Conceptions of Life and Death in Amharic: A View from Cognitive Semantics

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Abstract

This paper aims at investigating metaphorical conceptions of LIFE and DEATH in Amharic from the perspective of cognitive semantics, specifically conceptual metaphor theory. In this theory, language is viewed as providing data that can show human beings conceive concepts (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 116). The analysis shows that the Amharic speech community can metaphorically conceptualize LIFE in terms of space, specifically a journey and a bounded region in space, a precious possession, a taste, and a physical load. Also, a lifetime can be viewed as the length of a physical entity. Moreover, among Amharic speakers, the abstract concept of DEATH can be understood in terms of space, more specifically a physically moving entity, falling, a unidirectional movement, and a final destination. It is also found out that the source domains of sleep, an adversary, the earth, a departure, a rest, and the loss of a precious possession can be mapped onto the target domain of death.

Keywords: life, death, Amharic, conceptual metaphor, semantics

1. Introduction

Amharic belongs to the Ethio-Semitic subfamily of the Semitic family of the Afroasiatic phylum (Gragg & Hoberman 2012:149). Within Ethiopian Semitic, it has been classified in the AA sub-group of the transversal group of the South Ethio-Semitic branch together with Argoba (Girma 2001:82; Hetzron 1972:119).

Amharic is one of the most thoroughly documented and researched Ethiopian languages. The phonological, morphological and syntactic aspects of the language have been described in numerous works (for example, Meyer 2012; Anbessa & Hudson 2007; Baye 2007; Mengistu 2000, 2010; Leslau 1995; Bender & Hailu 1978; Taddese 1972; Bender 1969, 1968, 1966; and others). However, semantics and pragmatics are not well-studied topics in Amharic

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linguistics except for some works (Gashaw 2020; Tadesse 2020; Derib 2016, 2007; Baye 1997). Therefore, the present study aims to describe conceptual contents of metaphorical expressions for the concepts of life and death from the perspective of cognitive semantics, more specifically conceptual metaphor theory.

The paper will proceed as follows: Section 2 and 3 provide the theoretical background and methods of the study, respectively. Section 4 investigates in detail how life and death are metaphorically conceptualized. Finally, results are summarized.

2. Theoretical framework

This paper is approached from the perspective of conceptual metaphor theory that can be subsumed under cognitive semantics theory. The next two subsections provide clear concise theoretical background of the study.

2.1. Cognitive semantics

Cognitive semantic theory has developed from 1970s onwards as part of cognitive linguistics (Fortis & Vittrant 2016:2). It is a psychological and a cognitive oriented approach. Within cognitive semantics, treating semantics and pragmatics separately is not relevant; it takes a maximalist perspective on meaning in which language should be viewed in the context of cognition and context of use (Geeraerts 2010:182). Cognitive semantics sees language as a cognitive structure (Gärdenfors 1999:20). It focuses on conceptual contents that encompass any experiential content, including affect and perception, and its structure in language (Talmy 2000:4).

Cognitive semantics has six basic tenets (Gärdenfors 1999:21, 1996b:162).

1. "Meaning is conceptualization in a cognitive model (not truth conditions in possible word)."

Within this approach, it is believed that meaning is in the mind of the speakers who produce and understand linguistic utterances and it is seen as a mental entity (see Langacker 2013:27; Gärdenfors 1999:21). In addition, in cognitive semantics, meaning exists in mind before it is uttered in linguistic forms.

2. "Cognitive models are mainly perceptually determined (meaning is not independent of perception" (Gärdenfors 1999:21, 1996b:163).

Meaning is considered as something related to perception; it is perceptually grounded. The core hypothesis of this theory is that forming meanings of linguistic expressions is similar to storing perceptions in memories.

3. "Semantic elements are based on spatial or topological objects (not symbols that can be composed according to some system of rules)."

The conceptual schemas of meanings are often based on geometric or spatial construction. The conceptual space has different quality dimensions which can be either sensory related dimensions (for instance, color, pitch, temperature, weight) or abstract, non-sensory character (for example, time) (see Gärdenfors 2004:11, 1999:22, 1996b:162). These quality dimensions primarily serve to represent various qualities of objects in different domains (Gärdenfors 2001:168).

Gärdenfors (2004:10) concludes that the similarities between two objects can be defined through the distance between their representing points in space. Our judgments on the objects similarities may show our perceptual dimensions and their organization. Thus, the conceptual space has the role of serving as a tool to sort out different relations between perceptions.

4. "Cognitive models are primary image-schematic (not propositional). Image-schemas are transformed by metaphoric and metonymic operations" (Gärdenfors 1996b:163, 1999:23).

Image-schema is the most important semantic structure in cognitive semantics. Schemas that are fundamental meaning carriers include "source-path-goal" and link. These schemas have an inherent structure. In cognitive semantics, metaphors and metonymies have been given key positions which are not easy to treat in other semantic theories (see Gärdenfors 1999:24, 1996a:36, 1996b:164).

5. Semantics comes first to syntax and partly determines it (Gärdenfors 1996b:163, 1999:23).

According to this theory, semantics appears in our mind before we utter linguistic elements and it may determine grammars which are used to represent those meanings. It can be concluded that syntax cannot be described independently of semantics (Gärdenfors 1999:24, 1996b:164).

6. "Concepts show prototype effects (instead of following the Aristotelian paradigm based on necessary and sufficient conditions)."

In prototype theory of cognitive semantics, within a category of objects, certain members are more representative of the category (see Geeraerts 2010:184; Gärdenfors 1999:24, 1996b:164).

Under cognitive semantics theory, a specific theoretical approach, namely conceptual metaphor theory is used as a theoretical background of this study.

2.2. Conceptual metaphor theory

In the classic theories, all subject matters can be understood as literal. Metaphor was considered as the language, which is not used in ordinary everyday language. In addition, it was viewed as the matter of language (Lakoff 1993:202). But in contemporary theory, i.e., conceptual metaphor theory, metaphor has been found to exist in all aspects of everyday life, not only in language but in thought and action in which metaphorical expressions are used to conceptualize one mental domain through another domain. Thus, metaphorical expressions can be seen as general mappings across conceptual domains (see Kövecses 2015:2, 2010:3; Lakoff & Johnson 2003:3; Lakoff 1993:203). There are two types of conceptual domains: source domain and target domain. The source domain is a conceptual domain from which metaphorical expressions are drawn to understand another conceptual domain which is called target domain (Kövecses 2010:4).

Within contemporary metaphor theory, metaphor serves to understand or experience one kind of thing in terms of another and can be seen as part of conceptual systems; it is not just a matter of language or of mere words (see Lakoff & Johnson 2003:6; Glynn 2002:542; Lakoff 1993:208). For instance, the metaphorical expression LOVE IS A JOURNEY is an ontological mapping between two domains, that is, we understand the target domain, LOVE, using the source domain, JOURNEY. Therefore, metaphor is not a matter of a particular word or expression. In general, it is not purely linguistic expression but thought or reason. The mapping is primary and language is secondary (Lakoff 1993:208).

Metaphorical mappings have an invariance principle, that is, "metaphorical mappings preserve 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" (Lakoff 1993:215). This principle pledges that the interiors of container-schema are mapped onto interiors of target domains; exteriors of container schema are mapped onto exterior target domains; boundaries of container schema are mapped onto boundaries of the target domain. For path

schemas, sources are mapped onto sources; goals are mapped onto goals; trajectories are mapped onto trajectories; and so on (*see* Lakoff 1993:215). Thus, image-schemas originated from human experiences control mappings across conceptual domains (Li 2014:26).

The mapping, a systematic correspondence between source domain and target domain, that allow us to conceptualize one aspect of a concept in terms of another highlights one aspect of a concept, which is consistent with metaphor and hides other aspects of a concept that are inconsistent with the metaphor. A metaphorical concept allows us to give more emphasis on one aspect of a concept but it can keep us from focusing on other aspects, which are not related with that metaphorical expression (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:10).

Geeraerts (2010:204) summarizes, conceptual metaphor theory depends on three basic fundamental ideas: first, the view that metaphor is a cognitive phenomenon; second, the view that metaphorical expressions need to be analyzed as mapping between two conceptual domains such as source domain and target domain; third, the notion that linguistics semantics is experientially grounded.

3. Methods

This study is based on corpus (i.e., an electronic web corpus created by Obedkova (2016), written and oral text, and elicited data. The written texts include narratives on blogs (e.g., Dereje (2019)), novels such as Bealu (1992) and Getaneh (2017), poems (e.g., Bewketu 2017), and a book of Amharic idiomatic expressions written by Amsalu and Dagnachew (1988). These data sources are selected randomly. Notice that I use IPA symbols in the transcription. Also, I gloss the linguistic data according to Leipzing glossing rules updated by Comrie, Haspelmath & Bickel (2015). The examples are transcribed in three-line glossing. The first line is the phonemic transcription, the second is the linear morphological analysis and the third is the free translation. However, when there is a phonological or morphophonemic process, I give the phonetic form of the word in square brackets following its phonemic form.

4. Conceptions of LIFE and DEATH

The concepts of LIFE and DEATH are highly elusive but universal and thus can be construed via expressions of more concrete concepts (Kövecses 2010: 26). The analysis shows that *hijwət* 'life', in the Amharic speech community, can

be understood in terms of space, possession, physical entity, and light. Besides, the Amharic speech community conceives of death in terms of space, adversary, loss (of possession), rest, sleep, etc.

4.1. Life as space metaphor

As it is realized in the metaphorical linguistic expressions that are presented in (1) and (2) below, the abstract concept of LIFE can be comprehended through spatialization metaphors which results in the conceptual metaphor[2] LIFE IS SPACE. Notice that most of our basic semantic concepts are understood via space that has more palpable visual representations (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 464). Specifically, *hɨjwət* 'life', among Amharic speakers, can be viewed as a BOUNDED REGION IN SPACE and as a JOURNEY. Consider the following linguistic metaphors:

LIFE IS A BOUNDED REGION IN SPACE

(1) a. *wədə hɨjwət-ʃ   jə-gəbba-u >[jəgəbbaw]   mətʃe nə-u > [nəw]*
     to   life-POSS3SG.F   REL-enter-3SG.M[3]   when COP-3SG.M
     'When did he come into your life?' (elic[4].)

   b. *kə=hɨjwət-e   as-wət'ťa-hu-t*
      from=life-POSS1SG   CAUS-exit-1SG-OBJ3SG.M
      'I took him out of my life.' (elic.)

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[2] Note that the terms "linguistic metaphor" and "conceptual metaphor" are used frequently in the analysis. For a better understanding, they need to be distinguished. Kövecses (2010:4) states that the former refers to "words or other linguistic expressions that came from the language or terminology of the more concrete conceptual domain," while the latter refers to a mapping of two domains (that is, from source domain onto target domain). Thus, conceptual metaphors are the underlying form of linguistic metaphors. This means that linguistic metaphors are specific expressions, the surface manifestations of conceptual metaphors. In this paper, conceptual metaphors are spelled in small capital letters to show that they underlie conceptually.

[3] While glossing the data, the abbreviation SBJ has not been used. This is because Amharic verbs almost always appear with subject agreement markers. So when I give information such as number, person and gender, the reference is to the subject of the verb. In addition, for perfective verb form, I do not include the abbreviation PFV

[4] It refers to elicited data.

c. *abbat-e*   *bə=hɨjwət-e*   *wɨst'*   *tɨllɨk'*   *bota*   *alləu > alləw*
    father-POSS1SG   at=life-POSS1SG   in   big   space   has-3SG.M-OBJ3SG.M
    'My father played an important role in my life.' (elic.)

d   *... jə-gəbba-bb-ət*   *hɨjwət ...*
    ... REL-enter.3SG.M-APPL.LOC-OBJ3SG.M   life ...
    '... The life that he entered ...'   (Obedkova 2016)

In literal sense, the terms *gəbba-* 'enter' (1a, d), *wət't'a-* 'exit' (1b), and *wɨst'* 'in' (1c) refer to an enclosure type of conformation. But metaphorically, they express someone's life. This implies that the Amharic speech community conceptualizes life by means of a bounded space. Such association yields the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A BOUNDED REGION IN SPACE. One can argue that the utterances under (1) can be seen as the realizations of the conceptual metaphor LIFE AS A CONTAINER. The fact is that everything is contained in space that can be bounded or unbounded. The terms *gəbba-* 'entered' (1a, d), *wət't'a-* 'exited' (1b), *wɨst'* 'in' (1c), and *bota* 'space' (1c) came from the language of the concrete concept of space. Therefore, these expressions substantiate the metaphor LIFE AS A BOUNDED REGION IN SPACE THAT CAN FUNCTION AS A CONTAINER.

Moreover, life can be viewed as a journey that results in the following underlying metaphor:

A (PURPOSEFUL) LIFE IS A JOURNEY

(2) a. *jə-hɨjwət-n*   *məngəd*   *as-ajj-ə-ɲɲ*
         GEN-life-ACC   path   CAUS-see-3SG.M-OBJ1SG
         'He showed me the path of life.' (overheard)

     b. *hɨjwət*   *rutʃtʃ'a*   *nə-u > [nəw]*
         life   race   COP-3SG.M
         'Life is a race.' (elic.)

     c. *hɨjwət*   *al-tɨ-k'om-ɨmm>[attɨk'omɨmm]*   *wədə*   *fɨt*   *tɨ-k'ət't'ɨl-all-ətʃtʃ*
         life   NEG-3SG.F-stop.IPFV-NCM   towards   front   3SG.F-continue.IPFV-AUX-3SG.F
         'Life does not stop, it moves forward.' (elic.)

     d. *jə-hɨjwət*   *ak'ɨt'atʃ'tʃ'a-u-n > [ak'ɨt'atʃ'tʃ'awn]*   *k'əjjər-ə*
         GEN-life   direction-POSS3SG.M-ACC   change-3SG.M
         'He changed the direction of his life.' (elic.)

e.	*jə-gɨll*	*gudaj-atʃɨʃɨn-ɨn*	*tɨt-ən*	*lə=gara*
	GEN-personal	affair-POSS1PL-ACC	leave.CVB-1PL	for=common
	alama-atʃɨʃɨn	*b=ɨnn-rotʼ*	*ɨndet*	*tɨru nəbbər*
	goal-POSS1PL	if=1PL-run.IPFV	how	good COP.PST.3SG.M

'How good it would be if we left our personal affairs behind and ran for a common goal.' (Bealu 1992: 38).

In example (2), terms that came from the language of the less abstract concept of JOURNEY (e.g., *məngəd* 'path' (2a), *akʼɨtʼatʃʼtʃʼa* 'direction' (2d), *rutʃʼtʃʼa* 'race' (2b), *-rotʼ* 'run' (2e) and *wədə fɨt tɨkʼətʼtʼɨlalətʃɨʃ* 'it moves forward' (2c)) describe the more abstract concept of LIFE. From the linguistic metaphors, we can find the following set of systematic correspondences between the two domains: a traveler in source domain associates to a person leading a life in target domain; path of movement maps onto a career of a person; the purpose of movement structures the goal of life. Therefore, such set of mappings characterizes the conceptual metaphor A (PURPOSEFUL) LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Note that this metaphor is explored in different previous studies (e.g., Kövecses 2010: 35; Lakoff 1993: 233).

4.2. Life as a precious possession metaphor

The metaphorical linguistic expressions in (3) below suggest that the Amharic speech community conceptualize life as a precious possession and death as the loss of that possession.

(3) a.	*hɨjwət*	*wɨdd*	*gəsʼsʼə_bərəkət*	*nat*
	life	precious	gift	COP.3SG.F

'Life is a precious gift.' (overheard)

b.	*wɨdd*	*hɨjwət-ɨn=ɨnna kɨbur akal-ɨn*	*lə=alə-matʼat >[laləmatʼat][...]*
	precious	life-ACC=and precious body-ACC	in.order=NEG-to.lose

'Not to lose precious life and body […]' (Obedkova 2016)

c.	*kə=wɨdd*	*jə-səw*	*hɨjwət*	*bɨknət*	*bəstəkʼər [...]*
	from=precious	GEN-human	life	Loss	Except

'Except for the loss of precious human life […]' (Obedkova 2016)

d.	*jə-ʔitjopʼɨja*	*hɨzb jə-wɨdd*	*lɨdʒ-otʃ-u-n*	*hɨjwət*	*gəbbɨr-o ...*
	GEN-Ethiopia	people GEN-dear	child-PL-POSS3SG.M-ACC	life	pay-CVB3SG.M [...]

'The Ethiopian people having sacrificed the lives of their children […]' (Obedkova 2016)

e. *bə=hukət=ɨnna   bɨt'ɨbbɨt'-u   jə-səw   hɨjwət   t'əffa*
   at=riot=and   riot-DEF   GEN-human   life   be.lost.3SG.M
   'Human lives were lost in the riots.' (Obedkova 2016)

Note that the term *gəs'ə_bərəkət* 'gift' in (3a) depicts life as a possession one can own. Also, the lexical units encoding the loss of a possession such as *mat'at* 'to lose' (3b), *bɨknət* 'loss (of wealth)' (3c), *gəbbɨr-* 'having paid (money) (as a tax)' (3d), *t'əffa* 'be lost' (3e) metaphorically express the semantic notion of death. This entails that life is perceived as a possession. Moreover, the use of the term *wɨdd* 'precious' in (3a through d) shows that the concept of LIFE can be considered as a precious possession in Amharic. Therefore, the linguistic metaphors under discussion are the manifestations the underlying metaphor LIFE IS A PRECIOUS POSSESSION; DEATH IS THE LOSS OF THAT POSSESSION. These conceptual metaphors are also found in other previous studies such as Kövecses (2010: 55).

4.3. Life as a physical entity metaphor

Among Amharic speakers, the more abstract concept of life in target domain can be organized in terms of a physical entity in source domain. Also, a lifetime can be seen as a length of a physical entity.[5]

(4) a. *jɨh-ɨtʃ   wɨb=ɨnna   atʃ'tʃ'ɨr   hɨjwət [...]*
       this.F   beautiful=and   short   life …
     'This precious and short life […]' (Bealu 1992:65)

    b. *rədʒdʒɨm   ɨdme   ɨ-mmənɲ-ɨll-ɨh-all-əhu*
       long   age   1SG-wish.IPFV-APPL.BEN-OBJ2SG.M-AUX-1SG
     'I wish you a long life.' (elic.)

In literal sense, the terms *atʃ'tʃ'ɨr* 'short' and *rədʒdʒɨm* 'long' denote the length of a physical entity. However, in the aforementioned utterances (4), these lexemes express the length of time that somebody lives. From the linguistic metaphors in (4), a set of mappings between life and physical entity can be proposed as follows: a short lifetime is structured as a long physical object; a long lifetime is described as a long physical entity. Therefore, the metaphorical linguistic expressions characterize the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT; A LIFETIME IS A LENGTH OF A PHYSICAL OBJECT.

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[5] Derib (2016: 105-106) has identified that the length of garment [i.e., physical entity] in source domain can be ascribed to the abstract concept of time in target domain.

Furthermore, the metaphorical utterances that are given in (5) below show that the concept of LIFE can be organized in terms a physical load. This leads to the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A PHYSICAL LOAD. Consider the following examples:

(5) a. *tətʃʼəmmari   kʼʷankʼʷa   mawək'   hɨjwət-n   jɨ-a-kʼəll-all*
      additional   language   to.know   life-ACC   3SG.M-CAUS-be.easy.IPFV-AUX
      'Learning more languages makes life easier.' (overheard)

   b. *bə=ahun-u > [bahunu]   gizze   hɨjwət   kəbbad   nə-u > [nəw]*
      at=now-DEF   time   life   heavy   COP-3SG.M
      'Nowadays life is hard.' (lit. 'Nowadays life is heavy.') (elic.)

The term *-kʼəll* 'be easy' in (5a) metaphorically depicts life with minor challenges. In (5b), the term *kəbbad* 'heavy' metaphorically designates life with full of tough challenges. This implies that Amharic speakers conceive of life through the physical load. The conceptual mapping of a PHYSICAL LOAD onto LIFE is grounded in our physical experiences. Light loads need easy effort to carry or to move, but heavy loads require high energy. With the same analogy, leading a life with minor challenges needs less effort. But leading a life with full of challenges requires much effort.

4.4. Life as an entity that has a taste metaphor

It is found out that life can be understood in terms of an entity that has a taste. In such a case, an entity that has a sweet taste maps onto a happy life, and, an entity that has a bitter taste corresponds to an unhappy life. This results in the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS AN ENTITY THAT HAS A TASTE.

(6)   a. *[...] ɨjjə-tʼaffət'-ətʃʃ-atʃtʃəw   jə-all-ətʃtʃ-u > [jallətʃtʃw]   hɨjwət [...]*
       PROG-taste.sweet-3SG.F-OBJ3PL   REL-exist-3SG.F-DEF   life
       '[…] The life that they enjoy […]' (Obedkova 2016)

    b. *jɨhə   hɨjwət   mərrər-ə-ɲɲ*
      this   life   taste.bitter-3SG.M-OBJ1SG
      'This life made me bitter.' (elic.)

In these expressions, the verbs that came from the language of taste such as *tʼaffət'-* 'taste sweet' (6a) and *mərrər-* 'taste bitter' (6b) metaphorically represent the notions of a happy and an unhappy life, respectively. Such associations show that Amharic speakers construe the more abstract concept of LIFE via the more concrete of concept of AN ENTITY THAT HAS A TASTE. The

conceptual metaphor LIFE AS A PHYSICAL ENTITY THAT HAS A TASTE is also motivated by our physical experiences. We like a sweet taste than a bitter taste. Similarly, we want to have a joyful life and want to avoid a joyless life.

4.5. Life is light metaphor

Amharic linguistic metaphors suggest that the target domain of life can be comprehended as light in which a joyful life is viewed as bright light, and a joyless life is considered as dim light. Consider the following examples:

(7) a. *dɨngɨzgɨz   bə=al-ə > [balə]   hɨjwət   wɨst'   lə=all-u > [lallu]   hɨzb-otʃtʃ […]*
     dark.IDEO   at=say-3SG.M   life   in   for=exist-3PL   people-PL
     'The people leading a joyless life […]' (lit. 'The people who are in a dark life […]') (Obedkova 2016)

  b. *bə=tʃ'əlləma   hɨjwət   wɨst'   lə=all-u > [lallu] […]*
     at=dark   life   in   for=exist-3PL
     'Those who lead a joyless life […]' (lit. 'Those who are in a very dark life […]') (elic.)

  c. *hɨjwət-e   bərra*
     life-POSS1SG   light.3SG.M
     'I am leading a life of joy.' (lit. 'My life lit.') (elic.)

Note that the terms *dɨngɨzgɨz* 'dark' (7a) and *tʃ'əlləma* 'dark' (7b) metaphorically elaborate the notion of a joyless life. In (7c), the verb *bərra* 'lit' expresses a life of joy. Therefore, the metaphorical linguistic expressions in (7) realize the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS LIGHT. The conceptualization LIFE in terms of LIGHT has a physical basis. In bright light, we can perform different physical activities such as walking, digging, plowing, etc. With the same analogy, it is easy to lead a joyful life. But in dim light or total darkness, it is very challenging to do various physical activities. Similarly, leading a joyless life is very arduous.

4.6. Conceptualization of DEATH AS SPACE

Death is a change of state from the state of being alive to a state of being dead. Jie (2008:133) mentions that one cannot have a direct experience of his death because it happens to him only once. Linguistically, death can be described using the language of physical experiences.

Amharic speakers apprehend the concept of DEATH via the concept of SPACE. Specifically, they conceptualize DEATH as a DOWNWARD MOVEMENT, as an

ANDATIVE[6] MOVEMENT, as a DESTINATION OF MOTION, and as a MOVING ENTITY. Thus, the more abstract concept of DEATH can be understood in terms of multiple aspects of the more concrete concept of SPACE. Let us examine the linguistic metaphors derived from the general conceptual metaphor DEATH AS SPACE.

4.6.1. The journey

It is evident in the linguistic metaphors (8) below that there is a specific conceptual metaphor DEATH IS AN ANDATIVE MOVEMENT, which can be subsumed under the generic conceptual metaphor DEATH AS SPACE. This conceptual metaphor is found in ego-moving metaphors where the dying person is described as a moving entity (consider utterances under (8)). But in death-moving metaphors, the movement of death to the dying person can be venitive type (see § 4.6.4). The conventional conceptual metaphor DEATH AS SPACE is also identified in different cross-linguistic studies, e.g., in English (cf. Demjén, Semino & Koller 2016:3; Crespo-Fernández 2013:104; Ritchie 2013:23), Turkish (Özçalışkan 2003:309), and EkeGusi, a Bantu language (cf. Nyakoe, Matu & Ongarora 2012:1454). Since death is a transition from a state of being alive to a state of being dead, we can say that the mapping of MOVEMENT onto DEATH is derived from the more generic conceptual metaphors STATES ARE LOCATIONS and CHANGES FROM ONE STATE TO ANOTHER ARE MOTIONS (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:258).

(8) a. *pappe* **hed**-*hu-ll-ɨh*   *al-tʃal-hu-mm*   *hullu-n-ɨmm*   *antə*
     Pape   go-1SG-APLL.BEN-OBJ2SG.M   NEG-can-1SG-NCM   all-ACC-FOC   you
     tɨ-awɨk'-əw-all-əh > [tawɨk'əwalləh]
     2SG.M-know.IPFV-OBJ3SG.M-AUX-2SG.M
     'I die, Pape; you know everything why I decide to die.' (lit. 'I went, Pape; I cannot [to stay alive]; you know everything [what I faced].') (Getaneh 2017:489)

     b. *[...] bəzija*   *laj*   *dəgmo*   *ɨ=səmaj_bet*   *sɨ=ɨ-**hed** > [sɨ**hed**]*
       there   on   also   at=heaven   while=1SG-go.IPFV
     agəɲɲ-əw-all-əhuɲɲ > [agəɲɲəwalləhuɲɲ]   *ɨzija-ss*
     meet.IPFV-OBJ3SG.M-AUX-1SG   there-FOC
     al-ɨ-fəra-w-ɨmm [alfərawmm]   *ahun*   *ɨzija*   *kə=**hed**-ə*
     NEG-1SG-frighten.IPFV-OBJ3SG.M-NCM   now   There   since=go-3SG.M

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[6] The term andative refers to movement away from the deictic center (Fortis & Vittrant 2016:5).

wədih	subera	məhon-u-n	awɨk'-o-t-all
since	Subera	being-DEF-ACC	know.CVB-3SG.M-OBJ3SG.M-AUX

'[…] In addition to that, I meet him when I go to heaven. I am not afraid of him there   because he knew that he was one of the Subera families after he went there.' (Getaneh 2017:556)

c.
issu	wədə	jə-ɨmm-al-j-k'ər-əw > jəimmajk'ərəw]	aləm	**hid**-o-all > [hidʷall]
he	to	REL-CNT-NEG-know.IPFV-DEF	world	go.CVB-3SG.M-AUX

'He died.' (lit. 'He went to the unavoidable world.') (elic.)

d.
issua > [issʷa]	ɨzihar	zənd	**hed**-a-all-ətʃtʃ	ɨɲɲa	wədə
she	God	at	go.CVB-3SG.F-AUX-3SG.F	we	to
issua > [issʷa]	ɨnni-**hed**-all-ən			ɨndʒi	issua> [issʷa]
she	3PL-go.IPFV-AUX-3PL			not	She
al-tɨ-mət'a-mm > [atɨmət'amm]					
NEG-2SG.F-come.IPFV-NCM					

'She has gone to God and does not come back to us; instead, we go to her.' (spoken text)

As can be observed, Amharic speakers use spatial expressions with the andative verb *hed-* 'go' to talk about death. The metaphorical linguistic expressions show that the speakers conceptualize the abstract concept of DEATH in terms of motion which maps onto death. The use of the andative deictic motion verb *hed-* 'go' in linguistic metaphors suggests that death is understood as an andative movement. Moreover, utterance (8d) shows that it is perceived as a unidirectional movement. From the linguistic metaphors in (8), a set of systematic correspondences between MOVEMENT in source domain and DEATH in the target domain can be proposed as follows. The figure (i.e., traveler) is one who is about to die; the source of motion is earth; a deictic center is a living person; an andative movement is the situation of death. Since the verb *hed-* 'go' is a source-oriented verb, the linguistic metaphors in (8) do not specify the goal. However, from the belief of the speakers, we can understand that it can be heaven or hell. According to the Amhara people's belief, the destination is decided by the behavior that the dying person had and the activities that he did during his life. If he is judged as good by God, his destination is heaven; if not, his destination is hell (Məngədə Səmaj Part 1: Number 12, Part 2: Number 21; RaʔɨJə Marjam 8-16). This implies that the conceptualization of DEATH AS AN ANDATIVE MOVEMENT has religious motivation. In addition, death can be viewed as the beginning of the new world as it is manifested by the linguistic metaphor *jəmmaljɨk'ərəw aləm* 'the inescapable world' in (8c).

4.6.2. The destination

In Amharic, the experience of movement is used to understand the experience of life which is motion in space. And the concept of DEATH can also be viewed as the end of the movement. Metaphorically, life is conceptualized as a JOURNEY, and its destination is DEATH. Thus, the DEATH target domain is comprehended as a destination (DEATH IS A DESTINATION).

(9) a. *igir-atʃtʃn*   *wədə*   *gurgʷad*   *ijjə-hed-ə*   *nə-u > [nəw]*
     foot-   to   hole   PROG-go-3SG.M   COP-3SG.M
     POSS1PL
     'We are approaching death.' (lit. 'Our leg is leading to a hole.') (elic.)

  b. **lə=*mot*   *tək'arb-o*   *nəbbər*
     to=death   approach.CVB-3SG.M   COP.PST.3SG.M
     'He nearly died.' (lit. 'He was approaching death.)' (elic.)

  c. *bəwil*   *amm-o-at > [amʷmʷat]*   **lə=*mot*   *dərs-a*   *nəbbər*
     seriously   make.ill.CVB-3SG.M-OBJ3SG.F   to=death   arrive.CVB-3SG.F
                                                COP.PST.3SG.M
     'She was seriously ill and nearly died.' (lit. 'It has made her critically ill, and she was close to death.') (spoken text)

  d. *jihəw*   *istə*   *mot*   *dirəs*   *abir-a-w*
     this.PRES   up.to   death   up.to   be.along.with.CVB-3SG.F-OBJ3SG.M
     ti-nəgʷd-all-ətʃtʃ
     3SG.F-continue.walking.IPFV-AUX-3SG.F
     'She continues to walk with him up to death.' (spoken text)

The motion verbs in the linguistic metaphors, *hed-* 'go' as in (9a), *tək'arb-* 'having approached' as in (9b), *dərs-* 'having arrived' as in (9c), and *-nəgʷd* 'continue walking' as in (9d), indicate that knowledge of life is image schematic. Amharic speakers conceptualize life as motion and death as quasi-destination or target and a step toward heaven or hell. The preposition *wədə* 'to' in the linguistic metaphor (9a) shows that DEATH, which is metonymically expressed by the term *gurgʷad* 'hole,' is viewed as a destination of a journey (LIFE). Similarly, the preposition *istə-* 'up to'[7] in (9d) indicates that *mot* 'death' is elaborated as an endpoint. The goal-oriented verbs *tək'arb-* 'having approached' in (9b) and *dərs-* 'having arrived' in (9c), represent the situation

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[7] In literal motion expression, it denotes a terminative type of path. This means that the movement is terminated at the ground functioning as a goal.

of approaching death. This suggests that DEATH is viewed as a location serving as an endpoint of movement. In the above linguistic metaphors, the source domain of SPACE is mapped onto the target domain of DEATH as follows. A traveler (figure) corresponds to a dying person; a ground entity corresponds to a living person; motion matches with life; destination corresponds to death. These mappings result in the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS A DESTINATION. This conceptual metaphor is explored in other cross-linguistic studies (cf. Crespo-Fernández 2013:104, 2006:113; Özçalışkan 2003:288; Lakoff & Turner 1989: 7).

4.6.3. A downward movement

The concept of DEATH can also be understood in terms of downward motion, specifically falling. This association leads to the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS FALLING.

(10)   a.   *dɨrk'*   *gəbt-o*   *bɨzu*   *səw*   ***rəggəf-ə***
          drought   enter.CVB-3SG.M   many   person   fall.on.the.ground-3SG.M
          'Many people perished in famine.' (lit. 'Many people dropped because drought entered.') (elic.)

       b.   *sost-u-n*   ***t'ɨl-o***   *and-u-n*   *ak'ʷsɨl-o*
          three-DEF-ACC   drop.CVB-3SGM   one-DEF-ACC   wound.CVB-3SG.M
          nə-u>[nəw]   *jə-**wəddək'-ə***
          COP-3SG.M   REL-fall-3SG.M
          'He died after killing three persons and wounded another one.' (lit.'He fell following he having dropped three persons and having wounded another person.') (elic.)

       c.   *jan*   *astʃəggari*   *ʃɨfta*   ***a-gaddəm-ə-w > [aggaddəməw]***
          that   notorious   bandit   CAUS-lie-3SG.M-OBJ3SG.M
          *{**dəffa-w**}*
          {make.fall.flat.3SG.M-OBJ3SG.M}
          'He killed that notorious bandit.' (lit. 'He made that notorious bandit lie {fall}.') (spoken text)

       d.   *bə=jə-səw > [bəsəw]*   *bərəha*   ***wədk'-o***   *k'ərr-ə*
          at=GEN-human   desert   fall.CVB-3SG.M   absent-3SG.M
          'He died in a strange desert.' (lit. 'He having fallen down and not standing up in someone else's desert.') (elic.)

In these examples, the direction oriented verbs, specifically verbs denoting downward movement like *rəggəf-* 'fall on the ground' as in (10a), *t'ɨl-* 'having dropped (TR)' and *wəddək'-* 'fall' as in (10b), and *dəffa-* 'cause someone fall

on the face' as in (10c). The extended meanings of these verbs can be distinguished in terms of other semantic notions like the feeling of the speaker about death, the suddenness of the death, the number of dying persons and the power of the dying person. For instance, the verb *rəggəf-* 'fall on the ground' in (10a) has an extended meaning of mass death. In (10c), the verb *dəffa-* 'cause someone to fall flat on his face' covers the meaning of death at unexpected place and time.

In general, from the linguistic metaphors in (10) above, a set of mappings between the more concert concept of MOVEMENT and the more abstract concept of DEATH can be explored as follows. The semantic notion of the figure corresponds to the one who is about to die; the source of motion associates with the state of being alive; cause of movement associated with the cause of death; and the situation of falling corresponds to the situation of death. These mappings yield the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS FALLING. This conceptual metaphor is motivated by our physical experience. In our everyday life, we experience that when we lose our motor skills, we fall on the ground. This experience correlates with the experience of death because, in the state of death, the dying person totally loses his motor control and thereby unable to stand (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:462).

4.6.4. A moving entity

Death can be viewed as a moving entity having a masculine gender. This yields the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS A MALE MOVING ENTITY that is manifested in (11) below.

(11) a. | *zət'ən* | *mot* | ***mət't'a*** | *bɨ=jɨ-l-u-t* | *and-u-n* |
nine	death	come.3SG.M	if=3-say.IPFV-PL-OBJ3SG.M	one-DEF-ACC
giba		*bəl-əw*		*al-ə*
enter.IMP.3SG.M		say.IMP.3SG.M-OBJ3SG.M		say-3SG.M

    'He is not afraid of death.' (lit. 'When he is told that nine deaths came to him, he invited one of them to get into his house.') (spoken text)

  b. | *mot* | *dəgmo* | *leba* | *jɨ-məsɨl* | *ʃukɨkk* |
death	also	thief	3SG.M-like.IPFV	be.furtive.IDEO
bɨl-o	*nə-u > [nəw]*	*jə-ɨmm-jɨ-mət'a*		
say.CVB-3SG.M	COP-3SG.M	REL-CNT-3SGM-come.IPFV		

    'We die at the time that we do not know.' (lit. 'Death comes in the manner of sneaking.') (Getaneh 2017:41)

c. *mot*   *wəssəd-ə-at > [wəssədat]*
   death   take-3SG.M-OBJ3SG.F
   'Death took her.' (elic.)

d. *mot*   *bɨtʃtʃa-u-n*   *sɨ=al-jɨ-hon > [sajɨhon]*   *lela-mm*
   death   alone-POSS3SG.M-ACC   while=NEG-3SG.M-be.IPFV   other-FOC
   tʃɨggɨr   *agtəltɨl-o*
   trouble   cause.to.move.in.crowd.CVB-3SG.M
   ɨndə=jə-ɨmm-jɨ-mət'a >[ɨndəmmimət'a]   *al-tɨ-awk'-ɨ-mm >[attawk'ɨmm]*
   in.order.to=REL-CNT-3SG.M-come.IPFV   NEG-3SG-know.IPFV-F-NCM
   'Do not you know that death does not come alone and it causes other troubles to come?' (Getaneh 2017:263)

Examples in (11) are metaphorical motion expressions in which the motion verbs *mət't'a/ -mət'a* 'come' as in (11a, b and d), and *wəssəd-* 'take' as in (11c) are used. The agent of the movements is the abstract concept of DEATH. As seen, the motion verbs mark for third-person singular masculine gender. This implies that the concept of DEATH is viewed as a male entity. In these linguistic metaphors, the concept of DEATH is viewed as a male entity coming to the dying person to take him away. The motivations of the conceptual metaphor of DEATH AS A MOVING ENTITY may be religious and social experiences. In the Amharic speech community, it is common to address frightening and powerful things in the masculine gender. Death is perceived as frightening and hence viewed as male. In addition, there is a belief that *məlʔakə- mot* 'angel of death' comes (from heaven) to the dying person to take his soul away. According to the belief of the speakers of Amharic including, all angels including those of death are perceived as male. The expression "angel of death" has extended scope of meaning that covers the concept of DEATH. Since angels are construed as having masculine gender, the concept of DEATH is understood as a male entity.

The agency of the above fictive motion expressions is not the same. The utterances under (11a, b) are self-propelled fictive motion expressions. That is, death is described as an entity that can initiate its movement. But the examples in (11c, d) are non-agentive fictive motion expressions. In such a case, death is elaborated as a primary figure that initiates the movement of the secondary figure (i.e., the dying person). Thus, the purpose of death's motion is to take the dying person.

4.7. Death as sleep metaphor

As it can be observed in the examples (12) below, linguistic expressions for sleep metaphorically elaborate death. This implies that Amharic speakers map their perception of sleep onto their perception of death.

(12) a. *[…] wəjimm ində mut-an mətəɲɲat si=al-ji-fər-u > [sajfəru] […]*
[…] or like deceased-PL to.sleep when=NEG-3-fear.IPFV-PL
'[…] or without fear of dying like the dead […]' (lit. '[…] or as a dead, without fear of falling asleep […]') (Gebre Kirstos ND: 22)

  b. *[…] məmot mank'əlafat-u[…]*
to die to.fall.asleep-DEF
'[…] to die, to fall asleep […]' (Bewuketu 2017: 68)

  c. *[…]jə-mətʃ'ərrəʃa-u-n> hajjal ink'ilf-imm ank'əlaffa [jəmətʃ'ərrəʃawn]*
[…] GEN-to.end-DEF-ACC powerful sleep-FOC fall.asleep.3SG.M
'[…] he died.' (lit. '[…] he also fell asleep at the last powerful sleep.') (Dereje 2019)

  d. *[…] bə=mətʃ'ərrəʃa-mm gin ində ink'ilf bə=mot jatʃtʃ-in dingaj*
[…] at=to.end-FOC but like sleep by=death that.F-ACC stone
ində=təntəras-ə aʃəlləb-ə
as=sleep.on-3SG.M fall.asleep-3SG.M
'[…] eventually, he died.' (lit. '[…] but in the end, he fell asleep and fell asleep while resting his head on that stone') (Obdekova 2016)

In these utterances, verbs describing sleep (e.g., *mətəɲɲat* 'to sleep' (12a), *mank'əlafat* 'to fall asleep' (12b), *ank'əllafa* 'fell asleep' (12c), and *aʃəlləb-* 'fell asleep' (12d)) metaphorically express death. This shows that the euphemistic metaphorical expressions in (12) realize the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS SLEEP. This metaphor is found in different cross-linguistic studies, e.g., Galal (2014: 164), Kövecses (2010: 58), Crespo-Fernández (2006: 107), etc.

4.8. Death as earth metaphor

It is found out that the concept of death can be organized in terms of earth, more specifically eating earth and being eaten by earth. Note that earth-eating and ego-eating metaphors are different. In ego-eating metaphors, the deceased is said to have eaten earth as in (13b through e). Such metaphors are

dysphemistic. But in earth-eating metaphors, the deceased is said to have been eaten by earth. This type of metaphors is euphemistic (see (13f)).

(13)   a.   *afər   hon-ə*
            earth   become-3SG.M
            'He died.' (lit. 'He became earth.') (Amsalu & Dagnachew 1988:171)

       b.   *afər   bɨla*
            earth   eat.IMP.2SG.M
            'You die!' (lit. 'You eat the earth!') (Amsalu & Dagnachew 1988:172)

       c.   *afər   k'am*
            earth   eat.IMP.2SG.M
            'You die!' (lit. 'You eat the earth!') (Amsalu & Dagnachew 1988:172)

       d.   *ɨssu-mm   sɨ-al-jɨ-bəla-u > [sajbəlaw]   afər   bəlla*
            he-FOC   when=NEG-3SG.M-eat.IPFV-OBJ3SG.M   earth   eat-3SG.M
            'He died before he consumes his wealth.' (lit. 'He ate the ground without eating [his wealth]') (Obdekova 2016)

       e.   *[…] ɨnna-mm   bə=al-asəbb-ə-bb-ət > [balasəbbəbbət]   k'ən*
            and-FOC   at=NEG-think-3SG.M-APPL.LOC-OBJ3SG.M   day
            abɨrr-e-h   l-ɨ-hid=ɨnna   afər
            be.together.1SG-   PROS-1SG-   earth
            OBJ2SG.M   go.IPFV=and
            ɨnn-as-gɨt'ə-w-all-ən
            1PL-CAUS-gnow.IPFV-OBJ3SG.M-AUX-1PL

            '[…] So I will go with you when he does not think about it, and we will kill him.' (lit. '[…] And when he does not think about it, I will go with you and make him eat earth.') (Tadele 2008: 84)

       f.   *afər   jɨ-bɨla-ɲɲ*
            earth   3SG.M-eat.IPFV-OBJ1SG

            'I should die [instead of you].' (lit. 'May the earth eat me.') (Amsalu & Dagnachew 1988:172)

The linguistic metaphor in (13a) depicts death as the earth. Also, the utterances (13b through e) are ego-eating metaphors for death. The expression (13f) is an earth-eating metaphor. So the metaphorical linguistic expressions under discussion are the manifestations of the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS EARTH, DEATH IS EATING EARTH OR BEING EATEN BY EARTH. The conceptual

metaphor death as earth can be rooted in cultural experiences. In the beliefs of Amharic speakers, man is formed from the dust, and he becomes dust when he dies.

4.9. Death as an adversary metaphor

Amharic metaphorical linguistic expressions demonstrate that the concept of death can be conceptualized as a powerful adversary that can conquer everybody. This connection results in the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS AN ADVERSARY which is explored in other previous studies, e.g., Crespo-Fernández (2006: 107) and Lakoff & Turner (1989: 16, 17, 34).

(14) a. *mot*   *ɨjjəandandatʃɨʃɨn-ɨn*   *mə-aʃʃənəf >[maʃʃənəf]*   *jɨ-tʃɨl-all*
     death   each.of.us-ACC   to-defeat   3SG.M-can.IPFV-AUX
     'Death can conquer each of us.' (Agegnew 2013)

    b. *bə=mətʃʼərrəʃa*   *gɨn*   *tə-ʃənnəf-ə*
     at=to.end   but   PASS-defeat-3SG.M
     jə-mətʃʼərrəʃa-u-n   *hajjal*   *ɨnkʼɨlf-ɨmm*   *ankʼəlaffa*
     GEN-to.end-DEF-ACC   powerful   sleep-FOC   fall.asleep.3SG.M
     'But in the end, he lost, and he died.' (lit. 'But in the end, he is defeated, and he also fell asleep at the last power of sleep.') (Dereje 2019)

    c. *kə=mot*   *gar*   *taggəl-ə*   *bə=mətʃʼərrəʃa-mm*   *ɨdʒdʒ_sətʼtʼ-ə*
     from=death   with   fight-3SG.M   at=to.end-FOC   give.up-3SG.M
     'He fights with death, and he died.' (lit. 'He fights with death, and he gave up in the end.') (Spoken text)

    d. *kə=mot*   *aməllətʼ-ə*
     from=death   escape-3SG.M
     'He almost died.' (lit. 'He escaped death.') (elic)

In these examples, lexical units that are used to describe the concept of contest (i.e., *maʃʃənəf* 'to defeat' (14a), *təʃənnəf-* 'be defeated' (14b), *taggəl-* 'fought' (14c), and *ɨdʒdʒ_sətʼtʼ-* 'gave up' (14c)) metaphorically express death. The verb *aməllətʼ-* 'escape' in (14d) literally refers to movement from a site to avoid any danger or to be free from a controller, but in the context of (14d), it connotes the situation where one is rescued from death. From the metaphorical linguistic expressions, we can derive the following mappings: an adversary in the source domain corresponds to death in the target domain; the source domain of contest corresponds to the target domain of staying alive; losing a contest maps onto the notion of dying. Thus, this set of mappings characterizes the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS AN ADVERSARY.

4.10. Human death as the death of a plant metaphor

Among the Amharic speech community, it is not uncommon to associate people with plants and human death with the death of a plant. Consider the following examples:

(15) a. *[…]səw*   *tə-bɨl-o*   *jə-mm-jɨ-t-t'ərra > [ɨmmit't'ərra]*
    human   PASS-say.CVB-3SG.M   REL-CNT-3SG.M-PASS-call.IPFV
    jɨh-ə   *hulu*   *fɨre*
    this-M   all   fruit
    səw   *nə-ɲɲ*   *bɨl-o*   *jə-mm-jɨ-amɨn > [jəmmijamɨn]*
    human   COP-1PL   say.CVB-3SG.M   REL-CNT-3SG.M-believe.IPFV
    jɨh-ə   *hullu*   *k'ɨt'əl […]*
    this-M   all   leaf
    '[…] All these fruits termed human, all these leaves which believe they are human […] (Bewuketu 2009: 69)'

   b. *gəna*   *abəba-it-u >[aβəβajitu]*   *tə-k'ət't'əf-ətʃʃ*
     still   flower-F-DEF   PASS-pick-3SG.F
     'She died young.' (lit. 'The flower is picked') (elic.)

   c. *gəna*   *ləga-u > [ləgaw]*   *tə-k'ətʃtʃ'-ə*
     still   sapling-DEF   PASS-cut.down-3SG.M
     'He died young.' (lit. 'The young is cut down.') (elic.)

   d. *zaf-u*   *mot-ə*   *kə=ɨngɨdih > [kəŋgɨdih]*   *betəsəb-u-n*   *mann*
     tree-DEF   die-3SG.M   from=now.on   family-DEF-ACC   who
     jɨ-səbəssɨb-əw   *jɨ-hon*
     3SG.M-gather.IPFV-OBJ3SG.M   3SG.M-become.IPFV
     'The head of the family dead and who will gather the family from now on?' (lit. 'The tree is dead and who will gather the family from now on.' (Amsalu & Dagnachew 1988: 43)

Notice that the lexical units *fɨre* 'friut' (15a), *k'ɨt'əl* 'leaf' (15a), *abəba* 'flower' (15b), *ləga* 'sapling' (15c), and *zaf* 'tree' (15d) metaphorically express the semantic notion of human. On the other hand, the verbs *tək'ət't'əf-* 'being picked' *(15b), tək'ətʃtʃ'-* 'being cut down' (15c), and *mot-* 'died' (15d) describe death. This suggests that our perception of plants maps onto our perception of humans, and our perception of death of a plant corresponds to our perception of human death. Therefore, the linguistic metaphors under discussion manifest the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS; HUMAN DEATH IS THE DEATH OF A PLANT. This association is identified

in previous studies on other languages, e.g., Kövecses (2010: 123) and Lakoff & Turner (1989:6).

4.11. Miscellaneous

In Amharic, there are conceptual metaphors of death having very few manifestations (i.e., linguistic metaphors). Among these, the following can be mentioned: DEATH IS A DEPARTURE as in (16a, b), DEATH IS REST as in (17a. b), and DEATH IS MOVEMENT OF SOUL OUT OF A BODY SERVING AS A CONTAINER OF SOUL as in (18).

DEATH AS A DEPARTURE

(16)   a.   *mot=ɨnna   mələjət   and   ajdəll-u-mm   wəj*
             death=and   to.depart   one   COP.NEG3PLNCM   Q
             'Death and departure are the same.' (lit. 'Are not death and
             departure one?')   (Agegnew 2013)

      b.   *kə=ɨzih > [kəɨzih]   aləm   tə-ləjj-ə*
             from=here   world   MID-depart-3SG.M
             'He departed from this world.' (introspection)

The linguistic metaphors (16a, b) are the manifestations of the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS A DEPARTURE[8]. The verb *təlləj-* 'depart' in (16b) connotes the concept of DEATH. Here, the living person who loses the dying person functions as a deictic center, and the event of departing is mapped onto the state of death.

DEATH AS A REST

The Amharic linguistic metaphors in (17) show that concept of death can be portrayed positively, a rest.

(17)   a.   *jə-tagaj   ɨrəft-u   mot   nə-u > [nəw]*
             GEN-fighter   rest-POSS3SG.M   death   COP-3SG.M
             'The fighter rests when he dies.' (Obedkova 2016 Amharic corpus)

      b.   *ɨnat-u   arf-əw-all*
             mother-POSS3SG.M   rest.CVB-3PL-AUX
             'His mother died.' (lit. 'His mother rested.') (introspection)

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[8] This metaphor is also found in other languages, e.g., in English (cf. Lakoff & Turner 1989: 8).

The terms *irəft* 'rest' and *arf-* 'having rested', which connote death came from the terminology of the concept of rest. This implies that the concept rest maps onto the concept of death. This results in the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS A REST.

DEATH AS MOVEMENT OF AN ENTITY OUT OF A CONTAINER

>(18) *nəfs-u*   *w ət't'a*
>   soul-POSS3SG.M   exit.3SG.M
>   'He died [at the mentioned time].' (lit. 'His soul exited (from the body).')

The expression *nəfsu wət't'a* 'his soul got out (of the body)' in (18) shows that life is viewed as soul in the container (i.e., body), and death is perceived as the movement of a soul out of the body. Thus, the body is construed as a container of the soul. These mappings yield the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS MOVEMENT OF SOUL OUT OF A BODY SERVING AS A CONTAINER OF SOUL.[9]

5. Conclusion

This paper investigates metaphorical conceptualizations of life and death in Amharic. The paper is written from the perspective of cognitive semantics, more specifically conceptual metaphor theory which is introduced by Lakoff & Johnson (1980). The analysis has clearly revealed that the Amharic speech community conceptualizes the highly elusive concepts of LIFE and DEATH in terms of various less abstract source domains.

Amharic metaphorical linguistic expressions have proved that the concept of LIFE can be organized in terms of the concept of SPACE. Specifically, it can be viewed as a journey and as a bounded region in space. It can also be understood by means of possession, a physical entity having a taste, physical load, precious possession, and light. Note that lifetime can be viewed as the length of a physical object.

Among Amharic speakers, the concept of SPACE in source domain can be mapped onto the concept of DEATH in target domain. In such a case, death is conceived of as a physically moving entity, as a unidirectional andative movement, and as a final destination of a journey (of life). Besides, the source

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[9] The movement of the soul is from one bounded space (i.e., body) to another bounded space (that can be heaven or hell).

domains of a departure, a rest, an adversary, the earth, the loss of possession can correspond to death.

Finally, it is found out that many of the conceptual metaphors of life and death in this study are found in other genetically unrelated languages. For instance, the conceptual metaphors DEATH IS A UNIDIRECTIONAL MOVEMENT, DEATH IS REST, and DEATH IS AN END are found in English (cf. Kövecses 2010: 35), Lakoff & Turner 1989: 7-18); Spanish (cf. Crespo-Fernández 2013:104), Turkish (Özçalışkan 2003:309), and EkeGusi (cf. Nyakoe, Matu & Ongarora 2012:1454).

However, some of the conceptual metaphors that are identified in this study are culture-specific, e.g., LIFE IS A PHYSICAL LOAD, LIFE IS A PHYSICAL ENTETIY THAT HAS A TASE, LIFE IS LIGHT and DEATH IS EARTH.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person	IPFV	imperfective
AA	Amharic and Argoba	LOC	locative
ACC	accusative	M	masculine
APPL	applicative	ND	no date
AUX	auxiliary	NCM	negative clause marker
BEN	benefactive	NEG	negation
CAUS	causative	OBJ	object
CNT	contingent aspect	Q	question marker
COP	copula	PASS	passive
CVB	converb	PL	plural
DEF	definite	POSS	possessive
F	feminine	PRES	presentative
FOC	focus marker	PROG	progressive
GEN	genitive	PROS	prospective
IDEO	ideophone	PST	past
IMP	imperative	REL	relative
IPA	international phonetic alphabet	SG	singular
IPA	international phonetic alphabet		

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