



Proverbs in Producing the Intended Discourse: An Understanding of the Conative Functional Aspect of the Pashto Proverbs

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ABSTRACT

Pashto proverbs, as a folkloric genre, are effectively utilized in the communication processes of the Pashtun community residing in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), Pakistan. They play a significant role in the communicative and socio-cognitive framing of the Pashtun community. Pashto proverbs employ figurative language to perform a discursive function in communication. However, this folklore genre of Pashto proverbs has not received substantial attention in research studies. Therefore, this paper addresses the question of what discursive function Pashto proverbs perform in shaping the intended discourse when used within the community. This study analyzes 10 purposely selected Pashto proverbs from *Rohi Mataluna* (Pashto Proverbs, 2007) authored by *Mohammad Nawaz Tair and Thomas C. Edwards*, utilizing both their literal English translations and contextual usage. Investigating the discursive role of these proverbs as cultural assets through the lens of Elias Domínguez Barajas's Proverbs as Discursive Tools (PDT) approach and the Mapping Domains Procedure, the findings reveal that Pashto proverbs serve a vital conative functional role. Ultimately, they act as rhetorical tools to influence the addressee and successfully (re)produce the Pashtun ideological and cultural perspective in communication.

Keywords: Discourse, Discursive Aspect, Conative Function, Pashto, Proverbs

1. INTRODUCTION

Proverbs, as concise, widely recognized expressions of popular wisdom, encapsulate truths, morals, and traditional perspectives in a metaphorical, fixed, and memorable format, transmitted across generations (Mieder, 2004). As a genre of folklore, proverbs mirror the social values, beliefs, and attitudes of a nation. They are a valuable asset to the community, which reflects its wisdom and behavior in the communication process (Ghafoori & Elyas, 2023). Prescriptive proverbs (morality-based proverbs) articulate the moral and social standards of folk philosophies; they drive communities toward the ideological and cultural norms of their respective communities (Ballesteros, 1979; Chuchvara, 2009).

In communication, proverbs convey the collective wisdom of a society and transfer its socio-cultural values across generations (Bobuafor, 2021), expressed in their semantic richness. Their ubiquity and significance in communicative discourse have been discussed by Obeng (1996) and Hansford (2003) in terms of their oratorical functions. They serve various illocutionary functions, such as advising, convincing, reproofing, or establishing an argument during a communicative process (Bobuafor, 2021), due to their metaphorical



expressions. Social beliefs, cultural values, and ideologies are richly manifested in the proverbs, which often go unnoticed in the communicative process (Lomotey & Csajbok-Twerefou, 2021).

Concise snippets of oral communication, proverbs are very effective rhetoric in oral or written communication (Mieder, 2004) since they are “expressions of wisdom and truth” which are passed “from generation to generation” (Hrisztova-Gotthardt & Varga, 2015) through the communicative process. As an aphoristic saying Nwoga (1976) accumulates in proverbs “the wisdom of many and the wit of one; the experience and wisdom of several ages gathered and summed up in one expression; and the edge tools of communication”. They reveal cultural ideologies, social identities and rich linguistic construction.

Pashto Proverbs constitute a significant part of Pashto folklore and are popularly known as *Mataluna* (Singular: *Matal*). They are considered and acknowledged as highly valuable expressions of the beliefs, ideologies, cultural and moral values, and social patterns of the Pashtun community, which comprises forty million Pashtuns living in this Northwest province of Pakistan. That is why they are “prized pearls of wisdom” and “molecules” (Tair & Edwards, 2006) that guide the Pashtun community for generations and play a key role in its ideological construction (Khan et al., 2015).

Pashto Proverbs are not just “folkloric relics, verbal decorations, or collector’s items” but are considered “*a course of action, affect a change of attitude, or provoke a change in perspective. Proverbs are rhetorical tools to accomplish social or personal ends*” (Tair & Edwards, 2006). Also, they play significant functions in the Pashtun community (Ullah & Abid, 2020) since they carry “national character, national ideology or philosophy” (Tair & Edwards, 2006) and reflect ideological struggles (Badshah & Khan, 2015).

Semantically, Pashto proverbs contain a compressed and complex meaning that cannot be comprehended and appreciated without the schema of social knowledge. For example, the proverb *Khaza da koor chiraagh dy* (Woman is the lamp of the family) locates women in the house as its manager in the social order. They should prioritize the household over places or work outside the house. This proverb makes sense to readers only if they understand the social divisions and culture of Pashtun society. Otherwise, it would seem a mere patriarchal attitude towards women of the community. In the same sense, the proverb *Hr cha ta khpl watan Kashmir dy* (Everyone considers their country as Kashmir in terms of its beauty and resourcefulness) illustrates the respect that Pashtuns have for their homeland. Respecting their homeland is part of their Pashtunwali, the code of life of Pashtuns (Bartlotti, 2008). Again, readers can understand this proverb only if they have the schema of the social knowledge of the Pashtun code of life (Pashtunwali). Next to them, the proverb *Che Khudy ye na kae nu Pir Baba ba ye sa oki* (If God does not like to make it happen, how will the Sufi Baba do it) expresses the belief of Pashtuns in God that everything in the world happens at the command of God and no human can do it until God wills it. Here, the metaphorical reference is to Pir Baba (Sufi Baba), who is known in the Pashtun community as pious and religious. This proverb would be interesting to the readers only if they know the social and cultural association of Pir Baba with the Pashtun community and its people. Therefore, the schema of social context and knowledge is important in understanding Pashto proverbs. Otherwise, they remain meaningless when socially decontextualized.

Language carries embedded ideologies, and its linguistic components, such as proverbs, are considered essential for developing various discourses within a specific community. Pashto language and its proverbial discourse are not an exception to it. Pashto Proverbs used in the proverbial discourse of the language are regarded as very meaningful in this respect (Farid & Dinakhel, 2023). They play a significant role in the communicative and socio-cognitive framing of the Pashtun community (Bartlotti, 2001).

Although proverbs are meaningful and play an important role in community discussions, they have not received much attention from critical perspectives. This study aims to explore the discursive function of proverbs in the Pashto language discourse. The current research aims to analyze the discursive function of proverbs in the proverbial discourse of Pashto.

Generally, this research study has a scope in the field of research studies conducted in the domains of language and linguistics, Discourse Studies, paremiology, and Pashto literature. However, this study has a broader scope within Pashto paremiology and Pashtun culture. From an overall perspective, this study welcomes academicians' understanding of the Pashto language in general and its proverbial discourse in particular, regarding its contextual importance due to its novel approach. This study has analyzed the discursive functional aspects of Pashto proverbs based on a proper analytical framework. This function has never been explored in the previous studies conducted on Pashto paremiology.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Pashto proverbs have received less research attention, with studies exploring them from various perspectives. In this regard, Farid (2024) has analyzed the relation between humans and the environment as produced in the Pashto proverbs and selected 15 Pashto proverbs from an eco-critical perspective. It is of the view that Pashto proverbs portray “the fact that in traditional folk wisdom, environment-friendly ideas exist and these ideas need to be promoted for the preservation of our environment”. It explains the anthropocentric ideas in the Pashto proverbs that need to be restructured for the sake of the environment cum human beings. Such a study, based on the theory of Ecocriticism, aims to achieve the objective of creating “an awareness from eco-centric and earth-centric, rather than anthropocentric perspective”.

Another study on Pashto and English paremiology has been conducted by Ali et al. (2023) to compare and find the elements of “bravery and honour” in both proverbial discourses. Using a qualitative approach, “the symbolic representation of bravery and honour in both cultures” has been decoded in this study through the above-mentioned theoretical frameworks. This study investigates an important aspect of Pashto proverbial discourse and adopts a systematic approach to the analysis of proverbs. This study has significant implications in various fields. “However, there is a need to conduct further proverbial studies to explore other themes for better cultural understanding”. While the current study differs in both its objectives and research design from this one.

In addition to them, another study on Pashto proverbial discourse has been conducted by Aziz et al. (2022), in which Pashto proverbs are described as “enshrined carriers of the wisdom of Pashtun elders”. This study has been conducted to identify and acknowledge Pashto proverbs as interpreters and disseminators of Pashtun cultural practices, identities, viewpoints and life experiences across generations. Moreover, a research scholar from Air University, Islamabad, Pakistan, Ullah (2022) has investigated an interesting functional aspect of the Pashto proverbs in Pashtun culture. This study concludes that the Pashto proverbs do not have “kinship ties” when verbal rivalry is the concern.

In another study, Momand & Rahimi (2020) examined Pashto proverbs in terms of positioning. The role of Pashto proverbs is to resolve conflicts verbally through communication. This study aimed “to understand the position and effectiveness of proverbs in resolving social conflicts and problems in society, as well as to know the real and allegorical meanings of proverbs and the scope of their use”. The researchers have hypothesized that proverbs have a critical role in reasoning and comprehensive concepts, and they resolve disputes to a greater extent.

Moreover, another study on Pashto proverbial discourse has been conducted by Dinakhel & Islam (2019), examining the function of Pashto proverbs in building the Pashtun nation. Using the theory of ethics

and identity, the scholars have purposely selected 10 proverbs to present a “three lines” function of the selected proverbs for the objective of nation-building through proverbs, under the subheading “Reflection of Pashtun identity in Pashto proverbs,” in their paper.

The above related studies have revealed and highlighted various gaps due to methodological weaknesses and data limitations. These past studies have paved the way for the current research in certain aspects. Pashto proverbs have not attracted researchers to explore their linguistic features and discursive functions. These past studies have revealed that Pashto proverbs have not been analyzed under the conceptual approaches adopted in this study. Also, the current study differs from these past studies in terms of its objectives and research framework. Although the past studies have contributed significantly to various domains, they suggest limitations in research techniques and objectives. Therefore, this study has considered these limitations and gaps in past related studies on paremiology, both generally and specifically in Pashto paremiology, to be addressed.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Proverbs as a Discursive Tool Approach

Discussing Proverbs as Discursive Tools (PDT) approach in *The Function of Proverbs in Discourse: The Case of a Mexican Transnational Social Network* (2010), Elías Domínguez Barajas writes that proverbs perform various discursive functions of “arguing, advising, uniting, and entertaining” when used in communication. According to this approach, proverbial discourse teaches and promotes reflection by way of advice. “Proverbs are definitely oriented towards a particular listener” during the interactional process. Accordingly, Jakobson’s consideration of the “conative aspect of language” indicates that the discursive function of proverbs is conative, with proverbs having “orientation towards the Addressee” (Barajas, 2010).

3.2 Analytical Procedure

This study has employed the Mapping Domains Procedure to analyze the discursive aspects of Pashto proverbs. This is practiced by Barajas (2010) while presenting the discursive functions of the proverbs in *The Function of Proverbs in Discourse: The Case of a Mexican Transnational Social Network*. In this procedure, a proverb is examined based on its contextual use, and then the “figurative context”, which is the source domain, is analyzed for its “immediate context”, which is the target domain in the given context. The “figurative context” and “immediate context” involve the cognitive process of synthesizing and abstracting the target domain using the source domain. This procedure is applicable only when the proverbs are used in context, since the relationship between the two can be recognized through cultural associations. Table 1 will help in understanding the analytical procedure:

Table 1. Analytical Procedure

General Observation	Cognitive Task	Particular Situation
Figurative referent & Context	Abstraction & Synthesis (Recognition of relational similarity based on cultural associations)	Immediate Referent & Context

3.3 Data Collection

This study has selected Pashto proverbs from *Rohi Mataluna (Pashto Proverbs)*, published in 2007 with authorship by Mohammad Nawaz Tair and Thomas C. Edwards. Proverbial data is taken from this book because this book provides both the English literal translation of the Pashto proverbs and their contextual usage. Also, the proverbs given in this book are in their original form. Since proverbs are synchronically and diachronically unchanged, they are still used effectively in the same way. This study has selected 10 proverbs based on their contextual use and English literal translations from the mentioned source to address the research question posed in this paper.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Pashto proverbs perform various functions by employing nominal metaphors in different contextual situations. The following are some illustrations where proverbs perform differently in various contexts through the use of different metaphors.

Roman Transcription: *“Islam tar tori landi dy”*.

English Translation: *It is the sword that protects Islam.* (Tair & Edwards, 2006, p.36)

Context: This proverb is often quoted in a situation where someone wants to obtain something valuable without having to struggle for it.

Table 2. Mapping Metaphor of Proverb 1 (Tair & Edwards, 2006:36)

Source domain	Target domain	Metaphorical Context	Target Context
Islam	An achievement	Protecting Islam	Achieving something
Sword	Struggle	Protecting with a sword	Achieving with hardships/work

Table 2 shows that the proverb uses two metaphors, “Islam” and “sword Islam,” which serve as the source domain in the current proverb to represent the “valuable and important thing/position” in the given context. Achieving something is like protecting Islam, which is done through the “Sword”. In a similar context, “sword” is used metaphorically by the Muslim Pashtuns living in KP, Pakistan, to represent the “physical and psychological struggle” needed for getting/achieving the desired thing/position. In the given proverb, two culturally valued metaphors, “Islam” and “sword”, are used to represent the situational domains convincingly. To convince Muslim Pashtuns to work hard and struggle to achieve their goals, this proverb uses Islamic and Pashtun cultural metaphors. The proverb produces a “to do [hard work] discourse” in the given context. The proverb develops the said discourse through Islamic and cultural metaphors to help Muslim Pashtuns living in KP, Pakistan, catch the underlying discourse of “to do” produced contextually in the given situation.

Roman Transcription: *Alwati marghae pa las na raze.*

English Translation: *A bird that has flown from the hand will not return.* (Tair & Edwards, 2006:45).

Context: This proverb is said in context to a Pashtun who loses an opportunity that would hardly come again.

Table 3. Mapping Metaphor of Proverb 2 (Tair & Edwards, 2006:45)

Source domain	Target domain	Metaphorical Context	Target Context
Flown Bird	Lost Opportunity	Catching a bird	Availing an opportunity

Table 3 shows that the proverb has concretized the abstract domain of a “given opportunity” through the use of the “flown bird,” helping its user understand its conative function in the language's discourse. In the given proverb, giving a physical shape to the “opportunity” by selecting a “bird” and then a “flown bird” is also very artful. The proverb does not use a source domain of an animal, for it would not have conceptualized the message in the true sense, the way a bird can. Animals cannot fly as birds can, and that is the reason, perhaps, in the given proverb, “bird” is used to instigate the instinct of the human heart to do. It teaches Pashtuns that “*Opportunity knocks but once*”. The flown bird never returns, and neither does the lost opportunity. This proverb convinces Pashtuns to act in time before the opportunity is lost.

Roman Transcription: *Allah Raziq dy, magr shooli pa oobo kegi.*

English Translation: *God gives man his living, but rice still needs water.* (Tair & Edwards, 2006: 45).

Context: This proverb is most often used when one is more fatalistic and does not exert sufficient effort or means to achieve their goal. This proverb is used by the Muslim Pashtuns in KP in such a context.

Table 4. Mapping Metaphor of Proverb 3 (Tair & Edwards, 2006:45)

Source domain	Target domain	Metaphorical Context	Target Context
Rice	Goals/Achievements	Getting rice	Achieving the target
Water	Efforts	Watering the rice	Struggling for the goals

Table 4 illustrates how proverb, two source domain metaphors, “rice” and “water”, are used to conceptualize two target domains of “goals/achievements” and “efforts/means”, respectively. The proverb refers to a crucial aspect of the human belief system, known as the “struggle for existence.” This aspect of the human belief system has been simplified through the tangible metaphors of “rice” and “water” to be understood and valued by the human mind. Being fatalistic alone is rejected by the proverb and encourages community members to put in effort (watering) and use various means (such as water) to achieve the goal.

The importance of self-struggle and the use of concerned means are advised in the given proverb, and only a fate-centered life is rejected by the proverb. Spoon-feeding by God is not favored by the proverb, which is why Muslim Pashtun community members are instructed to earn their living through hard work and struggle to live in the world. Nature does not select the riders on fate solely, but rather “selects the fittest” to live in the world while bearing hardships and suffering of various kinds. An easy life is not meant for the Muslim Pashtuns, and this is expressed by the proverbs to be comprehended by the respective community members. This whole concept of the struggle and then achieving the desired results has been concretized through a tangible and physical demonstration of the farming work, where “rice” as a source domain targets in the given proverb represents the “goal/achievements” of the human being, and “water/watering” represents the “means/struggle” put the humans to get to their desired position. Fate blended in (plan of) actions is the teaching of the proverb.

Roman Transcription: *oogra de we, taoda de we.*

English Translation: *Let us have porridge, but let it be hot.* (Tair & Edwards, 2006:68)

Context: This proverb is used when someone is disgraced by being treated poorly in a certain situation. The person then uses this proverb.

Table 5. Mapping Metaphor of Proverb 4 (Tair & Edwards, 2006:68)

Source domain	Target domain	Metaphorical Context	Target Context
Porridge	Hospitality	Offering Porridge	Offering Hospitality

Table 5 shows the proverb, in which the metaphor is “porridge,” which stands for something “little/less expensive” offered by a Pashtun to others. Pashtuns have different codes of life, constituted in one word as *Pashtunwali* (Khattak, 2010). “Hospitality” is one of the important codes of it. It is expected from every Pashtun individual in the community regardless of caste, race, color, and nationality. In the given proverb, this code of “Pashtunwali” is expected from the speaker of the proverb to be given by the host. Not necessarily. Every Pashtun gives or receives the same amount of respect from every other member of the community, but giving the least amount of respect is the moral and social responsibility of individuals who call themselves Pashtuns. The proverb, through its conative function, develops such a discourse in the communication process of the Pashtuns, which binds every member of the community to be respectful to every other member or a non-member of the community. Respect is important for humans in the Pashtun community. Be it “porridge” as an offer, but “hotness in the porridge is the moral and social responsibility of every Pashtun. Thus, the proverb develops a discourse that binds community members to be respectful in their treatment of others.

Roman Transcription: *Pah tood jang ki asnona na sarbegi.*

English Translation: *Horses cannot be flattened in the thick of battle.* (Tair & Edwards, 2006:103)

Context: This proverb is commonly narrated by Pashtuns in situations where something cannot be done in a pinch.

Table 6. Mapping Metaphor of Proverb 5 (Tair & Edwards, 2006:103)

Source domain	Target domain	Metaphorical Context	Target Context
Horse	A task (intended to be done) Proper Time	Flattening horses	Doing a task
Battle		Thick of battle	Improper time

As detailed in Table 6 the proverb, where the first nominal metaphor is the “horse”, which refers metaphorically to the “something” intended to be done by the Pashtuns. The second nominal metaphor is the “battle”, which metaphorically personifies the proper “time” for the “something” to be done. In this proverb, Pashtuns are advised by the proverb to do something at the proper time. The proverb in the given context instructs the Pashtun speakers of the proverb to flatten the “horses” before the “battle” is due. Persuading the moral intention of the Pashtuns, this proverb develops a social discourse that instructs the community members about the importance of time generally, and its appropriate use specifically. By intriguing them with its attitude and guiding them on individual responsibility for using time for personal and social causes, this proverb instills a sense of social and moral responsibility among Pashtun community members. This “to-do” social discourse helps the Pashtuns constitute a responsible community where the “horses” are not flattened during “the thick of battle” and educates them about “time is money”. The proverb uses the nominal metaphors according to the cultural orientation of the Pashtuns, who keep horses as a hobby nowadays and for battle purposes in the past and, therefore, functions conatively in an effective way.

Roman Transcription: *Aspa ka da zzro rupoo bachy we Wali sok tre khabr Qadri hum na we; Charga ka da yawi pese agae na weAo tol kor ye pa sir aghesty we*

English Translation: *The mare foals a thousand-rupee colt secretly. The hen wakes the household with an egg worth a paisa* (Tair & Edwards, 2006:35)

Context: This proverb is said when a Pashtun of high breeding performs/achieves some significant deed/action quietly, disregarding its publicity, and a Pashtun of low birth boasts his insignificant performance/achievement.

Table 7. Mapping Metaphor of Proverb 6 (Tair & Edwards, 2006:35)

Source domain	Target domain	Metaphorical Context	Target Context
Mare	High birth Person	Foaling a colt	Achieving something great
Hen	Low birth Person	Waking the household	Boasting the insignificant

Table 7 shows that the “mare” refers to the “high-bred breed Pashtun” who foals a “colt”, a metaphor for his great “achievement”. The metaphor of “hen” conceptualizes the “low-breed Pashtun” who gives an “egg”, a metaphor for his “insignificant achievement” in the given context of the proverb. In this proverb, the “high-born” Pashtuns are compared to the “mare, ” a costly and most liked animal in Pashtun culture. Comparatively, the “low-born” and immature Pashtuns, like the hen, are overwhelmed to publicize their insignificant and comparatively low-value work, like giving an egg. In the current proverb, “hen” is conceptualized as a metaphor for those people of the society who boast about their low-quality work and try to hold the attention of the community unnecessarily. Moreover, the second source-domain metaphors in the current proverb are “colt” and “egg”. In the first portion of the proverb, “colt”, an expensive animal baby, is used conceptually to refer to the valuable achievements of the good-breed people, while the use of “egg” in the second portion refers metaphorically to the insignificant yet boasted performance of the people with less social maturity. The proverbial discourse restrains Pashtuns from doing such ill-mannered actions.

Roman Transcription: *ooda spey pa zan ma wekhawa.*

English Translation: *Do not awake the sleeping dog.* (Tair & Edwards, 2006:59).

Context: This proverb is used when a Pashtun unnecessarily invites trouble or disturbs a situation, and asks for trouble as a result.

Table 8. Mapping Metaphor of Proverb 7 (Tair & Edwards, 2006:59)

Source domain	Target domain	Metaphorical Context	Target Context
Sleeping Dog	Troubles/Problems	Awaking the sleeping dog	Facing/inviting the troubles/problems unnecessarily

Table 8 maps metaphor used in the proverb is the “sleeping dog” metaphorically expressing the “troubles/problems/unpleasant situations” in the given context. The proverb teaches Pashtuns not to interfere unnecessarily. However, this does not mean that the proverb forbids an individual from taking risks to achieve their targets or reach their desired position. Appropriately, the proverb metaphorizes the nature of troubles/problems, and unwanted situations by using the “dog” metaphor, which is known for biting and being fearful at times. As a frightful and ferocious animal, the proverb describes the nature of the troubles/problems/unwanted times by personifying them through the use of the “dog” so that it becomes

easy for Pashtuns to understand the underlying message of the proverbial discourse regarding the unnecessary interventions. The proverb teaches safety-based morals to the Pashtuns.

Roman Transcription: *Oor ta che nezdi kigi. Khu aakhir bah swazegi*

English Translation: *He who stands near the fire is bound to be scorched.* (Tair & Edwards, 2006:60).

Context: The given proverb is said in two situations when a Pashtun dares to do something and is willing to bear the risk, pain and criticism. Secondly, it is used contextually to warn a Pashtun not to approach danger without being cautioned or taking precautionary measures.

Table 9. Mapping Metaphor of Proverbs 8 (Tair & Edwards, 2006:60)

Source domain	Target domain	Metaphorical Context	Target Context
Fire	Pain/risk/danger/criticism	Standing near the fire	Bearing the risk/pain/criticism

Table 9 demonstrates that the proverb uses one conceptual nominal source metaphor, “fire,” for the target domain of “risk, pain, danger, and criticism” in both contexts. The nominal metaphor of “fire” in the proverb carries the same denotational implications in both contexts. By personifying the consequences of an individual’s act or saying as “fire,” the proverb creates awareness and prepares members for the results of their actions or words. This proverb is trying to bring Pashtuns' attention to the consequences of their actions/sayings and, therefore, forces them not to do something unnecessarily or thoughtlessly. The proverb advises Pashtuns not to act without considering the social, moral, and personal consequences.

Roman Transcription: *Budae aspi ta trapaki ma khaya.*

English Translation: *Don't teach an old mare galloping.* (Tair & Edwards, 2006:86)

Context: This proverb is said in context by a Pashtun experienced in the work, and is commented on by someone fresh and inexperienced in the same work.

Table 10. Mapping Metaphor of Proverb 9 (Tair & Edwards, 2006:86)

Source domain	Target domain	Metaphorical Context	Target Context
An old Mare	An Experienced Pashtun	Teaching a Mare	Suggesting/Teaching an experienced Person

Table 10 displays the proverb uses two source nominal conceptual metaphors to explain two target domains for its speaker. The first nominal metaphor is the “old mare”, which personifies the “experienced man” in the given context. The second nominal metaphor is the “gallop”, personifying the “work” in the aforementioned context of the proverb. Teaching work to an experienced Pashtun is like “showing an eagle how to fly”. Giving unnecessary advice by a young Pashtun in a specific field to an experienced one is discouraged here, since the proverb establishes his reputation as inexperienced and naïve. This proverb establishes the rapport between the Pashtun speaker and the Pashtun listener; one as an experienced Pashtun and the other as an inexperienced Pashtun, respectively. This proverb develops a discourse which categorises the Pashtuns into two groups based on their skills and understanding of a certain profession, and owing to skills, the experienced ones and the inexperienced ones, and advises the inexperienced not to interfere with the skills of the experienced ones. The manners of professionalism have been taught by the discourse in the given context.

Roman Transcription: *Pesho da ghwakho chowkidara kra.*

English Translation: *They asked the cat to watch the meat.* (Tair & Edwards, 2006:129)

Context: When an untrustworthy Pashtun is trusted with something, community members recite this proverb to evaluate the situation.

Table 11. Mapping Metaphor of Proverb 10 (Tair & Edwards, 2006:129)

Source domain	Target domain	Metaphorical Context	Target Context
Cat	Untrustworthy Pashtun	Asking a cat	Entrusting an untrustworthy Pashtun
Meat	Something valuable	Watching the meat	Entrusting something valuable

Table 11 indicates two linguistic nominal metaphors. The first nominal metaphor is the “cat”, which is metaphorically conceptualizing the “untrustworthy Pashtun”, while the second nominal metaphor is the “meat”, personifying the “something metaphorically” trusted to the “cat” in the given context. This proverb teaches the Pashtuns not to trust the inappropriate members of the community. The “cat” should not be given the responsibility of watching the “meat”. Pashtuns should not misjudge and misunderstand the nature of the people around them. Although this proverb discourages entrusting something important to an untrustworthy Pashtun, it cautions individuals against misjudging members of the community. This proverb teaches Pashtuns not to misjudge members when assigning responsibility. The proverb develops the judgmental mannerism of the Pashtuns.

5. DISCUSSION

Analysis of the action-based Pashto proverbs shows that Pashto proverbs function discursively to produce a “to-do action-based discourse” in the communication process. This discourse advises Pashtuns on the society-based moral standards of doing an action. These proverbs help to develop and maintain the community discourse, which carries the underlying ideological moral standards of the Pashtun community. What is expected from the Pashtuns in a specific situation during the core of action is advised through these proverbs. These proverbs express the ideological perspective of the Pashtun community while teaching, advising, and instructing Pashtuns on the right and socially acceptable way to act in a particular situation.

The analysis of the Pashto proverbs based on “forcing action” discourse concludes that Pashto proverbs produce a “not to do” action-based discourse in the communication process, which restrains Pashtuns from doing the actions mentioned in the above proverbs in the given contexts. These proverbs help Pashtuns to maintain and pass on the “not to do” discourse about the recommended ways of actions in the mentioned (in contexts) situations to future Pashtun generations. What should not be done in the mentioned situations (in contexts) of the proverbs is the underlying ideological perspective of the Pashtun community. The proverbs in the “Not to Do Action-Based Discourse” advise, teach, and instruct the Pashtuns regarding the appropriate manners based on the core morality of the Pashtun community.

6. CONCLUSION

The analysis of Pashto proverbs based on the conative discursive function has shown that they possess rich nominal metaphorical expressions in the source domain, which refer differently to various target domains depending on the contextual and cultural use of the proverbs. Additionally, these metaphorical expressions lend significant weight to the Pashto proverbs, enabling them to function differently as a discursive tool in communicative contexts. Pashtu proverbs “tend to perpetuate the existing [norms of the

Pashtun] social system rather than challenging it” (Dupree, 1979) by the way of advising the Pashtun community. The analysis of Pashto proverbs has shown them to be “a genre of cultural production” (Sanauddin, 2015). Pashto proverbs advise and fix the ways of the Pashtun according to the moral standards of the Pashtun community (Bartlotti, 2001). These proverbs have an “orientation towards the addressee” and function to teach morality and virtue while advising one addressee; however, they are meant for all community members.

The analysis of the above proverbs shows that Pashto proverbs tend to produce a discourse based on action when used contextually in a particular situation. They develop a discourse that (re)shapes the “acting” tendencies of the Pashtuns in favor of both the individuals and the community. They attempt to dominate the “Pashtun minds” by perpetuating their social and cultural values, particularly during interactions within the Pashtun community. Though proverbs have been shown as “context-bound” entities in the communication process, they carry certain discursive functions, as in this case, conative discursive functions, in their metaphorical referents and context. This discursive function is achieved by linking the proverb to its context during the cognitive abstraction and explanation of the proverb. To understand the context, one needs the linguistic and cultural schema of the proverb in use. The linguistic and cultural schema helps the listener to “recognize the implicit cultural information communicated by the particular items mentioned in the proverb” (Barajas, 2010).

7. LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study is limited to the above-discussed Pashto proverbs published in *Rohi Mataluna (Pashto Proverbs)* in 2007, which serve a conative function in the intended discourse. The current study recommends an investigation of the discourse produced in the Pashto modern poetry and literature. Also, the analytical framework adopted in this research study is recommended for investigating the proverbial genre in other languages with respect to their discursive aspects. Furthermore, this study recommends applying critical discourse analysis (CDA) to investigate the discourse produced by the oral genres of other languages.

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