF IS PHYSICAL SEPARATION OF LOVERS	1
73	GRIEF IS POUNDING	7
74	GRIEF IS SEPARATION	1
75	HAPPINESS IS LIGHTNESS	1
76	HAPPY IS UP	2
77	HAVING A CO-WIFE IS A DOING A DIFFICULT TASK	2
78	HEART IS A MACHINE	4
79	HEART IS AN OBJECT	1
80	HELL IS A LIQUID BODY	1
81	HIGH STATUS IS UP	1
82	HINDRANCES ARE CREEPERS	1
83	HOPE IS A LIVING BEING	1
84	HOPE IS AN OBJECT	1
85	IDEAS ARE FOOD	20
86	IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	10
87	IDEAS ARE SEEDLINGS	1
88	IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE IMPEDIMENTS IN EATING	1
89	IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE MAGICAL IMPEDIMENTS	1
90	IMPEDIMENTS IN LOVE ARE PHYSICAL IMPEDIMENTS	8
91	IMPORTANCE IS HEAD	1
92	IMPORTANCE IS PRECEDENCE	1
93	IMPORTANCE IS TOLOTHA	4
94	IMPORTANCE IS WOVEN HASOTI	2
95	INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	16
96	LIFE IS A COURTROOM	5

No	Metaphor present	Instances
97	LIFE IS A PLAY	13
98	LIFE IS A RIVER	2
99	LIFE IS GROWTH OF HAIR	2
100	LIFE IS RIVER	1
101	LIGHT IS A FLUID	2
102	LONGING IS DEATH	1
103	LOVE IS A DIFFICULT JOB	7
104	LOVE IS A DRUG	5
105	LOVE IS A DUTY	1
106	LOVE IS A FEEDER	1
107	LOVE IS A FLOWER	1
108	LOVE IS A FRUIT	2
109	LOVE IS A GARDEN	1
110	LOVE IS A HABIT	1
111	LOVE IS A HUNT	5
112	LOVE IS A JOURNEY	6
113	LOVE IS A MISTAKE	1
114	LOVE IS A QUEST	1
115	LOVE IS A ROPE	2
116	LOVE IS A STORY	1
117	LOVE IS A UNION	1
118	LOVE IS AN ACTION	2
119	LOVE IS AN ADDICTION	1
120	LOVE IS AN OBJECT	2
121	LOVE IS CARING	1
122	LOVE IS COMPANIONSHIP	2
123	LOVE IS CONSUMPTION	5
124	LOVE IS COOLNESS	3
125	LOVE IS DISTRACTION	1
126	LOVE IS EFFORT	4
127	LOVE IS EXTENDED PHYSICAL TOUCH	2
128	LOVE IS FLYING	1
129	LOVE IS HAPPINESS	1
130	LOVE IS JOURNEY	1
131	LOVE IS LAMP	1

No	Metaphor present	Instances
132	LOVE IS LONGING	1
133	LOVE IS MADNESS	5
134	LOVE IS MAGIC	2
135	LOVE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS	8
136	LOVE IS POISON	1
137	LOVE IS QUEST	1
138	LOVE IS RESTLESSNESS	10
139	LOVE IS SHYNESS	1
140	LOVE IS STUPIDITY	1
141	LOVE IS TOGETHERNESS	5
142	LOVE IS UNDOING	1
143	LOVE IS UNION	19
144	LOVE IS WEALTH	1
145	LOVE RELATIONSHIP IS A UNIFIED OBJECT	1
146	LOVED ONE IS A POSSESSION	7
147	LOVER IS A CELESTIAL BODY	17
148	LOVER IS A PRECIOUS OBJECT	3
149	LOVER IS A SHIMMERING OBJECT	15
150	LOVER IS A THIEF	1
151	LOVER IS A TOY	1
152	LOVER IS FOOD	1
153	LOVER IS MONEY (OF HEART)	1
154	LOVERS ARE EDIBLES	1
155	LOVERS ARE INSEPARABLE ENTITIES	1
156	LUST IS HEAT	11
157	LUST IS HUNGER	5
158	MALE LOVER IS A MISCHIEVOUS PERSON	1
159	MARRIAGE IS COMPANIONSHIP	1
160	MARRIAGE IS POVERTY	1
161	MEMORIES ARE OBJECTS	1
162	MENTAL DISTANCE IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE	1
163	MENTAL STRENGTH IS STRENGTH OF THE WAIST/ BACK	1
164	MERRYMAKING IS MADNESS	1
165	MIND IS A CANVAS	1
166	MIND IS A CONTAINER	10

No	Metaphor present	Instances
167	MIND IS A FRAGILE OBJECT	2
168	MIND IS A LIVING ENTITY	1
169	MIND IS A LOCATION	1
170	MIND IS A MOVING OBJECT	4
171	MIND IS A THREAD	1
172	MIND IS AN ANIMAL	1
173	MIND IS AN OBJECT	6
174	MIND IS CONTAINER	1
175	MIND IS WATER	1
176	MISFORTUNE IS POISONOUS	1
177	MOVING OBSERVER METAPHOR	1
178	MOVING TIME METAPHOR	5
179	NEGATIVE IS BACKSIDE	4
180	NEGATIVE IS BLACKNESS	8
181	NEGATIVE IS CALLING FROM BACK	1
182	NEGATIVE IS COLOUR WHITE	1
183	NEGATIVE IS DOWN	3
184	NEGATIVE IS DOWNSTREAM	10
185	NEGATIVE IS SATURDAY	1
186	NEGATIVE IS UNKNOWN PLACES	3
187	OCCASIONS ARE OBJECTS	1
188	PASSION IS COLOUR RED	12
189	PASSION IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS	1
190	PEOPLE (of affection) ARE MONEY	1
191	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	108
192	PEOPLE ARE FRUITS	3
193	PEOPLE ARE LIVING ORGANISMS	1
194	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	12
195	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	57
196	PLANTS ARE LIVING ENTITIES	1
197	PLANTS ARE PEOPLE	2
198	POSITIVE IS UPSTREAM	3
199	PUNISHMENT FOR IMMORAL DESIRE IS ETERNAL HELL FOR DESCENDANTS	1
200	RELATIONSHIPS ARE JOURNEYS	1

No	Metaphor present	Instances
201	RELATIONSHIPS ARE OBJECTS	3
202	RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLANTS	1
203	REMEMBERING IS SWIMMING UPSTREAM	1
204	RIVERS ARE LIVING BEINGS	1
205	SADNESS IS DOWN	1
206	SADNESS IS SOUR	2
207	SEEING IS TOUCHING	7
208	SHADOW IS TOUCH	1
209	SMILE IS A POSSESSION	2
210	SMOKE IS AN ANIMAL	1
211	SOUND IS A PROJECTILE	3
212	SPEAKING IS WALKING	1
213	STATES ARE LOCATION	3
214	STATES ARE LOCATIONS	16
215	STOMACH IS A CONTAINER	2
216	STRENGTH IS EXTERNAL SUPPORT	1
217	THINKING IS KNOWING	1
218	THREADS ON CLOTHS ARE HAIR ON THE HEAD	1
219	THROAT OF A PERSON IS CHITALA FISH	2
220	TIME IS AN OBJECT	1
221	TIME IS MOVEMENT OF CELESTIAL OBJECTS	1
222	TRANSFER OF PROPERTIES IS PHYSICAL TOUCH	14
223	VISION IS A PROJECTILE	3
224	WEALTH IS PHYSICAL SIZE	1
225	WEAVING IS PICKING LICE	1
226	WIDOWHOOD IS PHYSICAL DEFECT	1
227	WILD GINGER JUNGLE IS SKY FULL OF STARS	1
228	WIND IS TOUCH	1
229	WOMEN ARE ADORNMENTS	1
230	WOMEN ARE FERTILE LANDS	1
231	WOMEN ARE OFFERINGS	1
232	WORDS ARE BOATS	1
233	WORDS ARE GRAINS	1
234	WORDS ARE PROJECTILES	2
235	WORDS ARE THREADS	6

No	Metaphor present	Instances
236	WORDS ARE VINES	5
237	WORDS ARE WEAPONS	2
238	YOUTH IS AN OBJECT	1
Total metaphorical instances		895



Appendix C: Dictionary Definitions

This lists the definitions of words or phrases in the songs, for which the help of dictionaries and other sources was taken. The sources are CA- Candrakanta Abhidhana (<https://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/candrakanta/>); AA- Byavaharik Asamiya Abhidhan (Goswami, B. K. (Ed.). (2014). Byavaharik Asamiya Abhidhan (2nd ed.). Bani Mandir.). On rare occasions, the following have been used to build upon the definitions from the preceding. WIKI- Wikipedia (<https://www.wikipedia.org/>); XOBDO- A 'descriptive dictionary' of the languages of North-East India, developed and maintained by community collaboration. (<https://www.xobdo.org/>)

SN	Word meanings
AP-1	গুৰি guri [প্ৰা. গোড়, গোড়] বি. গছৰ শিপাৰ ওপৰ আৰু মাটিৰ ওচৰৰ ভাগ; আগৰ বিপৰীত ভাগ; the trunk of a tree immediately above the ground; bottom. 2। কথা বা ঘটনাৰ আদি; আৰম্ভ; the beginning; origin. 3। ওচৰ; নিকট; সমীপ; the vicinity; proximity. 4। নাৰৰ পাছ টিং CA
AP-2	কঠীয়া kaṭhiyā বি. ৰুবৰ কাৰণে সিঁচি গজাই ৰখা ধানৰ পুলি [ইয়াৰ দুবিধ; যেনে-ধূলীয়া আৰু লোৰা কঠীয়া]; paddy seedlings. পোন, পোণ pona, poṇa [সং. প্ৰশুণ পোণ] বিণ. বেঁকা নোহোবা; ইফাল- সিফাল নোহোবা; straight. 2। থিয়; কাঁড়ি নোহোবা; erect; upright. 3। বি. প্ৰথম; আৰম্ভ; আদি; the beginning; the first time. CA
AP-4	পাঁজি pāñji [সং. পঞ্জি] বি. সূতা কাটিবলৈ দীঘলকৈ মেৰোৱা ধুনা তুলা; a roll of cotton for spinning thread. পাঁজি কাট্ পাঁজিৰপৰা যঁতৰত সূতা তৈয়াৰ কৰ্; to spin cotton. CA পদ pada [সং. পদ্য] বি. ছন্দ লগাই লিখা কথা; a verse. 2। দুফাঁকি কথাৰ প্ৰতি ফাঁকিত চৈধ্যটা আখৰ থকা আৰু প্ৰতি দুফাঁকিৰ শেষৰ আখৰ মিলা এবিধ অসমীয়া ছন্দ; a verse of two rhyming lines each containing fourteen letters. CA
AP-5	মালতী mālati বি. এবিধ লতা বগোবা সৰু আৰু বগা সুগন্ধি ফুল; a jasmine CA এবিধ লতা আৰু তাৰ সুগন্ধি ফুল; a kind of jasmine, Jasminum grandiflorum Baily. AA
AP-5	নাৰ nāra বি. বাত মাছৰ সমান এবিধ মাছ; a kind of small fish; Labeo angra. CA সোঁবৰণ, সোঁবৰণি, সোঁবৰণী sombaraṇa, sombarāṇi, sombarāṇī বি. সোঁবৰা কাৰ্য; পাছত স্মৰণ কৰিবলৈ কোনো কথা লিখি থোবা কাকত; a memorandum. 2। কোনো কথা সোঁবৰাই বা মনত পেলাই দিবলৈ লিখা চিঠি; a reminder. CA
AP-6	সেউতী seuti [সং. সেরতী] বি. গোলাপ জাতিৰ কিন্তু তাতকৈ সৰু এবিধ ফুল [ইয়াৰ দুজাতি- ৰঙা-সেউতী আৰু বগা বা পানী-সেউতী]; a kind of flower. CA Rosa moschata, the musk rose, is a species of rose which has been long in cultivation. Does have thorns.
AP-7	আউল āula [সং. আকুল] বি. পোন নোহোবা অৱস্থা; বিশৃংখল; জোঁট; সান-মিহল; লেট-পেট; যেনে-সূতাৰ আউল; কথাৰ আউল; tangle; distracted; or dishevelled state CA
AP-8	খৰিকা-জাই kharikā-jāñi বি. খৰিকাৰ নিচিনা সৰু দীঘলীয়া গোটা-চানেকীয়া পাহি থকা চাপৰ, জোপোহা গছেৰে এবিধ বগা সুগন্ধি ফুল; a kind of garden flower. Jasminum malabaricum, Jasminum auriculatum CA
AP-8	পাঁজি pāñji [সং. পঞ্জি] বি. সূতা কাটিবলৈ দীঘলকৈ মেৰোৱা ধুনা তুলা; a roll of cotton for spinning thread. পাঁজি কাট্ পাঁজিৰপৰা যঁতৰত সূতা তৈয়াৰ কৰ্; to spin cotton CA
AP-9	বকুল bakula বি. ঘন পাতৰ এবিধ গছ আৰু তাৰ সৰু সৰু উগ্ৰগন্ধী ফুল; a kind of tree bearing sweet smelling flowers; Mimus opselengi, Indian Medlar CA
AP-A3	গঞা, গঁয়া, গয়া gañā, gañyā, gayāñ [অ. গাঁও] বি. একে গাঁৱত থকা আৰু একেলগে থোবা-লোবা কৰা মানুহ; to co-villager; a man of the same society. CA
AP-A4	থেৰেজু thereju বি. বকুল-গছৰ পাতৰ সমান ডাঙৰ আৰু কাচিঁৰিয়া পাতেৰে এবিধ ওখ-ডাঙৰ গছ আৰু তাৰ বগৰীৰ নিচিনা ফল; a kind of fruit and its tree; Docynia indica CA
AP-A6	ফুল-কটা। ফুল বাছ , ফুল দি কাপোৰ ৰৈ যাওঁতে ফুলৰ আকৃতি তোল্ বা সাজ্; to weave figures on a cloth. CA

SN	Word meanings
AP-A7	কেটেৰা keṭerā বিণ. খঙেৰে টানকৈ মতা; কৰ্কশ; মনত দুখ দিয়া কটু (মাত); spoken harshly and angrily; gruff. CA কেটেৰা মাৰ্ । বিণ. কেটেৰীয়া খিংখিঙীয়া; অলপতে খং কৰি উঠা; জেঙেৰা মৰা; peevish; irritable মাৰ্ mā [সং. মৰ] সক. ধা. বধ কৰ; নষ্ট কৰ; অন্ত কৰ; নাইকিয়া কৰ; to kill; to ruin; to put an end to. 2। বন্ধ কৰ; জপা; to stop; to close. 3। মৰিয়া; কোবা; কিল্লা; আঘাত কৰ; কষ্ট দি; to beat; to strike; to afflict. CA
AP-A8	মনোমত বিণ. মনে বিচৰা ধৰণৰ; to one's liking or choice. CA
AP-A8	কোটাই বেঙেনা বি. কোটায়ংগন, কোটাই খৰা; গা-গছ, পাতত কাঁইট থকা চেপেটা ফল লগা এবিধ একবৰ্ষী গছ; যেনে, “এলাগী লাগিল গলত টপ সূৰাগী কালিদৰ লাগিছে কোটাই বেঙেনাৰ তলত” (প্ৰব); horse nettle, Solanum khasianum (L) Clarke. AA
AP-A9	দায় dāya বি. অনিষ্টকৰ বা হানিকৰ কৰ্ম; অহিত কৰা কাৰ্য; অপৰাধ; crime; fault; offence. দায় ধৰ অপৰাধ কৰ; দোষ ধৰ; দোষাৰোপ কৰ; to charge with a fault or an offence; to accuse. দায় লগা অপৰাধ কৰ; জগৰ লগা; to offend; to commit an offence. CA
AP-A11	গুণন guṇana বি. চিন্তা কৰা কাৰ্য; act of thinking or pondering; গুণনি চিন্তা; anxiety; solicitude. CA
AP-A13	কণুৰা kanubā বি. এবিধ ক'লা বৰণৰ ঠেং, ঠোঁট আৰু ডিঙি-দীঘল চৰাই; the crane. CA কনুৰা (ইংৰাজী: Woolly-necked Stork বা White-necked Stork, বৈজ্ঞানিক নাম-Ciconia episcopus) এবিধ ডাঙৰ আকাৰৰ জলচৰ চৰাইৰ প্ৰজাতি। wiki
AP-A14	মন বহু- ভাল পা; বেয়া নলগা হ like, stop feeling bad CA
AP-A19	দবক বি. নবঢ়া নুটুটা; neither increase nor decrease. AA ফুলচতি বি. ঘাই চতিৰ ওপৰত বহুওৱা সৰু চতি; a minor tie beam. AA
AP-B3	ইন্দ্ৰজিত-মালতী indrajita-mālatī বি. এবিধ মজলীয়া আকাৰৰ চিৰিলিপতীয়া কাঁইটীয়া গছ আৰু তাৰ সৰু, ঘূৰণীয়া সুগন্ধি ফুল। kind of thorny plant and its fragrant flower. CA, AA
AP-B5	আঁখে a kind of food prepared by frying paddy seeds in hot utensil without applying oil. তপত কেৰাহীত ধান ভাজি তৈয়াৰ কৰা এবিধ জলপানা অসমীয়া বিয়াত হোমৰ জুইত দিবলৈ কইনাৰ ভায়েকে দৰাৰ হাতত ইয়াক তুলি দিয়ে। XOBDO
AP-B13	জপা japā [অ. জাপ] বি. কাপোৰ সামৰি খোবা বাঁহৰ কাঠীৰে সজা এবিধ ঢাকন থকা সঁজুলি; a kind of covered bamboo basket for keeping clothes. CA
AP-B14	পবাল, পবালি pabāla, pabāli বিণ. দীঘল পাব থকা; এটা গাঁঠিৰপৰা আন গাঁঠিলৈ বাঢ়ি যোবা (বাঁহ, বেত আদি); having long joints; growing from joint to joint; having joints apart from each other. (as opposed to knotty, said of a bamboo or a cane). CA
AP-B18	লোদোৰা, লোদোৰ-পোদোৰ lodorā, lodora-podora বি. নোদোকা; বৰ মঙহাল বা পুষ্ট; লোঠোৰা; লোধোৰা; plump; fleshy CA
AP-B19	খুবলি khubali বি. গাঁৰিশলি; টেকীৰ ধান বনা, শস্য খুন্দা শিল বা কাঠৰ খোৰোং বা খোলনি; a block of wood or stone with hole on one side for pounding or clearing rice with the pestle CA কৰাই karāi বি. ভজা চাউল; parched rice CA
AP-B20	নেঘেৰী-খোপা negherī-khopā বি. মূৰৰ ওপৰলৈ কৰি বন্ধা খোপা; মাজ মূৰত ওখকৈ বন্ধা চুলিৰ খোপা; hair tied in a knot at the top of the head. CA
AP-C2	এৱালী erālī বি. পথাৰ বা দ মাটিত হোবা দল জাতিৰ এবিধ ঘাঁহ [ইয়াৰ পাত ধানৰ পাতৰ দৰে খহটা, গাত লাগিলে কাটে আৰু বিজ্ বিজায়]; a species of aquatic grass. CA
AP-C5	চ'ৰা-নাও ca'rā-nāo বি. আহোম ৰজাৰ দিনৰ ৰজা উঠি ধেমালি কৰা বৰ ওখ টিঙৰ নাও; the state barge of an Ahom king. CA
AP-C8	কালিন্দী-ভোমোৰা, কালিন্দী-ভোমোৰা kālindī-bhomorā, kālindī-bhomorā বি. এজাতি নীল- বৰণীয়া ভোমোৰা; a species of bumble-bee. CA
AP-C13	হাতী-হিমেজু hātī-himeju বি. বলিয়াতি বা হাতীৰ কাণসতাৰপৰা ওলোবা এবিধ ৰস; বীৰ্য; the fluid flowing from the temples of an elephant in rut. CA Musth or must (from Persian, lit. 'intoxicated') is a periodic condition in bull (male) elephants characterised by aggressive behaviour and accompanied by a large rise in reproductive hormones. WIKI
AP-C18	ঘিলা ghilā বি. বহুত গছ জুৰি বগোবা এবিধ বৰ ডাঙৰ বনৰীয়া লতা আৰু তাৰ গুটি [বৰ দীঘল ফাঁক মেলি ইয়াৰ চেপেটা ছেঁই ধৰে আৰু তাৰ ভিতৰত চেপেটা আৰু ঘূৰণীয়া গুটি হয়; এই গুটিৰ

SN	Word meanings
	ভিতৰৰ মঙহেৰে মাইকী মানুহে মূৰ ধোবে; গুটিবোৰেৰে ল'ৰাই ধেমালি কৰে; কেতিয়াবা তাৰ ঠাৰি তামোলৰ লগত খায় CA
AP-C20	গিৰিপ্ girip [অনুক.] বি. অনেক মানুহে একে লগে ভৰি পেলোৱাৰ শব্দ; গোৰোহৰিৰ শব্দ; an imitative word used to express the sound produced by the stamping of the feet of many persons. CA
AP-D1	বাণি bāni [সং.] বি. বোবা কাপোৰৰ পথালি দিশ; the woof of a woven cloth. CA
AP-D14	আগালি āgāli বি. ওপৰৰ বা মূৰৰ ভাগ; আগ-ছোবা; যেনে-নৈ বা গছৰ আগালি; the higher or top or source portion. CA
AP-D17	হেদালি - Hedali: A frame, structure or platform often made of bamboo, used to support the growth of creeper plants লতা জাতীয় গছ বগাবলৈ পাতি দিয়া চাং; a raised bamboo platform. CA
AP-E1	ধন dhana [সং.] বি. ৰূপ, সোণ আদি; money. 2 সম্পত্তি; property; wealth. 3 চেনেহৰ মানুহক মতা মাত; a word sometimes used to signify a beloved person. CA
AP-E4	জুৰ jura বিণ. চেঁচা; শীতল; তপত নোহোবা; cool. 2। শান্ত; mild; dispassionate. 3। লেহেম; লেধা; slow. 4। বি. তাপ নথকা সময় বা অবস্থা; যেনে -"জুৰত কাম কৰিবাঁ"; coolness. জুৰ ল ছাঁত বা ৰ'দ নপৰাত বা চেঁচা ঠাইত থাকি বিশ্রাম কৰ; জুৰা; to take rest in a cool place. CA
AP-E6	নদালি : নৈৰ কাষত গজা (বাঁহ); যেনে, নদালি ভলুকা; growing on the bank of a river. AA
AP-E15	চন্দিয়া candiyā সক. ধা. নেউঠিবৰ কাৰণে কপাহৰ জোলা দাঁৰেৰে ফঁহিয়াই আঁহবোৰ দীঘল কৰ; to draw out the fibres (as of cotton preparatory to ginning) CA বটিয়া, বটীয়া baṭiyā, baṭiyā [সং. বৰ্তিকা] বি. সূতা পকাই কৰা মিহি জৰী; মাল; twine; string; cord. CA
AP-E16	বনিয়া baniyā সক. ধা. সেৰেঙা কৰ; যিমান হ'ব লাগে সিমান পাতল কৰ; to thin out, as plants. CA
AP-F7	চটাই caṭāi বি. বাঁহৰ কামী বা কাঠীৰে বোবা বেৰ বা আবৰণ; যেনে -"দলঙৰ ওপৰত চটাই পাৰি দিছে"; a mat made of stout split bamboo. চটাই-চৰা বি. বাঁহৰ কাঠীৰে বোবা আৰু চাৰিওকাণে বাও বন্ধা ওপৰত পাটী নলগোবা আসন; খুঁটি-চৰা; a kind of sitting mat made of bamboo strips. CA
AP-F8	ঘিলা ghilā বি. বহুত গছ জুৰি বগোবা এবিধ বৰ ডাঙৰ বনৰীয়া লতা আৰু তাৰ গুটি [বৰ দীঘল ফাঁক মেলি ইয়াৰ চেপেটা ছেঁই ধৰে আৰু তাৰ ভিতৰত চেপেটা আৰু ঘূৰণীয়া গুটি হয়; এই গুটিৰ ভিতৰৰ মঙহেৰে মাইকী মানুহে মূৰ ধোবে; গুটিবোৰেৰে ল'ৰাই ধেমালি কৰে; কেতিয়াবা তাৰ ঠাৰি তামোলৰ লগত খায়।] a kind of gigantic wild creeper and its round flat seeds; Entada scandens CA
AP-F12	উৰিয়াম বি. এবিধ সুকাঠী ডাঙৰ গছ; Biscofia javanica Blume. west Indian cedar. Bishop wood AA
AP-F18	তলপৰ ধা. (>) ঢাক খা; to be covered., বুৰ যা; to be submerged., পাহৰণিত পৰ; to pass into oblivion. AA
AP-F19	আমনা, আমনা-ধাম āmanā, āmanā-dhāma বি. আহিন-কাতি মাহত পকা এবিধ সিঁচি খেতি কৰা ধান; a species of paddy reaped in the autumn. CA
AP-G1	কটনা kaṭanā [অ. কাট্ (সূতা কৰ)] বি. বেচ লৈবা বেচিবলৈ সূতা কটা বা কাপোৰ বোবা কাৰ্য; বেচিবলৈ বোবা-কটা কাৰ্য; spinning yarn or weaving clothes for sale or wages. কটনা কাট্ বেচিবলৈ বোবা-কটা কৰ; to spin thread or weave cloth for wages or sale. 2। কষ্ট কৰি জীৱিকা আৰ্জ; to earn with great difficulty. CA
AP-G2	জাংফাই jāmphāi [মিচিমি] বি. অসমৰ উত্তৰ-পূব ফালৰ মিচিমি পৰ্বতত পোবা এবিধ গছৰ জলজলীয়া আৰু আমৰলীয়া বা মৌ-বৰণীয়া গোট মৰা আঠা; [ইয়াৰে কেৰু, মণি আদি তৈয়াৰ কৰে]; amber; Fossil resin. CA
AP-G3	বাবৰি bābari [সং. বৰ্বৰীক] বি. এবিধ বাম খেতিত হোবা হালধীয়া ফুল ধৰা সুগন্ধি শাক; a kind of pot herb. 2। এবিধ ফুল গছ আৰু তাৰ ফুল; a kind of flower and its tree. 3। লো. কাঠ আদি বিক্ষনাৰে বিক্ষা দিওঁতে তাৰ চাৰিওফালে বাবৰি ফুলৰ পাহিবিলাকৰ নিচিনাকৈ মেল খাই লাগি থকা ভাবৰি বা জাবৰ; the dust or rubbish which remains attached round a newly made bore on iron or wood. CA
AP-G6	চান্দ cānd অক. ধা. গোপনে কোনো কাৰ্য কৰিবলৈ চল্ চা; ছেগ চা; to seek an opportunity. 2। আলচ কৰ; মনে মনে ভাব; যেনে-"মোক ৰামে মাৰিবলু মনে আছ চান্দ" (মা. ক., অৰণ্যকাণ্ড)। CA

SN	Word meanings
AP-G8	আলসুবা ālasubā [সং. আলস্য, অ. আলাস] বিণ. এলাহত অর্থাৎ একো বন-বাৰি নকৰাকৈ ডাঙৰ হোবা; সুখত উঠা; আতোল-তোল; দুখ কষ্ট সহিব নোবৰা; very tenderly brought up; petted; delicate. CA
AP-G9	দুৰবি dūbari [সং. দুৰ্বা] বি. পূজা আদিত ব্যবহৃত এবিধ বন; the creeping panic grass or couch grass; the bent-grass; Panicu, cynodon dactylon. CA
AP-G10	খোপ্ খোপনি পোত ; চেলু চাই ভৰি পেলা; সাবধানে খোজ দি; যেনে-"খুপি খুপি যাবাঁ"; to walk cautiously; to press the toes to avoid slipping. বি. খোপনি নিপিছলিবলৈ খোপত ভৰি দিয়া কাৰ্য্য; পিছল নেখাবলৈ ভৰিৰ আঙুলিৰে মৰা টিপা বা হেঁচা; the act of pressing with the toes to avoid slipping. CA
AP-G11	গুৱা ভঙোৱা -তামোল খাবলৈ দি অভ্যর্থনা কৰা। AA
AP-G18	হেৰপেটা, হেৰপেটা - চেপেটা পেটযুক্ত; having a flat belly. ধা. = খা চেপেটা লাগ; to lie flat. AA
AP-G18	জোনাই শামুক বি. যুৰীয়া খোলাৰে এবিধ শামুক; a clam. CA
AP-G19	দলনি দোপনি -ওপৰেদি খোজ কাঢ়ি যাব পৰা ডাঠ হৈ থকা দলনি (যাওঁতে দোপ লৈ যায় এতেকে); a bog. AA
AP-H3	দোলাদাপোণ অতি ধুনীয়া "মুখলৈ কি চাবা দোলাদাপোণ যেন" (বিহু); very beautiful. AA
AP-H7	সুৱগা বি. এবিধ আকৰত পোৱা খাৰুৱা পদাৰ্থ; borax. AA
AP-H10	ডবহা dabahā বিণ. ডাঠ আৰু শকত; মঙহাল; thick; stout; fleshy. স্ত্ৰী. ডাবহী। CA লহঙা lahañā বিণ. দীঘল আৰু নিপোটল; tall and plump . স্ত্ৰী. লহঙী। CA
AP-H13	পানধোৱা, পান্ধোৱা . পাহিকটা ওখ কাণেৰে এবিধ কাঁহৰ সৰু কাঁহী; a kind of bell-metal plate with floral design on the edge. AA
AP-H14	টাটা বি . বাঁহ বা ইকৰাৰে বাৰী বা শস্যৰ চাৰিওফালে দিয়া বেৰা; a fench. AA
AP-I2	এঙনি-জেঙনি eñani-jeñani বি. বিশৃঙ্খলতা; গোলমাল বা জাঁজ থকা কথা বা বিষয়; বুজিব নোবৰা কথা, a puzzle; a knotty question; disorder. CA
AP-I3	আহুদি āhudi [সং. ঔষধি] বি. মানুহক মুহিবলৈ বা বশ কৰিবলৈ মন্ত্ৰেৰে জৰা দৰব; a philter. 2। কোনো কাৰ্য্য সাধিবৰ নিমিত্তে কৰা ব্যবস্থা; বিধান; a prescription; regulation. CA
AP-I13	মলা malā [সং. মল্লক] বি. এবিধ বাটৰ নিচিনা, চকুতকৈ সৰু মাটিৰ পাত্ৰ; a small earthen cup. CA
AP-I15	সবল sabala [সং.] বিণ. বলী; বল থকা (মনুহ); strong. সাৰুবা (মাটি); fertile. CA
AP-I19	কলা-খাঁতী kalā-khāñtī বি. এবিধ প্ৰায় কল-বাৰীত চৰি ফুৰা চৰাই; কোকলোঙা. CA The main colour of the body is cinnamon with a black head and the long graduated tail is bluish grey and is tipped in black. The breeding season in India is April to June. WIKI
AP-J1	দোপনি বি . দোপ, মানুহৰ থিয় হ'লে ভৰ সহিব পৰা কিন্তু হেঁচা পালে লৰচৰ কৰা পিটনি; a bog. CA
AP-J7	পমা বি. এবিধ সুগন্ধযুক্ত সুকাঠী গছ (ইয়াৰ কেইবাবিধো- গেন্ডেলী পমা; Dysoxylum hamiltonii Hiern, বগী পমা; Chukrassia tubularis A juss. ভাউকী পমা; Alscodaphne walt, সেন্দূৰী পমা; Chickra tabularis) wood, Chittagong Codrela toona Roxb. AA
AP-J8	জিম jima বি. টেঙা জাতিৰ ফলৰ ভিতৰত থকা সৰু সৰু ৰস-যুক্ত জোলোঙা; the pulp of an orange, etc.. 2। কাপোৰৰ গাত ওলমি থকা জিমৰ নিচিনা আঁহ বা নোম; the nap or pile of a cloth. এফালে গোটেই গাতে দহিৰ নিচিনা নোম লগাই বোবা কপাহী দলিচা; a napped cotton rug CA
AP-J10	নৰা narā বি. উজনি অসমৰ ভৈয়ানত থকা এজাতি অতি প্ৰাচীন মানুহ; a race of people dwelling in the eastern Assam. স্ত্ৰী. নৰানী। CA
AP-J12	থুৰিয়া thuriyā সৰু. ধা. ভিতৰত কটা তামোল আদি ডৰাই পাণৰ থুৰি সাজ; to roll up a betel-leaf with betelnut, lime, etc., placed inside. 2। ঘন ঘনকৈ মুঠিয়াই থোৰ কৰ; যেনে-"চুৰিয়াখন থুৰিয়াই পিন্ধ।" কৰদ. থুৰিয়াওঁতা স্ত্ৰী. থুৰিয়াতী। বিণ. থুৰিওবা। বি. থুৰিয়া-তামোল পাণৰ থুৰিত ডৰাই খাবলৈ যুগুত কৰা কটা তামোল। CA
AP-K1	জামীৰ jāmirā [সং. জম্বীৰ] বি. নেমুটেঙাৰ সদৰশ কিন্তু তাতকৈ কিছু ডাঙৰ এবিধ বৰ টেঙা ফল; a kind of acid fruit; citrus acida. CA
AP-K4	বুৰি buri [সং. বোজ্জী] বি. একুৰি (কণী, তামোল, টকা আদি গোটা বস্তু; "বিহা" চোৰাঁ); a score; twenty. CA
AP-K14	আৰৈ ārai [সং. আর্দ্র] বিণ. ৰ'দত শুকোবা; dried in the sun. আৰৈ-চাউল নিসিজোবাকৈ ৰ'দত শুকোবা ধানৰ চাউল; rice made from paddy dried in the sun CA

SN	Word meanings
AP-K15	জৰি, জৰী jari, jarī, [সং. জটি, জটী] বি. আঁহতৰ নিচিনা এবিধ ওখ ডাঙৰ গছ; পাকৰী [এই গছত লা-পৰুবা পুহি লা জমোৱা হয়।]; a kind of fig tree; F. Benja or F. Rumphii (Watt) or Ficus infectoria (Gamble). CA
AP-K18	খোৰ khora [সং. ক্ৰোড] বি. সৰু গাঁত; a cavity or small hole. 2। লুকাই থকা ঠাই; retreat. খোৰ ওলা লুকাই থকাৰপৰা জনাজাত হ; উবাদিহ ওলা; যেনে-"আচল কথাৰ খোৰ ওলাইছে"; to give a clue. খোৰ ল অনুসন্ধান বা উবাদিহ ল; to enquire. 2। থাকিবলৈ ঠাই ল; খলি ল; to frequent; to take up residence. CA
AP-L1	দহি dahi [সং. দশা] বি. আঁচল বা কাপোৰৰ আগত ওলমি থকা দীঘল সূতা; the loose threads left at the ends of a woven cloth; fringe. CA
AP-L13	মাদুৰি mādurī বি. বৰ ডাঠ, এক কি ডেৰ আঙুলিমান বহল, দুই তিনি হাতমান দীঘল, আগলৈ জোঙা পাতৰে এবিধ নৈৰ চাপৰিত হোবা বন [ইয়াৰ পাতৰে চৈ, চৰা, বেৰ আদি তৈয়াৰ কৰে।]; গোগোল বন; a kind of grass; Scirpus tagetes CA
AP-M20	ভেবেলি লতা - চ'ত ব'হাগ, মাহত সৰু সৰু বগা ফুল ফুলা এবিধ লতাজাতীয় গছ আৰু তাৰ ফুল; a kind of creeper. AA
AP-N1	খৰিকা-জাই kharikā-jāī বি. খৰিকাৰ নিচিনা সৰু দীঘলীয়া গোটা-চানেকীয়া পাহি থকা চাপৰ, জোপোহা গছেৰে এবিধ বগা সুগন্ধি ফুল; a kind of garden flower. CA
AP-N4	Queen's Flower tree Flowering occurs 3–5 years after planting and the main flowering season is April–June with a second flush in July–August. The fruits ripen in November–January. In February and March, the leaves shed completely, and by May, new buds and flowers emerge. WIKI
AP-N6	ৰাঁচ rāñca বি. দুই কানে দুয়োৰ বাও লগাই তাতে সৰু সৰু বাঁহৰ কাঠী পথালিকৈ গুঁটি তৈয়াৰ কৰা তাঁত বোবা যতন; the reed of an Assamese loom. CA
AP-N8	ডোমজ্বৰ বি. এবিধ পালজ্বৰ; a kind of intermittent fever. AA মেল mel সক. ধা. সোলোকা; মুকলি কৰ; বান্ধ গুচা; to loose; to unite. 2। ঢাকনী গুচা; আবৰণ মুকলি কৰ; to open. 3। আগ বঢ়া; বহলা; মোকলা; বহলাই পাং বা ৰাখ; to extend; to spread out CA
AP-N9	মাৰ যা māra, yā নাইকিয়া হ; নেদেখা হ; to go out of sight. 2। শুকাই নাইকিয়া হ; to dry up. CA
AP-N11	এফেৰা, এফেৰি বিণ, সৰ্ব, অনিৰ্দিষ্টভাৱে নিচেই সামান্য ভাগ; (লোণত খাটে); a small (of salt). AA
AP-N14	বহনা bahanā বি. মৰম; চেনেহ; love; affection. 2। তৰপ্তি; শ্ৰীতি; contentment; pleasure. 3। চেনেহৰ লোক; a beloved person. AA
AP-N16	মাণিকী-মধুৰি māṇikī-madhuri বি. এবিধ সৰু আৰু সুগন্ধি জহা ধান; a kind of fragrant fine rice. AA
AP-N20	কানমাৰি kānamāri বি. কানত ভাৰ নিয়া কাঠ বা বাঁহৰ ডাং; a bamboo or wooden pole for carrying loads on the shoulder. CA দলৌ কানমাৰি dalau, kānamāri বি. দলৌ বাঁহৰ কানমাৰি CA
AP-O2	বেলা belā [সং. বেলা] বি. কোনো এক বিশেষ সময়; a particular time. 2। আধা দিন; যেনে-এবেলাৰ বাট; a halfday. CA
AP-O9	ঠোকা thok অক. ধা. ওচৰ চাপ; অলপ দেখা দি; সোমাবলৈ আগ বঢ়; to approach. অক. ধা. ভুমুক মাৰ; খন্তেকমান দেখা দি গুচি যা; to pay a short visit and go away. CA
AP-O9	দহ dah [সং.] সক. ধা. পোৰ; পুৰি ছাই কৰ; দগ্ধ কৰ; to burn. 2। মনত শোক জন্মা বা দুখ দি; to grieve; to give pain to mind. CA
AP-O15	বৰমথুৰি, বৰ্হমথুৰি baramathuri, barhamathuri বি. বহল দীঘলীয়া পাতৰে দীঘল দীঘল থুৰি মেলা এবিধ ওখ ডাঙৰ আওকাঠী গছ [ইয়াৰ থুৰিবোৰ চোবাই চহা মানুহে বিশেষকৈ ছোবালীয়ে ওঁঠ ক'লা কৰে।]; a kind of tree; Talauma hodgsonia; Magnolia sphenocarpa, Watt. CA
AP-O17	মিট miṭa [আহো.] বি. দীঘল আগ-জোঙা এবিধ দা বা কটাৰী [ইয়াক ফাকত ৰাখে। ডাঙৰ হ'লে মিট-দা সৰু হ'লে মিট-কটাৰী বোলে।]; a pointed knife; a poniard or dagger (da) CA ফাক phāka [আহো. ফাক] বি. তৰোবাল বা দা-কটাৰী সুমাই পোবা ছালৰ বা কাঠৰ মোট বা মোনা; a scabbard. 2। কাৰ্ফাই ধেনু বা হিলৈৰ কাঠ; the stock of a gun or a crossbow. 3। কোনো গছ বা লতাৰ গুটিৰ দাৰ ফাকৰ নিচিনা দীঘল চেপেটা হেঁই; যেনে-"ঘিলাৰ ফাক"। 4। সুৰঙা; ফাট; a crack; a breach. CA
AP-O18	মন পৰ- নিৰুৎসাহ , to be discouraged. AA
AP-O19	চাঁচ cāñc [সং. তরক্ষ] সক. ধা. চোকা অস্ত্ৰেৰে কাটি ওপৰৰ ওখোৰা- মোখোৰা ভাগ গুচাই সমান বা মিহি কৰ; অস্ত্ৰেৰে কাটি নিমজ কৰ; to scrape and smooth with a cutting weapon. CA
AP-P3	চতি cati বি. ঘৰৰ এঘোৰ এঘোৰ খুঁটাৰ কানত পথালিকৈ খুৰাই দিয়া বাঁহ বা কাঠ; a tie-beam CA

SN	Word meanings
AP-P4	চুলি ছিঙি আশীৰ্বাদ কৰ অন্তৰেৰে কুশল কামনা কৰ; to bless ardently. AA
AP-P7	শ'লমাৰি śa'lamāri [সং. শৌল] বি. ম'হ বা গৰুৰ ডিঙিৰপৰা যুঁৱলি বাগৰি পৰিব নোৱৰাকৈ যুঁৱলিত বিন্ধা দি ডিঙিৰ দুই কাষে মাৰি দিয়া গোটা শাল বা খুঁটি; the pin of ox or buffalo yoke. CA
AP-P8	আহু āhu বি. বাম মাটিত সিঁচি খেতি কৰা আৰু সোনকালে পকা এজাতি ধান [এই ধান ফাগুন-চ'তত সিঁচি বাৰিষাৰ আৰম্ভতে কটা হয়; শালি ধানৰ যিমান উপজাতি আছে, ইয়াৰো প্ৰায় যিমান আছে; যেনে-আহু-বৰা, আহু-জহা, ইত্যাদি; ইয়াৰ প্ৰায়বিলাকৰ চাউল বঙা কিন্তু, কোনো কোনো বিধ বগাও হয়]; a species of high land broadcast rice sown in the spring and harvested in the beginning of the rainy season. CA
AP-P9	উলু ulū [সং. উলুপ] বি. শৰণ-খেৰ; ঘৰ ছোবা বন; thatching grass CA
F-A2	কমোৱা ধুনা (কপাহ বা তুলা); যেনে, কমোৱা তুলা; cleaning (cotton fibers.) AA
F-A3	খুদ khuda [সং. ক্ষুদ্ৰ] বি. অলপমান; কণ; ক্ষুদ্ৰ অংশ; a small portion. 2। বিণ. সৰু; খণ্ড খণ্ড হোবা; small broken into pieces. CA
F-A4	কাকিনি kākini বিণ. বেছি বয়সীয়া; বয়স চৰা; বৰ ওখ, লেঙা (তামোল আদি গছ); very old; very high. CA
F-A5	কটা kaṭā গালি পৰা বা নিন্দা কৰা মাত; a term of abuse or rebuke AA
F-A10	বঢ়িয়া, বঢ়ীয়া baṭiyā, baṭiyā [সং. বৰ্তিকা] বি. সূতা পকাই কৰা মিহি জৰী; মাল; twine; string; cord. CA
F-A12	মূৰ খা (১) মৃত্যুৰ দ্বাৰা CARI; to be the cause of death. (2) একপ্ৰকাৰ শপত (৩) একপ্ৰকাৰৰ শাও। CA
F-A17	লাহ lāha [সং. লাস] বি. ধূন-পেচ; adornment of the body. কঁৰিয়া kamriyā বি. মাইকী মানুহে কাণত ওলোমাই পিন্ধা এবিধ অলঙ্কাৰ; an earring. CA কড়ি kaṛi [সং. কপৰ্দ] বি. সাগৰত পোবা এবিধ বগা সৰু শামুকৰ খোলা [ইয়াক আগেয়ে আৰু কোনো দেশত কেতিয়াবা আজিকালিও ধনৰ পৰিবৰ্তে ব্যবহাৰ কৰা হৈছিল আৰু হয়]; a cowrie shell used as a token money. 2। বুকৰ মাজৰ হাড়ৰ তলৰ মূৰ; হিয়াৰ কড়ি; the lower extremity of the sternum. 3। নাৰৰ টিং; the projecting end of a country-boat. কড়ি-খেলা চাৰিটা মানুহে চাল পাতি, ছটা কড়িৰে খেলা খেল; a kind of game with cowrie shells. CA এহাত দীঘল জোখ; আধা গজ; দুবেগেত; one cubit in length. মুঠন muṭhana বি. কিলাকুটিৰপৰা মুঠি মৰা হাতৰ কেণ্ডা আঙুলিৰ ফালৰ মূৰলৈকে জোখ; চাৰি আঙুলি কম এহাত; a measure of length from the elbow to the middle joint of the little finger. CA
F-A19	বিজুলী বাঁহ bijuli, bāṛṅha বি. জাতি বাঁহৰ সদৰশ কিন্তু তাতকৈ বেছি ফোঁপোলা এবিধ বাঁহ; a species of bamboo; Bambusa nutans. CA
F-A20	জাকি মাৰ্ jāki, māṛ জিকাৰ মাৰ্; ভয় বা আন কোনো প্ৰবল মনৰ ভাবৰ গতিকে হঠাৎ গা আছাৰ্ বা জোকাৰ্; jerk; to shake or move suddenly. বিণ. জাকি মৰা; ক্ৰি. বিণ. জাকি মাৰি। CA
F-B2	ভৰ্ bhar [সং. ভৰ] অক. ধা. পূৰ হ; ভৰি পৰ্; to be full. বি. ভৰণ ভৰা কাৰ্য্য CA ভৰণ bharāṇa [সং. ভৰ] বি. ৰোগৰ বিকাৰ শাঁত কৰিবৰ কাৰণে মূৰত লোবা টেঁচা দৰব; cold applications on the head of a sick person. CA
F-B3	লহৰপহৰ Ret. শকত-আৱত, নোদোকা; plump. AA থুৰিয়া বৰ চুৰিয়া থুৰিয়াই আগফালে ওলমাই পিন্ধা মূৰ; the part of a waist-cloth which hangs in folds in front of the wearer. CA
F-B5	হাই hāi [আহো.] বি. ডাঙৰ ডাঙৰকৈ কোবা কথা বা দন্দৰ শব্দ; a loud voice; a clamour; a noise. CA লাই lāi বি. চেনেহ কৰি ইচ্ছামতে চলিবলৈ দিয়া কাৰ্য্য; indulgence লাই, লাই-শাক lāi, lāi-śāka [সং. ৰজিকা (এবিধ সৰিয়হ)] বি. সৰিয়হৰ নিচিনা ফুল গুটি ধৰা কিন্তু বৰ ডাঙৰ পাতেৰে খৰালি বাম খেতিত হোবা এবিধ পাত-শাক [ইয়াৰ অনেক উপজাতি আছে, যেনে-বৰ-লাই, টকৌ-লাই, ক'লা-লাই (Brassica rugosa); সৰু-লাই, পেং-লাই (Brassica toria); CA
F-B7	মাৰ্ māṛ [সং. মৰ] সক. ধা. বধ কৰ; নষ্ট কৰ; অন্ত কৰ; নাইকিয়া কৰ; to kill; to ruin; to put an end to. CA
F-B10	This tree is commonly known as Let-pan (Burmese language: လဲတံ), semal (Hindi: सेमल), shimul (Bengali: শিমুল) or ximolu (Assamese: শিমলু) in India. It is widely planted in parks and on roadsides there because of its beautiful red flowers which bloom in March/April. The cotton fibers of this tree can be seen floating in the wind around the time of early May. Wiki

SN	Word meanings
F-B11	কোব koba বি. এছাৰি বা কটা অস্ত্ৰৰ আঘাত; a blow with a weapon; a stroke with a stick. 2। বল; বেগ; যেনে -"একেকোবে মোৰ ওচৰ পালেহি"; force; speed. 3। আতিশয্য; আধিক্য; যেনে -"গপৰ কোবত সি মানুহ নিচিনা হ'ল"; excess; extreme degree. কোব মাৰ কোবা অস্ত্ৰ বা এছাৰিৰে আঘাত কৰ; to strike. CA
F-B12	ওথাৰ othāra [সং. অবস্তাৰ] বি. এবিধ ডাঙৰ জাল; a kind of large drag-net. CA গণ্ডা gaṇḍā [সং. গণ্ডক] বি. এক অঁৰা; চাৰি গোট; four; counting by fours at a time CA
F-B13	এলেং elem বি. গোটা-সজীয়া (অলপ চেপেটা) লাহী গাৰে, পুঠি মাছৰ নিচিনা বাকলি থকা, বগা, মুখ-জোঙা, এবেগেতমান দীঘল এবিধ মাছ; a kind of fish; Rasbora elenga. CA চেলেং celem বি. এদোৰোলীয়া পাতল গাত লোবা উকা বা ফুল দিয়া কাপোৰ; a thin cloth wrapped round the body or over the shoulders CA
F-B15	যুগ yuga [সং.] বি. যুগল; এযোৰ; a pair. 2। কালৰ এটা প্ৰধান আৰু ডাঙৰ ভাগ; যেনে-"কলি যুগ"; an age of the world. 3। বৰ দীঘল কাল; a very long period of time. 4। বাৰ বছৰ কাল। CA
F-B16	পাঁজি pām̐ji [সং. পঞ্জি] বি. সূতা কাটিবলৈ দীঘলকৈ মেৰোবা ধূনা তুলা; a roll of cotton for spinning thread. CA
F-B17	বাণি bāṇi [সং.] বি. বোবা কাপোৰৰ পথালি দিশ; the woof of a woven cloth. 2। নাবৰ দাঁতি; the side of a boat. 3। পথালি কাষ। বিহা bihā [সং. বিংশ] বি. একুৰিৰ লেখ; a score. CA
F-B19	মামৈ-তামোল māmai-tāmola বি. তামোলৰ এটা বনৰীয়া উপজাতি [ইয়াৰ গছ আৰু গুটি গেৰেকুবা তামোলতকৈ ডাঙৰ আৰু তামোলতকৈ বহুত গুণে সৰু; গুটি বগৰীৰ সমান ডাঙৰ আৰু পকিলে টিক্ টিক্ কৰে ৰঙা হয়]; a species of wild areca-nut; Areca gracilis. CA
F-C1	কৰণি karaṇi [সং. কৰণী] বি. কাঠ বা বাঁহৰ চাৰিচুকীয়া মুকলি ঠেং লগা খৰাহি বা আধাৰ; a legged tray of bamboo or wood. CA
F-C2	গুম্ গুম্ অনুক. বৰকৈ জ্বলা জুইৰ শব্দ, তেনে আন শব্দ; an imitative word used in expressing the sound produced by a blazing fire or a hollow roar. AA চম্চম্ camcam [অনুক.] বি. বুকুৰ পোৰণি-বোধ burning sensation on the chest. বি. চম্চমনি পিত্ত উঠি হোবা বুকুৰ পোৰণি; a burning sensation on the chest caused by the bile; biliousness, অক. ধা. চম্চমা পিত্ত উঠাৰ গতিকে বুকত পোৰণি ধৰ; to cause a burning sensation in the chest. CA
F-C4	ঢকুৱা , ঢকুনা dhakubā, dhakunā বি. বাঁহ আৰু তামোল জাতিৰ বোঁখা; the sheath of the betel-nut tree, etc.. (পু. অ.) ঢকুৱা। CA
F-C5	টৌ tau বি. পিতলৰ এবিধ পাক- পাত্ৰ; a cooking vessel, made of brass. CA গচক্ gacak সক. ধা. খচক্; গৰক্; trend; trample. গচকা খচকা; গৰকা। সক. ধা. আনৰ হতুৱাই গৰকা; to cause to be trampled. CA
F-C6	জাংফাই jāmphāi [মিচিমি] বি. অসমৰ উত্তৰ-পূব ফালৰ মিচিমি পৰ্ব্বতত পোবা এবিধ গছৰ জলজলীয়া আৰু আমৰলীয়া বা মৌ-বৰণীয়া গোট মৰা আঠা; [ইয়াৰে কেৰু, মণি আদি তৈয়াৰ কৰে]; amber; Fossil resin. CA
F-C7	অকহি akahi [অ. একৈশ] বি. একৈশ; twenty one. অকহি পুৰুষ বি. একৈশ পুৰুষ; পূৰ্বপুৰুষসকল; ancestors CA কণ kaṇa [সং.] বি. নিচেই সৰু অংশ; অতি স্কুদ্ৰ বস্তু; বিন্দু; a small particle. 2। গুটিৰ যি অংশৰপৰা গাজ বা পুলি ওলায়; the germ or the eye of a seed. 3। মাইকীৰ সন্তান উৎপন্ন কৰা শক্তি; যেনে-"তাই ঔষধ খাই কণ মাৰিলে"; the productive power of a woman CA
F-C10	দোপনি মানুহৰ ভৰ সহ্য কৰিবলৈ ভৰিৰে হেঁচিলে অলপ বহা আৰু লৰা পিটনি; দলপনি; দল- দুপীয়া মাটি; a bog; quagmire CA
F-C12	লতা-পনিয়ল latā-paniyala বি. এবিধ বনৰীয়া লতা [ইয়াৰ বৰণ ক'লা, পাত টুবুকা আৰু খোপা-খোপে গুটি ধৰে; পকিলে গছ-পনিয়লৰ দৰে ক'লা বৰণ ধৰে; খাবলৈ কিছু সোবাদ লাগে।]; the wild grape vine and its berry; vitis Indica. CA
F-C15	জকাই , জাকৈ jākai বি. বাঁহৰ কাঠী সেৰেঙা-সেৰেংকৈ বৈ সজা এবিধ তিনিচুকীয়া মুখেৰে মাছ ধৰা যতন; জকাই; a kind of bamboo scoop used in catching fish. CA
F-C17	ঢাপলি dhāpali বি. চেকুৰ; বৰ বেগাই মৰা লৰ; the running of an animal. ঢাপলি মেল্ চেকুৰ মেল্; বৰ বেগেৰে লৰ মাৰ; to run fast, as an animal. CA ঢাপলিকা ঘনচিৰিকাৰ নিচিনা এবিধ সৰু চৰাই; a species of small warbling bird, CA
F-C18	হেঁটুলুকা hemṭulukā বি. "হেঁটুলুক্, হেঁটুলুক'কৈ মতা এবিধ ঠোট-ৰঙা আৰু গা-সেউজীয়া সৰু চৰাই; a kind of bird of green colour. CA

SN	Word meanings
F-D1	খেৰি kheri (পু. অ.) [সং. খেলি] বি. খেলা; যেনে-"আনন্দে গোবিন্দ খেৰি খেলাবত ৰে" (বৰগীত); 2। ক্রি খেলি; যেনে-"বালক বেটি, খেড়ি কেলি কৌতুকঃ শোহে তনু ধেনুৰেণু" (বৰগীত)। ফটিক phatika [সং. স্ফটিক] বি. এবিধ বৰ বগা নিমজ চকচকীয়া বহুমূলীয়া পাথৰ; a rock-crystal; quartz. ফটিক-খেল phatika-khela বি. এবিধ ল'ৰাৰ ধেমালি [দুটা গুটি সিহঁতে নেদেখাকৈ দুঠাইত পেলাই দিয়া হয়; গুটি বিচাৰি পোবা ল'ৰাৰ-পৰা কাঢ়ি ল'বলৈ অনেক যুঁজ- বাগৰ হয়।]; a kind of game for children.
F-D2	টকা takā বি. এডোখৰ গোটা বাঁহৰ এমূৰ ফালি ইমূৰ নফলাকৈ ৰাখি দুই ফালেৰে পৰস্পৰ কোবাই শব্দ কৰা যতন; a bamboo clapper CA
F-D3	ক'লীয়া-কচু ka'liyā-kacu বি. ক'লা বাউ আৰু পাতেৰে এবিধ বনৰীয়া কচু। CA
F-D5	কেঁহকলী বি. ধনকলীৰ ভনীয়েক, অতি মৰমৰ তিৰোতাক মতা মাত যেনে, "কেঁহকলী নিকলি ঠেহ পাতি নাখালি ভাত" (বিহু) AA
F-D7	জীন jīna [ফা.] যোঁৰাৰ পিঠিত পৰা ছালৰ গাদী; saddle. CA
F-D8	বিৰ bira বি. ওকণি ধৰিবলৈ আঙুলিৰে ঠেলি মূৰৰ চুলি ফালি বাট বা ৰেখা উলিওবা কাৰ্য; parting of the hair of the head to catch lice. বিৰ দি আঙুলিৰে ফালি বাট উলিয়া (ওকণি ধৰিবলে); to part, as hair, as catch lice. বিণ.বিৰ দি বিট নোপোবা so dense (jungle, crowd or ground) that it is impossible to make a way through. CA
F-D10	হাৰলি hārālī (পু. অ.) বিণ. আজলী; যেনে-"চিনায়ো হাৰলি মাই" (কাণথোবা)। oblivious CA পাৰলি pārālī [সং. পাটলী] বি. এবিধ বৰ ওখ ডাঙৰ বনৰীয়া গছ; a kind of forest tree; stereospermum chelonirides. CA নুমলীয়া numaliyā [অ. নোমল] বিণ. শেষ-বতৰত হোবা বা খেতি কৰা; শেহতীয়া; শেষ-সময়ত বা সকলোৰে পাছত ওপজা; cultivated, produced or born last of all. ক্রি. বিণ. নুমলীয়াকৈ। CA মাদলী mādalī [সং. মৰ্দল] বি. বিৰি; ঢোল বা মৰদঙ্গৰ আকৰতিৰ এবিধ অলঙ্কাৰ; a drum-shaped ornament worn round the neck. CA
F-D12	চেৰেঙা cereñā [বড়ো, srang (পোহৰ)]। বি. কিছু সময়ৰ কাৰণে ওলোবা ৰ'দ, তাপ বা মনৰ ভাব; যেনে-"ৰ'দ, জুই বা মৰম এচেৰেঙা"; I a temporary sunshine, heat or expression of feeling. CA
F-D15	কৰ্কৰা , কৰ্কৰা ধা. দাঁত কৰচ, দীতেৰে শব্দ কৰ; to grind the teeth. AA পিলিঙা piliñā বিণ. গা পাতল আৰু ধেমেলীয়া বা মন-পাতল; light in body and mind. CA
F-D18	নাহৰ nāhara [সং. নাগকেশৰ] বি. এবিধ সুগন্ধি ফুল ধৰা সুকাঠী গছ; তাৰ গুটিৰ তেল ওলায়; a kind of timber tree; Mesuaferrea. CA
F-D19	চেঙেলীয়া ceñeliyā বিণ. চেঙা বা তেজবজীয়া কিন্তু কম বয়সীয়া (জন্তু, মানুহ); restless; active; not quiet or tame (as a young man or any animal). CA
F-E1	আফাল āphāla আফাল āphāla [সং. আম্ফালন] বি. বলেৰে নিক্ষেপ কৰা; এছাৰ মাৰি বলেৰে পেলাই দিয়া কাৰ্য; খুন্দা মাৰি আঘাত কৰা; the act of throwing off violently. CA
F-E3	চেলং celem বি. এদোৰোলীয়া পাতল গাত লোবা উকা বা ফুল দিয়া কাপোৰ; a thin cloth wrapped round the body or over the shoulders CA
F-E4	চৌচৌ caucau [অনুক.] বি. ওখ ঠাইৰপৰা বিস্ফা বা নলাৰ মুখেদি বেগাই পানী পৰাৰ নিচিনা শব্দ; a sound like that of water flowing rapidly from a tube or hole in a high place CA
F-E6	কেঁকুৰি kemkuri বি. ভাঁজ; a bend. CA
F-E9	বেলিয়ে ঠেং মেলা ; beams of light which appear in the sky from the west at sunset. বেলি- মাৰৰ পিছত পছিম আকাশত ওলোবা দীঘল আঁচৰ দৰে পোহৰ। CA
F-E11	লতা-পনিয়ল latā-paniyala বি. এবিধ বনৰীয়া লতা [ইয়াৰ বৰণ ক'লা, পাত টুবুকা আৰু থোপা- থোপে গুটি ধৰে; পকিলে গছ-পনিয়লৰ দৰে ক'লা বৰণ ধৰে; খাবলৈ কিছু সোবাদ লাগে।]; the wild grape vine and its berry; vitis Indica. CA
F-E12	বেথা bethā [সং. ব্যথা] বি. চেনেহ; অনুকম্পা; affection; sympathy. CA লকলকা ধা. খাবৰ ববে বা কোনো বস্তু পাবৰ বাবে লোভ কৰ লিক্ লিকা; to feel longing. AA
F-E14	পাভ pābha বি. এবিধ কোমল বাকলি নথকা বগা বৰণৰ মাছ; [ইয়াৰ আৰু এটা উপজাতি আছে; তাক লুখুৰী-পাভ বোলে।]; a kind of fresh water fish; callichrus paba. CA
F-E15	মলহা malahā বি. দ-চানেকীয়া ঠাইত গজা সেগেলা জাতিৰ এবিধ কোমল আৰু ৰসাল বন বা ঘাঁহ; a kind of bush. CA নৈৰ পাৰত গজা এবিধ ৰসযুক্ত খাগৰি জাতীয় ঘাঁহ AA

SN	Word meanings
F-E16	গেজেৰা অলপ চেপেটা আৰু জোনবিৰিৰ দৰে দুই মূৰ জোঙা, যোৰ খোৰা আৰু গাত বাখৰ পতা মাইকী মানুহে ডিঙিত পিন্ধা এবিধ বিৰি; an ornament worn on the neck by Assamese women. CA তোলা tola [সং. তোল] বি. আশী ৰতি; এটকাৰ ওজন; the weight of one rupee. CA
F-E17	সেলেঙি seleni বি. তামোলৰ ৰাগি আৰু তাৰ বাবে হোৱা মুখ ৰঙা পৰা আৰু গাৰ উলাহ; excitement and flush caused by betelnut chewing. CA এলেঙি eleni বি. এলেং মাছ ধৰা ডিঙৰাৰ নিচিনা এবিধ যতন; a kind of contrivance for catching fish. CA হৈ chai [সং. ছাদিস] বি. বাঁহৰ চিলিঙিৰ মাজত টকৌ আদিৰ পাত মেলি সজা গাড়ী দোলা বা নাবৰ চাল বা ঢাকনি; the covering of a boat, etc., made of palm leaves. CA
F-E19	শনি śani [সং.] বি. সপ্তম গ্ৰহ; the Saturn. 2। সপ্তাহৰ শেষ দিন; (Saturday). 3। শনি গ্ৰহৰ দৰে অনিষ্টকাৰী বা বিমঙ্গলীয়া লোক; a mischievous person. CA
F-F2	পমা pamā বি. একোটা দীঘল ঠাৰিৰপৰা দুফালে দুশাৰী হৈ মেলা পাতেৰে এবিধ বৰ ওখ-ডাঙৰ গছ; the toon wood or Indian mahogany tree; melia cedaele Toona (Gamb) [ইয়াৰ কেইবাটাও উপজাতি আছে; যেনে -সেন্দূৰীপমা, chickrasia tabularis; ইয়াৰ কাঠ ৰঙা, কাঠৰ আৰু ফলৰপৰা হালধীয়া আৰু ৰঙা ৰং তৈয়াৰ হয় AA
F-F4	কঁকিলা kamkilā বি. এবিধ বগা, গোটা মুখত দীঘল দাঁত থকা মাছ; বয়সত এবেগেত, এমুঠনমান দীঘল হয়; কোনোবোৰে ইয়াক ঢোল-মাৰি আৰু ইয়াৰ পোনাক খৰিকাজিৰা বোলে; a kind of white, round and long fish; the belone concila. CA ককিলা মুখ A place in Jorhat
F-F6	Sugarcane plant hairs can itch, similar to other plants with small, stiff hairs. Hair Characteristics: Sugarcane leaves have a rough texture due to the presence of tiny, sharp hairs on the surface. These hairs can penetrate the skin upon contact, causing irritation.
F-F7	কলা-খাতী kalā-khānti বি. এবিধ প্ৰায় কল-বাৰীত চৰি ফুৰা চৰাই; কোকলোঙা, চেকচেকী চৰাই; The rufous treepie (Dendrocitta vagabunda) is a treepie, native to the Indian Subcontinent and adjoining parts of Southeast Asia. It is a member of the crow family, Corvidae. It is long tailed and has loud musical calls making it very conspicuous.
F-F9	জোলা jolā বি. পকা কপাহৰ ফুটা বা ফুল; the quantity of harvested cotton contained in a pod; a section of a cotton pod. CA জপা japā [অ. জাপ] বি. কাপোৰ সামৰি থোৱা বাঁহৰ কাঠীৰে সজা এবিধ ঢাকন থকা সঁজুলি; a kind of covered bamboo basket for keeping clothes. CA বৰ-কাপোৰ bara-kāpora বি. ডাঙৰ সূতাৰে কৰা জাৰত লোবা দুতৰপীয়া কপাহী কাপোৰ; ডাঙৰী-কাপোৰ; a coarse cotton cloth folded twice and used as a wrapper. CA
F-F10	জুৰণি jurāni বি. গা জুৰ কৰা ঔষধ; গাৰ তাপ শীতল কৰা দৰব; a sedative; a cooling draught. ফুৰণি phurāni বি. মূৰ ঘূৰি থকা যেন বোধ; মস্তিষ্কৰ অসুখ; মূৰ-ঘূৰণি; giddiness of the head.
F-F12	নলনি nalani নলৰ হাবি; নল গজি থকা ঠাই; a place covered with reeds; Arundo karka. CA দল dala বি. পানীত বগাই ওপঙি থকা এবিধ ঘাঁহ; an aquatic grass. দলনি দলঘাঁহ ভৰি থকা ঠাই। CA খপ্ khap [সং. ক্ষপ] অক. ধা. অস্থায়ীভাবে থাক; প্ৰবাস খাট; যেনে -"সাতদিন হাবিত খপিলো"; to live for a short time; to sojourn. CA
F-F13	গড়- দুৰ্গ, প্ৰাচীৰ, মাটি, ইটা বা কাঠৰ ওখ হেঙেৰা; a fort, a fortress, a barricade. CA
F-F15	টোপ চৰাই আদিৰ পোৱালিৰ আহাৰ; food given to young ones of birds; to wait in hopes. CA
F-F16	এৰণ্ড eranda [সং.] বি. এৰা গছ; [ইয়াৰ পাত এৰী-মুগাক খুবায়]; the castor oil plant; palma christi.
F-F17	জুটুলা jutulā বিণ. চুটি আৰু কেঁকোৰা-কেঁকুৰি (চুলি); short and curly, as hair. 2। চুটি-চাপৰ; বাঢ়িব নোবৰা (গছ); stunted in growth CA ওফোন্দ ophonda বি. ঠেহ; যেনে-"ইয়াৰ অলপতে ওফোন্দ লাগে" sullenness. বিণ. ওফোন্দা উখহা; স্ফীত; puffed. Sulkiness. CA
F-F19	কলি পেলা ফুল বা গুটি ধৰ, কলিয়া; to put forth buds. AA
F-F20	ব'দ-কাঁচলি, ব'দ-কাঁচিয়লি বি. পুৱাৰ নপকা ব'দ; কাঁচি ব'দ; the mild sun shine of the morning. অলপ ব'দ পৰা ঠাই; slightly sunny place. ব'দ-ঘাই বিণ. বেছিকৈ ব'দ পৰা; sunny; fully exposed to the sun.

SN	Word meanings
F-G3	দেহদান- যৌন সন্তোষৰ বাবে স্বীৰ শৰীৰ সমৰ্পণ, the act of offering her body for carnal satisfaction. CA অজাতি ajāti (p. 10)- মন্দ বা হীন জাতৰ মানুহ; নীহ-কুলীয়া লোক; a person of an inferior caste. CA
F-G4	ঘিটিং ghitim [অনুক.] বি. দূৰত মেঘে গাজিলে হোবা বা সেই নিচিনা আন ডাঙৰ গহীন শব্দ; যেনে- "বৰ গথ কাটিলে, ঘিটিঙে কৰিলে"; an imitative word used to express sound like that of distant thunder. CA চিয়াৰ ঠাৰ, ইংগিত, ইংগিতেৰে কোৱা কথা; a hint, পৰোক্ষভাৱে উল্লেখ; a slight indication. AA
F-G5	খাগৰি khāgari [সং. খড়্গট] বি. হাবিত আপুনি হোবা কুঁহিয়াৰ জাতিৰ এবিধ ওখ তৰণ [ইয়াৰ আৰু এটা উপজাতি আছে, তাৰ ঠাৰি কিছু সৰু আৰু ক'লা, তাক ক'লীয়া খাগৰি বোলে।]; a variety of reed; Elephant grass, saccharum fuscum. CA
F-G7	পঁহীতা-পোতনি potani [পু. অ.] বি. পঁহীতা ভাতৰ পানী; the water in which boiled rice is kept for a subsequent meal. CA আঠীয়া কল বি. ভীমকল, এবিধ গুটি থকা ডাঙৰ জাতিৰ কল আৰু সেই কল লগা গছ্ধ giant banana, Musa gigantea Duthie, Musa balbisiana Colla. CA শপ্ śap [সং.] সক. ধা. গালি পাৰ্; নিন্দা কৰ; to abuse; to revile. বি. শপনি গালি পৰা কাৰ্য্য। CA
F-G8	ধৰা dharā সক. ধা. আনৰ দ্বাৰা ধৰা কাৰ্য্য কৰা; আনক ধৰিবলৈ দি; to cause to be held or caught. CA জুই লগা বা ধৰ; to kindle. CA টেকেলি tekeli বি. ঘট; কলহতকৈ সৰু ডিঙি থকা মাটিৰ পাত্ৰ; a small earthen jar with a neck. CA
F-G9	ডাক মতা কুকুৰাৰ মাত; the crowing of a cock. 2। উচ্চ শব্দ; চিয়াৰি মতা মাত; a loud sound or voice. CA
F-G10	এৰা সুঁতি -An abandoned channel of river. নৈয়ে এৰি যোৱা পানী থকা সুঁতি। চম্চম্ camcam [অনুক.] বি. বুকুৰ পোৰণি-বোধ burning sensation on the chest. বি. চম্চমনি পিত্ত উঠি হোবা বুকুৰ পোৰণি; a burning sensation on the chest caused by the bile; biliousness.
F-G12	দাংমাৰি বি. তাঁতশালৰ ব'ৰ লগত সংযুক্ত তল ফালৰ দুডাল মাৰি, দাঙি মাৰি; a supporting bamboo pole on the loom. AA
F-G13	কাম-চৰাই, কামেৰ কাৰাই, kāma-carāi, kāyema বি. পানী বা দ ঠাইত থকা এবিধ নীলবৰণীয়া ঠোঁট-ৰঙা ডাঙৰ চৰাই; a kind of water-fowl. Western swamphen CA বাবৰি bābari [সং. বৰ্বৰীক] বি. এবিধ বাম খেতিত হোবা হালধীয়া ফুল ধৰা সুগন্ধি শাক; a kind of pot herb. 2। এবিধ ফুল গছ আৰু তাৰ ফুল; a kind of flower and its tree. CA
F-G14	চেঙেলী ceñeli বি. চেঙা মাছৰ আকৰতিৰ কিন্তু তাতকৈ সৰু এবিধ ৰঙচীয়া বা ক'লা-মুগা বৰণৰ গা-লাহী কাঠ মাছ; a kind of muddy water fish; Ophiocephalus stewartii CA
F-G15	কুল kula [সং.] বি. জাতি; শ্ৰেণী; caste; race. 2। বংশ; family. CA
F-G16	শেল śela বিণ. সাধাৰণতে বেলেগ বৰণীয়া সূতাৰে বোৱা কাপোৰৰ দাঁতি; the border of a cloth generally of a different colour. CA
F-G17	ইৰিণা বি. লুণীয়া মাটি; saline soil. AA বিৰিণা বি. দ ঠাইত গজা এবিধ ওখ বন; elephant grass, Erianthus elephantinus Hook. f. AA
F-G18	ডফলা daphalā বি. এজাতি পৰ্ব্বতীয়া মানুহ; the Dafla tribe of the Dafla hills in Arunachal. Nishi, Nyishi AA ৰং, ৰঙ্গ ram, raṅga [সং. ৰঙ্গ] বি. আনন্দ; joy. 2। ধেমালি; sport; amusement. 3। ঢোল, খোল, মৱদং আদি নিয়মিত তালত বজাই থাকোঁতে তাত শুনিবলৈ ভাল কৰিবৰ অৰ্থে মাজে মাজে অলপ সময়ৰ নিমিত্তে বৰ খৰকৈ আন ধৰণৰ তাল বজোবা কাৰ্য্য; জুমুৰি; ৰগৰ। তাচ খেলৰ জিকাক বিধ তাচ CA
F-G20	খলা khalā [সং. খল] বি. কোনো কাৰ্য্যত ব্যৱহাৰ কৰিবলৈ চুৰুকি চিকণোবা ঠাই; খোলা; a place cleared for any purpose. খোলা; " a skull; a shell. 2। খোবা বস্ত্ৰ ভজা মাটি আদিৰ মেলাহি পাত্ৰ বা তাৰ ভগা এক খণ্ড; an earthen frying or roasting pan or a broken part of it. CA
F-H1	ফুটুকা phutukā বি. এবিধ বনৰীয়া সৰু গছ; a kind of shrub; Melastoma malabatricum. CA ফুটকলা phutakalā বি. ফুটুকা-গছৰ গুটি; the fruit of a phutuka plant. CA টুপ tupa [আহ] বি. ঘৰৰ হেলনীয়া মূৰ; a gabled roof. 2। জাপিৰ মাজৰ খোল বা ওখ হৈ থকা অংশ; the crown of a jāpi. 3। নৈৰ ওচৰৰ ওখ বালি বা মাটিৰ পাৰ; a high sand-bank of the bend of a river. CA

SN	Word meanings
F-H2	ছেও-মণি cheo-maṇi বি. এবিধ কেইবাখণ্ড কৰি জৰীৰে সিয়া, হাতৰ ঠাৰিত পিন্ধা মণি; a string of a beads worn on the wrist. CA বটিয়া, বটীয়া baṭiyā, baṭiyā [সং. বৰ্তিকা] বি. সূতা পকাই কৰা মিহি জৰী; মাল; twine; string; cord. CA
F-H4	বাহী বন তিবোতাই পুৰাই গা নোধোবাকৈ কৰা বন-বাৰী; morning duties of a woman before bathing in the morning. CA
F-H5	কাল kāla [সং.] বি. সময়; যেনে-"ৰাতিৰ কাল"; time. 2। ঋতু; যেনে-"বসন্ত কাল"; season. CA
F-H7	চোপা dhopā বিণ. পকিবলৈ বা ফুলিবলৈ ধৰি উঠহা বা ভিতৰে ফোঁপোবা হোবা; about to open, as a flower; about to ripen, as a fruit. চোপা-কলি ফুলিবলৈ ধৰা ফুলৰ কলি; a flower bud about to open. চোপা পৰ ফুলিবলৈ ধৰ; to begin to open, as a flower-bud. CA খৰিকা-জাই kharikā-jāi বি. খৰিকাৰ নিচিনা সৰু দীঘলীয়া গোটা-চানেকীয়া পাহি থকা চাপৰ, জোপোহা গছেৰে এবিধ বগা সুগন্ধি ফুল; a kind of garden flower. downy jasmine, Jasminum multiflorum. CA
F-H8	চিতনি citani [সং. চিন্তা] বি. চিন্তা; চিন্তা-ভাবনা টান বি. (>) কষ্ট, বিপদ; distress. CA টানত পৰ ei. অভাৱ হ, টকা-পইচাৰ নাটনি হ; to arise difficulties. AA
F-H9	আলৈ-বিলৈ ālai-bilai বি. দুখ; কষ্ট; দুৰ্গতি; বিপত্তি; misery; distress. CA
F-H10	খুঁটি khumṭi বি. গোঁজ; সৰু আৰু চুটি খুঁটা; a short stake; a peg. 2। গৰু-ম'হৰ জাক ৰখা ঠাই; a place where cows and buffaloes are kept together at night. CA
F-H11	সিৰামূৰি sirāmūri বি. দুৰ্বলতা বা তেজ নচলাৰ কাৰণে হাতৰ বা ভৰিৰ আঙুলিৰ সিৰ কোঁচ খাই হোৰা বেদনা; a cramp of the fingers; a spasmodic contraction of the muscles of the fingers. CA
F-H12	কলমলা বি. ভোক-পিয়াহত বিতত হ to be oppressed with hunger or thirst. AA দল dala বি. পানীত বগাই ওপঙি থকা এবিধ ঘাঁহ; an aquatic grass. দলনি দলঘাঁহ ভৰি থকা ঠাই। CA
F-H13	গোটোং- মেলাহি (মুখ বহল) নোহোৱা, দ আৰু মুখ ঠেক পাত্ৰ বা গাঁত AA
F-H16	চপা capā [অ. চাপ] সক. ধা. গোট খুৰা; একেলগ কৰ; একেঠাই কৰ; to gather; to collect together. CA আইখৈ ākhai [সং. খদিকা] বি. ধান, গোমধান আদি ভাজিলে ফুলি উঠা চাউল; এবিধ খাদ্য; fried paddy or Indian corn etc. (free from the husk). CA
F-H17	উৰহী urahī বি. এবিধ গছ আদিৰ ওপৰত বগোবা, খেতিত হোবা ডাঙৰ লতা আৰু তাৰ ছেঁই [কোমল অবস্হাত ছেঁইৰ পাচলি হয়; পকিলে গুটিবোৰ মাহৰ দৰে আঞ্জা হয়; ইয়াৰ অনেক উপজাতি আছে; যেনে-কজলা, কাণ-ধপলা, কামতাল, উঁৰিকা ইত্যাদি]; the butter bean; Dolichos lablab. CA
F-H20	দাম-কল dāma-kala বি. ৰাম-কল, ৰাম-কল rāma-kala বি. এবিধ গুটি থকা কল; a kind of plantain tree and its fruit. ভীমকলৰ দৰে গুটি থকা এবিধ কল CA, AA

