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## Metaphors of Time in Anywaa

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### Abstract

This study dealt with metaphorical conceptualization of time in Anywaa, which is a Western Nilotic language spoken in Gambella, Ethiopia and Greater Pibor Administrative Area, South Sudan. The study was based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory. It was designed as qualitative and the data were collected in Gambella town using elicitation and listening to daily utterances. The investigator also used introspection. In Anywaa, linguistic Metaphors like wà éná jì tʃáŋ mét étʃ 'We are in happiness day' and wááár āòò 'Night has come' are used to conceptualize time as CONTAINER and MOTION. Based on the data analyzed and interpreted, it has been found that the Anywaa use HORIZONTAL AXIS to understand time and this metaphor typology has in turn proved that linguistic typology is a surface manifestation of cognitive typology.

**Keywords:** Anywaa, Conceptual Metaphor, Domain, Mappings, Time

### 1. Introduction: Background of the Study

According to Esenova (2011:9), traditionally, metaphor is viewed as an emotive or rhetoric device. Therefore, the major function of metaphor is believed to be the use of stylistic or impressive language rather than thinking. However, since the publication of *The metaphors We Live By* in 1980 by Lakoff and Johnson, this traditional view of metaphor was disproved and it was discovered that metaphor is not simply an issue of beautiful linguistic expression but it is mainly used for cognition in which one concept is understood in terms of another based on experience. Thus, in cognitive linguistics meaning is equated with conceptualization, which includes any facet of human experience. Therefore, as opposed to traditional view of metaphor, which confines metaphor to be used by talented people like poets, singers, novelist, writers and playwrights, conceptual metaphor theory sees metaphor to be pervasive as it is used by any member of a culture. Thus,

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metaphor is acquired and it is not a deviation from an ordinary language use (Liu and Zhao, 2013 and Langacker, 1987).

To my knowledge there has not been a study on metaphorical conceptualization of time in Anywaa, but reading Derib (2016) motivated me to conduct this study. The study had the following specific objectives:

- Identifying linguistic expressions used to express time in Anywaa;
- Classification of the Anywaa's conceptualization of time based on vertical and horizontal axes.

Generally, the present study was attempt to investigate the metaphorical conceptualization of time in Anywaa, which is a Westen Nilotic language spoken in Gambella Ethiopia and Greater Pibor Administrative Area and Akobo under the Jonglei State, South Sudan. The local name given to the language is ḡá áṗwáá, which literally means *mouth of Anywaa*. The people who natively speak the language are locally called áṗwáá<sup>2</sup> (pl.áṗwááé). See Reh (1996) and Okello (2014).

## 2. Methodology

In the present study, the investigator used elicitation, introspection and listening to daily utterances of time metaphors among the Anywaa in Gambella town. The elicited data were checked with two native speakers Alfred Okuch and Abala Omod from September 15-27, 2021. These two informants were selected for the work, because they are native speakers and

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<sup>2</sup> In Anywaa, a person who does not tribally belong to Anywaa is called dʒùr (pl. dʒùùrè). Therefor, a tribe like Anglo, Nuer, Amhara, Murle or Oromo is dʒùr, because he/she is not an Anywaa. Although some natives argue that the earlier name of áṗwáá was dibùòr, Nowadays dibùòr refers to a group of people who share ethnicity, activity or ideology despite geographical location. Thus, the people from a hamlet, village or country can be referred to as dibùòr. Furthermore, all people of the world can be grouped as dibùòr when they are needed to follow the same ideology like quest for democary, education or the same religion. The mythology of the Anywaa states that the Anywaa were called dibùòtʃ giilò 'Giilo's group' and the Shilluk were called dibùòtʃ níkááṅà 'Nyikaanga's group'. Both giilò and níkááṅá were brothers who lived in the cradleland of Nilotes called tíṅdí, located in the present day Dinka Region called Yirol near Rumbeck, South Sudan. But the two brothers separated due to their quarrel. The Anywaa were the followers of giilò who led them to the present day Anywaaland and the Shilluk were the followers of Nyikaanga who led them to their present day land in South Sudan. In the expression dibùòr b̀l̀rè lám̀m̀ú dʒùòk 'All people, pray the God', the meaning of dibùòr can refer to all Anywaa/all the people on earth regradless of where they are (Perner, 1994&1997).

both have good knowledge of Anywaa. The present study was designed as qualitative because it mainly dealt with identifying linguistic metaphors, mappings and the relation between language, cognition and culture of the Anywaa. In this study, the investigator used the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) by using Leipzig Glossing convention. Whenever necessary, literal translation is given, then the free translation follows. This study serves as a point of departure for describing cognitive grammar or space grammar of Anywaa.

### **3. Literature Review**

#### **3.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory**

In Conceptual Metaphor Theory, metaphor is entrenched in daily human life mainly in thought with language being its physical realization. Our ordinary cognitive system in terms of which we both act and perform is metaphorical (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003:4). Conceptual metaphor theory therefore pays more attention to cognition in order to study metaphor appropriately. So, we are always with metaphor. Because metaphor is the experiential understanding of one concept in terms of another, there are two concepts in understanding metaphor: the source and target domains. The source domain is a domain providing knowledge for talking about/understanding the target domain, which is what we are trying to understand or talk about (Kovecses, 2010:4). Therefore, the source domain, which is concrete, is the donor domain but the target domain, which is abstract, is the recipient domain. A domain is any coherent organization of an experience. The correspondence between the source and target domain is called mapping (Kovecses, 2010:4). To illustrate the concepts of source domain, target domain and mappings, the following examples were taken from Kovecses (1986:7).

1. This relation is dead-end street.
2. We are just spinning our wheels.
3. Our marriage is on the rocks.

The linguistic metaphors given in (1)-(3) underlie the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS JOURNEY. Therefore, journey is mapped onto love and the travellers are mapped onto lovers. The distance covered is mapped onto love relation progress and the obstacles to journey correspond to obstacles to love process (Kovecses, 1986:8).

### **3.2. Metaphors of Time**

According to Christopoulos (2014), “Time is a dimensional measurement used to order events from past through the present into future and also the measure of the duration of events and the intervals between the events.” This definition implies that time includes a minute, second, hour, day, tomorrow, week, year and a season like summer. A duration is a length of time taken by something and the particular time (part) of duration is called period. An example of a period is 1 hour or evaluation period. Thus, time is an abstract concept, which is the duration for the existence of an object or event. Due to its abstractness, it is difficult for people to understand and express time; people are also not conscious of the existence of time. Thus, understanding time needs metaphorical language (see also Lakoff and Johnson, 2003 and Shovel, 2007).

### **3.3. Time as SPACE**

The impact of spatial orientation on human cognition, to be more specific, our understanding of time is well noted. Lakoff (1993:218) argues that our metaphorical understanding of time based on space is biologically determined: In our visual system, we have detectors of motion, object and location but we have no detectors for time and this makes a good biological meaning that time should be understood in terms of OBJECTS and MOTION. However, Radden (2003) opposes Lakoff (1993)'s point to be not convincing, because there is strong evidence that humans directly perceive and feel the passage of time. Our direct experience of time is subjective and is therefore different from object time. So, a duration of time may last longer or shorter based on our awareness of information. For example, the duration of time in situations of heightened awareness and high information processing like during the times of danger is experienced to pass more slowly while in an important activity like routine activity, time is experienced to go faster. Evans (2003) strongly puts that our experience of time is based on subjective and internal response to external stimuli and that by imparting spatio-physical image content to a subjective response concept, we are able to make our time experience objective. This view therefore, argues that our spatial understanding of time is not necessarily influenced by our biological desires but by our intersubjective or communicative needs (see also Radden, 2003 and Evans, 2004).

An interesting question to be raised here is why is TIME IS SPACE very common among people speaking different languages? Evans (2003) provides

six reasons for the pervasiveness of TIME IS SPACE among people of different cultures in the world as:

Our experience of time is limited to two aspects: simultaneity-duration and awareness of the present as time experienced at each moment, past as time related to remembered events and the future as time related to predicted events. In conceptualizing time as SPACE, these notions are seen with respect to as one-dimensional line, the time axis. However, the cognitive topology of space has more to provide than a straight one-dimensional line alone: first space is three dimensional. Second, orientation in three dimensions, earth based space requires three axes: longitudinal axis, vertical axis and left-to-right axis. Third, objects in space may appear in any shape. Fourthly, reference to space is either absolute or relative and the relative space may be relative with respect to things in the world or the observing EGO. Fifthly, things in space may be stationary or moving. Six, space is very highly populated with objects serving as figures or reference points (land marks) and are connected with certain behaviours (:226). See also Derib (2016:108).

### 3.4. Orientation of the Time-line

Time which is understood as one dimensional has an orientation in space. Of the three geometrical axes, the longitudinal axis with its front-back orientation apparently captures our experience of time better than either the vertical axis, with top-down orientation or the lateral axis with a left-right orientation. The left-right orientation does not seem to provide spatial basis of our conception of time. The use of longitudinal axis to understand time can be humans' sensible experience of motion which is usually in front of the people. The FRONT-BACK ORIENTATION metaphors of time can be found in the English expressions *the weeks ahead of us* or *the worst behind us* (Radden, 2003).

Contrary to English, Chinese clearly uses VERTICAL AXIS to conceptualize time. The linguistic metaphors of Chinese *Shanyue* (up month) means *last month* and *xiayue* (down month) means *next month*. Therefore, in the heads of Chinese speakers TIME IS VERTICAL; PAST IS UP; PRESENT IS DOWN. The vertical axis domain of time in Chinese is associated with the very common view of time as FLOWING or THE RIVER MODEL OF TIME. In China, the cultural significance of the Yangtze River may have reinforced the Chinese's choice of conceiving time as VERTICAL (Yu (1988:111)).

Yu (1988:112) also mentions that Western cultures also conceptualize earlier time as UP and late time as DOWN and this implies that Western cultures have VERTICAL typology of time metaphors. For example, in English, the older generation is said to be descendants as the generation is viewed to be at the top, but the younger generations are down at the bottom and described as ascendants. In English time is metaphorically understood to be flowing down from early present. Therefore, PAST IS UP and PRESENT IS DOWN as the following linguistic metaphors in Radden (2003:228-229) illustrate.

- (4a) These stories have passed down from generation to generation.
- (b) This tradition has lasted down to the present day.
- (c) The new year is up.

### 3.5. Position of Time Relative to the Observer

Since the concept of time is DEICTIC, space gives us a suitable metaphorical template for time. In the world of space, the ego occupies a giant role as the temporal reference point. The very frequent view of time as time-line helps us distinguish three deictic time: present, past and future. The pattern of time usually across languages is the horizontal time as in the English examples *Troubles lie ahead of us*, and *I look forward to seeing you* (Radden, 2003:230). According to Miracle and Moya (1981) and Klein (1987) cited in Radden (2003:230), in Aymara, an Indian language, the past is expressed as *nyaatimpu* 'the time before my eyes' and tomorrow is expressed as *q'ipiuru* 'back day', i.e the day at my back.

### 3.6. Two Models of Time as MOTION

Radden (2003:236), classifies the models of TIME IS MOTION into two: the moving time model and the moving ego model. In the moving time model, time moves but the the observer ego does not move. The model makes us view time moving time to the fixed ground, the stationary world. The key figure in the stationary world is the the human observer and the time and the events pass by the person. On the other hand, in the moving ego model, the human observer moves by coming from the past and moves via the present to the future. In this model therefore, the person moves but the time does not move. So, the moving ego model of time is based on our sensory model experience of MOTION from past to future by relating the motion to our goals to be achieved in the future (see also Lakoff, 1993). To illustrate the models of time moving and ego moving, the following English examples from (5a-c) were taken from Radden (2003:236-237).

- (5a) The new year is coming.
- (b) The old year has gone by.
- (c) We are approaching the golden times.

The examples provided here give us clues that examples (5a&b) exemplify time moving model, because in (5a) the year comes to mean present but in (5b) the year goes. In example (5c) the people are moving and approaching the time in the front. Thus, example (5c) illustrates ego moving model of time. Therefore, in the moving time model, time changes as the future changes to present and the present to the past with the events evolving and occurring. The physical world is therefore the source of time moving model. The notion of time moving model proves Newton 1<sup>st</sup> Law of Motion that *If an Object is moving, it continues its motion uniformly in a straight line unless it is forced by certain force to change its state and motion*. This law in turn proves that time moving model has the typology of horizontal axis time metaphors (Borodisky, Genter and Imai, 2002 and Radden,2003).

### **3.7. Time as RESOURCE**

The expression of time based on resource includes the use of money (time is money) and other resources because both money and other resources are used for different purposes. The following examples of time is resource were based on Golfam, Ghorbanpour and Mahdi (2019:49).

- 6. We don't have time.
- 7. Make a better use of your time.

### **3.8. Time as a CONTAINER**

Based on our experience of seeing and putting objects in containers, we can have the following examples of TIME IS A CONTAINER based on Golfam, Ghorbanpour and Mahdi (2019).

- 8. He did the job in three minutes.
- 9. In 2004.

#### 4. Metaphors of Time in Anywaa

In Anywaa, there is no single term for time. The temporal term *tʃáá* (pl.*tʃààè*<sup>3</sup>) 'hour/time', is nowadays used among the Anywaa, but it was a loan word from the Amharic word *səʕat* 'hour/time' or the Arabic word *saa*. This word is usually used to express specific or objective time as illustrated in the following examples in Anywaa:

10a.    *énnó*    *tʃáá*    *āṭʃièl*  
           now    hour    one

LIT.    Now the time is one hour.  
           'Now it is one o'clock.'

b.        *wáŕ*        *-á*        *-óó*        *kī*        *tʃáá*        *-è*        *ārièw*  
           father of    1SG    come        at        o'clock    PL        two

Lit.    My father is coming at two hours.  
           My father is coming at two o'clock.

Among the Anywaa TIME IS SPACE is the predominant metaphor of time. Although the Anywaa do know that they live in space, there is no term for space in Anywaa, but subparts of space like *máál* 'sky', *pìj* 'earth', *tʃʌŋ* 'sun', *dułłj* 'moon' and *tʃèèrò* (pl.*tʃèèr*) 'star' are clearly known as parts of space and time as they are tangible, moving and changing. In the head of Anywaa, the most frequent sub-part of TIME IS SPACE is TIME IS EARTH. The best life of the Anywaa is supported by the earth<sup>4</sup>, which is used for resting, living, cultivation, fishing and hunting. In different occasions, the Anywaa go somewhere and sit down. Therefore, the whole earth serves as time and specific place we occupy serves as specific time. So, the Anywaa define space

<sup>3</sup> The lowering of high tone of *tʃáá* 'time/hour' before *è* in *tʃààè* 'hours/times' is caused by the low tone on the plural marker {-è}. According to Guessenhoven (2004:100), this lowering of high tone before the low tone is called downstep. By using high tone as *tʃááé* the high tone means definite time *the time*.

<sup>4</sup> The Anywaa use the word *pìj* 'earth', *błłt pìj* 'earth surface', or *błłt ɲòòm* 'surface of soil' for the English word *world*. The earth can also metonymic use for people and everything in the world. For example, in *pìj bʌrè lámá dzòòk* 'The whole earth prays the God', *pìj* 'the earth' metonymically stands for all people of the world but in *pìj bʌrè béénná dzòòk* 'The whole earth lives by relying on God', *pìj* 'the earth' metonymically stands for everything in the world. The English word *thing* is in Anywaa *gìrpìj* 'thing of earth', which can be extended to air, the sun, the earth, the moon and other objects and concepts of the universe. The question *pìj bèèdè nīdii?* 'How is the earth living?' can be raised to know the situation, i.e. to know whether there is peace, good condition, food or beer. When the situation is good as there is peace food, beer and other enjoyable things, an Anywaa responds as *pìj bʌer dzààk* 'The earth is really good' but when the situation is bad it is said *pìj ráátʃ* 'The earth is bad'.



as where everything exist with the major component of the space being the earth (see also, Shovel, 2007:1429). Furthermore, the generic and native Anywaa word for time is pìj̃n 'earth'. For example, pìj̃n à jíédì kī màná áái ṭf̣ùḍáán 'How much earth is it since you went to the Sudan?' means *How long has it been since you went to the Sudan?* To elucidate TIME IS EARTH in Anywaa, consider the following linguistic metaphor examples.

- 11a. pìj̃n<sup>5</sup>    bálár    kàj̃n    -ā    -ròòmmò  
 earth    tall    place    REL:PST    meet  
 LIT.    It has been a long earth since we met.  
          'It has been a long time since we met.'

Such a time may not be remembered well because the earth, which is the source of time, is vast and the distance is long.

- b.        pìj̃n<sup>6</sup>    pòòdì  
 earth    still  
 LIT       'The earth is still.'  
            'The time is still, it is still night.'

When we wake up in the morning, we see the surface of the earth and things are visible, but they are invisible at night.

- c.        à        jí        -ì        ṭf̣òòdò    kǎa?  
 1SG    PERF    2SG    marry    where  
 LIT.       Where have you married me?  
            'When did you marry me?'

This example implies that the speaker is not a true wife of the addressee man. Thus, he may not be her young lover or she might have been married through bièl 'forced married' or the speaker is not faithful to the addressee as her husband died but living with the brother of the deceased husband as her husband. So, in (11c) kǎa 'where, which place' has the target domain of j̣ìwàné 'when?'

<sup>5</sup> The linguistic metaphor pìj̃n wiidò 'The earth changes' means *Time changes* and this change of time results in the change of the world and other objects in it either positively or negatively. Hence, CHANGE OF TIME IS CHANGE OF EARTH.

<sup>6</sup> The English word *horizon* has its equivalent in Anywaa as ṭf̣új̃ pìj̃n 'end of the earth (world). It is also said ṭf̣új̃ néénnè 'end of human sight'. This word clearly illustrates perceptual metaphor because people see the sky as if it had met the earth/water body. So, nothing is visible to human eye after the place where the sky and the earth seem to have met.

- d. kàr kǎatf á bèè wà n -ā -kéédò  
 place of where that be IPL:EXCL REL PST fight  
 LIT. That place it was we who were involved in the war.  
 'That time we took part in the war.'

This suggests that the spatial word káp 'here, this place' implies *this time* and kǎatfá 'there (very far place)' implies *that time*. Thus, space in front is future and that behind is back. The space occupied now is present time. THE DURATION OF TIME IS THE SIZE OF THE PLACE(SPACE).

- e. jìin -ā -ò báj -à kùòr -è āriéw  
 2SG PST come to 1SG Places of 3SG two  
 LIT. You came to me two places.  
 'You came to me twice.'

This example underlies TWICE IS TWO PLACES; MANY TIMES IS MANY PLACES.

#### 4.1 TIME IS SUN

Among the Anywaa, tʃlɛ 'the sun' is the best celestial body to understand and talk about day time. The sun awakes both people and night. Every morning, the sun rises and sets every afternoon. This coming and going of the sun helps in understanding days and nights. The Anywaa word for day time is tʃlɛ 'sun', which literally means sun with the plural tʃlɛ́lɛ́ 'suns' meaning *day times*. But the sun is also used to mean day with the plural tʃlɛ́lɛ́ 'suns' meaning *days*. Thus, one day is understood as tʃlɛ́lɛ́ 'one sun' and two days tʃlɛ́lɛ́ āriéw 'two suns, etc. Hence, tʃlɛ́lɛ́ ādíí? 'How many suns' to mean *how many days?* In Anywaa therefore a day has 12 hours and the night is another time with other 12 hours. The sun also helps in determining directions. In Anywaa, *east* is called máál 'up, sky', kúr túúl tʃlɛ́ 'where the sun rises' or wàŋ-òbùòr<sup>7</sup> and west is called tʃlɛ́lɛ́ 'late' or kúr ráj tʃlɛ́ 'where the sun falls down'/pìŋ 'down'. North is in Anywaa tʃáám tʃlɛ́/tʃáám pìŋ 'The earth's/sun's left' and south is tʃwíí pìŋ 'earth's right side'/tʃwíí tʃlɛ́ 's left the sun'. Night time called in Anywaa as wáár 'night' and it is pluralized as wáárè 'nights'; this pluralization is caused by movement of the sun, i.e sunrise and sunset (see

<sup>7</sup> The compound noun wàŋ-òbùòr 'point of dawn' refers to east. The word búór 'partly ripen', gives clue to understanding fire-red colour on the horizon and appears in the east before the sunrise. This is the colour of tièt òw 'legs of dawn', i.e the coming of dawn. The word òbúór has the English equivalent *partly ripe*. Thus, òbùòr means the fire-red colour of the rising sun and wàŋòbùòr directly means point of fire-red. Here, wàŋ 'eye' is extended to point (direction).

Perner, 1994:264-265) for detail of space and time among the Anywaa. The following linguistic metaphors in (12a-c) are worth mentioning to understand the relation between DAYTIME and SUN.

12a.    tʃʌŋ    mán    ráátʃ    dótʃ  
           sun        this        bad        very

LIT.        This sun is very bad.  
               This day (time) is very bad

This metaphor is based on the knowledge of shining sun in the sky. The metaphor can also mean the sun is very hot or it is cloudy. Although the sun, the moon and the earth are used as source domains of time, strictly speaking, they are frame (sub-parts) of the domain of space and are used to specify temporal meanings and situations( see, Johnson, 1987).

b.        à        bá        bùt        -í        kī        dí        tʃʌŋ  
           ISG        NEG        sleep        HAB        in        middle of        sun

LIT.        I usually do not sleep in the middle of the sun.  
               'I usually do not sleep during day time.'

c.        tʃʌŋ    pòòd    dóóŋ  
           sun        still        big

LIT.        The sun is still big.  
               'It is not very late afternoon.'

Understanding the shape and the size of the sun is based on seeing the space between east and west by looking up at the sun. So, THE DURATION OF DAY TIME IS THE SIZE OF THE SUN; SMALL DAY TIME IS A SMALL SUN. In Anywaa, sun setting has the following expressions:

13a.    tʃʌŋ    ā        -pʌḍò  
           sun        PST        fall down

LIT        The sun has fallen down.  
               'The sun has set.'

b.        tʃʌŋ    ā        -áá    pìŋ  
           sun        PsT        go        down

LIT.        The sun has gone down on earth.  
               'The sun has set.'

- c.       $\text{tʃ}\lambda\eta$        $\bar{a}$        $-\acute{a}\acute{a}$        $\text{b}\lambda\lambda\text{t}$        $\text{n}\ddot{\text{u}}\lambda\lambda\text{r}$   
           sun            PST            go            on            Nuer
- LIT.      The sun has gone down on the Nuer.  
           'The sun has set.'

These time expressions are used in Anywaa, because the Anywaa conceive the earth as plain with steeped slope with the east being higher than the west, which is lower. Many rivers of the Anywaa like Baro, Giilo, Oboth and Akobo originate from the highland part of Ethiopia, which is mountainous. Because the Nuer live to west of the Anywaa, sun setting is also understood to be falling on the Nuer.

Because things are visible during the day time due to sun light but invisible at night due to darkness, when it becomes night, it is said in Anywaa  $\text{p}\eta\text{j}\eta\ \bar{a}\text{t}\eta\text{m}\ddot{o}\ \text{n}\acute{a}\ \text{w}\lambda\lambda\text{r}$  'The earth has become night',  $\text{p}\eta\text{j}\eta\ \bar{a}\text{t}\eta\text{m}\ddot{o}\ \text{n}\acute{a}\ \text{tʃ}\acute{o}\text{l}$  'The earth has become black' or  $\text{p}\eta\text{j}\eta\ \bar{a}\text{n}\eta\text{l}\text{w}\eta\text{i}\acute{\text{t}}\text{f}$  'The earth has become dark and silent'. But day time is understood as WHITE as in  $\text{p}\eta\text{j}\eta\ \bar{a}\text{t}\eta\text{m}\ddot{o}\ \text{n}\acute{a}\ \text{t}\acute{a}\text{r}$ , 'The earth has become white/ $\text{p}\eta\text{j}\eta\ \text{p}\acute{o}\acute{o}\text{t}\ \text{t}\acute{a}\text{r}$  The earth is still white'. Furthermore, when it becomes morning, it is said  $\text{p}\eta\text{j}\eta\ \bar{a}\text{n}\eta\text{w}\acute{a}\eta\text{n}$  'The earth<sup>8</sup> has become clean'/' $\acute{o}\text{w}\ \bar{a}\text{n}\eta\text{w}\acute{a}\eta\text{n}$  'The dawn has become clean' to mean '*The dawn has broken, It has become morning*'. Hence, DAY- TIME IS WHITE/ CLEAN; NIGHT TIME IS BLACK/DIRTY.

#### 4.2 TIME IS MOON

Among the Anywaa, MOON is clear source of month. When it appears it is called  $\text{d}\ddot{\text{u}}\lambda\lambda\text{j}\ \bar{a}\text{p}\acute{a}\acute{a}\text{r}$  'the moon has jumped up out of the hand of God' and when it wanes, it is said  $\text{d}\ddot{\text{u}}\lambda\lambda\text{j}\ \bar{a}\acute{a}\acute{a}\ \text{m}\ddot{\text{u}}\ddot{\text{u}}\ddot{\text{d}}\ddot{o}$  'The moon has gone into darkness' or  $\text{d}\ddot{\text{u}}\lambda\lambda\text{j}\ \acute{o}\text{k}\lambda\lambda\ddot{o}$  'The moon has been taken (by God)', where it sleeps in God's home before it rises. The evening before the moon is not seen by the Anywaa, it is said to have been seen by the cattle and is spoken as  $\text{r}\acute{a}\eta\acute{a}\ \text{d}\lambda\lambda\text{k}\eta$  'It was visible to the cattle before the people' as the cattle usually face  $\text{tʃ}\lambda\lambda\text{n}$  'west'. In the mind of an Anywaa, the coming of a new moon is equated with a NEW MONTH. So, TWELVE MONTHS ARE TWELVE MOONS. Generally, the Anywaa see moon as a symbol of time rhythm, biological rhythm and the symbol of birth (Perner, 1994:264-266). In order to clarify, the understanding

<sup>8</sup> In addition, in the mind of an Anywaa the earth can be time like morning, afternoon or a season like dry season. Such conceptualizations can be found in linguistic expressions like  $\text{p}\eta\text{j}\eta\ \bar{a}\text{t}\eta\text{m}\ddot{o}\ \text{n}\acute{a}\ \bar{a}\text{m}\ddot{o}\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\acute{a}$  'The earth has become morning',  $\text{p}\eta\text{j}\eta\ \bar{a}\text{t}\eta\text{m}\ddot{o}\ \text{n}\acute{a}\ \bar{a}\text{b}\acute{o}\acute{o}\acute{j}\acute{a}$  'The earth has become afternoon' and  $\text{p}\eta\text{j}\eta\ \bar{a}\text{t}\eta\text{m}\ddot{o}\ \text{n}\acute{a}\ \text{tʃ}\text{w}\eta\text{i}\text{r}$  'The earth has become rainy season'.



concept to refer to another meaning which is related to the source. Hence, contiguity or conceptual proximity. Therefore, in reference to time in Anywaa, MOON METAONYMICALLY STANDS FOR MONTH and SUN METONYMICALLY STANDS FOR DAY(S).

### 4.3 The Moving EGO Model: Time as MOVING EGO in Anywaa

In time as A MOVING EGO, the Anywaa move to time, moon, sun, or celebrations but these source of time do not move. Therefore, the experience of going from one village to another and crossing a river is used as an experience of ego moving model of time in Anywaa. Therefore, the completion of time is based on reaching the destination while one moves from place to place. Consider the examples below.

15a. ò̀̀n      ā      -píí      jà      ā̀̀júún      tʃáá  
 IPL:INCL    PST      reach      stomach of      end of      time

LIT.      We have reached the end of time's stomach.  
 'Time is up.'

The experience in this example is based on walking and reaching the destination. Another example can be seen in à̀̀nā́ píí dī wààr nàà kwáá̀̀nò 'I reached the midnight by reading' implying that the speaker was reading until the midnight.

b.      dʒów<sup>9</sup>      ā      -póó̀̀dò      kī      jì      tʃwìir      mō      ráátʃ      d̀̀tʃ  
 IPL:INCL    PST      pass      through      in      year      REL      bad      DEG

'We have passed through a very bad year.'

The speakers in (15b) have been experiencing bad things or leading bad life in that year. In this example, TIME IS PATH like A FOREST through which people pass. The relation between time and path is historical. Debala (2011:91) puts that the origin of path is the most distant past point which is conceived as the beginning of time, i.e. the creation of the earth and human being. Human beings and other things in the universe move on this path to future. The end of the path is located in a temporal front, which can be equated with the end of time. Therefore, past is seen as the path we walked through and remained back but future is conceptualized as the path ahead of us.

c.      jììn      ā      -lǎlǎdò      dótǎf  
           2SG      PST      go fast      DEG

LIT.      You went faster than the time.  
           'You completed the task before the time.'

When people walk one person goes faster than the other and this experience is extended to human's completion of a task before the time comes. If time is over before completing the task, it is said as:

d.      jììn      -ā      -dóóη      tǎlǎn  
           2SG      PST      remain      west

LIT.      You have remained in the west.  
           'You have remained back while the time is moving ahead of you.'

But if a person completes the task in the right time, there is simultaneity in which, a person walks together with time, sun or moon as in:

e.      ààn      -à      tǎlǎlǎdò      ná      ātǎfǎl      kī      tǎfáá  
           1sg      pst      walk      CON      one      with      time

LIT.      'I have been walking together with the time.'  
           'I finished the work in the right time.'

People also do activity by looking at the sun to complete the task in the actual time. This simultaneity of time and a person's motion can be uttered in (15f) as:

f      àànā      -ā      tǎlǎlǎdò      kī      tǎlǎη      ná      ātǎfǎl  
           1SG      PST      walk      with      sun      CON      one

LIT.      I walked together with the sun.  
           'I (have) completed the task in the actual day time.'

An activity may be started in the morning and completed in the sunset. This activity can be done by looking at the sun to understand daytime. Consider the following examples in (16a&b).

16a      tǎlǎη      á      jíédì      énnó  
           sun      be      how much      now

LIT      How much is the sun now?  
           'How long has the day time become?'

This time expression is the same as that in (16b):

b	tʃàà	-è	ádíí	énnó?
	hour	PL	how many	now
LIT	How many hours now?			
	'What time is it now?'			

Spending more time can be conceptualized in terms of JUMPING OVER AN OBJECT as illustrated in (16c) below.

c.	dùllǎj	ā	-káál	-à
	moon	PST	go over	1SG
LIT.	I have gone over the moon.			
	'I have spent more than a month here/there.'			

The metaphor in (16c) implies that the speaker was supposed to spend only a month but spent more than that. However, in another context, if a woman says to her husband: dùllǎj ākáálá 'I have gone over the moon', she means *she has been conceived as she has passed the month without menstruating*. So, TO SPEND MORE TIME IS TO JUMP OVER TIME/MOON/SUN. The verb kààl 'go over' means *to go over or jump over an object on the ground without stepping up on it and continue going ahead*.

The future of day time is understood by looking at the rising sun and the future of month is understood by looking at the new coming moon and the past is the waning. So, FUTURE OF MONTH IS IN THE WEST AND FUTURE OF DAY IS IN THE EAST. PAST TIME OF THE DAYTIME IS THE SETTING OF THE SUN AND PAST TIME OF A MONTH<sup>10</sup> IS THE WANING OF THE MOON. The table below illustrates mappings for an EGO MOVING model of time.

<sup>10</sup> The word kàr 'place of' is a very general term for time; it can refer to minute, hour, day, year or any time beyond a year. So kàrà ākáàlà 'I have jumped/gone over my place' means the speaker has missed his/her time, but if this utterance is spoken by a woman to her husband, it contextually means the woman has missed her menstrual period and has therefore been conceived by the husband so that he will know that he is the true owner of the child in the future. However, the metaphors dùllǎj mán ākáálá nī ráátʃ 'I went/jumped over this moon badly' and dzòòk mán ākáálè nī ráátʃ 'He/She went/jumped over this week badly' do clearly imply that the people passed the times badly. If some one is not allowed to stay for more than three days, it is said in Anywaa ninè ādàk kēr kàali 'Do not jump over three days'.



TARGET DOMAIN: TIME	SOURCE DOMAIN: MOVING OBSERVER
times	locations of observer's path
passage of time	an observer's motion
amount of time passed	distance covered by the observer
present	location of the observer
future	space in front of an observer
past	space behind an observer

Table 1:Ego Moving Model for time as MOTION in Anywaa, Lakoff and Johnson (1999:134)

In table 1 above, it can be inferred that the domains MOVING OBSERVER and TIME have their specific aspects location of an observer's path, an observer's motion, time and the specific aspects of TIME like present, future and past (Debala,2011:12). These aspects or parts of the domains MOVING OBSERVER and TIME are according to Kovecses (2017) collectively termed as frames. The mappings in table 1 suggest that metaphorical mappings usually occur at frame level (see Kovecses,2017).

#### 4.4 The Moving Time Model in Anywaa

In reference to Anywaa, in this model an Anywaa does not move but time moves to villages, people or any other place like a river or forest where people exist. The movement of time among the Anywaa is mainly based on the movement of the sun, the moon, water bodies, earth and seasons. This implies that any objects exist in space and time and are changing based on the movements made in different intervals of time. Therefore, space and time are universal forms of existence and processes (Daglish,1982:71). Consider the following linguistic metaphors in (17)-(25) for TIME IS A MOVING ENTITY in Anywaa.

17.    tʃl̩ŋ      mār      -i      ā      -òò  
          sun      of      2SG      PST      come

LIT.    Your sun has come.  
          'Your day has come.'

This example is based on the sunrise and sunset, which is horizontal movement. When an Anywaa is doing an important routine activity and very aware of time or in need of more time in , he/she says:

18.    tʃl̩ŋ      ā      -l̩l̩d̩ò    d̩òtʃ  
          sun      PST      go fast      DEG

LIT      The sun moved very faster.  
          'The day time has gone faster.'

A very slow passage of time in which a user of time is not very aware of the passage of time is understood in terms of CRAWLING in which time is conceived as CRAWLING CREATURE as illustrated as follows:

19a.    tʃàà      -è      mùùlò    rí      -ì      j̩óóǵò  
          hours      PL      crawl      body of      2SG      yonder

LIT      The hours/times are crawling near by you.  
          'The times/hours are passing while you are not of them.'

b        tʃl̩ŋ      mùùlò    rí      -ì  
          sun      crawl      body of      2SG

LIT.      The sun is crawling by your side.  
          'The day time is passing without your using it.'

The two examples imply the situation in which the addressee thinks that the time is very big and therefore does not pay attention to work and time but later, time pass without his/her completing the work. Thus, TIME CRAWLS TO THE USER OF TIME AND LATER PRECEDES THE USER. Linguistic expressions and lexical items which are used to talk about the coming (future) time evoke the source of time and events in certain time in the mind of an Anywaa. For example, d̩ùl̩l̩j mánō òòī 'The coming moon' to mean *the coming month*, evokes a new rising moon in the west. Thus, THE COMING MONTH IS THE COMING MOON. similarly, d̩j̩j̩óó 'tomorrow' evokes the rising of the sun in the next morning, sunlight, midday and afternoon.

20a.    d̩ùl̩l̩j      mán      -à      ráátʃ      ā      -p̩óóǵò  
          moon      REL      be      bad      PST      pass

LIT.      The bad moon has passed.  
          'The bad month has passed.'

This example is based on the experience of horizontal movement of the moon from west to east and its waning. Similarly, tʃw̩ìr āòò 'The rainy season has come' is based on the coming of water out of a river to plains or villages at the moment/current season.

Among the Anywaa, east and west are sources of daytime and night time. Consider the following example in (20b):

(b) òw      ā      -rùù      bλλt    -ì  
 dawn      PST      stay longer      on      2SG

LIT.      The dawn has stayed and passed on you  
 'You passed the whole night without sleeping.'

This example implies that the speaker almost passed the whole night by crying, coughing, insulting or doing any other activity. The coming of night is based on sunset, coming of darkness or the coming of the moon. Hence, DAYTIME COMES FROM EAST; NIGHT-TIME COMES FROM WEST.

21. pìj<sup>11</sup>      ā      -póóḡò      bλλt      -ù  
 earth      PST      pass      on      2PL

LIT.      The earth has passed over you (2PL).  
 'Time has passed while you are not using it appropriately.'

The example here is based on the horizontal movement in which an object like plane or bird moves over an object like a tree or bridge. This example implies TIME WHICH HAS PASSED CAN NOT BE PULLED BACK can be understood in the metaphor in 22 as:

22. tʃl̥ŋ      mòr      ō      -òò      -ī  
 sun      another      FUT      come      FUT

LIT      Another sun will come.  
 'Another day will come.'

Motion of objects like cars, canoes, people and rivers make the Anywaa believe that the earth moves.

<sup>11</sup> The Anywaa believe that an event that happens in the other part of space, affects the earth and people, who live on it. For example, when there is an overcast, it is said in Anywaa pìj à lóóʃ 'The earth is an overcast'/pìj dá lòòʃ 'There is an overcast on the earth'. Yet an overcast is mainly in the sky but the bad mood it brings is felt on the earth. In Anywaa, pìj 'earth' is also extended to *condition*. One time period can come before another as can be illustrated with the Anywaa datum búóḡò tʃwíír jím óórò 'Rainy season comes before dry season'. Every object occupies its place in certain time; Similarly, everything has its time to occur and this is understood and expressed in Anywaa as dzàmmí bèèt dá kàrgì 'Everything has its place(position)'.

23.    *tʃàà*    *-ε*    *àáj*    *dèèr*    *-ì*    *jòògò*  
          hours    PL    go    body of    2SG    yonder:PL
- LIT    The hours/Times are moving to your front by passing near your body side.  
          'The time is passing while you are not using it appropriately.'
- 24a.    *òòn*    *ā*    *-mák*    *tʃáá*  
          IPL    PST    catch    time
- LIT.    Time has reached and has caught us.  
          'Time has come without our completing the task.'

In this metaphor, time mainly comes from the back as much of it has been used. But in this metaphor, time can also be coming from the future as the speakers have been given time but did not use more time while time is about to end by passing to the back.

- 24b.    *kár*                    *páǎǎná*    *tʃáá*  
          place of                    exam                    near
- LIT.    The place of the exam is near.  
          'The exam time is near.'

This example is based on both ego model and time model, i.e it can be based on people going to to the exam based on the time or the coming of the exam to students as it is given by the teachers while the students are sitting on the table. However, *páǎǎná āòò* 'The exam has come' clarifies that the exam and its time are moving to the speaking students as the time was set to be in the future.

25.    *kóór*    *kár*    *-ì*  
          wait    place of    2SG
- LIT    Wait for your place  
          'Wait for your time.'

This example implies that time space moves to the addressee while the addressee is waiting for it. Thus, SPECIFIC TIME IS SPECIFIC PLACE; NEAR TIME IS NEAR PLACE. Generally, the linguistic metaphors provided in ( 17)-(25) are strong evidences that metaphors of time in Anywaa are based on the HORIZONTAL AXIS. Hence, in the conception of the Anywaa, TIME IS HORIZONTAL.

My classification of the Anywaa's conception of time as HORIZONTAL proves and strengthens Perner (1994:259)'s hypothesis: "In the mind of an

Anywaa, the earth is a slightly sloping plain, and one could say that time too, is slowly moving towards the horizon like a river tardily passing the plain of human existence.” Perner (1994)'s point here indirectly includes horizontal movement of the sun and the moon, which metonymically stand for DAY and MONTH respectively. In addition, because the western part of Anywaaland is very low and very swampy and the flowing and drying of rivers start in the east, we can conclude that RAINY AND DRY SEASONS PASS FROM EAST<sup>12</sup> TO WEST.

However, there are fewer cases in which the Anywaa conceptualize time as VERTICAL as illustrated below in (26a&b).

26a.    *ɲát*     *ā*     *-óó*     *wì*     *-è*     *máál*     *bèè*     *ōtʃán*  
           person    REL:PST    come    head of    3SG    sky    be    Ochan

LIT.     The person who came up at the head of time was Ochan.  
           'It was Ochan who came first.'

b.        *gín*     *-ógó*     *ò*     *-lò*     *wì*     *-ì*     *pìjɲ*     *kájɲ*  
           thing    yonder    PERF    COMPL    abandon    pass    down    place  
           *mō*     *báár*  
           REL    tall

LIT.     This issue has been abandoned down on earth in a very far place.  
           'This is a very past issue which must be forgotten.'

Examples in (26a&b) take us to the two conceptual metaphors EARLY IS UP; PAST/LATE IS DOWN. Because linguistic metaphors used to express time are based on some source domains, they provide evidences for the presence of cognitive typology of time in human head based on culture ,convention, perception and environment. Thus, linguistic metaphors of time are physical realizations of cognitive typology of time ( see Svorou,1994:73). Based on data (17)-(25), table 2 shows mappings for time as MOVING ENTITY.

<sup>12</sup> If an Anywaa speaks as *óóró póút kèr píi kájɲ*' The dry season has not yet reached here', he/she must be in the western part of Anywaaland.

SOURCE: TRAVEL	MAPPINGS	TARGET: TIME ELASPSING
moving entity	—————→	time
movement of an entity	—————→	the lapse of time
distance covered	—————→	amount of time
elapse of time	—————→	moving entity's passing
manner of travel	—————→	a person's way of spending time
destination	—————→	time for an event
speed of travel	—————→	the quality of spent time

Table 2: Mappings with TIME MOVING Model, Bobrova and Lantolf (2012:7).

#### 4.5 Personification of Time

In Anywaa, time can be personified to deceive and be deceived. In daily lives, we tell lies to others and confuse them. Similarly, the movement of the sun during an overcast confuses people since the sun is not visible to human eye. On the other hand, the shining sun confuses people that it is still day time while the shining sun is about to set. Sometimes a daytime or night time can be addressed like human being. Therefore, personification of time falls under ontological metaphor, because time possesses concrete human qualities. Below are examples of personified metaphors in Anywaa.

27a.    ʈʂàŋ      ààn      -ā    -nòòn    -è  
           the sun    1sg      pst    deceive    3SG

LIT.    The sun has confused me.  
           'The day time has confused me.'

One can also say *pìŋ àànà nòònè* 'The earth has confused me' to mean the *The time has confused me*. So in example (27a), the speaker was thinking that there is adequate time as the shining sun as the shining sun indicated although it was about to set while the speaker was in the house thinking that it is midday.

b.        wì        pìŋ<sup>13</sup>      kèr        kìèr        -ì  
           head of    earth    NEG        dissolve    2SG

LIT.    Do not confuse the head of earth.  
           'Do not waste the time.'

c.      tʃʌŋ      mán      wáŋ      -ɛ̀      rìèk      dòtʃ  
           sun      this      eye of      3SG      a little      DEG

Lit.      This sun has a little eye.  
           'This is a very cunning day.'

Example (27c) implies that the speaker has been confused by the daytime. Cunningness is an attribute of human being but it has been extended to daytime in (27c), because the sun is covered by cloud making the day cloudy for a long time but the sun has shone in the very late afternoon though the speaker thought it was a mid-day.

d.      wáár      ǎ̀ì,      á      ɲò      bá      óó      -ì  
           night      INTER      be      what      why      come      2SG

'Night, why don't you come?'

The speaker here is troubled by the noises or other problems of the daytime and therefore wants the night to come so that he/she sleeps to relieve from these difficulties. The interjection ǎ̀ì expresses the meaning of boredom of pain.

#### 4.6 Time as RESOURCE

Among the Anywaa resources like maize, porridge, fish, cattle, chicken, durra, gun and bullets can be used as source for TIME IS RESOURCE because they are needed, used, wasted or lost. The utility of time in terms of resource among the Anywaa can be clearly seen in taking one's time(s), which is based on taking one's flour. Furthermore, amount and quality of resource can also be used as a source of time. Consider the following examples to illustrate the understanding of time in terms of RESOURCE among the Anywaa in detail.

28a.      tʃáá      mán      bà      ròmì      kīpér      -ì  
           time      this      NEG      enough      for      2SG

'This time is not enough for you.'

Because resources can be finished, time is also finished while using it; work is also finished like time as in tʃààè ǎ̀póórè 'He/She/It has finished the hours/time' and tʃwírì ǎ̀tùm nī bá gòodò 'He/She finished the years without going to school.'

- 28b.    *tʃwíírì*    *ā*    *-ráájɲ*    *-è*    *dámبالá*  
           years    PST    waste    3SG    Dambala

'He wasted many year with gold miningg in Dambala.'

The person about whom the speaker is speaking here was a young man who was perhaps expected to come back on time for joining school, but who has joined the school very late.

29.    *móótʃ*    *kī*    *tʃáá*    *mō*    *dóón*  
           give    OBL    time    REL    big

'Let him be given big/adequate time.'

30.    *wì*    *-ì*    *kèr*    *kálll*    *-ì*  
           head of    2SG    NEG    pay attention to wrong thing    2SG

'Do not waste your time.'

The phrase *kálll wìtʃ* 'to give one's head to wrong object' is used to mean *to awaste time and activity with what is not expected to be done*.

31.    *tʃàà*    *-è*    *mō*    *nók*    *dòtʃ*  
           hours    PL    REL    few    DEG

'very few hours'

The above linguistic metaphors in (28)-(31) underlie TIME IS RESOURCE whose mappings can be given in table 3 below:

TARGET DOMAIN: TIME	SOURCE DOMAIN: RESOURCE
user of time	user of resource
value of time	value of resources
mount of time	actual expenditure
lack of enough time	scarcity
value of actual expenditure of time	cost
saving time	saving resource
wastage of time	wastage of resource
availability of time	avalability of resource

Table 3: Illustrating Mappings with Time as RESOURCE in Anywaa, Lakoff and Johnson (1999:148)

The clear use of ontological time metaphor can be understood in using demonstrative adjectives like *man* this, *mánétʃe* 'that', and *móóì* 'these' *mòòkè* 'those' and their reduced forms like {ì} 'this', {è} 'that' and {-ò} 'that (near



addressee). The experience comes from concrete objects like stones, house, people, rivers, etc which can be pointed out with demonstrative adjectives accompanied by forefingers. Seasons like óóró mán 'This dry season' and tʃwìir mán 'This rainy season' can be used by indicating water and sand with fingers. The use of time with reduced demonstrative adjectives is less tangible than the use with full forms of demonstrative adjectives can be seen in tʃwíír mán 'this year', nírí 'these days' to mean *nowadays*, tʃʌŋ mán 'this sun' to mean this day/today and tʃáá man 'this hour/time'.

In Anywaa, degree of time metaphoricity can be distinguished by using full form and reduced form of demonstrative adjectives. Metaphors with full forms of demonstrative adjectives are more ontological/more concrete than those with reduced demonstrative adjectives. For example tʃáá mán 'this time' has higher degree of metaphoricity and higher degree of ontology (concreteness) than tʃáánnì 'this time, now', because mán 'this' makes time a near concrete object to both addresser and addressee and it is based on pointing out a near object like a tree, similarly tʃwìir mánétʃè 'That year' is more concrete than tʃwíínè 'that year'. The experience of using such time metaphors comes from concrete demonstration in which objects are pointed out or touched with fingers as dzààt mánétʃé 'that tree' and āpààl mán 'this spoon'. Generally, time metaphor with reduced demonstratives are less ontological and less metaphorical, because the reduced demonstrative adjective is merged to time root and therefore does not quickly and clearly evoke the experience of pointing out and touching objects like stone, fish, house or gun. Hence, high degree of metaphoricity of time is seen with full forms of demonstrative adjectives, because full forms of demonstrative adjectives like mánógó 'that' (near addressee), mán 'this' and mánétʃè 'that' do make demonstration more concrete and easier than the reduced forms like {ì-}'this', è 'that' and ò 'that' (near addressee).

#### 4.7 Time as SUBSTANCE AND CONTAINER

Among the Anywaa, the experience of putting objects in containers like pots, gourd, bottle, house and granaries and taking the substances out of containers can be extended to time as SUBSTANCE and CONTAINER. In Anywaa, the concept of *IN* is rendered by jì 'stomach of', which is the modified form of ètʃ 'stomach'. Since stomach is a very bounded region, it can be extended to locations like jì nààm 'in a river' which literally means *in the stomach of river*.

- 32a.    tʃwíín    ā    bèèd    -à    jì<sup>14</sup>    -è    ráátʃ  
           year of    REL    live    1SG    stomach of    3SG    bad
- LIT.    The stomach of the year inside which I lived was bad.  
           'I spent a bad year.'

Here the year is a container mainly understood as a habitat like a house.

- b.        ò            én        -á        káp        mō        ráátʃ  
           1PL:INCL    be:LOC    FOC        place        REL        bad
- LIT.    We are in the/ a bad place.  
           'We are in a/the bad time.'

The reason why káp 'place' has not taken jì 'in' is because, the space on the earth is conceived by the Anywaa as bounded region as people may sit on chair, resting skin or in a grass

- c.        ò            dōŋŋ    -á        jì            dʒòòk    dìjòò  
           1PL:INCL    enter:ITV    FOC        stomach of    god        tomorrow
- LIT.    We are entering in the stomach of God tomorrow  
           'Tomorrow is a holiday.'
- d.        tʃʌŋ        ā        -kʌʌr    -à        ká        āŋòòjè  
           sun        PST        carry    1SG        with        boiled maizes
- LIT.    I carried the sun with boiled maizes.  
           'I spent the whole day by eating boiled maizes.'

Example (32d) implies that the person spoken about was eating maizes in different intervals of the day as he/she did not eat the main meal like porridge and stew. So the speaker passed the whole day by eating boiled maizes and this underlies the Anywaa's conception that PASSING A DAY IS CARRYING IT. Thus, it was a bad day for him/her.

- e.        tʃʌŋ        mán        jì            -è        dá        gù        mō        rèjjò  
           sun        this        stomach of    3SG        exist        thing        REL        bad:PL
- LIT.    There are bad things in the stomach of this sun.  
           'There are bad events in this day.'

<sup>14</sup> The Anywaa's belief that human head is the central store of intellect, ideas, concepts and memories can be evidenced by the linguistic metaphors ginā tʃááni ārwááŋò wà 'What you have told me has got lost in my head', i.e *I cannot remember what you have told me*, nēŋjí jáá máá wà 'I have kept your name inside my head' and wii bʌŋ ātʃààrà/wii bʌŋgò 'There is no thought inside your head' to mean *You(2sg) are mindless/headless*.

The phrase  $tʃ\lambda\eta$   $m\acute{a}n$  'this day' can be used to refer to the actual sun by looking up at the sun in the sky as it burns people or the sun which may be covered by an overcast. Human liver can also be used as a container of time as in the following example in (32f):

- f.  $k\acute{a}\eta$   $tʃ\delta\delta$   $-\grave{a}$   $b\acute{a}\eta$   $\eta\acute{e}j\acute{j}\acute{a}$   $j\grave{i}$   $-\grave{e}$   $\acute{e}n$   $-a$   
 place go FOC to king in 3SG be:LOC 1SG  
 $tʃw\eta\eta$   $-a$   
 liver of 1SG

'The time in which I will go to the king is in my liver.'

'The time I will go to the king is decided by me.'

- g.  $tʃ\acute{a}\acute{a}$   $\bar{a}$   $p\lambda\eta$   
 hour/time PST be full

LIT. The hour/time has become full.

'Time is up.'

This example is based on a full container. Here hour is a container of minutes. Thus, the hour is full of minutes which are full of seconds. Therefore, if x is in y with z being in y, then z is in x. Therefore, if a spoon is in a pot and the pot is in the house, the spoon is in the house too. Time is also understood as an easily breakable tree or living matter, which is illustrated in (33a&b).

- 33a.  $p\grave{i}\eta$   $\bar{a}$   $-m\grave{o}\grave{o}\delta$   $-\grave{e}$   
 earth PST do too early 3SG

LIT. He has don't the earth too early.

'He has gone too early.'

The verb  $m\grave{o}\grave{o}\delta$  means to do something before reaching the actual place. For example, to jump from a far place while the ditch is still very far resulting the jumper's accidental falling in the ditch. Similarly, if a man tries to plunge the spear in the body of an antelope while it is very far away is also called in Anywaa  $m\grave{o}\grave{o}\delta$  'do too early before the actual time or place'.

- b.  $\delta w$   $\eta\acute{a}\acute{a}w$   
 dawn easily breakable

LIT. Dawn is easily breakable.

'Night is very short.'

The Anywaa think that a daytime is longer than night-time, because during day time, people are conscious and look at the sun, do activities and travel.

Many people usually do not sleep at daytime and those who sleep at day time do it only for a while. But because people sleep at night and are unconscious, morning comes sooner. The verb *ɲááw* 'easily 'breakable (tree)' can have its experience from a dry tree like mango whose inner part does not contain sap. One says *máánǵá ɲááw* 'Mango tree is easily breakable'.

*To break time* means to *go/do too early* as in *ów átóórgé* 'They have broken the dawn' to imply that they have gone away while it was early dawn like 4 p.m.

#### 4.8 TIME IS EMBODIED

Cognitive semantics views meaning as conceptualization, because most of concepts are grounded in our experience, physical and cultural world. Furthermore, our everyday bodily experience plays an important role in structuring our conceptual world. Therefore, meaning and knowledge come from our bodily use, activities and interaction with our environment implying that meaning basically comes from external environment although it is later stored in human head (Lemmens,2015). Therefore, perception, body, reasoning, imagination, experience and movement are intertwined. This hypothesis, which is under embodied realism, has disproved objectivism's view that mind is transcendental and disembodied. Thus, METAPHOR IS EMOBODIED; MEANING IS EMBODIED and THE BODY IS THEREFORE IN THE MIND, because reason and imagination have bodily basis. The pattern which are called image schemas emerge through out of our sensory motor activity, our manipulation of objects and our spatial orientation. Examples of image schema include,CONTAINMENT, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, TRAJECTORY, FRONT-BACK and UP-DOWN. Thus, experience is the degree of our interaction with the enviroment (Lemmens, 2015:92 Johnson, 1987, Mark and Lakoff,1999 and George, 2002:248 ).

In metaphysics, we study truth, existence, ultimate reality like the formation of ice from liquid water and reasoning; in realism, we study the representation of truth in real or undoubtful way. Similarly, in embodied realism truth can come from human body experience as what we do is based on our embodied mind. Since, neural networks of the brain determine the kind of concept and the kind of reasoning to make, experience becomes a rational inference. The concrete expreience we gain from our body, its parts and their function, makes meaning real and truthful backed by cultural convention. Briefly, embodied realism argues that metaphors can be formed and constrained by our bodies,

brains and the reality of our daily interactions (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999 and Middendorp, 2013). Thus, the movements we make with our legs, palpitations (body rhythms) and seeing the time sources like wrist watch and the sun makes our understanding of the time embodied. Below, in sections 4.8.1-4.8.4, are the detail discussions of embodied time in Anywaa.

#### 4.8.1 Time as THE WHOLE HUMAN BODY

Sometimes we touch things with our body and we separate with the object after a while. Similarly, we also make decision and do activities in certain interval of time. This bodily interaction with objects and activities or events contributes to an event or someone's time in which an event happens. In Anywaa, the whole human body is called *dèl* or *ròk*. The modified singular form of *dèl* 'body' is *dèr* 'his/her/its body' whose modified/irregular plural is *dèt* 'bodies of' (see Reh, 1996). The synonym *ròk* 'body' has the plural modified form with high tone as *rók/rí* 'body of' implying *at the time of* or *during*. The whole body therefore expresses the concept DURING in Anywaa. Consider the following examples for detail.

34a.    *rí*            *kót*        *pìj*        *ɲít*  
           body of    rain        earth      cold

LIT.        In the body of rain, the earth is cold.  
               'During rain, it is cold.'

The metaphor *pìj à rí kòt énnó* 'The earth is now the body of famine' means it is the time of famine. So, *pìj* 'earth' can stand for the condition and time, but *rí* 'body of' has the meaning of *time of/during*.

b.        *dildíla*    *tìt*        *-á*        *dèr*        *ākúóm*    *dárgì*  
           bridge    do        FOC      body of    regime of    Derg

LIT.        The bridge was done in the body of Derg regime  
               'The bridge was built during the Derg regime.'

If a king or a chief is blamed as *džèj kówá rí* 'The people died in your body', the implied meaning is that he was the killer or the others killed the people while he was a king/leader but he kept quiet without taking an action. The phrase *rók nírèkà* 'to the bodies of those days' means *in/during those days*. This phrase has equivalent meaning to *jít nírèkà* 'in the stomachs of those days'.

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c.	jì	nóóll	-á	rì	léɲ	nùllà
	2SG	bear	FOC	body of	War of	Nuer

LIT. You were born in the body of the Nuer war.  
'You were born during the Nuer-Anywaa war.'

The implied meaning here is that the addressee was born while there was an intense and long lasting war between the Anywaa and the Nuer.

#### 4.8.2 Future and Past Tenses as BODY PARTS

In Anywaa, FUTURE TIME IS FACE/FRONT and PAST TENSE IS BACK. This is because something in the front is ahead but that in the back is behind and cannot be seen as it has already passed. Looking at the rising sun and new coming moon also puts future in front us. When talking about future, an Anywaa points the forefinger to front but when talking about the past, an Anywaa points back with the thumb or forefinger. Generally, among the Anywaa, children are first taught body parts. After they understand the names, shape and functions of human body parts, they extend them to other objects like needle, plants<sup>15</sup>, clothes, containers, house and time. Below are the examples for an embodied future and past tense in Anywaa.

35a.	mó	-í	ō	dʒóót	-ì	jím	-í
	of	2SG	FUT	2SG	2SG	front of	2SG

LIT. You will see yours (pl) in your front/face.  
'May you suffer from your misdeed in the future!'

This example clearly suggests that curse is a future event as it was told by the curser to God so that judgement is given for future after interpreting whether the curser has truly been offended, attacked or disadvantaged. Example (35a) implies that curse will meet the addressee in the future as the Anywaa conceptualize curse as a moving entity entering the body of a cursed person.

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<sup>15</sup> Plant growth is a basic source of human and other animals growth. For example, the word *piit* 'sow' can be extended to caring or feeding human being as in *ōtʃála piitá à* 'Ochala was sown/planted by me' to mean *the speaker cared for or fed Ochala although the speaker may not be the mother or father*. Hence, CARING A PERSON IS SOWING/PLANTING A PLANT; ANIMAL GROWTH IS A PLANT GROWTH. Therefore, because nobody is not clearly known to have planted trees in natural forests, in Anywaa, natural vegetation is called *dʒènnà mō piitá dʒòòki* 'Plants sown/planted by God'.

- b.       $\eta\acute{\iota}\mu$      $-\acute{\iota}$        $\eta\acute{\lambda}\acute{\jmath}$      $-\acute{\iota}$   
          front   2sg    know    2sg
- LIT.    Do you know your your front/face?  
          'Do you know your future?'
- c.       $\lambda\grave{\epsilon}\eta$        $\acute{m}\acute{\alpha}\nu$      $-\grave{\alpha}$        $\acute{d}\acute{o}\acute{\upsilon}\eta$      $\bar{a}$        $-\acute{d}\acute{o}\acute{o}\eta$      $\eta\lambda\acute{\tau}\acute{\jmath}$   
          war       REL       be       big       PST       remain    back
- LIT.    The big war has remained at the back.  
          'The big war has already passed.'

In Anywaa, a person who is born after the other is called  $\eta\eta\lambda\acute{\tau}\acute{\jmath}$  'child of back' and that who was born before the other is called  $\eta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}$   $\eta\acute{o}\acute{\nu}\acute{\iota}$   $\eta\acute{\iota}\mu$  'the person who was born in the front'. One calls his/her little sibling as  $\eta\eta\lambda\lambda\grave{\alpha}$  'my back child' (pl.  $\eta\eta\lambda\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}$  'Children of my backs'), which means all children born after the speaker. One's little sibling's little sibling is called  $\eta\eta\lambda\lambda$   $\eta\eta\lambda\lambda\grave{\alpha}$  'My 'back child's back child'. So OLD GENERATION IS FRONT; YOUNG GENERATION IS BACK. In Anywaa, the English word generation is  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta\eta\acute{o}$  'pick-a-pack' (pl.  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta\eta\grave{\epsilon}$ ). Among the Anywaa, mothers of children who were born at the same time use the same pick-a-pack to carry children with their backs when going to a very far place. Late time is also called  $\acute{\tau}\acute{\jmath}\lambda\lambda\acute{\nu}$  'west' or  $\eta\lambda\acute{\tau}\acute{\jmath}/\eta\lambda\lambda$   $\acute{\tau}\acute{\jmath}\lambda\lambda\acute{\nu}$  'back of west' and early time is  $\acute{m}\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}\lambda$  'up/east'. The use of back for past time can also be seen in the day before yesterday, which is expressed in Anywaa as  $\acute{k}\acute{o}\acute{\nu}\acute{r}$   $\acute{\alpha}\omega\acute{\lambda}\acute{\lambda}\acute{r}\acute{\epsilon}$  'after/back of yesterday' and  $\eta\acute{\iota}$   $\eta\acute{o}\acute{\nu}\acute{\iota}\acute{\lambda}\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{k}\acute{o}\acute{\nu}\acute{r}\acute{\alpha}/\eta\lambda\lambda\grave{\alpha}$  'You (2sg) were born after me/behind me'.

#### 4.8.3 Frequency Adverbs as HUMAN LEGS

In Anywaa, LEG METONYMICALLY STANDS FOR TIME FREQUENCY OF TRAVELLING. Hence, TIME FREQUENCY OF TRAVELLING IS HUMAN LEG, illustrated in (36a-e).

- 36a.     $\acute{d}\acute{\alpha}$        $\acute{\tau}\acute{\iota}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{r}$      $-\acute{\iota}$        $\acute{m}\bar{o}$      $\acute{\jmath}\acute{\iota}\acute{\nu}$      $\grave{o}$        $-\acute{\tau}\acute{\jmath}\acute{\iota}$      $\acute{\jmath}\acute{\alpha}$        $\acute{\alpha}\acute{k}\acute{\alpha}\acute{d}\acute{o}$   
          exist    leg of    2SG    REL    2SG    PERF    go       stomach of    Akado
- $\acute{k}\acute{\tau}$        $\acute{g}\acute{o}$   
          with    it
- LIT.    Do you have a leg of yours with which you have gone into the stomach of Akado?  
          'Have you ever been to Akado?'

- b.       $\bar{a}d\dot{i}t\int\lambda\lambda b\acute{a}$        $\eta\delta\delta\phi$        $t\acute{i}\acute{e}t$        $-á$   
 Addia Ababa      soils of      legs of      1SG
- Lit.      Addis Ababa is the soils of my leg.  
 'I have been to Addis Ababa many times.'

Example (36b) also implies that the speaker usually goes to Addis Ababa. This metaphor is also spoken as  $\bar{a}d\dot{i}t\int\lambda\lambda b\acute{a}$  wàñ tìèrà 'Addis Ababa is the shoe of my leg'. If we frequently go to a dusty place and stay there, our legs and shoes will get much soil, dust or mud.

- c.       $t\grave{i}\grave{e}t$        $-ì$        $\acute{a}d\acute{i}í$        $j\grave{a}$        $\bar{a}t\int w\acute{a}á?$   
 legs of      2SG      how many      stomach of      Achwaa
- LIT.      How many legs do you in the stomach of Achwaa?  
 'How many times have you been in Achwaa?'

Briefly,  $t\acute{i}\acute{e}t\ \bar{a}d\acute{i}í$  'How many legs do you have' contextually means *How many times have you been there/here?*

- d.       $t\grave{i}\grave{e}t$        $-á$        $\bar{a}d\acute{a}k$        $d\zeta\grave{i}mm\grave{a}$   
 legs of      1SG      three      Jimma
- LIT.      My legs are three in Jimma.  
 'I went to Jimma three times.'

Based on examples(36a)-(36d), the following conceptual metaphors can be formulated:

- (a) HAVING NO TIME OF GOING SOMEWHERE IS HAVING NO LEG(S).
- (b) TRAVELLING ONCE IS ONE LEG.
- (c) TRAVELLING TWICE IS TWO LEGS.
- (d) TRAVELLING THREE TIMES IS THREE LEGS.
- (f) TRAVELLING MANY TIME IS HAVING MANY LEGS.
- (g) HABITUAL ASPECT IS MORE LEGS/SOILS OF LEGS

Celestial bodies which serve as source of time are given human body parts. For example, in Anywaa rays of the sun are called  $t\acute{i}\acute{e}t\ \int\lambda\eta$  'legs of the sun', which is also used as the time in which the rays of the sun start rising and reach the earth. This time is almost 7 a.m. Similarly, the time in which the



red colour appears before the sun rays appear is called tíét ów<sup>16</sup> 'legs of dawn'. This is almost 5p.m at night when it is about to become morning. The concept of HALF is understood in terms of HUMAN TEMPLE (side of head) called in Anywaa ʔ̀l̀l̀h̀ò (pl. ʔ̀l̀h̀h̀í) whose modified form is ʔ̀l̀l̀h̀ 'half of', which literally means TEMPLE OF. Human temple and its extension to ʔ̀l̀l̀h̀ kùòn 'half of porridge (LIT. temple of porridge), ʔ̀l̀l̀h̀ òtò 'half of house', ʔ̀l̀l̀h̀ āwàl 'half of gourd' and others can be used as a source of half time as in ʔ̀l̀l̀h̀ dùl̀l̀j 'half of a month' which literally means *temple of moon*. Such conception of time can also be illustrated as follows:

- 37a. ʔ̀f̀ààè      āríéw      d̀ì      ẁì      -è  
           hours        two        center of      head of      3SG
- LIT      Two hours in the center of its head  
           'It is exactly two o'clock.'

Sometimes if an Anywaa is asked as ʔ̀f̀ààè ādíí énnó? 'What time is it now?', he/she contextually responds as d̀ì ẁè k̀írée 'It is really the center of its head', which means it is an exact time like three o'clock without a minute or second.

- b.            ʔ̀f̀ááè      āríéw      k̀ī      ʔ̀l̀l̀h̀ò  
                   hours        two        and        temple
- LIT.      It is two hours and temple.  
           'It is half past two (2:30).'

Something which is at the center has equal parts and so does an exact time. Examples (37a) and (37b) therefore take us to the conceptual metaphors AN EXACT TIME IS HUMAN HEAD(CENTRE); HALF TIME IS TEMPLE; FULL DAY IS FULL SUN which is based on sunrise and sunset. FULL MONTH IS FULL MOON, which based on the coming of new moon and its waning. Similarly, THIRTY MINUTES ARE HUMAN TEMPLE AND AN HOUR (60 MINUTES) IS TWO TEMPLES. The extension of ʔ̀l̀l̀h̀ò 'human temple' to *half objects* like ʔ̀l̀l̀h̀ kùòn 'temple of porridge', ʔ̀l̀l̀h̀ kàl 'temple of fence' or ʔ̀l̀l̀h̀ òkóló 'temple of pumpkin' is based on the resemblance because both temple and half of porridge or half of pumpkin have sliced shapes but since time is complex and abstract, it is not easy to talk about half of time. So human temple and its extension has been imposed on half of time so that it

<sup>16</sup> The so called ʔ̀f̀èèj òw 'dawn/morning star', appears in the east at the late dawn signifying that the dawn is about to break. When this very twinkling star disappears, morning soon breaks and the sun's rays appear.

will be easy to talk about incomplete time. The word dièr 'center' comes from human spinal cord which is called tʃóón dièr 'bone of human center' or the area between human chest and stomach. When it is midday, it is called ɲààtʃ ɲúdí 'turning back the necks' as the sun is over head and people look up at the sun by turning back their heads and necks and it is almost 12 a.m or diʃlɲ 'center of sun', which means *day time/midday*. The metaphor diʃlɲ 'center of this sun' can also mean rúúdí 'nowadays'.

Because stomach is enclosed, it can be used as a source of an adverb of frequency as in *ādiʃlɲá ádzòúdá jìè ātʃíél* 'I visited Addis in one stomach' to mean *I visited Addis Ababa once* and *kát ɲwèètʃ ābélé kī jìt̩ āriéw* 'He tasted the monitor lizard stew in two stomachs' to mean *He tasted the monitor lizard stew twice*. Hence, ONCE IS ONE STOMACH, TWICE IS TWO STOMACHS, THREE TIMES IS THREE STOMACHS, MANY TIMES IS MORE STOMACHS, etc. When the time frequency jì 'stomach of' is deleted, the instrument used to do an action stands for time frequency. Example, *àànā lúóttò kī jí tʃèrà ātʃíél* 'I took some amount with the stomach of my hand' to mean *I took some amount with my hand once* is the same as *àànā lúóttò kī tʃèrà ātʃíél* 'I took some amount with my one hand' to mean *I took some amount with my hand once*. Similarly, *àànā lúóttò kī jí t̩ āpɲt̩ ādák* 'I took some amount with the stomachs/inner parts of three spoons' has similar meaning to *àànā lúóttò ká āpɲt̩ ādák* 'I took three spoons' to mean *I took some amount with the spoon three times*. The metaphor jì tʃlɲdò kàɲ kī jìt̩ tʃlɲɲè bèèt 'You come here in the stomachs of all suns' means *You come here (in) all days/everyday*. Although the concept of ALWAYS is tʃòòt̩ in Anywaa, it can be used with IN A SUN to clarify every day as *gè nút káɲ kī jì tʃlɲ (tʃòòt̩)* 'They are here in the stomachs of sun always' to mean *They are always here*.

Furthermore, among the Anywaa, unfavourable time is understood in terms of left side and favourable time is understood in terms of right side. This is because left is weak and birds signifying chance and good time are believed to move in right side although they start moving in leftside before the person becomes lucky. Consider the following examples for clarification and evidences:

38a. tʃlɲ      ā      -pɲdò      nī      tʃáám  
sun      PST      fall down      CON      left side

LIT.      The sun has fallen down to my left side.  
          'I have spent the day badly.'

This linguistic metaphor underlies BAD/UNLUCKY (TIME) IS LEFT; GOOD/LUCKY (TIME) IS RIGHT. Usually, the things we do with our left hands are difficult to complete as left is usually weak. The Anywaa believe that birds that move from left side imply that the person will not be lucky.

b.      pìŋ      r'é      -é      tʃáámò      dzàák  
           earth      body of      3SG      incline to left side      simply

LIT.      The earth has simply inclined to left side.  
           'The time has simply become bad.'

#### 4.8.4 Aspect as HUMAN BODY PARTS

In Anywaa, body parts express different aspects by using body parts names with or without modifications. These body parts include, teeth, mouth, jaw, stomach, shoulder, head and butt. According to Riemer (2010: 314&315), the difference between tense and aspect is that, tense is the location of an event in the present, past/future but *aspect* is the grammatical category expressing the manner in which time is presented in an event; briefly, aspect tells us whether the action or event described has stopped or is in progress. So tense is spatial (deictic), but aspect is non-deictic (non-spatial). Among the Anywaa, types of aspects understood in terms of body parts are prospective, ingressive, egressive and habitual/iterative aspect (see Reh,1996). Therefore, since these aspects are dealt with in terms of embodiment without analyzing the grammatical markers, they are termed as periphrastic. Prospective aspect expresses an action which is about to start but ingressive aspect focuses on beginning of an action/event. Egressive aspect gives more attention to ending the action while iterative aspect expresses repeated action or states; progressive aspect expresses what is going on now (Binyam, 2010:113-114). Consider the following examples in (39)-(45) to clarify EMBODIED ASPECT in Anywaa.

39.      wà      éŋ      -á      báát      púúr  
           1PL:EXCL      be:loc      FOC      shoulder of      cultivation

LIT.      We are on the shoulder of cultivation  
           'We are now cultivating.'

The example here implies that the speakers are now cultivating and can be clearly seen cultivating in the farm. Another very clear example here is *ōdzúlú éná báát ñòt dzààt* 'Ojulu is on the shoulder of cutting the tree' which implies that Ojulu can now be clearly seen cutting the tree. The voice made by the axe with which the tree is being cut can now be clearly seen. So the adverb of time

énnó 'now' can be optionally used in such an embodied construction. Hence, PROGRESSIVE ASPECT IS SHOULDER. Something which is carried on the shoulder can be clearly seen by the time it is being carried. The use of *bàlèt* 'shoulder of', which renders the concept of ON, evokes the progressive aspect {ò-}. For example, *à éná bàlèt ṭààl* (énnó) 'I'm on the shoulder of cooking (now)' has similar meaning to *à tèèdò* (énnó) 'I'm cooking (now)', in which the progressive aspect {ò-}, whose concrete form is *bàlèt* 'shoulder of' is attached to the stem *tèèd-* 'cook'.

40.        *wà*                    *póót*        *én*            *-á*        *ṭár*            *-è*  
              1PL:EXCL        still        be:LOC    FOC       buttock of    3SG  
 LIT.        We are still at the buttock.  
              'We are still starting the task/work.'

This example implies that the speakers are still starting the work. The example can also be uttered as *wà éná ṭàw* 'We are at the butt', in which *én* 'be' carries the concept of STARTING. Hence, INGRESSIVE IS BUTT. In this conception, the people start from down and go up to the head. But with the verb *píí* 'reach/arrive', human buttock expresses egressive aspect as:

- 41        *gèn*            *-ā*            *-píí*        *ṭár*            *-é*  
              3PL            PST            reach        buttock       3SG  
 LIT.        They reached its buttock.  
              'They have completed the task.'

The verb *píí* 'reach/arrive' therefore encodes an end point and therefore takes *ṭàw* 'buttock' as its complement. So it is an aktionsart/lexical aspect verb. Therefore, EGRESSIVE ASPECT IS HUMAN BUTTOCK. However, since human head is associated with early and beginning, it clearly expresses ingressive aspect as *wà éná wìè* 'We are at its head' to mean *We have just started the work*. So, INGRESSIVE IS HEAD.

HUMAN LEG and ANIMAL'S TAIL can also be used as a source of ingressive aspect as can be seen in example (42) & (43).

42.        *gè*            (*pòòt*)        *én*            *-á*            *tír*            *-è*  
              3PL            still            be:LOC        FOC            leg of        3SG  
 LIT.        They are still at its leg.  
              'They are still beginning the work.'

This example has optionally taken *pòòt* 'still' due to the use of LEG as the obligatory concept to express the beginning of the work. Human leg can be

extended to lower part of a tree or root of a tree. So cutting a tree starts from stem, which is *tìèr dzààt* 'leg of a tree' in Anywaa; among the Anywaa, old people feel the others' body for bless by starting from legs to head. This in turn takes us to conclusion that the Anywaa<sup>17</sup> view tense as locative (e.g *tʃlɛ́ mánè* 'that day', lit. that sun), which evokes past time, but the Anywaa view aspect as journey with ingressive being the point of departure while egressive/completive is destination, which is a journey based concept . Contextually, *āñúún*<sup>18</sup> *tìitf* 'end of the work' has similar meaning to *tárè* its buttock' and *ták tìitf* 'starting work' has similar to *wìè* 'its head' or *tìèrè* 'its leg'. Therefore, in the linguistic constructions with body parts like *wà éná ṭàw* 'We are at the buttock' to imply ending the work, the word *ṭàw* 'buttock' evokes the verb *ṭòòr* 'finsish'. Similarly, in the constructions *wà éná ṭièlò* 'We are at the leg/root' and *wà éná ẉitf* 'We are at the head', to imply beginning of the work, the body parts *ṭièlò* 'leg(root)' and *ẉitf* 'head' evoke the starting verb *ṭlɛ́* 'start'. The Anywaa see buttock as the source of both *back* and *down* but the concept *deep down* or *root* is based on *leg, foot and sole*.

43.      wá                    (póót)      éñ              -á              dzíb      -è  
             IPL:EXCL    still            be:LOc    FOC           tail of      3SG  
 LIT.      We are still at its tail.  
             'We are still starting the work.'

This example is based on starting a task with an animal's tail. For example, scaling a fish starts with its tail and ends with the area around the head. If an animal is speared with its, it will not die until the head is speared resulting in the death of the animal which in turn results in the completion of the activity of killing the animal. Hence, **INGRESSIVE IS ANIMAL'S TAIL**. In Anywaa, lower body parts are usually used as sources of ingressive aspect.

<sup>17</sup> In Anywaa, the source of a river is *tìèr nààm* 'leg/foot of river' and where it flows is *wì nààm* 'head of river'. These lexical metaphor terms are based on seeing an object, a person or a tree which has lied down.

<sup>18</sup> The metaphor *gèñā píí jà āñúún tìitf* 'They have reached the end/destination of the work' has similar meaning to *tìitf āṭòórgè* 'They have finished the work'/*tìitf āṭḷḷṭ píj* 'The work has gone down/it is about to end'. Hence, **COMPLETIVE/EGRESSIVE ASPECT IS DOWN; INGRESSIVE ASPECT IS UP**. If a person finishes a job/work, it is said *tìitf ākúúl píj* 'He has turned down the job'. Satellites like *píj* 'down' and *máál* 'up/top' are used with related locative verbs like *éñ* 'be' and *tʃḷḷṭ* 'go' for marking beginning and ending of activity and time.

44.	à	én	á	búút	pùòḡḡò
	ISG	be:LOC	FOC	side of lower abdomen	farm
LIT.	I'm at the farm's side of lower abdomen. 'I'm about to start cultivation.'				

This example is very contextual in that a few minutes ago, the speaker told the addressee that he would go farming but now the addressee called him for issue. In Anywaa, the word for side of lower abdomen is bùùdò but its modified singular form which expresses PROSPECTIVE ASPECT takes high tone as búút 'side of lower abdomen of', which is extended to mean *near something* or *one entity is near another*. When we are about to tell something to someone, we stand beside them. So, aspect understood in terms of LOWER SIDE OF HUMAN ABDOMEN means the person/another is near something/happening, which can be spoken in Anywaa as jì éná búút tiitf 'You are at the side of lower abdomen of the work' means and you are near the work and you have to start it immediately'. Therefore, HUMAN SIDE IS A SOURCE OF PRESENT OR NEAR TIME.

With human teeth and food or eating, the prospective aspectual meaning is usually clear without context. So wà éná làk tɕàm 'We are at the teeth of food/eating' means the speakers are about to start eating and can imply that they have no more minutes to wait for the addressee. The word làk tɕàm 'the teeth of eating/food' means *near (starting) eating*. The words làk 'teeth', dèŋ 'jaw', ɕĩ 'mouth of' have the locative meanings 'near' and can express prospective aspect<sup>19</sup> as à éná déŋ/làk naam 'I'm at the teeth/jaw of river' which implies that *The speaker is near the river and about to bathe*.

45.	mènn	-ì	én	-á	jì	tɕw
	mother of:3SG	3SG	be:LOC	FOC	stomach of	disease
LIT.	His/Her mother is in the stomach of disease. 'His/Her mother has been seriously sick.'					

<sup>19</sup> In Anywaa, the lexical forms of prospective aspect are the present form màŋŋ-' is about to do/ to happen' and the past counterpart di/dòò w'as about to do/to happen'. In the expression kòt màŋŋá òò 'The rain is about to come', the present prospective màŋŋ- optionally takes énnó 'now', but in the expression kòt dòò òò 'The rain was about to come', the past prospective dòò optionally takes kàr kààtɕà 'that place' which means *that time*. Because the past prospective carries the past tense marker {ā-}, this tense is deleted when the past propective dòò/di is used before a past verb like àòò 'came', àtɕw 'died' or àtɕlámò 'ate'. So, past tense marker is deleted after past prospective.

The example here implies that the disease is chronic. So sometimes the disease becomes better but sometimes it becomes serious. In Anywaa, the word for stomach is ètʃ and its modified form is jì 'stomach of', which has locative meanings as jì náám 'in river', jì òtò 'in the/a house', etc. These locations therefore have the literal translations *stomach of river*, *stomach of house* etc. Once we enter certain region like a house or forest, we stay in it or it becomes our residence and this must be the reason for which the Anywaa understand habitual aspect in terms of human stomach. When the event/activity is habitual/iterative but intense, human eye is used as an habitual aspect as in wà éná wàŋ lèŋ 'We are in the war's eye', which implies that the war is iterative and intense. So, the speakers are usually fighting intense war since they are in the very front of war. The Anywaa also understand early time in terms of human head and late time in terms of human eye. This is usually used for understanding DAWN. Therefore, wàŋ òw 'eye of dawn' means late dawn in which things are partly seen on the ground. Here, the time is almost 5.p.m at dawn., but wì òw 'head of dawn' is too dawn in which things on the ground cannot be seen. This is almost 3-4p.m at dawn .

When the sun disappears in a cloud, it is said tʃlɛ wàŋè āmìè 'The sun has closed its eye', but when it shines by coming out of the cloud, it is said tʃlɛ wàŋè ādzábè 'The sun has opened its eye'. The Anywaa believe that a true day time is the one with clear sky and good sunshine as things are very visible; when we open our eyes, we see things due to the extension of or sight, but we do not see when we close our eyes. A day time is also called in Anywaa wàŋ tʃlɛ 'sun's eye' (pl. nèŋ tʃlɛŋɛ 'eyes of the suns'<sup>20</sup>), but this word is also extended to DAY, whose plural form days is nèŋ tʃlɛŋɛ 'eyes of the suns'. Furthermore, the center of the sun is called wàŋ tʃlɛ 'sun's eye' In Anywaa, a poor person is called tʃán but can also be understood to be in the stomach of poverty as è éná jí tʃán 'He/She, who is in poverty'. Thus, ITERATIVE/HABITUAL ASPECT IS A PART OF ONE'S NORMAL LIFE. One can argue that wàŋ mòr another eye to mean *another day/time in the*

<sup>20</sup> An example like ŋùùw āò páátʃ kī wáŋ tʃlɛ 'The lion is coming home in the sun's eye' or ŋùùw āò páátʃ nī pìŋ à wáŋ tʃlɛ 'The lion is coming home while the earth has become the sun's eye', wáŋ tʃlɛ 'sun's eye' refers to daytime but wáŋ tʃlɛ ātʃíél 'one eye of the sun' refers to *one day*. When it is mid day and the sun is strongly shining in a very clear sky, it is called wáŋ tʃlɛ mō tár 'white eye of the sun' but wáŋ tʃlɛ mō määʃ 'An eye of the sun which' is fire' refers to day time in which the sun is very hot and is burning people. The time wàŋ tʃlɛ mō kwáár 'a red eye of the sun' is also used to refer to a hot day time with high sunshine but its degree of hotness is lower than the day time conceived as FIRE. However, wàŋ wàlɛr 'eye of night' means a person's poor sight at night as there is darkness.

*distant future* is the simplified form of wàṅ tʃḷḷ mōr 'another eye of the sun' to mean *another day*. Past time can be expressed as āwáńí 'that past eye' whose very past form is āwáńítʃá 'very past eye'. The English phrase *this year* is expressed in Anywaa as wáńí 'this eye/this stream'.

### 5. Summary and Conclusion

The present study explores metaphors of time in Anywaa by identifying linguistic metaphors of time and classifying the cognitive axis of time among the Anywaa. For example, the expression dūllǎj āpáḷḷ 'The moon has become full' means *it has become a full month*. Hence, MONTH IS MOON. Understanding time in terms of MOTION is very common in Anywaa. Evidences for motion metaphors of time have been found from linguistic metaphors like tʃáá riiṅò dōtʃ 'The time is running very fast'. QUANTITY is also used to express time in Anywaa. For example, tʃḷḷ ḡḡḡ 'The sun is small' means *the day time is inadequate*. Based on the analyses and interpretations, it has been found that among the Anywaa, time is conceptualized based on the HORIZONTAL AXIS, whose experience mainly comes from horizontal movements of the earth, objects, sun, moon, people, animals and water bodies. Conceptualization of time based on horizontal axis is also used in other Ethiopian languages. For example, Derib (2016:113) states that in Amharic, time is always conceptualized as horizontal. In Anywaa, the sun and the moon are used as sources domains of day, day time and month while earth is the generic term of time. Abstract concepts like tense and aspects are conceptualized in terms of different body parts like leg, which expresses time frequency and ingressive aspect. It can be therefore concluded that in Anywaa time is very embodied.



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### Appendix: Abbreviations and Symbols

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
COMPL	Complement, Compleitive aspect
CON	Connective
DEG	Degree
EXCL	Exclusive
FOC	Focus
LIT	Literally
LOC	Locative
INCL	Inclusive
INTER	Interjection
NEG	Negative
OBL	Oblique case
PASS	Passive voice
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PST	Past tense
REL	Relativizer
SG	Singular
`	Low tone
ˊ	High tone
-	Mid tone
ˋ	Rising tone
ˋ	Falling tone

