

Cognitive semantic study of Pashto folklore, the Landay

Sardaraz Khan

University of Science and Technology Bannu, Pakistan

Aasia Nusrat

COMSATS University Islamabad

Previous literature has focused on the literary and socio-cultural aspects and attributes of Pashto *landay*, a two line poetic couplet. The available literature shows that linguistic approaches to the study of Pashto language and literature in general and the study of Pashto *landay* in particular, are minimal. This paper has used conceptual metaphor theory to discover the conceptual metaphors within Pashto *landay*. Nine hundred and thirty *landay* taken from Noorzi's book, "*Pukhto landay Misre, tappe*" have been analyzed. The analysis revealed eleven conceptual metaphors on the basis of their respective experiential source domains besides the resemblance based metaphors. Four examples of each conceptual metaphor were selected for linguistic analysis. The analysis revealed that experiential gestalts of, for example, a journey, war, fire, disease, containers and objects in space have all been used to conceptualize abstract concepts of love, emotions, time and events in Pashto *landay*. However, as this paper has analyzed only a small portion of *landay*, further studies of Pashto *landay* are needed to discover more conceptual metaphors, which may be helpful in understanding the cognitive schemas used by Pashto speakers for processing abstract concepts .

Keywords: cognitive linguistic, Pashto folklore, *landay*, metaphor, conceptual metaphor

Folklore epitomizes the unwritten traditions of a community, but definitions of folklore are as varied as folklore itself. Leach (1949) accumulated twenty one definitions of folklore, which shows that the boundaries of folklore are so broad that it is difficult to define it precisely or succinctly. One of the most important definitions is "artistic communication in small groups (Ben-Amos, 1971, 2014). Keeping in view the concept of context in modern technological age, Bronner (2016) defined folklore as "traditional knowledge put into, and drawing from, practice", and broadened the concept of context in folklore definition. The most frequent key words used in the defining the folklore are the

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Dr. Sardaraz, University of Science and Technology Bannu, Pakistan, Email: sardarazsorani@gmail.com

Contribution of Authors:

1. Dr. Sardaraz intitated the idea, collected and analyzed the data and completed the first write-up of the paper.
2. Dr. Aasia Nusrat reviewed the article, contributed to the language, methodology and discussions.

tradition and oral transmission. Pashto folklore embodies Pashtun traditions, beliefs and culture. The origin of Pashto folklore is still shrouded in mystery, but it has been traced back to Vedic literature in the form of *landay* four thousand years ago (Enevoldsen, 1969; Hakimi, n.d.). Being the oldest form of Pashto folklore, Pashto *landay* has been examined from diverse perspectives such as socio-cultural perspective (Khalil, 2011), historical perspective (Enevoldsen, 1969), historical evolutionary perspective (Daud, 2012), gender perspective (Rahimi, 2017), literary perspective (Rafigh, 1930; Noorzi, 2014) and figurative perspective (Halimi, n.d.). *Landay* is a robust source for linguistic examination. This paper will study *landay* from a cognitive linguistic perspective.

Landay have two lines; the first line has nine syllables, while the second, thirteen syllables. *Landay* has often been used to express emotions, feelings and thoughts, and is an epitome of Pashtun civilization (Khattak, 2005; Rafigh, 1930). *Landay*, though mostly composed and sung by women in different cultural events to express their feelings and emotions in a male dominated society (Rahimi, 2017), but it can be composed by any member of the community, man, woman, young and old, and may sometimes take dialogue form, as is the case with following dramatic *landay* (Hakimi, n.d.).

Female

په سپینه خوله مي د پرار وکر

Puh spinah khluh me de parar ukru

Your kissing left a scar on my lips

زه به بخيلي مور ته څه خواب کومه؟

Zuh bah bakhile mor ta Tsu Tzawaab kawumah

How will I argue with my puritanical mother?

Male

مور ته دي داسي خواب ووايه

Mor ta de daase Tzawaab uwayaah

You should tell your mother that

زه له منگي سره گودر ته ولوېدمه

Zuh lah mangi sarah Godar thah wulwedumah

I fell down to Godar (ford) with the Mangi (Jug made of clay)

As *landay* are anonymous, and anyone from the community can compose or read or use them, in this sense, they represent the general concepts of the community. The aim of the present paper is to investigate *landay* from cognitive semantic perspective to explore the major source domains used in the *landay* to express feelings, emotions and thoughts. The cognitive semantic approach based on conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a, 1980b) (hereafter CMT) may help in revealing the major conceptual metaphors used in the Pashto language. The major conceptual metaphors will throw light on how the Pashtun community conceptualizes the abstract concepts, feelings and emotional states in their daily lives. In other words, it will show the major experiential gestalts which are used by the Pashtun community to structure the abstract phenomena.

CMT does not consider metaphor as merely a linguistic phenomenon, but one that is conceptual in nature because of the metaphorical nature of the human conceptual system itself. Metaphor is experiential correlations between experiential concept and abstract concepts in human mind, which generates not only language but also thoughts. For instance, the sentence, *he could not defend his position*, CMT holds, is generated by the conceptual metaphor, ARGUMENT IS WAR. CMT

has been used to analyze Nine hundred and thirty *landay*, taken from Noorzi (2014), and found thirteen different conceptual metaphors during the analysis, in addition to resemblance based metaphors. This paper recommends further rigorous research into Pashto folklore poetry from a cognitive semantic perspective to discover the extent of the fundamental conceptual metaphors used in Pashto folklore poetry.

Literature review

Pashto rich folklore has extensively been collected and discussed in the literature, from Al-Beruni (973/1050), living at the time of Mehmood of Ghazna (998 to 1030), till the present age. Various poets and critics, such as Khushal Khan Khattak, Hamid baba and Sikander Khan contributed to Pashto folklore poetry collections and critiques (Rafigh, 1930). Rafigh (1930) himself carried out an extensive classification of Pashto folklore by literary quality and subjects. Pashto *mataluna* (proverbs) were collected by Tair and Edwards (2006), and examined for gender relations by (Sanauddin, 2015) and for gender identities by Khan et al. (2015). Pashto Charbaitha has critically been examined by Yousafzai (n.d.) and Rafigh (1930). The oldest Pashto folklore poetic form is the *landay*, which has also attracted many investigations from various perspectives.

Landay is also called *tappa* in Pashto folklore poetry. Rafigh (1930) carried out pioneering work on its literary composition and classification, nomenclature and construction. Noorzi (2014) and Halimi (n.d.) also discussed *landay* from a literary perspective. Noorzi (2014) discussed at length the classification of *landay* on the basis of its core topics, such as war, honour, valour, love, Godar (a place visited by women for bringing water) and physical attributes of beloved. Noorzi (2014) also documented nine hundred and thirty *landay*, analyzed in the present study. Halimi (n.d.) studied the figurative language used in Pashto *landay*, in particular, on the use of various kinds of flowers as the source domain for various target domains. Halimi (n.d.) demonstrates that fragrant imagery is one of the key attributes of *landay*, and the study recommends further studies to explore this ocean of poetic imagery.

Enevoldsen (1969) and Hakimi (n.d) documented the history and evolution of Pashto *landay*. Enevoldsen (1969) claims that its roots can be traced back to Vedic literature, and that through *landay*, Pashtuns reveal their own social and cultural portraits. Rafigh (Hakimi, n.d) claims that *landay* began four thousand five years ago. *Landay* has also been studied from a socio-cultural perspective. Khalil (2011) has carried out a detailed socio-cultural analysis of Pashto *tappa*, and claims that Pashto *tappa* or *landay* represent the core values of Pashtun culture and tradition. Rahimi (2017), in investigation of *landay*, holds that *landay* is a tool used by women to express their tender feelings in Pashtun culture, but there is a perceptible change in the subjects of *landay* between the older and younger generations. The author along with Daud (2012) stresses the need to study and document *landay* in order to preserve it.

The available literature on Pashto folklore, particularly on *landay* reveals the need to preserve the traditional folklore poetic heritage, and to analyze it from various linguistic perspectives. The present paper uses CMT to reveal the major conceptual metaphors, used in Pashto folklore poetry. CMT has recently been applied to Pashto language and poetry in order to investigate various conceptual metaphors used by Pashto speaking community and Pashto poets. Khan and Ahmad has investigated the conceptualization of life in Pashto language; Pischurnikova (2017) has deciphered LOVE IS WAR metaphor in poetry of Abdul Hamid; and Sardaraz and Nusrat (2019) has investigated

Ghani Khan's poems on title of Life and Death to find out the conceptual schemas used for the abstract concepts of life and death. But *landay*, being anonymous, with no restriction of place, person and time, offers a field for analysis of conceptual metaphors, which will orient us about the general outlook of the Pashtun community. Hence, the basic research question of this paper is: What conceptual metaphor themes are used in Pashto *landay*? Investigation of the conceptual metaphor themes will help in understanding of Pashtuns' world view, nature of figurative language in *landay* and classification of *landay* from cognitive linguistic perspective. This paper may also kindle more interest in Pashto figurative language, particularly metaphor, as recommended by Khan and Ahmad (2017), Pischurnikova (2017) and Sardaraz and Nusrat (2019).

Method

This paper used Nine hundred and thirty *landay* documented by Noorzi (2014) as the units of analysis. The researchers read Pashto data, and then carried out a metaphor identification procedure (Group, 2007) to identify the metaphorical expressions. This procedure involves reading the text, selecting lexical units, determining their meanings and defining their metaphoricity with the help of dictionaries (Zeeya, 2009) and (Momand & Sehray, 1994). For example, in the Pashto phrase, (درانه څيره) "*dranah khaburah*-significant matter", the word (درانه) "*dranah*-significant" literally means heavy, and as matter cannot be literally heavy, rather it can be significant. Thus, this phrase is marked as metaphor. This procedure helped in identification of three hundred and thirty three (333) linguistic metaphoric expressions in addition to resemblance based metaphors. The identified metaphors were then categorized on the basis of their respective source domains following Kövecses (2002). This step helped sub-classify metaphors as resemblance based or experiential correlation based metaphors. The resemblance based metaphors compare the attributes of two concepts or objects, such as (گل لپي مخ) "*gulapi mukh*-rosy face", comparing red cheeks to a red rose. Experiential correlation based metaphors were thematically categorized on the basis of CMT (Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b). For example, the utterance (جدائي راغله) "*judaae raaghlah*-separation came", is instantiated by love is a journey metaphor, where separation in a journey maps separation in love. According to CMT, metaphor is pervasive in language because of the metaphoricity of the human conceptual system. Metaphor is not a novel use of language, but reflects the experiential correlation of concepts in human conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a). Experiential concepts are used to process and comprehend less experiential or abstract concepts. The schemas of experiential and abstract concepts underpin the generation and comprehension of language. The analysis carried out through CMT is detailed below.

Results

The analysis revealed eleven conceptual metaphor themes in addition to the resemblance based metaphors. These conceptual metaphor themes are discussed below.

Love Is Journey

Love is journey is one of the conceptual metaphor themes found in the analysis of *landay*. The study found ten (10) instances of this conceptual metaphor, where the source domain of journey is used to map the love relationship. Four of the linguistic metaphoric expressions are analyzed below.

اب کوثر جانانه راشه 1

Aab e kawthar jaanaanah rashah

Oh my sweet and fragrant beloved! Come,

د بېلتانه په سفر ځم تری به شمه

Da belthanuh puh safar Tzum thuge bah shumah

Going on the journey of separation, I would become thirsty

په خوله به جنگ درسه وکرم 2

Puh khluh bah jang dur sara wukrum

I may wage a verbal fight with you

د زړه کوڅې به درنه ولې بېلومه

Da zru koTse bah dur na wale belawumah

Why should I separate the channel of my heart from you?

جدایې راغله لارې دوه شوي 3

Judaaye raghlah laare dwe shwe

Separation came, Paths diverged

مرگ می قبول دې جدایې نه قیلومه

Murg me qabul de Judaaye nu qablawuma

I accept death, but cannot accept separation

د فکر تال دې راته جوړ کړو 4

Da fekr taal de raathah joړ kړo

You made me pensive

ته رانه لارې زه یوازې زنگېدمه

Thu raanah laře zuh yowaze zangedumah

You went away, I swam around in thoughts alone

In these couplets, the words (د بېلتانه په سفر) “*da belthanuh puh safar*-on the journey of separation” in (1), the lexical items (د زړه کوڅې) “*da zru koTse*-channels of heart and (بېلومه) “*belawumah*-separate” in (2), the utterance (لارې دوه شوي) “*laare dwe shwe*-paths diverged” in (3), and the clause (ته رانه لارې) “*Thu raanah laře*-you went away” in (4) are examples of the source domain of separation and union in the journey, used for mapping separation and union in love. Thus, the journey domain has been used to map the target domain of love.

Love Is War

Love has also been mapped as war. The analysis reveals fifty eight (58) linguistic instantiations of this conceptual metaphor. Various concepts from the source domain of war are used to explain various states of love. These experiential concepts are (د تورو گوزارونه) “*da thuro guzaarunah*-blows of swords”, (زخموڼه) “*zakhmunah*-wounds”, (دردونه) “*dardunah*-pains” (ویشتمه) “*wishthumah*-struck”, (شهيدي کړيم) “*shahid krum*-martyred”, (داغونه) “*daaghunah*-wounds”, (جړگه) “*Jirgah*-Jirgah”, (په غشو د بڼو) “*puh ghasho da baŋro*-on the arrows of eyelashes”, (ویشتم) “*wishthum*-struck”, (ویشتل) “*wishtul*-to strike”, (چرې مندل) “*chare mandul*-stabs with knife”, (وژل) “*wazhul*-kill”, (ازاروڼه) “*azaarawinah*-offend”, (خرابوڼه) “*kharabawinah*-destroy”, (ژوبل) “*zhobul*-wounded”, (و ینی دکو ښه) “*wine dakawinah*-fill something with blood”, (ننواټي) “*nunawaathe*-ritual soliciting forgiveness after a fight”, (د وینو رنگ) “*da wino rang*-the colour of blood”, (زخمي) “*zakhmi*-wounded”, (سترگي دي ډکې تومانچي دي) “*sturge de dake thomanche di*-your eyes are loaded pistols”, (گوله ماری) “*goloh maari*-shelling”, (گوزار) “*guzaar*-blow”

and (توپک ویشلی) “*topuk wishtuli- fired with gun*”, as the analysis revealed, which have been used for conceptualizing various emotional states of love. Four couplets are analyzed below.

- 5 د سترگو جنگ دی ورته ټینگ شه
Da sturgo jang de wurthah ting shah
 It is a war of looks, stay strong
 کاره واره باڼه په زړه ویشتل کوینه
Kagu wagu baŋru puh zruh wishtul kawinah
 The curled eyelashes strike at the heart
- 6 په لاره تلی مخ دی راستون کرو
Puh laarah thle much de rasthun kro
 Passing me on your way, you looked back
 د ظالم لوري په گوگل دی وويشتمه
Da zaalem lure pu gogul de wuwishtumah
 Oh you daughter of Cruelty! You struck me in the heart
- 7 اب و دانه مي شوه تمامه
Aab wa daanah me shwah thamaamah
 My subsistence has finished
 لایلا په زړه راکړل د تورو گوزارونه
Laylaa puh zru rakrul da thuro guzarunah
 Laylaa stabbed my heart with a sword
- 8 باران د اوښکومي ورپري
Baaraan da ohko me waregi
 My tears pour down like rain
 بی نیازه یار راته په زړه راکړل زخمونه
Benyaazah yaar rathah pu zru raakrul zakhmunah
 The arrogant beloved caused wounded my heart

Example (5) reveals that the source domain of war used to describe the condition of the lover and the beloved. In this war, the upswept eyelashes of the beloved are conceptualized as arrows piercing the heart. Couplet (6) shows a similar emotional status, but more figuratively. The lexical item “*wuwishtumah-struck*” (وويشتمه) is taken from the domain of war to conceptualize the effect of the look of the beloved. In the 7th couplet, “*da thuro guzaarunah-blows of swords*”, and in the 8th, “*zakhmunah-wounds*” (زخمونه) caused by the beloved metaphorically suggests LOVE IS WAR.

Love Is Fire

The analysis reveals twenty linguistic instantiations of LOVE IS FIRE metaphor. The key conceptual metaphor behind it is EMOTIONS ARE FORCES metaphor. The domain of fire conceptualizes the emotional state of the lover. The experiential concepts of (اور) “*or-fire*”, (لمبي) “*lambe-flames*”, (بليري) “*balegi-burning*”, (سوزينه) “*swazawinah-burns*”, (سوزم) “*swazum-I am burning*”, (سيزي) “*sezi-burns*”, (سومه) “*swuma-burnt*”, (سوي) “*suwi-roasted*”, (لوگی) “*loge-smoke*”, (کبابوينه) “*kababawinah-to be turned into roast*”, (ستى) “*sathi-burned alive*” all use the concept of fire to convey various emotional states of love. The experiential correlation between fire and love is illustrated by couplets (9) to (12).

- 9 اور چې بليزي اخر مر شي
Or che balegi akher mur shi
 Where fire burns, it eventually burns out
 د مينې اور سړی تر عمره سوزوینه
Da mine or sarai thur umrah swazawinah
 The fire of love burns a man for all his life
- 10 په ما دي خوانه خواني اور کره
Puh maa de Tzwaanah Tzwaani or krah
 You tormented me in the prime of my youth
 په تا دي اور شي د همزولو مجلسونه
Puh thaa de or shi da hamzolo majlisunah
 May the company of your friends torture you!
- 11 تنور چې تود شي اخير سور شي
Thanur che thowd shi akher sor shi
 A hot oven eventually cools down
 زړه چې مئين شي همپشه لمبي وهينه
Zru che mayan shi hameshah lambe wahinah
 When a heart is infatuated, it always ejects flames
- 12 راشه زما په خنگ كي كينه
Raashah zumaa puh Tsang ke kenah
 Come and sit by my side
 چې درته ووايم د سوي زړه حالونه
Che durthah wuwaayum da suwi zruh haalunah
 And listen to the story of my burning heart

The above couplets use concepts from the domain of fire, (*or-fire*, (لمبي) "*lambe-flames*", (*balegi-burning*", (بليزي), (*swazawinah-burns*" in (9), (*or-fire*" in (10), (تنور), (*Thanur-oven/tanur*", (تود), (*thowd-hot*" and (سور) "*sor-cold*" in (11) and (سوي زړه) "*suwi zruh-burning heart*" in (12) to map the of psychosomatic states of love. The LOVE IS FIRE metaphor is constantly used in Pashto folklore poetry.

Unrequited Love Is Disease

The psychosomatic state of unrequited love is mapped through the source domain of disease in Pashto *landay*. This conceptual metaphor is derived from key conceptual metaphor of EMOTIONS ARE FORCES. The analysis revealed thirty (30) metaphorical instances of love as an illness. The experiential concepts of (ويده) "*wedu-sleep*", (غمونه) "*ghamunah-worries*", (غم) "*gham-sorrow*", (توري وينې) "*maraz-illness*", (مرض) "*maraz-illness*", (زنګېرم) "*zangegum-I am feeling dizzy*", (دردونه) "*dardunah-pains*", (د هجران بنامار خورل) "*da hijraan haamaar khaarul-biting of the serpent of parting*", (رنځ) "*ranTz-illness*", (دارو) "*daru-medicine*", and (طبيب) "*thabib-doctor*", all come from the domain of disease and are used to map the psychosomatic states of unrequited or departing love, as illustrated by examples (13) to (16).

- 13 چې په مرض مي نه پوهېږي
Che puh maraz me nuh pohege
 If you do not know my illness
 طبيبه مه گوره زما د لاس رگونه
Tabibah mah gorah zumaa da laas ragunah

O Doctor! Don't take my pulse

14 زما د زره ناچاره رنځه

Zumaa da zru nachaarah ranTzah

Oh, the helpless sickness in my heart

نه دي دارو شته نه دي حال ويلي شمه

Nuh de daaru shtah nuh de haal wayule shumah

You have neither cure, nor can I tell your state of health

15 شال يي په سر اوږي په غاږه

Shaal ye puh sar ogi puh ghaarah

Wearing a shawl on her head and necklace round her neck

گودر ته لاره عاشقان ر نځورو بڼه

Godar (ford) thah laarah a'asheqaan ranTzurawinah

She went to Godar (ford) for causing the lovers diseased

16 د خولي مي توري ويني لاري

Da khole me thore wine laare

Black blood flowed from my mouth

زه د هجران بنامار په زره خورلي يمه

Zuh da hijraan haamaar puh zruh khwarule yumah

I had been bitten by the Separation's snake

The above *landay* illustrate the conceptual metaphor of LOVE IS DISEASE. The source domain of disease is used to map the psychosomatic states of love. Couplet (13) shows that the experiential concept of (*مرض*) "*maraz-illness*" maps the psychosomatic state of unrequited love which cannot be cured by (*طبيب*) a "*thabib-doctor*". In (14), (*رنځ*) "*ranTz-illness*" also conceptualizes the feeling of unrequited love, for which there is no cure. The disease domain also appears in (15) through the lexical items of (*ر نځورو بڼه*) "*ranTzurawinah-causing someone's disease*" mapping unrequited love as the cause of disease. In (16), separation is mapped as poison from a snake, causing the blood to flow from the mouth of the lover in the expression, (*توري ويني*) "*thore wine-dark blood*" and similarly, in (*د هجران بنامار خورل*) "*da hijraan haamaar khwarul-bitten by the serpent of parting*". The experiential domain of disease is used to map feelings of unrequited love.

Emotions Are Forces

The analysis shows that emotions are also mapped through the source domain of forces. Emotions are forces which cause psycho-emotional or physical changes in human beings. The analysis reveals that in most of *landay*, the emotion of love is what causes these changes. Twenty (20) instances of this conceptual metaphor were found, four of which are analyzed below.

17 خلک مي ټول ټپوس له راغله

Khalk me tol tpaos lah raghlu

Everyone visited me to inquire about my health

هغه رانغلو چي يي پروت له غمه يمه

Haghah ranughlo che ye proth lah ghamah yumah

He who caused me to lie in bed with grief did not come

18 زه په عاشق سري پوهېرم

Zuh puh a'aashiq sari pohegum

I know he who is in love

يا يي رنگ زېر وي يا يي شوندي وچي وينه

Yaa ye rang zyer wi yaa ye shunde wuche winah

Either he is pale, or are his lips are dried up

19 ستا په جفا مي پروا نشته

Sthaa puh jafaa me parwa nishtah

I am not anguished by your parting

ما ژروي د رقيبانو پېغورونه

Maa zharawi da raqibaano peghorunah

The rivals' taunts make me weep

20 د ناز کتو دي اثري کړم

Da naaz katho de asari krum

Your flirtatious looks pit a spell on me

د کړس خندا دي لېونی د دنیا کړمه

Da krus khandaa de lewane da dunyaa krumah

Your cheery smile turned me into the maddest man in the world

In couplets (17) to (20), the emotions of love are conceptualized as forces which cause psychosomatic and physical changes in human beings. *Landay* at (17) conceptualizes grief at the loss of his friend as a force which causes sickness through the lexical items of “*che ye proth lah ghamah yumah*”. In (18), the emotion of love is mapped as a force which causes a physical change in colour of the skin and the drying out of lips - “*rang zyer-pale*” and “*shunde wuche-lips dry out*”. In couplet (19), the feelings of parting from the beloved and the taunts of rivals are forces which lead the lover to weep. *Landay* at (20) conceptualizes the ecstasy felt at the sight of beloved as a force which causes madness, embodied in lexical items of “*asari krum-spelled*” and “*lewane da dunyaa krumah*- turned me into the maddest man in the world. These examples show EMOTIONS ARE FORCES metaphor.

Emotions Are Physical Objects

The data revealed the conceptual metaphor of EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS. Emotions are mapped as physical objects in space in fourteen (14) linguistic expressions. Four of these linguistic expressions are analyzed below.

21 ژوند کې يې غم ليدلی نه و

Zhund ke ye gham lidule nuh wu

He had not seen grief in life

چې شوه مينه دېر يې وليدل غمونه

Che shwa minah der ye ulidul ghamunah

When he fell in love, a lot of grief fell upon him

22 مينه په تلو راتلو زياتيري

Mina pu thlo raathlo zyathegi

Love increases after mutual visits

کله راځه کله به زه درځم مينه

Kulah raaTzah kulah bah zuh darTzum mayunah

Sometimes you visit me, sometimes I will come my love

23 د زړه دپاسه مي امبار شه

Da zruh da paasah me ambaar shah

Be piled up on my heart

د جانان غمه د عمرونو ځای دي يمه

Da janaan ghamah da umruno Tzaai de yumah

O grief of my love! I am your living place
 24 کله دی غم راباندې بار شي
Kulah de gham raabande baar shi
 Sometimes, my sorrow of love overburdens me
 کله دي مينه په درانو کانو تلمه
Kulah de meenah pu drano kaŋro thalumah
 Sometimes, I weigh your love with heavy stones

In (21), “*gham-grief*” is conceptualized as a physical object which can be seen. *Landay* at (22) conceptualize “*minah-love*” as an object, being measurable, which can increase or decrease. Grief/sorrow at the loss of the beloved is mapped as a physical object which can be piled upon the heart in couplet at (23). The emotions of (غم) “*gham-grief*” and (مينه) “*minah-love*” are conceptualized as solid objects with a weight in (24). These examples show that Pashto speakers view emotions through the source domain of physical things.

Heart Is Container for Emotions

The analysis also revealed the conceptual metaphor of HEART IS CONTAINER in Pashto *landay*. This metaphor was been found in seventeen couplets. Four of the couplets are analyzed below.

25 زړه مي نري درزونه وکړ
Zřuh me nari darzunah wukur
 My heart has been seriously cracked
 لکه ديوال چي زلزلې وهلي وينه
Luka dewaal che zulzule wahule winah
 As if an earthquake caused cracks in a wall
 26 راشه په زړه مي گوتي کېده
Rashah puh zřuh me guthe kedah
 Come! Check up my heart with your finger
 چي عاشقي مي در معلومه شي مينه
Che a'asheqi me dur ma'alumah shi mayunah
 So that you may know my love for you, my love!
 27 نه به انځر د ورځي گل شي
Nuh bah anTzar da wraTze gul shi
 Just as a fig will not sprout a flower in daylight
 نه به زما زړگي د غمه خالي شينه
Nuh bah zumah zurge da ghamah khali shinah
 My heart will not become empty of grief
 28 شاه د گودره روانيره
Shah da godarah (ford) rawaanegah
 Go back from godar (ford)
 زما نريري د زړگي پاڅه برجونه
Zumaa nařegi da zurgi pakhu burjunah
 The chimneys of my heart are roaring

In couplet (25), heart is mapped as a container which cracks, as evident from the sentence “*Zřuh me nari darzunah wukur*- my heart has been seriously cracked”. The utterance “*puh zřuh me guthe kedah*- Check up my heart with your finger” at (26) shows the heart as a container and the

emotions as steam, whose pressure can be checked by touching the heart. *Landay* at (27) also shows the heart as the container of grief through the lexical item of “*khali-empty*”. The container schema is also appears in (28), where the heart is mapped a container with (برجونه) “*burjunah-* chimneys or funnels”, which (نړیوری) “*naregi-roars*” because of the steam. Literally, heart is not a container which can hold emotions or feelings. Therefore, in these couplets heart is metaphorically mapped as a container.

Abstract concepts are things

Abstract concepts like ideas, thoughts, life and death, fate or destiny, verbal discourse and other abstract concepts are mapped as physical things in Pashto *landay*. The analysis revealed thirty eight (38) examples of this conceptual metaphor. Four of the linguistic expressions are analyzed below.

- 29 ځاوندۀ مرگ په ځوانی ورکړی
Khawundah murg puh Tzwaani warkre
 Oh Lord! Give him death in his youth
 چې جنازه یی د ارمانه سره وړینه
Che junaazah ye da armaanah sarah wrinah
 For his corpse to carry all its yearnings
- 30 یا خو زما نصیب خراب دی
Yaa kho zumah nasib kharaab de
 Either I have bad luck
 یا خو به ټولې یارانې دغسې وینه
Yaa kho bah tole yaraane daghase winah
 Or all my love affairs have the same fate
- 31 مبارکي راکړئ عالمه
Mubaraki rakrai a'aalamah
 O people favour me with your congratulations
 د تهمتونو سره یار قبوله کړمه
Da thuhmatuno sara yaar qabulah krumah
 My beloved accepted me with all the slanders
- 32 د جانان ژبی ته حیران یم
Da jaanaan zhube thah hayraan yum
 I am amazed at the sweet tongue of my beloved
 څومره خوړې پستی خبرې پرې کوینه
Tsomrah khwage pasthe khabure pre kaweenah
 What sweet, soft speech he delivers!

In (29), (مرگ) “*murg-death*” is mapped as something which can be given to someone, as evident from the verb (ورکړی) “*warkre-give*”. *Landay* at (30) maps (نصیب) “*nasib-fortune*” as a thing which is (خراب) “*kharaab-bad or spoiled*”. In (31), (تهمت) “*thuhmath-slander/lies*” is metaphorically represented as an object which can be possessed. Similarly, the clause (خوړې پستی خبرې) in (32) shows that speech is conceptualized by the Pashto speaking community as something which may be “*khwage pasthe-sweet, soft*”, drawing on the experiential domain of food or taste. In all these examples, “*murg-death*”, “*nasib-fortune*”, “*thuhmat-slander*” and “*khabure-speech*” are not literally physical objects or things, but they are represented as objects metaphorically.

Great Chain of Being Metaphor

One of the most pervasive metaphors in the Pashto *landay*, the analysis revealed, is the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING. Human attributes and characteristics provide a rich source domain for conceptualizing various target domains of natural objects, inanimate phenomena, socio-cultural concepts and events (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). In traditional rhetorical terms, this conceptualization is referred to as personification. The study found sixty (60) examples of this metaphor in the data. Inanimate phenomena are person metaphors are illustrated through the following linguistic expressions.

33 باد سبا زما قاصد شه

Bad e sabaa zumaa qaased shah

O wind of the Morning! Be my messenger

زما شیرین اشنا ته یوسه سلامونه

Zumaa sherin Aashanaa thah yosah salaamunah

Take my greetings to my sweet beloved

34 باده په باد می سلام وایه

Baadah puh baad me salaam waayah

O wind! Give my greetings to the wind

په هغه باد چې د جاناں په لوري ځینه

Puh haghah baad che da jaanaan puh lori Tzinah

To the Wind which is blowing towards my beloved

35 آسمانه درز وهه راولو پیره

Aasmaanah draz wahah ra-olwegah

Oh Sky! Become cracked and fall down

په ما قیامت دی چې په ټولو قیامت شینه

Puh maa qiyamath de che puh tolo qiyamath shinah

Calamity has overtaken me, so that it overtakes everything

36 بارانه ورو، ورو پرې ورپیره

Baraanah wro wro pre waregah

Oh Rain! Pour on them lightly

ورې، ورې جنکې غره ته تللي دینه

Ware ware jinakay ghru thah thlule Dinah

Little girls have gone to the hills

37 سپوږمې سلام به درته وکرم

Spogay salaam bah durthah wukrum

Oh Moon! I will pay you my greetings

جانان می مه رسوا کوه ماته راځینه

Jaanaan me mah ruswaa kawah maa thah raTzinah

Don't disgrace my beloved, he is visiting me

38 پاس پرېام مه خبزه کونتری

Paas pur baam mah khezhah kawthare

Don't climb up on the roof, O Dove!

پورته اسمان کی به سپین لمرش منده شینه

Porthah aasmaan ke bah speen Imar sharmindah shinah

The Sun, up in the sky, will feel shy

Couplets (33) to (38) refer to the inanimate phenomena of “*baad-wind*”, “*aasmaan-sky*”, “*braraan-rain*”, “*spogay-moon*” and “*Imar-sun*” as persons. In (33) to (37), “*baad-wind*”, “*aasmaan-*

sky”, “braraan-rain”, “spogay-moon” are addressed as human beings, who can hear the pleas, while in (38), the sun is given the human social attribute of being shy. These examples show that Pashto speakers use the conceptual metaphor of INANIMATE PHENOMENA AS PERSONS.

Analysis of the data also revealed that various natural objects, social phenomena and events are conceptualized as persons, as illustrated by the following couplets (39-51).

- 39 اختره ستا د برکته
Akhtharah sthah da barakatah
 O Akhthara! Because of your blessings
 د جنکو په سينه زانگي زير گلونه
Da jinako pu sinah zangi zyeḡ gulunah
 Yellow flowers are bouncing on the chests of girls
- 40 باغ ته دی تگ مناسب نه دی
Baagh thah de thag munaseb nuh de
 Your visit to the garden is not appropriate
 گلان شرمبری مخ په پانو پټوینه
Gulaan sharmegi much puh paṅro putawinah
 Flowers feel shy, cover their faces with leaves
- 41 گلاب د اصله شهزاده دی
Gulaab da aasalah shahzaadah de
 Rose is the real prince -
 رامبیل چامبیل یې نوکران نیولي دینه
Raambel chaambel ye nokaraan niwuli dinah
 Hired jasmine flowers as his servants
- 42 بېلتون په هر چا مېلمه کيږي
Belthun puh har chaa melmah kegi
 Separation visits everyone as a guest
 ماته چې راشي نو کلونه تېروینه
Maa thah che raashi no kalunah therawinah
 When he visits me, he spends years with me
- 43 کاغذه لار شه په هوا شه
Kaaghuzah laar shah puh hawaa sha
 O letter! Go with utmost speed
 په عاشقانو باندې وایه سلامونه
Puh A'asheqaano bande waayah salaamunah
 Give my greetings to the lovers
- 44 گودره بخت دی غلبه دی
Godurah bakht de ghalabah de
 O Godurah! Your fate is dominant
 د پیغلو جنو سیل کوی حیران دی کرمه
Da peghlo jino sel kawi hayraan de krumah
 Young girls visits you, make me amazed
- 45 پېزوانه ستا نه گيله من یم
Pezwaanah sthah na gilaman yum
 O Rose Ring! I am annoyed with you

د ليلا سرې شوندي خو تا بشکل کړې دینه

Da lailaa sre shunde kho thaa hkul kuri Dinah

You have kissed the red lips of Lailaa

46 چې فکر بند په زولنو کړم

Che fikur band puh zawlano krum

I shackle my thoughts, but

چې رانه خلاص شي برابر جانان له ځينه

Che raanah khlas shi baraabar jaanaan lah Tzinah

When once breaks free, it goes at once to my beloved

47 خاونده کوم يو په کي خوښ کړم

Khawundah kum yo puh ke khwah krum

O Lord! Which one should I opt for?

مرگ او بېلتون راته جوړه راغلي دینه

Murg aw belthun rathah jorah raghule Dinah

Death and separation have come as a pair

48 عالمه يو له بل څاريری

A'alamah yo lah bul Tzaregay

O People! Love each other

مرگ راپسي دی نیمه خوا به پاتي شونه

Murg raapuse de nimah khwaa bah paathe shinah

Death is after us, and we will be left disappointed

49 غم دي دا ستا نه وفادار دی

Gham de daa shtaa nah wafaadaar de

Your grief is more loyal than you

ته کله کله غم دي تل راسره وينه

Thuh kulah kulah gham de thul raasarah winah

You come sometimes, your grief is always with me

50 قسمته خدای لپاره وين شه

Qimathah Khuday lapaarah wih shah

O Fortune! For God's sake get up!

څوک تر قيامته پوري نه کوي خوبونه

Tsok thur qiyamatha pore nu kawi khobunah

No one does sleep till the Day of Judgement

51 ما د نصيب نه تېښته وکړه

Maa da nasib na thehthah wukrah

I fled from my fate

نصیب زما د لاري مل راسره ځينه

Nasib zuma da laare mal raasarah Tzinah

Fate is my companion, accompanying me everywhere

In these couplets, various socio-cultural concepts, natural objects and events are conceptualized as persons. Akhthar or Eid in (39) is an event which is mapped through the source domain of human attribute of blessings or causes. In (40) and (41), the rose is given the personal characteristics of shyness and authority for hiring the services of other flowers. Abstract socio-cultural concepts, such as "belthun-separation" (بېلتون) are represented as a "melmah-gust" (مېلمه) in (42), "kaaghuz-letter" (کاغذ) as a person who can convey the greetings of one person to another in (43), "godar-a social place for women to meet and bring water or ford" (گودر) as a person with good luck in (44), and "pezwan-nose ring" (پېزوان) as a person, kissing a girl in (45). Similarly, abstract

concepts are also conceptualized as persons. The concept (فکر) “*fikar*-thinking”, is mapped as a prisoner in shackles in (46), (مرگ) “*murg*-death” in (47) and (48), (غم) “*gham*-grief” in (49) and (قسمت) “*qismath*-fate” and (نصيب) “*nasib*-fate” in (50) and (51) respectively are presented as having human attributes. The analysis revealed that human attributes and characteristics are a rich source domain for the Pashto speaking community to process and comprehend many socio-cultural concepts and other abstract ideas.

Part-Whole Schema

The analysis also found metonymic linguistic expressions in the data. Part of an image schema has often been used to conceptualize the whole. The key conceptual metaphor behind these metonymic linguistic expressions is the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC. The part-whole relationship was found in thirty eight (38) *landay*, where the heart is metonymically used to represent the emotional being of the lover. Four of these *landay* are analyzed below.

- 52 زرگيه خان ورته تکره کره
Zurḡiyah Tzaan wurthah thakḡrah kḡrah
 O heart! Prepare yourself for it
 آشنا د سپين مخ نه نقاب پورته کوينه
Aashnaa da spin much nah niqab porthah kawinah
 My beloved is removing the veil from her face
- 53 زرگيه صبر دي په خدای شه
Zurḡiyah sabar de puh Khudai shah
 O heart! May you have patience with your Lord
 جانان په غټو خلکو خان حسابوينه
Jaanaan puh ghato khalko Tzaan hisaabawinah
 My beloved considers himself among important people
- 54 زرگيه صبر شه مه ژاره
Zurḡiyah sabar shah mah zhaaḡrah
 O heart! Be patient, don't weep
 ستاپه ژړا آشنا د ناز خندا کوينه
Sthah puh zhaḡrah Aashnaa da naaz khandaa razinah
 My beloved smiles coquettishly at your weeping
- 55 زرگيه مينه په کي نشته
Zurḡiyah minah puh ke nishthah
 O heart! There is no love in them
 نن واره بنکلي د لباس خندا کوينه
Nun warah hkuli da lebaas khandaa kawinah
 Nowadays, all the pretty ones pass on false smiles
- 56 سترگي ديدن وکړي مري شي
Sthurge didan wukḡri mare shi
 Eyes see the beloved, and get satiated
 شونډو د غم نه وچ پتري نيولي وينه
Shundo da gham na wuch pathri niwuli Dinah
 My lips has got dry scars because of grief

In examples (52) to (55), (زرگي) “*zurḡay*-heart” stands for the whole emotional being. Heart in (52) represents the emotional and personal being, while in (53), it stands for the psychological

being, and in (54), it refers to both the emotional and psychological being, and in (55), the emotional being. In (56), (سترگي) "sturge-eyes" stands for the emotional being, The part-whole relationship in the above examples is by imbuing the heart and eyes with the personality of the whole being.

Time Is an Object In Motion

Time is conceptualized as an object in motion. It draws on the aka metaphor, which involve the structuring of time in terms of objects and space. It has two main entailments, Time is an object in motion and time is space. The study found twenty eight (28) examples of this metaphor in the data, four of which are analyzed below.

57 اختر چي تپڻ شي بيا به راشي

Aakhthar che ther shi byaa bah rashi

Akhthar, if it passes, will come again

دا د خواني عمر په بپرته نه راځينه

Daa da Tzwanay umar bah berthah nuh raTzinah

This youthful life will never come back

58 ارمان به وکړي وخت به تپڻ وي

Aarmaan bah wukre wakht bah ther wi

You will regret it, but time will have passed

بيا به وطن راپسي گوري نه به يم

Byaa bah watan raapuse gore nuh bah yumah

You will, then, search land me for me, I will not be here

59 وطن به ستا لپاره پرېږدم

Wathan bah sthah lapaarah pregdum

I will leave the land for your sake

چي ستا د حسن دوران تپڻ شي رابه شمه

Che sthah da husan dawraan ther shi raa bah shumah

When the duration of your beauty has passed, I will come

60 هغه ساعت به کله راشي

Haghah sa'ath bah kulah raashi

When would the hour come

چي د اشنا سره به پر گودر له ځمه

Che da Aashnaa sarah bah bar godar lah Tzumah

To go to Western Godar with my beloved

These couplets present time as an object moving in space. The time concept of (اختر) "Aakhthar-Eid, religious festival" in (57) maps, (وخت) "wakht-time" in (58), (دوران) "dawraan-duration" in (59) and (ساعت) "saa'ath-hour" in (60) are mapped as moving objects through the corresponding verbs (تپڻ شي) "ther shi-passed" and (راشي) "raashi-will come" in (57), (تپڻ وي) "ther wi-will have passed" in (58), (تپڻ شي) "ther shi-passed" in (59) and (راشي) "raashi-will come" in (60). Hence, these linguistic expressions conceptualize time as an object in motion.

The data also found one linguistic expression of conceptual metaphor of TIME IS BOUNDED SPACE. Time in human conceptual system is also structured in terms of bounded space. Durational aspect of time is measured in terms of space/distance, and the location of some event of certain duration is mapped as an object located in space. The following linguistic expressions structure an event within time as an object in space.

61 دیوی می بلی په مزار کره
Dewe me bale puh mazaar krah
 Light candles on my grave
 چیرته وختونو کی د مینې یار دې ومه
Chere wakhtuno ke da mine yaar de wuma
 I was your beloved in the past

In couplet (61), the spatial preposition (کی) “*ke-in*” maps past time as space. The event of being in love at a certain time in the past is mapped as a landmark within space. Thus, the above linguistic expression reflects the conceptual metaphor of TIME IS BOUNDED SPACE.

Resemblance based metaphors

The data also revealed metaphors and similes based on comparisons between two objects. Resemblance based metaphors and similes follow the Aristotelian concept of metaphor and simile metaphor, which involves the naming one thing by another, as in Abid is a Lion. The dominant attribute of bravery is transferred from the source domain of lion to the target domain of Abid in praise of Abid. These metaphors include (عنبري زلفي) “*aNbari zulfe*-locks with the scent or colour of ambergris”, (گلایي مخ) “*gulaabi mukh*-rosy cheeks”, (د سرور و غنچه) “*da sro zaro ghuncha*-golden bunch”, (د گل و خانگه) “*da gulo Tsaangah*-a flowery branch”. These metaphors are drawn from the source domain of flowering plants, and are often used to emphasize the beauty of the beloved. The study found sixty three (63) instances of resemblance based metaphors and similes in the data.

Discussions

The analysis revealed that the Pashto speaking community draws on various experiential gestalts to process and comprehend abstract concepts. These source domains include journey, war, fire, disease, forces, objects, containers, generic attributes, and motion, which structure the abstract concepts in Pashto *landay*. Some of the conceptual metaphors used by the Pashtuns, as the analysis revealed, are LOVE IS JOURNEY, LOVE IS WAR, LOVE IS FIRE, UNREQUITTED LOVE IS DISEASE, EMOTIONS ARE FORCES, EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS, HEART IS CONTAINER, GREAT CHAIN OF BEING METAPHOR, GENERIC IS SPECIFIC METAPHOR, TIME IS OBJECT IN MOTION and TIME IS SPACE. These conceptual metaphors have also been found in previous literature (Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b; Pischurnikova, 2017; Sardaraz & Ali, 2017; Sardaraz & Nusrat, 2019) except LOVE IS FIRE and UNREQUITTED LOVE IS DISEASE. Moreover, the analysis reveals that 396 metaphors in 930 couplets which constitutes 42 percent of the collected data. The analysis also found 63 resemblance based metaphors or poetic metaphors, which constitutes six percent of the total populations. This reflects that Pashto *landay*, having a lot of conventional metaphors, are composed generally by common folk, because poets often use language laden with imagery. However, the results do not claim any generalization about the use of these conceptual metaphors, and recommends more studies from a cognitive linguistic perspective to explore further experiential domains in Pashto folklore.

This paper adds evidence to CMT view that the conceptual metaphor is a universal phenomenon across all languages, with slight cultural deviations. This paper found eleven conceptual metaphors. The findings corroborates those of previous research in major languages, such as in English (Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a, 1980b; Lakoff & Turner, 1999) Arabic (Sardaraz 2017; Sardaraz & Ali, 2016, 2017) and Chinese (Yu, 1998) and (Boroditsky, 2001). These metaphors also

indicate the general outlook and world view of the Pashtun community is similar to other communities. But cultural differences leave impact on the life and language of the community. The analysis revealed a few different conceptual metaphors such as LOVE IS WAR, LOVE IS FIRE and UNREQUITTED LOVE IS DISEASE. The LOVE IS WAR metaphor in Pashto poetry was investigated by Pischurnikova (2017). The analysis revealed that this metaphor has also been used in Pashto *landay*. This metaphor might be used in Pashto language and poetry because of the Pashto speaking community's long experience of war. LOVE IS FIRE and UNREQUITTED LOVE IS DISEASE might relate to the traditional cultural taboos of Pashtun society, where women, as Khalil (2011) and Rahimi (2017) argue, live in a male dominated society. The Pashto speaking community might consider love as a fire or a disease which cannot be cured in a society, where marriages are arranged by parents. These metaphors add to the existing literature on conceptual metaphor.

This paper gives a new dimension to the categorization and classification of Pashto *landay*. Previously, it was classified on the basis of topics such as *godar*, accusation, separation, moon, valour, honour, *didan*, heart and eyes (Benewa, 1958; Noorzi, 2014). The present paper offers a different approach on the basis of conceptual metaphor themes which helps in the classification of *landay* on the basis of conceptual metaphors which are used for structuring abstract concepts. This paper has examined a small portion of *landay*, and could be extended to discover more conceptual metaphor themes used in *landay*.

This paper has taken a different approach to the figurative language of Pashto language from CMT perspective, which argues that metaphor is generated by conceptual correlations structured in the human conceptual system. Some conceptual correlations have been investigated in the present paper, which may prove instrumental in redirecting research into the figurative use of language in Pashto language and poetry. The findings differ from previous studies (e.g. Rafigh, 1930; Noorzi, 2014; Rahimi, 2017; Halimi, n.d.), locating figurative language in thought rather than in language. The major contribution of this paper is introduction of CMT to Pashto folklore, investigation of major experiential source domains used in Pashto folklore, finding of conceptual metaphor themes, which perhaps hitherto not explored, and giving a new touch to the classification of *landay*. This paper might prove instrumental in rebirth of interest in investigation of figurative language in Pashto literature and literary criticism,

Conclusion

The analysis revealed eleven conceptual metaphors in the data. Pashto *landay*, being anonymous, and as it can be composed by any Pashtun, can represent the general world view of Pashto speakers. The major experiential gestalts used in Pashto *landay* are journey, war, fire, disease, forces, objects, container, motion and space to conceptualize the abstract concepts of love, emotions, time and events. The findings of this paper support CMT's claim that conceptual metaphor is pervasively used in both everyday language and literature, and it further corroborates the conceptual metaphor themes found in previous literature. But, this paper also found the conceptual metaphors of LOVE IS WAR, UNREQUITTED LOVE IS DISEASE and LOVE IS FIRE, which may add to the existing literature on conceptual metaphor in general. Moreover, this paper offers conceptual metaphor approach to the classification of Pashto *landay*, which may enrich the existing literature on Pashto *landay*. However, this paper has investigated a small portion of Pashto *landay*, which may be extended in future research to discover more conceptual metaphors used in Pashto language and literature.

References

- Ben-Amos, D. (1971). Toward a definition of folklore in context. *The Journal of American Folklore* 84(331): 3-15.
- Ben-Amos, D. (2014). A definition of folklore: A personal narrative. *Estudis de Literatura Oral Popular (Studies in Oral Folk Literature)* 3, 9-28. Retrieved from https://repository.upenn.edu/nelc_papers/141
- Benewa, A. R. (1958). Pashto Landay. Retrieved from <http://watanafghanistan.tripod.com/pashto/landay/index.htm>
- Boroditsky, L. (2001). Does language shape thought?: Mandarin and English speakers' conceptions of time. *Cognitive Psychology* 43(1): 1-22.
- Bronner, S. J. (2016). Toward a definition of folklore in practice. *Cultural Analysis*, 15(1), 6-27.
- Daud, B. (2012). *Pashto Landay: A mirror of people's passion*. Kabul: Kabul Center for Strategic Studies.
- Enevoldsen, J. (1969). *Sound the Bells, O Moon, Arise and Shine*. Peshawar: University Book Agency.
- Group, P. (2007). MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol* 22(1): 1-39.
- Hakimi, H. (n.d.). The origin of Pashto landay can be traced back to four thousand five hundred years ago, Hewad of Afghanistan. Retrieved from <http://www.hewad.com/landay/hakimi.htm>
- Halimi, M. H. (n.d.). Landay in the oceans of flowers (Landay da guluno puh samandar ke). Kabul, Hewad of Afghanistan. Retrieved from <http://www.hewad.com/landay/halimi.htm>
- Khalil, H. (2011). *Pashtoon Culture in Pashto Tappa*, Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad
- Khan, I., & Ahmad, S. (2017). Conceptual metaphors for life in Pashto. *Central Asia Journal* 4(2): 151-170.
- Khan, Q., Sultana, N., & Naz, A. (2015). The linguistic representation of gender identities in Pakhtu proverbs. *NUML Journal of Critical Inquiry* 13(2): 73-87.
- Khattak, Y. M. M. (2005). *The Roshanaites and Pashto literature*. Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar: Peshawar,
- Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In ed. A. Ortony, *Metaphor and thought*. pp. 202-251. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980a). The metaphorical structure of the human conceptual system. *Cognitive Science* 4(2): 195-208.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980b). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. & Turner, M. (1989). *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Leach, M. (1949). Folklore. In M. Leach and J. Fried. *Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legends*. New York, Funk & Wagnalls.
- Momand, Q., & Sehray, F. (1994). Daryab. Peshawar: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Text Book Board.
- Noorzi, R. M. (2014). *Pukhto landay, misray, Tappay*. Kabul.
- Pischurnikova, E. (2017). "LOVE IS WAR" metaphor in ghazals of afghan poet 'Abd al-Hamid Mohmand (died approx. 1732/33). *Russian Linguistic Bulletin* 2(10): 34-37.
- Rafigh, H. (1930). *The songs of poeple (Da khulko sandure)*. Kabul, Da Aghanistan Academy.
- Rahimi, F. (2017). Landay as the Voice of Pashtun Women's Passion and Social Life. *Journal of Research Initiatives* 2(3): 1-10.

- Sanauddin, N. (2015). *Proverbs and patriarchy: analysis of linguistic sexism and gender relations among the Pashtuns of Pakistan*, (doctoral dissertation), The College Social Sciences. University of Glasgow.
- Sardaraz, K. (2017). *Interpretation of metaphors in the themes of rewards and punishment in the holy Quran: A cognitive-semantic approach*. (doctoral dissertation). Faculty of Language & Communication Studies. Kuching, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak.
- Sardaraz, K., & Nusrat, A. (2019). Concept of life & death in Ghani Khan's poetry: A cognitive semantic approach. *FWU Journal of Social Sciences* 13(3): 15-19.
- Sardaraz, K., & Ali, R. (2016). Conceptualization of death and resurrection in the Holy Quran: A cognitive-semantic approach. *Journal of Nusantara Studies* 1(2): 11-24.
- Sardaraz, K., & Ali, R. (2017). A cognitive-semantic study of the spatial preposition fi (في) in the Quran. *KEMANUSIAAN: The Asian Journal of Humanities* 24(2): 89–122.
- Tair, M., & Edwards, T. (2006). *Rohi Mataluna: Pashto Proverbs, Revised and Expanded Edition*. L. N. Bartlotti and R. W. Khattak (eds). Peshawar: Interlit Foundation, Pashto Academy, UOP.
- Yousafzai, S. Y. n.d. *Charbaitha*.
- Yu, N. (1998). *The contemporary theory of metaphor: A perspective from Chinese*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Received: Feb 25, 2019

Revisions Received: Sep 15, 2019