



JURNAL LINGUISTIK Vol. 30 (1) Mei 2026 (083-100)

Pashto Proverbs and the “Living” Conceptual Metaphors: A Critical Discourse Analytical Perspective

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Tarikh terima : 7 Mac 2026
Received
 Terima untuk diterbitkan : 8 Mei 2026
Accepted
 Tarikh terbit dalam talian : 31 Mei 2026
Published online

Abstract

Pashto proverbs use figurative language to perform various discursive functions in the communication process. They are articulated in specific scripts. Yet, this folklore genre of Pashto proverbs has not received considerable attention in research studies. This study focuses on identifying nominal metaphors in Pashto proverbs. Also, these metaphors are contextualised to explain the discursive function of the Pashto proverbs in their respective context. This study has implemented Critical Discourse Analysis as a theoretical framework. A Conceptual Framework supports this theoretical framework. The Conceptual Metaphors Approach (CMA), adapted from Kovecses (2010), helps to achieve the objective of this study. This study has identified various types of nominal metaphors, which are categorised into three groups: Non-Human Living Nominal Metaphors and Human Nominal Metaphors. The metaphors in these categories support Pashto proverbs in developing a discursive aspect in communication. This study recommends applications of CDA to investigate the discourses produced by the oral genres of other languages. In the field of Pashto paremiology, this study recommends investigation of adjectival and verbal metaphors used for different purposes in the Pashto proverbs. Also, Pashto proverbs can be studied through concepts of Knowledge Construction (KC) in future research.

Key Words: Critical Discourse Analysis, Conceptual Metaphors, Discourse, Pashto, Proverbs.

Peribahasa Pashto dan Metafora Konseptual: Perspektif Analitikal Wacana Kritikal

Abstrak

Peribahasa Pashto menggunakan bahasa kiasan untuk melaksanakan pelbagai fungsi diskursif dalam proses komunikasi. Ia diartikulasikan dalam skrip tertentu. Namun, genre cerita rakyat peribahasa Pashto ini belum mendapat perhatian yang ketara dalam penyelidikan. Kajian ini memberi tumpuan kepada mengenal pasti metafora nominal dalam peribahasa Pashto. Metafora ini juga dikontekstualisasikan untuk menjelaskan fungsi diskursif peribahasa Pashto dalam konteks masing-masing. Kajian ini menggunakan Analisis Wacana Kritikal sebagai kerangka teori. Kerangka Konseptual menyokong kerangka teori ini. Pendekatan Metafora Konseptual (CMA), yang diadaptasi daripada Kovecses (2010), membantu mencapai objektif kajian ini. Kajian ini telah mengenal pasti pelbagai jenis metafora nominal, yang dikategorikan kepada tiga kumpulan: Metafora Nominal Hidup Bukan Manusia dan Metafora Nominal Manusia. Metafora dalam kategori ini menyokong peribahasa Pashto dalam membangunkan aspek diskursif dalam komunikasi. Kajian ini mengesyorkan aplikasi CDA untuk mengkaji wacana yang dihasilkan oleh genre lisan bahasa lain. Dalam bidang paremiologi Pashto, kajian ini mengesyorkan penyiasatan metafora adjektif dan verbal yang digunakan untuk tujuan yang berbeza dalam peribahasa Pashto. Peribahasa Pashto juga boleh dikaji melalui konsep Pembinaan Pengetahuan (KC) dalam penyelidikan akan datang.

1. Introduction

In the domain of Discourse Studies, Farid & Dinakhel (2023) contend that “Proverbs are a discourse which has an important role in our daily life” (185). As a folklore genre, proverbs mirror the social values, beliefs and attitudes of a nation. They are a valuable asset to the community, which reflects its wisdom and behaviour in the communication process (Ghafoori & Elyas, 2023). From a broader perspective, proverbs “are the precious products of human thoughts, realities, attitudes, feelings and beliefs” (Malik, 2019: 31) and are considered important as a folklore genre.

Proverbs have certain linguistic characteristics. Sapir (2004) is of the view that the language of the folklore genre of proverbs is usually metaphorical and thus, semantically and pragmatically very rich to be decoded for the meaning regarding the social aspects of society. Arora (1984) has argued that proverbs possess stylistic characteristics, including literary devices such as hyperbole, metaphors, and personifications, which make the senseless sensible. Besides these linguistic characteristics, proverbs have some other characteristics, like being context dependent, not being logical, terse and carrying figurative devices (Mieder, 2004).

Proverbs are valued as folk wisdom and keepers of traditional lore because of the discourse contexts in which they are used and the cultural matrix in which they are embedded. They are self-contained sayings, in the words of Seiler (1922), where none of their essential syntactic units may be substituted. They, as typical conversational units, are better described in terms of conversation structure, such as a complete conversational turn syntactically independent of surrounding discourse (Norrick, 1985). Proverbs must be associated with a language community in sociolinguistic terms. They can be associated with specific social groups or "communities of practice" to the extent that they contain dialectal features (Eckert, 1989; Eckert, 2000; Wenger, 1998).

Sweeney (1990) claims that “The discourse of any oral culture is heavily dependent upon the use of relatively fixed utterances in stylised forms, such as proverbs and sayings. Such utterances are not merely used to underline a point: they are the point. The individuals think in these formulas” (87). A time-tested genre of folklore, proverbs are considered “an integral part of the spiritual treasures of the culture and language of the people” (Syzdykov, 2014: 321). They are the wise sayings of the folk, which serve as cultural touchstones and act as miniature theories. They are “the vibrant manifestation of the eternally developing soul” (Petrova, 2015: 251) “the children of experience” (Mieder, 1993:5) and the “Sapient nuggets” (Mieder, 2004:23).

Proverbial discursive interaction carries out a social action by uttering proverbs that bear abstract referents beyond the literal referents used in the proverbs. Consequently, such discourse affects the social status of the participants and brings about social change. Proverbial discourse carries out social objectives, and the proverbs used in such discourse need cognitive skills and socio-cultural knowledge to successfully decode them in a given context (Barajas, 2010). That is the reason, Ehineni (2016) calls proverbs “messengers” in the discourse, which “do not introduce themselves to us as universal truths, as generalisations that always apply. Their pith, their point, their punch is situational or context-dependent to an essential degree [in the discourse]” (Hallen, 2000: 141). Thus, in the socio-communicative context, the prominent function of the proverbs in the discourse is to nurture social behaviour, to teach advice, and construct a social rapport (Barajas, 2010) when contextualised in the discourse.

Proverbs, when used in the discourse, carry out the wisdom, thoughts, beliefs, and ethical identity of the people and pass them from generation to generation (Nkeiruka, 2021). They are socially and culturally very meaningful in their contextualised discourse. While structuring a sociocultural reality and framing an ideological identity of the indigenous people (Dwivedi, 2015), Proverbial discourse carries folk beliefs, cultural ethics, and traditional views in unnoticed ways, which are passed from generation to generation (Mieder, 2004b). According to Mieder (2008) (as cited in Khan,

2020:153) “Proverbs, just like metaphors, make cultural knowledge linguistically visible”, so “If you want to know a people, know their proverbs” (Khan, 2020:154). Proverbial discourse combines common cultural, social, and ideological contents in its text and talk, which helps discourse analysts to investigate the embedded ideologies of the specific community reflected in the proverbs. In the current study, proverbial discourse in the Pashto language has been considered.

In terms of language, Pashto proverbs are rich nominal metaphors that “play(s) a central role in [the] creative process, enabling the communication of abstract ideas through more familiar, concrete terms. Lakoff and Johnson (1980), in *Metaphors We Live By*, emphasise that metaphors are not merely stylistic devices found in literature, but are fundamental to human cognition, shaping the way we conceptualise our experiences. Conceptual metaphor, as they define it, involves understanding one domain of experience (typically abstract) in terms of another (typically concrete)” (Mat Nor & Hashim, 2025:189). In terms of producing an implicit effect on the reader's mind, “Metaphor is an art of language that conveys a different meaning from the literal meaning of words. It also includes human thought processes and contains abstract and implicit meanings (Helmi, Syahidah Ameera Mohd Rashidin, 2024). Even though Pashto proverbs are rich in metaphors, yet they are paid less attention in the research work. This study intends to address the research question of: what types of nominal metaphors are used in the proverbs in the proverbial discourse of the Pashto language? This study has focused on identifying various types of nominal metaphors used in the proverbs in the proverbial discourse of the Pashto language.

2. Literature Review

The Pashto language has two major genres: written Pashto literature and Pashto (folklore) orature. Pashto written literature encompasses all the written genres of poetry, prose, drama, and novel, like any other language's literature. Its origin has been traced back to the 2nd Hijri Islamic century or the 9th A.D. century (Aziz, 2019). Since the Pashtun land was plundered and invaded many times by various nations, Pashto writing could not have been preserved (Aziz, 2019). The only source of safeguarding and preserving Pashtun cultural values has thus become Pashto orature.

2.1 Pashto Orature

Not only is Pashto respected as a language, but it is also rich in its various genres as a subject. As a subject, it has both written and oral (orature) literature. Some popular genres of Pashto orature include an epic, tappa, and matal (proverb).

An epic, in the Pashto orature, narrates the deeds and adventures of the national heroes and legendary figures. It is usually a long story narrated in poetic or prose form (Bettani, 2017). *Fateh Khan Bariq and Rabia, Adam Khan Durkhani, Dali Shahi, Musa Khan Gul Makki, Jalat Mahbooba, Momin Khan Shirini, Yusuf Khan Sherbano and Taj Mohammad Nimro* (Rashidi, 2021) are some examples of the Pashto orature of epic.

Tappa is the oldest and most famous Pashto orature poetic genre. It is also known by the name Misra, or Landai. This is the only folklore genre which does not exist in any other literature (Bettani, 2017). It is a two-lined verse; the first line usually has 9 syllables and the second line has 13 syllables. A few examples of this genre of Pashto orature have been illustrated as:

Example 1.

د مغل ظلم به نسكو ر شي
چي پير روښان توره په لاس جنگ له ورځين

Translation:

The cruelty of the Mughals will fade away

While Pir Rokhan with the sword in hand fights against them (Bettani, 2017: 26).

Example 2.

اسمان به خود زما په خوا وي
چه د احمد تر بېرغ لا ندي جنگ کومه

Translation:

Heaven will definitely take on my side

As I go to the battlefield under the flag of Ahmad (Bettani, 2017: 27).

Matal (proverb) is the most widely used genre of Pashto orature. A wiser man among the Pashtuns is the one who uses many proverbs in his communication (Ullah & Abid, 2018). They are valued and considered important in the Pashto orature for they are “prized pearls of wisdom” (Tair & Edwards, 2006: b). Pashto proverbs help in guiding the Pashtun community (Khan et al., 2015) since they touch up various domains of life. Some of the examples are illustrated below:

Example 3.

د نري په خپلي اصول کښي خوښي نيول.

Translation: Stick to your principles. (Teaches moral principle).

This proverb is culturally used in a situation when a person tries to go beyond cultural and social values while pursuing their wishes and desires. This proverb constrains him socially, morally and culturally to wish and desire in the limited space provided by the Pashtun code of life.

Example 4.

په پښتنو لوستي په ملي کري شي

Translation: Abide by the Pashtun traditions and norms. (Teaches patriotism and nationalism).

This proverb is spoken culturally and contextually in a situation when an individual disregards the homeland or the codes of Pashtun culture and norms. He is instructed through the proverbs to be rooted in the Pashtun codes of life and remain attached to the homeland, as his identity is framed through his homeland.

Other than these genres of orature, performing arts like attan, a type of Pashtun dance, according to S. Khan & Khattak (2014), are also considered the folklore of the nation. Among these various folklore genres, Pashto proverbs have an important place in terms of their use and effect since “Pashto proverbs are taken seriously as a distinct ... diffused body of cultural knowledge” (Bartlotti, 2001: 133) by Pashtuns.

2.2 Pashto Proverbs as Folklore

Pashto proverbs, which are sometimes called the “smallest” literary work (Maria, 2012), are the simplest form of folk philosophy (Chuchvara, 2009; Ballesteros, 1979), like other genres of literature, carry cultural and ideological perspectives. They share a significant portion of the 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. That is why they are “prized pearls of wisdom” and “molecules” (Tair & Edwards, 2006: b) that guide the Pashtun community for generations and play a key role in its ideological construction (Q. Khan et al., 2015b).

Semantically, Pashto proverbs contain a compressed and complex meaning which 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. She should look after the household more than places or work outside the house. This proverb makes sense to the readers only if they understand the social division of the Pashtun society and its culture. 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) illustrates the respect that Pashtuns have for their homeland. Respecting their homeland is part of their Pashtunwali, the code of life of Pashtuns (Bartlotti, 2021). Again, the readers can understand this proverb only if they have the schema of the social knowledge of the code of life (Pashtunwali) of Pashtuns. 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 made to *Pir Baba* (Sufi Baba), who is socially known as pious and religious in the Pashtun community. 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 decontextualised.

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: ii-iii). Also, they play significant functions in the Pashtun community (Ullah & Abid, 2018) since they carry “national character, national ideology or philosophy” (Tair & Edwards, 2006: ii) and reflect ideological struggles (Badshah & Khan, 2015:166). That is why they are significant in research studies. This study agrees with these research stances but these studies have discussed a few aspects of the folklore discourse of Pashto. Secondly, they have been conducted on the collection, development and some social aspects of the proverbs while following no proper research design for achieving their objectives. Therefore, the current study takes the proverbial folklore of the Pashto language further into a systematic research study in the field of English language and linguistics.

Various studies have been conducted to analyse the linguistic aspects of the Pashto proverbs while reflecting the social, cultural, and historical perspectives of the Pashtun community. This study has focused on the conceptual metaphors present in the Pashto proverbs used in the discourse. To relate this study to the past works, the following literature presents a critical summary of the research works conducted on the conceptual metaphors present in the proverbs of various languages.

2.3 Pashto Proverbs in Past Studies

Pashto proverbs have been thoroughly studied for the female gender representation by various researchers. In this regard, the study by N. Aziz et al. (2025) has investigated the linguistic marginalisation of Pashtun women through the discourse produced by the Pashto proverbs. N. Aziz et al. (2025) have founded their study on the Feminist Discourse analysis of the collected proverbs. They have randomly selected a few proverbs to see “how language perpetuates the subordination of women, portraying them as inferior, dependent, or overly emotional” (N. Aziz et al. 2025:52). The study has concluded that Pashto proverbs shape the social attitude towards Pashtun women. Pashto proverbs are significant in producing various discourses in the communication process. Among these discourses, the Patriarchal discourse plays a significant role in marginalising Pashtun women in different aspects of the social circle. While investigating the said discourse, this study recommends further investigation of the Pashto proverbs in terms of their discursive functions in communicative occurrences.

Farid & Dinakhel (2023) have analysed Pashto Proverbial discourse under the critical lens of Michele Foucault’s concept of power and knowledge to explore “gender stereotypes” in the “social discourse” produced by the Pashto proverbs. This study has selected 10 proverbs randomly based on how sexist proverbial discourse affects the economic aspect of women’s lives in Pashtun society. This study has analysed “Pashto proverbs as a discourse [which] derogate women and establish her secondary position, thereby stating her unfit for economic power and responsibilities” (Farid & Dinakhel, 2023:186). This study is also a critical dive into the functional aspects of the Pashto proverbial discourse. Likewise, it has explored an important function of the sexist discourse of Pashto proverbs produced through the Pashto proverbs while considering Foucault’s concept of power and knowledge. This study is a descriptive approach towards the analysis of the selected proverbs and thus recommends a more methodologically systematic and thematically different paremiological approach towards Pashto proverbial discourse. Also, it suggests studying Pashto proverbs as discourse through the “latest approaches towards their handling and contribution towards society” (Farid & Dinakhel, 2023: 193).

Therefore, the current study is an effort to investigate various other unexplored functions of the Pashto proverbs through the selected theoretical and conceptual approaches. Concludingly, the current study differs in both procedure and content.

Wahid and Islam (2022) have researched Pashto proverbs situationally as a discourse framing the minds of the Pashtun community. Other than its significance in Pashto paremiology and Discourse Studies, this study has recorded and analysed the contextual occurrence of the proverbs, which validates both the data and analysis. However, this study has some weaknesses in its methodology and the issues it has addressed. This study has considered five situations to find the dominance of the proverbial discourse in the respective situations; however, each situation has one or two proverbs in the conversation among the participants, which is not enough to generalise the functional aspects of the Pashto proverbs based on 1 or 2 proverbs. Secondly, the translation of the proverbs has not genuinely conveyed the contextual meaning and cultural importance of the selected proverbs used in the conversations. Moreover, they (2022) have tried to address the objective of the study satisfactorily, but the paper lacks an explanation of the situational functions of the naturally occurring proverbs since they (2022) have focused on situations more than the proverbs used in the situations. The strength of the study lies in its data obtained through fieldwork; however, the weak corners saturate the strength of the study by Wahid and Islam (2022). These weak corners of the study recommend a streamlined investigation of the Pashto proverbs.

Khan et al. (2023) have compared two (original and English-related) versions of Pashto proverbs based on the denotative meanings and cultural associations of the proverbs across cultures. This study aimed to discover the strategies that are followed by translators while translating proverbs from the source language to the target language. Khan et al. (2023) have intended to find the differences and similarities in meaning and cultural values between the source language proverbs and the translated target language versions of the proverbs. To achieve the objectives of the study, Khan et al. (2023) have selected randomly 14 Pashto proverbs and compared and contrasted them with their closely related or equivalent versions in English. Gorjian's (1996) theory has been adopted in this study for the analysis of the selected proverbs. The analysis of the translated Pashto proverbs is based on their meanings at three levels: (1) exact equivalence, (2) near equivalence, and (3) literal meaning. An exact equivalent refers to linguistic and discourse similarities between the source language (SL) and the target language (TL) (Khan et al., 2023: 694). After analysing the selected proverbs, the scholars concluded that a mixture exists between the literal and the sense translations of the Pashto proverbs. Also, Pashto proverbs carry various literal meanings; however, they transform equal sense and connotative entailments in the target language. Some Pashto proverbs have the same literal and contextual presumption in both Pashto and English. Moreover, "the meaning and cultural associations of proverbs can vary across different languages and cultures" (Khan et al., 2023:697).

Furthermore, the Pashto proverbial discourse is studied by Fahim (2022) in his critical review paper, based on various definitions of the proverbs given by different paremiologists. This paper, in the first portion, has discussed various definitions of Proverbs by the Pashto language scholars and researchers and then explained a few proverbial expressions for their "expected referents". This study has tried to decode the metaphorical expressions used in the Pashto proverbs; however, it has been deficient in certain aspects. First, since it is a critical review paper, therefore, it has not observed a systematic research approach towards Pashto paremiology. Secondly, this paper has given "expected referents" for a few of the Pashto proverbial expressions without following any theoretical or conceptual grounds. Thirdly, no full form of the Pashto proverbs is given, which makes it difficult for the readers to differentiate between Pashto idioms and Pashto proverbs. Although this study is an effort to decode the metaphors used in the Pashto proverbs, it has not satisfied research techniques in terms of its methodology and discussion. Therefore, the current study is focused on filling the gap left in the study by Fahim (2022) while making it different in its overall approach towards the Pashto proverbs, thematic aspect, objectives and research methodology.

Moreover, other scholars like Muhammad et al. (2022) have conducted their study on the Pashto "Idioms: An Analysis of Translation from Pashto to English" through Vinay and Darbelnet's models (1958) translation procedures. This study has translated the Pashto idioms collected and selected randomly from the Pashto language and Pashto proverbs using a "convenient sampling technique".

Since the scholars are themselves native speakers of the Pashto language, therefore, they chose the idioms and proverbs they knew for analysis purposes. The analysis has been based on “frequently used procedures for translating Idioms”, “similarities and differences between Pashto and English idioms”, and “role of translating idioms from the source to the target text”. This study has addressed collectively more Pashto idioms and a few proverbs for the functions they perform in different situations. Although they have done a comparative study of the Pashto and English languages while translating the selected data, their translation is not authenticated. Also, explaining the functions, no proper frameworks have been adopted to rely on them. This study recommends further investigation into the functional aspects of more Pashto idioms and proverbs than were selected in this study. Therefore, the current study is a brief and empirical exploration of the functions performed by the Pashto proverbs in communal development.

The above past related studies have revealed and recommended various gaps through their methodological weakness 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 the linguistic features of the Pashto proverbs. These past studies have revealed that Pashto proverbs have not been analysed under the conceptual approaches adopted in this study. Also, the current study differs from these past studies in terms of its objective 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 the past related studies on paremiology generally and Pashto paremiology specifically to be addressed.

3. Research Methodology

This qualitative study has adapted the Conceptual Metaphor (CM) Approach to analyse the data. In this study, Pashto proverbs are drawn from Rohi Mataluna (Pashto Proverbs), published in 2007 and 2010, with authorship attributed to Mohammad Nawaz Tair and Thomas C. Edwards.

The selected data have been analysed through the CM Approach. While considering the CM approach, this study has adopted the Metaphor Identification procedure (MIPVU) to map linguistic and conceptual metaphors in the Pashto proverbs systematically.

A Roman transcription of the Pashto original proverb has been given for the non-Pashtuns to read, if not understand, it easily. An example from Tair & Edwards (2007:115) is illustrated below:

Roman Transcription: *Pa Kha Khula Khaar juray she.*
English Translation: *A city can be won over by a sweet tongue.*

4. Analysis and Discussion

The primary objective of this study is to identify the nominal metaphors in the Pashto proverbs. In the selected Pashto proverbs, the metaphors are identified and categorised into different groups as discussed in the sections below.

4.1 Pashto Proverbs Based on Non-Human Living Metaphors

In the selected Pashto proverbs, various linguistic nominal metaphors are used to conceptualise the target domain discourse by creating a concrete image. This concrete image helped in developing and conveying the intended Pashtun discourse of moralising the community in different circles of life. Among these nominal metaphors, “non-human living” metaphors dominate the ratio of metaphors in the Pashto proverbs. These “non-human living” metaphors are categorised into three groups, as shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1*Non-Human Living Metaphors in the Pashto proverbs*

Group	Entailment	Metaphors		
Non-Human Living (41)	Animals/Related to Animals (24)	Horse	Ant	
		Donkey	Lizard	
		Jackal	Animal	
		Lion	Wolf	
		Dog	Bitch	
		Camel	Ox	
		Bullock	Cow	
		Buffalo	Mice	
		Cat	Goat	
		Snake	Tail	
		Elephant	Sheep	
		Rat	Fish	
	Birds (5)	Hen		
		Rooster		
		Crow		
		Fly		
		Bird		
	Plants/Related to Plants (12)	Wheat,	Maize,	
		Flower	Thorns	
		Mustard Seed	Straw	
		Grass	Branch	
		Tree	Wood	
		Stick	Grains	

Table 4.1 shows that Pashto proverbs have 41 non-human metaphors. These metaphors are further divided into three sub-categories, as shown in Table 4.1

Animals/ Related to Animals Metaphors

In the first sub-category, there are “Animals/Related to Animals” metaphors, which utilise various animals, including pets of the Pashtun community and wild animals, to conceptualise and develop the target domain discourse during the communication process. There are 24 types of animals and related to animal metaphors, which are repeatedly used in the Pashto proverbs. Out of these 24 animals, 9 (horse, donkey, cow, ox, bullock, buffalo, dog, sheep, and goat) are pet animals, while the remaining 15 are non-pet animals but found in the ecology of the Pashtun community.

Birds Metaphors

The second sub-category is the “Birds” metaphors found in the Pashto proverbs. Among the bird-based metaphors found in the Pashto proverbs, there are 5 bird-based metaphors, which are considered to concretise the discourse of moralising the Pashtuns according to the social and moral standards of the community. Among these 5 bird-based metaphors, two of them are based on pet birds, which are the metaphors of “hen” and “rooster”. Hens and roosters are reared by the Pashtuns, preferably, by those who live in villages (Zaheer, 2023).

Plants/ Related to Plants Metaphors

The third sub-category shows the “Plants/Related to Plants”-based metaphors in the Pashto proverbs. Among these plants, mostly the community-forming crops (wheat, maize, and mustard seed) are used as metaphors. Other than that, a total of 12 plants/related to plant-based metaphors are found in the Pashto proverbs.

4.1.1 Role of the Non-Human-Based Metaphors in Producing a Discourse

Pashto proverbs play a significant role in developing various community discourses (Farid & Dinakhel, 2023) through the figurative language of metaphors. These metaphors are mostly based on the

community's pet animals, birds, and the crops grown by the Pashtuns. Also, there are metaphors that are found in the Pashtun ecology. Therefore, these metaphors help the speakers of the proverbs to visualise the ideological perspective of the community. Proverbs are “context-bound” entities and, therefore, they are spoken contextually to help in the (re) construction of the discursive motive of the Pashtun community. Metaphors in these Pashto proverbs further strengthen the role of the proverbs in the communication process. The metaphors in Table 4.1 are used to support the discursive aspects of the Pashto proverbs when these proverbs are used contextually for specific discourse. The above-mentioned nominal metaphors help the Pashto proverbs to conceptualise their target domains easily and communicate the embedded message convincingly to the participants involved in the communication process. These nominal metaphors characterise Pashto proverbs by inducing vivid concrete structures and shapes to personify the abstract discourse of the community. These nominal metaphors, since they are cultural and context-bound elements, produce an impactful image in the mental process of the participants to retrieve the underlying ideology of moralising the community easily and perfectly. The following samples are illustrated to explain the role of metaphors in producing a proverbial discourse in the communication process of the Pashtun community.

- Data 1.** **Roman Transcription.** *As da mogy pa zoor trapaki wahi.*
English Translation: *The horse gains his courage from the peg. (Tair & Edwards, 2007: 6)*
Context: This proverb is used contextually in a situation when a Pashtun is in a strong social position.

This proverb (data 1) has the figurative source domain referent as the *horse* (Aas), which refers contextually to the immediate target domain referent of “Pashtun”. Another figurative source domain referent is the *peg* (mogy), which contextually refers to the immediate target domain of the “strong position”. Comprehending the Conative discursive function of the proverb involves the cognitive process of making a relationship between the two domains and the contextual occurrence of the proverb. This proverb instructs the Pashtun speakers to respect the cultural values and social values that maintain their strong position. These values, as their “strong position”, give them the courage to live proudly in the community. These metaphors help the proverb to produce a discourse that moralises the Pashtuns in terms of social standards and individual moral values.

- Data 2.** **Roman Transcription.** *Cherg pah deran mah gora pa tabakhy ye gora.*
English Translation. *Look at the chicken in the frying pan, not at the dunghill. (Tair & Edwards, 2007:151)*
Context: When a Pashtun of low esteem living in a low-standard place turns out to be influential in some aspect of the community, the other high-esteem community members narrate this proverb contextually about his acceptance in the given situation.

The contextual use of this proverb (data 2) identifies three linguistic nominal metaphors in the source domain. The first nominal metaphor is the “chicken”, conceptualising the Pashtun “person” in action. The second nominal metaphor is the “dunghill”, metaphorising the “substandard place” of living of the person. The third nominal metaphor is the “frying pan” of the “chicken”, personifying the “influential status” of the person in the given context of the proverb. In this proverb, the judgmental approach of the Pashtuns has been guided through the injunctions provided conceptually by the nominal metaphors in the proverb. The proverb values the “influential status” of the Pashtuns in terms of aptitude and attitude, and moral orientation, regardless of the place they live in or the status difference in the classes. The proverb advises the community members not to judge by outward appearances, but consider the usefulness of the individual. It teaches the Pashtuns to think about the influence of the Pashtun in context and how advantageous he is to the community members, rather than to see him as a “rubbish heap”. The proverb produces a morality-based social discourse that instructs the community member “...not to judge the book by its cover,” but rather to see its effect on the human mind. In the current context, the “rooster” in the “frying pan” is more important than the “dunghill” it lives on. The “dunghill” should not be a base for judging the “rooster”. The substandard place of living must not be

held important for the Pashtuns in the social aspects of the community. The metaphors help the proverbs to produce a discourse that teaches morality based on judgment and decision-making.

- Data 3.** **Roman Transcription.** *Khro sara kena khar ba she, khu sara kena kha ba she.*
English Translation. *Sit with donkeys and you will become a donkey, sit with the good people and you will become good.* (Tair & Edwards, 2007:244).
Context: When a Pashtun prefers the company of bad Pashtuns and another Pashtun advises him to change the company, this proverb is narrated contextually to communicate the message.

In data 3, the nominal metaphor of the “donkeys” refers metaphorically to the group of “bad Pashtuns” in the given context of the proverb. The given proverb advises the Pashtuns that society moulds its members, and thus the company of good people must be preferred and not the company of the “donkeys”. The metaphor emphasises this message by use of the “donkeys” as a source domain metaphor to nullify the bad company. A donkey is considered an unliked and unpreferred pet animal in the Pashtun society, and therefore, the notorious Pashtuns are called “donkeys” in the given proverb. The proverb gives two pieces of advice significantly: first, society moulds human beings in its nature, and second, a good society should be adopted by the Pashtuns. The proverb produces an instructive discourse based on the moral well-being of the community members. The discourse evolves the moral and social values of the Pashtuns, resulting in the evolution of the society as a whole.

- Data 4.** **Roman Transcription.** *Alwati marghae pa las na raze.*
English Translation. *A bird that has flown from the hand will not return.* (Tair & Edwards, 2007:45).
Context: This proverb is said in a context to a person who loses an opportunity that will hardly come again.

This proverb (data 4) has concretised the abstract domain of a “given opportunity” through the use of the “flown bird” to help its user understand its conative function in the discourse of the language. The use of “bird” in the source domain shapes the physical form of the abstract target domain of “opportunity” provided to someone. When this opportunity is not availed or given importance, it's a “loss”, as a target abstract domain is given a tangible form in the source domain by using the adjective “flown” in the given proverb. The metaphor of “flown bird” is used to communicate the message intended for listeners of the given proverb. Giving a physical shape to the “opportunity” the proverb implies to the listeners that it is the opportunity (along with hard work) that will take one to an unusual standing in life. The proverb teaches the Pashtuns that the flown bird never returns, and neither does the lost opportunity. Through the metaphors in the given proverb, the discourse teaches manners to Pashtuns regarding the way life treats human beings. A discourse based on individual morality is produced in the given context.

- Data 5.** **Roman Transcription.** *Pah las ki sharshum na zarghonigi.*
English Translation. *Mustard seed does not sprout in the hand.* (Tair & Edwards, 2007:119)
Context: This proverb is used in a context when a Pashtun member of the community wants something done immediately. The other Pashtun members narrate this proverb in the mentioned context.

In the given context, this proverb (data 5) uses two linguistic metaphors to conceptualise the target domains in the given context. The first nominal metaphor is the “mustard seed”, personifying metaphorically “something” needed to be done in the given context. The second nominal metaphor is the “hand”, conceptualising the “immediacy” of the action to be done. Addressing the moral orientation of the Pashtun members in the context, this proverb guides the moral and social temperament of the individual and advises being calm and steady during an action. This proverb develops a social discourse, cautioning the community to be slow yet steady during the core of an action. Instructing them about their core of action, Pashtuns are addressed morally and socially through the conceptual metaphors in the given proverb. Thus, the discourse strengthens the behavioural approach of the Pashtuns towards their actions.

In these ways, non-human-based metaphors are used in Pashto proverbs to generate a particular discourse in a particular situation. Based on the comprehension and CDA of these metaphors, Pashto proverbs generate a discursive element in the Pashtun community's communication process when they are applied in particular contexts and under particular circumstances.

4.2 Pashto Proverbs Based on Human Metaphors

The second group of metaphors found in the Pashto proverbs is the human-based metaphors. These metaphors are divided further into four sub-categories, as shown in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2
Human-Based Metaphors

Group	Entailment	Metaphors	
Human (39)	Pashtun Historical Personages (13)	Shiekh Chilli	Khattak
		Hussain	Omer
		Ahmad Shah	Shah Zaman
		Shiekh Mir	Nazo
		Mirwais Khan	Zarghuna
		Mughal	Nazar Din
		Osman	
	Human Body Parts/ Related to Human Body (16)	Tongue	Teeth
		Hand	Head
		Neck	Feet
		Eye	Face
		Flesh	Fingernail
		Arm	Cough
		Nose	Fever
		Vein	Blood
	Human Relations (5)	Father	Father-in-law
		Mother	Infant
		Son	
	Human Social Tags (5)	Khan	Malik
		King	Patient, Minstrel

Table 4.2 shows human-based metaphors used in the Pashto proverbs. The table shows that 39 human-based metaphors are used in the Pashto proverbs, which are further sub-categorised into four groups.

Pashtun Historical Personages

Pashto proverbs used 13 various Pashtun historical personages as metaphors to deepen the impact on Pashtun speakers. These Pashtun historical personages (Shiekh Chilli, Khattak, Mughal, Ahmad Shah, Shiekh Mir, Shah Zaman, Mirwais Khan, Zarghuna, Nazar Din) and (Hussain, Osman, Omer) have cultural and religious significance respectively in the Pashtun community. Therefore, these metaphors create a deep yet vivid image of the target domain. These Pashtun historical personages are known and respected culturally and religiously. Thus, these metaphors shoulder up the Pashto proverbs (in Appendix A, II, a) to (re)create a discursive aspect of moralising the community in various circles of life when these proverbs are used contextually.

Human Body Parts/ Related to Human Body

Pashto proverbs also have metaphors based on human body parts and related to the human body. These metaphors are 16 in number. Among these 16 metaphors, 14 are based on human body parts, which are the “tongue, head, eye, teeth, feet, face, neck, arm, nose, vein, blood, fingernail, hand, and flesh”. 2 of these metaphors are related to the human body, which are “cough” and “fever”.

Human Relations

Some of the metaphors used in the Pashto proverbs are based on human relations. These metaphors are “father, mother, son, infant, and father-in-law”. These 5 metaphors strengthen the contextual use of the proverbs since these metaphors are based on such relations which are familiar to all human beings in general and to Pashtuns in particular. Pashtun community.

Human Social Tag

The fourth sub-category includes metaphors based on human social tags used in the Pashto proverbs. These human social tags-based metaphors are “Khan, Malik, King, Minstrel, Patient”. These social tags (Khan, Malik, King, Dam) (Patient) are based on the social and health conditions, respectively, of the individuals. These are local social tags given by the Pashtuns, and, therefore, metaphors based on them play a significant role in the Pashto proverbs to develop a specific discourse.

4.2.1 Role of the Human-Based Metaphors in Producing a Discourse

These human-based metaphors in the Pashto proverbs play a significant role in conveying the underlying message of the Pashto proverbs. Since these metaphors have been known culturally and biologically, they help Pashto proverbs (Appendix A, II) to produce a moralising discourse related to the cultural and societal standards of the Pashtun community. Using Pashtun historical figures, human relations, human body parts, and Pashtun community social tags strengthens the status of the Pashto proverbs to develop a discourse based on the community's intentions. These metaphors ease the cognitive process for the participants to systematically map the source and target domains of the Pashto proverbs when used contextually. These metaphors instigate the cultural and biological understanding of the participants, which helps them to create a tangible form of the discourse meant to be developed by the Pashto proverbs in specific contexts. These metaphors use historical, cultural and biological schemas of the participants to conceptualise and understand the underlying discourse produced by the Pashto proverbs in the communication process.

The following illustrations help the readers to understand the significance of the metaphors in producing a specific proverbial discourse in the communication process of the Pashtun community.

- Data 6.** **Roman Transcription.** *Zarghuna ba langege, Ahmad Shah bah zane zayege.*
English Translation. *No Zarghuna will ever give birth to another Ahmad Shah.* (Tair & Edwards, 2007:277).
Context: This proverb is used contextually by the Pashtuns commonly to refer to the deficiency of significant and productive members born and brought up by a mother in the Pashtun community

In data 6, the nominal metaphor of “Zarghuna” refers conceptually to the responsible “mother”, while “Ahmad Shah” conceptualises the significant and productive “member” deficient in the Pashtun community. This proverb examines the Pashtuns in terms of their significance and productivity concerning their presence in the community. The proverb evaluates the deficiency of significant and productive men by using the metaphor of the “Ahmad Shah”. Ahmad Shah carved out Afghanistan into a reputable state in central Asia, identified and accepted as a state by other countries on the map. Therefore, this proverb stresses the presence of “Ahmad Shah’s” in the Pashtun community. Secondly, the proverb examines and criticises Pashtun mothers for being morally incapable and irresponsible for giving Ahmad Shah’s to the community. The discourse produced here considers the irresponsible moral approach of the Pashtun mothers towards their sons. The discourse expects the Pashtun mothers to be “Zarghuna’s” in terms of rearing their children. “Zarghuna” is a celebrated mother of Ahmad Shah, the monarch and conqueror of the 18th Century. The discourse supports and expects all the Pashtun mothers to be “Zarghuna” in terms of moral responsibilities towards their children and give “Ahmad Shah’s” to the Pashtun community. The metaphors help the proverb to produce a discourse which moralises the Pashtun men and mothers in terms of their responsibilities towards the community.

- Data 7. Roman Transcription.** *Cherga da jola larah num pi da malik oshu.*
English Translation. *It was the weaver who lost the hen, but the malik who took the credit.* (Tair & Edwards, 2007:153)
Context: When a Pashtun does something potentially good through his physical and mental exertion, and the credit is taken by some superior person from the Pashtun doer, the community members recite this proverb contextually.

In the given proverb (data 7), three linguistic nominal metaphors are identified in the source domain of the proverb. The first nominal metaphor is the “hen”, metaphorising the “Physical and mental exertion” of the person conceptually in the context. The second nominal metaphor is the “weaver”, which refers metaphorically to the “Pashtun doer” of the action, and the third nominal metaphor is the “malik”, metaphorising the “superior person” to the Pashtun doer in the given context of the proverb. This proverb evaluates the social and moral orientation of the superior (non-working) community members towards their inferior (working) community members in the given context. This proverb sees a capitalistic attitude of the “superstructure” members of the Pashtun community and criticises the unsocial behaviour of the members in context. The proverb develops a discourse based on the exploitation of the lower-class community members at the hands of the upper-class community members. This social discourse inculcates a sense of awareness in the minds of the community members towards the unjustified social behaviour of the upper-class community members. Through the linguistic metaphors, when taken conceptually in the given context, the proverb functions to produce a discourse which moralises the Pashtuns in terms of rewarding the right ones.

- Data 8. Roman Transcription.** *Kah tah Nazo she khu Mirwais Khan bah sok zegwe?* **English Translation:** *Though you may be named Nazo, who will give birth to Mirwais Khan?* (Tair & Edwards, 2007:316)
Context: When a Pashtun prides himself on his communal tag and does not perform significantly according to the tag, the community members evaluate his worth through the above proverb recited in such a situation.

In the above proverb (data 8), the systematic mapping of the domains identifies two nominal metaphors of “Nazo” and giving birth to “Mirwais Khan” in the source domain, which refer conceptually to the “communal tag” and the “insignificant performance” of the Pashtun, respectively, in the given context of the proverb. The proverb, in the current context, prefers actions more than mere tags and positions of the Pashtuns. The proverb ranks its speakers as worthy and unworthy based on their performances. This evaluation is done through the use of metaphors in the given proverb. *Nazo*, mother of the famous Afghan ruler of Qandahar, Afghanistan, refers to the tag given in the Pashtun community. However, these tags “Nazo’s” are not worthy if the tags cannot give birth to “Mirwais Khan”, a ruler who defeated the Iranians in 1715. Thus, the proverbial discourse grades Pashtuns based on their actions rather than the tags they own. The discourse claims that their actions must speak louder than their tags. Mere tags do not benefit the community. The discourse, therefore, tries to change and groom the professional behaviour of the Pashtuns to become worthy members cum citizens. The discourse considers social tags and badges useless without giving birth to “Mirwais Khan”; the context of the proverb develops such morality-based discourse.

- Data 9. Roman Transcription.** *Che lass mat she nu ghare la raze.*
English Transcription. *When the arm is broken, it is bound to the neck by a sling.* (Tair & Edwards, 2007:190)
Context: When a Pashtun is in trouble and seeks the help of his kith and kin, to convince them to help, the person or the other community members use this proverb contextually in such a situation.

In the given context, the proverb (data 9) uses three linguistic nominal metaphors in the source domain to conceptualise the target domain. The first nominal metaphor is the broken “arm”, which refers metaphorically to the “trouble” in the given context. The second nominal metaphor is the “neck”, personifying the “kith and kin”, while the third nominal metaphor is the “sling”, which metaphorizes the “relational bond” between the person and his kith and kin in the given context of the proverb. The given proverb evaluates the social orientation of human relations generally and of the Pashtuns in

particular. The proverb argues about the importance of relationships in one’s life, especially when one is in trouble and needs emotional pacification and help. The proverb encapsulates, through the metaphors, the social phenomenon of trouble, seeking help from the closest one and then emotional and mental catharsis. The proverb provides a discourse on the social support system comprised of emotional, financial and practical help in the tough times of one another in the Pashtun community. Social networking is advocated in the Pashtun community through this discourse, binding the members through the “sling” when one has a broken “arm” and the “neck” is ready for help.

- Data 10. Roman Transcription.** *Che bachy onajare, nu mor hum pae na warkawe.*
English Translation. *As long as the infant does not weep, the mother does not give it milk* (Tair & Edwards, 2007:198).
Context: When a needy Pashtun does not ask for help, and the helper does not help by himself, the Pashtun or the community members say this proverb contextually.

The context of the given proverb (data10) identifies three nominal metaphors in the source domain to communicate the message conceptually embedded in the target domain. The first nominal metaphor is the “infant”, which metaphorizes the “needy Pashtun”, while the second nominal metaphor is the “mother”, which metaphorizes the “helpers” in the given context of the proverb. The “help” is personified by the third nominal metaphor of the “milk” in the proverb. The proverb develops a discourse which focuses on the element of expression when communication is meant to be initiated. Expression is important in the communication process, the discourse advises. This discourse constitutes a social support system in the Pashtun community wherein the expression of the needy is as significant as helping the needy Pashtun. The discourse expects a helping attitude from the community members and advises them to help one another, whoever is in need, regardless of class and caste. The discourse teaches them moral standards based on sharing challenges and building relationships among the community members. The discourse brings the Pashtuns together and makes them a “social body” to empathise with one another. This social discourse promotes self-awareness and a social support system wherein an “infant” is supposed to cry for the “milk”; rather, the “mother” is bound to feed “milk” to the “infant”.

In these ways, Pashto proverbs use human-based metaphors to produce a specific discourse in a specific context. Based on the understanding and CDA of these metaphors, Pashto proverbs produce a discursive aspect in the communication process of the Pashtun community when these Pashto proverbs are used in a specific context in certain situations.

4.3 The Nominal Metaphors in the Pashto Proverbs

The objective of this research study is to identify various types of nominal metaphors in the source domain of the selected Pashto proverbs. To achieve the mentioned objective, this study has found various types of nominal metaphors in different numbers to conceptualise the target domains. These nominal metaphors are used as immediate referents in the proverbs to refer to the contextual referents; thus, they help to communicate the message intended for the contextual referents. These nominal metaphors vary in their nature. These nominal metaphors are grouped mainly into six groups, as shown in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3
Types of Nominal Metaphors in Pashto Proverbs

S. No	Group	Entailment	Metaphors	
1	Non-Human Living (41)	Animals/Related to Animals (24)	Horse	Ant
			Donkey	Lizard
			Jackal	Animal
			Lion	Wolf
			Dog	Bitch
			Camel	Ox
			Bullock	Cow
			Buffalo	Mice
			Cat	Goat

2	Human (38)	Animals/Related to Animals (24)	Snake	Tail	
			Elephant	Sheep	
			Rat	Fish	
			Birds (5)	Hen	
				Rooster	
				Crow	
		Fly			
		Plants/Related to Plants (12)	Wheat	Maize	
			Flower	Thorns	
			Mustard Seed	Straw	
			Grass	Branch	
			Tree	Wood	
			Stick	Grains	
		Pashtun Historical Personages (13)	Shiekh Chilli	Khattak	
			Hussain	Omer	
			Ahmad Shah	Shah Zaman	
			Shiekh Mir	Nazo	
			Mirwais Khan	Zarghuna	
			Mughal	Nazar Din	
			Osman		
Human Body Parts/ Related to Human Body (16)	Tongue	Teeth			
	Hand	Head			
	Neck	Feet			
	Eye	Face			
	Flesh	Fingernail			
	Arm	Cough			
	Nose	Fever			
Vein	Blood				
1. Human Relations (5)	Father	Father-in-law			
	Mother	Infant			
	Son				
2. Social Tags (5)	Khan	Malik			
	King	Patient			

The above Table 4.3 shows that a total of 121 different types of nominal metaphors are identified in the Pashto proverbs to produce discourses related to moralising the Pashtun community. Among these 121 different types of nominal metaphors, 41 metaphors (group 1) are based on non-human nouns. These nouns are categorised into three groups of 24 (group 1, entailment 1) animals/related to animals' nouns, 5 (group 1, entailment 2) birds' nouns, and 12 (group 1, entailment 3) plants/related to plants nouns. Besides these non-human metaphors, there are 39 (group 2) nominal metaphors which are based on human-based metaphors. These 39 human-based nominal metaphors include 13 (group 2, entailment 1) Pashtun historical personages, 16 (group 2, entailment 2) human body parts/related to the human body, 5 (group 2, entailment 3) human relations, and 5 (group 2, entailment 4) social tags based on nominal metaphors.

4.4 Conclusion of the Nominal Metaphors and the Discursive Aspects of the Pashto Proverbs

Cognitive linguists consider language important in the process of human cognition and thinking (Thi & Oanh, 2019). This process of cognition and thinking is carried out systematically through the conceptual system, which involves two domains: the source domain and the target domain. In this conceptual system, the intangible and difficult-to-understand message intended to be communicated is concretised through the source metaphors in the source immediate context, which are usually in tangible forms to make the message comprehensible and convincing. For this purpose, usually concrete nouns comprising different categories are used as source metaphors to conceptualise the abstract domains. However, understanding and identifying these nominal metaphors need a schema. This schema involves the cultural and educational background of the researchers. Because the cultural metaphors play a significant role in the discursive functions of the proverbs, which are intended to bring objective

awareness to the human world (Kovecses, 2010). Thus, metaphors characterise the language with clarity, vividness and convincing effects.

In the current study, various nominal metaphors are identified to analyse their discursive significance in the Pashto proverbs. These nominal metaphors helped Pashto proverbs to conceptualise the target domains in tangible forms so that Pashtuns understand the embedded message easily and impactfully. For the said purpose, Pashto proverbs consider cultural, religious, and historical nominal metaphors to produce and develop the community discourse successfully to dominate the Pashtun psyche and keep the relationship of “language and power” alive in the communication process of the Pashtuns. These metaphors support Pashto proverbs to develop the desired discourse in a particular context and situation. They characterise Pashto proverbs with a cognitive system and support Pashto proverbs cognitively in the respective context of the Pashto proverbs. This cognitive system is based on the understanding of the metaphors concerning the context of the proverbs which they used. Both the context and metaphors thus become significant in understanding the Pashto proverbs. Therefore, the above metaphors given in Table 4.4 characterise Pashto proverbs with vividness of the message, clarity of the purpose, and convincing effect to produce and develop the intended discourse.

5. Conclusion

Regarding the above-mentioned objective, this study concludes that Pashto proverbs have used various nominal metaphors ranging from a variety of cultural and wild animals to daily life tools, foods and religious and historical entities. These nominal metaphors are categorised as follows:

5.1 Non-Human Living Nominal Metaphors Group

This group is further divided into three entailments, which include animals and animal-related nominal metaphors used in the Pashto proverbs for different purposes in the given context. The second entailment has bird-based nominal metaphors, which are identified in the selected Pashto proverbs analysed in the previous chapter. The second entailment comprises plants and plant-related nominal metaphors, which are used artfully in the Pashto proverbs to develop the intended discourse.

a. Human Nominal Metaphors

This group has nominal metaphors based on human body parts, Pashtun historical personages, human relationships, and the social tags attributed to humans in the Pashtun community. This group has the cultural and historical inferences used as nominal metaphors in the selected proverbs purposely to achieve the desired functions of the Pashto proverbs in their respective contextual use.

5.2 Shaping of the Pashtun Social Cognition Through the “Lived Body”

This study has analysed that the Pashtun social cognition has been channelled through the nominal metaphors found in the selected Pashto proverbs used contextually in the community discourse. These “lived body” metaphors help Pashtuns to (re)shape the community according to the accepted cultural norms and social values. The concrete objects help Pashtuns to conceptualise the community standards easily. Both the human and non-human “lived body” metaphors used in the Pashto proverbs embody the standardised ways of thinking, behaving, and acting in the community. These “lived body” objects used in the Pashto proverbs are thus crucial in the development of the intended discourse of the community. This research study has implied that the Pashtun communication process (through proverbs) is environment-dependent, and the Pashtun social cognition is embodied in the “lived body” tools used daily in the Pashto proverbs.

Pashto proverbial discourse tends to produce and strengthen the relationship of the “language and power” in the communicative process of the Pashtun community through the use of the “lived body” metaphors. This proverbial discourse shapes the cognition of the Pashtuns in the channel of the ideological grounding of the community. In the current study, it is shown that Pashto proverbial discourse, through the “lived body” metaphors, advocates Pashtun moral ideology both at the individual and community levels. The analysis of the data has shown these moral ideological aspects of the Pashto proverbs, which are advised, supported, and preferred in various circles of life, ranging from personal life to professional and community life. Primarily, the selected Pashto proverbs are focused on moralising the Pashtun community concerning personal life, professional life, religious outlook, and

social life of the Pashtuns. However, this moralisation of the community has not been done through didactic commands or orders. The selected proverbs have advised and supported Pashtun moral ideology in their contextual use by being ironic, critical, or even annoying through the “lived body” metaphors towards the speakers of the proverbs. But in all forms, these proverbs are intended to maintain and develop Pashtun moral ideology among the members of the community

5.3 Contribution of the Study

The study has investigated nominal metaphors conceptualised for the abstract domains in the Pashto proverbs. In this aspect of the study, the current study leads future research in the field of metaphors and proverbs. Secondly, MIPVU has been adopted in this study to identify nominal metaphors in the proverbs. Therefore, the research helps future research to use the MIPVU process to identify metaphorical expressions in the proverbs of any language. Besides these contributions, this study has significantly contributed to the domains of Pashto paremiology, Pashtun sociology, and Discourse Studies.

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