Conceptualization of time in Pashto language

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Past studies have investigated metaphoric correlations between time and space or objects from cognitive semantic perspective in different languages, drawing interesting similarities and cultural differences in the conceptualization of time. This paper departs from the existing literature by examining the concept of time in Pashto language from a cognitive semantic perspective based on the theoretical model of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (hereafter CMT) to find out various conceptual metaphors (hereafter CM) for time in Pashto language and poetry. Linguistic data of 150 sentences and clauses were extracted from the Pashto-English dictionary (Zeeya, 2009), *Da Ghani Kulyat* (Ghani 1985), *Dewan Abdur Rahman Baba* (Rahman, 1947), *Tsraagh* (Saqib, 2019) and everyday language on the basis of topical words and phrases conveying the concept of time. The topical words and phrases technique was used to retrieve the clauses or sentences denoting the concept/theme of time. CMT was used to analyze the clauses and sentences to investigate the source domains which structure the abstract concept of time in Pashto. Eight metaphors for the representation of time emerge from the analysis: i) time is object in motion; ii) time is a thing; iii) time is bounded space; iv) moments of time are landmarks in space and past is in the front, while future is at the back; v) time is person; vi) Time is measurable quantity; vii) time is a valuable commodity; and viii) time passing is tasting it. Contrary to English, Pashto speakers locate past time in the front while locating the future at the back. The present paper recommends further studies in Pashto language from cognitive semantic perspective to examine the tenets of CMT in Indo-Iranian languages to investigate its cross-cultural implications .

Keywords: time, spatial representation, conceptual metaphor,

Pashto, the national language of Afghanistan, is one of the major regional languages of Pakistan. It is the 40th most widely spoken language in the world, with more than 40 million native speakers (The Trustees of Indiana University, n.d). However, research on Pashto linguistics from modern linguistic theoretical perspectives, in general,

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and the cognitive linguistic perspective in particular, is scarce. Various factors have contributed to curtail explicit research on the linguistic study of Pashto, such as the war on terror, illiteracy of its population, lack of governmental interest and limited print, and digital media (FATA Research Centre, 2014). However, recently, efforts have been made to investigate Pashto language from modern linguistics perspectives (e.g. Khan et al., 2020; Kainat & Sardaraz, 2020; Khan & Ahmad, 2017; Pischurnikova, 2017; Sardaraz & Kainat, in press; Sardaraz & Nusrat, 2019, 2020).

Cognitive linguistics is one of the emerging fields in linguistics which investigates relationship between language, mind and experiences (Evans, 2007). Its basic claim is that mind contains both language and concepts and that socio-physical context is used to understand language (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007). Mind is metaphorically structured and experiential concepts structure abstract concepts in mind, and therefore, metaphor is pervasive both in language and thought. The pervasiveness of metaphors in language show that metaphor is not a linguistic tool but it is a conceptual phenomenon (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b). Lakoff and Johnson (1980a, 1980b) revolutionized the Aristotelian concept of metaphor (Aristotle, 1984) in the West and the al-Jurjani's (1959) concept of metaphor in the Arabic language, from resemblance based metaphors to cross-domain mapping in our conceptual system. CMT argues for cross-domain mapping of source and target domains in human conceptual system which generates not only thought but also language (Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a, 1980b; Lakoff & Turner, 1989). They argue that human conceptual system is metaphorically structured, and therefore, metaphor is pervasive in our language. Experiential and perceptual concepts structure abstract concepts to make them comprehensible.

This phenomenon of CM proved instrumental in rebirth of metaphor research in languages across the world, not only contributing to the bulk of CMs but also to cross cultural variations in conceptualization of various abstract concepts. This study is an attempt to explore how Pashtun community process time in their daily lives, and how it gets representation in Pashto language. This paper attempts to apply CMT to investigate cross domain mapping of time with space, objects and entities in everyday Pashto language and poetic language. This will not only contribute to existing research on CM in Pashto language but will also examine the similarities and differences in conceptualization of time between Pashto language and other major language particularly English. This will carry on the existing debate on CM from cross cultural perspective and may prove instrumental in scholarship on CM in Pashto and other major south and central Asian languages.

Literature Review
According to Lakoff (1993), the basis of comprehension of time in everyday language and thought is motion and things in space. Time is represented in language as a moving object or stationary object in space with relation to the moving observer and as bounded space (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a, 1980b). The conceptualization of time in terms of space, motion and objects has been found in various languages, substantiating the universal aspect of time-space schema. However, time-space relationship in language depends upon how a particular language speaks about time and the situational context and it suggests that time-space relationship in language differ dramatically across

languages and cultures (Boroditsky, 2011). Conceptualization of time cannot be restricted to one dimensional line, rather space is three dimensional and need three axes i.e. longitudinal, vertical and left to right. Moreover, shapes and kinds of objects in space is also varied, and their relationship with other objects in space may either be absolute or relative, and thus, spatial domain provides rich conceptual content to conceptualize time in multifarious ways through varied metaphors across languages and cultures (Radden, 2003). Thus, cross linguistic and cross era linguistic research may bring new insights on conceptualization of time and CMT (Sardaraz & Ali, 2020).

The relationship between time and space in Chinese language has been discussed by Yu (1998). Yu (1998) holds that in Chinese language past time is conceptualized as up while future is conceptualized as down. Boroditsky (2001, 2008) also found that Chinese found it more natural while thinking about time in vertical line than in horizontal line contrary to the English speakers. Time in Arabic has been conceptualized as moving object along the horizontal axis as well as vertical axis (Sardaraz, 2017). In Indian languages, Toba and Aymara, past is reflected as in the front, while future at the back (Klein, 1987; Miracle & Yapita, 1981; Núñez & Sweetser, 2006). Similarly, Dahl (1995) found that Malagasy language speakers conceptualize future in the back and past in the front. They might look at the future as invisible, while at the past as visible in front of eyes. This shows that conceptual schema of time as space has been investigated in many languages, showing different dimensions (Boroditsky, 2011), but the schema is specific to the three-dimensional character of space. It needs further studies in more languages, particularly in languages of indigenous communities, to find out further aspects of time conceptualization.

Golfam et al., (2019) carried out a comparative study of conceptualization of time English and Persian and found that except sporadic differences such as "to buy time" and "to borrow time" which could not be found in standard Persian, the two languages structured time in eight similar ways. This might be due to metalinguistic contacts between Persian and English and the similar socio-physical experiences of English and Persians. Pamies-Bertrán and Yuan (2020) contrasted Spanish and Chinese languages for conceptualization of time as space and found five and seven metaphors of time in Spanish and Chinese respectively with five metaphors common to both the languages. They argue that a single model will not be sufficient to draw conclusions about time metaphors in a particular language and different researchers reached different conclusions regarding conceptualization of time in Chinese as Boroditsky et al., (2010) claim the verticality in Chinese as opposite to English while Hong et al., (2017) argue against them. They (2020) hold that detail analysis of many languages is needed to carry out theoretical speculation about the universality of some specific model.

Time is not only conceptualized as space, but it takes other schemas in human conceptual system. Eweida (2007) found that time in the Quran is conceptualized as motion, container and landscape, but time as adversary and money cannot be found in original Quranic text contrary to the English language. Hamdi (2008) carried out a comparative study on time metaphors in English and Arabic. He found that English and Arabic converge in twenty two CMs of time, but they also diverge in conceptualization of time in some metaphors which might be due to different socio-physical experiences of the two communities. Sardaraz and Ali (2017) have found that time in the Quran has been

conceptualized as bounded space. Similarly, Sardaraz (2017) found that death is an event in time scale which is conceptualized as person, captor and creature. These studies reveal that space cannot provide the whole range of experiential gestalts to scaffold the abstract concept of time. Hence, it needs more studies on the abstract concept of time in other languages to encompass a wide range of source domains that help comprehend the target domain of time.

No doubt, literature identifies CMs in different languages, but its application is very scarce to Pakistani indigenous languages. CMT has been recently introduced to Pashto everyday language to investigate the CMs for life by Khan and Ahmad (2017) and for life and death by Sardaraz and Nusrat (2019). These studies found that the major source domains for life are journey, container, person, food, music, burden, gamble, dream and a day/a year and for death, departure, person and autumn. These studies hold that the application of CMT to Pashto language is necessary to change the concept of metaphor from resemblance based linguistic device to cross domain mapping in Pashto language. These studies are significant in guiding future researchers for the cognitive semantic study of Pashto language. Love is war has also been investigated in the poetry of Al-Hamid (1983) by Pischurnikova (2017). The author found that love and war concepts are closely interlinked in the Pashto poetry. The main sub-source domains for abstract concept of love are attack, armour, shield, army, arrows, captives, target, castles and battles. Pischurnikova's (2017) work is a significant contribution to the investigation of CMs in Pashto poetry. Similarly, Sardaraz and Nusrat (2020) have analyzed Pashto Landay or tappa to find out various CMs which reflect the Pashtun worldview. They have made significant contribution not only to CMT but also to the classification of Pashto Landay on the basis of cognitive linguistics. This study investigates conceptualization of time both in Pashto everyday language and poetry to find out how Pashtun community structures time both in everyday language and poetry because poetic metaphors also use the same CMs as everyday language (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). It may, thus, add to the existing research on the application of CMT to Pashto language and poetry.

The present paper attempts to investigate the conceptual schemas which are used in Pashto language for abstract concept of time. The study is significant as it examined the conceptual schemas used for time including time-space schema in Pashto language, and compared it with English language. This will contribute to the ongoing discussions on spatial representation of time from the cross-cultural perspective and enrich the existing research on Pashto language and literature from a cognitive linguistic perspective.

Method

This is a qualitative descriptive study, and is based on the theoretical framework of CMT, which argues that metaphor involves cross-domain mapping between the experiential concepts (source domain) and less delineated experiential concepts in asymmetrical fashion (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a). This theory holds that metaphor is pervasive in our language and thought because of the metaphorical nature of the human conceptual system. Language can only be processed through the online conceptual schema in the human conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a, 1980b). CM helps in the categorization and comprehension of concepts in language. The source domain maps the target domain, and these mapping in the human conceptual system help generate

language and its comprehension (Lakoff, 1993). Argument is war is a CM, which gets the following diagrammatical representation in CMT.
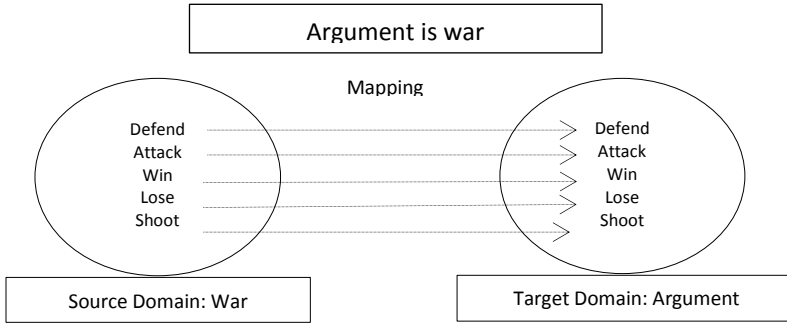

Figure 1. CM mapping, based on Lakoff and Johnson (1980b)

First, this study used the technique of topical words and phrases (Attride-Stirling, 2001) to collect data on the theme of time from Pashto-English dictionary (Zeeya, 2009), containing commonly used clauses and phrases, and *Da Ghani Kulyat* (Ghani 1985), *Dewan Abdur Rahman Baba* (Rahman, 1947) and *Tsraagh* (Saqib, 2019) famous for philosophical poetry and the concept of time is used both in everyday language and in philosophical poetry. The lexical items which are frequently used in different contexts for the concept of time are (وخت) '*wakhth* – time', (نيټه) '*naita* - appointed time' (ورځ) '*wratz* – day', (شپه) '*shpah* – night', (ساعت) '*saa'ath* – moment', (زمانه) '*zumanah* - time/age', (موسم) '*mosum* – weather' and (سپرلي) '*sparle* – spring'. These lexical items were searched in the above mentioned sources and 150 clauses and sentences were retrieved. The data was then discussed with M. L. Shaheen, a famous Pashto poet and critic from District Bannu, and the discussion helped in data refinement by editing the corpus, removing the typographical errors and adding sentences from everyday language. The refined corpus gave a corpus of 135 clauses, sentences and verses.

Second, Metaphor Identification Procedure (hereafter MIP) on the model of (Group, 2007) was adopted for metaphor identification. Each clause or sentence was examined in its situational context, involving reading the text of each clause or sentence, coding the lexical unit and its basic meaning by consulting dictionary, and then defining its metaphorical nature if its meaning is different from its basic meaning. For example, in (وخت روان دی) '*wakhth rawaan de* - time is passing on' the noun (وخت) 'w*akhth*' means time and the verb (روان) '*rawaan*' means going or passing, but time is not a physical object which can pass or go, rather it is represented as a physical object which can move. The basic conceptual schema behind this clause is TIME IS MOVING OBJECT IN SPACE. The same method has been successfully adopted in (Sardaraz, 2017; Sardaraz & Ali, 2016, 2017).

Third, the data was then categorized on the basis of CMT through the application of labeling codes on the model of Kövecses (2002). Kövecses (2002) discusses extensive source and target domains which are used in CM and it has successfully been applied by Sardaraz and Nusrat (2019, 2020). Different codes were

given to each category. For example, all sentences and clauses, denoting time is moving object metaphor, were placed in a separate category.

Fourth, after the initial categorization, the sample selected for further analysis was designed in such a way as to encompass each lexical item and its use in diverse linguistic contexts. This sampling strategy helped in having the representative sample of the whole population (Merriam, 2002). The metaphors found in the data were then further analyzed for any deviation from English language. The findings are discussed in the next section.

Results

The application of MIP (Group, 2007) helps in extracting 140 metaphors. The data revealed eight CMs of time which are time is object in motion, time is thing, time is bounded space, moments of time are landmarks in space, time is measurable quantity, time is valuable commodity, time is person, and time passing is tasting it. The data also revealed some differences from English language with respect to representation of past and future time. Pashto speakers locate past time in front, while future is reflected in the back. The metaphors are analyzed below.

Time is object in motion

Following Lakoff (1993), time is represented as a moving object with reference to the observer in language. The study found the following linguistic instantiations of CM time is object in motion in Pashto language.

1. وخت ډېر ښايسته تېر شو
   Wakhth.N,Sg   ḍer.Adv   Šhaysta.Adj   ther sho.V.PST
   Time   (a) very   good   (we) passed>>had
   We had a very good time

2. په راتلونکي نژدي وخت کښي
   Puh.PreP   rathlunki.V.PrT   nuzhde.Adv   wakht. N.Sg   ke.PostP
   (on)   coming   near   time>>future   in
   In coming near future

3. وخت تېرېږي
   Wakht.N.Sg   theregi.V.PCT
   Time   passes
   Time passes

4. د تگ وخت راورسېده
   Da.PreP   thug.N.Sg   wakhth.N.Sg   ra-uraseduh.PPT
   Of   departure   the time   has come
   The time of departure has come

5. وخت به راشي
   Wakhth.N.Sg   bah.Aux   rashi.PCT
   Time   will   come
   Time will come

6. تېره زمانه
   Therah.PPT   zumanah.N.Sg
   (long) past   time. N.Sg

Time long past

7. تېره شپه

Therah.PPT   Shpah.N.Sg

passed>>last   night

Last night

8. د شپې د تېرولو ځای

Da.PreP   shpe.N.Sg   da.PreP   therawulo.V.PCT   tzai.N.Sg

at   night   of   passing>>lodging   (the) place

The place of lodging at night (Night's lodging)

9. شپې او ورځې اوښتي

Shpe.N.Pl   aw.Conj   wrazte.N.Pl   awuŠhte.V.PrPT

Nights   and   days   have passed

Days and nights have passed

10. هغه ورځې ولاړې

Haghah.Dem   wratze.N.Pl   wulaṛe.PST

Those   days   passed

Those days passed

11. د حساب ساعت را نژدې دی

Da.PreP   hisab.N.Sg   saa'ath.N.Sg   ra-nuzhde.Adv   dai.Aux

Of   retribution   (the) hour   near>>approaching near   is

The hour of retribution is approaching near

The nouns (وخت) '*wakhth* – time', in linguistic expressions from (1) to (5), [زمانه] '*zumanah* - time, age' in expressions at (6), [شپه] 's*hapah* – night' in expressions at (7), (8) and (9), [ورځ] '*wratz* - day) in expressions at (9) and (10) and [ساعت], '*saa'ath* - period, time' at (11) denote the concept of time as moving object in space. The corresponding verbs such as [تېر], '*ther* - pass, go' in expressions at (1), (3), (6), (7) and (8), [راتلونکي] '*rathlunki* – coming' at (2), [نژدې] '*nuzhde* – near' at (2) and (11), [راورسېد ه], '*ra-urasedu* – approached' at (4), [راشی] '*rashi* – come' at (5), [اوښتي] '*awuŠhte* - have passed' at (9) and [ولاړي] '*wulaṛe* – passed' at (10) depict time as moving objects in space. The above examples show that time is object in motion metaphor is present in Pashto language.

In (11), the lexical item [ساعت] '*saa'ath* – hour' is represented through the time adverb of [را نژدې] '*ra-nuzhde* – near' as an object which is near, and it encapsulates the semantic value of the time of retribution as an object approaching near. Time of retribution, literally, cannot come near, and therefore, its meaning would be "imminent". It can be diagrammatically represented as below.
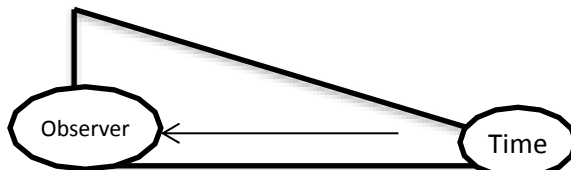

Figure 2. Time is object in motion towards the observer

Time of retribution is structured in human conceptual system as object in motion towards the observer, drawing upon the experiential gestalt of moving objects in space. This phenomenon of representation of time in horizontal motion of physical objects can be found in many languages, including Pashto language. Time is object in motion metaphor is extensively used in Pashto language to represent time.

Time is thing

Time is not only structured as object in motion in the human conceptual system, but it is also structured as an object in possession, which may be given or taken or possessed. This metaphorical structure of time as an object attains representation in language. This phenomenon is also present in Pashto language, as shown in the examples below.

12. وخت را نه نه و
Wakhth.N.Sg   ranah.possessive   nuh.Neg   wu.Aux
Time   I had   not   have
I did not have time

13. وخت ته کتل
Wakhth.N.Sg tah.PostP kathul.Infinitive
Time>>an appropriate opportunity to   to look for
To wait for an appropriate opportunity

14. په لوی سحار
Puh.PreP   Loy.Adj   sahaar.N.Sg
On   early   (the) morning
Early in the morning

15. هر کال
Har,Det   kaal.N.Sg
Every   year
Every year

16. په سپینه ورځ
Puh.PreP   speenah.Adj   wratz.N.Sg
On   broad light   day
In broad day light

17. په بده ورځ ککړېدل
Puh.PreP   badah.Adj   wratz.N.Sg   kakaredul.V.Infinitve
On   worse straitened   day   coming
Coming to worse impoverished day

18. زه درې ورځي ناجوړه پروت وم
Zuh.Pron dre.num wratze.N.Pl najoṛah.Adj proth.V.PPT wum.Aux
I   three   days   sick   laid (in bed) had been
I had been laying sick in bed for three days

19. ښه ورځ لیدل
Šhah.Adj   wratz.N.Sg   lidul.V.Inf
Good   day   to see
To see happy day

20. لاس د وختو له دوارو
Las.N.Sg   de.Aux   wukhathu.V.PST   lah.PostP   dwaṛo.Num

99

Your hands did   lose grip   from   both of the two

You lost both of the two

هم له روز او هم له شبه

Hum.Conj   lah.PreP   roz.N.Sg   aw.Conj   hum.Conj   lah.PreP   shabah.N.Sg

as well as   from   day   and   as well as from   night

From the day as well as night

In all the above sentences and clauses, time is represented as an object or a thing, with some characteristics or qualities. The nouns [وخت] '*wakhth* – time' in linguistic expressions at (12-13), [سحار] '*Sahaar* – morning' at (14), [کال] '*Kaal* – year' at (15), [ورځ] '*wratz* – day' at (16) to (19), [روز] '*roz* – day' and [شبه] '*Shabah* – night' at (20) are represented as having some physical quality or possessive nature through adjective like [لوی] '*Loy* – large' at (14), [سپین] '*Speen* – white' at (16), or through verbs and adverbs like [کتل], '*kathul* – watch' at (13), [لیدل] '*lidul* – seeing' at (19) and [وختو] '*wukhathu* – lost' at (20), or adverbs like [هر] '*har* - each/every' at (15). This shows that like English, Pashto language also manifests the CM of time is thing/object.

In (12), the noun [وخت] '*wakhth* – time' is represented as an object which can be possessed. Time is not something which cannot be literally possessed. Rather, it means that one is too busy in some work to give attention to some other work. So, time is represented metaphorically as some object which can be possessed.

Time is bounded space

According to Lakoff and his colleagues (Lakoff 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b), time is also structured in human conceptual system as bounded space which generates the language embodying the concept of durational concept of time. This CM has also been found in Pashto language, as enunciated in examples given below.

21. يوه ورځ تر منځ

Ywah.Num   wratz.N.Sg   thur.PreP   mentz.Adv

One   day   till   within

In One day

22. د خطري پېښی په وخت کښې

Da.PreP   khatre.N.Sg   peŠhe.N.Sg   puh.PreP   wakhth.N.Sg   ke.PostP

Of   danger   occurrence   on   (the) event   in

in the event of the occurrence of danger

23. په ټا کلي وخت کښې

Puh.PreP   taakuli.Adj   wakhth.N.Sg   ke.PostP

At   (the) appointed   time   in

at the appointed time

24. په راتلونکي نژدی وخت کښې

Puh.PreP   raathlunki.V.ger   nuzhde.Adj   wakhth.N.Sg   ke.PostP

On   (the) coming   near   time>>future   in

In the coming near future

25. په هغه زمانه کښې

Puh.PreP   haghah.Demon   zumanah.N.Sg   ke.PostP

On   that   age   in

In that age

د سولي په زمانه کښي .26

Da.PreP   sule.N.g   puh.PreP   zumanah.N.Sg   ke.PostP

on   (of) peace   on   (the) age   in

In the age of peace

په دی بختوره ورځ کښي .27

Puh.PreP   de.Demon   bakhthawurah.Adj   wratz.N.Sg   ke.PostP

On   this   fortunate   day   in

At this fortunate day

په يوه شپه کښي .28

Puh.PreP   yawah.Num   shpah.N.Sg   ke.PostP

On   one   night   in

In one night

په څلورو ساعتو کښي .29

Puh.PreP   saloro.Num   saa'atho.N.Plur   ke.PostP

On   four   hours   in

In four hours

The above sentences and clauses reflect that the spatial preposition [کښي] '*ke* – in' is behind most of the metaphoric expressions of the CM time is bounded space. This spatial preposition of [کښي] '*ke* – in' in Peshawri dialect and [شی] '*she* – in' in Qandarahi dialect, represents the TIME-SPACE relationship in Pashto language. Besides, the data reveals that the spatial preposition of [منځ] '*Mentz* – between' at (21) is also generated by time is bounded space metaphor. All the above sentences and clauses reflect the durational nature of time as bounded space. The analysis of clause at (22), given below, will illustrate this.

د خطري پيښي په وخت کښي

Da.PreP   khatre.N.Sg   peŠhe.N.Sg   puh.PreP   wakhth.N.Sg   ke.PostP

Of   danger   occurrence   on   (the) event   in

in the event of the occurrence of danger

The above clause embodies an event of danger which has a durational character. This durational character of time, encoded by the lexical words [د خطري پيښي په وخت] '*Da khatre peŠhe pa wakhth* - the event of the occurrence of danger' in the situational context, is mapped by bounded space through the spatial preposition [کښي] '*ke* – in'. Pashto language like English manifests the time is bounded space metaphor in conceptualization of time.

Moments of time are landmarks in space

Moments of time are objectified through landmarks on space, which can take the form of durational distance or specific object fixed in space with regard to moving or watching observer. Grady (1997) holds that the moments of time are fixed entities in space with reference to moving observer. However, the observer may either be stationary with regard to time, event or duration or may be moving towards or away from time as fixed location. The following linguistic expressions reflect the instantiation of this metaphor.

30. د بلوغ تر وخته

Da.PreP   bulúgh.N.Sg   thur.PreP   wakhthah.N.Sg
of   maturity   till   (the) age
Till the age of maturity

31. په ټا کلي وخت باندي راغي

Puh.PreP   taakuli.Adj   wakhth.N.Sg   baande.PostP   raaghe.V.PST
On   (the) appointed   time   at   (he) came
He came at the appointed time

32. د نمر د راختو وخت ته راورسيدو

Da.PreP   nmar.N.Sg   da.PreP   rakhatho.V.Gerun   wakhth.N.Sg   tha.PostP   ra-urasedo.V.PrePT
Of   sun   (of)   rising   time   to (he)
reached (here)
He reached at the time of sunrise

33. د هغه وخته راهيسي چه

Da.PreP   haghah.Deter   wakhtha.N.Sg   raahise.Adv   che.Conj
Of   that   time   since   when
Since the time when

34. تر هغه وخته پوري

Thur.PreP   haghah.Deter   wakhthah.N.Sg   pore.PostP
Upto   that   time   upto
Till that time

35. نژدي زمانه

Nuzhde.Adj   zumanah.N.Sg
Near   age
Near age

36. هغه به عید ته راځي

Haghah.Pron   bah.Aux   eid.N.Sg   thah.PostP   ratzi.V.FT
He   will   Eid   to   come
He will come on eid

37. جخت په خپلي نيټي هغه حاضر شو

Jukhth.Adv   puh.PreP   khpule.Adj   nete.N.Sg   haghah.Pron   hadzir sho.V.PST
Precisely   on   (the) own>set   date   he   appeared
He appeared precisely on the date set

The above examples show moments of time are landmarks in space metaphor. On closely observing the sentences and clauses, it is noted that the spatial preposition [په] '*puh* - on or upon' is generated by the time-space schema, and it generates moments of time are landmarks in space metaphor in language. Moreover, adverbs like [نژدي] '*Nuzhde – near*', determiner [هغه] '*haghah – that*' at (33) and (34), and preposition [ته] '*thah* - on or to' or [تر] '*thur* - till or to' at (30) (34) and (36) are used drawing upon moments of time are landmarks in space metaphor.

In (36), the lexical item [عید] '*Eid* - a holy Islamic festival, is represented as a fixed location in space with regard to two persons, one as fixed observer, and the other moving towards the fixed location. Psychologically, it seems as if the observer is near the location Eid, while the moving person is coming towards it, though the moving observer

and the fixed observer both are in motion with respect to the time in future. The metaphoric linguistic expression is generated by the CM, events or moments of time are locations in space.

Similarly, Pashto speakers also visualize present time as if it is just in their front, as is the case with '*puh da wakht* – at this time'. Moreover, past and future is also conceptualized as alternate landmarks in space with reference to the observer like '*saba nah bul saba*- not tomorrow but next tomorrow' and '*paroon na bulah wratz*- not yesterday but the other day'. It can be represented as

Figure 3. Representation of future and past events

Past time is in the front and future at the back

Landmarks in the space may either be in front or in the back, above or below or on either side of the observer. In English language, past is conceptualized as behind, while future is represented in the front (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b). However, this study found that in Pashto language past tense is conceptualized in the front. The following examples illustrate the point.

38. د پخواني وخت نښې
Da.PreP Pukhwani.Adj wakhth.N.Sg naŠhe.N.Plur
of   (the) ancient   time   remnants
Remnants of the time gone before

39. څو ورځي مخکښني
Tso wratze.N.Plur mukhe.Adv
Few days   ago
Few days ago

40. يوه ورځ مخکښني د دي نه
Yawah.Num wratz.N.Sg mukhke.Adv da.PreP de.Deter nah.PostP
One   day   before   of   this   from
One day before this

41. يو ساعت مخکښني راغلي و اوس نشته
Yo.Num saa'at.N.Sg mukhke.Adv raghule.V.PST wu.Aux os.Adv nishtah.
One   hour   ago   (he) came   now   he is not
He came an hour ago, but he's not here now

42. دغه کتاب څو کاله وراندي په کابل کښني چاپ شوی دی
Daghah.Deter kithaab.N.Sg Tso kaalah.N.Plur Wṛande.Adv puh.PreP kaabul.N.Sg
This   book   few years   back   on   Kabul
ke.PostP chaap.V shuwe de.PPT
in   published had been
This book was published few years back in Kabul

43. ساینس پوهانو څو کاله وراندی تایید کړی

    Science.N.Sg pohaano.N.Plur Tso kaalah.N.Plur Wṛande.Adv thayeyd.V.PST
    kuṛe.Aux

    Science   Scholars   few years   ago   verified

    The scientists verified it few years ago

In examples above, the adjective '*Pukhwani*' in (38) consists of '*puh*' and '*khwa*' which entails something located at one side away from the observer, while the adverbs [مخکښی] '*mukhke* - forward, in front of' at (39) to (41), and [وراندی] '*Wṛande -* ahead, in front of, before' at (42) and (43) manifests that past events and time intervals are represented in Pashto language in front contrary to English language. Pashto speakers visualize past in the front as if they know them drawing upon the visual schema of KNOWING IS SEEING.

Data also reveal that future is represented in Pashto language as behind. This is contrary to English language which manifests future in the front. The adverb [وروسته] '*wrusthah*' literally means back or behind. The spatial schema of back has been used in the following sentences and clauses to reflect future in the back or behind.

44. لږ ساعت وروسته راشه

    Lush.Adj saa'ath.N.Sg wrusthah.Adv raahsah.V.FT

    Some   time   after   come

    Come after some time

45. یو کال ورسته به ګورو

    Yo.Num kaal.N.Sg wrusthah.Adv ba.Aux goru.V.FT

    One   year   after   will   (we) will see

    We will see to it after one year

46. څو کاله وروسته به ډنګر انسانان کم وي

    Tso kaala.N.Plur wrusthah.Adv ba.Aux ḍaNgur.Adj insaanaan.N.Plur kam.Adj
    wi.Aux

    few years   after   will   thin   people   less   will
    be

    After a few years, thin people will be less

In Qandahari or southern Pakhtunkhwa dialects, the adverb [وروسته] '*wrusthah*' means [شا ته] '*shaa thah* - behind, back'. It seems as if the Pashto speakers are drawing upon the visual schema, because the acts in future cannot be known as the things in the back cannot be seen. The above sentences and examples illustrate that Pashto speakers visualize past events in the front while reflecting the future in the back contrary to English speakers.

Time is measurable quantity

Whereas the duration of time is conceptualized as long and short in English drawing upon the length of space (Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b), the duration of time is conceptualized as measurable quantity in Pashto. Time is measurable quantity metaphor is found in the following sentences and clauses.

47. زه هيڅ وخت نه لرم

Zuh.Pron hets.Adj wakhth.N.Sg nu.Neg larum.V.PreT
I　　　　any　　　time　　　　do not　　have
I do not have any time

48. ډېر وخت هغه نه وؤ

Ḍer.Adj wakhth.N.Sg haghah.Pron nu.Neg wu.Aux
Long　　time　　he　　　　　had not　been
He had not been here for a long time

49. د وخت د لږوالي په سبب

Da.PreP wakhth.N.Sg da.PreP luẓhwali.N puh.PreP sabab.N
of　　time　　　of　　　shortage　　on
Because of shortage of time

50. د لږ ساعت مېلمه دی

Da.PreP lush.Adj saa'ath.N melmah.N.Sg de.Aux
Of　　　little　　time　　　　guest　　　is
He does not have long to live

In these examples, the determiner [هيڅ] '*hets* - not any' in (47), adjectives [ډېر] '*ḍer* – (long) much' in (48) and [لږ] '*luẓh* - short or little' in (49) to (50) are used for the nouns denoting time such as [وخت] '*wakhth* – time' in (47) to (49) and [ساعت] '*saa'ath* - moment, hour, time' in (50) to express time as measurable quantity of an object. Contrary to English language expressing time duration is space, Pashto speakers views at time through the metaphor of duration of time is measurable quantity of an object. Consider the analysis of sentence at (50) below.

د لږ ساعت مېلمه دی

Da.PreP lush.Adj saa'ath.N melmah.N.Sg de.Aux
Of　　　little　　time　　　　guest　　　is
He does not have long to live

This sentence is idiomatic in nature. Literally, the sentence would mean "he is the guest of little time", but in its situational context, the sentence means "he does not have to live long." The phrase [لږ ساعت] '*luẓh saa'ath*' means little or short time, but time can neither be short nor little as it is not a physical object in literal sense of the term. Therefore, the phrase is metaphorical, which connotes the minimum temporal duration of time. No doubt, the phrase can be understood as duration of time is measurable quantity, the phrase, in its situational context can give further semantic affordance.

Time is valuable commodity

Pashto speakers also visualize time as commodity carrying some value. In English language, time is money and time is valuable commodity (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b) or time is a resource (Grady, 1997) are in use. Following the same pattern, Pashto language has the time is valuable commodity metaphor. It has been found in the following clauses and sentences.

51. خپل وخت قیمتی کا

Khpul.Pron   wakhth.N.Sg   qimati.Adj   ka.Aux
own   time   valuable   do
Make your time valuable

52. د وخت بدل نشته

Da.PreP   wakhth.N.Sg   badal.N.Sg   nishtha.Neg
Of   time   alternative   no
There is no other alternative to time

53. خپل قیمتي وخت یی بایللی دی

Khpul.Pron   qimati.Adj   wakhth.N.Sg   ye.Pron   baaylule.V.PPT   de.Aux
own   valuable   time   (he)   lost   has
He has lost his valuable time

54. ډېر وخت یی پری ضائع شو

Ḍer.Adj   wakhth.N.Sg   ye.Pron   pre.PreP   dzaya.V.PST   sho.Aux
A lot of   time   his   on   lost   was
A lot of his time was lost on it.

55. وخت غنیمت ګڼرل

Wakhth.N.Sg   ghanimath.N.Sg   gaṆrul.V.Infin
Time   booty   to count>>take advantage of
To take advantage of favourable occasion

The noun [وخت] '*wakhth* – time' is conceptualized in the above sentences and clauses as a valuable commodity which can have some value [قیمت] '*qimath* – value' as in (51) and (53), and prize or value [غنیمت] '*ghanimath* - prize, valuable' in (55). Similarly, time can also be spent or wasted [ضائع] '*dzaya* - spent, wasted' as in (54), or can be lost [بایللی] '*baaylule* – lost' as in (53). Moreover, time as commodity has no bargaining exchange [بدل] '*badal* – exchange' as in (52). All these linguistic expressions reveal time as a valuable commodity that can have price or value and can be spent, wasted, lost, and exchanged in return for something.

Time is person

Data also revealed that time is visualized as person in Pashto language and poetry. Personification is one of those CMs where human attributes or behavior is attributed to inanimate objects. This is a sub-key source domain of GREAT CHAIN OF BEING METAPHOR (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). This metaphor can be illustrated with the following examples.

56. فارغ وخت

Faregh.Adj   wakhth.N.Sg
Leisure   time
Leisure time

57. که وخت مساعدت وکړي

Kah.Conj   wakhth.N.Sg   masaa'ath.N   ukṛi.V.FT
If   time   help   does
If time permits

58. وزګار وخت

Wuzgar.Adj   wakhth.N.Sg

Free   time

Free time

59. وخت په شا سترگي روارروي راستون شي

Wakht.N.Sg puh.PreP shaa.Adv sturge.N.Plur rawaarhawi.V.PRT rasthun.V. PRT

Time   on   back   eyes   turns back   comes back

shi.Aux

Time turns eyes back and comes back

60. وخت د چا انتظارنه کوی

Wakht.N.Sg da.PreP cha.Pron intezar.N nu.Neg kawi.V.PRT

Time   of   none   wait   not   do

Time waits for none

61. بختوره زمانه

Bakhthawurah.Adj zumanah.N

Fortunate   time

Fortunate time

62. بي رحمه زمانه

Berahmah.Adj Zumanah.N

Merciless   times

Merciless times

63. د ښی ورځي مخ کتل

Da.PreP Še.Adj wratze.N.Sg mukh.N.Sg kathul.Infin

Of   good   day   face   to see

to see a good day

64. غمجنه ورځ

Ghamunah.Adj wratz.N.Sg

 A sad   Day

A sad day

65. دسپرلي شپه وه مسته مستانه

Da.PreP sparli.N.Sg shpa.N.Sg wa.Aux masthah.Adj masthanah.Adj

of   spring   (the) night   (it) was   joyful   (and) cheerful

It is was the night of the spring, joyful and cheerful

In the above clauses or verses, time is conceived as person. Time interval embodied in nouns [وخت] '*wakhth* – time' as in linguistic expressions from (56) to (60), [زمانه] '*Zumanah* - age, period' as in (61) and (62), [ورځ] '*wratz* – day' in (63) and (64) and (سپرلي) '*sparli* – spring' in (65) are given human attributes by the context in which they are used. For example, the clause at (63) is analyzed as below.

د ښی ورځي مخ کتل

Da.PreP Še.Adj wratze.N.Sg mukh.N.Sg kathul.Infin

Of   good   day   face   to see

to see a good day

The above clause is idiomatic. Time has been used to visualize the concept of living in plenty. But, the time '*wratze* – day' has been used as if it were a person having face denoted by the lexical word [مخ] '*mukh* – face'. Hence, the time '*wratze* – day' has

been conceptualized as person having the physical attribute of Being/person. In poetic and idiomatic language, personification is a common phenomenon. However, time is person is cognitively structured, as time can only be understood in terms of experiential gestalts of space or other objects having perceptual basis.

Time passing is tasting

Analysis of the data also revealed the CM of time passing is tasting in Pashto language. The following linguistic expressions reflect this CM.

66. وختونو کښې خوند نشته

Wakhthuno.N.Plur ke.PostP khwand.N.Sg nishtah.Neg
(the) times   in   taste   (there is) no
The time is not going well

67. ډير تریخ وخت دی

Ḍer.Adv thrikh.Adj wakhth.N.Sg de.PreP
Very   unpleasant time   (it) is
I am passing through a very unpleasant time

68. خوندور وختونه لاړل

Khwandawar.Adj wakhthuna.N.Plur larul.V.PrePT
(the) pleasant   times   have gone
The pleasant times have gone

69. څه خوندور موسم دی

Tsu.Pron khwandawar.Adj mosum.N.Sg de!.Aux
What   a pleasant   weather   this is!
What a pleasant weather this is!

70. اف! څه ترخه ورځ ده!

Uff!.Interj Tsu.Pron thurkhah.Adj wratz.N.Sg dah!.Aux
Oh!   What   an unpleasant day   (this) is!
Oh! What an unpleasant day this is!

The nouns [وخت] '*wakhth* – time' in (67) and (68) are modified by the corresponding adjectives '*thrikh* - unpleasant' and '*Khwandawar* - taste' respectively. Time can neither have taste nor can be pleasing, and therefore, linguistic expressions are not literal, but rather they are metaphors. These linguistic metaphors are generated by time passing is tasting it. Similarly, the preposition '*ke*' gives spatial configuration to time and material representation to the noun '*khwand* - pleasantness, taste'. Literally, neither time is a bounded space nor is '*khwand*' an object. The sentence is multimodal in nature drawing upon two CMs, time is bounded space and taste is an object. The noun [موسم] '*mosum* – weather' in (69) and [ورځ] '*wratz* – day' in (70) are durational concepts of time, which an observer experiences and either feels it '*khwandawar* – pleasant' or '*thurkhah* – unpleasant', drawing upon the metaphor undergoing experience is tasting it (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b) and sub-major schema of undergoing punishment is tasting it (Sardaraz, 2017; Sardaraz & Ali, 2016)

Discussions

This paper found eight (08) CMs in the data. Most of CMs follow the same patterns as investigated in other languages. It means that Pashto language also has the same patterns as found in other major languages, such as English (Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a, 1980b) and Arabic (Sardaraz, 2017; Sardaraz & Ali, 2016, 2017). Thus, the present paper supports the tenets of CMT (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b, 1999) that human conceptual system is metaphorical and the conceptual schemas not only generates linguistic metaphoric expressions, but also helps in comprehension and categorization of metaphoric linguistic expressions. This paper, on the basis of its findings, suggests further studies on various CMs to find out their role in Pashto language and further extend the debate on the universality of CMs.

This paper supports the earlier findings on time-space correlations. This study has found that time is conceptualized in Pashto language through the time is thing, time is object in motion, time is bounded space and moments of time are locations in space metaphors, as found in earlier studies (Grady, 1997; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b; Sardaraz, 2017). However, this paper has found that CM of time is space also differs in its entailment from English language. English language represents past time at the back, while future in the front, but Pashto language represents past events in the front while future at the back. The examples from (39) to (43) use the adverbs [مخکښی], 'mukhke" - forward, in front of' and [وراندي] 'wṛande - ahead, in front of, before' for the past events, thus locating the future time in the front. Similarly, the examples from (44) to (46) use the adverb [وروسته] 'wrusthah' which means [شا ته] 'shaa thah - behind, back', using the spatial term to locate future time at the back. It might be that the Pashto speakers use the conceptual schema of KNOWING IS SEEING in representation of past time in the front and future time at the back. This is contrary to the findings of Lakoff (1993) in English language. This research finding would contribute to the existing literature on correlations between time and space across the languages.

This paper also found that time, contrary to English language representation of time as long and short in terms of space (Lakoff, 1993), has been represented in terms of measurable quantity of objects through adjectives of [ډیر] 'ḍer - (long) much', [لږ] 'luẓh - short or little) and [توله] 'tola - whole or through determiner [هیڅ] 'hets - not any' in the examples from (47) to (50). It means that Pashto speakers conceptualize the duration of time in vertical spatial direction contrary to horizontal length of space in English language. It shows that cross cultural debate on the universal tenets of CMT requires further research for revisiting the universal aspects of CMT, as claimed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980b).

Whereas Grady (1997) argued for time is resource schema in language, and Lakoff and Johnson (1980b) and Eweida (2007) debated for time is money schema in English schema, Pashto speakers also use the metaphor of time as valuable commodity in conceptualization of time. For Pashto speakers, time is a valuable commodity that can have price or value, and it can be spent, wasted, lost, and exchanged in return for something, as is the case with examples from (51) to (55). This finding also supports the cross cultural debate on tenets of CMT.

TIME IN PASHTO LANGUAGE

This paper also found that Pashto speakers use the conceptual schema of time is person in processing time. This schema is sub-key metaphor of more key metaphor of GREAT CHAIN OF BEING metaphor as envisaged by (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). The data reveals that this schema is mostly used in Pashto poetry for visualization of the abstract concept of time, as is the case with examples with (20), (59) and (65) besides the idiomatic language and everyday language. Thus, this paper also supports the findings of previous research that time and events have been given human attributes across the languages (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, Sardaraz & Ali, 2016, 2017; Sardaraz & Nusrat, 2019, 2020).

Pashto speakers conceptualize passing of time as tasting something which is either sweet or sour. This metaphor is drawing upon the primary metaphor of undergoing experience is tasting it (Grady, 1997) and sub-key metaphor undergoing punishment is tasting it (Berrada, 2007; Sardaraz & Ali, 2016). Examples (66) to (70) show that the passage of time is conceptualized as tasting it. The passage of time involves some kind of experience. Passing through some experience involves some definite duration of time. Passing through experience is expressed in terms of perceptual experience of tasting in language. Conceptualization of time though the source domain of perceptual experience may open new avenues to explore metaphors in Indian languages.

The present study has extended the existing cognitive linguistic research on Pashto language and poetry (e.g. Khan & Ahmad, 2017; Pischurnikova, 2017; Sardaraz & Nusrat, 2019, 2020). These studies have investigated different concepts from CMT perspective, such as metaphor of life by Khan and Ahmad (2017), metaphor of love is war by Pischurnikova (2017), metaphor of life and death by Sardaraz and Nusrat (2019) and CMs in Pashto Tappa by Sardaraz and Nusrat (2020). This study has explored the CM of time in Pashto and the cultural variation between Pashto and other language. Regarding the cultural variation among the languages, this paper supports the earlier findings of Klein (1987), Miracle and Yapita (1981) and Núñez and Sweetser (2006) in investigation of the Indian languages, Toba and Aymara. They found that past is reflected as in the front, while future at the back in these languages. Similarly, this study also supports the finding of Dahl (1995) who found that Malagasy language speakers conceptualize future at the back and past in the front.

This paper is a modest contribution to the cognitive semantic research in Pashto language, investigating the CMs of time in Pashto's everyday language and in Pashto poetry.. However, on the basis of these findings, it cannot be claimed that all the CMs of time have been unearthed in Pashto language. This paper recommends further exploration of CMs in Pashto poetry and everyday language in future research and conducting comparative linguistic research from a cognitive semantic perspective.

Conclusion

The findings reveal that Pashto speakers also use the conceptual correlations between the space and time to express the concepts relating to the passage of time or the duration of time as in other languages. This supports the claim that CMT has universal application across the cultures and languages, as is evident from CMs of time is thing, time is object in motion, time is bounded space, moments of time are location in space, time is a valuable commodity and time is person. However, it also substantiates the claim

that cultural differences have their own impact on metaphoric structuring of human conceptual system which are used in expression of linguistic expressions. This is evident from conceptualization of past time in front and future time at the back. Similarly, Pashto speakers conceptualize experience in certain duration of time as tasting it. This reveals that Pashto language may prove vital in investigation of different CMs, which will contribute to the cross-cultural debate on CMT. However, no generalization can be claimed on the basis of data analyzed here about the conceptualization of time in Pashto language, and it would need a corpus based study on Pashto language to make any definite conclusion. Therefore, further studies are suggested on the same schema or different conceptual schema in Pashto language or on comparative linguistic research from a cognitive semantic perspective.

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