

VARIATION IN TELUGU AND ENGLISH PROVERBS ON  
HORSE :  
EVIDENCE FOR AN INTEGRATED LINGUISTIC THEORY OF  
CULTURE

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**Abstract**

Proverbs by themselves and as language are a cultural practice. Therefore, the linguistic anthropological characteristics of proverbs along with those of other cultural phenomena should constitute culture. These characteristics are better highlighted with a comparative and contrastive study of proverbs from two culturally distinct societies. Such a study helps us not only in understanding different cultures as a monocultural study of proverbs does but also in defining the (proverbial) concept of culture itself from an abstraction and interpretation of these characteristics as found in the proverbs of such two culturally distinct societies. Such an interpretation being linguistic will lead us in turn via a proverbial theory to a linguistic theory of culture.

In this paper, proverbs on horse in two languages: English and Telugu are examined to find out how they are formed and what principles operate in their formation. Next, these principles will be shown to constitute the underlying characteristics of the six important linguistic theories of culture enunciated in the study of linguistic anthropology (Duranti 1997: 23-50). Finally, all these characteristics will be combined to formulate a new integrated linguistic theory of culture, called the proverbial theory of culture.

**I. INTRODUCTION**

Proverbs are found in all the languages of the world. Apart from the differences inherent in languages, proverbs in different languages show differences in their content and meaning, i.e., different lexical items are used to express the same as well as different ideas. Does this mean that proverbs are formed by certain arbitrary rules operating in different languages? Or is there a uniform theory that can account for the differences exhibited in the formation of proverbs? The answer to this question is crucial for not only understanding proverbs but also conceptualizing cultural practices since

proverbs are by themselves and as language a cultural practice. As such a knowledge of their production, transmission and reception leads us to a knowledge of the concept of culture itself for culture underlies a cultural practice.

In this paper, I argue that the formation of proverbs across different languages is not arbitrary but a rule governed process that can be explained by a careful examination of the lexis and semantics used in proverbs even though a phonological and syntactic analysis yields rich data regarding the various patterns of sound and structure of words in proverbs (e.g. alliteration, interrogation, etc.) they cannot be of much help in giving linguistic anthropological clues to the concept of culture and formation of proverbs since such analysis is limited to and bound by the inherent differences in the structure and use of languages only. Moreover, it can only be descriptive but not definitive, open-ended but not constrained whereas a lexical and semantic analysis can be successfully carried out with constraints on the selection of data (e.g. a specific subject such as an animal can be chosen and the proverbs obtained on it in two or more languages can be examined) as well as its interpretation. After establishing the rule governed basis for the formation of proverbs, it will be further extended to account for the six linguistic theories of culture which will each find support in this theory confirming proverbs as a cultural phenomenon and stressing the need for a new linguistic theory of culture which integrates all the six theories.

## **A. METHODS AND MATERIALS**

A monolingual study of proverbs gives us an understanding of how proverbs are formed in one particular language. Such a study cannot give conclusive (or definitive) evidence for the formation of proverbs in other languages since the same words and ideas need not be present in that manner in other languages. In a similar way, the study of some proverbs in one language and some in another language without keeping the subject of study (e.g. an animal, a custom such as marriage, etc.) constant will also not confer validity on the research since no rule governed conclusions can be drawn. In addition to this, even if the subject of study is kept constant, the number of proverbs should be extensive in each language failing which the conclusions will not be acceptable for want of adequate analysis - the conclusions based on an analysis of a few proverbs may be contradicted by other proverbs. Finally,

even if the number of proverbs is *extensive*, it cannot be *exhaustive* owing to the logistic limitations in the collection of proverbs. However, such a problem can be overcome from the overall pattern of conclusions that will have been formed from the wide range of possibilities represented by an extensive if not an exhaustive collection. Further, a theoretical postulation of such possibilities will be a yardstick to assess the acceptability of the conclusions. For example, in the formation of proverbs on the same subject in two or more different languages, there are four possibilities in which lexis and semantics can vary :

1. the same lexis is used to express the same idea
2. the same lexis is used to express different ideas
3. different lexical items are used to express the same idea
4. different lexical items are used to express different ideas.

If the data collected represent all these four possibilities, then the data should be considered exhaustively extensive and hence the conclusions based on such data acceptable.

In any comparative and contrastive study of proverbs in two languages, four factors which play an important role in their formation have to be taken into consideration :

1. *The social actor* (the person in a society who uses the proverb in a particular *setting* on a particular *subject* (for a particular action) through a particular medium of language)
2. *The setting* (the immediate and wider environment in which the social actor uses the proverb (Bhuvaneshwar 1997a)
3. *The subject* and the *action* (about which the social actor speaks in the proverb) and
4. *The language* (the medium through which the social actor uses the proverb).

Generally, social actors (people) and setting determine differences in cultures with languages playing a secondary role as can be seen in the case of American and British cultures. If only the subject be kept constant, and the

social actors, the setting and the language kept variable, the scope for variation is *maximal*, while it is *minimal* if language only is kept variable ; and *medium* if the social actor(s) or the environment only is kept constant. The first choice is more natural and productive and hence it is taken as the model for conducting the research.

The subject ‘horse’ is taken for conducting the analysis. It is done so simply because :

1. It is obtained in both the Telugu and English societies.
2. A large number of proverbs - 154 in Telugu (Bhuvaneshwar 1999a) and 230 in English (compiled from F.P. Wilson (1975) are readily available, which makes the analysis easy.

[However, any other subject obtained in both the societies can as well be chosen provided the four lexical and semantic possibilities mentioned earlier are represented in the proverbs.]

3. The more the number of proverbs the better - all the four lexical and semantic possibilities mentioned in Page 3 are obtained in proverbs on horse.
4. The equine proverbs are classified into major, minor and sub-minor categories to pinpoint the area to which a proverb belongs and facilitate an easy comparison or contrast. They are listed in the Appendixes I and II at the end (page 22 - 34).

## B. PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION OF TELUGU WORDS

In this paper, IPA symbols are used to show the actual pronunciation of Telugu proverbs so that the dialectal flavour of the language is preserved.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A number of research articles, books, and dissertations discussed proverbs as examples to illustrate various aspects of a society’s culture, mainly, the customs, traditions, and social practices. There are also a number of comparative studies of proverbs in two or more different languages to establish similarities in proverbs. Nonetheless, these studies have not

examined how proverbs offer a theory of culture, especially, a linguistic theory to explain the concept of culture as symbolic along with the other major linguistic theories.

As far as a theoretical analysis of culture in anthropological studies is concerned two works are important as they give a comprehensive review of various descriptions of culture. Duranti (1997 : 25 - 30) gives a detailed account of six linguistic theories of culture which look at it as :

1. distinct from nature ;
2. knowledge ;
3. communication ;
4. mediation ;
5. a system of practices ; and
6. participation.

These theories 'together form a broad mandate for the study of culture and for the analysis of language as a conceptual and social tool that is both a product and an instrument of culture' (*ibid* 50). He mentions proverbs, in the theory of culture as communication, as a system of signs to represent the world (*ibid.* 33) but no specific analysis of how proverbs do that has been made.

Thompson (1992 : 123 - 162) discusses the concept of culture from an anthropological perspective and divides the theories of culture into : 1. The Descriptive Conception (propounding culture as an array of beliefs and the material artifacts acquired by a society); 2. The Symbolic Conception (interpreting culture as the pattern of meanings embodied in symbolic forms); and 3. The Structural Conception proposed by him (also interpreting culture as the study of symbolic forms but in structured contexts). He groups all other discussions of culture, apart from the anthropological theories, under the term 'Classical Conception' (which considers culture as a process of developing and ennobling the human faculties). In his treatment of the concept of culture, Thompson favors the symbolic conception as enunciated by Geertz (1973) that fits into the linguistic theory of culture as communication.

Mieder, et al (1992: 692 - 710) list a large number of works in the Bibliography which are mainly concerned with collections and studies on proverbs. Mieder (1989) is "the most comprehensive investigation of American proverbs in particular." (Mieder *et al* 1992: 692). Seitel (1976:

125-143); Hasetline (1963: i-xxvii); White (1987 : 150-172) ; Abrahams (1972: 117 - 127); Taylor (1903) ; Mieder (1987 : 119 - 155); Dundes and Arewa (1975: 35 - 49) and several other works deal with various aspects of proverb studies as their titles suggest.

In Telugu, too, a large number of works are devoted to collections and some to critical studies. In a bibliographical review of proverbial studies, Bhuvaneshwar (1998a) lists 150 references among which the following deal with the sociology of proverbs: Narasimha Reddy (1983), Sarala Devi (1986), Ramapathi Rao(1992), Ramanarasaiah (1990), Damoder Rao (1986, 1995), Ramacharyulu (1988), Bhuvaneshwar (1997a, 1997b, 1998a,b, 1999a,b,c,d) and many other articles. Most of them are expositions of numerous proverbs as description of societal customs and traditions while those of Bhuvaneshwar (1997, 1998 and 1999) deal with the sociolinguistic, pragmatic and discourse analyses of proverbs.

### III. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In this section, first, the principles that operate in the formation of proverbs in two different settings of two languages will be analysed. Next, they will be related to a proverbial theory of culture. In order to do so, we should know what constitutes *a setting*.

#### A. GEOGRAPHICAL AND LINGUISTIC DIVISION OF SETTINGS

Nature can be divided in many ways. *Geocentrically*, it can be divided into mountains, flatland, deserts, rivers, oceans, etc. that are included in towns, states, countries and continents. *Anthropocentrically*, it can be divided into land occupied by Negroes, Dravidians, Aryans, etc. *Linguocentrically*, distinctions can be drawn on the basis of what language is used in different parts of the world. As we are concerned with the formation and use of proverbs in different languages, we opt for this linguocentric view involving the concepts of speech communities, language, dialect, and sociolect.

Once we have taken language as the basis for our division we face two situations (Bhuvaneshwar 1997 a):

1. The language spoken by a social actor in a context indicating the *immediate setting* - which consists of the *locale* (geographical environment at that point of space, time and matter) as well as the *milieu* (the social environment consisting of relations, power play, etc. between the social actors in the locale);
2. The language spoken by other social actors either as the same or as different dialects and sociolects in different *milieus* in a wider geographical environment indicating the *wider setting*. Linguocentric division of setting subsumes both geocentric and anthropocentric divisions to some extent.

As English and Telugu are chosen for an analysis of equine proverbs, we circumscribe the settings in which Telugu and English are spoken as the native languages by the majority of the people to constitute the English and Telugu settings. They can be further narrowed down on the basis of dialectal and sociolectal differences which are not necessary for our analysis.

The subject 'horse' also is divided in terms of general features that are common to the different breeds obtained in the English and the Telugu settings. The differences in breeds are noted not as major variations that require a separate treatment but as sub-variations only since for the present study such a delicate division is not necessary.

## B. ANALYSIS OF VARIATION IN TELUGU AND ENGLISH EQUINE PROVERBS

In III. A., we have differentiated the English and Telugu settings on the basis of languages spoken in them. This relationship is symmetrical and, therefore, conversely, we can say that it is these settings that have given rise to these two language speaking communities. In other words, England has produced the English language when Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Friesians commingled together in that setting and Andhra Pradesh (as it existed earlier) the Telugu language with Telugus. This holds good even in the case of other varieties of English and Telugu. For example, the English people who migrated to the U.S.A. produced the 'American (variety of) English' and the Telugu people who migrated to Mauritius 'Mauritius Telugu'. So also is the

case with dialects, for example, Midland dialect of English by the Midland people and Telangana dialect of Telugu by the Telangana people. From these examples, it is evident that setting modifies and even forms a new linguistic behavior.

If setting plays an important role in the modification or formation of languages, it equally plays a similar role in the formation or modification of proverbs also. This hypothesis is better proved by a contrastive analysis of proverbs in Telugu and English.

### 1. FORMATION OF PROVERBS WITH SETTING SPECIFIC OBJECTS (LEXIS)

There are 157 and 232 Telugu and English proverbs collected from different sources and my field work in Telugu. Among them, there are certain proverbs which contain marked setting specific lexis as shown in Table 1 in the next page.

All the works mentioned under the column of Telugu are Telugu setting specific and are not found in the English setting. Likewise, those under the column of English are English setting specific and are not found in the Telugu setting. The presence of these words in the proverbs of one language and their absence in the other language indicates that proverbs contain works culled from the setting of that language. If the settings are mutually exclusive as in the case of Telugu and English, proverbs contain only mutually exclusive words of objects (or ideas) available in those environments. However, if the settings are mutually inclusive in many respects except the differences in language, etc. which are marked, then the proverbs contain mutually inclusive words of objects (or ideas) available in those similar environments - for example, in Telugu and Tamil, two Dravidian languages with similar environments which are adjacent. These two possibilities show that proverbs are formed with words of objects available only in the setting of the concerned language. Such *words* as obtained in the specific setting are again used to express certain *ideas* which are also setting specific as shown in the next section.



Table I

S.No.	ITEM/ TELUGU	ITEM/ ENGLISH
1.	Food guggi[lu (4,5,10,45,133,142) ; saḍḍi (103)	Food oats (61,225)
2.	Vegetation gaḍḍi / ṡarigaḍḍi (17,19); ṡaṡipatṡe (87); ub <sup>h</sup> aja paṡiṡra:lu (42); gurindṡala (150); ṡange:ḍu barike (147,148)	Vegetation willow (170), oak (170) Grisell (229)
3.	Tools & Other Related Items ro:lu (34 );ṡo:lu kaṡṡulu (30); ḍa:ḍi (110); na:ma:la santṡi (92);	
4.	Currency uḍ <sup>h</sup> ḍ <sup>h</sup> ariṡeḍu (42);gu:ṡam (48) gatṡṡaka:ṡalu (149); ṡṡaṡalam (77); ṡṡa:ra:ṡa: (86);ḍammiḍi(86)	
5.	Caste Names and Other Names ba:pana:ḍu (14); reḍḍi (98); a:ṡa:ri (92); kulam (128); gollinṡi (140);nakuluḍu (119); nagari(15);ṡ <sup>h</sup> a:ṡa:(155) ṡissajṡaga:ri (115)	Caste Names and Other Names Cambridge(69); St.George (27);Yorkshire(153) Yorkshireman(156); St.Stephen (29) Shank's (53); Royston(69) Highgate(11); Holborn (131) Yorkshireman(156); St.Stephen (29)
6.	Measurement Units so:leḍu (60); ma:neḍu (60)	
7.	Time g <sup>h</sup> aḍḍija (69) ; ro:hiṡi (156)	
8.	Equine Terms kalṡa:ṡi (71); ḍṡaṡka: (86)	Equine Terms Brewer's horse (17); loader's horse (90) collier's horse (79); rocker's mare (75)

## 2. FORMATION OF IDEAS WITH SETTING SPECIFIC IDEAS (SEMANTICS)

An examination of the ideas expressed in all the proverbs reveals that they are also setting specific, i.e., setting specific lexical items are used to express. For example, in English, 11, 14, 17, 27, 29, 53, 61, 69, 71, 75, 79, 131, 138, 145, 153, 156, 168, 170, 183, 193, 203, 218, 226, 232, all contain marked setting specific ideas and in Telugu, 2, 5, 10, 11, 14, 15, 19, 24, 34, 36, 38, 41, 42, 49, 56, 58, 60, 67, 69, 71, 74, 77, 78, 79, 86, 87, 91, 92, 98, 100, 110, 115, 117, 119, 121, 128, 130, 137, 138, 140, 150, 155, 156 also do. This does not mean that the other ideas expressed in the remaining proverbs are not setting specific. They *are*, even though the lexical items with which these ideas are expressed can equally be found in both the settings since they are common. The ideas expressed in proverbs with different lexical items can be further divided in terms of the differences at the subject and the predicate level.

When the ideas / lexical items expressed in proverbs of one language are different from another language, we can safely say that those ideas / lexical items are setting specific according to their mutual absence. However, when the two languages have proverbs with the same lexical items / ideas, then we are confronted with two situations:

1. Either the lexical items/ideas are borrowed as 'loan proverbs' even though they are absent in the respective settings. Or
2. The lexical items/ideas are common to both the settings.

Let us take a few examples to illustrate this possibility. For example, lexical items such as saddle, bridle, stirrup, water; eye, leg, tail; riding, running, kicking; etc. are unmarkedly specific and can easily be accepted as specific to both the environments even though they are common. In a similar way ideas such as those expressed in 9, 22, 48, 59, etc. in English and 5, 23, 25, 63, etc. in Telugu can be found in any setting whether they are or not is a different question. When both the lexical items and ideas expressed in one language coincide with those of another language, it may be due to the availability of the lexical items/ideas in both of them or due to borrowing from one language to another which can be found out by a historical examination of their presence in the two culturally and geographically distinct languages. If they are borrowed - it is often difficult to say which

borrowed from which language in the absence of setting specific lexis and semantics - we treat them separately; if they are not borrowed and found in the setting, we say they are setting specific - in this case mutually present. Therefore, the problem of 'loan proverbs' cannot rule out the hypothesis that proverbs are formed with setting specific lexis and semantics only. Why and how some proverbs are borrowed and others are not is not relevant for the purpose of our investigation.

So far we have shown with examples that proverbs are formed with setting specific lexis and semantics. In the next section, let us see what type of ideas are presented in proverbs.

### 3. SYSTEM OF PRACTICES AS IDEAS IN PROVERBS

The ideas with which proverbs are formed refer to certain actions that form patterns with reference to some other actions in different situations. The idea described in the proverb becomes a prototype action that stands for other similar actions forming a pattern. The whole set of the prototype action and the other similar actions form together a system of practices obtained in a setting. Let us take a few examples to illustrate this main characteristic of proverbs.

As mentioned in Page 3, the ideas that are expressed in proverbs fall in to four categories. Whatever be the differences in the manner of their formation, all of them express systems of practices as can be observed from the examples cited (Please refer to the Appendix II for the meanings of the Telugu proverbs).

#### A. The Same Lexis for the Same Idea

1. a. A losing horse puts the blame on the saddle. ( Mieder *et al*: 1992 )  
 b. o:đina guRRam dži:nu pai sođdu peđđinađlu. (76)
2. a. A boisterous horse must have a rough bridle.(60 a)  
 b. tšikkula guRRa:niki kakkula ka[[em. (74)  
 c. karakula ka[[em kalja:ňikiga:ka ga:điđake:la?(7l)

#### B. Different Lexis for the Same Idea

- 3 a. Look not a gift horse in the mouth. (14)

- b. ba:dugu guRRa:niki suḍulu tʃu:sinaṭlu. (24)
4. a. Give a Yorkshireman a halter and he will find a horse. (156)  
b. ṭurako:niki guRRam dʒa:ḍa: tʃeppinaṭlu. (109)
- C. The Same Lexis for Different Ideas
5. a. He that never rode never fell.(127)  
b. guRRamekke: ua:ḍe: paḍe:ua:ḍu. (104)
6. a. Take heed of an ox before, of a horse behind, of a monk on all sides.(99)  
b. eḍḍu poḍuṣṭundani ṭanne: guRRam tʃa:ṭu tʃe:rinaṭlu. (24)
- D. Different Lexis for Different Ideas
7. a. The willow will buy a horse before the oak will buy a saddle. (170)  
b. munḍu tʃu:ṣṭe: ajjaUa:ri guRRam uenaka tʃu:ṣṭe: sa:he:bu guRRam.  
(117)
8. a. He who sits behind another, does not saddle when he pleases.(130)  
b. gatʃtʃa ka:jalaku konna guRRam kaṇḍakam ḍa:ṭuṭunḍa:(115)

[Sometimes, either the subject or the predicate will be similar and the other part dissimilar; some other times, approximately identical lexis or ideas will be used to express the proverbs].

The ideas that are perceived in the proverbs of both the English and Telugu settings presuppose and entail a few important facts that lend evidence to show that proverbs contain systems of practices. For example, in (2), the proverbs presuppose, first, that there are horses which are troublesome and, next, that there is a practice of using bridles to influence the manner of horse's running and behaviour. This presupposition, again, underlines a practice, the practice of modifying the running of a horse by using different types of bridles. Third, it entails from the proverb that a rough bridle controls a wild horse and then the proverb's use in discourse suggests such a practice to others in a metaphorical manner. Finally, the very use of these proverbs (along with other numerous proverbs) indicates another system of practices in these two settings.

So far we have seen that these proverbs describe a practice. Their meaning is “structurally” created by the juxtaposition of two practices (horses behaving wildly ; using rough bridles) whose meaning is in turn ‘referentially’ conveyed by the lexis. Then the ‘structural’ meaning is made ‘truly’ meaningful by the social contextualization of the proverbs, i.e., the proverbs are clothed in their cultural settings to gain cultural meanings (cf. (3) and (4) in which the meanings will not be clear unless the referential meaning of the lexical items is interpreted in terms of the ‘structuralist’ meaning or simply cultural meaning)).

It is from this stage the proverbs undergo a total transformation. First, they are changed from mere descriptions of practices into prototype actions or generalizations. Therefore, they become distinct from other practices, say, for example, the celebration of :

1. Vinayaka Chavithi with 21 different leaves to pray Lord Ganesa ; or 2. Christmas with a Christmas tree, which are not prototype actions (practices). This change from an ‘ordinary action meaning’ into a ‘prototype action’ meaning confers upon proverbs a new function, namely, to stand for a similar action (forming a pattern). For example, dismissal of an in subordinate official, caning of an errant son, failing a student for malpractice in examinations, etc. all can be grouped under the practice of imposing harsh punishment to control wild behaviour, which meaning and practice is conveyed by these proverbs in 2. In other words, proverbs describe systems of practices, either derived from pattern forming actions as in (2) by a selective choice of a practice - the same meaning is conveyed by the choice of another similar practice as a proverb in / penkipilla:ḍiki pe:ka beṭṭame: manḍu / (‘For a stubborn child, fibre cane (is) the medicine’) - or capable of showing similar pattern forming actions in the setting (for example, /hanumanṭuni munḍara kuppi ganṭula: ?/ (‘In front of Hanuman, monkey jumps?’) is not an observable practice since Lord Hanuman is mythological but this practice envisaged can replicate a number of similar actions of trying to show off in front of experts)). In English, ‘showing a candle to the sun’ is a similar proverb. The remaining proverbs also can be analysed in a similar way.

What does the description of systems of practices reveal in proverbs? This question is answered in the next section?

#### 4. PROVERBS AS KNOWLEDGE AND COMMUNICATION

When a system of practices is encapsulated in a proverb, two facts are revealed: 1) the observation of a practice indicating the knowledge of such a practice; 2) the extension of this knowledge to other similar practices showing a further knowledge of a system of practices. Moreover, the very linguistic nature of a proverb contains certain features which constrain its use in certain settings as in the case of vulgar proverbs in formal settings. Such rules of its 'appropriate' use also constitute knowledge (Bhuvanewar 1998b). Finally, when a proverb is used, it communicates this knowledge of a system of practices or else proverbs become knowledgeless and therefore meaningless which is not the case. Hence, we can say that the systems of practices described in proverbs are also *knowledge*. Since this knowledge is communicated as a warning, advice, exhortation, etc. in the context of discourse, proverbs are also *communication*, communication not only as symbols of 'distributed knowledge' but also as indexes of social actors (Bhuvanewar 1998b). This communication of knowledge embedded in proverbs as systems of practices is crucial to enable them to comment on an action performed by a social actor in the immediate setting. Thus, the comment (in the form of a warning, advice, etc.) on such an action interprets it as a reaction. Let us take an example to illustrate how proverbs mean communication.

9. A (Reporter) : why aren't you married ?

B (Elvis Presley) : why buy the cow when you get themilkfree?

(Mieder et al: 123)

The answer by B is a question ( a rhetorical question in this context) and a proverb. As a proverb, it contains the knowledge of a system of practices, namely, that of not buying a cow when the milk is available without much difficulty. Furthermore, it is not understood as a question but as an informative metaphor to mean that he gets the benefits of marriage (milk) without getting married (buying the cow) by the application of structuralist meaning to a prototype action. In addition to this, the use of this proverb marks a societal relationship between the addresser (A) and the addressee (B) ; it also hints at the informal and humorous social interaction - it is doubtful whether he would have given the same reply in a formal situation. Thus, it

provides an indexical meaning to the proverb (Bhuvanewar 1998b). Therefore both the prepositional knowledge and the indexical meaning are communicated along with the proverb as socially distributed knowledge or else the reporter failing to understand the meaning would have further asked "What do you mean?". Accordingly, this exchange is interpreted in terms of the system of practices embedded as knowledge in the proverb. In addition to this, this reply in the form of a proverb is a reaction to an action.

What do these reactions constitute, i.e. how do proverbs operate as reactions ? This problem is discussed in the next section.

## 5. PROVERBS AS PARTICIPATION, REACTION AND MEDIATION

When proverbs are used in discourse, it means that they are "able to participate in interactions with a world that is always larger than us as individual speakers and even larger than what we can see and touch in any given situation" (Duranti 1997 : 46). The very fact that the speaker B in (9) has chosen a proverb shows his choice of entering the world and sustaining relationships with those he comes in contact with, his choice of participating in a communicative act, in a particular manner. The further choice of that particular proverb instead of other proverbs again indicates a finer distinction in the manner of his participation. At the other end, the reporter's reception shows: 1. the cognitive component (of 'retrieval of information'); 2. the prediction (of Elvis Presley's action necessary for problem solving); and 3. the corporeal component (which accounts for their ability to function in a physical environment). Both the prediction and the corporeal component are implicit in the use of proverbs which are a prerequisite for participation. Thus, proverbs, via a system of practices, are also *participation*.

When a speaker participates in an event with proverbs, his participation is not a mere response to an elicitation act as in (9) by an informative act but also a *reaction* to the action conveyed by the informative act. Let us see how it works in the exchange by constructing an ordinary informative act.

(10) A : Why aren't you married ?

2. Why buy the cow when you get the milk free ?

The first part indicates the action (I have married, etc. / I have not married etc.) and the second part indicates a reaction (Don't marry because it does x) because of which the action in the first part takes place. In ordinary informatives, the reason is stated plainly but in proverbial informatives, it is *metaphorically* or *prototypically* stated either as a positive (Do marry because it does x) or negative (Don't marry because it does x) reaction. Sometimes, the reaction need not be present in ordinary informatives as shown below.

(11) A : Where is Lakshman ?

B : He is in the lawn.

(12) A: Where's Srinu ?

B : He is cleaning the teeth of a blind horse. (Translated from Telugu)

(11) B merely states the response as an informative act without the reaction but (12) B does not. (12)B is reacting to the action of Srinu by saying that he is doing an unprofitable work. Directive acts also can be interpreted in a similar way as shown below.

13. A : He is bright but not doing well in maths.

B : A good horse oft needs a good spur.

In (13), B is not only directing A to put more pressure on the student (He) but also reacting by saying that intelligent people will shine if pressure is put on them (i.e., Do X because it does Y).

When a speaker is reacting to an action, he is also expressing his opinion through the proverb to influence the action. In other words, he uses the proverb as an ideational instrument to manipulate action in the setting, i.e., he uses the proverb as a *mediator*. This property of *mediation* by a proverb is effectively used not only to solve problems such as marriage disputes, legal disputes, etc. but also to highlight, downplay, hide or hedge certain meanings. For example, in (14), B hides his opinion and yet communicates it.

(14) A : What do you think of his wife ?

B : That's a horse of another colour altogether. (Bhuvanewar 1999d)



Sometimes, the opinion can be highlighted as in (12) B.

Since proverbs are distinct from normal utterances, they can be construed to constitute practices distinct from normal, natural practices. In that way, proverbs are *distinct from nature*, i.e., they are refined and polished in language as well as in meaning.

In the foregoing discussion, it has been shown with examples that proverbs contain knowledge of systems of practices communicated as reactions by social actors' participation through them to mediate actions in the setting.

As has already been stated, proverbs are a cultural practice and hence the characteristics of proverbs should constitute the concept of culture and pave the way for a proverbial theory of culture which is postulated in the next section.

## 6. PROVERBIAL THEORY OF CULTURE

Each of the theories mentioned by Duranti (1997:24) and Thompson (1992 :122-162) accounts only partially but not wholly of all the characteristics of culture as observed in proverbs (cf. Duranti 1997:50). Interestingly proverbs provide a very extensive field for the study of culture and in order to provide a comprehensive theory of culture that can account for all its characteristics all these theories have to be integrated into a new linguistic theory, i.e., a proverbial theory of culture. In order to account for the variation in proverbs which demands a *causal* explanation, the proverbial theory combines the *interpretive theory* with the *causal theory* that takes care of the production of proverbs in different settings.

The interpretive theory of Geertz and Thompson tells us what is *in* culture, that is, in the case of proverbs, tells us what they *contain* but does not tell us why the *variation* in what they contain occurs. In other words, it does not account for what culture *is*. What is culture is decided by the world view of the social actors in a society of what it (the world) ought to be. What the world *ought* to be is further decided by a complex psycho-environmental reality of living of the social actors. This complex, psycho-environmental

matrix of living in the society, which I call for short ‘ a projected view of life ‘ is reflected in proverbs as *reactions*.

From our earlier analysis, we found out that proverbs are ideational reactions. Therefore, culture should be conceived in terms of ideational reactions. In another interpretation, sound can be considered a material medium. Just as the conceptualization of art, the conceptualization of a proverb is ideational. Yet, other symbolic forms, unlike proverbs which are only ideational symbolic forms, are material (for example, artifacts, paintings, sculpture, etc). As such they also embody culture. Then, culture becomes both ideational and material. Since proverbs influence both material and ideational actions, both of them can be accommodated in this theory of culture without any contradictions. In other words, the proverbial theory of culture tells us that the material and the ideational complement each other in the development of culture.

Based on the above two observations and the linguistic as well as the anthropological conceptions of culture whose properties are revealed in proverbs, a new conception of culture can be proposed as follows :

*Culture is a complex of both the ideational and material reactions - communicated by a knowledge of the systems of practices in them through participation and mediation - of a social actor expressed through the society and vice versa to his actions in the setting for a projected view of life.*

In this conception, culture as reactions to actions in a setting is comprehensive enough to account for each of the properties mentioned in the linguistic and anthropological theories as well as all of them as a whole. Thus the reactions are not only ‘*distinct from nature*’ but they are also ‘*systems of practices*’, ‘*knowledge*’, ‘*communication*’, ‘*participation*’ and ‘*mediation*’. In addition to this, they are *descriptive* of an array of beliefs, artifacts, etc. and *structurally interpretive* of symbolic forms and their meaning. Furthermore, the reactions can be identified and isolated as systems of practices in both the ideational and material planes of a setting.

The concept of setting has already been discussed and needs no further explanation.

The concept of ‘actions’ is a very broad term and it can best be explained in terms of the karaka theory which groups all actions in to six karakas (that which cause action).

According to this theory, an action takes place when a social actor 1) moves *away from* ( / apa:ḍa:nam / ); 2) approaches *through* ( / sampraḍa:nam /); 3) is most effective *with* ((acts with an instrument) ( / karanam / )) ;4) is *on* ( / ad<sup>h</sup>ikaraṇam/);

5) does something *to* an object ( / karma / ); and 6) is independent ( / karta / ).

Again borrowing another concept from the Indian grammatical tradition, the concept of triad, we can say that for life in the world to occur, there should be a liver or social actor (*kartha*), the lived or the *actee* (setting, broadly nature which is *karma* ) and the process of living or action ( *kriya*). From this perspective, culture is reactions (which are actions, of course) to a social actor's (*kartha*'s) actions (*kriyas*) in relation to the actee (*karma*). Thus, wearing a saree in the Indian setting or a skirt in the English setting are both material reactions and the proverb 3b in the Telugu setting and 3a in the English setting are both ideational reactions.

[From an absolute point of paradigmatic explanation, the wearing of a saree or a skirt and the utterance of a proverb are only the embodying of a structured pattern which is a reaction to the setting according to the *svabhavam* (disposition or character) of the society through the individuals. What it means is all action (material or lingual) has a three stage development:

1. conceptual meaning (process) ; 2. pattern 3. structure.

This idea will be further taken up in karmik theory (Bhuvanewar 2002).]

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The proverbial theory of culture is different from the linguistic and anthropological theories since it looks at culture as reaction - action-in setting process in stead of ennobling, or describing, or symbolizing as propounded in the anthropological conceptions or as knowledge, or communication, or system of practices or mediation, or participation as

posited in the linguistic conceptions ; at the same time, it is similar to them since it embraces each of these theories. Finally, it is comprehensive since it accounts for all the characteristics of culture projected in these theories, in addition to projecting patterned behaviour as manifestation of culture but not culture.

It is hoped that this analysis will encourage further research to consider culture and culture studies holistically rather than atomically so that an objective 'valorization of cultures' can be achieved. For example, to condemn the cultural practice of polyandry in a society where men are more than women and polygamy in a society where women are more than men is nothing short of religious and cultural arrogance. So also in the case of other cultural phenomena.

In the case of language, the implications of this theory are significant. Since language, a cultural practice, will be viewed as a reaction to the social actors' actions in their setting, it implies that languages are developed according to the actions and the consequent reactions to them by the social actors but not according to any inherent superiority of a language. For example, the absence of the latest computer vocabulary in Telugu does not mean that Telugu is defective ; it only means that there was no need for such vocabulary since such practices are not available in the society. The moment such practices find place in the setting, the vocabulary is also formed in one way or the other of the word - formation processes. The vocabulary of English in its earlier stages followed by a heavy borrowing from French, Latin and Greek is a classic example to prove this point. So also the overwhelming presence of proverbs in 'oral' languages of Africa is another example.

Further research has to be done to test the validity of this theory by applying it to various other cultural phenomena.

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## APPENDIX I

## A CHECKLIST OF EQUINE PROVERBS IN ENGLISH (BRITISH)

The checklist is divided into four parts:

1. Body; 2. Character; 3. Tackle and Gear; Stable; and 4. Environment of Horse.

In order to avoid repetition, common proverbs listed in one part are not listed again in another part (e.g. 85 is listed only once under II A but not repeated in III A).

## I. BODY OF HORSE

## A. FACE

(muzzle,mouth,lips,teeth,tongue,nostrils,jaw,cheek,face,eye,forehead,poll,ear,head)

## A.a. Eye

1. A nod is as good as a wink to a blind horse.
2. Ever longer the worse looks the blind horse.
3. Like a horse in a mill.
4. Mettle is kittle/dangerous in a blind horse.
5. The blind horse is the hardiest.

## A.b. Face

6. When the mare has a bald face, the filly will have a blaze.

## A.c. Head

7. His horse's head is swollen so big that he cannot come out of the stable.

## A.d. Mouth

8. A jade eats as much as a good horse.
9. A man may lead a horse to water but he cannot make him drink.
10. He that lets his horse drink at every lake and his wife to go every wake shall never be without a whore and a jade.
11. I will make him water his horse at High Gate.
12. It would have made a horse laugh.
13. Let a horse drink when he will, not what he will.
14. Look not a gift horse in the mouth.
15. To a greedy eating horse, a short halter .
16. She simpers like a mare when she eats thistles.

## A.e. Teeth

17. One whom the Brewer's horse has bit.
18. To bite upon the bridle.
19. To take the bit / bridle in the teeth.

## A.f. Ear

20. As shortly as a horse will lick his ear.

## B. THE NECK

(mane,crest,neck,throat,latch)

21. Neck or nothing.

## C. MAIN BODY AND TAIL

(withers,back,loin,croup,hip,coupling,tail,rear,flank,sheath,underline,ribs,heart,girth,barrel, hair,colour)

## C.a. Back

22. Agues come on horseback, but go away on foot.
23. He knows all things when one is on horseback.
24. Knave on a horse back.
25. Rub a galled horse (scabbed horse on the back/gall) and he will wince.
26. Set a beggar on horseback and he'll ride a gallop.
27. Who is always on horseback and never rides like St.George.
28. You may break a horse's back, be he never so strong.

## C.b. Body

29. If you bleed<sup>1</sup> your nag on St. Stephen's day, he'll work your work for ever and aye.[1 bleed]

## C.c. Colour

30. A chestnut horse.
31. A good horse cannot be of a bad colour.
32. A horse of another (same) colour.
33. He that has a white horse and fair wife never wants trouble.
34. Save something for the man that rides on the white horse.

## C.d. Flesh

35. He has good skill in horseflesh to buy a goose to ride on.
36. Where two and two ride on a dog, they are scarce of horseflesh.

## C.e. Hair

37. Where the horse lies down, there some hair will be found.

## C.f. Horseback

38. Agues come on horseback but go away on foot.
39. Set a knave on horseback and you shall see him shoulder a knight.



40. When one is on horseback, he knows all things.

C.g. Rump

41. You may ride so near the rump, you will get none behind you.

C.h. Skin

42. Lend your horse for a long journey, you may have him return with your skin.

C.i. Womb

43. A nag with a weamb<sup>1</sup> and a mare with nean<sup>2</sup>. [1.belly; 2.none]

C.j. Tail

44. He has eaten a horse, and the tail hangs out at his mouth.

45. It is an ill horse that can neither whinny nor wag his tail.

D . LEGS (foot, coronet, pastern, fetlock, cannon, knee, hock, forearm, gaskin, point of elbow, arm, point of shoulder, shoulder)

D.a Foot

46 The horse is troubled with corns.

47. Trust not a horse's heel, nor a dog's tooth [Three thing's are not to be trusted - a cow's horn, a dog's tooth and a horse's hoof].

D.b. Legs

48. A horse may stumble that has four legs.

49. A spur in the head is worth two in the heels.

50. It is good walking with a horse in one's hand.

51. Ride who will, the mare is shod.

52. Shank's mare (nag, pony).

53. The common horse is worst shod.

54. To shoe (ride) the wild (mockish) mare.

55. Your horse cast a shoe.

D.c. Shoulder

56. As fit as a shoulder of mutton for a sick horse.

## II CHARACTER OF HORSE

### A. GENERAL BEHAVIOUR (HABITS)

57a. A boisterous horse must have a rough bridle. b. A boisterous horse, a boisterous snaffle.

58. A cough will stick longer by a horse than half a peck of oats.

59. A fidgeting mare should be well girded.

60. A flea bitten horse never tires.

61. A good horse cannot be of bad colour.
62. A good horse oft needs a good spur.
63. A hungry horse makes a clean manger.
64. A kindly aver will never make a good horse.
65. A ragged colt may make a good horse.
66. A Royston horse and a Cambridge master of arts will give way to nobody.
67. A scald horse is good enough for a scabbed squire.
68. A scabbed horse cannot abide the comb.
69. A tale of a roasted horse.
70. All lay loads on the willing horse.
71. An inch of a nag is worth a span of an aver.
72. A short horse is soon curried.
73. As coy as a croker's mare.
74. As good horses draw in carts, as coaches.
75. As good scholar as my horse ball.
76. As high as two horse loaves.
77. As melancholy as a collier's horse.
78. As obstinate as a mule.
79. As strong as a horse.
80. Better a lean jade than an empty halter.
81. Every horse thinks his own pack heaviest.
82. Flies haunt lean horses.
83. It is the bridle and spur that makes a good horse.
84. It is a proud horse that will not bear his provender.
85. It is hard to make an old mare flinging.
86. Like a miller's mare.
87. Like to like a scabbed horse to an old dike.
  
88. Like a loader's horse that lives among thieves.
89. Live, horse, thou shall have grass.
90. Money makes the mare go.
91. My old mare will have a new crupper.
92. One mule (ass, horse) scrubs another.
93. One thing thinks the horse, and another he that saddles (rides) him.
94. Proo, Naunt, your mare puts.
95. Set the saddle on the right horse.
96. Take heed of an ox before, of a horse behind, of a monk on all sides.
97. The best horse needs breaking, the aptest child needs teaching.
98. The grey mare is the better horse.
99. The horse that draws after him his halter is not altogether escaped.
100. The kick of the dam (mare) hurts not the colt.
101. The old horse must die in someone's hand.
102. The trick the colt gets at his first backing will, which he continueth will never be lacking.
103. There is life in it (in old horse) yet.
104. To a greedy eating horse, a short halter.
105. To flog (mount on) a dead horse.

- 106. While the grass grows, the horse starves.
- 107. You may know the horse by his harness.

B. Riding (1. Horse Specific ; 2. Rider Specific ; 3. Riding Specific).

B.1. Horse Specific.

- 108. A good horse should be seldom spurred.
- 109. A hired horse tired never.
- 110. A running horse is an open grave.
- 111. A running (forward) horse needs no spur.
- 112. Do not spur a free horse.
- 113. He is a gentle horse that never cast his rider.
- 114. How can the foal amble if the horse and mare trot ?
- 115. It is a good horse that never stumbles.
- 116. It is idle to spur a hamshackled horse.
- 117. Spur a jade a question and (s) he'll kick you an answer.
- 118. Young colts will canter.

B.2. Rider Specific

- 119. A young trooper should have an old horse.
- 120. Better ride on an ass that carries me than a horse that throws me.
- 121. He rides not ay when he saddles his horse.
- 122. He rides sure that never fell.
- 123. He that hires the horse must ride before.
- 124. He that never rode never fell.
- 125. He that rides ere he be ready wants some of his gear .
- 126. He tires betimes that spurs too fast betimes.
- 127. He who rides behind another, does not saddle when he pleases.
- 128. He will ride (backwards) up Holborn Hill.
- 129. If two ride on a horse, one must ride behind.
- 130. If wishes were horses, beggars would ride.
- 131. Ill for the rider, good for the abider.
- 132. Nothing but up and ride.
- 133. Ride a horse and mare on the shoulders, an ass and mule on the buttocks.
- 134. Ride fair and jaup none.
- 135. There is mickle to do when cadgers (dominies) ride.
- 136. To ride on a horse that was foaled of an acorn.
- 137. To ride the fore - horse.
- 138. To ride the high horse.
- 139. To ride with the beard on the shoulder.
- 140. Untimeous spurring spills the stead<sup>1</sup>. ( <sup>1</sup> steed ).
- 141. Upon the spur.
- 142. Where saddles lack, better ride on a pad than on the horse bareback.
- 143. Where the Turk's horse once treads, the grass never grows.
- 144. You are like the man that sought his mare, and he riding on her.

B.3. Riding Specific

- 145. Marriage rides upon the saddle and repentance on the crupper.
- 146. Time is the rider that breaks youth.
- 147. When pride rides in the saddle, shame and confusion rides in the crupper.
- 148. When pride rides shame lacqueys.

### III. TACKLE AND GEAR AND STABLE OF HORSE

#### A. Bridle

- 149. Prosperity lets go the bridle.
- 150. Reason lies between the spur and the bridle.
- 151. Shake a bridle over a Yorkshire tike's grave, and he'll rise again.
- 152. Steal the horse and carry home the bridle.
- 153. To give one the bridle.

#### B. Crupper

#### C. Gear

#### D. Girth

#### E. Halter

- 154. Give a Yorkshireman a halter, and he'll find a horse.
- 155. He has taken my horse and left me the tether.

#### F. Harness

#### G. SADDLE

- 156. A horse that will not carry a saddle must have no oats.
- 157. As meet as a sow to bear a saddle.
- 158. Cadgers are aye cracking o'crook saddles.
- 159. Either win the horse or lose the saddle.
- 160. Fair in the cradle, foul in the saddle.
- 161. Far behind the horseman sits black care.
- 162. He becomes it as well as a cow does a cart saddle.
- 163. He is so hungry he could eat a horse behind a saddle.
- 164. He that cannot beat the ass (horse) beat the saddle.
- 165. If care sits behind the horseman on the cantle of his saddle, ambition may also be detected clinging somewhere about his spurs.
- 166. Parsley fried will bring a man to his saddle, and a woman to her grave.
- 167. To set one beside the saddle.
- 168. The willow will buy a horse before the oak will buy a saddle.
- 169. When you ride a young colt see your saddle be well girt.
- 170. Who eats his cock alone must saddle his horse alone.

#### H. Shoe

- 171. A mare's shoe and a horse's shoe are both alike.

172. She will wear like a horse-shoe, the longer the brighter.  
 173. Tomorrow morning, I found a horse-shoe.  
 174. When a fool finds a horse-shoe, he thinks aye the like to do.

#### I. Spur

175. All the speed is in the spurs.  
 176. He that has love in his breast has spurs in his sides.  
 177. To win one's spurs.

#### J. Whip

#### K. Housing (Manger & Stable & Stall)

178. A hungry horse makes a clean manger.  
 179. A man is not a horse because he was born in a stable.  
 180. After a famine in the stall, comes a famine in the hall.  
 181. Famine in England begins at the horse manger.  
 182. It is too late to shut the stable door when the steed is stolen.

### IV. HORSE IN THE ENVIRONMENT

#### A. Horse and Humans

183. A groaning horse and a groaning wife never fail their master.  
 184. A horse, a wife and a sword may be shewed but not lent.  
 185. A horse made and a man to make.  
 186. A man without religion is like a horse without a bridle.  
 187. All is well and the man has his mare again.  
 188. Choose a horse and a wife to make.  
 189. Counsel will make a man stick his own mare.  
 190. Every man has his hobby horse.  
 191. Gip with an ill-rubbing, quoth Badger, when his mare kicked.  
 192. Have a horse of your own and you may borrow another.  
 193. He has gotten the boot and the better horse.  
 194. He is free of horse that never had one.  
 195. He shall have the king's horse.  
 196. He that hath no horse must go on fote.  
 197. He that is manned with boys, and horsed with colts,  
     shall have his meat eaten, and his work undone.  
 198. He who speaks ill of the mare buys her.  
 199. He who wants a mule without fault must walk on foot.  
 200. Horse and man (foot).  
 201. Like Flander's mares, fairest afar off.  
 202. One man may steal a horse while another may not look over a hedge.  
 203. Religion a stalking horse to shoot other fowl.  
 204. The best thing for the inside of a man is the outside of a horse.  
 205. They cannot set their horses together.  
 206. To fall away from a horse load to a cart load.  
 207. To put one's money upon the wrong horse.  
 208. To run before one's horse to the market.

- 209. To work for a dead horse.
- 210. To work like a horse.
- 211. Wild horses will not drag (pluck) the secret from me.
- 212. Whose mare is dead ?
- 213. Who has no horse must ride on staff.

#### B. Horse and Animals

- 214. Every ass thinks himself worthy to stand with the king's horses.
- 215. Hounds and horses devour their masters.
- 216. I think this is a butcher's horse, he carries a calf so well.
- 217. If an ass goes travelling, he will not come home a horse.
- 218. One horse stays for another.
- 219. One mule scrubs another.
- 220. Trust not a horse's heel, nor a dog's tooth.
- 221. You may beat a horse till he be sad and a cow till she be mad.

#### C. Horse and Nature

- 222. A careless parting between the old mare and the broken cart.
- 223. A horse will not void oats.
- 224. England is the paradise of women, the hell of horses and the purgatory of servants.
- 225. Old wood is best to burn, old horse to ride, old books to read and old wine to drink.
- 226. The horse next the mill carries all the grist.
- 227. There are more mares in the wood than Grisell.
- 228. To find a mare's nest.
- 229. To set the cart before the horse.
- 230. With Latin, a horse, and money, you may travel the world

## APPENDIX II

### A CHECKLIST OF EQUINE PROVERBS IN TELUGU

The Checklist is divided into four parts :

1. Body; 2. Character; 3. Tackle and Gear; Housing; and 4. Environment of Horse. (In order to avoid repetition common proverbs listed in one part are not listed again in another part.)

#### 1. BODY OF HORSE

##### A. FACE

(muzzle, mouth, lips, teeth, tongue, nostrils, jaw, check, face, eye, forehead, poll, ear, head)

## A. a. Eye [kannu]

1. ganṭaḷu kaṭṭina gurram la:ga. 'Like a blinkers tied horse'.
2. guḍḍi gurramunekki guḍi tṣuṭṭa naguna: ?  
'Mounting a blind horse, is it possible to circle round a temple?'
3. guḍḍi gurram ṭa:pu. 'A blind horse's kick'.
4. guḍḍi gurra:niki guggillu tṣe:ṭu. 'For a blind horse, waste of horsegram'.
5. guḍḍi gurram ṭaṭṭa guggillu ṭinapedḍa.  
'A blind horse, big for eating a 'tatta' ( a semi-circular cane basket) of horsegram.'
6. guḍḍi gurra:niki okaṭe: ṭo:va. 'To a blind horse, only one way.'
7. guḍḍi gurra:niki paḷḷu ṭō:ṣu ṭunna:ḍu.  
'To a blind horse, (he is) brushing the teeth.'
8. gurram guḍḍiḍajina: ḍa:ṇa: ṭappaḍu.  
'Even if the horse is blind, feed is unavoidable'.
9. ne:[a tṣu:pulu gurramme:pulu. 'Ground looks(noun), horse grazes(noun)'.

## A. b. Teeth [paḷḷu] : see 7

## A. c. Mouth [no:ru]

10. kaḍi aṅṅe: (guggillaki) no:ru ṭeritṣi kaḷḷemante: no:ru mu:sinaṭṭu.  
" Like, when said, 'bite' (for horsegram), opening the mouth, (and) when said, 'bridle', closing the mouth."
11. gurrammu:ṭiki baṭṭakaḍḍite: rahasjam a:guṭunḍa:?  
'To the horse's mouth, by tying a cloth, will a secret be kept?'
12. gurra:niki sakiliṅṅa, saṅgi:ṭa:niki ikiliṅṅa unḍa:li  
'To a horse, neighing, to music 'tittering', there should be'.
13. ḍa:ṇa:ki/guggillaki no:ru ṭeritṣi kaḷḷæniki no:ru mu:sinaṭṭu.  
'Like, to feed / horsegram, opening the mouth, to bridle, closing the mouth'.

## A. d. Face (NIL)

## B. NECK (NIL)

## C. MAIN BODY AND TAIL

## C. a. Hair (NIL)

## C. b. Colour

14. ba:paniṣa:ni koluṣu: ṭella gurrapu koluṣu: kolaṣa ku:ḍaḍu.  
'Service for a Brahmin, service for a white horse should not be sought'.
15. ṭella gurrapu ṣa:ḍaṣa nagari koluṣu: kaṣṭam.  
'White horse service, Nagari employment are difficult'.
16. ṭella gurra:nni pallanam tṣe:sinaṭḷu. 'Like decorating a horse with [amba:ri].'

C. c. Back (NIL)

B. d. Rump

17. gaḍḍiṅṅa le:ka muḍḍaṅṅa eṅḍi – ũe:ntʃe:sene: guRRam de:ʋalo:kam.  
‘Grassless, arse burnt – hailed the horse in to the heaven.’
18. guRRam guḍḍaki ka[[em beṅṅinaṅṅu. ‘Like putting a bridle to a horse’s arse.’
19. guRRam guḍḍala ka:[te ʋarigaḍḍi ṅṅiṅṅaḍi.  
‘If burnt in the arse, the horse will eat rice hay’.
20. guRRam kondaku po:ji e:m tetʃʃina:ʋante: guḍḍalo:ki gu:ṅam neṅṅiki mu:ṅa  
annaḍaṅṅa.’  
“(When) asked, ‘Horse what did you bring by going to the mountain’, it said, ‘a  
crow bar into the arse, a bundle to the head’.

C. e. Horseback (NIL)

C. f. Horseflesh (NIL)

C. g. Womb

21. guRRam kaḍḍupulo: guḍḍu. ‘In the horse’s stomach, an egg’.
22. guRRamkaḍḍupulo: ga:ḍiḍapilla puttuna:?  
“Will a donkey be born in a horse’s belly (to a horse)?”

C. h. Body

23. e:nugu paṅḍukunna: guRRamaṅṅa eṅṅu.  
‘Even if an elephant lies down, it is as tall as a horse’.
24. ba:ḍugu guRRa:niki suḍḍulu ʃju:sinaṅṅlu. ‘Like checking whorls for a hired horse’.

C. i. Tail

25. guRRam ṅo:kaki ka[[em peṅṅinaṅṅu. ‘Like putting a bridle to the horse’s tail’.
26. guRRa:niki ṅo:kunṅe: ṅa:ne: ʋisurukunṅunḍi ga:ni...( sa:ʋiṅlo: guRRa:lanniṅiki:  
ʋisuruṅunḍa:?  
‘If a horse has a tail, it will fan for itself only...(but will it fan for all the horses in  
the corridor?)’
27. guRRa:niki ṅo:kunṅe: ṅana maṅṅuku ṅa:ne: ʋisuru konune:  
ga:ni kaḍḍama guRRa:laku ʋisuruna?  
‘If a horse has a tail, it will fan for itself only but will it fan the horses at the end?’

D. LEGS

D. a. Foot (NIL)



## D. b. Legs

28. eddu poḍuṣṭundani ṭanne: gurram tʃa:ṭu tʃe:rinatlu.  
'Like, (thinking) that the ox will gore, going behind a kicking horse.'
29. kunṭi gurra:niki dʒa:rinde: sa:ku.  
'For a lame horse, tripping itself is an excuse.'
30. kunṭi gurra:lu ṭo:lu kaṭṭulu. 'Lame horses, leather swords.'
31. ga:ḍiḍa sava:rikanṭe: gurrapu ṭannu me:lu.  
'Better than donkey riding (is) horse's kick.'
32. guḍḍa nimpakunṭe: gurram guḍḍa mi:ḍa ṭaṅṭaḍi.  
'If the arse is not filled, the horse will kick on the arse.'
33. ṭanne: gurramajina: saiso:niki mo:ṭa:ḍu.  
'Even a kicking horse, it is low (of no consequence) to the sepoy.'
34. ṭanne: gurra:niki ro:laḍḍam. 'For a kicking horse, mortar blocking.'
35. rauṭu koṭṭajite gurram kunṭinḍi. 'If the rider is new, the horse limped'.

## D. c. Shoulder (NIL)

**II. CHARACTER OF HORSE (General & Riding Specific)**

36. ajjava:ri gurra:niki anni: apara:d<sup>h</sup>a:le:.  
'To Ayyavari's horse, all are improprieties'
37. aḍḍekotʃina gurra:lu agaṭṭalu datuṭa:ja:? 'Hired horses, will they cross moats?'
38. gaṭʃaṭʃa ka:jalaki konna gurram kaṇḍakam ḍatuṭunḍa:?  
'Can the horse bought for cowries cross the moat?'
39. aḍupule:ni gurra:lu aḍavulu paṭṭuku ṭiriginaṭlu.  
'Like uncontrolled horses roaming in the forests'
40. a:ḍaḍi ṭirigi tʃeḍite: gurram ṭirakka tʃeḍinḍi.  
'If a woman is spoiled by travelling, a horse is spoiled without travelling'
41. a:tʃa:ri gurram gaḍapa gaḍapa uḍḍa a:ginaṭlu.  
'Like Achari's horse stopping at threshold and threshold'. ( each and every threshold).
42. ub<sup>h</sup>aja paṭiṭra:lu: ṭini u<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>ariṇeḍu ni:[lu: ṭa:gi u:hu: anṭa:ṭa: uṭṭama:ṣuama:?  
"After eating the 'ubhaya pavithralu' and drinking one 'uddharini' water, dost thou neigh for more, o prize horse?" (ub<sup>h</sup>aja paṭiṭra:lu the two darbha grasses tied to the ring fingers – two sacred grasses; u<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>ariṇeḍu the small spoon with a semi – circular bulb for containing water – used in religious rites for doing the 'achamana').
43. guḍḍa nimpakunte: gurram guḍḍami:ḍa ṭaṅṭaḍi.  
'If the arse is not filled, the horse will kick on the arse'.

44. gurra:nni tʃeruʋuki / ʔotte ɖaggaraki ʔi:suke[[agalam ga:ni, ni:[[u ʔa:gintʃa galama:? ‘We can take a horse to the tank/ to the water container but can we make it drink water?’
45. gurra:niki guggi[[u ʔinaɖam ne:rpa:la:? ‘To a horse, shall we have to teach eating horsegram?’
46. gurra:niki, sanja:siki, ʋid<sup>h</sup>avaki, brahmatʃa:riki eppuɖu: maid<sup>h</sup>una tʃiŋte: ‘To a horse, to a monk, to a widow, to a bachelor, always obsession for intercourse’.
47. gurram paɖaɖo:sindiga:ka gunʔa ʔaʋʋinaʔlu. ‘Like the horse not only throwing of (the rider) but also digging a pit’.
48. gurram po:ʔu: gu:ʔam pi:kkoni po:jinaʔlu. ‘Like the horse pulling of the iron picker while leaving’.
49. gurra:niki kummulu moliʃte: (malana:ɖulo:) okkarini: unɖani:jaɖu. ‘If horns grows to a horse, it will not allow even one to stay (in Malanadu)’.
50. guruʋuki re:gina: gurra:niki re:gina: paʔte:ɖi kaʃtam. ‘If the teacher is roused (or) the horse is roused, it is difficult to contain them’.
51. tʃe:(ti)lo: gurra:nni inʔlo: pe[[a:nni nammara:ɖu. ‘The horse in the farm (hand), the wife in the house (are) not to be trusted’.
52. tʃu:pula gurram. ‘Looks horse’ ‘(A horse for looks only (but not for action))’.
53. dʒo:ɖu gurra:la sua:ri:. ‘Two horse-riding’.
54. ʔelisinaʋa:ɖeɖuraite: maniʃi ikiliʃta:ɖu, gurram sakiliʃtunɖi. ‘If he comes across a known person, a man twitters (and) a horse neighs’.
55. ɖa:ɳa: kodɖi laɖɖi. ‘According to horse feed, horse dung’.
56. ɖaɳa: ɖanɖuge: ga:ni, ɖammidi: pani ka:ɖu. ‘Only waste of feed but a ‘ɖammidi’ work will not be done’.
57. patʃʔani paikam gurram tʃatʃʔina ɖa:ka:ne:. ‘Green money only up to the death of the horse’.
58. paɖi a:maɖala ʋarʃamto: paragaɖa gurram parigeʔta le:ɖu. ‘With ten ‘amadas’ (approximately 100 miles) rain a beyond – the – village – farm horse cannot run’.
59. (A horse cannot run in the open countryside with heavy rain).
60. paratʃu gurrapu ʔo:ka batti i:ɖuaga ʋatʃʔu ga:ni ʔappintʃu ko:ra:ɖu ɖani ʔannu. ‘A jumping horse’s tail can be dragged by holding it but its kick cannot (?) be escaped’.
61. parigeʔte: gurram so:leɖu ʔine:ʔappaʔiki pandu bo:ʔu gurram ma:neɖu ʔinɖi. ‘By the time a running horse eats a ‘sola’ (of feed), the lying horse ate a ‘manedu’.
62. raʔi le:ni na:ʔi gaʔi le:ni gurram raninitʃaʋu. ‘A woman without love, a horse without speed will not excel’.
63. ra:dʒu ga:ri gurramaiʔte: ma:ʔram ʔokkiʔte: ka:lu nouʋaɖa:?’

- ‘Even if it is the king’s horse when trampled upon will the leg not ache?’  
 64. rauṭu koḍḍi: guRRam.  
 ‘The horse according to the horseman; (‘As the horseman, so the horse’.).  
 65. rauṭu koṭṭajjite: guRRam mu:ḍu kaḷḷaṭo: ḍauḍu ṭi:sinḍiṭa.  
 ‘If the horseman is new, the horse limped’.  
 66. rauṭu ḍiga:lanṭunna:ḍu guRRam eḡara uḡeḡja:lanṭunnaḍi.  
 ‘The horseman wants to get down, the horse wants to throw him of’.  
 67. rauṭu meṭṭanaite: guRRam mu:ḍu kaḷḷaṭo: ḍauḍu ṭi:sinḍiṭa.  
 ‘If the horseman is soft, the horse galloped on three legs’.  
 68. lakḡa ru:pa:jala guRRamaina: ka:lu ḍḡa:ruṭunḍi.  
 ‘‘Even if it is a one lakh rupee horse, its legs will trip’.
69. uḍḡabaḍḡite: guRRam ga:ḍiḍaṭo: sama:nam.  
 ‘If it is let loose, a horse is equal to a donkey’.  
 70. uḡerri guRRam ḡhaḍḡijako: uaiḡu ḍaṭuṭunḍi.  
 ‘A stupid horse turns (jumps over) to this and that side every ‘ghadiya’ ((24 minutes), (i.e., now and then)).  
 71. ḡa:ṣṭram guRRam budd<sup>h</sup>i ṭarkisṭunḍi. ‘Science analyses horse’s intellect’.

#### B. Riding Specific

- |    |                        |                              |
|----|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | Nil                    | are riding specific proverbs |
| 2. | 53, 63, 64, 65, 66     | are rider specific           |
| 3. | 37, 38, 48, 58, 60, 61 | are horse specific           |

### III. TACKLE AND GEAR AND HOUSING OF HORSE

In this section, all the items that are used in riding horses and also items related with riding (cart, etc.) are included.

#### A. BRIDLE

72. karakula kaḷḷem kalja:nikiga:ka ga:ḍiḍake:la?  
 ‘Spiked bridle if not for the Kalyani, why for the donkey’.  
 73. guRRam guḍḍaki (to:kaki) kaḷḷem peṭṭinaṭṭu.  
 ‘Like putting a bridle to the horse’s arse (tail)’.  
 74. goḷḷem le:ni ṭalupu, kaḷḷem le:ni guRRam.  
 75. ‘A door without a fastening chain, a horse without a bridle’.  
 76. ṭḡikkula guRRaniki kakkula kaḷḷem. ‘For a mischevous horse, a ridged bridle’.  
 77. ṭeliuile:ni paṭṭuḍala, kaḷḷem le:ni guRRam uantiḍi.  
 78. ‘Wisdomless determination is like a bridleless horse’.

- |    |         |       |
|----|---------|-------|
| B. | CRUPPER | (NIL) |
| C. | GEAR    | (NIL) |
| D. | GIRTH   | (NIL) |

- E. HALTER (NIL)  
F. HARNESS (NIL)

## G. SADDLE

79. o:đina gurram dži:nu pai sođdu peṭṭinaṭlu.  
'Like a losing horse blaming the saddle'.  
80. gurram tʃaʋalam dži:nu mutʃtʃaʋalam.  
'Horse is a chavalam'. Saddle three 'chavalams'.  
81. gurram pe:ru go:ða: ajite: dži:nu pe:ru maḍuru – ika na:ku urđu: aṅṅa  
ṭelusanna:ḍaṭa.  
"Like he said, 'if the name of horse is go:ða – saddle's name is 'maduru' –  
henceforth, I know everything'." Or  
82. gurram pe:ru go:ða: ajite: go:ða pe:ru gurram kaḍa: - ika na:ku urđu: aṅṅa:  
ṭelusanna:ḍaṭa.  
'Like he said 'if the name of 'gurram' is go:ða – then the name of 'go:ða' is  
'gurram' hence forth, I know everything'."

## H. SHOE

83. na:ḍa: ko:sam gurram konnaṭlu.  
'Like, for the sake of a horseshoe, buying a horse'.  
84. la:ḍam ḍorakaga:ne: gurram ḍorikinaṭla?  
'Like, by finding the horseshoe, is the horse found?'

## I. SPUR (NIL)

## J. WHIP (NIL)

## K. BLINKERS

85. 'Like a blinkers-tied horse' (Repeated).

## L. HOUSING (MANGER &amp; STABLE &amp; STALL)

86. gurra:nni ga:ḍiḍani oka ga:ṭa kaṭṭinaṭlu.  
'Like tying, to the same picket, a horse and a donkey'.

## M. TRANSPORT

87. inṭi maganiki eḍla bandi, bajaṭi maganiki gurra:la bandi.  
'Bullock cart for the home husband, horse cart for the outside husband'.  
88. gurrapu bandiki onṭeḍḍu bandi a:ḍarṇamga:  
'Like, to a horse cart, the model of one-bullock-led cart'.  
89. tʃa:ra:ṇa: ḍa:ʋaṭki ba:ra:ṇa: dʒaṭka:.

‘For a four *anna* feast, a twelve *anna* horsecart’.

N. COMB

90. ʃanʃa:lama:ri gurra:niki ʃa:ʃipatʃe gorapam.  
‘For a vice – ridden horse, plam branch comb’.

IV. THE HORSE IN THE ENVIRONMENT

A. Horse and Humans

91. aɖakkunɖa: ʃeppulitʃe:ʊa:ɖu aɖigite: gurramiʃta:ɖu.  
‘He who gives sandals without being asked will give a horse if asked’.
92. aʊʊa: gurram ʊakaʃajinaʃtu.  
‘Like the granny and the horse becoming equal (one)’.
93. ‘aʃʊambu ʃeɖugaina a:ro:hakuni ʃappu...’  
‘If the horse is bad, (it’s) the mistake of the horseman...’
94. aʃʊame:d<sup>h</sup>a ja:gam ʃejja ʊatʃʃu ga:ni a:ɖapilla pelʃi ʃejjale:mu.  
‘You can do asvamedhayagam but not a woman’s marriage’.
95. a:ʃa:ri gurram bajudodɖa gurram na:ma:la santʃi: mo:jale:ka ʃatʃʃe.  
‘Achari’s horse (is) a very good horse, the names – bag it could not carry[unable to carry the names-bag( the bag containing the names of Rama – Ramakoti ), it died].
96. u:re: ʃe:ra ʊaɖɖu rauʃa: anʃe: gurra:nni ekkada katʃe: ɖanna:ɖaʃa.  
“ If said, ‘horseman, don’t reach the town’, he said, ‘where shall I tie the horse?’ ”
97. ekkite: gurrapu rauʃu ɖigite: kali banʃu.  
‘If (he) mounted, a horse-solider, if (he) dismounted a foot solider’.
98. ekkino:nɖe: gurram, e:lino:nɖe: ra:dʒjam.  
‘He who mounts only owns the horse, he who rules only owns the kingdom’.
99. enni gurra:la mi:ɖa ʊatʃʃa:du? ‘On how many horses has he come?’
100. ennaɖu: ekkanamma gurra:nnekkite: ʊenakku: munɖuku: u:gula:ɖinɖiʃa.  
‘When a never – mounted woman mounted on a horse, she swung forward and backward’.
101. ennadu: eragani redɖi gurramekkite: munɖu: ʊenaka: ajinɖiʃa.  
‘I understand that when a never knowledgeable reddy mounted on a horse, the front became the back’.
102. enumu ʃannunani gurram ʊenakku po:jinattu.  
‘Like thinking that the buffalo would kick, going behind the horse’.
103. kuɖaraiki gurramante: pu:ɳaiki purramanna:ʃʃa:  
‘If said gurram (horse) for ‘kudarai’, he said purram for ‘pu᳚ai’ ”.  
[kudarai ‘horse’ and punai ‘cat’ in Tamil]
104. gurra:nni ʃu:ʃi kunʃa na:ramb<sup>h</sup>intʃinaʃlu.  
‘Like on seeing the horse starting to limp’.

105. gurra:nni tʃu:ʃte: ka:lʃa noppi. ‘If a horse is seen, leg-ache (i.e., your legs ache)’.
106. gurramekkina ʃi:ru ka:ɖu saddi ʃinna no:ru ka:ɖu.  
‘It is not the manner (of) mounting on a horse, it is not the manner of eating of breakfast rice’.
107. gurramekke: ʃa:ɖe: paɖe: ʃa:ɖu.  
‘He who mounts the horse indeed is the one who fails’.
108. gurramekki mu:ʃa neʃʃina peʃʃukunnaʃlu.  
‘(After) Mounting on a horse, keeping the bundle on the head’.
109. gu:niki ʃo:ɖu gurrapu ʃa:juʃu. ‘In addition to the hunch back, convulsions’.
110. ʃa:kali kaʃʃani guɖɖa – ka:pari ekkani gurram ʃunɖaʃu.  
‘A garment not worn by a washerman – a horse not ridden by an osler will not be there.’
111. ʃinnanna gurram ʃiʃʃliki po:je, peɖɖanna gurram penɖliki po:je.  
‘Younger Brothers’ horse went to the bush, Senior Brother’s horse went to the marriage’.
112. ʃurako:niki gurram dʒa:ɖa: ʃeppinaʃlu.  
‘Like, to a muslim, telling the whereabouts of a horse’.
113. ɖa:ɖigurram ma:ɖiri ɖaʃuɖu ʃi:si ɖaɖilo: ɖu:rina:ɖaʃa.  
‘He ran like a war horse and crept into a ‘dadi’.  
[dadi= a wall, made with spliced bamboo sticks by weaving them together].
114. ɖobbulu gurra:niʃi anub<sup>h</sup>aʃam ra:dʒu ga:riɖi.  
‘A buses for the horses, experience (enjoyment) for the king’.
115. nu:ru gurra:la aɖ<sup>h</sup>ika:ri inʃi b<sup>h</sup>a:rjaki enɖu pu:ri.  
‘The master of 100 horses, a dry hay for the housewife’.
116. mantʃi gurram ekka:lanukunnaʃa:ɖu eppaʃiki: ekka le:ɖu.  
‘He who wants to mount on a good horse will never be able to do so’.
117. ʃaɖɖiki ʃaɖi gurra:lu ʃa:laʃu (ʃaɖɖi munɖara ʃa:ɖi guRRa:lu ku:ɖa: pa:raʃu).  
‘To interest race horses cannot be equal’.  
(With interest even race horses cannot run).
118. ʃa:ri ʃi:ri gurra:lu ka:ʃu – ʃissajja gari gurra:lu !  
‘They are not these and those people’s horses – Mr. Vissayya’s horses!’
119. maniʃi ɖengi ʃa:ʃa:la, gurram gundʒi ʃa:ʃa:la.  
‘Man dies fucking, horse dies pulling’.
120. mundu ʃu:ʃte: aʃaʃa:ri gurram ʃenaka ʃu:ʃte: sa:he:bu gurram.
121. moharamuna ɖa:nekkina ba:rani gurramu grakkuna ʃiduvanga ʃalaju.  
‘In public, if the horse on which he mounts does not run, it should be immediately abandoned’.
122. ʃiʃʃame:le: nakuluɖu aʃʃa ʃikʃakuɖaʃa:ɖu.  
‘The world ruling Nakula became a horse – trainer’.
123. sipa:ji egara nainɖu gurram ɖunka najinɖi.  
‘The sepoy wanted to jump, the horse (also) wanted to jump’.

## B. HORSE AND ANIMALS

124. ajjaʋa:rlanga:ri gurram enubo:taʃe: . ‘Ayyavari’s horse is a he – buffalo’.
125. asu:ja poriginʃa gurra:nni ga:ɖiɖanipiʃtundi.
126. ‘Envy makes (you feel that) your neighbour’s horse is a donkey’.
127. i: ʋe:[a gurramekkaɖamenduku re:pu ga:ɖiɖaneikkaɖa menduku.  
 ‘Why mount on a horse today, (and) mount on a donkey tomorrow’ (Why ride a horse today and tomorrow a donkey) or simply ‘Riding a horse today, riding a donkey tomorrow’)  
 [ This is an ill conceived proverb. It could have been better as:  
 i: ʋe:[a gurrapu saʋa:ri, re:pu ga:ɖiɖa sa:ʋa:ri.  
 ‘Today, horse-riding, tomorrow, donkey-riding.]
128. eɖɖulu tʃejjanu gurra:lu mejjanu. ‘Oxen labour, horses graze’.
129. e:nugukoka si:ma, gurra:nikoka u:ru, barreko:ka ba:nisa.  
 ‘One plain for an elephant, one town for a horse, one slave for a buffalo’.
130. kukka ku:ʃte gurra:niki lekka:? ‘If the dog barks, does the horse care?’
131. kukkalu e:kulu ʋadikiʃte: , gurra:lu tʃi:relu kadaʃa:ji.  
 ‘If dogs weave cotton – horses will wear sarees’.
132. kulam ʋa:[lani tʃu:ʃte: kukkako:pam gurra:niki sonʃo:ʃam.  
 ‘If it sees its caste members (specie), a dog becomes angry, a horse becomes happy’
133. ga:ɖiɖala mo:ʃa gurra:la me:ʃa.  
 ‘Donkeys’ load carrying, horses’ grass grazing’.
134. gurramu aɖvamu kalisi guɖʋamainaʃlu.  
 ‘Like, (gu)rram (horse) and a(ɖʋam) (horse ), combined, becoming guɖʋam (horse)’.
133. gurra:niki ga:ɖiɖaki: ʃte:ɖa: le:kunɖa: po:jinɖi.  
 ‘Between a horse and a donkey, the difference has gone’.
134. gurram guggi||u ʃinʃu:nʃe: ga:ɖiɖa kaɖupu:ɖi tʃatʃʃenanʃa.  
 ‘(It happened that) when a horse was eating horsegram, the donkey died by belly – swelling’.
135. gurram gurrame: ga:ɖiɖa ga:ɖiɖe: .  
 ‘A horse (is) a horse, a donkey (is) a donkey’.
136. gurram be:ima:n kukka najʃaʃ. ‘A horse (is) unfaithful, a dog faithful’.
137. gurram ʃinna kukka aɖe:mi baʃtukuʃtundi.  
 ‘The dog that ate a horse – what life will it lead?’
138. gurramu ʋale: kukkanu pentʃi redɖi ʃa:ne: moriga:ɖaʃa.  
 ‘(It happened that) By bringing up a dog like a horse, the Reddy himself barked’.
139. gurraniki ʃonɖa dʒamanʃ. ‘To a horse, a lizard is the guarantee’.

140. gorrekeḍuru guRRa:niki ōenaka po:ra:ḍu .  
‘Opposite a sheep, behind the horse, one should not go’.
141. gollinṭa guRRa:lu kukka pillalu, a:ōulu a:ḍa biḍḍalu.  
‘Horses in a cowboys’ house are puppies, cows are female children’.
142. tʃu:ḍaga: tʃu:ḍaga: guRRam ga:ḍiḍajinḍi.  
‘Seeing, seeing, a horse became a donkey’.
143. tʃu:pulaki guRRame: ga:ni tʃurukuḍana:niki ḍunna.  
‘For looks it is a horse but for smartness it is a buffalo’.  
[For looks a horse, but for agility a he – buffalo.]
144. ṭalugu ṭentʃu kunna barre, ṭa:du ṭentʃu kunna guRRam.  
‘The buffalo that tore the mouthslip, the horse that tore the rope’.
145. paḍa ḍo:se: guRRam kannā: ga:ḍiḍa me:lu.  
‘Better than a throwing horse is a donkey’.
146. barreko: ba:ntʃa guRRa:niko: sainu.  
‘A slave for a buffalo, a sepoy for a horse’.

### C. HORSE IN THE ENVIROMENT

147. iḍi guRRam iḍi maiḍa:nam.  
‘This is the horse, this is the field. (Here is the horse. Here is the field.)’
148. u:ʃo:ōa:ʃa guRRa:lu ṭaṅge:du sulagulu,  
maʃʃuko: mana maṅi kattulo: o:pikunnaṅṭa ōaraku.  
‘Horses of the town, ‘tangedu’ whips –  
turn (them) as there is patience in our wrists.’
149. ṭe:ra guRRam ṭaṅge:ḍu barike. ‘Free horse ‘tangedu’ whip’.
150. okate: guRRam 72 palla:lu. ‘Only one horse, 72 slopes’.
151. kunduḷlo: guRRa:lu ṭo:laṭam. ‘Riding horses among pots’.
152. gatʃtʃa ka:jalaku konna guRRam kandaḍam ḍa:ṭuṭunḍa:?  
‘Can the horse bought for cowries cross the moat?’
153. gurindʒala guRRam tʃe:ḍinaṭlu.  
‘Like making guruvunda ((seeds) (Abrades Precatorius)) a horse’.
154. guRRam tʃatʃtʃinḍe: ga:ka guṅṭaṭaōōa noka ru:ka.  
‘It is not only the dying of the horse but also one rupee for digging the pit’.
155. guRRa:nni guggiʃa kamminattu. ‘Selling a horse for horsegram’.
156. tʰa:ṅa: mi:ḍa guRRam. ‘Horse on the thana (police station)’.
157. ro:hiṅilo: dʒonṅalu sa:hiṅilo: guRRa:lu.  
‘Corn in Rohini, horses in the stable’.

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