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FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN PROVERBS FROM NORTHERN PAKISTAN

Abstract: Proverbs from Pakistan are one of the lesser-noted areas of paremiology. The article examines proverbs in five orally transmitted languages from northern Pakistan for statements about relationships and values within the family. Many clichés are confirmed: women are subordinate, and untrustworthy, children are wished for, but hard to raise, mothers are good, and stepmothers evil, the honour of the family must be protected. However, there are remarkably few proverbs about the stupidity of women and their talkativity. And the values depicted in the proverbs, despite cultural and geographical closeness, are not uniform. The emphasis on honour and family cohesion is much stronger in the Shina proverbs than in the proverbs of the other communities.

Keywords: Pakistan, women, family, Islam, oral, Gilgit-Baltistan

1. Introduction

1.1. Aims and limitations of this paper

Proverbs reflect notions about society and human behaviour, they express common observations and experiences as well as normative values. Their status as culturally transmitted and formalised figurative utterances qualifies proverbs as indicators of the values and habits predominant in given societies. Proverbs have been taken as material for comparisons between different cultures, often with a view to particular topics. One of the more

frequently found topics in studies of proverbs is the status of women. This paper joins the ranks of such studies; however, in order to avoid the risk of merely confirming preconceived notions about misogyny, we will look at proverbs that shed light on the structures and dynamics within the family. Through the relationships of different functionaries within the family, the complexity of social life comes to the fore, and the position of woman will emerge as embedded in the context of her relationships to the people with whom she is most involved in everyday life.

As to the geographical and cultural frame of our analysis, we have selected proverbs from several communities in a limited area in Northern Pakistan, with different languages and different, but partly related cultures. The restriction to proverbs from one geographical region guarantees that proverb equivalences can mostly be explained by a common origin, or by borrowing within a limited area. Surely comparison with similar proverbs from other parts of the world would give us a broader perspective, but the intention of this paper is neither to highlight gross cultural differences nor to confirm that “the ideas or notions presented in proverbs across the globe are the same” (Rasul 2015: 54). Neither is there any intention to formulate a new theory, or challenge an old one. The modest aim is to gain insight into cultural features within a particular geographically and culturally defined region. As will be explained later, this is orally transmitted material and the lack of contexts precludes a pragmatic analysis.

1.2. Geographical and Cultural Setting

Gilgit-Baltistan is a high-mountain area in northern Pakistan with harsh living conditions for its inhabitants. Agriculture is possible only in a small part of the area, and depends on irrigation. Agricultural products are barley, wheat, maize, apricots, apples and walnuts. In addition, there is livestock farming with sheep, goats and cattle. Most people are Muslims, belonging to different denominations within Islam.

The languages of our proverbs - Balti, Burushaski, Khowar, Shina, Wakhi - are the main regional languages, besides which there are several other languages in the area. Taking the city of Gilgit as a reference point, Shina is spoken in and around Gilgit, Khowar in the northwest, Wakhi and Burushaski in the north,

and Balti in the east. However, this is only a very rough delimitation. All these languages are spoken in different places and there is a lot of contact between the different communities. Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, serves as a lingua franca. The Shina proverbs quoted in this paper are from Gilgit. The Burushaski and Wakhi proverbs are from Hunza. The Khowar proverbs are from Chitral, which is not part of Gilgit-Baltistan but shares not only several languages but also much of its history and culture. The Balti proverbs were recorded in Islamabad.

As to the status of women, it will suffice for our purposes to quote Sökefeld (2014: 20):

Society in Gilgit-Baltistan is strongly gendered, although gender-relations vary greatly according to sect and region. Among Shias and Sunnis *pardah*, i.e. gender segregation, is a strict norm which, however, especially in villages where women are required to work outside the house in the fields is not always tightly enforced. In principle *pardah* (the Persian word for “curtain”) means that a woman should not have any interaction with men from outside of the close circle of her family. This means that a woman should largely be restricted to her house and compound. In any case, pre-marital and extramarital (sexual) relations are anathema. In parts of Gilgit-Baltistan, ‘relation’ in this context is a very broadly defined concept which may include a word or a wink between a man and a woman who are not related. Any suspicion and rumor that a woman might be engaged in such a ‘relation’ befouls her *izzat* (honor) and consequently the *izzat* of her family. Therefore, men are called to keep ‘their women’, in particular daughters and sisters, under very strict surveillance and control. In normal life this control is mostly executed by the mothers of the families, but also elder brothers play an important role.

The proverbs presented in this paper will confirm this account. They will also add some aspects of the ideas and concepts of women’s and family life.

1.3. Data basis: orally transmitted languages of Gilgit-Baltistan

The data are taken from published collections of proverbs in five different languages. Shina and Khowar are Indo-Aryan languages, Wakhi is an Iranian language, both belong to the large family

of Indo-European languages. Balti belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family, and Burushaski is a language isolate. All these languages are spoken by people living in the region of Gilgit-Baltistan in the north of Pakistan. The proverbs thus belong to the Islamic world on the one hand, and to the Indian subcontinent on the other.

The collections we use are different from collections of other, in particular European proverbs, in that they are neither based on nor competing with written sources.

Mieder (2012: 26) points out that “regional ... collections are of considerably higher value if the proverbs were ... collected from oral sources.” All the proverbs used for this paper are in languages which have up to date been orally transmitted. There exist some written texts in Shina and Wakhi but one could hardly call them literary languages in the sense that a huge corpus of written literature exists and that writing is the dominant form of transmission. At the time when the proverbs were collected, even attempts to write the languages concerned were only just beginning. Mieder’s judgment was in the context of origin of proverbs. Of course, even with a collection based exclusively on oral sources, there is no guarantee that all the proverbs originate in the place where they were recorded. In fact, there is evidence that proverbs were borrowed from one of the dominant literary languages of the area, Persian or Urdu, and we can state with certainty that there has always been considerable exchange of literary topics, themes, and forms, including proverbs, among the unwritten languages of the region. We will not be concerned with the origin of the proverbs; many of them are found in similar form in neighbouring cultures, and it is often hard to tell in which direction the borrowing occurred, or if there is borrowing at all. The value of a proverb for the community where it is in use, is in any case not dependent on its origin.

All our proverbs were collected by linguistic fieldworkers among speakers of the respective languages in the 20th and early 21st century. While the proverbs were collected with the intention to learn more about the language and the linguistic community, none of these collections reflects the attempt to construct a national or ethnical heritage or identity. Several collections are part of books containing texts and grammatical sketches of

the respective language. Since all the languages concerned are among the lesser-known languages of the world, the researchers refrained from selection or rejection of data, but recorded whatever they could get hold of. This is a great advantage, but it makes certain analyses impossible.

There is no indication of the age or history of the proverbs collected, and given the random nature of the data, we should be cautious about making sweeping statements based on the number of proverbs attested in general or for a particular category. Above all, however, the context is lacking.

Proverbs may be used to direct, encourage, complain, warn, instigate, prescribe, console, condemn, or ridicule, but all of these and more functions will become apparent only in a given situation. It would be a fascinating and rewarding task indeed to evaluate the actual use of proverbs in Northern Pakistan in interaction between native speakers, but the data used for this paper are taken from collections which tell little if anything about the context. In fact, in most cases the linguist would probably have asked a native speaker for proverbs in his language, and be given a number of common proverbs or proverbial sayings out of context. Local language assistants did provide information about the “meaning” of some proverbs but since the range of meanings adopted by a particular proverb can only be grasped in its conversational context, the semantic and functional potential of the proverbs cited in this article will remain vague. We also have very little textual evidence for the function of proverbs. Again, this may partly be due to the fieldwork situation. Fortunately, for Shina we possess a document of language use without the interference of a foreigner (Buddruss and Degener 2012). In seven radio features, each with 25 minutes of airtime, fifteen proverbs are quoted by the protagonists. Practically none of them, however, is concerned with family relationships.

1.4. Methodology

Classification can never be neutral; the categories will shape the findings. Many proverbs, moreover, are multi-dimensional and polysemous, so that they fall into several categories. In order to achieve a certain accuracy in dealing with the material, and to obtain a *tertium comparationis* for the wealth of data from

five different linguistic and ethnic communities, we arrange the proverbs according to the typical protagonists within a family. For classification we use opposition pairs, mostly for role models, such as man : woman, mother : father, etc. The proverbs will be quoted in English translation. In the appendix, all the proverbs are given in the original language, arranged according to the numbers used in this paper. Wherever the Matti Kuusi database is quoted, the abbreviation Matti Kuusi is used.

2. Analysis of Proverbs

2.1. Individual : Family

The family, including brothers, sisters and cousins, the young as well as the older generations, is a haven of security and a network of mutual assistance. Typically, the widely known proverb “Don’t saw off the branch you are sitting on” (classified in Matti Kuusi as M3d about stupidity) is in Burushaski (6) interpreted to refer to one’s family: “One must not break one’s bond of blood” (Tiffou 1993: 91). For family unity is essential for survival: (7) “You can survive without livestock, without relatives you cannot.” A single person will achieve nothing: (11) “No oil comes from a single fruit stone”, a man’s authority and importance are based on his relatives: (15) “The tree is firm on its roots, man is firm on his relatives”, (16) “The stone is heavy in its own place.” This does not mean that there is always harmony, or that all the family members are equally liked, but the family belongs together under all circumstances: (4) “The broth is bitter, the meat tasty”, it cannot be divided: (3) “If you whip water, will it split?” Not always is it comfortable to stick to one’s home, and lack of food and other material goods has always been a very real threat in Gilgit-Baltistan. However, poverty at home is still better than to be dependent on others: (2) “Better to eat the millet bread of your own house than sugar and honey elsewhere.” As long as the family sticks together, it will not perish: (1) “When the house community is at one, even water will be digested”, and a relative, no matter how poor he is, can be a help in time of need, therefore (52) “May there be a relative even (if he is) under a thorn!”

Every member of the family is responsible for the others. There is no way to escape from the duty to support your family even if it means you have to sell your own son or a nephew to help another family member ((13) and (17)). In many cases, it will be one person who takes care of the whole family, and there can be a feeling that they are sacrificing themselves while everyone else is enjoying himself: (8) “One for earning, a hundred for dancing.” However, one’s relatives should never be regarded as a burden: (12) “Will its horns get too heavy for the markhor?” And ultimately, it is the whole family that benefits, including the breadwinner: (10) “If you put (something under the coat) through this sleeve, it will come out at the chest; if you put it through that sleeve, it will also come out at the chest.”

If one family member is wronged, unwell or suffers a loss, the whole family is affected: (19) and (20) “When the flesh is cut, there is pain in the bone.”

In contrast to criticism and praise within the family, one cannot rely on the judgement of strangers, because honest rebuke is better than dishonest flattery, and no one needs bad advice: (21) “(Other) people’s praise and the spit of one’s kin are the same”, and (22), (23) “If you listen to other people, they will lose your father’s corpse in the water.” A Wakhi proverb seems to refer to the same theme: (88) “A person will not let another person bury his father”, according to the editor, however, this would mean, you can’t please anyone.

Criticism can be levelled, for example, at weak personalities who cannot harm others and take out their frustrations on their own family, and at people who are able to help their own relatives but do not: (5) “A weak witch will eat her kin”, (18) “Clucking at my (house), the egg is with others.” To molest one’s family members is bad indeed, but much worse is misbehaviour outside the home, for (25) “If a single goat is bad, shame will come upon the whole flock” where the masculine form of the word for goat indicates that it is a general statement, not restricted to women.

In fact, the distinction between inside and outside, family and strangers, is crucial. If one can afford only one dress, it will be worn by the person who represents the family in public: (9) “Dressing is good for one, eating is good for all.” Whatever problems one may face, and no matter how divided the family

may be, never should any of this leak out. This is the explanation given for the Shina proverb (26) “The smoke of the house is known to the smoke hole of the house.” The same proverb is attested in Burushaski (14) “The pungency of the smoke is known by the smoke-hole.” The editor’s explanation “One must be involved to judge well of something”, shows the other side of the coin, so to speak: within the family everyone knows, but it should not get out.

The most vulnerable element is, of course, the female members of the household, especially the younger ones, because the virtuous behaviour of women is crucial for the reputation of the whole family. As a consequence, it is incumbent on the whole family to watch over them: (24) “The honour of the women is on all.” If, however, anything suspicious is noticed, it is better to keep it secret, because when it goes public, the family will be dishonoured: (27) “A hundred penalties on the one who has learned about his mother’s adultery.” This rule also applies to a wife’s unvirtuous behaviour. If a man notices a piece of cloth in a public place and recognizes it as belonging to his wife’s trousers, his honour is tainted, because she seems to have taken it off in an improper place. It is advisable not to recognise it: (70) “If you recognize it, it is the wife’s trousers, if you don’t, a piece of cloth from the bazaar.”

The importance of consanguinity within the family is addressed below under “Parents : Children”, where a clear distinction is made between own and adopted children. Almost all our proverbs about the unity of the family, about mutual responsibilities, and about the importance of upholding the family reputation, are Shina proverbs. This is conspicuous because the collection of Burushaski proverbs (Tiffou 1993) is no less comprehensive than that of Shina proverbs (Degener 2008), but family unity and family honour seem to be much more central in Shina society.

2.2. *Man : Woman*

This paragraph is concerned with men and women, irrespective of their specific roles as husband and wife or else in the family. It is not surprising that women are burdened with childbirth, but the juxtaposition of men and women in the proverbs (28) “woman in childbirth, man in battle” and (32) “One doesn’t know

where a woman will have her place (after marriage); one doesn't know where a man will have his grave" is also an expression of the cultural specificity that men's and women's spheres of labour are usually separated. Men have to provide the fire wood while women would bring water into the house. Consequently, (31) "In a house where there are many women, there will be no water; in a house where there are many men, there will be no wood." An interesting proverb attested both in Shina (29) and Burushaski (30) states that "There is no praise for the water carrier, neither is there blame for the one breaking the calabash." In neither version is there an indication of gender, but the Burushaski version (which is presumably the source of the Shina one) is explained as followed: "The women who were ill-treated could take refuge in the king's palace, where they were received and protected. They were in charge of ancillary jobs, one of them was to carry water."

Old age affects both men and women, but there are significant differences. One remarkable proverb refers to the low life expectancy of women: (36) "The flowering time of a young man is (until) three times 12 years, the flowering time of a woman is (until she has had) three children." The Balti proverb does not state at what age that would be the case but considering early marriage and childbirth, a woman's "flowering time" would probably turn to withering in her twenties, and that is confirmed by a Shina proverb: (35) "The lifetime of a woman and the lifetime of a peach tree are one", referring to peach trees which often do not become old. Old people tend to be respected in Pakistani society, but the low life expectancy of women is not the only reason that it is only men whose role as a repository of wisdom is referred to in proverbs. An interesting proverb recommends keeping an old man in hiding who can help with advice if needed: (37) (38) "Put the wise old man in a basket!" Never in her life will a woman be independent of her husband or male relatives: (33) and (34) "A woman, when she becomes old, needs a man; a man, when he becomes old, needs fire."

Her status increases after she has given birth to children, but even (39) „a woman who has borne twelve (children), does not have authority." The number is not random, for in traditional Gilgit society

When a woman has given birth twelve times, ... the husband gives her a turban. And he prepares entirely new clothes and dresses his wife in them. He says: "My wife has given birth twelve times", and gives people a feast of rejoicing as if it were a new marriage. (Müller-Stellrecht 1980: 24).

A woman has no claims: (40) "For women's spindle disc, there will be no room in the corner." Her words have no effect (41), and this is apparently a natural law, for (42), (43) "Does the dawn rise when the hen cackles?" (Matti Kuusi G5h25) If, however, a woman won't keep quiet and docile, nothing will help, what remains is a bad-tempered remark like (44) "You will stop water, you will stop a woman?" or (62) "A boot eating the foot, a wife eating the heart." Because woman by nature is obstinate and stupid: (45) "If you travel with a woman or with a donkey, it is the same", otherwise she would be a man: (46) "If woman had brains, wouldn't she grow a beard?"

And she is not only stupid, but also untrustworthy, and incapable of keeping secrets, therefore potentially dangerous: (47), (48) "Do not tell the secret of your heart to a woman", (49) "Woman is the knife of the bosom." Women are easily seduced by bad company, and when a woman has left the path of morality, shame and slander can drive her to suicide: (50)(51) "The immoral woman will drive the virtuous woman to despair."

2.3. *Wife : Husband*

Married life is a central topic of proverbs worldwide, but how it is fleshed out is culturally specific. In Gilgit-Baltistan, the focus is on hierarchy and responsibilities, but above all on the potential infidelity of the wife which threatens the honour of the house and requires strict control.

A Wakhi proverb says: (53) "If you get married, think about the house!", according to the editor the meaning is that one should think about building a separate house for one's family. No equivalent has been found in the other languages treated in this paper, and the function of this proverb is not clear. The Khowar proverb (60) "For man and wife a pear leaf is (enough) place" may point in the same direction, indicating according to the native speaker, that "a single family can live better. One can't sleep with another

person so comfortably as with own wife.” However, considering the lowly position of the son-in-law in his in-laws’ house (146), that would also be a motivation to move out as soon as possible. There are proverbs about the responsibilities of man and wife respectively in Shina and Burushaski (54), (55) “(The responsibility) of a good man, is the ox, that of a good wife, her husband.” The proverb does not refer to different tasks only, it also implies a hierarchy, where the man is clearly above the woman and has power over her. For (61) “The stirrup may be made of gold - but it’s still under the step.” That this is no mere metaphor becomes clear in (56) “To beat the mother, there is the father; who is there to beat the father?”, and even more clear in (57) where the woman serves to unload frustrations, whatever their origin: “When the ibex has escaped on the hunt, (the hunter), back in the village, beats his wife.” And yet, to be a wife means to be respected in society, and the wish of a young woman expressed in (58) “I would be even the mere friend of the good, I would not even be the wife of a bad one” will in most cases remain no more than a dream. On the other hand, a Shina proverb cautions that there are limits to ill-treatment, for a man’s wife is the guarantor of a happy future for the whole family: (59) “Of one who treats his ox badly, the field will dry up, of one who treats (his) wife badly, the offspring will go out.”

Men are warned not to pay too much attention to beauty, because what counts is not how nice a woman looks, but whether she contributes to the survival of the family, for (64) “You can’t put a pretty face on a plate.” Another proverb speaks of “luck”, although it remains unclear whether this refers to fate or marital happiness: (63) “When luck is not strong, (even) an assload of beauty is useless.” A group of similar proverbs have a more general meaning, but are mentioned here because even if used figuratively they have a bearing on the status of woman in the family: (65), (66), (67), (87) “From a woman one does not love, even the vegetables are tasteless”, and (68) “If your wife becomes distasteful to you, the night won’t come (to an end).”

One of the most important issues within married life is marital fidelity, especially the virtuous behaviour of the wife, because the honour of the husband and the whole family depends on it: (69) “The placenta of the cow is smeared on the face of the bull”.

A woman, by definition, cannot be trusted. (71) “A dog is more faithful than a woman”, because a dog may be despicable but it will not leave its owner. On the other hand, (72) “Woman and rifle will not be one’s own” (Matti Kuusi G5h 29), and, significant in the arid climate of Hunza, (77) “The loyalty of a woman is like the wetness of the rain.” For women tend to have lovers. If they have loved a boy in their childhood, marriage will make no difference, (74) “To whom a woman once gives her heart, to him she belongs.”, and while the husband leaves the house to earn bread for the family, his wife will think about how she can cheat on him: (73) “The husband is tied to loads, the wife is tied to (her) lovers.” Even when she seems to be worried about her son, it is only pretended, in reality she is thinking about her lover: (75) “Longing for the lover, ghost of the son.” As soon as she has a daughter, however, it will be her duty to prevent the girl from behaving in the same way: (76) “The mother behind the daughter, the daughter behind the lover.”

The stricter the husband is, the less danger there is that the wife will be disobedient or unfaithful: (78), (79) “Hard relatives - war, hard husband - virtuous wife”. If she does go astray, it will be the husband who is blamed for it, for only (83), (84) “When the dog is bad, the fox will come on the roof.” No wonder married life often seems a burden for a man: (85) “If you want to be ruined, marry!”

For the women of the palace, different rules may have been applied, but women in normal society are expected to observe *purdah* and not show themselves in public (86). However, since the husband is often absent, the control of his wife falls to the whole family: (80) “The husband of a wife is blind, they say.” It is important that a young wife learns to consider her husband’s home her own, otherwise she may be tempted to leave it. (81) “The foot of a woman who does not make (her husband’s) home (her own) will be lifted (to run away).” Therefore, young wives must not be allowed to visit their parents for a long time: (82) “Do not let the kid on the cliff, do not let the daughter to her mother!”

Here again, the large number of Shina proverbs compared to Burushaski (with an equally large data basis) is striking. The Shina proverb (71) contrasting a dog’s faithfulness with a wom-

an's unfaithfulness, exists in a variant in Wakhi, but typically it is not the woman's lack of fidelity, but her bossiness: (89) "From a dog fidelity, from a woman imperiousness".

Rarely does a proverb refer to the possibility of a man's infidelity (90), and even that would probably be used in a more general sense (Matti Kuusi H3ff 14). No proverb about man's infidelity has been found in Shina. Of course, it is not an issue, there is no danger to the family's honour. The Burushaski proverb (91) "If I stumbled, so I stumbled; but you, you will not stumble" is not explicit, but according to the editor, there may be a sexual connotation: "I may have relations with others, but not you, my wife."

A man who is not happy with his first wife may be tempted to get another one, but he should not make a hasty decision. (92) "The husband of two wives is known", in other words, (93) "The face of a man who has two wives is black", because he is always in trouble. (94) "The first wife (is) a patch of the soul, the second wife a patch of the knee", says a Khowar proverb, but a Shina proverb, in the same words, is about a widow's marrying again: ("The first wife (is) a patch of the soul, the second wife a patch of the knee." A woman who considers a second marriage should not forget, (96) "When you hug the horse, you hug the groom", in other words, if you marry a man, you also marry his family, including children from another wife.

2.4. Parents : Children

Children bring problems, (97) "Where there is no child, there is one worry, where there are children, a hundred." Not having children, however, is much worse: (98) (99) "In a house without offspring the mice will dance." It should preferably be a son, and even better, several ones, for one might die. (100) "A single male heir is bad for the parents", but (101) "When the brothers grow up, there is loneliness, when the sons grow up, there is a big family." However, a daughter is better than no offspring, and also better than a bad son (109), (110).

Everybody thinks their own offspring best ((102, (103), (104) Matti Kuusi H2d 17), but an adopted child can never be like one's own: (105), (106). (107) "If you raise an orphaned child, it will be a stone on your head, if you raise an orphaned

kid, there will be a garment for your body”, says a Shina proverb, but its Wakhi version, while being equally positive about the kid, acknowledges that the orphaned child will grow up to be a helper (108).

Within the family, wife and daughter have a subordinate position, but a mother is the most important person for a child, even more than a father (Matti Kuusi G1b 18): (111), (112), and (113) “The fatherless half-orphan is in a milk well, the motherless half-orphan is in the desert.” Even when the term is used figuratively, as it is in many proverbs, the qualities attributed to a mother’s character are revealing. This is the case in (114) (115) “The deaf person’s mother understands the deaf’s language”¹, (116) “As long as the child does not cry, the mother does not give milk”, (117) “Even with its muzzle bound, the calf remains under its mother”, (118) “If a poor (man’s) mother is not at the place for the one in charge, even he will not get any meat.” The stepmother has a bad reputation in proverbs around the world, including in Gilgit-Baltistan: (119) “From a stepmother no milk will come”, and (120) “Even the children of one’s enemy may not fall under a stepmother!”

Parents must serve their children’s needs, even if it involves great effort. (121) “Take the burden, do not take the child!” Children are demanding: (122), (123) “Who is harder to please: the king or the child?”, and they know how to persuade their parents to give them what they want: (124) “Even over the wolf its offspring have power”, often without regard to their poor economic situation: (125) “An abscess has no eyes, a daughter has no eyes”.

To raise a child is an investment in the future: (126) “Do not save on the seed of the field and on the child’s bread!” Nevertheless, several proverbs complain about ingratitude and lack of respect from children when their parents are old: (127) “when the beard of the young he-goat comes out, the value of the old he-goat will be broken”, (128) “When the kid has come out, the goat’s value will become less.” The children care more for ma-

1 Tiffou’s translation “dove’s” instead of “deaf’s” for *layáne* is unintentionally funny, mistaking German “taub” (deaf) in Berger’s translation of the Burushaski proverb, for “Taube” (dove).

terial goods than for their old parents: (129) “The parents’ heart is after son and daughter, the children’s heart after stone and wood.” Therefore, (130) “Do not serve a child, it will forget, do not serve an old person, he will die”, and (131) “Better raise a lamb than a child.”

Parents are responsible for their children’s actions, (132) “Do not look at the dog, look at the master!” Education is necessary, for a man who is too stupid to educate his children, will have no help from them: (133) “Even if the ass has twelve foals, the load is on the ass.” (134) “If you don’t teach him at the age of a young twig, you won’t be able to do it when he has become a cudgel”, and it will be harder for the child to be taught by the hardships of life: (135), (136), (137) “When mother and father did not teach, wood and stone will teach.”

One of the duties of parents is to ensure that their children are married, (138) “A daughter who is not given a dowry, is not one’s own daughter; a son on whose heel colour is not applied (at the wedding), is not one’s own son.” Daughters should be married off early, otherwise they become rotten: (139) “Women (are like) a basket with meat.”

2.5. *Grandparents : Grandchildren*

Proverbs about grandparents exist only in Shina, and they testify to a close relationship between them and their grandchildren: (140) “marrow is tastier than bone”, which is explained to refer to sons (bones) and grandsons (marrow). Good or bad, their influence is considerable: (141) “If the grandmother is bad, the granddaughter becomes bald”, but they do not always get the respect they claim: (142) “The grandson will sell the grandfather.”

2.6. *Son-in-law : Daughter-in-law*

(143) “The son-in-law is weak among his wife’s relatives”, as long as he has to live in the house of his in-laws: (144) “Until one has taken out one’s hand from under the stone, one has to bear (the pressure)”. He does not even get control over his offspring: (145) “The billy-goat does not have kids”, and as the one who has to do the dirtiest work, he is called (146) “A shovel for the ashes, a wooden fire hook.”

The daughter-in-law is no better off: (147), (148) “The blood of a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law will never mix together, even in a river.” Or is the proverbial bad mother-in-law just a pretext? (149) “For farting, peas are an excuse, for a bad daughter-in-law, the mother-in-law is an excuse.”

3. Conclusion

As one would expect, the role of women in Gilgit-Baltistan proverbs is that of mother, daughter, wife and daughter-in-law. Women are subordinate, dependent and inherently unfaithful. However, compared to proverbs worldwide, the emphasis is on the family rather than on women as individuals or as a gender group. And there is a clear emphasis on the considerable importance of women as labourers, vital in a region where the daily survival and continuance of the family depends on extremely hard work. For all the cultural similarities, here are certain differences between the evidence from the different communities. In the Shina proverbs, more than in the others, the prestige of the family is emphasised and warnings are given against female infidelity. Only in Khowar are there slight references to affection between husband and wife. While distrust of outsiders is widespread and warnings are given against the adoption of orphans in particular, in Wakhi blood relationship is relativised in that the adopted child is at least recognised as someone who contributes to the family’s livelihood.

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Appendix: List of Proverbs

Languages: Blt = Balti, Bur = Burushaski, Kho = Khowar, Sh = Shina, Wkh = Wakhi

Nr	Language	Proverb	Source
1	Sh	<i>goṭéi jamáat ek bile to wei ga jará bei</i> “When the house community is at one, even water will be digested.”	Degener 2008 Nr 1
2	Sh	<i>darú geé šákar mačhii khoóikyęjo toóm goṭéi ánei ṭiki miṣṭi hain theęgyen</i> “Better to eat the millet bread of your own house than sugar and honey elsewhere.”	Degener 2008 Nr 138
3	Sh	<i>wéyei thuryáa digáa to je čhíjey-a</i> “If you whip water, will it split?”	Degener 2008 Nr 68
4	Sh	<i>júuli čṭi, moós ispáao</i> “The broth is bitter, the meat tasty.”	Degener 2008 Nr 69
5	Sh	<i>atiuli rúui-se toóme kháai</i> “A weak witch will eat her kin.”	Degener 2008 Nr 354
6	Bur	<i>šaráṭe nuúruṭ čhe ayéti</i> “Don’t cut the branch on which you are sitting.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 2036
7	Wkh	<i>bi mol úmyt, bi xiš náy</i> “You can survive without livestock, without relatives you cannot.”	Grjunberg 1976 Nr 4
8	Sh	<i>ek kamoóiky ga šal naṭhoóiky</i> “One for earning, a hundred for dancing.”	Degener 2008 Nr 2
9	Sh	<i>banoóiky ékeṭ šóo, khoóiky bútoṭ šóo</i> “Dressing is good for one, eating is good for all.”	Degener 2008 Nr 3
10	Sh	<i>ne bóo-i de arú wiigaa to ga kúčer, re bóo-i de arú wiigaa to ga kúčer theęgyen</i> “If you put (something under the coat) through this sleeve, it will come out at the chest; if you put it through that sleeve, it will also come out at the chest.”	Degener 2008 Nr 7
11	Sh	<i>ek haníyeyi teél neé nikháai</i> “No oil comes from a single fruit stone.”	Degener 2008 Nr 6
12	Sh	<i>mayaá-reṭ jéek šiṇe hagúre béen-aa</i> “Will its horns get too heavy for the markhor?”	Degener 2008 Nr 64
13	Sh	<i>puč kinií sawúwo nikhálé</i> “Free your nephew, selling your son!”	Degener 2008 Nr 94

14	Bur	<i>tháse yaqáyumkuş sayámar leél</i> “The pungency of the smoke is known by the smoke-hole.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1185
15	Sh	<i>tom multiěj agúro han, manúžo káamoj agúro han</i> “The tree is firm on its roots, man is firm on his relatives.”	Degener 2008 Nr 127
16	Sh	<i>bať toóm dišér hagúro béen</i> “The stone is heavy in its own place.”	Degener 2008 Nr 128
17	Bur	<i>guí ke gaş ne gusáyon</i> “After selling your son, there still remain your nephews.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1048
18	Sh	<i>kuk méi aál, haneé jagéi aál</i> “Clucking at my (house), the egg is with others.”	Degener 2008 Nr 10
19	Sh	<i>mozéj khaás to á-tyej jaák</i> “Cut in the flesh, pain in the bone.”	Degener 2008 Nr 8
20	Bur	<i>čhap khāās ke tin qhaās</i> „When the flesh is cut, the bone is also suffering.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1028
21	Sh	<i>jagéi šábaş ga tomakéi thúki parúli</i> “(Other) people’s praise and the spit of one’s kin are the same.”	Degener 2008 Nr 443
22	Sh	<i>jagéi móreť kon digáa-t maálei kúno wéi-de hararéen</i> “If you listen to (other) people, they will lose your father’s corpse in the water.”	Degener 2008 Nr 463
23	Bur	<i>jamípe bárči manáa ke gúuwe gútas uraáy oómaimi</i> “If you listen to foreigners, your father’s corpse will not get buried.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1109
24	Sh	<i>dií-sóo-čyei naň šišeť</i> “The honour of the women is on all.”	Degener 2008 Nr 119
25	Sh	<i>ek lač khačo búlu-t píuro donéť šaa~ wáai</i> “If a single goat is bad, shame will come upon the whole flock.”	Degener 2008 Nr 121
26	Sh	<i>goťei duúm goťei sóomeť leél</i> “The smoke of the house is known to the smoke hole of the house.”	Degener 2008 Nr 131
27	Sh	<i>ma~yéi laš lamúteť báai čhéye theégyen</i> “A hundred penalties on the one who has learned about his mother’s adultery.”	Degener 2008 Nr 428
28	Sh	<i>čei čáatareť- mušaa birgáaj</i> “Woman in child-birth, man in battle.”	Degener 2008 Nr 14

29	Sh	<i>wei waliitakeŋ šabaŋ ga nuš, ʔóki phuʔiitakeŋ thúki ga nuš</i> “There is no praise for the water carrier, neither is there blame for the one breaking the calabash.”	Degener 2008 Nr 493
30	Bur	<i>búpuš isárume šabaŋ ke apí iqharume thúki ke apí</i> “One doesn’t praise the water carrier, but one does not blame her for breaking the jug.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1019
31	Sh	<i>bóde čéye han goóŋ wei neé bei, bóde mušée han goóŋ lei neé bei</i> “In a house where there are many women, there will be no water; in a house where there are many men, there will be no wood.”	Degener 2008 Nr 546
32	Bur	<i>gúsmo muyeése leél apí, híre iltúse leél apí</i> “One doesn’t know where a woman will have her place (after marriage); one doesn’t know where a man will have his grave.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1057
33	Sh	<i>mušéeye jaryeéi agáareŋ, čéye jaryeéi mušáaŋ theégyen</i> “Men, when they have become old, (care for/ think of) fire, women, when they have become old, (think of) the man/ husband, they say.”	Degener 2008 Nr 18
34	Bur	<i>gus jaŋ numúman hírar; hir jaŋ niman phúwar</i> “A woman, when she becomes old, needs a man; a man, when he becomes old, needs fire.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1054
35	Sh	<i>čéyei úmar ga čukunáarei úmar ek theégyen</i> “The lifetime of a woman and the lifetime of a peach tree are one, they say.”	Degener 2008 Nr 32
36	Blt	<i>búsi harbáxpo lo-skór xsum - bostríni harbáxpo busá xsum</i> “The flowering time of a young man is (until) three times 12 years, the flowering time of a woman is (until she has had) three children.”	Söh- nen-Thieme 1994 Nr 28
37	Sh	<i>maphéer túnyer wii čhuré</i> “Put the wise old man in a basket!”	Degener 2008 Nr 208
38	Wkh	<i>lupə mə say tə wərgəšt yo di xə pərs yowə</i> “Hide the old man under the hen basket and seek his advice when needed.”	Karim Khan Saka 2010, 158
39	Sh	<i>báai čáai čeyei pan nuš</i> „(Even) a woman who has borne twelve (children) does not have authority.”	Degener 2008 Nr 16

40	Sh	<i>dii-sóo~çyei phurúkus khunér neé baáthei</i> „For women’s spindle disc, there will be no room in the corner.”	Degener 2008 Nr 17
41	Bur	<i>Mináli móoyar, rúli amúci</i> “Let Minali speak, don’t let her give orders!”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 2030
42	Bur	<i>gus qarqaámuc yariwáte be gon duwárçilá</i> “Does the dawn rise when the hen cackles?”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 3019
43	Sh	<i>karkaámuš bašili-t lóo neé bei</i> “If a hen cackles, there will be no morning.”	Degener 2008 Nr 15
44	Sh	<i>wei rathée, çei rathée</i> “You will stop water, you will stop a woman?”	Degener 2008 Nr 475
45	Bur	<i>gúsmo káa saphár étas ke jakúne káa saphár étas han bila</i> “If you travel with a woman or with a donkey, it is the same.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1055
46	Sh	<i>çéyei aql bei to dáai~ neé wáay-a</i> “If woman had brains, wouldn’t she grow a beard?”	Degener 2008 Nr 323
47	Sh	<i>toóm híyei mor géeneṭ neé de</i> “Do not give the word of your heart to (your) wife!”	Degener 2008 Nr 21
48	Blt	<i>snñ-támpo búla ma zér - snñ-tám bostrñ la ma zér</i> “Do not tell a secret to a boy, do not tell the secret of your heart to a woman!”	Söh- nen-Thieme 1994 Nr 40
49	Kho	<i>kimeéri biçó kutéer</i> “Woman (is) the knife of the bosom.”	Buddruss 2003 Nr 58
50	Sh	<i>gaánis siili arr uçaréi</i> „The immoral woman will drive the virtuous woman to despair.”	Degener 2008 Nr 63
51	Wkh	<i>lanḏi-ep sawáe kórer ýárer goxt</i> “A whore will turn a chaste woman into rock and stone.”	Buddruss 1986 Nr 14
52	Kho	<i>qam zoxó mûla di bai</i> “May there be a relative even (if he is) under a thorn!”	Buddruss 2003 Nr 62
53	Wkh	<i>kánd-ot ýútay xun fikr car</i> “If you get married, think about the house.”	Grjunberg 1976 Nr. 21
54	Sh	<i>šoo mušái dóono, ši çéyei baráo</i> “Of a good man, the ox, of a good wife, (her) husband.”	Degener 2008 Nr 19
55	Bur	<i>gúsmo muríñ hir, hire uríñ har</i> “Man is woman’s hand, man’s hand is ox.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1056
56	Sh	<i>aáji zamoóiky baábo, baábo zamoóiky koó han</i> “To beat the mother, there is the father; who is there to beat the father.”	Degener 2008 Nr 13

57	Blt	<i>liñ-siñ ridáx bud na yúliñ óñse čhuñma rdúñ</i> “When the ibex has escaped on the hunt, (the hunter), back in the village, beats his wife.”	Söh- nen-Thieme 1994 Nr. 28
58	Sh	<i>šóokei šugili ga bešš, kháčakei géen ga neé bešš</i> “I would be even the mere friend of the good, I would not even be the wife of a bad one.”	Degener 2008 Nr 29
59	Sh	<i>dóoneŕ kháčí thítakei kúui šuše, čéyeŕ kháčí thítakei béel bújei</i> “Of one who treats his ox badly, the field will dry up, of one who treats (his) wife badly, the offspring will go out.”	Degener 2008 Nr 20
60	Kho	<i>mooš boókante ŕong čhána žayá boi</i> “For man and wife a pear leaf is (enough) place.”	Buddruss 2003 Nr 24
61	Blt	<i>ebčán xséri soñ na sá, rdoqpi oq</i> “The stirrup may be made of gold - but it’s still under the step.”	Söh- nen-Thieme 1994 Nr 3
62	Sh	<i>páa kháai kóori, hiyó kháai gujaali</i> “A boot eating the foot, a wife eating the heart.”	Degener 2008 Nr 28
63	Kho	<i>đang ki taléh no hoói xarwáara čstí abás</i> “When luck is not strong, (even) an assload of beauty is useless.”	Buddruss 2003 Nr 26
64	Wkh	<i>rúyi xšrúy se tbaq ná-kaŕən</i> “You can’t put a pretty face on a plate.”	Grjunberg 1976 Nr 27
65	Sh	<i>hiyeŕ neé áali čéyei šáa ga niláalo</i> “Even the vegetables from a woman one doesn’t love, are tasteless.”	Degener 2008 Nr 292
66	Bur	<i>móoras gúsmo hói yaqáyum</i> “The vegetables from a woman you intend to divorce are bitter.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1144
67	Kho	<i>laákawa kimério šax wexál</i> “The vegetables of a woman one intends to leave, is tasteless.”	Buddruss 2003 Nr 27
68	Bur	<i>guís góyam manú ke thap ačúci</i> “If your wife becomes distasteful to you, the night won’t come (to an end).”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1059
69	Sh	<i>góoei jaráa dóonei mukhét laás</i> “The placenta of the cow is smeared on the face of the bull.”	Degener 2008 Nr 27
70	Sh	<i>daš thigáa-t géenei čanále, neé thigáa-t baazáarei páačo</i> “If you recognize it, it is the wife’s trousers, if you don’t, a piece of cloth from the bazaar.”	Degener 2008 Nr 120

71	Sh	<i>čéyejo šu~ wafadáar han theégyen</i> “A dog is more faithful than a woman, they say.”	Degener 2008 Nr 56
72	Sh	<i>čei ga ráfal toóme neé béen</i> “Woman and rifle will not be one’s own.”	Degener 2008 Nr 57
73	Sh	<i>baráo barót tak, géen jarót tak</i> “The husband is tied to loads, the wife is tied to (her) lovers.”	Degener 2008 Nr 58
74	Sh	<i>čei-se keéseř ek héeř hiyo deégi-t eései akí bíin</i> “To whom a woman once gives her heart, to him she belongs.”	Degener 2008 Nr 55
75	Sh	<i>júuk jaréi, já~č pučéi</i> “Longing for the lover, ghost of the son!”	Degener 2008 Nr 60
76	Sh	<i>maá~ dijé phátu, dii jaré phátu</i> “The mother behind the daughter, the daughter behind the lover.”	Degener 2008 Nr 54
77	Bur	<i>gúsmo wapháa, háralte huř</i> “The loyalty of a woman is like the wetness of the rain.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1058
78	Sh	<i>toóm hatéi náar čéyeř neé de, hatér deéгаа to čei baráwei řakěj phal bei theégyen</i> “Do not give the pulse of your hand to the woman, if you give it to her, the woman will ride on (her) husband’s neck, they say.”	Degener 2008 Nr 22
79	Sh	<i>uskúuni kúre birgá theégyen, baráo kúro géen siili theégyen</i> “Hard relatives - war, hard husband - virtuous wife.”	Degener 2008 Nr 26
80	Sh	<i>géenei baráo řéewo theégyen</i> “The husband of a wife is blind, they say.”	Degener 2008 Nr 23
81	Sh	<i>goót neé thei čhéyei páa babalá bei</i> “The foot of a woman who does not make (her husband’s) home (her own) will be lifted (to run away).”	Degener 2008 Nr 42
82	Sh	<i>čhaál čháareř neé wi, dii ma~yét neé wi</i> “Do not let the kid on the cliff, do not let the daughter to her mother!”	Degener 2008 Nr 53
83	Kho	<i>řéni ki řum hoi řou istáni goi</i> “When the dog is bad, the fox will come on the roof.”	Buddruss 1995 Nr 15
84	Sh	<i>toóm řu~ křáčo neé bulu-t tářej lo-i wáaya</i> “If your dog is not bad, will the fox come on the roof?”	Degener 2008 Nr 61
85	Sh	<i>gáراك boóiky rak han to gar the</i> “If you want to be ruined, marry!”	Degener 2008 Nr 34

86	Sh	<i>heṭ báameṭ čhardá nuš, raákei čéyeṭ pardá nuš</i> “There is no stallion for the mare who has been set free, there is not purdah for the women of the palace.”	Degener 2008 Nr 25
87	Wkh	<i>kṭáke xálge γazg-i truq</i> “For a man who wants to divorce, the vegetables are bitter.”	Buddruss 1998 Nr 103
88	Wkh	<i>xalg-ep xálge táte gur ṡak ne lécert</i> “A person will not let another person bury his father.”	Buddruss 1998 Nr 117
89	Wkh	<i>šačen wafá, xɯnánen jaṭá</i> “From a dog fidelity, from a woman imperiousness.”	Buddruss 1998 Nr 77)
90	Kho	<i>xuró bok yéča šieéli</i> “Another man’s wife looks beautiful to one’s eye.”	Buddruss 2003 Nr 46
91	Bur	<i>dáapirkanam ke dáapirkanam dáa un atúpirkaima</i> “If I stumbled, so I stumbled; but you, you will not stumble.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1036
92	Sh	<i>du čéyoo baráo sǰóono han</i> “The husband of two wives is known.”	Degener 2008 Nr 46
93	Kho	<i>ju-boóki moóšo mux ša</i> “The face of a man who has two wives is black.”	Buddruss 2003 Nr 59
94	Kho	<i>aweló azyál zána dasé juó azyál zána dasé</i> “The first wife (is) a patch of the soul, the second wife a patch of the knee.”	Buddruss 1995 Nr 20
95	Sh	<i>phatiino mušáa kútei kaále</i> “The second husband (is like a) patch on the knee.”	Degener 2008 Nr 45
96	Sh	<i>á-špeṭ šaá to aštóoneṭ šaá</i> “When you hug the horse, you hug the groom (as well).”	Degener 2008 Nr 70
97	Blt	<i>bučá medpi khokhólpo čik, yódpo bgyá</i> “Where there is no child, there is one worry, where there are children, a hundred.”	Söh- nen-Thieme 1994 Nr. 7
98	Sh	<i>auláad núšakei zindagaaniú nuš theégyen</i> “One who has no offspring, does not have a livelihood.”	Degener 2008 Nr 82
99	Sh	<i>béel gáu goṭér múzyye noóṭhen</i> “In a house without offspring the mice will dance.”	Degener 2008 Nr 84
100	Sh	<i>bíiro ekaálo khurúç maá~maáluṭ čhéi</i> “A single male heir is bad for the parents.”	Degener 2008 Nr 82
101	Sh	<i>záare baryeéi ekošaár, dáarye baryeéi sapuyaár</i> “When the brothers grow up, there is loneliness, when the sons grow up, there is a big family.”	Degener 2008 Nr 82

102	Bur	<i>yáar ke isk daltás</i> “Even crows find their offspring beautiful.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1065
103	Kho	<i>şagóyu tan náno yéça şieéli</i> “The black insect looks handsome in the eyes of its mother.”	Buddruss 2003 Nr 25
104	Sh	<i>har jéek jagéi ispáao, auláad toómi ispáai</i> “Everything of other people is sweet, (but) offspring, the own one is sweet.”	Degener 2008 Nr 90
105	Bur	<i>gáli-gátu jamípa, gok guíy guýmo</i> “An outfit of clothes belongs to others, your sons are your own.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1041
106	Blt	<i>žan-bú xsóse rañ-bú ma sòn - spyankú xsóse zgo-khí ma sòn</i> “The child of someone else which you raise does not become your own; the wolf you feed does not become the farm dog.”	Söh- nen-Thieme 1994 Nr. 49
107	Sh	<i>jaróo baál uniigaa-t şişét bat, jaróo čhaál uniigaa-t đimét kat</i> “If you raise an orphaned child, it will be a stone on your head, if you raise an orphaned kid, there will be a garment for your body.”	Degener 2008 Nr 78
108	Wkh	<i>yeítme sel šarik, wúrke sel žytrik</i> “The rearing of an orphan (brings) partners, the rearing of a lamb wool threads.”	Buddruss 1998 Nr 68
109	Sh	<i>béel bujoókweyo šéei diik ga bóot</i> “Even a blind daughter is better than no offspring.”	Degener 2008 Nr 87
110	Sh	<i>kháčo pučéjo šéei dii yar hain</i> “A blind daughter is better than a bad son.”	Degener 2008 Nr 108
111	Sh	<i>maá~ hánakei maálo</i> “One who has a mother, (also) has a father.”	Degener 2008 Nr 50
112	Kho	<i>we-nānio sār khūr-nāni di jām</i> “Even a blind mother is better than having no mother.”	Buddruss 1995 21
113	Wkh	<i>náne yetim-i da žarže kyk, táte yetim-i trə dašt</i> “The fatherless half-orphan is in a milk well, the motherless half-orphan is in the desert.”	Buddruss 1998 Nr 69
114	Sh	<i>čáa~tei báaş čáa~tei maá~ parújei</i> “The mute one’s mother understands the mute’s language.”	Degener 2008 Nr 580
115	Bur	<i>layáne báaş layáne ími dumóyalju bo</i> “The deaf person’s mother understands the deaf’s language.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1130

116	Sh	<i>šudaár neé roósaŋeŋ maá~s kareé ga dut neé dīin</i> “As long as the child does not cry, the mother does not give milk.”	Degener 2008 Nr 337
117	Bur	<i>bušošošo imúpus ke tāāk nēe imi yáare</i> “Even with its muzzle bound, the calf remains under its mother.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1022
118	Kho	<i>γaribo nan tēka ki no astái, bo khyo pušúur di no taruúr</i> “If a poor (man’s) mother is not at the place for the one in charge, even he will not get any meat.”	Buddruss 2003 Nr 14
119	Sh	<i>lóogi ma~yéi dut neé wáai</i> “From a stepmother no milk will come.”	Degener 2008 Nr 51
120	Sh	<i>dušmáneí dii-puç ga phatiini ma~yé khir neé póot</i> “Even the children of one’s enemy may not fall under a stepmother!”	Degener 2008 Nr 52
121	Sh	<i>baár gin, šudaár neé gin</i> “Take the burden, do not take the child!”	Degener 2008 Nr 116
122	Sh	<i>šudaár ga baačháa ek théégyen</i> “A child and a king are one and the same.”	Degener 2008 Nr 95
123	Bur	<i>tham zóora? giyáas zóor?</i> “Who is the harder to please: the king or the child?”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 3044
124	Bur	<i>úrkar ke jótis balando</i> “Even over the wolf its offspring have power.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1191
125	Kho	<i>i iŋpoólo sum yeč niki i žúuro sum yeč niki</i> “An abscess has no eyes, a daughter has no eyes.”	Buddruss 2003, Nr 21
126	Sh	<i>čhééçei bíi ga šudaréi čhupátej neé pasunyó</i> “Do not save on the seed of the field and on the child’s bread!”	Degener 2008 Nr 89
127	Sh	<i>čhatíilei dáái áali-t, mugaréi gáaç čhíjei</i> “When the beard of the young he-goat comes out, the value of the old he-goat will be broken.”	Degener 2008 Nr 210
128	Kho	<i>čhani ki nisái basiro wáaγ kam boi</i> “When the kid has come out, the goat’s value will become less.”	Buddruss 2003 Nr 2
129	Sh	<i>maá~maáloo híyo dii-puço phatú, dii-puço híyo baŋ-káaŋoŋ</i> “The parents’ heart is after son and daughter, the children’s heart after stone and wood.”	Degener 2008 Nr 91

130	Sh	<i>šudaréř xidmát neé the, amušii bújei, járeř xidmát neé the, mirii bújei</i> “Do not serve a child, it will forget, do not serve an old person, he will die!”	Degener 2008 Nr 381
131	Wkh	<i>cə mardém zman-en i wurk tarbiyá car bitár</i> “It is better to raise a lamb than a child.”	Grjunberg 1976 Nr. 17
132	Wkh	<i>šáče me táin, sohíbe táin</i> “Do not look at the dog, look at the master!”	Buddruss 1998 Nr 54
133	Sh	<i>žakunéi báai góke bíle to ga žakunéř baár</i> “Even if the ass has twelve foals, the load is on the ass.”	Degener 2008 Nr 115
134	Bur	<i>gačhékúši ayéikina ke dėmokuši akóomaima</i> “If you don’t teach him at the age of a young twig, you won’t be able to do it when he has become a cudgel.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1040
135	Bur	<i>gúuy-gúmiye bárči oómana ke hun-dáne góikiimini</i> “If your parents don’t teach you obedience, wood and stone will.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1061
136	Kho	<i>nan-tat ki no čhičhěru dar boxt čhičhěř</i> “When mother and father do not teach, wood and stone will teach.”	Buddruss 1995 Nr 40
137	Wkh	<i>tat-náne ki adáb ne kert, řet et wurt-ep adáb cart</i> “When father and mother do not teach, earth and stone will teach.”	Buddruss 1998 Nr 104
138	Sh	<i>dáap neé tolaái dii toómi neé bei, khúuriyeř roň neé řaáwo puč toómo neé bei</i> “A daughter who is not given a dowry, is not one’s own daughter; a son on whose heel colour is not applied (at the wedding), is not one’s own son.”	Degener 2008 Nr 97
139	Sh	<i>dii-soó-či mozéi karéi</i> “Women (are like) a basket with meat.”	Degener 2008 Nr 31
140	Sh	<i>á-tyeřo míu ispáao</i> “Marrow is tastier than bone.”	Degener 2008 Nr 93
141	Sh	<i>dadii khačéi, póoči phátakei</i> “If the grandmother is bad, the granddaughter will be bald.”	Degener 2008 Nr 114
142	Sh	<i>póoçuš dáado gáač dei</i> “The grandson will sell the grandfather.”	Degener 2008 Nr 212

143	Sh	<i>jamaçóó naló khir ašaáto han theégyen</i> “The son-in-law is weak among his wife’s relatives, they say.”	Degener 2008 Nr 41
144	Sh	<i>baṭé khiroo hat nikhaloósaṅ timinii thoóiky hin</i> “Until one has taken out one’s hand from under the stone, one has to bear (the pressure).”	Degener 2008 Nr 40
145	Sh	<i>thowét čhaál nuš theégyen</i> “The billy-goat does not have kids, they say.”	Degener 2008 Nr 39
146	Wkh	<i>párge pey, tárge tǝrgófč</i> “For the ashes, a shovel, a fire hook made of wood.”	Buddruss 1998 Nr 122
147	Sh	<i>šyaš ga nuzéi léel sinér ga neé mišlijei</i> “Of the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law the blood will not be mixed, not even in a river.”	Degener 2008 Nr 43
148	Bur	<i>móoskus ke muḡhákinmo multán síndaulo ke káa oómairi</i> “The blood of a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law will never mix together, even in a river.”	Tiffou 1993 Nr 1145
149	Wkh	<i>gánde šinr-i šax banái, šak stežr-i xša banái</i> “For farting, peas are an excuse, for a bad daughter-in-law, the mother-in-law is an excuse.”	Buddruss 1998 Nr 32

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