

Received 16 July 2021.

Accepted 4 November 2021.

Published 30 July 2023.

DOI: 10.1344/DIALECTOLOGIA2023.31.3

A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF PUNCHI PROVERBS¹

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the structure of Punchi proverbs. Punchi, an Indo-Aryan language, is spoken in the district of Poonch in the Republic of India. For the present study, over a hundred Punchi proverbs have been collected, elicited, and analyzed. The research takes into account the structural approach to establish a pattern of universal proverb types, and it attempts to draw proverbial parallels across cultures while highlighting the stylistic and syntactic features. The study also informs how proverbs are indicative of traditional knowledge and cultural wisdom.

Keywords: proverbs, structural analysis, Punchi, Indo-Aryan language, syntactic features

UNA ANÀLISI ESTRUCTURAL DELS PROVERBIS DEL PUNCHI

Resum

Aquest treball analitza l'estructura dels proverbis punchi. El punchi, una llengua indoària, es parla al districte de Poonch a la República de l'Índia. Per a aquest estudi, s'han recopilat, extret i analitzat més de cent proverbis del punchi. La investigació té en compte l'enfocament estructural per establir un patró de tipus de proverbis universals i intenta establir paral·lelismes proverbials entre cultures alhora que en destaca les característiques estilístiques i sintàctiques. L'estudi també informa com els proverbis són indicatius del coneixement tradicional i de la saviesa cultural.

Paraules clau: proverbis, anàlisi estructural, punchi, llengua indoària, trets sintàctics

¹ Thanks are due to Dr. Saghir Khan, who was kind enough to patiently explain majority of the proverbs through voice notes during the time of the pandemic, and also to Mrs. Romi Sharma, for constantly supporting me.

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UN ANÁLISIS ESTRUCTURAL DE LOS PROVERBIOS DEL PUNCHI

Resumen

Este trabajo analiza la estructura de los proverbios punchi. El punchi, una lengua indoaria, se habla en el distrito de Poonch en la República de India. Para este estudio, se han recopilado, extraído y analizado más de cien proverbios del punchi. La investigación tiene en cuenta el enfoque estructural para establecer un patrón de tipos de proverbios universales e intenta establecer paralelismos proverbiales entre culturas al tiempo que destaca las características estilísticas y sintácticas. El estudio también informa cómo los proverbios son indicativos del conocimiento tradicional y de la sabiduría cultural.

Palabras clave: proverbios, análisis estructural, punchi, lengua indoaria, rasgos sintácticos

1. Introduction

Language and culture are veritably entwined as the culture provides the setting for a language to flourish while the language itself is deeply ingrained in the culture. The linguistic units such as proverbs, idioms, and folklores are infused with diverse cultural codes and contour the lifestyle, culture, and history of its speakers. They serve as a means to construct the identity of a cultural group (Dwivedi 2015) and annotate the linguistic originality of their language. But are these proverbs unique to the sociolinguistic realities of the speakers of a particular language? Over the years many scholars (Awedoba 2000, Te 1962) have claimed that the proverbs of a specific language community reflect the unique cultural values and principles of that community. However, this claim is not completely true. Even though every language has its proverbial sayings, these phraseological turns of speech distinctly convey similar meanings. The study argues that despite being constrained by diverse ethnic, historical and geographical factors, proverbs across cultures share semantic as well as structural properties.

Proverbs across languages are impersonal linguistic units embodying past experiences and didactic learning. The research presents a structural analysis of Punchi proverbs and discusses the equivalence and similarities in proverbs across different cultures. Similar to other cultures, the Punchi proverbs too contain cultural connotations and they resonate with the world view of its speakers. The competent

speakers of Punci employ many Punci proverbs in their day-to-day conversations. These proverbs reflect the common truths and mirror the thought pattern of the people sharing a common language. To understand the literary and figurative meaning (Mieder 2004) of these proverbs, one has to take the context of the situation in which they're being used into consideration since they are multi-faceted. Thus, Frege's principle of compositionality² fails in the case of proverbs for their meaning is often independent of the lexical items they're composed of.

The paper analyzes the Punci proverbs using structural patterns (Dwivedi 2017): 1) if X then Y; 2) either X or Y/neither X nor Y; 3) X positive, Y negative or vice versa; 4) like X, like Y; 5) X happens but Y does not happen or vice versa; 6) Both X and Y; and 7) X this, Y that. In the remainder of this paper, a general introduction to proverbs and Punci language has been taken up followed by the research objectives, hypothesis, and research questions along with the description of the methodology; further, the structure of the proverbs has been discussed, substantiated by data and its analysis, followed by the conclusion.

1.1 *Introduction to proverb*

Proverbs are concise sayings used frequently in a language that embody recurring social experiences, common truths, and facts. Mieder (2004) refers to proverbs as the sentence of the folk containing truth, morals, and traditional views. They stem from folklores and folk-narratives and serve as vehicles of wit and wisdom (Mieder 2004: 198). Proverbs are often catchy and easy to remember since they are constituted of several linguistic devices such as metaphor, rhyme, replication, parallelism, and others. Parables and fables embedded with proverbs were often used as a means to impart humanistic values and teach life lessons to the common man. These grammatical utterances have enjoyed a considerable reputation for hundreds of years for they are passed down through generations as an intrinsic part of the oral

²According to the principle of compositionality, the meaning of a complex expression is determined by the meaning of its constituents and its grammatical structure.

tradition of a language community and they continue to be treasured as culturally marked idiomatic archaisms. They hold a didactic and ethical value in contemporary times as well. Widely applied in lyric poetry, political monologues, and innumerable interactive settings, proverbs act as embellishing witty units of discourse and through their use provide a window to the speaker's thought patterns and attitude.

Innumerable poetic and stylistic devices³ are employed to make the proverbs interesting. Some of these are alliteration, parallelism, metaphor, onomatopoeia, rhyme, and ellipsis. Other internal markers include hyperbole, paradox, antithesis, and personification. Further, proverbs are usually found structured as imperatives, rhetorical questions as well as declarative sentences (Coinnigh 2015). Parataxis and juxtaposition are also commonly observed syntactic features in proverbs. They are often full of syntactic or semantic ambiguity since the meaning of a proverb is essentially dependent on the social situation and context in which it is used. The contextual function also varies from recommendation to admonition to direction.

Proverbs referred to as *akhaan*⁴ in Punci refer to pithy sayings employed by the common folks in their day-to-day conversations to induce humor or to establish a point. The term includes both idioms as well as proverbs and does not differentiate between the two. *Akhaan* are indicative of the traditional Punci culture and wisdom and serve as conversational lubricants. They are teeming with archaic words that are not observed often in the lexicon of the young generation of the Punci speakers. Punci proverbs are rich in rhyme and other stylistic markers. They occur in all forms: simple, compound as well as complex sentences, and exhibit subject-verb agreement. Some exceptions are also observed.⁵

³ Consider /tək^he ni ɡɔtt^hɾi, pɛsa bai ɔtt^hɾi/ 'a sack with the capacity to hold a penny gets ripped when you put a pound in it' illustrates the use of stylistic devices such as rhyme, assonance, hyperbole and so on.

⁴ The term *akhaan* /akha:n/ stems from the verb /a:kh/ which in Punci means 'to say'.

⁵ Refer to §6.1, proverb (4), where the verb agrees with the object instead of the subject.

1.2 *Punchi*

Punchi is an Indo-Aryan language spoken chiefly in the Poonch district of the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir in the Republic of India (Figure 1). Grierson classifies Punchi as the North-Eastern dialect of Western Punjabi which he refers to as 'Lahnda'. A rough sketch of the language has been drawn by Devy & Koul (2014) but Punchi remains undocumented to date. In their edited book, Devy & Koul (2014) categorize Punchi as a non-scheduled as well as a minor language along with other languages of Jammu and Kashmir. This linguistic survey marked Punchi as an independent language spoken not only in the remote district of Punch but also in other districts of the Union Territory such as Jammu, Udhampur, Kathua, and Rajouri. The Punchi language (codified as #03362)⁶ falls under the Northwestern Zone of the Indo-Aryan languages. But the Constitution of India does not make any mention of the Punchi language in the list of scheduled languages or the non-scheduled languages. Other Lahndi languages such as Hindko (hnd, ISO 639-3) and Pahari-Potwari (phr, ISO 639-3), have been documented but they do not have any representation in a substantial database. The Ethnologue labels Punchi (Poonchi), Mirpuri, Gujar Khan, and Pothwari as dialects of Pahari-Potwari⁷ but fails to establish the accurate status of Punchi.⁸

⁶ Punchi is codified by the Speech Variety Network (SVN).

⁷ An Indo-Aryan language spoken mainly in Pakistan but with alternate names in India such as Pahari.

⁸ The researcher is currently working on the thesis titled 'A Linguistic Grammar of the Punchi Language'.

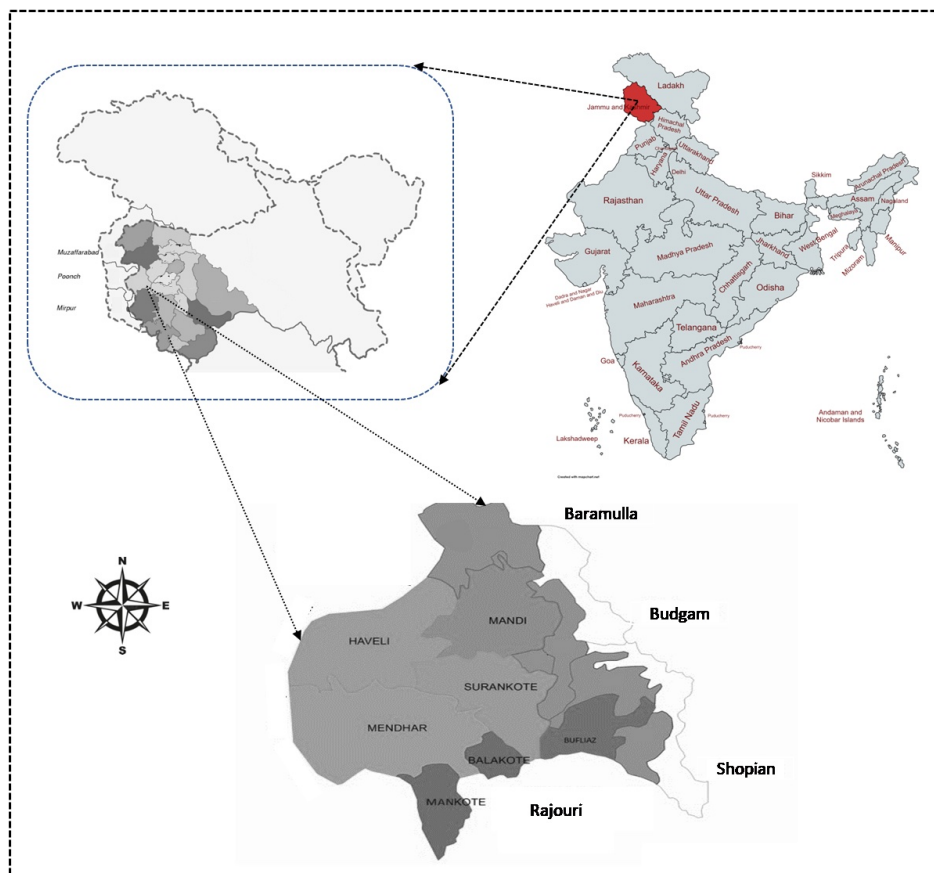


Figure 1. Poonch region

The above map shows the various tehsils of Poonch district wherein the language is widely spoken. Poonchi speakers are widespread in Haveli, Mandi, Surankote and Mendhar tehsils. Poonch is a linguistically diverse region and is multilingual in nature. The languages spoken in this region are Poonchi, Gojri, Hindi, Kashmiri, Dogri, and Punjabi. Except for Poonchi, the rest of the languages have been documented linguistically and are also recognized in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

2. Research objectives

The present study aims to achieve the following objectives:

- (1) To establish universal structural patterns by analyzing Poonchi proverbs through structural formulae.

(2) To explore the syntactic features and stylistic devices employed in Punchi proverbs and the contextual functions they serve.

To investigate how Punchi proverbs bear profound cultural connotations reflective of the lifestyle of the Punchi people.

3. Hypothesis

The structural representation of Punchi proverbs when expressed in formulae can be used as a universal paradigm across the globe linguistically.

4. Research questions

The study addresses the following research questions:

(1) How can Punchi proverbs be categorized based on structural patterns?

(2) How do the cultural connotations carried by Punchi proverbs resonate with ancient wisdom found in proverbs of other languages?

(3) What role do stylistic devices and syntactic features play in the functioning of proverbs?

5. Methodology

The study employs the empirical method associated with field linguistics in the present research. The data has been gathered from Punchi speakers.⁹ Of the one hundred proverbs elicited, the researcher has chosen twenty-eight proverbs for the study at hand. Typically, a Punchi proverb carries two meanings (Dwivedi 2015): the

⁹ Some of the proverbs in the study have been taken from an unpublished book after verifying them from Punchi speakers.

immediate meaning referring to another person or object, and a cultural meaning that is unique to the traditions and values of the Punchi people. The literal translation of the culturally bound words occasionally does not reflect the accurate meaning of the word in the target language and the meaning of these cultural words from the source text often gets lost or distorted during translation. The translation work thus requires a thorough investigation of these cultural words. The proverbs function as signs since the relationship between the signifier and signified is consciously or unconsciously interpreted by the Punchi community (Figure 2).

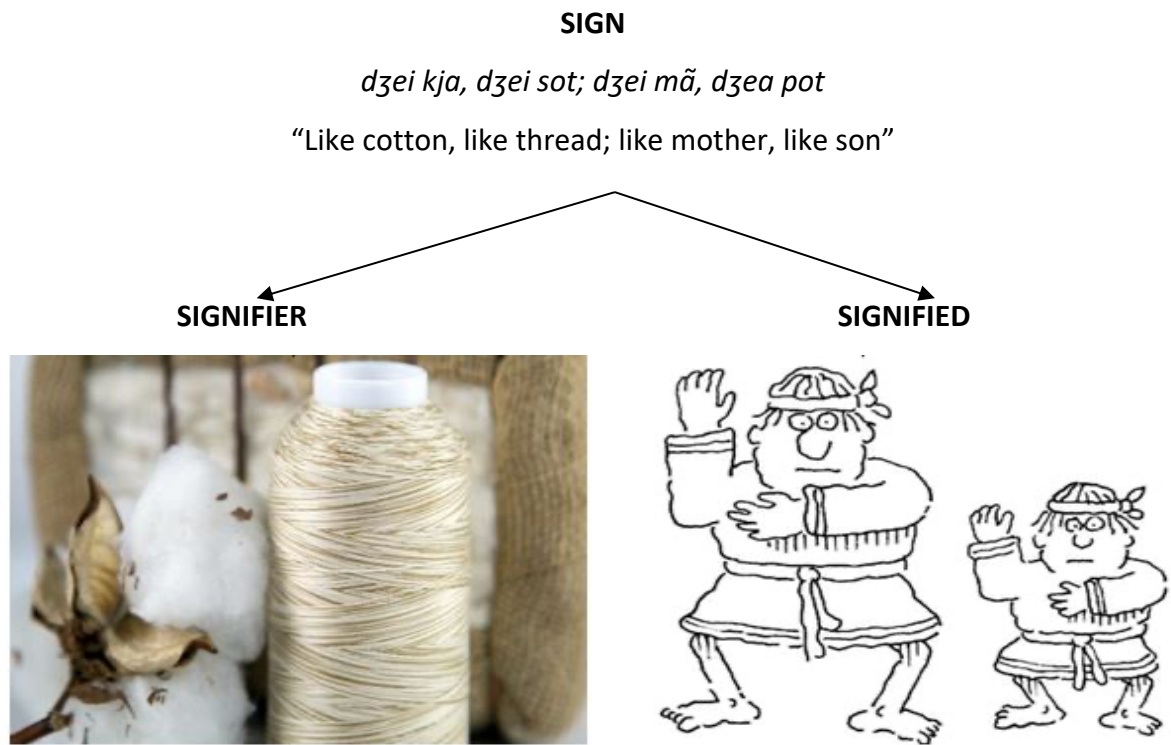


Figure 2. Proverbs as signs

In the present paper, data is presented with the help of three-term labeling which includes the proverb written in IPA along with their word-for-word translation, followed by its literal meaning and culturally bound meaning. The study also aims to present the cultural equivalents of Punchi proverbs using communicative and idiomatic translation methods (Newmark 1987). The contextual meaning of the Punchi proverbs that are representative of Punchi lifestyle and beliefs have been extracted and

translated in English, keeping in mind the nuances and colloquialisms prevalent in the proverbs of languages across cultures (Figure 3).

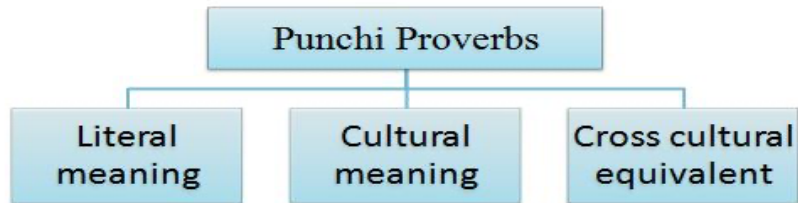


Figure 3. Punchi Proverb Translation

6. Data and interpretation

Punchi proverbs are sentences embodying universal truths and deductions regarding life. They serve a number of interpersonal functions in the everyday conversations of Punchi speakers and exhibit the operation of language as a means of social interaction (Halliday 2010). On a structural level, Punchi proverbs are classified according to their sentence type and the functions they serve. Table 1 highlights proverbs with different sentence types such as declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatory. These may be employed as conversation starters, or to present a convincing argument, to mock someone or to pass judgment, or merely to enhance the ornamental value of a discussion. These communicative devices are easy to include in conversations since they are impersonal and may be attributed to a third person. Punchi proverbs are often polysemic and bear manifold meanings according to the social context in which they are deployed.

S. No.	Sentence Type	Function	Proverb example
1.	Imperative	Directive	<i>dʒʊlnije bələji məre dəji a</i> “Departing problem, come near me!”
2.	Indicative	Statement	<i>dʒəẽ kəne kən bhi rəgərn one</i> “The mite also gets grinded with the wheat.”
3.	Interrogative	Question	<i>dʒɪttthe kəkəkəɾ ni utthe lo ni?</i> “Where there is no rooster, is there no morning?”
4.	Exclamatory	Express strong emotions	<i>mẽ kja banas te məra tʃɪnkara kja banas</i> “What am I saying! What is my son saying!”

Table 1. Sentence type and functions of Punci proverbs

Structurally, a proverb is considered as a short saying, but a Punci proverb may be as short as four words or as long as sixteen words. Proverbs that consist of a single descriptive element are usually non-oppositional in nature. The proverbs that consist of two or more descriptive elements can be oppositional or non-oppositional (Dundes 1975). These proverbs are traced to certain common structural paradigms that are observed in the proverbs of innumerable languages along with other characteristics such as brevity, conciseness, repetition, and various stylistic features. These structural paradigms are discussed below.

6.1 *If X then Y*

The form ‘if X then Y’ occurs frequently in Punci proverbs. These proverbs illustrate the causal relationship between the constituents since the realization of the first phrase consequently leads to the occurrence of the phenomena in the second phrase, that is, if there is X, then there is Y (Coynigh 2015: 129). Consider the following:

- (1) əgge dʒʊlǎ tʃəkk, pɪtʃtʃ^he dʒʊlǎ te lætt
 ahead walk.V bite behind walk.V then leg

Literal meaning: If I go ahead, I’ll be bitten; if I go back, I’ll be kicked.

Cultural Meaning: To be completely hopeless.

English equivalent: Between rock and a hard place/between the devil and the deep blue sea.

Punchi society was chiefly an agrarian society, abundant with wildlife especially oxen and horses. The Punchi proverbs often highlight the presence of animals in their day-to-day lives, hence the usage of the words /tʃækk/ 'bite' (of a dog) and /lætt/ 'leg' (kick of a horse). The verbs employed as nouns in the proverb are comprised of repetitive geminates to stress upon the undesirability of the situation. A semantic contrast is presented through the juxtaposition of the place adverbials /ægge/ 'ahead' and /pɪtʃʰe/ 'back' which intensifies the feeling of being trapped in an unpleasant direction/spot. Further, the lexical repetition of the verb /dʒʊlǎ/ reinforces the synonymous parallelism of the proverb, thereby making it more compelling and enhances the attention on the semantic contrast presented by the following nouns.

The above proverb is employed to show extreme helplessness or an undesirable dilemma. When a person is stuck in a situation in which they have two equally dreadful alternatives in front of them, this proverb is put to use. The proverb exemplifies the folk humor of the Punchi society. While, the inspiration for the English proverb 'between rock and a hard place' can be traced back to the Greek mythological epic by Homer wherein Odysseus has to choose between crossing through Charybdis, a perilous whirlpool, or Scylla, a frightful monster. This predicament is precisely expressed through the proverb 'between rock and a hard place'.

(2) begana gena laja, rup kʰəɾaja
 someone else's.M jewel.N.SG wear.V.PERF.M.SG look spoil.PERF.M.SG

Literal meaning: To wear someone else's jewelry thereby spoiling your own look.

Cultural meaning: Borrowed things never benefit anyone.

English Equivalent: He that goes a-borrowing, goes a-sorrowing.

The proverb urges one to understand the value of money and claims that the act of borrowing always has a sorrowful ending. The present perfective tense is marked on the verbs /laja/ 'bring' and /kʰəɾaja/ 'spoil' and highlights the temporal location of the action taking place. These verbs show assonance and add rhyme, while the words

/begana/ ‘someone else’s’ and /gɛna/ ‘jewel’ are in partial reduplication and lend a poetic effect to the proverb. Further, the subject or the reflexive pronoun /əpna/ ‘own’ is ellipped and has an implicit understanding. The given proverb serves as a life lesson to Punchi folks. It warns them to refrain from borrowing jewelry or any other belonging from others since it brings them no good. Borrowed stuff only brings suffering, thus borrowing is a doomed cause. The English translation of the given proverb bears a didactic intent and is indicative of social wisdom.

(3) bəgne dərja kol gətʃtʃ^he te dərja səkki gətʃtʃ^he
 flowing river.M.SG near go.PERF then river.M.SG dry.F go.PERF

Literal meaning: If he/she goes near a flowing river, the river goes dry.

Cultural meaning: Wretched people take their wretched luck everywhere with them.

Chinese equivalent: You have slept in the wrong cradle, and issued from the wrong womb.

The Punchi proverb is in the form of a complex sentence that joins the adverbial sub clause to the main clause using the coordinator /te/ ‘then’, while the subject is ellipped and is implicitly understood. It is hyperbolic since it exaggerates the effect that an unfortunate person has on a river. Further, the syntactic structure is partially replicated to present a semantic contrast between a flowing and a dry river through the juxtaposition of the verbs /bəgne/ ‘flowing’ and /səkki/ ‘gone dry’. The repetition of the noun /dərja/ ‘river’ emphasizes the change that happens in the state of the river the moment an ill omen approaches it, while the repetition of the verb /gətʃtʃ^he/ ‘go’ produces parallelism in the proverb. The aforementioned proverb is a superstitious saying that describes the persisting ill-luck of a person and how it may affect everything and everyone around it. According to the proverb, if such a person approaches a flowing river, their bad luck causes the river to go dry. The Chinese equivalent also describes a person who is unluckily born (Scarborough 1875).

(4) ɔkʰlɪja vɪtʃ sɪr dɪtta te mole kolā kja dərna
 mortar.N.F PREP head give.M CONJ pestle.M.OBL PREP what scare.INF.M

Literal meaning: If you give your head in the mortar, then what is there to be scared of the pestle?

Cultural meaning: Once you decide to do a difficult task, you shouldn't be afraid of the consequences.

English equivalent: The Die is cast.

Mortar and pestle are traditional devices made of wood or stone, employed by the Punchi society to crush and grind spices, medicines, and other substances. The mortar is a bowl in which the substance to be crushed is stored while the pestle is a long blunt stone to pound the material. The proverb illustrates the use of devices such as alliteration and assonance thereby exhibiting a poetic structure. The locative case marker /tʃ/ 'inside' points out the direction in which the action takes place, that is inside the /ɔkʰli/ 'mortar'. The preposition /kolã/ 'from', the wh question word /kja/ and the verb /dərna/ 'to be scared', all end with the vowel sound /a/ and thus show assonance, while /kolã/ and /kja/ show alliteration. The proverb serves an exclamatory function but employs the question word /kja/ 'what' rhetorically as the answer is self-evident, for emphasis and assertion. Instead of the usual subject-verb agreement, the Punchi proverb exhibits object-verb agreement since the subject /ɔkʰli/ 'mortar' is overtly marked. The verb /ditta/ 'give' agrees with the object /sɪr/ 'head' rather than the subject.

The given proverb refers to the analogy of pestle and mortar and equates the human struggle with the pounding of spices in the mortar by the pestle. This pounding is similar to the obstacles people face in their lives that perpetually try to crush them but the Punchi proverb provides an optimistic approach to its speakers and encourages them to face the challenges of life with courage. When interpreted in a broader context, the English equivalent of the proverb alludes to the inescapable course of events once a decision has been made to the point of no return. The proverb 'the die is cast' is the variation of a Latin phrase attributed to Julius Caesar when he crosses the Rubicon in Italy, against Pompey.

6.2 *Either X or Y/Neither X nor Y*

A number of Punchi proverbs are structured on the formula either X or Y and neither X nor Y. These proverbs are mainly comparison-specific constructions exhibiting parallelism. Such parallel forms show similarity in their grammatical as well as lexical structures. The proverbs given below demonstrate the ‘neither X nor Y’ formula.

- (5) əpna ni reja kək^h, kise na ni tʃ^hoɾna tela
 own NEG left.PROG.M nothing someone.OBL POSS NEG leave.INF penny

Literal meaning: I have lost everything, but I will make sure that you also stay penniless.

Cultural meaning: A ruined person wants to ruin others too.

English equivalent: Misery loves company.

The given proverb depicts the word order of subject-verb-object instead of the usual S-O-V word order. It exemplifies the syntactic feature called parataxis as it consists of two proverbial phrases, linked using punctuation instead of coordinating conjunctions (Coinnigh 2015). The construction is syntactically similar on both sides as both phrases are composed of items belonging to the same lexical categories. The genitive form of the reflexive pronoun /əpna/ ‘own’ functions as a possessive modifier (Kachru 2006: 64) and agrees with the verb /reja/, while the oblique form of the indefinite pronoun /kise/ ‘someone’ agrees with the corresponding verb /tʃ^hoɾna/ ‘leave’ to show a uniform subject-verb agreement in the proverb. The Punchi proverb is used in a scenario where a person who has lost everything and is full of resentment, is unable to stomach the obvious success of another and wishes their misfortune. The nearest equivalent is mentioned by Lyly (1578) that alludes to the fact that a miserable person often obtains satisfaction when others are also a part of his/her misery.

- (6) dʒɪs dek^hi ni rədʒja ʊs k^hai kja rədʒ ləja
 that watch NEG satisfy that eat.V what satisfy got.PERF

Literal meaning: The food that does not satisfy your eyes won’t satisfy your stomach either.

Cultural meaning: If your eyes are hungry, your stomach can never be satisfied.

German equivalent: The stomach is easier filled than the eye.

The above proverb represents the structure ‘neither X, nor Y’ and poses a rhetorical question with the usage of the wh-word /kja/ ‘what’. The repetition of the verb /rədʒ/ ‘satisfy’ in the Punchi proverb reinforces the claim made about food. The Punchi saying is syntactically ambiguous and carries two unlike interpretations. When considering its literal meaning, the proverb implies that the outward appearance of food matters tremendously, and if that appearance does not appeal to one’s eyes, then that food would not fulfill their stomach either. However, the figurative interpretation claims that one’s eyes are greedier than their stomach. Therefore, the stomach will feel content only if the eyes are content. The latter interpretation also resonates with the German version of the proverb which asserts that one may have eaten enough but it is of no use until and unless their eyes are satisfied.

(7) dʒɪtt^he kɔkkəɾ ni ɔtt^he lo ni?
 where rooster.M.SG NEG there morning.F NEG

Literal meaning: Where there is no rooster, there is no morning?

Cultural meaning: The world doesn’t stop for anyone.

English equivalent: Time and tide wait for none.

The proverbial interrogative metaphorically encapsulates a cultural truth and its non-interrogative form is also commonly used by the native speakers of Punchi. The subordinating conjunctions /dʒɪtt^he/ ‘where’ and /ɔtt^he/ ‘there’ are in partial reduplication and depict the retroflex sound /t^h/ which is frequently used in the Punchi language, while the repetition of the negative particle /ni/ ‘no’ lends rhetoric as well as rhythmic effect to the proverb. Further, the negative elements employed in the truth statement enhance the humor and satire of the proverbial phrase.

The archaic proverb belongs to the times when alarm clocks were not in use and a rooster’s crow marked the beginning of the day. The maxim is in the form of a sarcastic interrogative (Haas 2013) and establishes the fact that the world/time does

not stop for anyone. It is only fools who rely wholly on a rooster's crow and end up procrastinating their duties. The English equivalent stresses on the value of time and the saying comes from a story about a king who is constantly flattered by one of his courtiers. The courtier tries to please him by saying that at the king's order the entire world would stop. To check the truth behind this statement, the king visits the seashore and orders the waves to stop. When the waves do not cease, the king proclaims 'time and tide wait for none'.

- (8) dʒeɾe kɑɾɪjǎ kʰɑji ni rədʒdʒe ʊnne sɔbbe kǎnne kja oʃi?
 who.PL.M grass.PL eat NEG satisfy that.PL straw.SG with what happen
 Literal meaning: Those who are not satisfied by bundles of grass, what will a straw even do to them?
 Cultural meaning: Greedy people are always hungry for more.
 English equivalent: The more you have, the more you want.

In the Punci saying, the relative and correlative pronouns /dʒeɾe/ 'who' and /ʊnne/ 'that' are used for herbivores animals even though the proverb itself does not mention it explicitly, which highlights its anthropomorphic nature since the same analogy is applied to humans. The words /rədʒdʒe/ 'satisfy', /ʊnne/ 'that', /sɔbbě/ 'with', /kǎnne/ 'with' highlight the phonemic devices, gemination and rhyme, which helps in making the proverb memorable. Further, the Punci proverb employs the interrogative marker /kja/ 'what' which raises a rhetorical question and lends it a sarcastic tone.

The proverb expresses the excessive greed in living beings and their perpetual state of dissatisfaction. The literal translation although refers to animals who eat grass for their survival but it is also used to describe human beings. /kɑɾɪjǎ/ refers to a bundle of straw grass and /sɔbbě/ is usually a single straw that ties the grass bundle together. If an entire bundle does not satisfy one's hunger, then it is foolish to expect merely a straw to do the same. In the same context, the English equivalent alludes to the vices of gluttony and greed,¹⁰ whether it is the desire to acquire materialistic commodities or over-indulgence in food and drinks.

¹⁰ Two of the seven deadly sins in the Christian spiritual tradition.

6.3 X negative, Y positive/X positive, Y negative

The structural formula 'X negative, Y positive/X positive, Y negative' constitutes an affirmative construction compounded with a negative construction using coordinators or punctuations. The sentential negation is expressed by employing either a negative marker or by attributing a negative connotation to the construction to create a contrastive effect. Consider the following proverbs:

- (9) ap dzogi dzag ni, te pədž pir sat^h ni
 self.PRON DAT space NEG CONJ five friends with PRES.PL

Literal meaning: Not enough space for self, but five friends are invited.

Cultural meaning: To talk of things beyond one's ability.

English equivalent: Cut your coat according to your cloth.

The above proverb with the structure of 'X negative, Y positive' contains repeated use of alliteration and consonance as well as reduplication. The dative marker /dzogi/ 'for' and the noun /dzag/ 'space' depict alliteration by the recurring /dʒ/ sound, while the repetition of the sound /g/ in both the words exemplify consonance. Alliteration is also seen in the phrase /pədž pir/ 'five friends' making it sound more resonant and euphonious. Further, the reduplication of the word /ni/ at the end of both the phrases adds rhyme to the proverb even as /ni/ is employed differently in both the phrases. In the first phrase, /ni/ is written as a negative particle to exhibit the lack of space, but in the second phrase /ni/ serves the purpose of an auxiliary indicative of the present tense since proverbs have the quality of being timeless.

The construction is a sarcastic remark on the man's tendency to show off. If one barely has space and resources for oneself, it is foolish to try and accommodate five others. One's promises must match one's ability. The English equivalent as Heywood writes in *Dialogue of Proverbs*, "I shall cut my coat after my cloth" instructs one to be

mindful of one's income and advises that one's actions must be based on the circumstance that one is in or the resources one possesses (Speake & Simpson 2008).

(10) unṭ^he kənnə jərɪjǎ te dər nivě
 camel.OBL.PL with friendship.V.PLCONJ door.M.PL low.PL

Literal meaning: Friendship with camels but the doors of the house are low.

Cultural meaning: One should keep relations with people of equal stature.

English equivalent: Cut your coat according to your cloth.

The Punchi proverb is in the form of a compound sentence, linked by the conjunction /te/ 'but' to mark a semantic contrast between /unṭ^he/ 'camels' which depicts the quality of being tall and the adjective /nivě/ 'low', to indicate the difference between a person's abilities and his ambitions. The Punchi conjunction /te/ can be employed to provide additional information or to express an opposite idea or both. It is also used as an emphatic particle. Further /nivě/ 'low' is a variable adjective that undergoes inflection according to the gender and number of the noun. The repetition of the sound /e/ throughout the proverb contributes to the vowel rhyme while the repetition of the /n/ sound creates consonance. The proverb is a sarcastic remark on people who keep forget their abilities and keep unhealthy ambitions. Camels are extremely tall and they are unable to fit inside the houses of humans since the doors of the houses are small, thus, it is advised that people should only keep friendship and relations with people of status equivalent to theirs. The English version of the proverb also advocates that the actions of a person must be in accordance with the circumstances or with the resources available.

(11) bəllɪje nɑ hər ko issije nɑ koi nɑ
 burning fire.N POSS every someone extinguished fire.N POSS someone NEG

Literal meaning: Everyone wants to be near a burning fire, no one looks at a gouged fire.

Cultural meaning: Everyone wants to be near people who are of use to them; nobody wants to be with someone who is of no use to them.

Italian equivalent: When the feast is over, the saint is forgotten.

repetition of the preposition /pitʃ^he/ ‘behind’ lays emphasis on the significance of the intention instead of the action, and accentuates the fact that it was the intention that made the speaker cry or feel hurt. The first person pronoun is ellipated and the present tense auxiliary provides the information about the subject while the verb holds information about gender and number.

The PUNCHI proverb brings out the notion that intentions matter more than actions. It refers to a woman who is not weeping over the object, which is /əlla/ ‘bottle gourd’ in this case, but over the altercation or the incident that followed, reflecting the behavior or the intentions of the other person. The proverb is used by PUNCHI speakers in a scenario where they are hurt by a person’s intentions more than their actions. The closest equivalent is a Spanish proverb that highlights how one’s intentions and actions can affect a person differently in different circumstances depending on the outcome.

6.4 Like X, Like Y

Proverbs with the structure ‘like X, like Y’ draw a comparison between the elements X and Y to highlight the similarity in these constituents. These constructions do not conform to the basic word order of the language since the verb is ellipated in these constructions, thereby establishing the pithy nature of proverbs. The formula ‘like X, like Y’ is also related to the reading ‘Y is like X’ to derive the interpretations for such proverbs (Norrick 2008).

- (13) uijje sot̪ti te uijje pərot̪ti
 same stick.F.SG CONJ same bundle.F

Literal meaning: Same stick and same bundle.

Cultural meaning: To have similar mannerisms.

Hindi equivalent: Thief-thief cousin brothers.

The partial reduplication in the words /sot̪ti/ ‘stick’ and /pərot̪ti/ ‘bundle’ lend an end rhyme to the proverb while the repetition of /uijje/ ‘same’ is representative and contributes to the likeness of the stick to the bundle. The conjunction /te/ ‘and’ links

(15) dzei kja, dzei sot; dzei mã, dzea pot
 like.F cotton like.F thread like.F mother.F.SG like.M son.M.SG

Literal meaning: Like cotton, like thread; like mother, like son.

Cultural meaning: Children are a reflection of their parents.

English equivalent: Like mother, like daughter.

The Punchi adage exhibits asyndetic coordination since the phrases are conjoined without making use of conjunctions, in such a way that they represent the analogical relationship between the constituents of the proverb (Coinnigh 2015: 122). The echo in the rhyme of the proverb contributes to the effectiveness of the parallel structures in accentuating the similarity between the given constituents (Russo 1983: 124). The proverbial phrases contain items belonging to the same lexical categories that impart uniformity to the structure and the repetition of the relative and correlative pronouns /dzei/ 'like' and /dzea/ 'like' also reinforce the likeness of the relationship among the constituents. Further, the proverb is classified as literal and not figurative since its base meaning coincides with its literal reading (Norrick 1985), which is 'cotton and thread are alike, mothers and sons are alike'.

The above quadripartite¹³ Punchi proverb expresses the belief that children are a reflection of their parents. The proverb employs simile in both the propositions to draw the similarity between cotton and thread, and between mother and son. Since the thread is made of cotton, its quality depends on the quality of the cotton used. Similarly, according to the proverb, the characteristic traits or the appearance of the son mirror the traits or the appearance of his mother. The English proverb also carries the same interpretation as the Punchi proverb. It is traced back to the Book of Ezekiel where it is originally written as "Everyone who quotes proverbs will quote this proverb about you: 'Like mother, like daughter'". Both the proverbs maintain the 'like X, like Y' structure.

¹³ Punchi proverbs are structurally classified as bipartite, tripartite and quadripartite.

- (17) əndər nəi fəkki, əmma gəji ni tʃəkki
 inside NEG nothing mother go.PERF.F is.SG mill.F.SG

Literal meaning: Not even a handful of grain inside and mother has gone to the mill to get a lot of grains crushed.

Cultural meaning: To show off even when you have nothing.

Hindi equivalent: Bare larder but big invites.

The Punchi proverb is a satirical comment on people who tend to brag about their riches even though they possess nothing. The use of the conjunction ‘but’ emphasizes the contrast between pretense and reality. The Punchi proverb contains asyndetic coordination to highlight a similar contrast. It also depicts end rhyme as the nouns /fəkki/ ‘nothing’ and /tʃəkki/ ‘mill’ are in partial reduplication. Further, the repetition of the vowel sound /ə/ throughout the proverb lends a euphonious effect to it. It refers to an old woman, often referred to as /əmma/ in Punchi, who has gone to a mill to get wheat grains crushed when the truth is that there is not even a grain at home. But the woman pretends to go to the mill so that people think that she is extremely wealthy and prosperous. The saying through its satirical tone reminds the Punchi speakers to stay mindful of their abilities and resources or they might be subjected to mockery like the old woman in the above proverb. The Hindi equivalent also encompasses humor and presents an ironic picture where a person’s larder is empty but they have invited many guests over.

- (18) dʒə̃dʒa tʃəri ni dɪkʰja kə̃ne te gə̃ja sə
 horse.N climb.F.SG NEG see.PSTwith EMPH go.M AUX.PST.SG

Literal meaning: I did not climb the horse but I have gone with the procession.

Cultural meaning: A person may not have the actual experience of something, but they might know exactly what is being referred to.

Chinese equivalent: Although you may never have tasted bacon, you have seen pigs pass and should not be mistaken.

The proverb illustrates metonymy by using /dʒə̃dʒa/ which means horse in the above proverb but is actually a cultural term that refers to a wedding procession. The

horse is merely a part of the procession along with the groom, the relatives, the band, and alike. Like in a number of other proverbs, the subject is ellipted here as well and the verb auxiliary provide us the information about the gender and number of the speaker. In the absence of the conjunction 'but', the emphatic particle /te/ 'so' emphasizes the implicit contrast created between the activity that did not take place (climbing the horse) and the thing that actually happened (going to the procession).

The proverb is used to highlight a situation wherein a person has not experienced something in its true nature but has some idea about what it is like. The proverb is syntactically ambiguous since it can be interpreted in two different ways. It can be employed as a sarcastic comment for a person who pretends to know about something simply because they have seen it but, in reality, has no substantial knowledge about it. The other interpretation this proverb carries and is more frequently used is that people should not be underestimated, for even if someone does not have any real experience of something or does not hold any formal education about a certain topic, yet they might know exactly what needs to be done in that situation. The Chinese equivalent expresses the latter interpretation of the Punchi proverb, but may also be used as a rebuke by a superior to mock an inferior (Scarborough 1875).

(19) dzinja na ləbbe grah, mərenja tʃəɾja kəɾa
in life NEG get.V morsel.N in death cook.V.PST pudding.M

Literal meaning: When one was alive, nobody offered a morsel of food; now that one is dead, pudding is being made in their remembrance.

Cultural meaning: People are valued more after their death.

Yiddish equivalent: It's astonishing how important a man becomes when he dies.

In the given proverb, the opposing propositions of life and death exhibit the use of antithesis, supplemented by the parallel structure of the proverb to further enhance the opposition. Additionally, the image of /grah/ 'morsel' is contrasted with that of /kəɾa/ 'pudding' to highlight the difference between the treatment given to a person

before death and after death. The nouns /dʒɪnjə/ 'in life' and /mərənjə/ 'in death' are inflected in the same manner to lend a rhythmic effect to the proverb along with the end rhyme provided by the nouns /grəh/ 'morsel' and /kəʒə/ 'pudding'.

The proverb presents an ironic situation wherein a person who was not even offered a morsel of food during their lifetime, has a feast thrown in his/her honor after his/her death. To commemorate this dead person, delicious food and pudding are cooked by their family and served to everyone to create an illusion of grief and sadness at their death. The Yiddish equivalent also offers a similar comment on how significant one becomes for the people around upon his/her death.

(20) bəlle nɑ bəlla nɑ ove məttʰɑ tɑrɑ dʒərur osi
 ox.OBL POSS calf NEG happen forehead mark definitely happen.IMPF

Literal meaning: The calf might not look like the ox but there's definitely a mark on his head.

Cultural meaning: An offspring always shows his breeding in one or the other way.

English equivalent: The apple never falls far from the tree.

The Punchi proverb shows the repetition of the noun /bəlla/ to represent both the calf and the ox which is given in the oblique form, to emphasize upon the similarity between the two. The adverb /dʒərur/ 'definitely' along with /osi/, the imperfective form of the verb 'happen', stress upon the certainty of the resemblance and represents the action Y which occurs even as X does not. /nɑ/ in the above proverb works both as a genitive case marker as well as a negative marker.

The proverb allows the interpretation that an offspring always resembles the traits of its parents. The breeding becomes apparent in one way or the other even if there's no similarity in their physical appearances. Similarly, the calf also imitates the characteristics of an ox even if it looks nothing like him. The proverb is anthropomorphically structured to present the comparison between an ox and its calf, the interpretation of which can be conveniently applied to human beings and their offspring. The English equivalent uses the apple/tree metaphor to reflect a similar meaning, that is, no matter how huge a tree is, its fruit always falls close to its roots.

6.6 Both X and Y

The structural formula ‘both X and Y’ also represented as ‘X happens and Y also happens’ highlights the duality of a situation/person. This duality can have positive as well as negative connotations as seen in the following proverbs.

(21) dʒə̃dʒja b^{hi} te ɖolija b^{hi}
 wedding procession EMPH CONJ farewell procession EMPH

Literal meaning: In the wedding procession too, in the farewell procession too.

Cultural meaning: A two faced person does not belong anywhere.

Danish equivalent: Keep not two tongues in one mouth.

The above proverb comprises of two phrases joined using the conjunction /te/ ‘and’ to depict the two sides of a double-faced man. Both the proverbial phrases consist of different nouns /dʒə̃dʒja/ ‘wedding procession’ and /ɖolija/ ‘farewell procession’ with similar inflected forms to make the proverb rhythmic and memorable. It also makes use of emphatic particle /b^{hi}/ ‘also’ repetitively to highlight the duplicity of the person.

The given proverb comments upon the two-faced nature of a human being. The wedding procession typically constitutes of people who are accompanying the groom, while the people from the bride’s side are part of the farewell procession. A person who represents both the sides is usually considered as two faced for such a person is not trustworthy. The Danish equivalent cautions against having two tongues in one mouth or being double faced. It is only a hypocrite whose words contradicts their actions and hence can never be relied upon.

(22) tʃor b^{hi} te tʃɔtra b^{hi}
 thief.N EMPH CONJ clever.N EMPH

Literal meaning: Thief also and clever also.

Cultural meaning: To be brazenly guilty.

Hindi equivalent: One you are at fault, on top of that you are proud of it?

The PUNCHI proverb uses the emphatic particle /b^{hi}/ ‘also’ twice to stress upon the contradictory conduct of the person with the help of the conjunction /te/ ‘and’ that links the two attributes of the same person. There is a repetition of /tʃ/ sound in the saying which depicts consonance. The concise proverb refers to people who have defaulted and yet act like they have done nothing wrong. Even when the person knows he is a thief, or has done some wrong, he still tries to act like he is a saint and refuses to admit his guilt. The Hindi equivalent offers the same explanation as the PUNCHI proverb and is employed frequently in everyday conversations.

(23) itte bəkrijā di tʃər itte sɪjā nə kər
 here goat.OBL.PL GEN graze.N here jackal.PL GEN home.N

Literal meaning: Here sheep graze, here jackals reside.

Cultural meaning: Predator and prey living in a symbiotic relationship.

Cultural equivalent: NA

The proverb presents a contrast between the two animals /bəkri/ ‘goat’ and /sɪjər/ ‘jackal’ who share a predator and prey relationship in the animal hierarchy while /tʃər/ ‘graze’ and /kər/ ‘home’ presents a picture of a peaceful association in a place where the jackals can reside and simultaneously the goats can graze. The location adverbs /itte/ ‘here’ act as nouns in the above proverb and their repetition points to the same place creating an impression of a symbiotic relationship. The given proverb describes a peaceful and symbiotic relationship between goats and jackals. Normally, a jackal is a predator of goats and lambs, and the predator and prey living together is not a common sight. The proverb came into existence across the backdrop of partition of India, in which millions of people lost their life over religious issues. Yet, after the partition, in a number of regions, especially in Poonch, people from all the religions continued to live together in peace and harmony, without any one section of the society or any particular religion acting like a predator and preying on another.

(24) əḡli dəɽje te bǎ b^hi rəɽkja loɽna
 finger.N.SG give CONJ arm.N.SG EMPH cut want.INF

Literal meaning: Give your finger to someone and they start asking for your arm.

Cultural meaning: To take undue advantage of someone's kindness.

English equivalent: Give them an inch and they'll take a mile.

The Punci proverb depicts the structure 'if X, then Y' since it is expressed in the form of a compound sentence through the use of the conjunction /te/ 'and' which further indicates the consequences of the action that happens in the first clause. The repetition and transition of the lexical category from /əḡli/ 'finger' to /bǎ/ 'arm', aided by the emphatic marker /b^hi/ 'also' highlights the extent of a person's greed. Similarly, the English equivalent depicts a parallel structure and synonymous expressions (Norrick 1991) through the use of successive metric units of length, 'inch' to 'mile'. The proverb refers to greedy people who take undue advantage of other's kindness. If you offer them your finger, they try to seize your entire hand, that is, they are not satisfied with what they are given and will keep seeking more. The English equivalent equates the Punci word for finger with 'inch' and arm for 'mile'. Another metaphor justifying the same action is 'camel's nose', used to describe a situation in which "a small, seemingly innocuous act will open the door for larger, clearly undesirable actions" ("Camel's nose" 2021).

6.7 X this, Y that

This structural formula depicts the variation in a proverb structured in such a way that the constituent X refers to one action while constituent Y indicates an entirely different course of action. Despite referring to different events, there is a common link between the two actions and therefore, the following proverbs fall under the structure formula 'X this, Y that'.

(25) mĕ kja banas te maṛa tʃɪnkara kja banas
 I.1P.SG what say.PROG.M.SGCONJ my child what say.PROG.M.SG

Literal meaning: What am I saying and what is my child saying!

Cultural meaning: To talk of completely different things.

Hindi equivalent: As many opinions as the number of people.

The proverb is in the form of a compound sentence joined by the coordination marker /te/ 'and' to bring out the contrast between the statements of the father and the child. The proverb makes use of first person singular pronoun /mĕ/ 'I' for the father and its genitive form /maṛa/ 'my' for the child. The repetition of the words /kja/ 'what' and /banas/ 'say' in both the proverbial phrases reinforces the difference and intensifies the conflict between the man and the child.

The above proverb is literal in nature and is employed to describe the diverse point of view or opinions that people may have regarding the same incident or topic. The proverb is an exclamatory sentence that expresses surprise in the form of a rhetorical question and the speaker exclaims how completely different is his statement from that of his child. This proverb is ambiguous for the difference may be regarding the topic that the father and the child are speaking about. Alternatively, the child may be offering a different opinion from that of his father on the same topic. The closest Hindi equivalent refers to the fact that every person has their own individual opinion and their own perspective about everything.

(26) bəkrɪe dzəne ni, kɪsəie mǎdʒe ni
 goat.OBL.F.SG life.N.SG GEN butcher.OBL.M.SG brain.N.SG GEN

Literal meaning: The goat is worried about its life, the butcher is worried about the goat's brain.

Cultural meaning: Everyone cares about their own selfish motives.

Chinese equivalent: Each for himself doth his hunger satisfy; each for himself is obliged to live and die.

The /-e/ endings of the subject /bəkri/ 'goat' and /kɪsai/ 'butcher' mark the oblique case and the accusative case marker is omitted. The constant /-e/ vowel

Hungarian equivalent of the Punchi proverb gives a straightforward behavioral advice to the common folks.

(28) bɛɾjã labta laijã, gədre kər bəsəe
 calf.OBL.PL field plough.V.PL.PERF kid.OBL.PL house.N settle.PL.PERF

Literal meaning: Calves ploughed the fields, kids built houses.

Cultural meaning: To talk beyond your age and ability.

Hindi equivalent: The work suits in the hands of the one skilled to do it.

The proverb is comprised of paratactic constructions and the coordination of the linked constructions brings out the semantic similarity between them (Coinnigh 2015). The proverb depicts semantic parallelism since both the phrases through different elements express a similar idea. The recurring /a/ sound in the first proverbial phrase and /e/ in the second phrase depicts assonance. The verbs in the proverb /lajã/ 'plough' and /bəsəe/ 'settle' agree with the subjects /bɛɾjã/ 'calves' and /gədre/ 'kids' in number and person and also exhibit subject-object-verb word order.

The proverb throws light on the learning that every person must do the work that they are capable of doing and must not try to do things that are beyond their age or skill. It imparts this message through the example of calves and kids. A calf is incapable of ploughing a field since it is beyond its abilities and only a full grown ox can perform this task. Similarly, a small boy cannot build a house and start a family for it is not possible at his age. The proverb sarcastically points out the futility in expecting calves to plough fields and kids to settle down with a family. The Hindi equivalent rightly states that only the person who is skilled to do a certain task must try his/her hands at it.

7. Conclusion

The study categorized PUNCHI proverbs based on their structural patterns and established proverb type that can be applied to proverbs of languages across culture.

Table 2 depicts the frequency of proverb occurrence according to their structural formulas based on the data collected for the study.

S. No.	Type/Formula	Sample proverb	Frequency
1.	Like X, Like Y	<i>dzei kja, dzei sot; dzei mā, dzea pot</i> "Like cotton, like thread; like mother, like son"	19
2.	X this, Y that	<i>bakrɛ dzane ni, kɪsaie mādʒe ni</i> "The goat is worried about its life; the butcher is worried about his profit."	19
3.	If X then Y	<i>əgge dzulā tʃəkk, pɪtʃtʃe dzulā te lətt</i> "If I go ahead, I'll be bitten; if I go back, I'll be kicked."	17
4.	X positive, Y negative/X negative, Y positive	<i>bəllije na hər koi, issije na koi na</i> "Everyone wants to be near a burning fire, no one looks at a gouged fire."	12
5.	X does not happen but Y does/vice versa	<i>əndər nəi fəkki, əmma gəji ni tʃəkki</i> "Not even a handful of grain inside and mother has gone to the mill to get a lot of grains crushed."	9
6.	X does Y	<i>ənnə kotta bəw ki ponke</i> "Blind dog barks at the wind."	5
7.	Both X and Y	<i>tʃor bʰi te tʃɔtra bʰi</i> "Thief also and brazen also."	5
8.	Either X or Y/Neither X nor Y	<i>əpna ni reja kəkʰ, kɪse na ni tʃʰoɾna tela</i> "I have lost everything but I will make sure that you also stay penniless."	4
9.	X in Y	<i>billijā ne kʰavja vɪtʃ tʃʰɪtʃre</i> "Rats in the dreams of cats."	4
10.	X need Y/X does not need Y	<i>ənnə kja lɔɾe? do əkkʰi</i> "What does a blind man need? Two eyes."	2
11.	Better X than Y	<i>əndərə ni kādʰ əndərə hi tɛh te tʃəŋgi oni</i> "It is better if the inside wall collapses on the inside."	1
12.	Others	-	3
13.	X is X	-	0
14.	One man's X is another man's Y	-	0
15.	X is Y	-	0

Table 2. Frequency table of PUNCHI proverbs

These proverbs revolve around human nature and experience; resentment, anger, hurt and other emotions; societal status and pretensions; vices such as avarice, greed, gluttony and virtues such as temperance and fortitude; and alike. Table 3 highlights the major themes (Lauhakangas 2001) and subthemes that the PUNCHI proverbs may be broadly categorized under.

S. No.	Theme	Sample Proverb	Meaning	Frequency
1.	Practical knowledge of nature	<i>dʒã barse dʒã sãĩ</i> “Whenever it rains, it gets cold”.	Used to describe the weather in the area of Poonch.	2
2.	Faith and basic attitudes	<i>bagne darja kol gætftʰe te darja sʊkki gætftʰe</i> “If he/she goes near a flowing river, the river goes dry”.	Wretched people take their wretched luck everywhere with them.	3
3.	Basic observations and socio-logic	<i>dʒeɾa ittʰe koɾe o mække bʰi koɾe</i> “Those who are useless here are also useless in Mecca”.	The innate nature of a person never changes.	15
4.	The world and human life	<i>dʒɪs dekhi ni rædʒja vs khai kja rædʒ læja</i> “The food that does not satisfy your eyes won’t satisfy your stomach either”.	If you eyes are hungry, your stomach can never be satisfied.	15
5.	Sense of proportion	<i>uijje sottʰi te uijje pærottʰi</i> “Same stick and same bundle”.	To have similar mannerisms.	3
6.	Concepts of morality	<i>ʈai bʊɾɪjã fættu bʰag</i> “You only have two and a half plants and you call yourself the owner of a garden”.	To make big claims without any truth in them.	4
7.	Social life	<i>dʒɪnja na læbbe grah, mærenja ʈæɾja kæɾa</i> “When one was alive, nobody offered a morsel of food; now that one is dead, pudding is being made in their remembrance”.	People are valued more after their death.	11
8.	Social interaction	<i>tʊ kʊn? mɛ kʰamkʰa</i> “Who are you? I am unnecessary”.	To interfere without purpose.	9
9.	Communication	<i>alla pitʰe ni, galla pitʰe roni vs</i> “I’m not crying over the vegetable, but over the incident”.	People’s behavior can be more hurtful than the act itself.	3
10.	Social position	<i>untʰe kanne jarɪjã te dær nivẽ</i> “Friendship with camels but the doors of the house are low”.	One should keep relations with people of equal stature.	9
11.	Agreements and norms	<i>dʒeɾa dʊe ni kʰæn-na vsne æni bʰi kʰænæn ni</i> “The one who digs graves for other people, his own grave also gets dug”.	If you set a trap for others, you might get caught in it yourself.	2

12.	Coping and learning	<i>ɔk^hlɪja vɪf sɪr dɪttə te mole kolā kja d̪ərna</i> “If you give your head in the mortar, then what is there to be scared of the pestle?”.	Once you decide to do a difficult task, you shouldn't be afraid of the consequences.	20
13.	Time and sense of time	<i>dʒɪtt^he kɔkkəɾ ni ɔtt^he lo ni?</i> “Where there is no rooster, there is no morning?”.	Time does not stop for anyone.	4

Table 3. Thematic categorization of proverbs

The study also highlights the similarity in their cultural connotations by providing equivalents from the repertoire of proverbs of languages such as Hindi, English, Chinese, Italian, and so on. According to Sapir and Whorf, language shapes one's perception of the world and also represents the culture of its speakers (Werner 1994). The same holds true for the Punchi speakers and their proverbs which are culture specific, while some of these do not find any close equivalent in other languages as well (see §6.6, [23]). Further, an analysis of the stylistic devices and syntactic features is provided to show how they lend meaning to the proverbs and make them catchier and more memorable.

The Punchi proverbs are rich in stylistic devices such as alliteration, consonance and assonance which chiefly contribute in adding rhyme to the proverb. Other figures of speech that are commonly observed are juxtaposition (see §6.1, [1]) and antithesis (see §6.5, [19]). Repetition and parallelism are common syntactic features observed in proverbs that help to bring out contrast or similarity in the proverbial phrases and reinforce the meaning proposed by the elements in the proverbs.

The coordination marker /te/ is the most commonly occurring conjunction and is also used as an emphatic particle along with /b^hi/ 'also'. Relative clauses form a large part of the Punchi proverb corpora that employ the relative pronouns such as /dʒeɾa/, /dʒəɾe/, /dʒeɾi/, /dʒei/, /dʒɪs/, /dʒɪtt^he/ and /dʒɪd^həɾ/ along with correlative pronouns /ɔe/, /o/, /ɔtt^he/ and /ɔd^həɾ/. Elements in the proverb are often reduplicated, completely or partially to add a new meaning to the original lexical item. Syntactically, the proverbs are in the form of simple, compound or complex sentences. They perform interpersonal functions such as declarative, imperative and interrogative. The proverb

structure is mainly bipartite but tripartite and quadripartite structures (see §6.4, [18]) are also observed occasionally. The word order is flexible (see §6.2, [5]) and the functional words are often omitted. In a number of proverbs, either the subject or the verb is ellipped (see §6.7, [26]) that lends them their conciseness and the subject verb agreement is often missing as well (see §6.5, [11]).

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