CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS FOR LIFE IN PASHTO

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Abstract

This paper, using Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as theoretical framework attempts to identify, analyze and interpret Metaphors for life in Pashto language. It argues that since life is a very rich conceptual domain, therefore it has more than one conceptual mapping. It identifies eight conceptual metaphors for Life in Pashto speech community, and demonstrates through mapping and entailment that how the target domain life is understood through several source domains in the Pashto language and culture. The identified metaphors for life are: Life is a Food, Life is a Journey, Life is a Person, Life is a Container, Life is Music, Life is a Burdon, Life is a Gamble and Life is a Trial.

Keywords: Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Cognitive Linguistics, Life, Target domain, Source Domain, Pashto Language and Culture.

Introduction

Metaphor, inherent in our conceptual system, is understanding one kind of thing in terms of another\textsuperscript{1}. This study attempts to identify and interpret conceptual metaphors for life in Pashto language and culture. Pashto language belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European languages\textsuperscript{2}. It is the official language of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan along with Dari (Afghan Persian). Pashto language is also spoken by majority of the population in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Baluchistan provinces of Pakistan as their mother tongue. Pashto is also spoken in the northeast of Iran, Tajikistan and India, United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Saudi Arabia.

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\textsuperscript{1}George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, Metaphors We Live By, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980): 5
\textsuperscript{2}Tariq Rahman, “Pashto Language & Identity Formation in Pakistan.” Contemporary South Asia, (4)2, (1995): 151-170
CMT proposes that cross-domain mapping govern our conceptual system. The mapping take place on conceptual level in such a way that one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another conceptual domain. A Conceptual domain represents an organized knowledge about an experience. In CMT, the conceptual domains have specific names, the target domain and the source domain. Target domain is an understanding of a less delineated conceptual domain through metaphorical expressions. Source domain is a more delineated conceptual domain used for understanding the target domain. For instance, LIFE IS A PURPOSEFUL JOURNEY metaphor consists of the target domain, life, and source domain, journey.

The paper is purposefully divided into four secessions. The first secession introduces the CMT. The second secession delineates the methodology. The third secession identifies and interprets eight metaphors for life in Pashto language and culture. Other metaphors for life also exist besides the listed metaphors (Ref Unpublished MPhil thesis of Imran available in the Library of Area Study Center- University of Peshawar). The last secession concludes the discussion.

Methodology
The study applies Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) proposed by Lakoff and Johnson in their works Metaphors We live By and Philosophy in the Flesh and elsewhere. Moreover, it utilizes their mappings method applied to source and target domains to establish a conceptual metaphor. The following method of CMT was applied.

The Identification of Metaphorical Linguistic Expression
The identification of linguistic metaphorical expression consists of two main steps: the first step involve a close reading or careful listening of the sources with the intention of finding potential metaphorical linguistic expression. The second step is the scrutiny of the potential metaphorical linguistic expressions with respect to the following selection criteria:

A metaphorical linguistic expression is any expression involving a separate source domains. A source domain is more delineated, detailed, and concrete that refers to a concept expressed through using a word, phrase or personification. Normally such linguistic items refer to something that is

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5 Imran Khan, Conceptual Metaphors for Life in English and Pashto. (M. Phil. Thesis, Area Study Centre Russia, China, Central Asia & Afghanistan, University of Peshawar, 2017)
Concrete. Personification is the process of referring to a concept by using a word or phrase that generally denotes a living being. In cognitive linguistics, personification based metaphorical expressions are considered as a type of ontological metaphorical expressions.

For instance, ख़ा ली ज़ौन (empty Life) is marked as a metaphorical expression because the word “ख़ा ली” (empty) normally collocates with physical containers such as ख़ा ली पिया ली (empty cup), but the adjective “ख़ा ली” (empty) is here used for the abstract noun ज़ौन (Life). Similarly the phrase, ستره ج़ون (weary Life) is marked as a personification of Life because “ستره” (weary) usually collocates with living beings. Here, it is used for the abstract concept of Life.

Once the selected metaphorical expression passed the above-described criteria they were arranged under specific conceptual metaphors such as in the case ख़ा ली ज़ौन (empty Life) the expression was arranged under conceptual metaphors LIFE IS A CONTAINER, and ستره ج़ون (Weary Life) was arranged under the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS LIVING BEING/PERSON. Pashto Metaphorical linguistic expressions were represented by bold and letters in each sentence.

Sources of Pashto Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions and Conceptual Metaphors for Life
Pashto dictionaries, both print and online, Pashto newspapers and literary texts, movies, songs, television and radio programs, research journals, magazines, autobiographies, proverbs, and tapha were utilized as source for selecting Pashto linguistic metaphorical expressions. On the one hand, it is assumed that dictionaries are records of the lexicon of a language collected by professional lexicographers who organize a consistent and rich source of everyday expressions. On the other hand, newspapers, literary texts, movies, songs, television and radio programs, research journals, magazines, autobiographies, songs, proverbs and tapha provide access to the collection of naturally occurring data pertaining to linguistic expression.

Metaphors For Life In Pashto
Conceptual metaphors for Life in Pashto as identified and interpreted by the study are as follows:

ज़ौन द ख़ोराक यो ख़िज़ दि
3.1 Life is a Food
One of the conceptual understandings of life in Pashto language is that Life is a Food/ eatable thing.
Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions -

The Life-As-Food Mapping

Life corresponds to food.
The eating of food corresponds to living life.
The eater corresponds to the person who lives life.
Tasty food corresponds to happy/enjoyable/good life and
Sweet food corresponds to good life.
Bitter food or tasteless food corresponds to undesirable/unhappy/sad life.
Finishing food corresponds to end of life.

The Life-As-Food Entailment

Since food is a thing that gives either good taste or bad taste, life's experiences can be good or bad.
Food is enjoyed; life is appreciated.
Instead of only one food we prefer and enjoy various types of foods; routine life becomes boring so in order to enjoy life we want to have various experiences.
Sweet and tasty foods give pleasure; good experiences in life give pleasure and entertainment.
Bitter or tasteless foods don’t give us pleasure; bad experiences in life deprive us of pleasure and happiness.

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6Inam Ullah Jan Qais, زړه که دماغ (Trans. Heart or Brain), (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1999), 50
8Salim Raz, زه لمحه لمحه قتلیو (Trans./Being Killed Every Moment), (Peshawar: Master Printers, Jangi Mohalla, 2009), 55
If someone has tasted sweet and bitter food then one knows both the
tastes; one having both good and bad experiences knows both sides of
the life-experienced or seasoned person
Food gets finished; life ends.

ژوند یو سفر دی

3.2 Life is a Journey
The metaphor for life that is present in most of the languages is Life is a
Journey. It is also present in Pashto language. Consider the following
expressions:

Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions

らوړل شپ یو سفر، یو سفر پیل کوم چې هغه په ۱۹۲۴ کښې شورو، په ۲۹ دسمبر ۲۰۰۹ کښې خپل منزل ته ورسېدی. د هغه په خپله پکښې پریوځی -

د هغه شپ یو سفر کوم چې هغه په ۱۹۲۴ کښې شورو، په ۲۹ دسمبر ۲۰۰۹ کښې خپل منزل ته ورسېدی. د هغه په خپله پکښې پریوځی -

10Muflis Durani, "(Trans. The Father of Pashto Journalism)"
12Inam Ullah Jan Qais, "(Trans. Heart or Brain), (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1999),113
14Ibid 43
15Ibid 78
The Life-As-Journey Mapping

Journey corresponds to life.
Destination/stops correspond to life goal and achievements.
Traveler corresponds to human
Weather condition corresponds to degree of harshness.
Different roads correspond to different choices.
Impediments to travel correspond to difficulties in life.
End of journey corresponds to end of life.

The Life-As-Journey Entailment

Since journey has a starting point, life has a starting point that is birth of human.
Since journey requires a traveler reaching a destination, life is led by human having aims, objectives, purposes and goals.
Journey requires a specific rout to reach certain destination; life aims and goals can be achieved by doing certain activities.
People can lose their way during journey; life aims and goals remain unachievable by engaging in something different.
Co-travelers have common destination; people can have common life goals.
A leader shows the path to traveler; parents, councilor and political leader guide people towards achieving certain life goals.
A traveler can face impediment during travel; a person leading life can face difficulties in life.
Harsh weather makes the journey difficult; certain degree of difficulties can make achieving life goals difficult.
Choosing a rout; choosing an option.
Different routes lead to different destination; different life options lead to different goals.

3.3 Life is a Person

The following linguistic expressions reveal that one of the life metaphors in Pashto language is that Life is a Person.

Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions

Ibid. 204
18Salim Raz, (Trans. Being Killed Every Moment), (Peshawar: Master Printers, JangiMohalla, 2009), 25
The Life-As-Person Mapping

Person corresponds to life
Good health of person corresponds to good life
Killing of person corresponds to ending life
Crying and sobbing of person corresponds to unhappy life
Tiredness of person corresponds to disappointment in life
Indifference of a person corresponds to uninteresting life
Crucifying person corresponds to difficulties in life
Disloyalty of person corresponds to uncertainty about life

The Life-As-Person Entailment

Since a person has physical existence, life has existence
A person with good health enjoys happy life; Wealth and good experiences make life enjoyable.
Persons give us grief and sorrow; life gives us grief and sorrows.
A person gets tired while doing tasks; people get disappointed after unfruitful struggle for achieving life goals.
A person challenging established norms gets crucified; struggling for a good life people face substantial difficult and threatening situations.
An Indifferent person dissociate himself from a situation; people stop taking interest in achieving life goals
Disloyal person is perceived as unpredictable person and she can stop returning love any moment, life is uncertain and one can cease to exist due to unpredictable celestial and terrestrial calamities.

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19Salim Raz, لمحه لمحه لمحه لمحه لمحه لمحه لمحه لمحه لمحه لمحه لمحه لمحه لمحه لمحه لمحه L, (Peshawar: Master Printers, Jangi Mohalla, 2009), 47
20Ibid 6
3.4 Life is a Container

Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions

The Life-As-Container Mapping

The Life-As-Container Entailment

3.5 Life is Music

Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions

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21 Inam Ullah Jan Qais, زړه که دماغ (Trans. Heart or Brain), (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1999), 112
The Life-As-Music Mapping
Music corresponds to life
Musical instrument corresponds to cause of life events
Rise of melody corresponds to good life events
Fall of melody corresponds to bad life events
Singer corresponds to the person living a life
Singing happy songs corresponds to happy life
Singing sad songs corresponds to unhappy life

The Life-As-Music Entailment
Since music exists, life exists
Various melodies are caused by musical instrument; external forces in life cause various events
Melodies rise, life has good events by virtue of UP IS GOOD metaphor
Melodies fall; life has bad events by virtue of DOWN IS BAD metaphor
Singer sings happy songs, life is happy
Singer sings sad songs, life is unhappy

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22 Salim Raz, _زوندون خه د یو ساندر د غربهی_ (Trans./Being Killed Every Moment). (Peshawar: Master Printers, JangiMohalla, 2009), 54
24 George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, _Metaphors We Live By_. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 15
25 Ibid
3.6 Life is a Burden

Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions

The Life-As-Burden Mapping
Weight corresponds to life
To carry weight corresponds to living disappointed life
Getting rid of weight corresponds to become hopeful and free of despair and emotional stress.

The Life-As-Burden Entailment
To carry weight requires great effort and stamina, to live a life with despair takes a lot of energy and effort.
Weight makes people tired after sometime; people get disappointed after doing a fruitless activity and stop struggle.
When people get rid of weight they feel relaxed, when people get out of despair they feel hopeful and happy.

3.7 Life is a Gamble

Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions

26 Salim Raz, (Trans./Being Killed Every Moment). (Peshawar: Master Printers, JangiMohalla, 2009), 75
27 Ikram Uddin Mafton, (Welcoming Death), https://incubator.wikimedia.org/wiki/Wb/ps/%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%B1_%D8%AA%D9%87%D8%B1%DA%A9%D9%84%DB%8C Retrieved on 25/1/2018
The Life-As- Gamble Mapping
Gambling corresponds to life.
Gambler corresponds to the person living life.
Gamblers correspond to people in a society involved in activities such as keeping relationships, playing sports, politics etc.
Losing in gamble corresponds to losing something important such as life, honor etc.
Moves in gamble correspond to strategies applied to win a life competition.
Losing everything in gamble corresponds to complete failure in life.
Winning gamble corresponds to success.

The Life-As- Gamble Entailment
Since gamble require gambler, life require person.
Since gamble requires other gamblers, life requires people as competitors.
Since gamble has risk, life has risks.
Since gambler loses assets or money, people loses life, honor etc.
Sometime gambler loses everything; sometime people fail completely doing a risky business or an activity.
Gambler sometime wins, people achieve success doing risky tasks.
Gamble require good moves to win, life require skill to take part in risky tasks to complete them.

3.8 Life is a Trial
One of the conceptual understandings of life in Pashto language is that Life is a trial. This metaphor is greatly influenced by religious discourse.
Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions

د قیامت په ورځ به ټول انسانان خدایی ته حاضر وی او د هغوی د اعمالو حساب کتاب به ورسه کوي او خیله فیصله به ورتی او روي خدایی یاک لونه انصاف کونکی کی دی.

د قیامت په ورځ به خدایی یاک ته ب د خیل بیو اعمالو خه جواب ورکوي.

په تیغیر یاک ب خبرو عمل زموندر د پاره خلاصی سپی دی.

د قیامت په روخ ب زموندر اندازمه په مونتر کو اوی کوی.

د حضور یاک د دغه او بیو اخلاقو بیو داسی نمونه ونیا ته وندوې جیه تر قیامتیه یوری د یاک انسانو د پاره لب ساقن کیلو جوکه او د هغهی د خلاصی وسیله ده.

The Life-As-Trial Mapping

Trial corresponds to life
Witness in trial corresponds to bad action in life. (According to religious discourse in Pashto language and culture, it is believed that our organs such as hands, eyes etc., would be witnesses to our bad actions, and they would speak about our wrong doings on the Day of Judgment)
Public prosecutors or lawyers corresponds to Prophets, sages, wise people and political leaders
Judge corresponds to God
Judgment day corresponds to Dooms day
Criminals corresponds to sinners
Punishment of criminals corresponds to punishment of sinners.

The Life-As-Trial Entailment

Since trial has a specific period, life has a specific period.
Since trial requires witnesses to the crime, our bad actions cannot be kept hidden and our organs such as hands, eyes and ear would be witness to our sins.
Since lawyer defend their clients, prophets, sages, wise men and political leaders defend people and advise them not to engage in bad actions.
Since trial requires a judge, people will face God as judge of their life actions in after life.
Decision of a trial is announced on judgment day, God will decide about good and bad actions of people on doomsday.
Judge punish criminals, God punish sinners.
Discussion and Conclusion

Section 3.1 shows that the vocabulary pertaining to source domain food such as tastes, sweetness, bitterness, relish, food without salt were mapped onto target domain life. Hence, life is understood as food. Moreover, the conceptual metaphor life as food is an ontological metaphor that highlights qualitative aspect of life while hides other aspects of life such as purpose etc. at the same time.

Section 3.2 indicates that the vocabulary pertaining to source domain journey such as straight, zigzag, start, escape, destination, well of water, do not stand, travel, ditch, dig, fall into, stumbles, path, road, walk, steps, shackles, robbers, on the way with you, reached, journey, on a straight path were mapped onto target domain life. Moreover, the conceptual metaphor life as journey is a structural metaphor that highlights the purpose and progress aspect of life while hides other aspects of life such as quality etc. at the same time. Life as journey metaphor shows that Pashtuns understand life is a purposeful activity.

Section 3.3 demonstrates that the vocabulary pertaining to source domain person such as restless, run, fed-up, stumbling, healthy, life, love, loyalty, offers / sacrifice, killed, killed, execute, killed, breath in the body, throat, crucified, were mapped onto target domain life. Moreover, the conceptual metaphor life as person is an ontological metaphor that highlights the qualitative aspect of life while hides other aspects of life such as purpose at the same time. Life as person metaphor shows that Pashtuns understand life is a qualitative entity.

Section 3.4 exhibits that the vocabulary pertaining to source domain container such as empty, full was mapped onto target domain life. Moreover, the conceptual metaphor life as container is an ontological metaphor that highlights the qualitative and
quantitative aspect of life while hides other aspects of life such as purpose, entertainment etc., at the same time. Life as container metaphor shows that Pashtuns understand life as a qualitative and quantitative entity.

Section 3.5 shows that the vocabulary pertaining to source domain music such as تارونه / strings, چېړلې / touch/play, رباب / rabab a musical instrument, اوتړنګوله / high & low melody, تارونه / singers, واي / musical compositions, سوز / song, چېړلې / play, تال / soft, پوست / music sound, شرنک / musical sound were mapped onto target domain life. Moreover, the conceptual metaphor life as music is a structural metaphor that highlights the entertainment and creative aspect of life while hides other aspects of life such as quality, quantity and purpose at the same time. Life as music metaphor shows that Pashtuns understand life as an entertainment and a thing of joy.

Section 3.6 indicates that the vocabulary pertaining to source domain burden such as پيتې / burden, په اوږو بار / weight on shoulders, نا توا نا اوږو / weak shoulders, مړي / big/heavy, درونه / heavy, اوتړنګوله / dead body, را اوچت کړم / I lifted the [weight], واره / dead body [weight] were mapped onto target domain life. Moreover, the conceptual metaphor life as burden is an ontological metaphor that highlights the difficulties and hopelessness about life while hides other aspects of life such as creativity and entertainment, quality, quantity and purpose eat the same time. Life as burden metaphor shows that Pashtuns understand life as a hopeless event.

Section 3.7 exhibits that the vocabulary pertaining to source domain gamble such as بائېلل / lost, په داؤ لګولي شوې / put at stake, چال / move/trick, یکه / trump card, مازغه / mind, خواني / youth, دين / religion, ايمان / faith, سکون او اطمنان / peace, جوانی / youth, مازغه / mind, مال / wealth, نجوم / gold/wealth, ژانر / gamble, زر / cheap, وکتو / win, خان / self, اندامونه / body parts [metaphorically as people], were mapped onto target domain life. Moreover, the conceptual metaphor life as gamble is a structural metaphor that highlights risk aspect of life while hides other aspects of life such as creativity and entertainment, quality, quantity, challenge, hopelessness and purpose at the same time. Life as gamble metaphor shows that Pashtuns understand life as an event that includes high risks.

The vocabulary pertaining to source domain trial such as خداوند / appear before God, چېږي / verdict / decision, اوروي / announce, دامونه / plead, ځان / released, سب / reason, ځوړکي / witness, جوانی / youth, جوانی / youth, اندامونه / body parts [metaphorically as people], were mapped onto target domain life. Moreover, the conceptual metaphor life as trial is a structural metaphor that highlights the moral judgment and justice aspect about life while hides other
aspects of life such as creativity and entertainment, quality, quantity, high-risk event at the same time. Life as trial metaphor shows that Pashtuns understand life as an activity based on retributive justice.

Sections 3.1 to 3.8 indicates that life is understood as food, journey, person, container, music, burden, gamble and trial in the Pashto language and culture because the lexicon pertaining to these source domains are used to talk about life rather than these domains. Each mapping in all sections is a single instance of the conceptual metaphor life as food, journey, person, container, music, burden, gamble and trial respectively. The knowledge of Pashtuns about these source domains is explicit and detailed as compared to life because these domains are concrete repetitive bodily experience in Pashtun culture that gets a structure in the mind through persistent recurrence.

Looking at the importance of Pashto language, Pashto linguistics has yet to look outside traditional Aristotelian view of metaphor and encounter the conceptual metaphor theory. This study applies conceptual metaphor theory on Pashto language for the first time and breaks the ground by identifying, analyzing and establishing conceptual metaphors for life in Pashto. Further, by demonstrating conceptual metaphors for life in Pashto speech community, this study shall also contribute to a body of literature that collectively demonstrates that Metaphor is inherent in human conceptual system, reasoning and speech. Furthermore, it shall pave way for upcoming research scholars to conduct research on various conceptual metaphors such as love, happiness, peace, anger, fear, time, cause, self, mind, sacrifice, violence, death, State etc. Moreover, it shall open a window to apply CMT in various academic fields such as English language teaching, discourse analysis, political studies and peace and conflict studies in Pashto speech community.

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