Paremiological Analysis of Proverbs in Pashto and English: A Cross-cultural Pragmatic Study

Khizar Ali¹ Aum Saleem^{Error! Bookmark not defined.} Inam Ullah²

ABSTRACT

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This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors. This comparative paremiological analysis is an attempt to study proverbs in Pashto and English, related to bravery and honor in the light of pragmatic tools of inquiry; for instance, the version of speech acts as proposed by Roberts (2018), and explicature and implicature as proposed by Sperber and Wilson (1996). This analysis is based on a total of 179 proverbs collected from books and dictionaries, but based on purposive sampling, 55 proverbs are taken for analysis. The selected proverbs are categorized via their associates, animated proverbs, and gendered proverbs. Using a qualitative approach for analyzing collected proverbs, it is argued that proverbs in this study alter their literal meaning after being analyzed in light of the aforementioned pragmatic tools of inquiry. By discussing the characteristics of a brave and cowardly person and an honored and dishonored person in Pashto and British cultures, the study also brings into our consideration the symbolic representation of bravery and honor in both cultures. It is found that speech act patterns in these proverbs are mostly different but rarely similar. This study has implications for the general public, teachers, and the research community. However, there is a need to conduct further proverbial studies to explore other themes for better cultural understanding.

Keywords: Proverbs, Bravery, Honor, Pashto culture, British culture

¹ Lecturer at Department of English, Bacha Khan University, Charsadda, Pakistan ² (Co-Author) Lecturer and Head, Department of English, Bacha Khan University,

Charsadda, Pakistan

³ (Co-author) PhD scholar at Lincoln University College, Malaysia

This work is licensed under a <u>Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial 4.0</u> International License (CC BY-NC 4.0) Proverbs constitute one of the genres in folklore that reflect cultural values and define the people of a particular culture in terms of their behavior, attitude, lifestyle, and skills. They are used in any culture to convey instructions, suggestions, advice, and moral values. Like the English proverbs, Pashto proverbs are also used by its interlocutors in written or spoken form, to reflect their cultural values and most significantly the Pashtunwali; Pashto cultural code or code of honor. Pashtunwali consists of several themes such as nang, izzat, and ghairat (all three in the meaning of honor), generosity, hospitality, taunt, power, and bravery. Pashto-English interaction developed in the colonial period when various colonial writers expressed their views regarding Pakhtuns' character and attitude in their literary works. British colonial officers such as Kipling, Churchill, and Caroe started collecting Pashto folk proverbs in the colonial period to understand Pakhtuns and their cultural values, norms, and tradition (Sanauddin 2015, p. 27) Proverbs that are uttered in different cultures can help us to know the particular characteristics of those cultures and of the people who belong to them.

Proverbs are not only utterances in the form of metaphoric sentences or phrases, but they do perform certain actions, and according to Austin (1962), such utterances are in themselves speech acts. Hence, proverbs in any culture are used for performing certain functions such as expressing, describing, criticizing, applauding, scolding, complementing, avoiding, advising, etc. Besides proverbs as speech acts, they have semantic (literal meaning) and pragmatic meanings (contextual meaning).

This paremiological study will bring an overview of the Pashto and English (British) cultures by analyzing proverbs related to honor and bravery in the light of pragmatic tools of inquiry: speech acts, implicature and explicature. This study addresses the following questions:

- 1. What are the similarities and differences between the proverbs related to bravery and honor in Pashto and English cultures?
- 2. How do speech acts, explicature, and implicature affect the literal sense of the selected proverbs in both cultures?
- 3. How speech acts are being patterned in the selected proverbs in both cultures?

Parekh (2020, para.1) defines that "PROVERBS not only are packed with wisdom, but they also reflect the culture, society and the people who use them." Stewart (2016) is of the opinion that proverbs are the packets of wisdom and wisdom helps us to differentiate between good or bad and right or wrong. Sanauddin (2015) defines paremiology as the collection and study of proverbs, and paremiologists are the ones who study proverbs. In addition, Barlotti (2000) states that paremiology is an accepted term, an academic field of study that deals with the study of paremia or proverbs, and such studies lead a paremiologist to collect the proverbs from

various sources such as proverbial dictionaries that are obtained from past literature and more specifically dialect dictionaries.

Tair and Edwards (2006) state that in Pashto folklore, folk proverbs are known as *mataloona*, reflecting how Pashtuns express themselves and their cultural values. Various Paremiologists (Khan, Sultana, and Naz, 2015; Sanauddin, 2015; Ullah and Abid, 2020) investigate that gender relations are expressed through the use of Pashto proverbs. These researchers conclude that in the Pashtun society, we can see that genders are stratified; men hold power, but women are displayed as suppressed gender. In addition, Badshah and Khan (2015) analyze Pashto proverbs to understand Pashtun society by specifically focusing on agnatic rivalry and cousin marriages expressed through these proverbs. Ikram (2019) compares the proverbs in Pashto and English languages and finds that the concept might be the same in the proverbs of both these languages but there will be cultural differences. Based on the current investigations, we can see only one such study comparing proverbs in Pashto and English.

Besides Pashto proverbs, Shi and Zhang (2017) study linguistics sexism in English proverbs from the perspective of sociolinguistics and they bring into focus that English proverbs show contrasted images of man and woman in the aspect of age, social status, marriage, and behavior. Various scholars (He and Zhang, 2018; Kochman-Haldyje, 2009;) add that English proverbs are packed with discrimination against women. They are represented as sexual imagery, dumb, silly, and devil's net.

Riyanto (2018) states that animated proverbs in the English language perform certain functions such as understanding human behavior, giving advice, motivation, praise, and warnings. Rashidi and Ghaedhi (2013) conduct a contrastive discourse analysis of Persian and English animal proverbs related to cat, rat, and dogs and they conclude that those animated proverbs show the peculiar characteristics of people, their ideology, and culture.

In addition to Pashto and English proverbial studies, Khan, Sardar and Yousaf (2017) analyzed 40 Urdu animal proverbs to find out the representation of male and female genders through various animal names, for instance, cat, dog, monkey, camel, buffalo, lion, donkey, etc. This research reveals more interesting information as the male gender is expressed more negatively than the female in the light of those selected proverbs. However, Rasul (2015) conducts linguistics and critical discourse analysis of English and Urdu proverbs and investigates that in proverbs of both these languages, women are categorized as pessimistic genders. Khan (2022) studies Yoruba (African) and Punjabi proverbs in the light of feminist critical discourse analysis and notices that in both languages, men are encouraged to talk as men's talk is considered an essential trait of manliness while women are appreciated if they remain silent. The researcher also highlights that in both languages, men are advised neither to act upon their wives' suggestions nor to share their secrets with them.

While there is much research done on either Pashto or English proverbs, this research paper focuses on comparative paremiological studies on Pashto and English proverbs. As researchers of this study we are native Pashto speakers and are inspired by proverbs as they are used by Pashto speakers in various contexts, be they formal or informal. The present study on Pashto proverbs is different from previously mentioned studies because it aims at comparing Pashto and English proverbs related to bravery and honor in the light of pragmatic tools of inquiry: speech acts, and explicature and implicature.

Data sources

For this study, Pashto proverbs in their translated English version are collected from Pashto-proverbial books: *RohiMataluna*byBarlotti and Khattak (2006), *Pashto proverbs with English translation* by Khattak (2014), and *Sound the bells, O Moon, Arise and Shine* by Enevoldsen (2004). English proverbs for this study are collected from different English dictionaries: *Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs* bySpeake (2008), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs* by Simpson and Speake (2003), and *Never marry a woman with big feet: Women in proverbs from around the world* by Schipper (2006). Besides all these sources, we also usejournal and newspaper articles, published books, published and unpublished dissertations, conference papers, and online websites.

Categorizing proverbs

After identifying the theme of bravery and honor in both Pashto and English proverbs, proverbs are categorized into two main categories: 1. Pashto and English proverbs related to bravery, and 2. Pashto and English proverbs related to honor. Pashto and English proverbs related to bravery are further divided into three sub-categories: 1. Associates of bravery in Pashto and English proverbs, 2. Animated proverbs in Pashto and English reflecting bravery, and 3. Gendered proverbs in Pashto and English reflecting bravery. In the same way, Pashto and English proverbs related to honor are further divided into three sub-categories: 1. Associates of honor in Pashto and English proverbs, 2. Animated proverbs in Pashto and English proverbs, 3. Animated reflecting honor, and 3. Gendered proverbs in Pashto and English reflecting honor.

An eclectic model for analyzing proverbs

To analyze proverbs reflecting bravery and honor in Pashto and English, the researchersemploy an eclectic model for analyzing these proverbs. Hence, this study picks the taxonomy of speech acts by Roberts (2018), a recent version of Searle's (1969) taxonomy of speech acts, and relevance theory's implicature and explicature by Sperber and Wilson (1996).

By analyzing proverbs qualitatively in the light of speech acts, the researcher brings into focus that proverbs are not mere utterances but they also perform certain actions while the notion of implicature and explicature reveal the literal/semantic and pragmatic meaning of the selected proverbs which are different from their proverbial meaning.

Analysis and discussion

Associates of bravery in Pashto proverbs

	Roberts's (Acts Analy	2018) Speech	Sperber and Wilson's (1996) Explicature and Implicature Analysis	
Proverb	Speech Act	Type of the Speech act	Semantic Mood/ Explicature of Proverb	Pragmatic Mood/ Implicature of Proverb
Islam is under Assert the shadow of act sword. (Enevoldsen 2004,p.26).	Assertive act	Expressive	It is a declarative mood which states that Islam is protected by a sword (fighter or mujahid).	A brave Pathan fights for the glory of Islam.
Though the water may be hot, it can still extinguish the fire (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 56).	Assertive act	Commissive	It is a declarative mood and states that hot water has also the ability to extinguish fire like cold water.	Though a man may be weak, he can compete and show his strength.
He is not a Pakhtun who does not strike a blow if pinched (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 97)	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood which asserts that a real Pakhtun strikes if you mess with him.	Provoking a Pakhtun makes him dangerous.
To whom do you show courage, only in the corner of your home? (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 146)	Suggestive act	Interrogative	It is an imperative mood which interrogates cowards for withdrawing from fighting.	Contrary to braves, cowards are always taunted for withdrawing or showing their back.

the rear: when they tend to be in time of war and defeat. themselves safe in time of fight and defeat. the front (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 268)	moves into battle, it is better to be in the rear: when the army flees in defeat, it is better to be in the front (Barlotti and Khattak 2006,	Suggestive act	Directive		in time of fight
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Associates of bravery in English proverbs

	Roberts's Speech A Analysis		Sperber and Wilson's Explicature and Imp Analysis	
Proverb	Speech Act	Type of the Speech act	Semantic Mood/ Explicature	Pragmatic Mood/ Implicature
None but the brave deserve the fair. (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet B).	Assertive act	Commissive	The semantic mood of this proverb is declarative which states that if a person is brave, he will get a beautiful lady.	Only a brave and courageous person will deserve the best.
Fortune favors the brave (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet A).	Assertive act	Commissive	The proverb is in the declarative mood which states that if a person is brave, he will be fortunate.	Success befalls those who are brave to take risks.
If you are born to be hanged then you'll never be drowned (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet H).	Assertive act	Commissive	A declarative mood which states that if someone is destined to die in a particular way, he will die that way.	It is better to act courageously rather than showing cowardness because the mode of death

				is predetermined
He who fights and run away, may live to fight another day (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet F).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which states about a person who fights but runs away in the middle when see an uncontrollable situation.	Unlike the brave, a coward runs away from a battlefield and may face calamities for the next days of his life.
Attack is the best form of defense (Speake 2008, From proverbs under the alphabet A).	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood which states that striking first is known as the best form of defense.	A brave person is the one who attacks first rather than defending.

This paremiological analysis brings forth that proverbs reveal meaning which is different from their literal meaning. It can be seen that in the culture of Pakhtuns, bravery is associated with a man who fights for the glory of Islam with all his strength and courage. Unlike a coward, a brave Pakhtun always steps forward when the time to fight comesand does not withdraw from the battlefield. In British culture, it is investigated that bravery is associated with a man who can achieve the milestone with strength, deserves the best, and who always attacks first rather than defending himself. The implicature analysis of both Pashto and English proverbs brings into our focus that cowards are taunted and disrespected in both cultures. These findings are in line with Khattak, Mohammad and Lee's (2014) views who viewed *peghore*(taunt) as one of the main features of the Pakhtun culture along with *sharam*(shame), *nang*(honor), and*badal* (revenge).

It is noticed that the explicature or semantic mood of the majority of these proverbs is in the form of declarative that helps us to differentiate a brave and a coward in both cultures. The Pashto proverbs which are in the form of imperative are used for taunting and giving advice to a coward. But such representation is not seen in English proverbs.

The majority of these proverbs hold assertive acts which shows that the content of these proverbs includes the proposals related to bravery in Pakhtun and British cultures that are being discussed in its semantic and pragmatic mood. Assertive act which is in the form of expressive in Pashto proverbs is used for acknowledging a courageous Pathan but in English proverbs, expressive act is employed to admonish a coward. Commissive under the assertive acts in Pashtu and English proverbs shows how a brave person showcases bravery. Declarative

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under the assertive act in Pashto proverbs reveals that provoking a Pakhtun is dangerous. Suggestive act in Pashto proverbs shows that the proverbs are used for advising about bravery and also suggest a proper direction for a coward. In English proverbs, declarative act under the assertive and suggestive act does not manifest clearly. It is noted that the pattern of speech acts is found different in these Pashto and English proverbs.

	Roberts's (2 Speech Act		Sperber and Wilson's Explicature and Impli	
Proverb	Speech Act	Type of the Speech act	Semantic Mood/ Explicature of Proverb	Pragmatic Mood/ Implicature of Proverb
To everyman his own country is Kashmir (Enevoldsen 2004, p. 14).	Assertive act	Expressive	The semantic mood is declarative which states that everyone loves and honors his homeland.	National and cultural identities are declared as ones' honor.
If you return alive from Maiwand, I pray that God may keep you alive to taste disgrace (Enevoldsen 2000, p. 34).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which states about honor being associated with bravery.	It is an honor for a Pakhtun to die in a battlefield for the sake of preserving their homeland.
Oh, Akhund! Do not speak the truth, otherwise you will lose your place in the village (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 26).	Suggestiv e act	Directive	An imperative mood is used for cautioning those who dare to speak truth.	A weak person is likely to be disgraced if he speaks the truth.
When the dough is ready, everyone fingers it (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 62).	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood which states that a bad person is pointed out as shameful by everyone in a society.	A man is dishonored in a society if found in shameful acts.

Associates of honor in Pashto proverbs

See! After a hundred years a Pakhtun takes his revenge, and he says, "still I have taken it quickly (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p.	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which states that Pakhtuns are of revengeful nature.	The Pakhtuns' code of honor encourages them to take revenge so as to preserve honor.
69). What is white shines best amidst black (Khattak 2014, p. 42).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which states that a good man remains good even among bad.	An honored man is honored everywhere.

Associates of honor in English proverbs

	Roberts's (Speech Act		Sperber and Wilson's Explicature and Imp Analysis	
Proverb	Speech Act	Type of the Speech act	Semantic Mood/ Explicature of Proverb	Pragmatic Mood/ Implicature of Proverb
If you can't be good, be careful (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet C).	Suggestive act	Directive	An imperative mood that suggests that one should be careful about himself if he does not do good to others.	Our honor is preserved or ruinedon the basis of how we treat others.
Evil communication corrupts good manners (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet C).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which states that a man is considered of having bad character if he is in the company of bad people.	A man is known by the company he keeps.

A king's chaff is worth more than other men's corn (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet C).	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood which states that a king and his belonging are always distinguished from that of his subordinates.	A man of authority is always honored.
The post of honor is the post of danger (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet D).	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood which states that authority is prestigious, yet dangerous.	A man of honor is tested with dangers.
The nail that sticks up gets hammered down (Speake 2008, From proverbs under the alphabet H).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which states that a man who behaves uncouthly is often snubbed.	A man is honored or dishonored on the basis of his behavior.
He that has an ill name is half hanged (Speake 2008, From proverbs under the alphabet I).	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood which states that a person whose reputation is bad is always in a bad situation.	An honored man is everywhere secured.

Honor is described in many facets in Pashto and British cultures. A Pakhtun is honored in its national and cultural identity. Pakhtun's code of honor or Pashtunwali (Pakhtu) bears significance in Pashto culture as it encourages Pakhtuns to fight for preserving their honor. These findings are also parallel with the view of Lauhakangas (2007) who states that proverbs are used for social advice and giving instructions in different situations. Paremiological analysis of these Pashto and English proverbs reveals the characteristics of an honorable person and implies that an honored man is honored everywhere. The qualities of a dishonorable man in Pashto culture are also revealed, which according to Barlotti (2000), is the negation of honor, and in Pashtun culture; this negative term for honor is called "Beghairat", which a Pakhtun must avoid. These English proverbs also reflect instructions that are given regarding honor such as a man is honored if he treats others well and a man's honor is not related to being either rich or poor but his character is more important. The explicature or semantic mood of the majority of these Pashto and English proverbs are in the form of a declarative act which states about honor and shows the representation of an honored person in both cultures. In these Pashto proverbs, imperatives are used to instruct individuals to live with honor. In English proverbs, they are used for instructions such as doing well to others, or one should be graceful in the manner of doing things.

The majority of these proverbs are in the assertive act which shows that the content of these proverbs includes the proposals related to honor in Pakhtu and British cultures. Assertive acts in Pashto proverbs are mostly in the form of expressive, but in English proverbs, they are in the form of declarative. Expressive act in both proverbs praises an honored person but scolds a dishonored person. Declarative acts in Pashto and English proverbs declare a man as dishonored and honored respectively. The suggestive acts in both Pashto and English proverbs show that proverbs are used for giving instructions, suggestions, and warnings. Again, we noted that the speech acts pattern is found different in these proverbs.

	Roberts's (2018) Speech Acts Analysis		Sperber and Wilson's (1996) Explicature and Implicature Analysis	
Proverb	Speech Act	Type of the Speech act	Semantic Mood/ Explicature of Proverb	Pragmatic Mood/ Implicature of Proverb
If Someone cries: A snake! Beware! The mullah says: Let the boy take care! If someone says: Here is a plate! The mullah says: Here am I and my mate! (Enevoldsen 2004, p.18)	Assertive act	Expressive	The semantic mood of this proverb is declarative which states about taking risk being associated with either a boy or a mullah.	A brave person is the one who fights against the toughest challenges.
The horse gallops according to his strength (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 5).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which states that a brave and powerful man does work magnificently.	Every man works by his skills.

Animated proverbs in Pashto reflecting bravery

An elephant is not afraid of the beat of drums (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 20).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which states that a brave person is not afraid of small things.	A brave person is not affected by little hindrances.
It is the merit of the buffalo that he does not fight (Khattak 2014, p. 86).	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood that expresses the character of a brave person.	A brave person reserves himself to face bigger challenges.

Animated proverbs in English reflecting bravery

	Roberts's (Speech Ac	2018) ts Analysis	Sperber and Wilson' Explicature and Imp	
Proverb	Speech Act	Type of the Speech act	Semantic Mood/ Explicature	Pragmatic Mood/ Implicature
Every cock will crow upon his own dunghill (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet C).	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood which states that everyone is safe and confident at his home.	A brave person is the one who is tested in fields.
You cannot run with the hare and hunt with hounds (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet H).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which is said of a person who shows deceitful behavior in a fight, he fights with one troop but gives secrets to an opponent troop.	A brave man of true character is always loyal to his side.

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He who rides a tiger is afraid to dismount (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet R).	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood which states about a person who deals with dangerous challenges and wishes to continue it rather than leaving.	A brave and courageous person does not leave things in the middle.
Better to live one day as a tiger than a thousand years as a sheep (Speake 2008, From proverbs under the alphabet B).	Suggestive act	Directive	A declarative mood which suggests that it is better to live independently than to be dependent on others.	An independent man is like a warrior who is confident and independent.

Animated proverbs in both cultures bear significance in understanding the human nature and behavior, lifestyle, and perception of the people. Implicature analysis of these Pashto and English proverbs concludes that different animals names such as snake, buffalo, elephant, horse, cock, hare, hounds, cat, tiger, and sheep are employed to expose certain characteristics of a brave person in both the cultures such as a brave man performs tough tasks, rises to the toughest challenges, fights against a brave opponent, tests himself in the field, holds positive character, accomplishes the given task and lives independently. As Muhammad and Rashid (2014) state, animal proverbs help us to compare and contrast different cultures, hence all these findings help us to know the characteristics of people (bravery) belonging to Pashto and British cultures through animated proverbs.

The explicature or semantic mood of the majority of these Pashto and English proverbs is in the form of declarative which defines the characteristics of a brave person in both cultures and also brings into our focus the symbolic significance of different animals' names that are used such as snake, horse, elephant, buffalo, and hag in Pashto culture. In English proverbs, bravery is symbolized through different animal names such as cat, cow, hare, hound, dog, and tiger.

Speech act analysis of these animated Pashto and English proverbs concludes that these proverbs are assertive acts which show that the content of these proverbs includes the proposals related to bravery in both the cultures that are being discussed in their respective semantic and pragmatic mood. Assertive acts in Pashto proverbs are mostly in the form of expressive while assertive acts in these

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English proverbs are mostly in the form of declarative. Expressive act in Pashto proverbs praises a Pakhtun for holding qualities of bravery while declarative act declares that a brave man is the toughest challenger and performs the tough task. Declarative acts in English proverbs declare how a brave man expresses himself while the expressive act is used for praising a brave person for his loyalty. It is noted again that the pattern of speech acts in these proverbs is different.

	Roberts's (2018) Speech Acts Analysis		Sperber and Wilson's (1996) Explicature and Implicature Analysis	
Proverb	Speech Act	Type of the Speech act	Semantic Mood/ Explicature of Proverb	Pragmatic Mood/ Implicature of Proverb
The donkey stood his ground and was killed by the bus (Khattak 2014, p. 241).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which is said of a person who is foolish and does unnecessary acts.	A foolish perception of honor comes with a shameful price.
It is a mule rather than a donkey, but on its shoulders lies the head of a donkey (Khattak 2014, p. 242).	Assertive act	Expressive	This declarative mood expresses apseudo-honorable person who fails to preserve familial honor.	Familial honor is shared equally among its members.
The thieving dog's pup may not be a thief yet, but he will sniff about (for something to steal) (Khattak 2014, p. 29).	Assertive act	Commissive	A declarative mood which states that a bad man's son will act bad as soon as he gets an opportunity.	A son is the reflection of his father.

Animated proverbs in Pashto reflecting honor

Someone said to a low beast of a fellow, "Why do people call you a pig?" He said, "They are all my brothers, and are cracking jokes at me." (Khattak 2014, p. 42)	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which states that a dishonored man is disliked as he is associated with a bad title.	An honored Pakhtun is always glorified in honorifics.
2014, p. 42 <i>)</i>				

Animated proverbs in English reflecting honor

	Roberts's (2 Acts Analys	2018) Speech sis	Sperber and Wilson's (1996) Explicature and Implicature Analysis	
Proverb	Speech Act	Type of the Speech act	Semantic Mood/ Explicature of Proverb	Pragmatic Mood/ Implicature of Proverb
A good horse cannot be of a bad color (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet B).	Assertive act	Declarative	The semantic mood of this proverb is declarative which states that a man of good character is not affected by his outward appearances.	A person is honored on the basis of his good character.
Eagles don't catch flies (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet E).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which states that a noble person does not join hands with bad people.	An honorable man is found in the company of honored people.
Better a dinner of herbs than stalled ox where hate is (Speake 2008, From proverbs under the alphabet B).	Suggestive act	Directive	An imperative mood which suggests that it is better to dine with poor people than to dine with rich people in an environment of hate.	A person is likely to dine in a place where people honored him.

Better a good cow	Suggestive	Directive	An imperative	Everyone is
than a cow of	act		mood which	honored in
good kind (Speake			suggests that a man	society based
2008, From			should develop his	on his
proverbs under			own character	character.
the alphabet B).			rather than family	
			background.	

Implicature analysis of Pashto proverbs adds to our knowledge that different names of animals such as aunt, donkey, mule, pup, and pig are used for exposing the different aspects of honor such as honor is valued so highly in Pakhtun society that honor of each member of a family is important, and an honored man remembers in honorifics. The implicature analysis of these English proverbs also discloses that certain names of animals are mentioned such as a horse and cow which reflects that a person is honored based on his character. Through certain other animals' names such as eagle and ox, we have been educated that a man becomes honored or dishonored in the company of others, and an honored person is likely to sit in a place where he is honored.

It is noted that the explicature or semantic mood of the majority of these Pashto proverbs is in the form of the declarative act that unfolds the various aspects of honor such as the qualities of an honored man in Pashto culture. The semantic mood of English proverbs is in the form of declarative acts as well as imperative. Declarative mood reveals the qualities of an honored person while imperative mood emphasizes the importance of building one's character in a society and living in a place where a person is given respect.

Speech act analysis of these animated proverbs in Pashto bears assertive act that shows that the content of these proverbs includes the proposals related to honor in Pakhtun culture. Assertive acts in Pashto proverbs are mostly in the form of expressive. An expressive act praises a Pakhtun for being honored. A commissive act reveals that the son adopts the character of his father. Hence, one should show positive character in front of its youngsters. It is also noted that the majority of animated proverbs in English are in the form of assertive and suggestive acts. Assertive act in these English proverbs is in the form of declarative and expressive. A declarative act declares that a man is honored based on his character. An expressive act is used to praise an honored person for being around good people. Suggestive acts are used for the importance of building one's character in society and living in a place where a person is given respect. Again, it is noted that the speech act pattern in these proverbs is different.

Gendered proverbs in Pashto reflecting bravery

	Roberts's (Sperber and Wilson's (1996)		
	Speech Acts Analysis		Explicature and Implicature Analysis		
Proverb	Speech Act	Type of the Speech act	Semantic Mood/ Explicature	Pragmatic Mood/ Implicature	
If you are not brave, what are you then? You, who have sucked the breast of a true Pakhtun mother (Enevoldsen 2004, p.42)	Suggestive act	Directive	A declarative mood which suggests that a real Pakhtun must be brave.	Pakhtuns turn aggressive when they are provoked.	
The character of a blue-blooded man is priceless (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p.40).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which expresses the character of a brave person.	A brave man is praised for his great character.	
Be either a man of courage or a follower of the brave men (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 344).	Suggestive act	Directive	An imperative mood which suggests that one has to be brave or in the company of a brave person.	A brave comrade encourages you to be a brave man.	
I would rather be a childless mother, than that you should run from the battle-field (Khattak 2014, p. 10).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which states that a mother feels shame if her son shows his back in a battlefield.	A Pakhtun's withdrawing from battle field is considered a shame for family.	

	Roberts's (2018) Speech Acts Analysis		Sperber and Wilson's (1996) Explicature and Implicature Analysis	
Proverb	Speech Act	Type of the Speech act	Semantic Mood/ Explicature	Pragmatic Mood/ Implicature
Brave men lived before Agamemnon (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet A).	Assertive act	Declarative	The semantic mood of this proverb is declarative which states that brave men used to live in the past too.	Braves are found in the past too.
One Englishman can beat three Frenchmen (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet B).	Assertive act	Expressive	A declarative mood which expresses the power of Englishmen.	One brave Englishman can beat many French.
Threatened men live long (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet T).	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood which states that those who are threatened, build an effective defense mechanism around themselves.	A resilient man faces challenges effectively.

Gendered proverbs in English reflecting bravery

Implicature analysis of these Pashto and English proverbs reveal that different genders are mentioned to disclose the characteristics of a brave person in both cultures. In a Pakhtun society, a brave is always aggressive and holds positive character, but on the other hand, cowards are taunted for bringing shame to the family as they withdraw from the battlefield, and it is taught to stay around brave people who encourage a man to act bravely These aspects are disclosed through genders such as mother, blue-blooded man, and brave man. The qualities of a brave person are disclosed through male genders such as an Englishman and a brave man. It is found that bravery is the quality that is associated with the male and female gender in Pashto culture and more with the male gender in British culture. The explicature or semantic mood of the majority of these Pashto and English proverbs is found in the form of a declarative act which states various aspects of bravery in both cultures. The imperative mood of the Pashto proverb teaches that a Pakhtun must stay around brave people, however, no imperative mood is found in English proverbs.

It is concluded that Pashto proverbs are assertive and suggestive acts. But English proverbs are found only with assertive acts. Assertive acts show that the content of these proverbs includes different proposals related to bravery in both cultures with the help of mentioning different genders. Assertive acts in Pashto proverbs are mostly in the form of expressive but in English proverbs, they are for the majority found in the form of declarative. An expressive act is used for praising and scolding. A declarative act declares who a brave man is. Suggestive act which is investigated in Pashto proverbs, teaches that a Pakhtun must be brave and must stay around brave people. Consequently, a difference in the speech acts pattern of both these proverbs can be seen through this discussion.

	Roberts's (2018) Speech Acts Analysis		Sperber and Wilson's (1996) Explicature and Implicature Analysis	
Proverb	Speech Act	Type of the Speech act	Semantic Mood/ Explicature of Proverb	Pragmatic Mood/ Implicature of Proverb
A tested man was reliable for a year, now he must prove himself daily (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p.34).	Assertive act	Expression	A declarative mood which states that a person needs to continuously show his reliability	A dishonest man cannot be trusted for a long time.
The dignity of a man is one advantage and dress makes it double (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 85).	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood which states that dress enhances one's dignity.	Dress is symbolized as dignity in Pakhtun culture.

Gendered proverbs in Pashto reflecting honor

Naming a village after a man signifies that he had qualities superior to those of his contemporaries (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 188).	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood which is said of a person who has qualities superior to his contemporaries.	A privilege goes to a man of honor.
For a woman either the home or the grave (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 227).	Suggestive act	Directive	An imperative mood which suggests that home is the safest place for a woman.	Pardah as protection for women is considered an honorable and a basic element of Pakhtunwali.
Woman is the lamp of the family (Barlotti and Khattak 2006, p. 299).	Assertive act	Declarative	A declarative mood which states that a woman leads the family.	A woman's honor is the family's honor.
Let a widow remarry, so that she may not be badly named (Khattak 2014, p. 94).	Suggestive act	Directive	An imperative mood which suggests that a widow is allowed to remarry so that she will be protected.	A widow is honored in the Pakhtun society when she remarries.

Gendered proverbs in English reflecting honor

	Roberts's (2018) Speech Acts Analysis		Sperber and Wilson's (1996) Explicature and Implicature Analysis	
Proverb	Speech Act	Type of the Speech act	Semantic Mood/ Explicature of Proverb	Pragmatic Mood/ Implicature of Proverb

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Clothes make the man (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet C).	Assertive act	Declarati ve	A declarative mood which states that a man's character is based on his appearances.	Dress symbolizes man's honor.
A woman's place in the home (Simpson and Speake 2003, From proverbs under the alphabet W).	Assertiv e act	Declarativ e	A declarative mood which states that a woman's responsibility is restricted to homes only.	A woman is honored if they stay inside home.
Man may be the head, but wife is the heart of the home (Schipper 2006, p. 38).	Assertiv e act	Declarativ e	A declarative mood which states that men and women are equally important at home.	Familial honor is equally shared between men and women.
Beauty is null and void, when honor is lost (Schipper 2006, p. 81).	Assertiv e act	Declarativ e	A declarative mood which states that beauty is nothing when honor is lost.	A woman is beautified with honor.
The impatient woman becomes a mother without being a bride (Schipper 2006, p.97)	Assertiv e act	Expressive	A declarative mood which states that an impatient woman indulges herself in shameful activities.	Impatient women ruin honor.

Implicature analysis of these Pashto proverbs shows that different genders such as men (noble man and naming a village after a man) are mentioned to describe the value of being honored in Pakhtun society. With the help of the female gender such as women, other aspects of honor are revealed: Pardah as protection for women is considered an honorable act in Pakhtun society, a woman's honor is

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bound to the family's honor, and a widow is honored when she remarries. It is also declared that the dress is a symbol of honor. Similar to Pashto proverbs, in these English proverbs, it is also noticed that in British culture, a woman is honored when she stays with her husband or stays at home as familial honor is shared equally between a man and woman, and a woman's honor is not based on her appearance rather based on character. A bad woman is dishonored and ruins her honor. Like in Pashto proverbs, it is also revealed that dress is the symbol of honor.

The explicature or semantic mood of the majority of these Pashto and English proverbs is found in the form of a declarative act that states honor in both cultures by mentioning male and female genders. The imperative mood of the Pashto proverb instructs that a woman must do pardah to preserve the honor of her husband and family, and a widow must remarry so that her honor is preserved.

The majority of these proverbs in Pashto and English are assertive acts which show that the content of these proverbs includes various proposals related to honor in both cultures with the help of mentioning gender. These different proposals are being discussed in their respective semantic and pragmatic moods. An assertive act in both proverbs is mostly in the form of a declarative. Declarative act in both proverbs declares various aspects of honor in both cultures. Suggestive act in Pashto proverbs reveals that proverbs are used to instruct about honor with different genders being mentioned. Expressive act in English proverbs is used to scold a bad woman who ruins the honor of her own self, husband, and family. It is noticed again that speech act pattern is found different.

This paper analyzed the proverbs related to bravery and honor in Pashto and English proverbs qualitatively in the light of pragmatic tools of inquiry: speech acts by Roberts (2018), and explicature and implicature by Sperber and Wilson (1996). Analyses show that these proverbs alter their literal meaning after being analyzed in light of the aforementioned pragmatic tools of inquiry. Implicature analyses of these proverbs under study reveal the characteristics of a brave and cowardly person and an honored and dishonored person in Pashto and British cultures. The proverbs categorized under their associates (of bravery and honor) exhibit these attributes of bravery and honor through animated and gendered proverbs. Some of those characteristics are found similar in Pashto and British proverbs while some of them are found different in both cultures. Implicature analyses of these proverbs also bring forth certain symbolic representations of bravery and honor in both cultures. These analyses brought forth the pragmatic meaning of proverbs which is different from their literal meaning. Explicature analyses of these proverbs under study are mostly in the form of declarative that states about bravery and honor in both cultures. It is noticed that proverbs in the form of imperative are used for instructing and teaching individuals of both cultures to act bravely and behave honorably. These Proverbs are also employed for conveying social advice. Speech acts analyses of these proverbs disclose that speech acts patterns in these Pashto and English proverbs are mostly found different and rarely found similar when these are compared through their associates, animated and gendered proverbs.

This research could help the teaching community, especially those who teach anthropology and cultural linguistics, to teach cultural values through proverbs. It also brings an overview of the two cultures by focusing on the themes of bravery and honor. Not only cross-cultural but intercultural paremiological studies can also be conducted to compare and contrast different cultures such as comparing and contrasting Pashto and Balochi cultures by focusing on certain themes.

Future researchers belonging to Pakhtun/Pashto culture are hereby encouraged to take different themes in Pashtunwali such as hospitality, generosity, pride, respect, etc., and compare them with English culture (American) or various others such as African, Chinese, or Hindi. Future researchers can conduct paremiological analysis in the light of several other perspectives such as discourse analysis, systemic functional linguistics, semantics, and various others. Another effective mode of research can be through collecting proverbs via interviewing individuals belonging to different cultures because proverbs are used in almost all languages while interacting. Resultantly, a paremiologist may be able to collect proverbs that might not be found in books and dictionaries.

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