# PROVERBIUM

Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship



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The University of Vermont

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Peter Grzybek
(1957 – 2019)

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# PREFACE

As I sit isolated in my study at home writing this preface to yet another exciting *Proverbium* volume, my thoughts go out to all paremiologists throughout the world. The Covid-19 pandemic has changed our lives for certain, but I hope that you, your families, your colleagues, and your students are coping with the threat of the coronavirus as best as you can. Cicero's proverbial expression "in eadem es navi" fits our situation perfectly well since we really are all "in the same boat." But I am also thinking of the proverb that "Hope springs eternal" and so I sincerely wish that we are all back to our normal lives when I send out *Proverbium* next year.

This year's volume contains a rich assembly of articles, reports, book reviews, and bibliographies from paremiologists working in Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Kenya, Lithuania, Nigeria, Russia, Switzerland, and the United States. This is a clear indication that *Proverbium* deserves the subtitle of *International Yearbook of Proverb Scholarship*. It is always a special joy when I receive an article from far away, giving me as editor the opportunity to represent the excellent paremiological research that is going on in distant lands.

Unfortunately, this volume also includes the sad news that we have lost two of our important colleagues and friends. Both Peter Grzybek (1957-2019) from Austria and John S. Mbiti (1931-2019) from Kenya passed away last year. They were internationally recognized proverb scholars having had a great influence on the advancements in paremiology and paremiography. We shall all remember them fondly as we carry on their important work.

As can be imagined, getting this new *Proverbium* volume ready for publication and mailing has been a tremendous challenge. Here in Vermont as elsewhere, we have lived in isolation for more than two months. The University of Vermont is closed, of course, and

we have been teaching Online and via E-mail. It has been difficult for students and professors alike, but we have all done our best. In fact, as I am writing this, this semester has just come to an end. While these are trying times, it is good to see how people come together, help each other, and comfort each other. The big question now is how our academic work will continue when the fall semester will begin at the end of August. Together we will face this situation in due time, and we shall prevail with engagement, compassion, and empathy.

As I sent my dear graduating students on their way on May 17, 2020 via the Internet, my message included the following statement: "As I thank you for having been such eager and supportive students, several proverbs come to my mind to send you on your life's journey beyond the University of Vermont. There are three proverbs in particular that have guided me throughout my long life, and I believe that they would also serve you well as responsible citizens of the world: 'Different strokes for different folks,' 'Making a way out of no way,' and the golden rule 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.' Adhering to this wisdom will help you on your own path through what I hope will be a fulfilled life." May these three proverbs also help us as we try together to conquer the coronavirus.

I thank all of you, individuals and libraries, for your continued support of *Proverbium* by sending us your valuable manuscripts, paying for subscriptions, and making financial donations to our yearbook. Special thanks go once again to my associate editor Galit Hasan-Rokem, my managing editor Brian Minier, and my production editor Hope Greenberg who helped to make this volume possible during difficult times. I also wish to thank my friends at Queen City Printers of Burlington, Vermont, for producing yet another handsome volume under difficult working conditions. Special thanks are also due Dean William Falls of the College of Arts and Sciences and our bookstore manager Robert Santry at the University of Vermont as well as my former German and Russian student Dr. Douglas Smith and his wife Stephanie from Seattle, Washington, for their generous support. All of these good friends are playing a big role in keeping our *Proverbium* afloat.

Wolfgang Mieder

IYABODE DEBORAH AKANDE

# ON THE PRAGMATIC IMPLICATIONS OF OYO-RELATED PROVERBS IN SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA

**A*bstract:*** Every Yoruba town has certain peculiar norms, patterns of behaviour, traditions and, sometimes, history. These norms and traditions are often found mainly in either the way inhabitants of such a town use language or the way people from other places use language in relation to such a town. It is against this backdrop that this paper examines some Oyo-related proverbs with a view to investigating their pragmatic implications. It is believed that examining the pragmatic implications of these proverbs will provide insights into the culture, tradition and of Oyo people specifically and the Yorubas in general. The proverbs which served as the data source for the study were drawn from (a) Owomoyela's (2005) *Yoruba Proverbs* and (b) five elderly Yoruba people in Ede and its environs. The study revealed that the Oyo-related proverbs considered indicated the pragmatic acts such as boasting, warning, pretending and advising. The paper concluded that the nature, the psychology, the tradition and culture of a people could be known through a careful examination of proverbs related to them.

***Keywords:*** African, Nigeria, Oyo, pragmatics, speech act, worldview, Yoruba

## *Introduction*

Scholars across the globe have studied proverbs from different perspectives ranging from anthropology, philosophy, music and history to literature and linguistics (see Akande and Mosobalaje, 2014; Alster, 1993; Norrick, 1994, Odebunmi, 2006; Yusuf, 2001). It is these multifarious perspectives that account for a variety of foci and definitions of proverbs in the literature. However, as numerous as the definitions and foci are, most scholars agreed that proverbs usually embody the wisdom, worldview, values and cultural norms of a people (see Finnegan, 1970; Mielder, 1993; Yusuf and Methangwane, 2003).

Proverbs constitute a vibrant aspect of orature which are often used for different purposes. Since there is virtually no society that had no pre-literate era when orature was a crucial cultural artefact,

proverbs, a form of orature, are ubiquitous in every part of the world. As an oral form, and like every other genre of orature, proverbs are handed over from one generation to another generation and this transmission, which is basically oral, is very significant in the definition of the proverb. Mieder (1985:119), for instance, underscores the role of oral transmission in the definition of proverbs when he says "A proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals and traditional views in a metaphorical, *fixed and memorizable form and which is handed down from generation to generation*" (italics mine). While emphasizing the oral transmission of folklore generally and that of the proverb especially, Grobler (2001:143) says:

> Folklore in most of its forms is difficult if not impossible to date. Especially in ancient societies where writing came to be used relatively recently, it must be assumed that *oral art was transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth since time immemorial*. The authors of items of folklore will in such cases forever remain unknown, yet it is interesting, for instance, to contemplate the process resulting in the formulation of proverbs in an African society.

The nature of proverbs is such that it does not lend itself to any exact and precise definition (Finnegan, 1970; Mieder, 1993). However, as Finnegan (1970: 393) has pointed out, there is "some general agreement as to what constitutes a proverb. It is a saying in more or less fixed form marked by 'shortness, sense, and salt' and distinguished by the popular acceptance of the truth tersely expressed in it." Underscoring Finnegan's view, Yusuf and Mathangwane, 2003:408) describe proverbs as "relatively short expressions which are usually associated with wisdom and are used to perform a variety of social functions." See also Mieder (1993) on the nature of proverbs and Gallacher (1959:47) who states that "a proverb is a concise statement of an apparent truth which has [had or will have] currency among the people. Sometimes, proverbs are used intertextually to make reference to previous wisdom similar to the present one (see Winick 2003:595).

In her own view, proverbs "are a rich source of imagery and succinct expression on which more elaborate forms can draw" (Finnegan, 1970: 389). In a study of fifty-five popular views of the proverb, Mieder (1985:117) comes up with a seemingly

harmonized workable definition of a proverb as "a phrase, saying, sentence, statement or expression of the folk which contains above all wisdom, truth, morals, experience, lessons and advice concerning life which has been handed down from generation to generation." Lau, Tokofsky and Winick (2004:8) also remark that proverbs are "short, traditional utterances that encapsulate cultural truths and sum up recurrent social situation." Owomoyela (2005:3) remarks that proverbs are sometimes used to compare two things which have striking similarities. He goes further to say:

> Proverbs, often incisive in their propositions and terse in their formulation, are deduced from close observation of life, life forms and their characteristics and habits, the environment and natural phenomena, and sober reflection on all these. Because proverbs are held to express unexceptionable truths, albeit with some qualification, their use in a discussion or argument is tantamount to an appeal to established authority. (Owomoyela 2005: 12)

As can be seen from the views of various scholars above, the defining characteristics of proverbs include shortness and brevity, terseness, truths, wisdom and moral lessons.

Given this medium of oral transmission through which proverbs are acquired from time immemorial, proverbs are generally ethnic-based or race-based. In other words, proverbs that are commonly used by one ethnic group or people may not even exist, not to talk of being less common, among other ethnic groups or peoples. As hinted at above, the reason for this is not far-fetched: proverbs of a particular people are products of the values, the experience, the wisdom and the world views of that people. This accounts for why Yoruba proverbs may be different from Efik proverbs just as African proverbs are different from European proverbs. Even within the same ethnic group, proverbs may be characterized by subtle variation and creativity which often do not affect their overall meanings. The creativity that proverbs sometimes exemplify is supported by Owomoyela (2005:12) when he says "Just as the formulation of proverbs involves considerable creativity, so does their application – a fact that is sometimes discounted in exercises that attempt to assign definitive applications to specific sayings."

As numerous as works on Yoruba proverbs are, little or nothing has been done in the area of the pragmatics of specific town-related

proverbs with a view to understanding the nature, the tradition and behavioural patterns of the indigenes of such towns. The present study is an attempt to focus on Yoruba proverbs that are related to Oyo town in the Southwestern part of Nigeria. There is ample evidence that some Yoruba proverbs make direct references to certain Yoruba towns and these references can be negative or positive, can serve as warnings and, at times, they tell us about the tradition in a particular Yoruba town. For instance, the proverb "Ìbàdàn kì í báni í ṣò.ré., kó má tanniẹ" (No matter how close and friendly an Ibadan person is to you, he or she will end up betraying you), Ibadan being a prominent city in Yoruba land, is negative and seems to overgeneralize that people from Ibadan are naturally deceptive while the proverb "A kì í torí à ń rẸdẹ ká ba È.è.dè. jé." (You cannot on account of going to Ede town destroy your home), though punning with the presence of the two words Ẹdẹ (a town in Osun State of Nigeria) and È.è.dè. (i.e., a passage in a house), serves as a warning that people must always guide their home or family jealously wherever they are or wherever they intend to go. A Yoruba proverb which emphasizes the fact that cultural variation exists across Yoruba towns and that every town has its own peculiar tradition is "Ìdálùú ni ìṣèlú, egúngún níí gbowó orí ní Ósogbo, òrìṣà níí gba ti òde Ìbàdàn" which translates to (Every town has its peculiarities, it is the masquerade that collects tax in Ósogbo while the deity/god collects it in Ibadan); where Ibadan and Ósogbo are cities located in Oyo and Osun States of Nigeria respectively. Finally, there is a proverb that makes a direct reference to Ìsé.yin, a town very close to Oyo town. The proverb "Kí á mú ẹyin só.wó. ò.tun, ká fi ẹyìn só.wó. òsì, ká fi è.yìn rìn délé Ìsé.yin, ẹni tí kò ní yin ni, kò ní yin ni" (If you hold an egg in your right hand, and you hold a palm kernel in your left hand and you catwalk till you get to Ìsé.yin, whoever will not praise you will not praise you) is a pun which focuses specifically on the syllable *yin*. Although proverbs such as these are limited in number, they are worth investigating as their pragmatic functions sometimes constitute some social control in the society, enhance the teaching of moral values and contribute to societal harmony; hence the present study.

***Some of the Earlier Works on Yoruba Proverbs***

Existing studies have shown that different aspects of Yoruba proverbs have been investigated. Lawal, Ajayi and Raji (1997)

examine the illocutionary acts in six pairs of Yoruba proverbs by focusing on the types of pragmatic factors underlying their usage. The study makes a distinction between direct and indirect illocutionary acts. The direct illocutionary acts of the proverbs analysed are mainly assertive through claiming, disclaiming, informing and complaining about certain aspects of life while the indirect illocutionary acts consist in the acts of blaming, advising, warning, recommending, judging, assessing and evaluating.

Odebunmi (2006) also studies the proverbs used in three of Ahmed Yerimah's plays: *Yemoja, Attahiru* and *Dry Leaves on Ukan Trees*. The study is an attempt to pay attention to the functions and contexts of the identified proverbs. The research shows that the proverbs are used in the plays for counseling, accusing, pronouncing and assuring the hearer. Adeleke (2009) argues that Yoruba proverbs are historical records in that they do reflect the Yoruba's pre-colonial and post-colonial experiences. Similarly, Adegoju (2009) examines the crucial roles some Yoruba proverbs can play in resolving social conflicts in Africa. By using insights from stylistic principles (coupled with tangential references to linguistic and rhetorical tools), the paper argues that through the wisdom embedded in Yoruba proverbs, conflict can be properly understood and effectively resolved without leading to avoidable chaos in the society. Adegoju remarks that apart from the cultural values that Yoruba proverbs carry, the essential rhetorical strokes in them also give pragmatic force to the interpretation we often give to these proverbs. The paper concludes that "although proverbs are not the exclusive preserve of any race or nation, the rhetorical import of the Yoruba proverbs …is germane to attaining realistic conflict resolution in Africa, because the wisdom of such proverbs transcends cultural boundaries" (Adegoju, 2009:67).

Ademowo and Balogun (2014) also explore how proverbs can be employed in the management of conflicts as such management can guarantee harmony and peaceful atmosphere in the society. The study uses 24 randomly selected Yoruba proverbs which relate to warning and cooperation; and demonstrate how these proverbs can used to achieve harmonious co-existence in the society. While the present study is similar to that of Ademowo and Balogun (2014) in respect of the pragmatic functions of the proverbs in the two works, the present study is different from it in that it concentrates solely on Oyo-related proverbs.

Akanbi's (2015) study focuses on the sociological effects and implications of certain Yoruba proverbs which make use of sexually explicit expressions such as penis and virgina. He argues that although these expressions are taboos among the Yoruba, when they are used in the context of proverbs, they are not considered vulgar. Zakariyah (2016) carries out a pragmatic analysis of 100 proverbs in four of the Ola Rotimi's works. The works are *The Gods Are Not To Blame, Kurunmi, Our Husband Has Gone Mad Again* and *Hopes of the Living Dead*. The data analysed revealed that the illocuitionary act of any data can be properly assessed by paying attention to, first, the situational context which emphasizes the actual location of utterances in relation to who says *what, when, where, to who* and *how* and, second, to the psychological variables. The study concluded that four of the six variables identified by Lawal (1997) are very important to the analysis of proverbs in the works of Ola Rotimi.

***Methodology and Theoretical Framework***

The Oyo-related proverbs which constitute the data for this study were derived from two major sources: from elderly Yoruba people and from Owomoyela's (2005) *Yoruba Proverbs*. Oyo is a prominent town in the Southwestern part of Nigeria which used to be the capital of the Oyo Kingdom in the 1830s. What contributed to the prominence of Oyo town is the fact that it is under the rulership of the imperial majesty of this town, Alaafin, that the old Oyo Kingdom was being controlled and governed.

For the analysis of data, we draw on the theoretical domain of Speech Act Theory (SAT) as propounded by John Austin (1962) and modified by Searle (1979). For Austin, an utterance is either constative (true or false) or performative (i.e., the function it performs) and the best way to judge sentences and utterances is by looking at what they can do. In other words, the performative functions of utterances are much more important than their constative analysis which often concentrates on truth-falsity inquiry. However, the constative-performative dichotomy is not very helpful as Huang (2009) has noted that some constatives can be subjected to felicity conditions contrary to the initial claim made by Austin. Given this loophole, Austin abandoned this dichotomy and came up with a trichotomy of locution, illocution and perlocution.

According to Austin (1962), the locutionary act constitutes the actual words used in an utterance, the illocutionary act is the force or the intention one has while saying something and, lastly, the perlocutionary act is the effect of saying something. Thus, speech act focuses mainly on the actual communicative functions of language. Both the locution and illocution are inseparable (Searle, 1979) while the effects of the locution (i.e., the perlocution) can be immediate or instantaneous especially in face-to-face conversations or delayed if the communication is in writing.

Austin further classified the illocutionary act into five groups: verdictives (for example: acquit, convict, find, rule), exercitives (for example: appoint, dismiss, name, order), commissives (for example: promise, undertake, intend), behabitives (for example: apologize, thank, deplore), and expositives (for example: quote, cite, recapitulate) (Austin 1962). One major problem with this classification is its inability to draw a clean line of demarcation between verdictives and exercitives and also between behabitives and expositives.

In an attempt to improve upon Austin's work, Searle (1977) came up with five classifications. These are assertives or representatives which are assertions, directives such as commanding or suggesting which are targeted towards getting listeners to do certain things or to behave in particular ways; commissives which relate to obligation and commitments on the part of the speaker and covers such acts as agreeing, refusing or pledging to do something; expressives which have to do with acknowledging, apologizing, denying and admitting and, finally, declaratives which cover such acts as baptising, arresting, pronouncing someone guilty or pronouncing someone husband and wife. Other speech acts include predicting, reporting, alleging, warning, persuading, blaming and praising (see Kreidler 1998). Relating this to the present study implies that we need to concentrate on what the proverbs under study can do rather than focusing on their logicality, truism or falsity as people hardly say something unless they intend that which is said to do or perform something.

***Data Analysis and Discussions***

Presented here is the analysis of the Oyo-related proverbs which served as the data for this study. Worthy of note is the fact that there is no neat line of demarcation in the speech acts that these proverbs perform; thus, there is some overlap in their speech acts. Given this overlap, we group the proverbs into categories based on their illocutions.

Some of the proverbs under study are those that show that the Alaafin of Oyo (i.e., The Oyo King) is the most powerful king in Yoruba land and that his people are unique in many respects.

1. Aláàfin ń pè ó, ò ń dífá, bÍfá bá fọ̀re, ti Aláàfin kò bá fọ̀re ń kọ́?
   (The Alaafin of Oyo has called on you and you are consulting with the Ifa Oracle, if the oracle says there is no misfortune, Alaafin may say otherwise)
2. A jí ṣe bí Ò.yọ́ làá rí, Ò.yọ́ kì í ṣe bíi baba ẹnìkan.
   (You can only behave like the Oyo people, the Oyo people will never behave like any other people)
3. Ká jà ká re Ò.yọ́, ká mọ ẹnì tó lọ̀ba.
   (Let us quarrel and go to Oyo, and we will see on whose side the king is).

The first proverb above (Proverb 1) acknowledges the power of Alaafin even above that of the deities; for he himself is believed to be a deity. An invitation to his palace is enough to create so much fear in the mind of the invitee such that he or she needs to first of all consult with the oracle before embarking on such an adventure. And even if the oracle says one can go and there is no problem, Alaafin is so powerful that he may say otherwise. What this means is that given his position, he has the power to overturn the decision of the oracle. The speech act here is that of *acknowledging*; that is, acknowledging the godlike power of this king. Proverb 2 instantiates the speech act of *boasting*. It shows that Oyo people surpass other people, *inter alia*, in strength, war skills, wisdom, tradition, customs, wealth, manners and even in mode of dressing. It may be true that Oyo serves as a model and its people are exemplary in certain areas of life but the claim that other people have to act and behave like Oyo; not minding subtle cultural differences, certainly amounts to boasting and relegating others. Proverb 3 also illustrates

the speech act of *boasting* as it shows that it does not matter whether one is right or wrong, once you have a quarrel with an Oyo indigene and you are not an indigene, you will not get any justice as Alaafin will support the indigene; hence they (the Oyo people) do boast about owning the king.

Another speech act related to boasting is bragging; sometimes when a person believes he or she is the best or has certain qualities which others do not have, the tendency to brag about it is high. This is what the following proverb illustrates:

4. A kì í sọ pé abẹ Ò yó mú; nígbà náà ni yóò sọ pé bé è ni òun kò tîì pọn-ọn.
   One does not tell an Oyo person that his knife is sharp, for only then will he say he has not even honed it yet.

As shown in Proverb 4, Oyo people do brag about their virtues and qualities. It is possible that sometimes they do this to spite others. However, the proverb Alára níí gbé ara ga, bí adìẹ bá fé wọlé, a sì bè rè , literally translated as "If you do not blow your trumpet, nobody will blow it for you" is common in Yoruba land and it is suggestive of the fact that the Yoruba generally believe in blowing their trumpets; for nobody may blow it for them. Thus, this implies that the idea of bragging may be a universal phenomenon across Yoruba land.

The wisdom and tradition of the Oyo can be gauged through their diplomacy. They are highly tactical in their dealing with other people. For them calling a spade a spade is a function of context as there are situations which may demand that you say the truth in such a way that its sharp effect will not lead to a catastrophe or dampen the morale of others. This is probably why it is generally believed in Yoruba land that "A kì í wí síbè , kí á kú síbè , bí ti Aláàfin Ò yó kó " (You do not tell the truth somewhere and die at the spot is not applicable in the palace of the Alaafin of Oyo). This is a proverb that indicates that because of the power of Alaafin, if one says what he is not supposed to say in his palace, such a person may be executed immediately. It is not every truth that is politically correct; hence the Yoruba proverb "Gbogbo ohun tí ojú bá rí kó ni ẹnu ń sọ" (It is not everything you see that you must say). This diplomacy is what others may perceive as deception and pretension. Three of the Oyo-related proverbs that illustrate the speech acts of pretending and deceiving are found below.

5. Àmọ̀ ràn bini Ò yó , o gbé kete lérí, wó n ní níbo lò ń lọ?
(Oyo people will deliberately ask you where you are going to even when they see a bucket on your head on your way to a stream)

6. Ò yó dò bálè , inú rè lósòó.
(When an Oyo person prostrates for you, it does not necessarily mean that he wishes you well)

7. A fún ọ níṣu lÓ yò ó , ò ń dúpé ; o rígi ṣè é ná?
You are given yams at Oyo and you rejoice; have you secured wood to cook them?

The first of these three proverbs, Proverb 5, demonstrates that the Oyo people are sometimes unnecessarily inquisitive about things that are obvious and glaring. In other words, even when they know the solution to a problem or an answer to a question, they still pretend that they don't. Proverb 6, like Proverb 5, also exemplifies the speech act of *pretending* and, in addition to this, it shows that of *deceiving*. One would naturally assume that somebody who greets another person warmly and prostrates for the person means well and cannot harm the person being greeted; however, as Proverb 6 indicates, this is not the case with the Oyo people. For these people, warm greetings and prostration do not amount to friendliness. Proverbs that show deception or pretentiousness are not the preserve of only the Oyo people as there are similar proverbs such as "Ká fi è jè sínú, ká tu itó funfun jáde (Let us keep the blood inside and cough out the white sputum) and "Ká dò bálè fún aràrá, kò sọ pé ká dìde ká má ga" (That we prostrate for a pygmy does not mean that we will not be taller than he is when we stand up) across the Yoruba land with varying dialectal forms. Inherent in the last of the three proverbs above, Proverb 7, is the speech act of *deceiving*. It shows that it is one thing to be given an opportunity; it is completely another thing to be provided with an enabling environment that can make such opportunity materialise. An opportunity given without the ideal facilities to make it realisable is mere *deception*. Apart from deceiving, Proverb 7 can also come under the speech acts of *advising* and *warning*. In some context, it may be interpreted to mean that a good and promising beginning does not guarantee a successful end. If this is the case, the person to whom this proverb is directed is warned that there may be challenges in the course of

realising one's target and the person is advised to be resilient and steadfast to achieve his or her set goal.

There is no society that does not have a way of advising or rebuking its people. Generally speaking, the Yoruba people often appreciate, warn, admonish and advise one another through their proverbs. Though these proverbs are Oyo-related in that the word Oyo is conspicuously present in them, they are generally applicable to the other Yoruba sub-groups as well as to Nigerians generally; especially those who are familiar with the language. Presented here are some of such proverbs.

8. Ò ń rÒ̩ yó̩ , ò ń kánjú, Aláàfin kò rebíkan.
(If you are going to Oyo, you don't have to be in a hurry as the Alaafin always remains in his palace).

9. Ta ní mọ Òkòlò lÓ̩ yò̩ ó̩ ? Ọjó̩ tí wó̩ n mọ Òkòlò lÓ̩ yò̩ ó̩ , ló ti iná bọ ilé.
(Nobody knew Okolo in Oyo until the day he burnt several houses in Oyo town).

10. A kì í wí síbè̩ , kí á kú síbè̩ , kì í ṣe òwe tí ènìyàn ń pa ní ò̩ dò̩ Aláàfin Ò̩ yó̩ .
(You don't tell the truth and die on the spot is not a proverb that is applicable in the palace of Alaafin of Oyo).

11. Akè̩ sán lòpin Ò̩ yó̩ ; ilé ọkọ nibi ìsinmi obìnrin.
(Just as Akẹsan is Oyọ's city limit, so a spouse's home is a woman's final destination).

Proverb 8 instantiates the speech act of advising or admonishing as it underscores the need to be patient in whatever one embarks upon. In ancient Yoruba culture, the Alaafin would always be found in his palace and hardly would he go out of his town, Oyo. So, whoever hopes to visit the Alaafin does not have to be in a hurry since, regardless of whenever he or she gets there, the Alaafin will still be in his palace. Proverb 9 also serves as a warning. This proverb has some historical background. There was a man in Oyo who was very poor and not many people knew or wanted to associate with him on account of his penury. One day, he thought of what he could do to become very popular in the town; he woke up one day and started burning thatch houses in Oyo. So, his name was on the lips of everybody and he became very popular. When he was taken to the king,

he explained why he had to do what he did and he was set free. As we can see therefore, one of the prominent sources of Yoruba proverbs is history. The account given in respect of Proverb 9 thus confirms Adeleke's (2009) view that proverbs are historical records. This proverb, Proverb 9, illustrates two speech acts. The first one is that of *warning*: if you live in a place where you are not popular, you should not go beyond your boundary or do anything that can lead you into trouble as there will be nobody to defend such a person. The second speech act is that of *denigrating* as the proverb shows that a person to which it is directed is of no account in the society but he or she keeps behaving as if he or she is important.

Another proverb which demonstrates the speech act of *warning* is Proverb 10 which shows that Alaafin is so powerful that one has to watch whatever one says whenever one is in his palace. An attempt to say something that is considered insulting or that challenges the power of Alaafin may lead to outright summary execution. So, there are things you dare not say in front of Alaafin. Finally, Proverb 11, is a form of rebuke especially to female adults who are married. It emphasizes the fact that, even if there is a quarrel between a couple, it is not enough a reason for the wife to move out of her husband's house. It also has a deeper meaning that a woman should be satisfied with whatever her husband provides: material or sexual. So, a married woman should find solace in her husband's home and should not be jumping around from one man to another man. Thus, the proverb instantiates the speech acts of *admonishing*. The present study confirms Akande and Mosobalaje (2014) who observe that Yoruba proverbs are sometimes deployed to *warn, advise, suggest encourage* and *admonish* in popular culture such as hip-hop music.

Each of the proverbs in Proverbs 12 to 15 below illustrates a distinct speech act. As will be shown, while there are proverbs that are used to encourage people, there are some that may be used to predict something or praise people.

12. Ẹní bá pa àfèmòjò kó mú-un re Ò.yó.; ẹdá lará oko ń jẹ.
(Whoever kills a spotted grass mouse should take it to Oyo; the brown bush rat is good enough food for villagers).

13. Akè.sán lòpin Ò.yó.; ibi a báni ló.wò. ni ilé ẹni.
(Akẹsan is the boundary of Oyo; the place where one is found in dignity is one's home).

14. Ẹlẹ́ dè á dé Ò yó, ariwo ni á pò.
(Pigs will surely get to Oyo although it may be stressful.)

15. N ò bá wà ní Ò yó, ǹ bá ti so ẹṣin jàǹtirẹrẹ; àgùtàn mi kì bá tí níye.
(Were I at Oyo I would own a horse by now''; I should have had numerous sheep).

16. Àṣẹ Ò yó kì í ró ''Gbà,'' àfi ''Mú-un wá.''
(The order from Oyo never sounds Gbà [meaning ''Take!''], only Mú-un wá [meaning ''Bring'']).

As shown in Proverb 12, each of the two types of rat in the proverb is eaten by a different people. While àfè is meant to be eaten by the Oyo indigenes, the villagers residing in the outskirts are supposed to be satisfied with ẹdá, another type of rat. Thus, the proverb shows a sharp divide between the rural and urban dwellers; a situation which may lead to class struggle. As we can see, therefore, Proverb 12 illustrates the speech act of *demarcating*. Like Proverb 12, Proverb 13 also shows *demarcating* and *limiting*. It shows every town has its own geographical boundary just as Akesan is the boundary of Oyo. It thus implies that no matter how powerful a king is, he rules over a particular territory and once he moves out of that territory, his power becomes limited. Proverb 14 is a little bit different in that instead of showing *demarcating*, it illustrates the speech act of *encouraging*. It means, though it may be very difficult, the feat of taking a pig to Oyo is achievable. It is a proverb that is often used to encourage people to be steadfast in the face of certain challenges in the course of achieving a set goal. There is a sense in which it could be argued that Proverb 15 indicates *regretting* as well as *predicting*. The proverb shows that Oyo is a town where one could become wealthy probably due to several business opportunities in the town; so when a person utters this proverb, it may amount to a form of regret as well as a prediction. The last proverb, Proverb 16, demonstrates the speech act of *demanding*. Alaafin would always send his emissaries to neighbouring villages and towns within his kingdom to collect tributes every now and then for the maintenance of the palace and Oyo town generally. However, Alaafin would never send any gift of any form to these neighbouring villages and towns. This is more or less a form of admonition that life is about

give and take and one should not always be taking without giving all the time.

The essence of meaningful life in any human society is rooted in cooperation. No man is self-sufficient in all areas of life; however, if there is cooperation and people are willing to share and exchange ideas, many teething problems in our society could be solved. This is why the Yoruba do say "Ká fi ọwọ́ ò tún wẹ ti òsì, ká fi ti òsì wẹ ti ò tún ni ọwọ́ fi ń mọ́" (If we use our right hand to wash our left hand and use the left hand to wash the right, our hands will be clean); a proverb which underscores the importance of cooperation.

17. Ò yọ́ ò gbọ́ ''Wòde,'' Ìjè ṣà ò gbọ́ ''Wò dà,'' Ò yọ́ gbọ́ ''Wò dà'' bí ẹní gbọ́ Fá.
(Oyo people do not understand ''Wode,'' Ìjèṣà people do not understand ''Wọdà''; Oyo people understand ''Wọdà'' as somebody who is well-versed in Ifá).

Proverb 17 is obviously one of the Oyo-related proverbs which emphasises the significance of collaboration. It shows that since it is not possible for somebody to know everything, we have to learn from one another for us to progress in life. Thus, the proverb underscores the speech act of *cooperating*.

***Conclusion***

The study set out to examine the cultural and pragmatic dimensions of seventeen Oyo-related proverbs in Yoruba land. The proverbs revealed the nature, norms and traditions of the Oyo as sometimes symbolised in Alaafin. While some of the proverbs showed the enormous power of Alaafin (e.g., Proverbs 1 and 9), some showed the nature of Oyo people generally (e.g., Proverbs 5, 6 and 15). The proverbs investigated illustrated different speech acts ranging from *boasting, warning*, and *admonishing* to *pretending* and *advising*. It can be inferred that most of the speech acts derived from these proverbs are not just specific to Oyo town but are also applicable to the Yoruba people generally. The conclusion that can be drawn from this paper is that it is possible to know the nature, the psychology, the tradition and culture of a people by paying attention to their proverbs.

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# THE COGNITIVE PORTRAIT OF LITHUANIAN "GĖDA" IN PROVERBS

***Abstract:*** The article provides a glimpse at wider research on the conceptualization of shame, fear and anger in Lithuanian. In the paper an attempt has been made to present the semantic and axiological substance of GĖDA[1] (Eng. *shame, embarrassment*) encoded in the consciousness of the Lithuanian linguistic-cultural community.

The cognitive portrait[2] of Lithuanian GĖDA has been construed by applying SAT methodology, proposed by Jerzy Bartmiński. The data have been drawn from dictionaries and proverbs collected from the compendium of Lithuanian proverbs by searching for the conceptual and lexical keys[3] of GĖDA. The conceptual key sketches the semantic core of GĖDA, and the lexical key reflects its textual potential, giving an insight into its ethno-conceptualization. Thus, the construal of the mental image of GĖDA illustrated in the Lithuanian proverbs under study draws on the dictionary definitions of the GĖDA lexemes, and on a semantic analysis of the proverbs containing those lexemes. The study focuses on the presentation of the cognitive portrait of Lithuanian GĖDA.

***Keywords:*** cognitive portrait, conceptualization, embarrassment, Lithuanian, proverbs, shame, worldview

## *Introduction*

The semantics of emotion terms and values across different languages and cultures is a widely researched area in contemporary linguistics. A variety of studies into emotions deal with the complexity of human mental structure and its cognitive and cultural components, showing a close interrelationship between language, cognitive processes and culture, as well as suggesting that the structure and semantics of language can be used as a tool to explore the perception and interpretation of the world (cf. Bartmiński, 2007; Geeraerts, 2006, Evans, Green 2006). The connection between language, cognition and culture gains particular importance in the study of the lexicalization of abstract notions, invisible to the naked eye, including emotional states. As Agnieszka

Mikołajczuk argues, "while studying the 'emotions,' the linguist seeks to learn how the world of emotions is encompassed in a specific language, what characteristic ways of expressing the emotions are used. Emotions, however, are not a linguistic phenomenon, but constitute a very important component of the psyche (and therefore the non-linguistic world) and, above all, as such are the subject of psychology. In fact, the linguist describes not only the feelings, but what has become accumulated and preserved in the meanings of their names and in the linguistic techniques used by people to express and report their emotions and feelings" (Mikołajczuk, 1999: 19).

One of the methods to explore "what" has been preserved in the names of emotions and what motivates their use, is to provide their "cognitive definition," i.e. a methodological tool proposed by Prof. Jerzy Bartmiński, the founder of the Lublin ethnolinguistic school, and widely employed by European ethnolinguists. An assumption underlying the "cognitive definition" is that the linguistic and cultural image of the concept should be construed by exploring components of emotional situations (i.e. categorial, characteristic, associated and emotive features), their internal structure and inner invariance[4] (Bartmiński, 1988: 169-170; Bartmiński, Chlebda, 2013: 73).

The aim of this article is not only to offer the cognitive definition of Lithuanian GĖDA by drawing on lexicographic data and proverbs, but also to show those aspects and elements of the concept that constitute its ethno-cognitive images. The first stage of the analysis involves an overview of the lexicographic characteristics of GĖDA. The second stage provides the semantic analysis of Lithuanian proverbs with particular attention to the aspects of GĖDA.

***The lexicographic characteristics of Lithuanian GĖDA***

Wojciech Smoczyński links the origin of the Lithuanian lexeme *gėda* 'shame, disgrace' with the Old Prussian form *gīdan* Acc.sg. and *nigīdings* 'shameless'. It is possible that the first meaning of the lexeme is 'feel disgusted and abhorred '(ALEW 304), which is reflected in related forms from Slavic languages, cf. Old Church Slavonic *gaditi* 'revile; blaspheme,' Sl. *gáditi* obs. 'disgust, repel,' srhr. *gäditi* 'disgust; disgrace; dishonour,' Rus. *gádit*ъ*sja* 'get messy; deteriorate, get spoiled'. The lexeme *gėda*

is also part of such derivatives as *begėdis* 'shameless,' *gėdingas* 'disgraceful, miserable, unkind,' *gėdiškas* 'filthy, lewd (about words), shameful' (Smoczyński, 2016: 306-307).

Definitions of GĖDA in general Lithuanian dictionaries, in accordance with the assumptions of taxonomic semantics, reveal "necessary and sufficient features" distinguishing the feeling of shame. *The Lithuanian Dictionary* ("Lietuvių kalbos žodynas," LKŽ) provides two definitions of the lexeme *gėda*. The first definition describes *gėda* in terms of related feelings, such as *negarbė* (Eng. *disgrace*) and *sarmata* (Eng. *ignominy*, *vulva*), while the second definition of *gėda* includes the meaning of 'external genital organs.' *The Modern Lithuanian Dictionary* ("Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas," DLKŽ) defines *gėda* as 'unpleasant feeling caused by inappropriate behaviour, vulva,' which is related to the meaning of *sarmata* (Eng. *ignominy*, *vulva*) found in LKŽ. Another meaning of *sarmata* mentioned in DLKŽ is 'genital organs,' which confirms the close relationship between the concepts of GĖDA and SARMATA. In contrast, *General Lithuanian Dictionary* ("Bendrinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas," BLKŽ) does not offer any definition of *gėda* or *sarmata*.

Dictionary definitions provide a general insight into the semantic content of *gėda* and its concept. Admittedly, these descriptions do not exhaust the semantic potential of the lexical unit and the knowledge, experience and evaluation of the emotional state behind it, but reveal the conceptual elements of GĖDA deeply rooted in the language system, and shed light on the cognitive processes underlying the use of language. The analysis of dictionary definitions, with particular reference to the examples contained therein, allows for distinguishing the following elements of emotional situations involving GĖDA: primary category, subject, causer, judge, cause/reason, tools, characteristics and evaluation, symptoms, or other related emotions. Each element can be further refined. The analysis of the semantic content of the above-mentioned aspects will be presented in the following part of the article.

***Aspects of the cognitive portrait of GĖDA in Lithuanian proverbs***

[**Primary categorization**] The proverbs illustrate the feeling of GĖDA in the context of a person's deeds, behaviour and attitudes. Therefore, it can be assumed that this emotion might be assigned to two superordinate categories, namely to the category of state –

unpleasant feelings of the loss of dignity, or honour due to inappropriate behaviour, attitude or fear (1, 2), and to the category of psychological traits (shyness, modesty) and moral qualities (honour, virtue) (3, 4, 5, 6 ).

(1) *Pats gėdijasi, širdis džiaugiasi*. [He feels ashamed, but his heart is happy][5]

(2) *Nei svietui bėda, nei žmogui gėda*. [Neither is the world harmed, nor is the human ashamed]

(3) *Geriau mirti kovoje, kaip pasiduoti gėdoje*. [It is better to die in a fight than give in to shame]

(4) *Sarmata*[6] *užriš akis, ausis ir burną*. [Ignominy binds eyes, ears and mouth]

(5) *Sarmata gėdos nedaro*. [Modesty does not bring shame]

(6) *Kurva gėdos neturi*. [A whore might never be ashamed]

[**Subject**] The subject of GĖDA in the Lithuanian proverbs refers only to a human being, including the collective entity –community. The proverbs serve as the expression of conscience and care for the community's honour. GĖDA denotes internal experience and entails features attributed solely to a human subject. The proverbs refer to people who experience GĖDA (7), as well as to activities causing GĖDA that can be done only by human beings (8). The proverbs show that the state of being ashamed cannot be attributed to animals (9, 10). The subject of GĖDA might also include shy people, who often become victims of fraud (11). It is worth noting that GĖDA is a feeling or condition attributed only to those alive (12):

(7) *Pavasarį gaspadoriui tuščią daržinę turėti gėda ir didelė bėda*. [An empty barn in spring brings shame and misfortune for the farmer]

(8) *Ne tam gėda, kas daug ėda, bet tam, kuris prisipila ir neišėda*. [He who fills the plate full should not be ashamed but he who fills the plate and does not eat everything up should]

(9) *Kada šuo gėdą turėjęs*. [Has a dog ever been ashamed?]

(10) *Kiaulė gėdos neturi*. [A pig feels no shame]

(11) *Sarmatlyvą kožnas durnius apgauna*. [A modest person can be easily fooled]

(12) *Negyvam nėra gėdos*. [The deceased have nothing to be ashamed of]

[**Causer**] The role of a causer of GĖDA is assigned, above all, to a human being, the performer of acts causing shame, embarrassment, or carrier of such traits as immodesty or shamelessness, which also give rise to this feeling. The causer of GĖDA does not have any moral principles (13, 14, 15) and usually does well in his or her life (16, 17, 18):

(13) *Nuo bobų nors gėda bėgti, bet sveika*. [It is a shame to run from women, but it can be healthy]

(14) *Kur buvai, kai gėdą dalijo*. [Where were you when the ability to feel shame was imparted?]

(15) *Besarmatė nepamatė, kai begėdė šūdą ėdė*. [Being shameless, she did not see the shameless eating shit]

(16) *Kas sarmatos nepažįsta, tas badu nemirs* [Whoever feels no shame will not starve to death]

(17) *Begėdis visur įlįs*. [The shameless get everywhere]

(18) *Be sarmatos toli matos*. [He who has no shame notices everything]

[**Judge**] One of the obligatory participants in the situation of GĖDA is a judge, i.e. a person, community or audience "issuing a sentence" about the lack of respect or consideration for the standards of morality, propriety, human decency, and accepted customs. It should be noted that the feeling of GĖDA may be affected by a number of external factors and the system of values. The role of a judge is assigned to people, observers, understood as the public or the world (19, 20, 21). In a number of scenarios, embarrassment turns out to be meaningless and ineffective (22):

(19) *Nuo motušės bus bėda, nuo susiedų bus gėda*. [Mother will be angry, and the neighbours will put you to shame]

(20) *Gėda nuo svieto, griekas nuo pono Dievo*. [Shame comes from the world, sin – from God]

(21) *Dievo bijok, kad svieto nesigėdiji*. [Be afraid of God, if you are not ashamed of the world]

(22) *Gėdinti melagį, pajuokti kvailį ir ginčytis su moterimi yra tas pats, ką semti vandenį rėčiu*. [To make a liar ashamed, to make fun of a fool and to argue with a woman is the same as to carry water with a sieve]

[**Tools, way of provoking GĖDA**] The Lithuanian proverbs also point out the tools of raising the feeling of GĖDA. In most cases, such "tools" can be only presupposed. For instance, words may provoke embarrassment (23) and make the wrongdoer's actions public, which is not explicitly stated in the Lithuanian proverbs, though.

(23) *Ta pašnekėjo, ta pridėjo, pagražino, ta šlovę numažino*. [She talked, she added, she embellished, and she destroyed dignity]

[**Cause**] The causes and reasons for feeling ashamed and embarrassed are one of the apparently certified aspects of this emotional state. They reflect the realities of everyday existence, as well as the attitude of the rural community towards individuals disregarding generally accepted norms, principles, and professed values. The feeling of GĖDA is caused by breaking God's commandments (in particular theft) (24, 25, 26), and by behaviour contrary to the generally accepted principles of morality and ethics, such as lying, lack of moderation in eating, inappropriate courtship, spying, and inhospitality (26, 27, 28, 29). Unreasonable speech and abandonment of native language are also likely to make a person feel ashamed (30, 31):

(24) *Griekas nuo Pono Dievo, gėda nuo žmonių*. [Sin comes from God, shame – from people]

(25) *Vogti gėda, o prašyti ne*. [Stealing brings a shame, not asking]

(26) *Gėda turtingam vogti, vedusiam merginėti, o senam meluoti*. [Shame on the rich who steal, the married who flirt, and on the old who lie]

(27) *Bėda, kad daug ėda – namie ir svečiuose gėda*. [It is a pity that they eat a lot. It is shame at home, and it is shame when you pay someone a visit.]

(28) *Kas už durų klausos, pats savo sarmatą girdi*. [Who eavesdrops behind the door, hears his own shame]

(29) *Ėda neėda, bile man ne gėda*. [It does not matter if one's guest eats or not. What matters is that I (as a host) am not ashamed]

(30) *Gėda žmogui durnai kalbėti, bet ne gėda nežinant tylėti*. [Shame on him who talks stupid things, but not on him who keeps silent because of a lack of knowledge]

(31) *Gerai svetimomis kalbomis kalbėti, bet didelė gėda savos nemokėti*. [It is good to speak foreign languages, but shame on him who cannot speak his mother tongue]

The negligence or improper performance of duties may also cause the feeling of GĖDA (32, 33, 34, 35). Other causes of shame are laziness, and non-resourcefulness (36, 37, 38). The rural community in particular condemns a person's weaknesses, e.g. alcohol addiction (39, 40, 41, 42):

(32) *Audėjai storas siūlas sarmata*. [A thick thread to a weaver is a shame]

(33) *Dirbk, kad darbas gėdos nedarytų*. [Work in such a way that you would not feel ashamed]

(34) *Darbas dėl akių, gėda nuo žmonių*. [If you work to show off, shame on you]

(35) *Daryk gerai – gėdos neapturėsi*. [Do your work well and you will not feel ashamed]

(36) *Tinginystė gėda, o ne darbas*. [Laziness is something that brings a shame, not work]
(37) *Abi begėdės – veltėdės*. [They are both shameless and idle]

(38) *Susigėdo kaip kumelė vežimą išvertus*. [She was ashamed like a mare that overturned a wagon]

(39) *Kai užeina akvata, tai šalin ir sarmata*. [Where there is a will, shyness disappears]

(40) Pragerti gėdą. [To lose shame due to heavy drinking]

(41) *Iš karčemos ne gėda išeiti, bet gėda įeiti*. [It is not a shame to leave the inn, but to enter it]

(42) *Girtybė malonę, gėdą ir bėdą padaro*. [Drinking brings pleasure, shame and misfortune]

It is worth noting that not all acts, behaviour or situations causing the feeling of shame are considered as shameful by the community. For instance, "dirty work" (43, 44), admission of one's own mistakes (45), ignorance (46, 47, 48), poverty (49, 50), and caution (51, 52) do not bring disgrace or shame:

(43) *Ne kiaules ganyti, o nieko neveikti yra gėda*. [The one who is lazy should feel ashamed, not the one who rears pigs]

(44) *Juodos rankos – ne sarmata*. [Dirty hands should not make you feel embarrassed]

(45) *Ne gėda klaidą prisipažinti, gėdą jos neištaisyti*. [Do not be ashamed to admit your mistake, feel ashamed not to correct it]

(46) *Ko nemoki, nesigėdyk iš kito pasimokyti*. [Do not be ashamed to learn from someone something you do not know]
(47) *Suklydai, nesigėdink ir pasitasyti*. [If you made a mistake, do not be ashamed to correct it]

(48) *Nesigėdyk savęs ir savų klaidų*. [Do not be ashamed of yourself and your mistakes]

(49) *Lopas gėdos nedaro, bet skylė*. [No patch causes a shame, but a hole]
(50) *Bėda gėdos nedaro*. [Poverty is not a shame]

(51) *Atsarga gėdos nedaro*. [Caution is not a shame]

(52) *Nesisarmatyk vilktis kailiniais, kol dar medžių lapai nesprogę*. [Do not be ashamed to put on your fur before trees come into buds]

[**Temporal characteristics, intensity, possession**] GĖDA is not homogeneous. This emotional state may last shorter or longer and vary in intensity (53, 54, 55, 56). Moreover, the capacity to feel shame is not given to a person from birth, but acquired (57, 58, 59) throughout life:

(53) *Paklausti – laikina gėda, nežinoti – amžina gėda*. [To ask is to experience temporary shame, to remain ignorant is to be filled with permanent shame]

(54) *Pusė gėdos tau, pusė man*. [Half of shame on you, and half of shame on me]

(55) *Sarmata ant sarmatos*. [A crying shame]

(56) *Gėda ant gėdos nemokėti tos kalbos*. [Shame on him who cannot speak his mother tongue]

(57) *Kai (Dievas) gėdą dalijo, manęs namie nebuvo*. [When God gave dignity, I was not at home]

(58) *Gėdos kaip pas žydą*. [Ashamed like a Jew]

(59) *Sarmatos kaip žvirbliui lietaus – pasipurtė ir sausas* [Ashamed like a sparrow after rain – it will shake off and get dry].

[**External symptoms**] GĖDA can be recognized by the eyes. In contrast to a shameless person, an embarrassed person avoids eye contact, and tries to hide himself/herself or the reason for feeling ashamed (60, 61, 62). A number of proverbs illustrate the feeling of shame as an eyesore (63). This feeling might also be revealed by blushing and increased body temperature (64, 65, 66, 67):

(60) *Vagies akys gėdos nebijo*. [The eyes of a thief are fearless of shame]

(61) *Begėdžio akys užpakalyje – nesvyla*. [The eyes of the shameless are in the buttocks; they do not burn with shame]

(62) *Iš gėdos neturi kur akių dėti*. [He feels so ashamed that he does not know where to turn his eyes]

(63) *Gėda už dūmus labiau akis graužia*. [The feeling of shame pierces the eyes much more than smoke]

(64) *Iš sarmatos akys dega*. [The eyes burn with shame]

(65) *Ko gėdimės, to ir slepiamės*. [We hide what we feel ashamed of]

(66) *Vėžys ne iš gėdos raudonas*. [The cancer is red not because of being ashamed]

(67) *Sudegti iš gėdos*. [Burn with shame]

[**States and accompanying feelings**] GĖDA usually goes hand in hand with misfortune (68) and might also be associated with the fear of God's punishment, defamation, humiliation, dishonor, and judgement pronounced by the "omniscient" community (69, 70, 71):

(68) *Ir gėda, ir bėda*. [Shame and misfortune]

(69) *Nuo Dievo griekas, nuo svieto juokas*. [Sin comes from God, the ridiculous – from the world]

(70) *Kaip tu Dievo nebijai, žmonių nesisarmatiji*. [How come, you are not afraid of God's punishment and people's judgement?]

(71) *Dėl Dievo baimės, dėl žmonių gėdos*. [For the fear of God, for the shame of people]

[**Axiology**] The axiological aspect of GĖDA should be considered on a multilevel basis. All acts, behaviour, situations and attitudes that might cause GĖDA are generally condemned by the community (72), and viewed as a loss of dignity. The feeling of GĖDA is compared to the worst experience (73, 74), or even to sin and death (75, 76):

(72) *Taip sarmata, taip negražu*. [Such a shame and disgrace]

(73) *Geriau biednam su garbe būti, negu turtingam su gėda pūti*. [It is better to be poor, but with dignity, than to be rich and rot in shame]

(74) *Veikiaus mirti, nekaip gėdoje gyventi*. [It is better to die than live in shame]

(75) *Ką mergai be slovos, tai geriau be galvos*. [Having no honour for a maiden is worse than having no head at all]

(76) *Išėjo su sarmata kaip su terba*. [Full of shame, she left with her bags][7]

The lexeme *gėda* may also express the speaker's attitude towards other participants of the situation (77). Thus, in this case, GĖDA reflects the speaker's assessment. The capacity to feel GĖDA gives hope for improvement (78), becomes a reference point for assessing other people, their behaviour and situation.

(77) *Čigonui nei skauda, nei gėda*. [Neither does a Romanian care, nor is he ashamed]

(78) *Jeigu gėda – dar ne bėda*. [If you feel ashamed, it is not bad yet]

[**Associations**] The Lithuanian proverbs illustrate the association of GĖDA with undesirable features, for example with dirt. Through personification the experience of GĖDA may be attributed to a pig or a dog. For instance, a shameless person is called a pig or may be ashamed of himself/herself like a pig, and his/her name, metaphorically speaking, is "covered with dirt" (79, 80). This might also impact the association of GĖDA with a dog personifying "ugly" flaws (81, 82, 83):

(79) *Kiaulė sarmatos nepažįsta* [A pig does not feel ashamed]

(80) *Kiaulei ir be marškinių ne sarmata*. [Even without a shirt, a pig does not feel ashamed]

(81) *Šuniui nei gėdos, nei bėdos*. [A dog does not feel ashamed or experience misfortune]
(82) *Išgėdino į šuns dienas*. [They made one feel ashamed. Those were the dog days.]
(83) *Ar šuo tau gėdą suėdęs?* [Has a dog eaten your dignity?]

***The definition of Lithuanian GĖDA in the proverbs: A summary***

GĖDA is an unpleasant feeling experienced by a person or community as a result of a loss of self-esteem, honour and good name. GĖDA emerges as a consequence of the lack of morality, propriety, ethics, and values adopted by the community. It occurs as a result of breaking God's commandments, especially theft, lying, lack of moderation in eating, lack of respect for privacy, indifference, derision, neglect of native language, improper performance of one's own duties, laziness, helplessness, or addiction. GĖDA is a proof of dignity and honour, and concern about a good name. It might also be considered as an expression of intimidation, fear and modesty.

There are situations and behaviours that a person is naturally ashamed of, but they are not the objective reasons to feel so. These include work, admission of one's own mistakes, ignorance, poverty and caution. However, GĖDA arises in the presence of eyewitnesses of the afore-mentioned situations. The stimulus causing the feeling of GĖDA are words, but not every embarrassment is effective and meaningful.

An embarrassed person blushes, avoids eye contact, wishes to hide himself or herself and the reasons for shame. GĖDA may vary in duration and intensity. It can be experienced only by those who have the capacity to feel shame, and honour, who are aware of the importance of good name, as well as by those who are modest and shy. The capacity to feel GĖDA is not innate, but given (by God).

In the Lithuanian consciousness, GĖDA often goes hand in hand with misfortune and may be both a consequence of misfortune and its reason. GĖDA is often caused by the fear of bad opinion and God's wrath. GĖDA is one of the most undesirable feelings. However, the capacity to feel it gives hope for improvement,

becomes a reference point for assessing other people, their behaviour and situations they might be involved in.

***Conclusions***

The sketches of the concept of GĖDA presented in the Lithuanian proverbs above are not exhaustive, but a part of its conceptual portrait displaying a complex structure. Unlike in the dictionaries, in the proverbs the concept of GĖDA is not associated only with unpleasant feelings. In a metonymic way, it covers all real and potential causes and effects, taking into account the semantic content of GĖDA as a moral and psychological trait as well.

Most proverbs mirror events and situations occurring in reality and illustrate everyday life scenarios, confrontations and assessment. Such assessment, however, could be made by someone who possesses a moral backbone, honour and cares about his or her good name. Hence understood as the treasury of ethno-wisdom, the proverbs reflect the problems and dilemmas faced by the "naïve" mind exposed to shame and embarrassment and become a manifesto of striving for the dignity and good name of the community. All phenomena posing a threat to the axiological system of the linguistic-cultural community are condemned.

The data from the proverbs confirm that GĖDA becomes identified through a person's relationship with oneself and God (internal sphere) and through interpersonal relations (external sphere). The objective reasons for GĖDA fixed and preserved in the proverbs reflect the hierarchy of values of the community, accepted standards and etiquette, while behaviour and situations causing unfounded GĖDA ("dirty work," poverty, ignorance, etc.) reflect specific patterns and requirements adopted by the rural community. Incongruity threatens with humiliation, abasement and even exclusion.

The analysis shows that some of the characteristics of GĖDA encoded in the Lithuanian proverbs seem to be universal. However, a number of conceptual elements of GĖDA highlight traits specific to Lithuanian culture, which are defined by the viewpoint and hierarchy of values adopted by the Lithuanian linguistic-cultural community. In the Lithuanian consciousness GĖDA is conceived as an unpleasant state or moral and psychological feature. However, the subject of shame, as well as its causes and evaluation seem to be less salient in the scenarios involving this feeling.

The Lithuanian proverbs under study do not emphasize the relations between GĖDA, virtue and honour, and the threat of their loss. Thus, they do not focus on presenting the image of those who are most at risk of defamation and do not raise the issue of desire, nudity and physical aspects of love. In this respect, Lithuanian proverbs are to a lesser extent metaphysical, and as cautionary tales refer, above all, to the experience of GĖDA as a result of ridiculing and humiliation emerging from the neglect of one's own duties, lack of essential skills, and social coexistence. The experience of GĖDA in the sphere of interpersonal relations also reveals culture specific traits. The Lithuanian proverbs highlight this experience in the context of place and an individual's behaviour in a group. Along with this, the proverbs emphasize that GĖDA is given as a virtue (probably by God) and that not all people are likely to experience this feeling to the same extent. The Lithuanian proverbs show that the main cause of GĖDA could be words. Moreover, this emotional state is often caused by fear and misfortune. Associations of GĖDA with a dog and dirt (and directly with a pig) emerge mainly from observation of reality.

It is worth emphasizing that various aspects of the concept of GĖDA, on the one hand, reveal those conditions of rural life that from the point of view of the Lithuanian linguistic-cultural community require some "repair," on the other hand, they expand the potential of semantic and cultural content of lexical units belonging to the class of *gėda*, and thus facilitate the understanding of their content encoded in Lithuanian consciousness.

***Notes***

[1] The capitalized GĖDA refers to the concept, and the italicized *gėda* stands for a lexeme, i.e. an element of the language system. The English word *shame* is used to refer to an emotional state.

[2] The adjective "cognitive" is to emphasize the cognitive character of the description, the purpose of which is to indicate a way of understanding shame encoded in Lithuanian proverbs.

[3] Empirical data were drawn from 240 Lithuanian proverbs, found mainly in the collection of the proverbs "Lietuvių patarlės" (Eng. *Lithuanian Proverbs*) and "Patarlių paralelės" (Eng. *Parallels of Proverbs*), edited by Kazys Grigas (1976, 1987), and in the online proverb database at www.aruodai.lt.

[4] It should be noted that in studies into the semantics of emotions, the method of scenarios and scripts modelling the meaning of emotional states is employed (cf. Mikołajczuk, 2011). These scenarios take into account different aspects of emotional situations, such as the subject of emotion, causer, cause, characteristics of emotional state, symptoms, valuation and others. Although in most cases these aspects overlap, different qualitative characteristics or their semantic realizations allow for reconstructing various images, or using J. Bartmiński's terminology - profiles of emotions in several languages or in one language.

[5] The non-literal translations of the proverbs illustrate the way of thinking and meaning of proverbs. In some cases, English equivalents of the proverbs are provided.

[6] Unlike dictionary definitions, the Lithuanian proverbs under study often illustrate *sarmata* as a kind of unpleasant feeling (shame, embarrassment), resulting from shyness or lack of courage. In this particular case, the features of character (not feeling), which are a consequence of improper behaviour, are considered.

[7] The Lithuanian proverb *išeiti su terba* (Eng. lit. *to leave with a bag*) means 'to find it hard to make ends meet'.

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***The list of abbreviations***

DLKŽ – *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, t. 1–6, ed. Stasys Keinys, Vilnius 2000.
LKŽ – *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, t. 1–10, ed. Gertrūda Naktinienė, Vilnius 1941–2002.
SEJL – *Słownik etymologiczny języka litewskiego*, ed. Wojciech Smoczyński, Vilnius 2007.

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# COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SOME TIGRINYA PROVERBS

***Abstract:*** The present article largely draws upon the author's thesis dealing with the topics of birth and death in Tigrinya proverbs, submitted at the Free University of Berlin, Germany. The paper investigates -parallels of some of these proverbs to those from other African as well as Mid- Eastern, European, and Asian language cultures. The relevance of the analysis lies in the fact that, although being the third largest modern Semitic language, Tigrinya remains not sufficiently studied, with many gaps in the academic research of this language, not to mention its proverbial heritage. Although the notion that Tigrinya proverbs have equivalents in other languages might suggest itself, hardly any documented evidence of it has been presented up to the present day. The following analysis thus takes a step toward the comparative study of Tigrinya proverbs by offering an annotated overview of selected proverbs and sayings with their correspondences in other languages.

***Keywords:*** Comparative paremiology; contrastive paremiology; Tigrinya; proverb distribution

## *1. Introduction*

### *1.1. Some introductory notes*

Throughout the article, the originals are given in common academic transliteration. Since the naming conventions used in Ethiopia and Eritrea differ from the Western ones, and Ethiopian patronymics are often mistaken for surnames, the names of the respective authors are treated differently, according to the way established in Ethiopian studies, that is with the emphasis on personal names. Publication dates given in Ethiopian calendar (EC) or Islamic calendar (AH, or Hijri year) are recorded along with the corresponding Common Era (CE) dates.

### *1.2. Tigrinya proverbial tradition*

Tigrinya (also: Tigrigna, Tigrinia and the like; self-designation: təgrəñña along with təgrəyna) is one of the working languages

in Eritrea and the largest working language in the Tigray region in Northern Ethiopia. It is an Ethio-Semitic language, written in the gəʿəz script and used as native language in the Eritrean highlands, in Tigray, as well as in the diaspora in many countries worldwide. Several scholars of Semitic and Ethiopian studies have contributed to compiling and annotating Tigrinya proverbs. Most of the respective works in European languages were published in the late 19th to the mid-20th century. The compilation of the traditionally oral genre of the proverb into published collections by Tigrinya speakers began towards the end of the Italian colonial era in today's Eritrea in the 1940s with a work containing 3,300 proverbs, and has been continuing ever since within and outside the region, with collections containing up to several thousands of units.[1] Usually, such collections constitute mere alphabetical lists, with barely any of them explaining the proverbs, and only seldom organized by topic. Occasionally, rare words or archaisms might be listed with their common-use equivalents in an appendix. All these collections are monolingual except for the bilingual collection by The Academy of Ethiopian Languages, which offers an Amharic translation, however no explanations or commentaries on the background or use of the proverbs.[2]

*1.3. Comparative and contrastive proverb study*

For centuries, scholars have been repeatedly drawing their attention to the fact that many proverbs across cultures can be strikingly similar in their form, structure and message, and yet different in the detail, using different pictures, protagonists, or settings. This peculiarity is usually explained with the crucial role of the respective historical, geographical, social and cultural environments in the shaping of proverbs.[3] While the terms comparative and contrastive refer to different approaches in linguistics, the former focusing on similarities and the latter discussing the differences between units, paremiology uses these terms rather synonymously, meaning that the comparison of proverbs implies the detection of differences between them.[4]

Numerous comparative paremiological studies have been conducted by scholars around the globe, covering language pairs or groups of languages related to each other by geographical proximity, language family membership, or cultural bonds.[5] In the case of Tigrinya, a thorough comparative analysis of its rich proverbial

tradition is yet to be conducted. It seems to have most in common with Amharic proverbs, which is certainly to be attributed to the geographical environment, the Ethiopian cultural area, linguistic relatedness, as well as to the history shared by these languages and regions. However, due to the high number of common features between the two traditions, this topic should rather be addressed in a separate article. In what follows here, a selection of Tigrinya proverbs with semantic equivalents in other languages is to be presented.

### *2. Tigrinya proverb selection with parallels and equivalents*

#### *2.1. Tigrinya – Hebrew*

There is hardly anything new in the statement that wise sayings and similar expressions from religious scripts form an inherent part of proverb corpora in language cultures to which the respective religions are crucial. That is the case with German where proverbial expressions from the Old and the New Testaments are used, with Modern Hebrew where the sagacity from the Tanakh and Rabbinic literature live on in form of proverbs, with Arabic where "the proverbs of the Prophet" coexist with the "popular proverbs"; and Tigrinya is no exception in that respect, using proverbial expressions of Biblical origin alongside with proverbs proper.[6] Thus, the evidence of such expressions, often taken from the Old Testament, allows to draw parallels between Tigrinya and Classical Hebrew. As the following couple of examples shows, not only do the Book of Proverbs or the Ecclesiastes serve as their sources.

One of these sources is the Song of Songs with the golden thread of the theme of love running through it. A part of its verse 8:6 is listed in a Tigrinya proverb collection as a word-for-word borrowing of "[…] love is as strong as death, jealousy as unrelenting as Sheol" (Hebrew: *ʿazzā ḵam-māwæt ʾahăḇā, qāšā ḵi-šʾōl qinʾā*), where *Sheol* stands for the underworld of the Hebrew Bible and remains incorporated in the expression in Tigrinya in form of a loanword (*siʾol*): (1) *fəqri käm mot ḫayyal, qənʾat siʾol bərtuʿ*.[7] However, a version of this proverb found in another collection is noteworthy: (2) *fəqri kab mot yəḥəyyəl, qənʾat kab siʾol yəbərtəʿ* – 'Love is stronger than death, jealousy is more unrelenting than Sheol'.[8] Variations of this expression are known to a number of languages, including Turkish, Uyghur, and Vietnamese.[9] Among other Old Testament verses subjected to alterations on their way to becoming proverbs in Tigrinya is from Ezekiel 18:2: "The fathers have eaten

sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Hebrew: *ʾāḇôt yōḵəlû ḇōsœr, wə-šinnê hab-bānîm tiqhāenā*). The closest rendering of this verse in form of a proverb is found in Carlo Conti Rossini's Italian-language collection from 1942: (3) *qäddamot z-ibälʿu yəsəʾənu, daḥarot məs kʷərarəmtom yəwəllädu* – 'The ancestors lacked food, the descendants are born with their molar teeth'.[10] The variations of this proverb listed in Tigrinya-language collections feature different verb forms and might have different wordings. Thus, in most of them, the verb *säʾanä* 'to lack' appears in its gerund form *səʿinu*, unlike above where it is as an imperfect, while the suffixed form *z-ibälʿə=wwo* 'something to eat' (literally: what they eat it) is preferred. Also, the lack of food might be expressed in alternative ways: *yäʿbädbədu* 'they run here and there while looking for something' or *z-äy-räḵäbu* 'the ones who did not find (get, enjoy)'.[11] Moreover, in yet another compilation, instead of 'their molar teeth', the closer to the Hebrew original 'their teeth' (*ʾasnanom*) is attested.[12]

*2.2. Before birth and before death*

Besides Hebrew, paremiological parallels between Tigrinya and other Jewish languages are attested. A popular Tigrinya saying goes: (4) *qäwʿi k-äy-kätätä, säb k-äy-motä ʾay-yəʾəmmän-ən* – 'The harvest is not to be trusted before it is reaped, the man not before he is dead'; with the following alternative version: (5) *säb k-äy-motä, ʾəḵli k-äy-säwwätä (ʾay-təʾmän)* – '(Do not trust) the man before he is dead, the crop before it is ripe'.[13] The Amharic counterpart revolves around the harvest and a monk.[14]

This saying resembles a Rabbinic maxim from the Mishnaic ethical tractate of *Pirqê ʾAḇôṯ*, which says: *ʾal taʾămîn bə-ʿaṣməḵā ʿad yôm môṯḵā* – 'Do not trust in yourself until the day of your death'. It also exists at least in Moroccan Arabic: *lā tʾammin ᵊd-dahr ḥattā taʾwī l-qabr* – 'Do not trust in the destiny until you head [to] the grave', and has a Moroccan Judeo-Arabic equivalent: *loʾ ʾʷᵉmôna bag-gôy ʾᵘfillô ba-ʾœbœr ʾarbāʿîm sāna* – '[There is] no trust in a Muslim, even if he has been in the grave for forty years', as well as a parallel in Ladino (Judeo-Spanish): *no ay emuna en goy ni afilu en la fuesa* – 'There is no trust in a Gentile even in the grave'.[15] Similar sayings are also attested outside the African and Middle Eastern context, for example in Romansh: *marcant e porc as i peisa mort* – 'A merchant and a pig are weighed dead'.[16] Here, a similar

idea, but in regard to a merchant, is expressed: One should not believe a merchant until he is dead.

Another Ladino expression, considering birth, has semantic parallels to a Tigrinya proverb: *no nasio ke ya estornudo* – 'He was not born yet, but has already sneezed', with the Tigrinya equivalent being: (6) *k-äy-wäläd-ku, ʾambädbädku* – 'Before I was born, I was [already] shivering (from the cold)'. A similar expression also exists in Somali, however rather as a saying used for young people who act untypically beyond their years: *maba dhalane dhawrsan okaa!* – 'She was not born yet but is already ashamed [of her nudity]'.[17] Existing with different verb forms, these expressions convey the same idea of prematurity, using the same starting point against somewhat different situation backgrounds.

*2.3. Sleep and death*

The notion of a connection between sleep and death is evidenced in numerous language cultures around the globe. In Tigrinya, although not being a proverb proper, it is often listed in proverb collections: (7) *hərras nəʾəštäy mot* – 'Sleep is the little death', as well as (8) *mot bə-tə̱kas /dəqqas/ yələmmäd* – 'One becomes used to the death while in sleep /doze/'.[18] The saying is not unknown to other Ethio-Semitic languages; for instance, in Harari, it exists in form of a riddle: *mut-le iḥ-zo (mañit)* – 'For death, its brother ([solution:] Sleep)', as well as in form of a proverbial saying: *mut-wā mañit massā-nta* – 'Death and sleep are equal'.[19] The idea of death and sleep being related to each other also exists in other African language, for example in Yoruba: *ẹ́ní fé ẹ́ ̩ rí òkú kó sùn* – 'Whoever wants to see the dead should go to sleep'; and in Akan: *se nnyim owu a, hwe nda* – 'If you have no idea of death, observe the phenomenon of sleep'.[20] There are similar sayings in the *Feylî* dialect of Southern Kurdish: *xew le merg birdiye* – 'Sleep is the little death' (literally: takes from death), in Armenian: *k'naçn ow meŕaçë, tip' mēk ē* – 'Asleep or dead, is the same', as well as in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic: *nʿās ben ʿāmm l-mōt* – 'Sleep is the paternal cousin of death'.[21]

Tracing this notion back to its origin does not seem an easy task. The similarity between sleep and death as realms where the human mind and consciousness are absent is alluded to as early as in the Mesopotamian epic poem of Gilgamesh, and in Ancient Egypt. Death as a kind of sleep from which some will resurrect in the End

of Days has a strong presence in the Jewish tradition and is attested in the Rabbinical literature and the Old Testament (Psalm 13:3, Jeremiah 51:57, Job 14:10–12 and others). Greeks and Romans had similar views, regarding the divine personifications of both these phenomena as close relatives, according to their mythological traditions, but also reflected in the works of classical authors like Virgil and Homer.[22] It is fascinating to see how the same idea is expressed in different languages, for instance, what degree of kinship is attributed to the concepts of sleep and death.

*2.4. On resemblance*

*The apple never falls far from the tree*, *Like father, like son*… There is hardly any language that lacks similar sayings expressing the idea that children inevitably share characteristics of their parents. Tigrinya is no exception in this regard; in fact, it features several similar proverbs: (9) *rämäṣ wäddi gʷahri, quṭṭuʿ wäddi näbri* – 'Red-hot ash is the child of the burning coal, fiery is the child of a tiger'; (10) *wäddi bälaʿi ʾənna-k̲ʷämsəʿä yəwəlläd* – 'The child of a voracious eater is born chewing'; (11) *wäddi qənfiz ləmuṣ ʾay-yəwəlläd-ən* – 'The child of a hedgehog is not born smooth[-skinned]'; (12) *(wäddi) raza nay ʾabbuʾu ḥaza* – '(The child of a) stork took after his father'; (13) *wäddi ḥawwi ḥamäk̲ušti* – 'The child of fire is ash'.[23] Among equivalents in other Semitic and Jewish languages are the following: (Amharic of the Ethiopian Jews, or Beta Israel; compare with the previous) *yä-ʾəsat ləğ ʾamäd* – 'The child of fire is ash'; (Tunesian Judeo-Arabic) *wəld əl-få¯r ḥaffå¯r* – 'The son of a mouse knows how to dig'; (Palestinian Arabic) *ibn il-baṭṭ ʿawwām* – 'The son of a duck is a floater', (Judeo-Tat, or Juhuri) *çingire gove çingire gusele mibu* – 'A mad cow gives birth to a mad calf'; (Amharic) *gäbs s-ibäsəl, ʾabbatu-n yəmäsəl* – 'When the barley corn ripens, it resembles its father'.[24] Further languages where similar sayings exist include Somali: *shabeelka ilmihiisu waa giiran yihiin* – 'The children of a leopard have spots', Herero: *aya za mondaura kai isa ozondeku momutjira* – 'That which was born by one with spotted tail will not be without spots on its tail', Japanese: *kaeru-no ko-wa kaeru* – 'The son of a frog is a frog', Polish: *kto się cielięciem urodził, wołem umrzeć musi* – 'Who was born as a calf must die as an ox', Romanian: *viţel s-a născut, bou a murit* – 'Born [as] a calf, died [as] a ox', and Czech Romani: *dilineske ul'il'a, dilineske merla* – 'Born as a fool, died as a fool'.[25]

However, in some languages, there are proverbs trying to question the existing laws of nature. Thus, in a proverb in Akkadian, the earliest attested Semitic language, the following question is raised: *agarinnu enṣēt, šikari ina mīnû iṭiāb* – 'The mother brew is bitter; how is the beer sweet?'. A rhyming proverb in another long since extinct language, the Andalusian Arabic, presents a subject worth pondering: *ummu rrana wa-wildu ṭayr al-muruǧ: al-walad li-man yaḫruǧ?* – 'His mother is a frog and his father a wading bird: to whom will the son take?'[26]

*2.5. More on resemblance*

There is however a disagreement between different proverbial traditions on the question whom the new-born child should resemble. According to one Tigrinya proverb, the issue should be solved as follows: (14) *'ənno məsäli, na'aḵi yəmsäl* – 'Resemble [your] mother (oh woman); [your son] should resemble you'.[27] In Palestinian Arabic, several sayings ascribe importance in this matter to the maternal uncle: *il-xāl wālid* – 'The maternal uncle is a father' and *tiltēn il-walad la-xālo* – 'Two thirds of a child [resembles] his maternal uncle'. Such view of things might sound familiar to the speakers of Icelandic, whose language, however, offers a proverb with an additional detail: *móðurbræðrum verða menn líkastir, en föðursystrum fljóð* – 'Men are born resembling [their] maternal uncles, maidens – resembling [their] paternal aunts'. Yet another suggestion comes from the Cypriot Greek: *i níffi ándan yenníθin dis beθθerás imiázi* – 'As soon as she's born the bride looks like the mother-in-law'.[28]

The maternal uncle also occurs in another context, namely when referring to someone who avoids giving direct answers or tries to escape a shameful situation. The following dialogue proverb featuring an identical wording is attested in both Tigrinya and Arabic: (Tigrinya) (15) *bäqḷi, män 'abboḵa 'əntä-bälu-wwa-s, färäs 'akkoy bälä* – (Palestinian Arabic) *sa'alū l-baġil: mīn abūk? āl: l-əḥṣān xāli* – 'They said to *(Arabic: asked)* the mule, "Who is your father?" He said, "The horse is my maternal uncle"'.[29]

Another proverb popular throughout the Arab-speaking world and featuring a paternal uncle instead has a semantic equivalent in Tigrinya: 'My brother and I are against my cousin ("son of my paternal uncle"), and my cousin and I are against the stranger', cf. the Tigrinya *ḥaw z-älläwwo gʷana yəfärḥo, wəlud z-älläwwo ḥaw*

*yəfärḥo* – 'He who has a brother, the stranger is afraid of him; he who has a child, the brother is afraid of him'.[30]

*2.6. Ungrateful children*

Another pattern common to numerous language cultures concerns parenthood and upbringing, topics universal enough to be reflected in proverbial traditions around the globe and throughout history. As the respective Tigrinya saying has it: (16) *ʾaddä ʿassärtä zəbʾi bälʿa* – 'As for the mother of ten, a hyena ate her', meaning that none of the children she has given birth to and raised was there to defend her in need, in this case, from the beast.[31] Corresponding proverbs include the Hebrew *ʾāḇ ʾœḥād məp̄arnēs ʿăśārā bānîm bəʾahăḇā, wa-ʿăśārā bānîm ʾênām yəḵōlîm ləp̄arnēs ʾāḇ ʾœḥād* – 'One father provides for ten sons with love, and ten sons are not able to provide for one father', the rhymed Sudanese Arabic *umm el-ʿašara tamūt tiḥt eš-šaǧara* – 'The mother of ten dies under a tree', the Belarusian *matka parve pazuchu, chavaŭšy dla dziacej, a dzeci parvuc' pazuchu, chavaŭšy ad matki* – 'The mother strains herself stashing for the children, and children strain themselves stashing away from mother', and the Czech Romani *jekh daj bararla avri deše čhavoren, alʾo deš čhave na lʾikerna jekha da* – 'One mother raises ten children, but ten children cannot take care of one mother'.[32] Strikingly, the amount of children being ten seems to be preferred in several different cultures. The fact that a similar saying is documented in one of the first attested languages in human history, Sumerian, suggests the universality of the value discussed in it, namely the responsibility of children towards their parents. However, in Sumerian, the offspring of a different size is mentioned: *ama-gˆuruš 8-e tu-ud-da nigˆ2 sig-ga ba-nu2* – 'The mother who has given birth to eight young men lies down exhausted (in poverty)'.[33] It is known from Old Babylonian inheritance records that up to eight adult children were allowed to inherit – a regulation which might explain the use of number 'eight' here.[34]

*2.7. Giving birth in public*

The following Tigrinya metaphoric proverb might be used for referring to a thing which could not be held in secret till the end, not least due to the carelessness of the secret-keepers themselves: (17) *täḥabiʾän-ya yəṭänsa-mmo, säb ʾakkibän yəwälda* – 'It is in secret (literally: having hidden themselves) that they become pregnant; then, having assembled people, they give birth'.[35] Noteworthy, a

semantic equivalent exists in Southern Kurdish: *manga we dizîyew keł girê we aşkira zayid* – 'The cow mates in secret, but gives birth openly'.[36]

*2.8. Attending funerals*

When it comes to power relations, some untold regulations which have proven useful have manifested themselves in Tigrinya proverbs. The underlying idea of such sayings suggests that one should show respect and loyalty to the respective power holder, particularly in hard times, however, rather stay away from the scheming when it comes to power transition. Tigrinya expresses this notion as follows: (18) *wäddi ʾanbäsa kə-mäwwət qəbärro, ʾanbäsa kə-mäwwət ʿaddi wäʿal* – 'When the son of the lion dies, attend its funeral; when the lion dies, stay in [your] village (stay home; refrain from participating)', or (19) *zämäd šum ʾəntə-mot ʿaddi ʾay-təwʿal, šum ʾəntə-mot, ʿaddi wəʿal* – 'When a relative of the chief dies, do not stay in [your] village; when the chief dies, stay in [your] village'.[37] Similar expressions are not unknown to other proverbial traditions, however, they tend to be made up of one part only, namely advising to pay equal tribute to the animals of important people as to their owners (for instance, in Judeo-Neo-Aramaic of Zakho: *kalbıd qāẓi mıtle, kullu zıllu l-azāya* – '[When] the dog of the judge died, all went to pay [their] condole'). A two-part proverb similar to the one in Tigrinya exists in Korean among other languages: *taegam chug-ŭn te-nŭn an ka-do, taegam mal chug-ŭn te-nŭn kanda* – 'Although one does not attend a government minister's funeral, one attends the funeral of the minister's horse'.[38]

*2.9. Medicine against death*

As a universal topic, death has been providing a plentiful abundance of material for proverbs and sayings throughout cultures and history. One of the issues people have been concerned with in them is that of an eternal life, or the existence of a medicine against death. At this point, it would be appropriate to once again mention the Epic of Gilgamesh, probably the earliest surviving literary work in which the pursuit of eternal life plays a central role. Suffice it to mention a few proverbs treating the topic, for instance the Bulgarian *ot smărt lek njama* – 'There is no medicine against death', the Japanese *furō fushi no kusuri wa nai* – 'There is no medicine against aging and death', or the Amharic *kä-motä bä-hʷala mädhanit, k-aräğğä bähʷala ʾabet ʾabet* – 'When one becomes old, [it's no use] wailing;

when one is dead, [no] medicine [will help]'.[39] The equivalent in Tigrinya states as follows: (20) *yälläna-s yälläna, fäwsi ḥamam ʾambär, fäwsi mot-as yälläna* – 'What does not exist, does in fact not exist; a medicine for illness does exist, however, as to the medicine for death, it does not exist'.[40]

*2.10. On cats and mice*

Although in the Routledge Book of World Proverbs, the proverb *What is play to the cat is death to the mouse* is listed as being Danish[41], there is hardly anything specifically Danish about it. In fact, this and similar proverbs are quite popular with African languages, with Tigrinya being no exception: (21) *nä-ʾanč̣a-n ṣaʿrä-mota, nä-dummu mäṣṣawätta* – 'To the mouse, [it is her] death agony; to the cat, it (the mouse) is its playmate'.[42] The Amharic equivalent sounds: *y-ay(ə)ṭ motwa yä-dämmät č̣awta* – '[What is] to the mouse its death, [is] to the cat its play'; similarly in Saho, which is spoken in Eritrea, Ethiopia and Sudan: *andawa rabaa-k lam dummu tigiri la yan-aa* – 'The cat plays with the mouse, while it (the latter) lies dying'. On the other hand, Somali features children and a lizard in the same context: *mulac waa u qurgoyn, carruurna wa u qosol* – 'What is death to the lizard, is fun for the children', and *wiilkana waa ku geeraar, mulacana waa ku geeri* – 'What is pastime (literally: a nursery rhyme) to the boy, is death to the lizard'. However, the motive with a cat and a mouse seems more common also outside the African region. For instance, in Karaim, a Turkic language spoken by adherents of Karaite Judaism mainly in Eastern Europe: *mačyg'a ojun, šyčanga ölün* – 'The cat's play is the mouse's death'.[43]

The danger is over for the mouse though as soon as the cat is out of the house, as numerous languages express in their proverbs, for example in Lithuanian: *katinas iš namų, pelės iš kampų / ant stalų* – ‚The cat out of the house, the mice out of the corners / on the tables', in Finnish: *kun kissa on poissa, hiiret hyppivät pöydällä* – ‚When the cat is away, the mice jump on the table', or in Palestinian Arabic: *in ġāb əl-eṭṭ, ilʿab yā fār* – 'If the cat is absent, go play, oh mouse!'.[44] Tigrinya, however, prefers in this case an owl to the cat: (22) *gungʷaʾäntä-ṭäfäʾa, dämmu yässarasär* – 'When the owl is away, leaps the mouse for joy'.[45] In its turn, Yoruba also features the same scenario using a leopard and a dog as well as a hawk

and crow as protagonists alongside with the popular cat and mouse.[46]

*2.11. Death as a friend*

Having the death as a friend does hardly bode well, as does walking right into the hands of a predator. Thus, a Tigrinya proverb warns: (23) *mot zə-ṣäwwəʿa därho, məs ṣəḵdəm təʿarrəḵ* – 'The chicken which is called by the death (literally: which the death calls her) makes friends with a bird of prey'.[47] Interestingly, a semantic equivalent exists in Judeo-Georgian: *cxovrebit uḳmaq̇opilo siḳvdilis megobaria* – 'Who does not have joy in life, makes friends with death'.[48]

*2.12. Tigrinya – Yoruba*

Finally, a few remarks additional to the ones made in the course of this paper should be noted on parallels between proverbs in Tigrinya and Yoruba (Yorùbá), one of the largest African languages. Although belonging to different language families and spoken on two opposite sides of the continent, both languages share numerous similarities when it comes to their proverbial traditions. Consider the following: (Tigrinya) (24) *mantilla zälila zälila nab märeta, säb näyru näyru nab motu* – 'The rabbit jumps and jumps [but at the end comes back] into the soil (literally: its soil), the man lives and lives up to his death', which becomes in the Yoruba context *ẹṣín ta ta ta ó kú; èèyán rìn rìn rìn ó sọnù* – 'A horse kicks and kicks and kicks and dies; a person walks and walks and walks and gets lost'. As is often the case, a similar proverb can be found from the immediate linguistic vicinity of Tigrinya, namely in Amharic, where an antelope is used instead of a rabbit.[49]

The following popular Tigrinya proverb discusses the nature of human fear: (25) *bə-tämän zə-sänbädä, bə-ləḥṣi tädahlä* – 'Who was [once] scared by a snake flees in fright from a rope [which looks like a snake]'.[50] The Yoruba counterpart says: *ìbè ̣rù ejò ò jé ̣ká tẹ ọmọ ejò mó ̣lè ̣* – 'Fear of the snake keeps one from stepping on the young of the snake'. A similar saying also exists in Yoruba's neighboring language culture of Duala: *nyam'a bwaba e labi tɛ oa, w'ɛn tɛ ekɔnkɔŋ, o nya mula* – 'When a snake has bitten you and you see a rain worm, you run away [in fear]'.[51] For comparison, the proverb is also attested in Mid-Eastern language cultures like Arabic and Neo-Aramaic.[52]

In some Tigrinya proverbs, ironical situations are depicted, for instance running into a greater danger than the one from which one is fleeing: (26) *nə-ʾanbäsa färiḥom, nab ʾom yədəyyəbu-mmo, näbri yəṣänḥom* – 'Fearing the lion, they climb on a tree, and then, a leopard awaits them [there]'.[53] Similar expressions can be found in Yoruba as well: 'He who runs from the white ant [which does not usually bite] may stumble upon the stinging ant'.[54]

Finally, a Tigrinya proverb on self-compliance bearing a striking similarity to its Yoruba counterpart in its wording and the image use should be noted: (27) *ḥarmaz mäʿakkoru ʾaminu, gundi yəwəḥəṭ* – 'The elephant trusts in his buttocks/anus [to such an extent that] it devours a tree trunk'.[55] The corresponding Yoruba saying has it: *bí àjànàkú ò bá gbé ẹ̀kẹ̀ lé fùrò ẹ̀, kì í mi òdù àgbọn* – 'If an elephant is not sure of its anus, it does not swallow whole coconuts', and a variation thereof: *bí ìdí ìkokò kò bá dá a lójú, kì í gbé egungun mì* – 'If the wolf does not have faith in its anus, it does not swallow bones'.[56]

Summarizing, one might emphasize some specific elements shared by equivalent proverbs in Tigrinya and Yoruba. In spite of the fact that only a small selection of semantically and metaphorically equivalent expressions from the two proverbial traditions are presented here, the preliminary findings emerging from their analysis allow to speak of their common characteristics. First, both languages widely use animals in order to express the same or similar ideas and probably to thus make these ideas more intelligible. Second, the use of similar concepts, beliefs and knowledge reflects local realities, the parallels between which often results in analogically shaped or even verbatim equivalents. Numerous of these sayings have parallels also in other African cultures. In their turn, some of them cannot be exclusively ascribed to some particular local belief and are rather to be regarded in a broader context (like the one on resemblance between sleep and death).

*2.13. Conclusion*

The over two dozen Tigrinya proverbs presented here with their equivalents in a considerable number of languages around the globe and throughout history serve multiple purposes. On the one hand, this paper reintroduces Tigrinya proverbs into the Western academic research, where they have been virtually unrepresented for several decades.[57] On the other hand, the article appears to be

among the first attempts to approach Tigrinya proverbs, which generally remain little explored, from the perspective of comparative paremiology. Moreover, it seeks to possibly consider the proverbial traditions of extinct, minor, and endangered languages, along with those of the widely spoken ones. The results of this short analysis indicate that Tigrinya proverbs have equivalents not only in language cultures of their closest linguistic surrounding, but also in other African, Mid-Eastern, European, and Asian languages. This might be explained by the fact that most proverbs presented here address universal values and issues, be it the human physical existence, fear, parenting, relations between children and parents, or power relations. Interestingly enough, however, such parallel sayings often exhibit strikingly similar or nearly identical wordings and metaphors.

*2.14. List of the Tigrinya proverbs discussed*

(1) *fəqri käm mot ḫayyal, qənʾatsiʾol bərtuʿ*
(2) *fəqri kab mot yəḥəyyəl, qənʾat kab siʾol yəbərtəʿ*
(3) *qäddamot z-ibälʿu yəsəʾənu, daḥarot məs kʷərarəmtom yəwəllädu*
(4) *qäwʿi k-äy-kätätä, säb k-äy-motä ʾay-yəʾəmmän-ən*
(5) *säb k-äy-motä, ʾəḵli k-äy-säwwätä (ʾay-təʾmän)*
(6) *k-äy-wälädku, ʾambädbädku*
(7) *hərras nəʾəštäy mot*
(8) *mot bə-təḵas /dəqqas/ yələmmäd*
(9) *rämäṣ wäddi gʷahri, quṭṭuʿ wäddi näbri*
(10) *wäddi bäläʿi ʾənna-ḵʷämsəʿä yəwälläd*
(11) *wäddi qənfiz ləmuṣ ʾay-yəwälläd-ən*
(12) *(wäddi) raza nay ʾabbuʾu ḫaza*
(13) *wäddi ḫawwi ḫamäḵušti*
(14) *ʾənno məsäli, naʾaḵi yəmsäl*
(15) *bäqli, mänʾabboḵa ʾəntä-bälu-wwa-s, färäs ʾakkoy bälä*
(16) *ʾaddäʿassärtä zəbʾi bälʿa*
(17) *täḫabiʾän-ya yəṭänsa-mmo, säb ʾakkibän yəwälda*
(18) *wäddi ʾanbäsa kə-mäwwət qəbärro, ʾanbäsa kə-mäwwət ʿaddi wäʿal*
(19) *zämäd šum ʾəntə-motʿaddi ʾay-təwʿal, šum ʾəntə-mot, ʿaddi wəʿal*
(20) *yälläna-əs yälläna, fäwsi ḫəmam ʾəmbär, fäwsi mot-əs yälläna*
(21) *nə-ʾančəwa-n ṣaʿrä mota, nə-dummu mäṣṣawəta*
(22) *gungʷa ʾəntä-ṭäfəʾa, dəmmu yəssarasär*
(23) *mot zə-ṣäwwəʿa därho, məs ṣəḵdəm taʿarrəḵ*

(24) *mantilla zälila zälila nab märeta, säb näyru näyru nab motu*
(25) *bə tämän zə-sänbädä, bə-ləḥṣi tädahlä*
(26) *nə-ʾanbäsa färiḥom, nab ʾom yədəyyəbu-mmo, näbri yəṣänḥom*
(27) *ḥarmaz mäʿakkoru ʾaminu, gundi yəwəḥəṭ*

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***Notes***

[1] Ghirmai Negash 1999: 130f.

[2] Ṣəgeräda Täk̲lä et al. 1992/1993.

[3] Petrova 2014: 243.

[4] Ibid.: 244.

[5] In addition to the collections and studies mentioned by Roumyana Petrova in her article, a few more important works might be brought up here. Among more or less extensive studies, Kazys Grigas's work (1987) on parallels between Lithuanian proverbs and those from nine more Indo-European languages should be noted, as well as the paremiological comparison study by the great linguist and lexicographer of the Maltese language Joseph Aquilina (1972) on Maltese and other languages and dialects mainly from the Mediterranean basin. Other thorough studies treat parallels between Somali and Russian (Kapčic 1983), Hebrew and Arabic (Sagiw/Landau 1998), Valencian-Calatan and Castilian (Gisbert 2011), German and Bulgarian (Simeonova 2009), Armenian, Persian and English (Panosian 2007), and between Finnish and Russian (Chramcova 2011). Smaller contributions include books and articles covering Maltese and several varieties of Arabic (Aquilina 1968; Talaat 1975), Turkish and Georgian (Gözpınar 2014), Japanese and Finnish (Korpiola 1992), Kazakh and English (Syzdykov 2014), and others.

[6] On German cf. Duden 1992; on Hebrew cf. Sagiw/Landau 1998: iv–v.; on Arabic cf. Bergman 1996: 223; Kassis 1999: 19.

[7] Sälomon Gäbrä-K̲rəstos 1995: 308.

[8] ʿAndä-Mikaʾel Sälomon 2009: 98.

[9] Permjakov 1979: 496.

[10] Conti Rossini 1942: 49, № 151. 'Descendants' should most probably be *daḥrot*, in other collections also: *daḥräwot*.

[11] ʿAndä-Mikaʾel Sälomon 2009: 24; Kəbräʾab Wäldä-Giyorgis/ʾErməyas Kəbräʾab 2006: 57.

[12] Yətbaräk̲ Gədäy 1998: 46, № 119.

[13] Sämärä Gäbrä-Tənsaʾe 2014: 12.; Kəbräʾab Wäldä-Giyorgis/ʾErməyas Kəbräʾab 2006: 47.

[14] Guidi 1891: 31.

[15] For Hebrew and Arabic see Sagiw/Landau 1998: 60. For Judeo-Arabic see Brunot/Malka 1937: 178.; although *goy* means 'Gentile' in general, the meaning 'Muslim' is usually applicable in Judeo-Arabic context. For Ladino see Alexander 2015: 514.

[16] Decurtins 1917: 167.

[17] For Ladino see Shanker 2010, Summer: 40.; for Tigrinya, Ṣəgeräda Täk̲lä et al. 1992/1993: 238.; for Somali, Kapčic 1983: 170.

[18] Yosef ʾAläm-ayyähu 2000: 3, 22.

[19] Leslau 1982: 62, № 133; ʾAbdurahman Mähamäd Qoram 1992: 12, № 62. Cf. also 'Death and marriage are the same', ibid.: 12, № 64.

[20] Owomoyela 2005: 389. The Yoruba proverb has a second part: '[…] such encounters happen only in the realm of dreams'. For Akan see Brookman-Amissah 1986: 77.

[21] See for Kurdish Kamber 2015: 72; for Armenian Sakayan 1997: 172; for Judeo-Arabic see Folklore Research Center, The Hebrew University: № 1052. Notably, according to a similar expression in Judeo-Persian, 'fear is the brother of death' (*tars barādar marg hast*), ibid. № 68.

[22] For Gilgamesh see Mitchell 2004: 61; for Ancient Egypt Assmann 2005: 104. In Hesiod's *Theogony* (lines 211–212), Sleep was the brother of Death and the son of Night. In Homer's *Iliad* as well as in Virgil's *Aeneid*, the both are (twin) brothers, too (Il. 14.231, 16.672; Aen. 6.278).

[23] Gäbrä-Kidan Dästa 2001/2002: 97, 151, 152. For the version of the proverb about the stork without the 'child of…' part, see Kəbräʾab Wäldä-Giyorgis/ʾErməyas Kəbräʾab 2006: 42.

[24] For Amharic of Beta Israel see Girma Berhanu 2006: 272; for Judeo-Arabic, Cohen 1964: 143; for Palestinian Arabic, Isleem 2009: 34; for Judeo-Tat, Dadašev 2006: 263; for Amharic, Richter/Eshetu Kebbede 1994: 24.

[25] For Somali see Kapčic 1983: 68; for Herero, Kavari 2013: 169; for Japanese, Trimnell 2004: 69; for Polish, Stypuła 1974: 376; for Romanian, Botezatu/Hîncu 2001: 43; for Romani, Hübschmannová 1991: 26.

[26] See for Akkadian Lambert 1996 [1960]: 270–271; for Andalusian Arabic, Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza 2013: 164, 167.

[27] Sälomon Gäbrä-K̲rəstos 1995: 193.

[28] For Arabic see Isleem 2009: 39, 112; for Icelandic, Guðmundur Jónsson 1830: 235; for Greek, Cypriot Academy: Proverbs. http://www.cypriotacademy. com/proverbs.html, adapted transcription.

[29] Tigrinya in Arbeiterwohlfahrt Bundesverb. e.V. 1989: 69; for Arabic see Isleem 2009: 180.

[30] For Tigrinya see Gäbrä-Kidan Dästa 2001/2002: 85. The Arabic variations include the Palestinian ʾāna wa-aḫūy ʿalā ibən ʿammī əw-ʾāna əw-ibən ʿammī ʿalā

l-ġarīb, Isleem 2009: 14; the Sudanese ʾana wa-aḫī…, Ahmed 2005: 39; the Baghdadi ʾāni wa-ḫuya…, al-Ḥanafī 1382 AH = 1962 CE, № 283. Compare with the identical expression in Surayt Neo-Aramaic, or Turoyo: ono w aḥuni cal u *abro d cammi, ono w u abro d cammi cal u nuxroyo*, Talay 2017: 64.

[31] Ṣəgeräda Täk̲lä et al. 1992/1993: 206.

[32] For Hebrew see Sagiw/Landau 1998: 29; for Sudanese Arabic, Ahmed 2005: 146; for Belarusian, Lepešaŭ/Jakalcėvič 2011: 319; for Romani, Hübschmannová 1991: 43–44.

[33] Proverb 2.141 from the Sumerian proverb collection 2 + 6,

[34] Stol 2016: 154. Only few sources mention nine as the upper limit for the number of possible heirs.

[35] Gäbrä-Kidan Dästa 2001/2002: 113.

[36] Kamber 2015: 50.

[37] Ṣəgeräda Täk̲lä et al. 1992/1993: 275; Yosef ʾAläm-ayyähu 2000: 88.

[38] For Neo-Aramaic see Sabar 1978: 225; cf. The Arabic *kalb əš-šēx šēx* – 'The dog of the sheikh is a sheikh', Isleem 2009: 246. For Korean see Sohn 2006: 83.

[39] For Bulgarian see Simeonova 2009: 175; for Japanese, Korpiola 1992: 80; for Amharic, Richter/Eshetu Kebbede 1994: 91.

[40] Yosef ʾAläm-ayyähu 2000: 95.

[41] Stone 2006: 58.

[42] Yosef ʾAläm-ayyähu 2000: 51. Here, *mäṣṣawətta* could be a typographical error, if *mäṣṣawäta* 'her fun' is meant instead.

[43] For Amharic see Guidi 1891: 51; for Saho, Reinisch 1889: 306; for Somali, Kapčic 1983: 53, 73; for Karaim, Zajączkowski 1947: 59.

[44] For Lithuanian see Grigas 1987: 280; the entry also lists equivalents in numerous languages including Latin, German, French, Spanish, Latvian, Belarusian etc. For Finnish see Chramcova 2011: 66; for Arabic, Isleem 2009: 25.

[45] Sälomon Gäbrä-K̲rəstos 1995: 279; ʿAndä-Mikaʾel Sälomon 2009: 88 and others.

[46] Owomoyela 2005: 52 № 143, № 144, 467 № 4808.

[47] Gäbrä-Kidan Dästa 2001/2002: 97.

[48]The Israeli Proverb Index, Folklore Research Center, The Hebrew University: № 679.

[49] For Tigrinya see Kəbräʾab Wäldä-Giyorgis/ʾErməyas Kəbräʾab 2006: 33; for Yoruba, Owomoyela 2005: 389; for Amharic, Richter/Eshetu Kebbede 1994: 50.

[50] Yosef ʾAläm-ayyähu 2000: 36. This proverb is familiar to the Western audience concerned due to its repeated appearance in the correspondent contributions, including Praetorius 1885: 323 and Gabriel 1956: 213.

[51] For Yoruba see Owomoyela 2005: 213; for Duala, Melzian 1929: 71.

[52] For Arabic see for instance Iraqi Arabic of Baghdad: illī tʿaḍḍah l-ḥayya yḫāf imn-il-ḥabil – 'He whom a snake bites is afraid of a rope', McCarthy and Raffouli 1964, 145, 357. For Aramaic, see for instance Assyrian Neo-Aramaic: ha nissa l-khowe min khola ke zadeh – 'He who has been bitten by a snake is afraid of the rope', Lethin 1972: 99.

[53] Yosef ʾAläm-ayyähu 2000: 51.

[54] Alabi 2005: 160.

[55] Sälomon Gäbrä-Ḵrəstos 1995: 3; Sälomon Gäbrä-Ḵrəstos 1995: 81.

[56] Owomoyela 2005: 157–158.

[57] For the sake of completeness and fairness, such important, recently published contributions as Solomon Berhane Hagos 2015 should be mentioned.

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# THE DICTIONARY OF MODERN PROVERBS: THIRD SUPPLEMENT

***Abstract:*** This is the third supplement to *The Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2012), edited by Charles Clay Doyle, Wolfgang Mieder, and Fred R. Shapiro. It registers 53 additional modern Anglo-American proverbs with historical dates and contextualized references. We intend to publish such supplements from time to time and hope eventually to bring out a new edition of our dictionary.

***Keywords:*** American, Anglo-American, British, collection, context, date, dictionary, English, modern, paremiography, proverbs.

Since the publication of our first and second supplements to *The Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 2012) in *Proverbium* 33 (2016) 85-120 and 35 (2018) 15-44, we have continued to gather addenda with 53 new proverbs presented here. As before, we must credit a lot of help from our vigilant friends, kinspersons, students, professional acquaintances, and strangers. Among those who have assisted, in direct and indirect ways, two individuals stand out: Fred R. Shapiro, our collaborator on the dictionary itself and author of the magisterial *Yale Book of Quotations* (2006), which he is currently updating and enlarging; and Garson O'Toole, whose "Quote Investigator" website (quoteinvestigator.com) comprises a continually expanding and meticulously researched repository of early datings for fixed expressions, including proverbs. O'Toole has published a selection of those postings in book form: *Hemingway Didn't Say That: The Truth behind Familiar Quotations* (New York: Little A, 2017).

A reminder: The *key word* of a proverb, which governs the alphabetical placement of its entry, does not necessarily point to the "theme" or "subject" of the proverb; it is simply the *first noun* (in its singular form) present in the proverb as most commonly phrased (or, if no noun occurs, then the first *finite verb*).

Of the recent addenda we have on file, the following are among the most prevalently encountered. As in *The Dictionary of Modern Proverbs*, we have included only "true proverbs," as folklorists term them—that is, "propositional" sentences (occasionally, elliptical sentences), not mere phrases or similes or wellerisms or sarcastic interrogatives. A "*modern* proverb," for our purposes, means one that originated no earlier than 1900, as far as we have been able to ascertain.

**AGE (Old age) is (just, only, nothing but) a state of mind.**

1930 Henry E. Jackson, "The Trustee Annuity Plan at Work," *Nation's Business* 18, no. 12 (Nov.) 142: "Old age is not a date in the calendar but a state of mind, and one man at 60 may in fact be younger and more economically valuable than another man at 40." 1931 Wallace Beery, "Her," *Motion Picture* 41, no. 3 (Apr.) 32: "She'll never grow old. Age is just a state of mind and she's got it licked." 1931 Eldon F. Roark, Jr., "Judge Kelley, First Woman Juvenile Court Judge in the South," *Holland's: The Magazine of the South* 50, no. 9 (Sep.) 62: "No one knows her age. 'I always told them, "Mother is ageless, she is neither young nor old." Age is just a state of mind.'" 1960 *North Carolina's Older Population: Opportunities and Challenges* (Raleigh: North Carolina Governor's Coordinating Committee on Aging) 35: "Age is a state of mind. Life is a great adventure for me—not a drawn-out lamentation." 1980 John Lennon, "Life Begins at 40" (a song recorded on the shared fortieth birthday of Lennon and Ringo Starr but not released until, posthumously, in 1998): "They say life begins at 40 / Age is just a state of mind." 1985 *Sun Sentinel [Fort Lauderdale FL]*, 1 Apr.: "The movie…will symbolize to the country that age is only a state of mind." 1986 *Orlando [FL] Sentinel*, 7 Feb.: "They say age is a state of mind, an attitude." 1986 *Newsday [Long Island NY]*, 2 Nov.: "For many, age is nothing but a state of mind." 1987 *Los Angeles Times*, 1 Jan.: "You're as young as you feel. Old age is a state of mind." 1996 *Los Angeles Time*s, 30 May: "Addressing a crowd…, the silver-haired speaker repeated the old adage that age is just a state of mind." 1998 *Illawarra [Australia] Mercury*, 31 Oct.: "Readers will be aware that this column has had some pre-occupation recently surrounding the adage that age is a state of mind." Cf. "Age is just a number" and "Life begins at forty" and the older "You're as young (only as old) as

you feel." See Wolfgang Mieder, "'Age Is Just a Number'. American Proverbial Wisdom about Age and Aging." *Emotsional'aia sfera cheloveka v iazyke i kommunikatsii: Sinkhroniia i diakhroniia*. Eds. M.L. Kovshova, H.K. Riabtseva, and P.S. Dronov (Moskva: Institut Iazykoznaniia RAN, 2019), 7-23.

**When AMERICA sneezes, the world catches cold.**

See "When the United States sneezes, the world catches cold."

**If you are not outraged (angry, etc.), you are not paying ATTENTION.**

1990 Barbara Mary Johnson, *Cheating: Maintaining Your Integrity in a Dishonest World* (Minneapolis: Augsburg) 23: "One of my favorite bumper stickers says, 'If you're not outraged, you're not paying attention.'" 1994 *Toronto Star*, 22 Dec. (in a brief collection of sayings): "If You're Not Outraged, You're Not Paying Attention." 1996 Katrina J. Lee, "A Spirit That Wants to Fight Injustice Globally," *Student Lawyer* 6, no. 6 (Feb.) 39: "She [Marcela Eggleton] lives by a motto which simply calls for awareness. 'If you're not outraged, you're not paying attention,' she explains." 1997 Richard K. Scher, *Politics of the New South*, 2nd ed. (Armonk NY: M. E. Sharpe) 396: "A common populist-style bumper sticker in the South reads, 'If you are not completely outraged, you're not paying attention.'" 2002 *Boston Globe*, 29 Aug.: "I will stay mad with her. If you are not mad, you are not paying attention." 2002 Zac Goldsmith, "Dreams of Power," *The Ecologist* 32, no. 1 (Feb.) 5: "I was given a badge for Christmas, a protest badge that read: 'If you're not totally pissed off, you're not paying attention.'" 2004 *Press-Citizen [Iowa City]*, 25 May: "Many local residents are incensed at the current international political situation. The phrase, 'If you are not angry, you are not paying attention.'" 2017 *Palm Beach Post [West Palm Beach FL]*, 4 Mar.: "But as the adage goes, 'If you are not outraged, you're not paying attention.'"

**My BODY, my choice.**

1989 *Orlando [FL] Sentinel*, 22 Jan.: "The crowd…carried signs with slogans like…'My Body My Choice.'" 1989 *Chicago Tribune*, 21 Apr.: "Two Catholic high school seniors…hoisted a sign during Bush's appearance…It read; 'My body. My choice. My right.'" 1992 *Indianapolis Star*, 24 Mar.: "For spring 1991,

Moody offered sequined dresses with definite messages: One…with an all-over 'My Body My Choice." 1997 *Orlando [FL] Sentinel*, 9 Jan.: "[Noel] Earley said he is planning his own demise…. 'My body, my choice,' he says…" 2002 *Hanover [ON] Post*, 8 Jan.: "Yes, I know the arguments against vaccinations: They can't guarantee not getting the flu; there are sometimes side effects; and, of course, the old 'my body, my choice' nugget being trotted out…" 2014 *Herald Sun [Melbourne, Australia]*, 16 Nov.: "If we feminists truly believe in the adage, 'My body, my choice,' then surely Kim has a right to drop her dacks [i.e. pants] for some easy bucks…" The saying was originally used in reference to abortion rights, but it has sometimes been applied to sexual permissiveness, to suicide, and to the refusal of certain medical interventions.

**BULL MARKETS climb (A bull market climbs, Every bull market climbs) a wall of worry.**

1977 Jeannette M. Reddish, "Hans G. Jepson Brings Balance to U.S. Trust," *Financial World* 146, no. 4 (15 Feb) 41 (quoting Jepson): "One phenomenon I've observed is that bull markets climb a wall of worry." 1980 *Christian Science Monitor [Boston]*, 7 Jul.: "In fact, he [William LeFeure] says that 'probably back around the Spanish-American War some early Wall Street market-letter writer coined the phrase, "Every bull market climbs a wall of worry."'" 1981 *Christian Science Monitor [Boston]*, 28 Sep.: "There is no doubt about it, veteran Wall Street observers note, a bull market climbs a wall of worry." 1983 A. Gary Shilling and Kiril Sokoloff, *Is Inflation Ending? Are You Ready?* (New York: McGraw-Hill) 69: "Those who are intimate with the securities markets often say that a 'bull market climbs a wall of worry'—that is, the more skepticism there is about a change in trend, the more the change should be believed." 1988 Kathleen Odean, *High Steppers, Fallen Angels, and Lollipops: Wall Street Slang* (New York: Dodd, Mead) 181: "The market thrives on speculators' anxieties, according to the old saying 'Bull markets climb a wall of worry.'" 1996 Jim Gard, *The Small Investor* (Berkeley CA: Ten Speed) 36: "…[As] the old Wall Street saying goes, 'Every bull market climbs a wall of worry.'" 2014 *Irish Times [Dublin]*, 1 Jul.: "There's an old adage that says bull markets climb a wall of worry."

**Do not (Never, You do not, You would not) put a BUMPER STICKER on a Ferrari (Bentley, Mercedes, etc.)**

2009 *Philadelphia Daily News*, 14 Aug. (in a list of brief responses from readers): "Never put a bumper sticker on a Mercedes." 2011 *Courier-Mail [Brisbane, Australia]*, 29 Sep. (anonymously quoting a witticism): "I don't have any tattoos for the same reason you don't put a bumper sticker on a BMW." 2012 *Advertiser [Adelaide, Australia]*, 21 Jan.: "When people ask why I [Paul Stewart] don't have any tattoos I ask them 'Would you put a bumper sticker on a Ferrari?'" 2012 *Herald [Glasgow]*, 6 Feb.: "Asked why he did not sport any tattoos on his body, [Nick] De Luca replied, 'Because you don't put a bumper sticker on a Ferrari.'" 2014 *El Paso [TX] Times*, 3 Jul.: "When my wife and I were dating, I asked if she had any tattoos. She said no, she wouldn't put a bumper sticker on a Ferrari." 2015 *Brampton [ON] Guardian*, 7 Jul.: "Speaking in February [about her reluctance to get a tattoo], she [Kendall Jenner] said, 'I have a really weird thing about "forever." And my sister Kim always said "Don't put a bumper sticker on a Bentley."'" 2015 Stephanie Eckelkamp, "Eat Clean, Stay Lean with Salad," *Prevention* 67, no 9 (Sep.) 134: "You wouldn't put a bumper sticker on a Bentley, would you? Then why would you pour an unhealthy dressing on a first-class designer salad?" 2016 *Daily Express [London]*, 23 Aug.: "Just don't expect Dame Joan Collins, 83, to follow in their footsteps. 'Why don't I have any tattoos?' she says. 'For the same reason you don't put a bumper sticker on a Ferrari.'"

**I BUY (I'll buy), you fly (I fly, you buy; You fly, I buy; You buy, I fly).**

1989 Wayne Care, *Vietnam Spook Show* (New York: Ballantine) 125: "'I want a cold beer. I buy, you fly.' Ames nodded. 'Show me the money.' Craig handed over some crumpled MPC. 'Make sure it's cold, okay?'" 1991 *Washingtonian [Washington DC]* 26, no. 6 (Mar.) 196 (classified ad for "Mile High Club"): "You fly, I'll buy.…[F]or new experiences. Send note." 1999 Zak Mucha, *The Beggars' Shore* (Vancouver WA: Red 71) 121: "Bates…sent Joseph out to pick up burritos for lunch. 'You fly, I buy.'" 2008 Nathan E. Self, *Two Wars: One Hero's Fight on Two Fronts* (Carol Stream IL: Tyndale) 84: "'We'll get pizza or something,' he said. 'I'll fly, you buy.'" 2011 *Wisconsin State Journal*

*[Madison]*, 2 Nov.: "One of his favorite expressions, as he would reach for his wallet, was 'You fly, I buy.'" 2013 Jeffrey S. Stephens, *Targets of Revenge* (New York: Simon & Schuster) 231: "'Good,' the Mexican said, then pointed to the bartender. 'What is the expression you Americans have? I fly you buy." The word *fly* in this instance signifies '*go*—to fetch take-out food or drink to be shared with the other party, who pays for it.'

**There is never just one COCKROACH (in the kitchen).**

1991 Richard L. Stern, "Small Caps Reawaken," *Forbes* 147, no. 5 (4 Mar.) 146: "Beware of companies that have stumbled, since their troubles will continue. Or, as [Ralph] Wanger and [Warren] Buffett are wont to say, 'There's never just one cockroach in the kitchen." 1992 Ageet N. Mathur, "Management Dynamisn: The Indian Experience," in *Management Dynamism*, edited by Kenji Yoshida (Tokyo: Asian Productivity Organization) 55: "By continually raising the question 'What is occurring for this to be the result?' we may find that there is never just one cockroach in the kitchen, but a host of connected processes…" 1998 *Sault Star [Sault Ste. Marie ON]*, 26 Sep.: "There's never just one cockroach,' said a U.S. equities specialist who asked not to be named." 2001 Lawrence A. Cunningham, *How to Think Like Benjamin Graham and Invest Like Warren Buffett* (New York: McGraw Hill) 34: "At some point, the creepy Wall Street saying that there is never only one cockroach starts to resonate." 2002 *Sunday Times [London]*, 3 Feb.: "'We call it the cockroach theory,' said Tony Maramarco…, describing the new fear that investors have developed of such companies [as Enron]. 'There's never just one cockroach.'"

**Bad DECISIONS make good (great, the best) stories.**

2009 *Townsville [Australia] Bulletin*, 3 Oct. (in a short list of unattributed sayings): "Bad decisions make good stories." 2009 *Columbia [MO] Daily Tribune*, 19 Nov.: "[Alyssa] Bustamante's posts on the Web site Twitter in the days before [her] Oct. 21 death offer an insight to the teenager…Four days later she posted 'bad decisions make great stories.'" 2010 *Daily Herald [Arlington Heights IL]*, 14 Jun.: "As someone who has been employed in the field for 38 years, let me offer this observation concerning what is news: Bad decisions make good stories." 2011 Mark Stepp, *Quick*

*Guide to Writing Fiction and Nonfiction Books* (Houston: Old American) 16: "Remember this truism: Bad decisions make good stories; good decisions make dull stories." 2013 Kurt Herron, *Strides and Struggles* (Bloomington IN: AuthorHouse) 63: "You have heard the old saying 'bad decisions make great stories.' I will let you decide how bad a decision this was." 2013 *Ruidoso [NM] News*, 11 Jul.: "Voicing my concern to my circle of acquaintances…brings only laughs and recall of the ageless proverb—'Bad decisions make good stories.'" 2015 *Washburn [University] Review [Topeka KS]*, 23 Mar.: "…[W]riter/ comedian/actor Brandt Tobler…is coming through on his 60-city 'Bad Decisions Make the Best Stories' tour." 2015 *The Houstonian [Sam Houston State University, Huntsville TX]*, 18 Nov. "Have you heard the saying 'Bad decisions make the best stories'? Well this saying is true."

**You can (either) EAT well or sleep well (sleep well or eat well).**

1912 *Up-to-the-Times Magazine* 5, no. 4 (Feb.) 4906 (article credited to *New York Herald*): "It is related of Baron Rothschild that to the son of an old friend who consulted him in regard to the best investment of a modest patrimony, he said: 'Do you want to eat well or sleep well? Remember that you can't do both on this sum of money.'" 1919 "'Eat Well' or 'Sleep Well' Stocks," *The Financier* 92, no. 1 (15 Apr.) 587: "A broker, approached once upon a time by a client who wished to make some investment, inquired whether his customer's choice was something that would enable him to sleep well or eat well." 1937 J. Kenfield Morley, "Some Things I Believe," *The Rotarian* 50, no. 2 (Feb.) 7: "I believe that in investing money, it is best to remember that the amount of interest you want should depend on whether you want to eat well or sleep well." 1984 *New York Times,* 3 Nov.: "There is an old saw on Wall Street that you can either eat well or sleep well—but not both. The moral, of course, is that risk and the willingness to accept it are perhaps the key elements in determining the likelihood of stock market profits." 1987 *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, 1 Mar.: "One of the oldest adages on Wall Street is that a person can either eat well or sleep well." 1994 *Calgary Herald*, 1 May: "In investing, the return you want should depend on whether you want to eat well or sleep well." The proverb may have

originated as a calque from German. At the very end of the nineteenth century Max Weber used such an expression, although with a very different application.

**EVOLVE or die.**

1991 *Globe and Mail [Toronto]*, 10 Sep.: "…[S]he flirtatiously opens her black tux jacket to display a black T-shirt with white lettering. The slogan: Evolve or Die." 1993 Mike Freeeman, "Education and Training for Librarianship and Information Services in the UK," *New Library World* 94, no. 1108: 14: "…[S]ome of the existing LIS schools will change accordingly and will flourish, others will not adapt and will expire. Evolve or die, in best Darwinian terms!" 1997 Dolores Palma and Doyle Hyett, "Born Again: Downtown Revivals Offer Salvation for Cities," *American City & County* 112, no. 8 (July) 28: "These downtowns did not accomplish this by competing head-on with the giants or through business as usual. Instead, acting on the adage 'evolve or die,' they found ways to successfully co-exist with the giants." 2004 Timothy LaBadie, *Evolve or Die: The Infinite Process of Becoming* (Bloomington IN: Planetspin). 2008 *New Straits Times [Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia]*, 5 Nov.: "We are now adopting and adapting to the dictates of new technology and subscribing to the Darwinistic 'evolve or die' maxim." The proverb represents a popular application (or misapplication) of the Darwinian concept to a variety of concerns. Cf. "Innovate or die."

**The EYES do not lie.**

1982 Keith Roche, "Eyes Don't Lie" (song, copyright 12 Nov.). 1986 Pointer Sisters, "Eyes Don't Lie" (song, copyright 23 Oct.). 1989 *New York Times*, 13 Aug.: "I [boxer Michael Nunn] could see it in his [opponent Frank Tate's] eyes, and the eyes don't lie." 1989 *USA Today [McLean VA]*, 25 Oct.: "[H]ow can fiction compete with such eyes-don't-lie reality?" 1990 Donny Osmond, *Eyes Don't Lie* (title of song album). 1994 *News Tribune [Tacoma WA]*, 15 Jun.: "He [Harmon Zeigler] continued: 'I have said nothing, but my eyes do not lie.'" 1995 *International Herald Tribune [Paris]*, 2 Jun.: "These are generalizations, but the eyes do not lie." 1999 *New Straits Times [Kuala Lampur, Malaysia]*, 15 Aug.: "If it can be said that the eyes do not lie, then it can also be said that the mouth can betray one…" 2009 RJ Marley, (Bloomington

IN: Xlibris) 137: "Mama always told me that the eyes do not lie and yours are sincere." 2013 Eric Finzi, *The Face of Emotion: How Botox Affects Moods and Relationships* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan) 65: "The eyes do not lie unless, of course, the person has received Botox around the eyes."

**Given enough EYEBALLS (eyes), all bugs are shallow (Many eyes make all bugs shallow).**

1997 John Udall, "Web Project: The Value of Free Software," *Byte* 22, no. 12 (Dec.) 112: "What about Eric Raymond's assertion that all bugs are shallow given enough eyeballs? [Rob] Kolstad counters that it's not the number of eyeballs that matters; it's the quality of the brains behind them." 1998 *Birmingham [UK] Post*, 1 Aug.: "'Given enough eyeballs, all bugs are shallow' is a simple tenet of Open Source software." 1999 *Sydney [Australia] Morning Herald*, 6 Apr.: "It is reassuring to know that just as many eyes ensure all bugs are shallow, many voices ensure the marketplace of ideas is a beautiful one." 2000 Nicholas Thompson, "How Linux and Open-Source Development Could Change the Way We Get Things Done," *Washington Monthly* 32, no. 3 (Mar.) 10: "There is a saying known as 'Linus' law' that 'given enough eyes, all bugs are shallow.' In other words, given enough people working on them, all problems are solvable." 2005 *Salt Lake City Tribune*, 20 Nov.: "Today, the open source movement has realized the effectiveness of leaderless decision making. They have a saying that to many eyes all bugs are shallow…" 2009 *Weekly Standard [Washington DC]*, 20 Jul.: "When you do computer programming there's an old maxim that to 10,000 eyes all bugs are shallow." 2011 *Guardian [London]* , 2 Mar.: "In the open-source world we have a saying: 'Many eyeballs make all bugs shallow.'" The origin of the saying is attributable to a paper presented orally (and subsequently published in several versions) by Eric Steven Raymond, "The Cathedral and the Bazaar," at the Linux Kongress, 22 May 1997, in Würzburg, Germany: "Given a large enough beta-tester and co-developer base, almost every problem will be characterized quickly and the fix obvious to someone. Or, less formally, 'Given enough eyeballs, all bugs are shallow.' I dub this: 'Linus's Law.'" (Linus Torvalde was a Finnish graduate student who, about 1991, invented the Linux computer operating system.)

**Don't play with FIRE if you don't want to get burned.**

1977 Andrea Blake, "The Enchanted Bride," *Good Housekeeping* 184, no. 4 (Apr.) 220: "…[L]ast night you said I shouldn't play with fire unless I was prepared to take the consequences." 1983 Emma Bennett, *River Enchantment* (New York: Dell) 97: "'Dear one,' he said in low tones, 'Don't play with fire unless you want to get burned.'" 1992 Gary Richmond, *Life Is a Zoo—No Matter What Side of the Cage You're On* (Ann Arbor MI: Servant) 182: "One of Dad's favorite sayings was, 'Son, don't play with fire if you don't want to get burned.'" 1998 Sydney Omarr, *Astrological Guide to Love and Romance* (St. Paul MN: Llewellyn) 59: "Gemini: you might start out playing games with the Fire Sign, Aries. But don't play with fire if you are not prepared to get burned." 2001 Jo Leigh, *The Cowboy Wants a Baby* (Toronto: Harlequin) 75-76: "You're old enough to know…that you shouldn't play with fire if you don't want to get burned." 2003 *Daily Post [Liverpool UK]*, 4 Mar.: "The moral of this tale is don't play with fire unless you want burnt fingers." 2016 *Sun Herald [Sydney, Australia]*, 13 Mar. (horoscope for Virgo): "Flirtation is risky but irresistible…But be careful—don't play with fire if you're not prepared to get your fingers burnt." 2017 *Jordan Times [Amman]*, 6 Jan.: "The lesson is, 'don't play with fire if you're not ready to get burned.'" 2017 *Pioneer [New Delhi]*, 3 Mar.: "There is a saying that one should not play with fire unless one has the desire to get burnt."

**If it FLIES, it dies.**

1984 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 11 Nov.: "The Penn locker room was plastered with slogans, one of which contained the cryptic message: 'If It Flies, It Dies.'" 1988 "ADA Cadence Calls," *Air Defense Artillery*, May-June: 40: "'First to fire' / Is our cry / Enemy air will learn / If it flies, it dies." 1989 *Austin [TX] American Statesman*, 12 Feb.: "…[T]he weapon's target location system [on the USS Wisconsin] cannot differentiate friendly and enemy aircraft. 'That's why our motto is, "If it flies, it dies,"' [Fire Controlman 3rd Class Ken] Cox said." 1990 Carol Barkalow and Andrea Raab, *In the Men's House* (New York: Simon & Schuster) 177: "They called us 'Duck Hunters,' and balked at what they believed to be the Air Defenders' earthbound philosophy: 'Shoot everything down and sort it out on the ground.' Or, put even more

crudely, 'If it flies, it dies.'" 1991, Robert F. Jones, "Tale of a Pup," *Sports Illustrated* 73, no. 27 (31 Dec. 1990-1 Jan. 1991) 148: "Oh, I get it, he [a retriever dog] seemed to be thinking. If it flies, it dies. And if it dies, it *fries*!" 1994 *Sun [Baltimore]*, 8 Jun.: "Wild or tame, the ducks are valuable to the hunters only insofar as they provide opportunities to be…shot to pieces. The Congressional Sportsmen's Caucus' motto is 'If it flies, it dies.'" 2003 George Crile, *Charlie Wilson's War* (New York: Atlanta Monthly) 404: "On the wall of the warehouse where these thirty-five-pound shoulder-launched anti-aircraft missiles were warehoused was the motto 'If it flies it dies.'" 2008 *McClatchy-Tribune Business News [Washington DC]*, 7 Nov.: "…[T]he adage about 'If it flies, it dies' certainly applies when all these hunting seasons kick in."

**You FLY, I buy.**

See "I buy, you fly."

**Slow FEET don't eat.**

2014 *Telegram & Gazette [Worcester MA]*, 20 Sep.: "Coach…told me to trust my speed…It's footwork. Slow feet, don't eat." 2015 *Telegram & Gazette [Worcester MA]*, 25 Sep.: "You must have quick feet…As they say, 'Slow feet don't eat.'" 2016 *Courier-News [Bridgwater NJ]*, 11 Jul.: "[Football player Andrew] Roberts said he loves two quotes…The other is, 'Slow feet, don't eat,' as in work hard or you won't succeed." 2017 Solae Dehvine, *Stupid Love 2: Vengeance Is Mine* (Hazelwood MO: Dehvine): "Closed mouths don't get fed and slow feet don't eat son." 2017 *Hawaii Warrior World [Honolulu]*, 11 Apr.: "One of the catchiest phrases in this conditioning cycle is: Slow feet, don't eat." 2018 *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 8 Nov.: "Slow feet don't eat in South Florida. And they especially don't return punts." 2018 (name of a company in Essex MD): "Slow Feet Dont [sic] Eat Racing, Inc." 2019 *WM [Worcester MA]*, 7 Aug (quoting football player Dexter McCluster): "You have to have great feet. Slow feet don't eat. If your feet can't keep up with your mind, you're not going to be a great running back." The proverb appears frequently as a motto on the front of T-shirts.

**Don't hate the GAME, hate the player.**

See "Hate the player, not the game."

**You've got to have (Everyone's got to have, You have to have) a GIMMICK.**

1956 Don Baker, "You Gotta Have a Gimmick," (song copyrighted, words and music). 1960 Ren Grevatt, "The Gimmick Is King in Album Sales Race," *Billboard* (24 Oct.) 1: "As they say in the colorful Broadway hit, 'Gypsy,' 'You Gotta Have a Gimmick,' a motto that applies to stripping, as well as the record business." 1969 Pat Orvis, "Vernon Valley: The Girls Give You a Lift," *Skiing* (eastern edition) 22, no. 3 (Nov.) 190E: "It's no longer enough for a new [skiing] area to be 'friendly,' 'family,' or 'swinging.' Ya' gotta have a gimmick." 1974 Mrs. Nelson Van Wie, "National Gardner Area II," *National Gardner* 45, no. 4 (Jul.-Aug.) 52: "'Everybody's gotta have a gimmick' has been proven true in test districts where this attention-getter has been tried." 1975 John D. Ulrich, "David Aldema: 'Mr. Macho,'" *Cycle World* (Mar.) 43: "The baby-talker tells David he looks goofy…'Everyone has to have a gimmick,' he leers." 1978 Michele Burgen, "Is It True What They Say about Twins?" *Ebony* 34, no. 2 (Dec.) 136: "…[T]he Nash twins have found that being identical twins has its advantages. 'In modeling, there are so many pretty girls. You almost have to have a gimmick,' Sheila says." 1982 *New York Times*, 29 Oct.: "You have got to have a gimmick, the old show-business adage insists." 1983 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 22 Apr.: "'You gotta have a gimmick,' so the saying goes, and a couple of Philadelphia entertainment spots have come up with a couple this weekend." 2012 *Central Coast Express Advocate [Gosford, Australia]*, 11 Jan.: "To reinvent himself he [Wayne Rogers] is now performing on the club circuit as what he likes to call 'a comic in a frock.' I guess the old saying you gotta have a gimmick really does have worth."

**If you cheat at GOLF, you will cheat at life (To cheat at golf is to cheat at life).**

1989 Christine Gorman, "On the Seventh Day He Played," *Time* 133, no. 19 (8May) 67: "Says Hollis Stacy, 35, who has won more than $1.3 million in Ladies Professional Golf Association tours: 'If you find people who cheat at golf, chances are they cheat at life.'" 1999 *Weekend Australian [Canberra]*, 2 Oct.: "…[W]e, who slavishly abide by the game's etiquette[,] content in the knowledge that to cheat at golf is to cheat at life, know better."

2001 *Weekend Australian [Canberra]*, 17 Feb.: "And unscrupulous hackers avoid at their peril the dictum governing those who stride the fairways: to cheat at golf is to cheat at life." 2002 *South Bend [IN] Tribune*, 12 Sep.: "Golf teaches a lot about life, said…a senior on the Penn High School girls golf team. 'If you cheat at golf, you cheat at life.'" 2003 Jonathan Clay and Tom Smith, *My Best Day in Golf: Celebrity Stories of the Game They Love* (Kansas City MO: Andrews McMeel) 22: "The old adage that 'If you cheat at golf, you'll cheat at life,' is something I [George H. W. Bush] firmly believe in." 2004 *Oakland [CA] Tribune*, 24 May: "'People who cheat at golf cheat at life,' he [Judge Gene LaFollette] said on a recent afternoon in the law office he shares with Alameda Mayor Beverly Johnson." 2007 *Mercury [Durban, South Africa]*, 22 May: "There is an old saying that goes: 'If you cheat at golf, you will cheat at life.' I am not sure who said it but it is oh so true." 2008 Carol Felsenthal, *Clinton in Exile* (New York: HarperCollins) 75: "People who don't trust [Bill] Clinton are given to saying that he cheats at golf and that the man who cheats at golf also cheats at life (and on his wife)."

**HALF of something is better than all (the whole, 100%, half) of nothing.**

1901 Stephen V. R. Ford, ed., *Methodist Year-Book—1902* (New York: Eaton & Mains) 13: "Some…reformers refuse to act upon the principle embodied in the old saw, 'Half a loaf is better than no bread.' It has always been our contention that the half of something is better than the whole of nothing." 1912 Theodore Cooke Taylor, "Profit-Sharing and Labour Co-Partnership," *Contemporary Review* 101:626: "…[T]here should be as much as possible, or, at all events, something to divide. Half of something is better than all of nothing." 1953 Jerome Weidman, *The Third Angel* (Garden City NY: Doubleday) 95: "'Why should I cut you in?' 'Because half of something is better than all of nothing'"…1989 *Whig-Standard [Kingston ON]*, 29 Nov.: "Even if taxes for the warehouse are lowered…, 'half of something is better than nothing at all.'" 1991 *Los Angeles Times*, 7 Dec.: "They drug it out a long time.…But 'half of something is better than a half of nothing.'" 1999 "To Pay Your Taxes, First Define 'Day Trader,'" *Fortune* 139, no. 7 (12 Apr.) 180: "Of course, half of something is better than nothing. Many people would gladly pay taxes." 2007

Ken Terry, *Rx for Health Care Reform* (Nashville TN: Vanderbilt UP), 127: "Since that business is bound to move away from the hospitals, they've concluded that 'half of something is better than 100 percent of nothing.'"

**The HORSE is (already) out of the barn (has left the stable).**

1961 *Independent Offices, Appropriations for 1962*. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Appropriations. Congress. House. (Washington DC: U.S. Government) 20:25: [William Cary testifies:] "…I believe these are securities, which…are already on the market." [Congressman Albert Thomas responds:] "In other words, the horse is already out of the barn in these cases?" 1971 Claude Hall, "Vox Jox," *Billboard* (Jul. 31) 31: "So how are we going to separate the people who own AM and FM stations in the same market…? Anyhowever, the horse is already out of the barn, so to speak." 1982 *New York Times*, 22 Jan.: "'The horse is out of the barn as far as today's depreciation is concerned,' Mr. [Henry] Rivera said, 'but there will be others and we should get prepared for it.'" 1984 *Philadelphia Daily News*, 29 Nov.: "Once the complications take over, the horse is out of the barn and there's a lot less hope." 1990 "Panel Discussion: Research Priorities," in *Global Atmospheric Change and Public Health*, edited by James C. White (New York: Elsevier) 251 (Donna Orti speaks): "We're taking steps to resolve the CVD issue, but the damage has been done. The horse is out of the barn." 2000 *Washington Post*, 25 Jun.: "But the horse is out of the barn. Genetics today is no longer the province of geneticists. It belongs to everybody." 2006 *Spectator [Hamilton ON]*, 3 Oct.: "Authorities are irresponsible to say 'The horse has left the stable and is now glue'…" 2007 Jerry Dyer, "Protect Yourself from Spikes," *Dairy Foods* 108, no. 9 (Sep.) 34: "It's too late now; the proverbial horse is out of the barn…" 2008 *Columbia [MO] Daily Tribune*, 13 Jan.: "Disease is mistaken for sickness so doctors take a slice or give more radiation but the horse has left the stable…" The proverb may be related to the proverbial phrase about the futility of "locking the barn (stable) door after the horse is stolen." Cf. "The train has left the station" and "The ship has sailed."

**LITTLE kids, little problems; big kids, big problems.**

1973 Peter Nash, "Education 2000 A.D," *Journal of Education* 155, no. 4 (Apr.) 22: "There is a saying that goes: 'Little kids, little problems: big kids, big problems.' In a sense, it is like that with societies." 1983 Elise Arndt, *A Mother's Touch* (Wheaton IL: SP) 66: "I'm sure you have heard the saying, 'Little kids—little problems, big kids—big problems.' Most people believe that." 1984 Denise Polit-O'Hara and Judith Berman, *Just the Right Size: A Guide to Family Size Planning* (New York: Praeger) 25: "You know, they say, 'Little kids, little problems, big kids, big problems,' and that's very true." 1994 Diana Myers-Bennett Roberts, *A Slice of Mid-Life* (Salt Lake City: Northwest) 43: "'Little kids, little problems. Big kids, big problems.' I must have heard this worn-out adage a dozen times over the years I was having babies…" 1995 Tedd Tripp, *Shepherding a Child's Heart* (Wapwallopen PA: Shepherd) 184: "We have all heard the little proverb, 'Little kids, little problems; big kids, big problems.'"

**It's who you KNOW and who you blow.**

1974 Dick Cavett and Christopher Porterfield, *Cavett* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich) 243: "But it's more than just, as a discouraged actor friend of mine said before he quit, 'Who you know and who you blow.' Forgive me; I realize that phrase is ungrammatical." 1980 Paul Boorstin, *Savage* (New York: Richard Marek) 75: "In Hollywood they don't judge a film on its merits, he concluded. In the City of Angels it's who you know and who you blow." 1995 *Village Voice [New York]*, 28 Feb.: "Chow claims to know one sergeant who got ahead because he mowed his chief's lawn. 'I'm telling you, it's who you know and who you blow.'" 1997 Robert Peterson, *Rites of Passage: Odyssey of a Grunt* (New York: Ballantine) 198: "Besides, it's not who you know and who you blow, it's who you meet and who you eat…" 2003 "Jim Shooter" (interview), in *Legion Companion*, edited by Glen Cadigan (Raleigh NC: TwoMorrows) 99: "To use a phrase that was bandied around back in the Eighties, it's quote 'Who you know and who you blow.'" 2009 James Ellroy, *Blood's a Rover* (New York: Knopf) 152: "I learnt the lesson: It's who you know and who you blow."

**It's not who you KNOW but who you blow.**

1965 Laurentius van de Fitzg [pseudonym?], letter to the editor, *Fact* 2, no. 1 (Jan.-Feb) 27: "Somehow he got off work early enough to walk home for lunch. Somehow his rank rose to sergeant in a year and a half…As the well-known proverb of the Infantry goes, 'It's not who you know, it's who you blow.'" 1987 Terence T. Evans (for the Court), "Pickens v. Runyon: U. S. Court of Appeals, Seventh Circuit," *Fair Employment Practice Cases* 75: 435: "…[S]he overheard co-workers teasing the other white employee about his slim chances of promotion. Someone said, 'It's not who you know, it's who you blow.'" 1988 Howard Smead, *The Redneck Waltz: A Novel* (Shippensburg PA: White Mane) 95: "His motto was, 'It's not who you know but who you blow.'" 2000 Tom C. Allen, *Someone to Talk To: Care and Control of the Homeless* (Halifax NS: Fernwood) 65: "I heard this expression, many, many years ago, it's not who you know, it's who you blow, in order to get ahead in the world." 2004 Steve Trotter, *The National Truth* (Lincoln NE: iUniverse) 53: "'You know the expression it's not who you know but who you blow?' Martin asked…" 2007 Larry Schliessmann, *Unmerciful* (Morrisville NC: Lulu) 39: "I keep recalling an old saying I heard in the Army: It's not who you know, it's who you blow."

**Stay in (Keep to) your LANE.**

1995 J.D. Pendry, "'Top' Olivari says…Stay in Your Lane," *NCO Journal* 5, no. 2 (spring) 4: "'Don't waste your time worrying about how an officer does his job. That's officer's business.' What he [First Sgt. Pedro Olivari] told the sergeant was '…stay in your lane'" (ellipsis dots as shown). 1995 Debra Hernandez, "The Media's Impact on the Military," *Editor & Publisher* 128, no. 19 (13 May) 46: "'If you're a division commander, speak about your division, but don't tell me what Colin Powell should have done. Stay in your lane—that for which you are truly expert,' he [Gen. John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff] said." 1998 Christopher C. Garner, "The Fourth Estate and You," *Infantry* (Ft. Benning GA) 68, no. 2 (May-Aug.) 11: "There are…several interview tips that are fundamental to media relations:… Stay in your lane. Discuss only those things for which you are directly responsible." 2005 Kayla Williams and Michael E. Staub, *Love My Rifle More Than You* (New York: Norton) 279: "Another

Army expression is: 'Stay in your lane'…(Civilians should use it at work when somebody gets in their business and they have no reason to do so.)" 2012 Warren O. Monroe, *What Do You Think about It? A Collection of Daily Thoughts* (Bloomington IN: Trafford) 56: "Most of us have heard the cliché "Stay In Your Lane…I would suggest it means; do only what you do,…stay in your place…" 2013 Terry Carter, "Meet the Man Who Would Save Guantanamo," *ABA Journal* 99, no. 3 (Mar.) 43: "[Gen. Mark] Martins, meanwhile, adheres to the Army's colloquial maxim, often barked by sergeants, which could apply from firing ranges to mess halls to command positions: 'Stay in your lane.'" 2019 *Daily Nation [Nairobi]*, 6 Oct.: "Keep to your lane, Nyandarna [county] MCAs tell [Laikipia Governor Ndiritu] Muriithi" (title of a news article).

**We all hate (Everyone hates) LAWYERS except our (their) own.**

1992 Frederick M. Baker, Jr., "Citizen Lawyer," *Michigan Bar Journal* 71: 893: "It has been said that everyone seems to hate all lawyers except their own. We are feared because we direct the awesome power of the law." 1992 *Telegram & Gazette [Worcester MA]*, 8 Nov.: "He said, 'Everyone hates lawyers, except for their lawyer. People generally hate lawyers until they need one.'" 1995 Alan K. Simpson (speaking), *Congressional Record Daily Edition* 141, no. 69 (27 Apr.) S5798: "We all hate lawyers, except we love the one that represents us. Just like politicians…" 1998 *Sunday News [Lancaster PA]*, 18 Jan.: "It's said that everybody hates lawyers in general, but nobody hates their own lawyer." 1999 Stuart M. Israel, "On Mandatory CLE…," *Labor and Employment Lawnotes* 9, no. 1 (spring) 3: "…[L]awyer jokes continue to proliferate, and people still love to hate all lawyers except their own." 2003 *Des Moines [IA] Register*, 8 Aug.: "The 55-year-old [Robert] Denson…joked that 'everyone hates lawyers, but they love their own.'"

**We all hate (Everybody hates) LAWYERS until we (you) need one.**

1992 *Telegram & Gazette [Worcester MA]*, 8 Nov.: "He said, 'Everyone hates lawyers, except for their lawyer. People generally hate lawyers until they need one.'" 1996 *Vancouver [Canada]*

*Sun*, 16 Mar.: "…[A]s we all know, everybody hates lawyers until they need one." 1999 Michael J. Chepiza, *Getting and Spending* (New York: Samuel French) 31: "That in itself is a delusion. So is the fact that you hate lawyers. Till you get in trouble and you need one." 2000 *Los Angeles Times*, 9 Dec.: "Howard Rosenberg repeats the familiar cliche in his commentary on the election: 'You hate lawyers until you need one.'" 2010 Dale Stewart, *Life Principles* (Bloomington IN: Xlibris) 90: "Lawyers have a saying they love to quote: 'Everybody hates lawyers until they need one.'" 2010 *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 6 Oct.: "It has often been said that it is easy to hate lawyers until you need one." 2013 *Spectator [London]*, 15 Jun.: "It is said that everyone hates lawyers until they need one."

**A bought LESSON is a taught lesson (A lesson bought is a lesson taught; A bought lesson is better than a taught lesson; There is no lesson like a bought lesson).**

1996 Marat Moore, *Women in Mines: Stories of Life and Wor*k (New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan) 172: "…I'd always heard that a bought lesson's better than a taught lesson." 2001 *Valley Business [Los Angeles]*, 9 Jan.: "While the losses caused pocketbook pain for many, in the long run, analysts consider this a bought lesson that will serve as a taught lesson." 2002 *Knight Ridder Tribune Business News [Washington DC]*, 7 Jan.: "My dad always told me that a bought lesson is always better than a taught one." 2003 *Jackson [TN] Sun*, 17 Aug.: "A bought lesson rather than a taught lesson is something to be earned." 2007 *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 30 Sep.: "'We had a bunch of growing pains,' he [owner of a construction company] said. 'But a lesson bought is a lesson taught.'" 2008 *Commercial Appeal [Memphis]*, 29 May: "To quote one of my sons, 'There is no lesson like a bought lesson.'" 2009 *Northwest Florida Daily News [Fort Walton Beach]*, 28 Jun.: "One of his [Chan Cox's] favorite phrases is, 'There's no lesson like a bought lesson.'" 2014 Millicent Elaine Williams, *Vada's Vittles* (Victoria BC: Friesen) 33: "When he told Mama about it, she just calmly said, 'I keep telling you, a bought lesson is a taught lesson.' After he kept getting burned by his so-called friends, he finally got it." 2016 *Herald Sun [Melbourne, Australia]*, 23 Apr.: "A lesson taught is a lesson bought. Good one."

**LIFE is a beach.**

1986 *Boston Globe*, 19 Aug.: "Many tourists have traded their 'life is a beach' slogan for another." 1988 Chicago Tribune, 7 Feb.: "…[H]e [boxer Greg Haugen] wore an inscription on his trunks that said 'Life is a beach.'" 1989 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 7 May: "Life may be a beach in California, but in New York during designer show time, life's a zoo." 1988 *San Diego Union*, 6 Aug. [title of article]: "Color Redman's paintings vivid; perhaps life is a beach." 1992 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 10 Apr.: "But not from [Charles] Grodin will you hear…any hint that life is a beach and everyone wants the best for you." 1996 *Newsday [Long Island NY]*, 18 Oct.: "You're young, you're successful, you're in love. Life is a beach, and there is nothing on your horizon but apparent bliss." 2011 *Daily Breeze [Torrance CA]*, 14 Sep.: "I'd heard the slogan 'life is a beach' before, probably from watching too many 'Beach Blanket Bingo' movies…' 2019 *Northern Star [Lismore, Australia]*, 9 Nov. (title of article): "When life's a beach: whether you live by the ocean or not…" The proverb originated as an anti-proverb altering "Life is a bitch." It appears commonly as a motto on the front of T-shirts.

**LIFE is a treasure hunt.**

1924 Olivia Wyndham, "Society Treasure Hunts: The Trail and the Chase," *The Sketch: A Journal of Art and Actuality* 127 (23 July) 158: "I have long wanted to argue with the gentleman who wrote to the paper saying, 'Does not the Society of Bright Young People realise that the whole of life is a treasure hunt, etc.,' or words to that effect." 1926 *New Orleans Statesman*, 13 Jan.: "All life is a treasure hunt; and it is a wise heart that can become 'as a little child'; can find happiness in shells and sand…" 1975 *New York Times*, 19 Sep. (title of article): "For 2,000 Button Collectors, Life is a Treasure Hunt." 1993 Edward Hays, *Holy Fools and Mad Hatters* (Leavenworth KS: Forest of Peace) 47: "Life is a treasure hunt, in which the prize worth a fortune is life itself…" 2018 *Telegraph [London]*, 5 Feb.: "'One of his [Walid Juffali's] mottoes was, "Life is a treasure hunt,"' says his daughter…'Collecting was an emotional experience for him…'" 2018 *Sunday News [Auckland, New Zealand]*, 13 May: "Life is a treasure hunt, if you want to see it that way, and tracing your ancestors can be like that."

**LIFE is a zoo.**

1937 N.L.R., review of Helen Ashton, *People in Cages* (1937), in *Saturday Review* 16, no. 4 (22 May) 20: "This is a…story dedicated to the proposition that life is a zoo and all of us are in our cages." 1967 Peter De Vries, *The Vale of Laughter* (New York: Little, Brown) 179: "I got out my clarinet and played…in the manner that always wormed me of the thoughts that precipitated such melancholy binges—such as the notion that this life is a zoo in a jungle." 1985 *Philadelphia Daily News*, 24 May: "It is his center. It has enabled him ['The Flower Man'] to survive…his years on South Street and Head House Square where life is a zoo in which all the monkeys are paranoid schizophrenics." 1989 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 7 May: "Life may be a beach in California, but in New York during designer show time, life's a zoo." 1992 Gary Richmond, *Life Is a Zoo—No Matter Which Side of the the Cage You're On* (Ann Arbor MI: Servant). 1994 *Philadelphia Tribune*, 22 Jul.: "There's nothing new under the sun. Life is a zoo. Black men are still…Black men" (ellipsis dots as shown). 2002 *Press Democrat [Santa Rosa CA]*, 29 Apr.: "Sometimes life is a zoo. If you're in the mood for a busman's holiday, try visiting these real and virtual zoos." 2005 *Lancaster [PA] New Era*, 5 May: "Artist Sam Mylin says 'Life is a zoo! Please don't feed these animals!'" 2009 *Daily Herald [Arlington Heights IL]*, 22 Jul. (title of article): "If Life is a Zoo, What Kind of Animal Are You?" 2010 Barbara A. Moody-Hamilton, *From the Cradle to the Crypt* (Pittsburgh: Red Lead) 81: "As my parents taught me, life is full of actions, thus, life is a zoo…You can be the animal or the zoo keeper."

**Bull MARKETS climb a wall of worry.**

See "Bull markets climb a wall of worry."

**MOVE it or lose it.**

1973 *Sun Reporter [San Francisco]*, 31 Mar. (headline): "Berkeley Health Workers: Move It or Lose It" (on the necessity of workers' moving from the Berkeley office to the Sacramento office). 1976 *Atlanta Constitution*, 15 Aug.: "…[M]ost overweight and obese people are searching for some easy way to 'move it or lose it.'" 1985 *Chicago Tribune*, 20 Nov.: "The old adage 'Move it or lose it' can be a literal prognosis…since

muscles accompanied by arthritic pain will atrophy, without exercise." 2004 Stephen Arterburn and Linda Mintle, *Lose It for Life: Total Solution…for Permanent Weight Loss* (Nashville: Integrity) 113: "You've heard the saying, 'Move it or lose it!' We'd like to alter it a bit to 'Move it *and* lose it,'…the more you move it, the more you'll lose…" (italics as shown). 2015 *Queensland [Australia] Times*, 21 Feb.: "We all know the old adage—'move it or lose it.' There's more to it than most of us realise…" Cf. the older "Use it or lose it."

**Hustle for the (that) MUSCLE.**

2013 *Daily Bulletin [Kimberley BC]*, 16 Oct.: "Black versus red [hockey] teams faced off for the coveted 'Hustle for the Muscle' award." 2016 (book title) "*2017 Food and Exercise Journal: Hustle for the Muscle* (Scotts Valley CA: Create Space)." 2017 *Tallahassee [FL] Democrat*, 5 Sep.: "When you hustle for that muscle, over time, your workdays will be more productive…" 2017 *Courier-Mail [Brisbane, Australia]*, 10 Sep.: (advertisement) "Hustle for the muscle to Brisbane City Automotive…" 2018 *Sunday Times [London]*, 29 Jul.: "I'm ready to 'hustle for that muscle,' as an instructor of a spin class once shouted at me." 2019 *Herald Sun [Melbourne, Australia]*, 13 Feb.: "There were some interesting slogans like 'Get Huge,' 'Hustle for that Muscle,' and "Netflix & Chin-ups.'" T-shirts inscribed with either version of the body-building and physical-exercise slogan are widely advertised.

**Be fearful (afraid) when OTHERS are greedy and greedy (only) when others are fearful (afraid).**

1987 *Boston Globe*, 1 Apr.: "[Warren] Buffett, writing in the Berkshire Hathaway 1986 annual report, says simply, 'We find equities that come close to meeting our tests' on value…'We simply attempt to be fearful when others are greedy…'" (ellipsis dots as shown). 1989 *Morning Call [Allentown PA]*, 13 Aug.: "'The higher stocks go, the more people want them…,' he [William Greenwald] said and recalled an axiom: 'Be fearful when others are greedy; be greedy when others are fearful.'" 1994 Robert G. Hagstrom, Jr., *The Warren Buffett Way* (New York: Wiley) 52: "'We simply attempt,' he [Buffett] explained, 'to be fearful when others are greedy and to be greedy when others are fearful'"

(citing Berkshire Hathaway annual report for 1986). 2002 David Gardner and Tom Gardner, *Ten Steps to Staying Up in a Down Market* (New York: Simon & Schuster) 117: "Relevant Buffett quotes for today's investor (and for any day's investor) abound…'Be fearful when others are greedy and greedy only when others are fearful.'" 2007 *Financial Times [London]*, 24 Nov.: "Let's start with the maxim that readily comes to mind…'Be fearful when others are greedy, and greedy only when others are fearful.'" 2008 *Star Tribune [Minneapolis]*, 28 Dec.: "It's the old adage: It pays to be greedy when others are fearful and it pays to be fearful when others are greedy." 2009 *Courier-Mail [Brisbane, Australia]*, 31 Jan.: "To quote (American investor) Warren Buffett, 'Be afraid when others are greedy and be greedy when others are afraid.'" 2011 *Financial Times [London*], 28 Mar.: "As Warren Buffett argues, investment success is assured if we are 'greedy when others are afraid and afraid when others are greedy.'"

**There are old PILOTS and bold pilots, but there are no old, bold pilots.**

1934 "Aviation Medicine" (unsigned editorial), *New York State Journal of Medicine* 34: 511: "There are old pilots, he [Ralph Greene] adds, and there have been bold pilots, but there are no old and bold pilots, for the bold ones have been killed." 1939 June Aulick, "Stand by for Howie Wing!" *Popular Aviation* 24, no. 5 (May) 45: "Bill Moore says, 'I want to be the kind of pilot who makes a perfect landing, steps from the cockpit, and then trips over his long gray beard.' Says Harry Copland, 'There are old pilots and there are bold pilots, but there are no old, bold pilots.'" 1945 *Leatherneck [Quantico VA]* 28, no. 10 (Oct.) 38: "'We get plenty of rough flying just on regular runs,' Lieut. [Anthony] Roscoe said. And then he added, 'There are old pilots and there are bold pilots, but I've never met any old bold pilots.'" 1988 *Chicago Tribune*, 26 Jun.: "…Joe Kittinger is a dead man. The timeless Air Force maxim, 'There are old pilots, and there are bold pilots, but there are no old, bold pilots,' guarantees it." 1995 *Independent [London]*, 4 Apr.: "As they say, 'There are old pilots and bold pilots, but no old bold pilots.'" 1998 *Dominion [Wellington, New Zealand]*, 15 Jan.: "He [Doug Lord] attributes his accident-free record to 'just being careful.' And recalls an old pilots' saying:

'There are plenty of old pilots and plenty of bold pilots, but no old and bold pilots.'" 1998 *Yakima [WA] Herald-Republic*, 23 Nov.: "…[H]e always followed the old adage that there are bold pilots and old pilots, but no old, bold pilots."

**Hate the PLAYER, not the game (Don't hate the game; hate the player).**

2004 *Independent [London]*, 28 Jul.: "Then it's don't waste my time you player, and yes, I do hate the player not the game." 2007 *Tucson [AZ] Citizen*, 20 Dec.: "And for 'Ugly Betty' producers: Hate the player, not the game." 2008 Jeff Weinstock, "Blame the Player, Not the Game," *T.H.E. [Technological Horizons in Education] Journal* 35, no. 3 (Mar.) 8: "…I do appreciate the premise: Blame the user, not the instrument. Or in today's parlance, hate the player, not the game." 2011 *Hartford [CT] Courant*, 13 Apr.: "But to play off a popular phrase in today's parlance, hate the player, not the game." 2012 *Guardian [London]*, 13 Mar.: "But as sports people say (maybe): don't hate the game, hate the player, which means, translated into the fashion vernacular, hate the wearer, but not the garment." 2012 *Herald Sun [Melbourne, Australia]*, 6 Apr.: "Hate the player not the game. Unless the game is solitaire, in which case hate both." 2013 *Marketing Week [London]*, 13 Mar.: "'Don't hate the game, hate the player' was the theme of Stephan Dahl's blog." 2014 Ethan Brown, *Web Development with* Node *and* Express (Beijing: O'Reilly) 2: "To turn a popular saying on its head, 'Hate the player, not the game.'" 2014 *Guardian [London]*, 27 Feb.: "If the Premier [soccer] League ever adopts a motto, I hope it goes for whatever the Latin is for 'Don't hate the game, hate the player.'" The proverb originated as a counter-proverb responding to "Don't hate the player; hate the game (Hate the game, not the player)."

**How you PRACTICE (The way you practice) is how (the way) you play.**

1979 *Globe and Mail [Toronto]*, 26 Oct.: "But that was wrong because the way you practice is the way you play." 1981 *Boston Globe*, 9 Mar. (Quoting basketball player Rich Robey): "How you practice is how you play. That's the way we've always thought about it." 1989 *Orange County Register [Sana Ana CA]*, 6 Jan.; "Our players…didn't have any intensity at practice this week. The

way you practice is the way you're going to play." 1989 *Chicago Tribune*, 20 Oct.: "'The way you practice is the way you perform. You'll look great if you do it right,' he [marching-band director David Morrison] promised." 1994 *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 13 Oct.: "Everyone played with intensity during the week. Really, how you practice is how you play." 1997 Dave Chambers, *Coaching: The Art and Science* (Toronto: Key Porter) 20: "*How you practice is how you play. Perfect practice makes perfect*…The adages quoted above have been around for many years…" (italics as shown). 1997 *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 10 Sep.: "…[R]unning back Bill Dumas learned firsthand last year about the old coaching adage that 'the way you practice is the way you play.'" 1999 Gloria Averbuch and Ashley Michael Hammond, *Goal! The Ultimate Guide for Soccer Moms and Dads* (Emmaus PA: Rodale) 10: "As a common sports phrase goes, 'How you practice is how you play.'" 1999 Billy Packer, *Why We Win: Great American Coaches Offer Their Strategies for Success in Sports and Life* (Lincolnwood IL: Masters) 282 (interview with basketball coach Lenny Wilkins): "[W]e always say how you practice is how you play." 2011 Kate Braestrup, *Beginner's Grace: Bringing Prayer into Your Life* (New York: Free Press): "'Katie,' my piano teacher told me when I was about fourteen, 'how you practice is how you play.'"

**Under-PROMISE and over-deliver.**

1950 *New York Times*, 25 Apr.: "Dr. [C. Charles] Burlingame added that 'as a branch of the medical profession, we [psychiatrists] must be factual and not fanciful. We must under-promise and over-deliver.'" 1982 "General Policy: DOE Dismantlement Stalled for Now, Senators Tell Cabinet Secretaries," *Energy Users Report* 10:640: "Saying he would rather underpromise and overdeliver, [Malcolm] Baldrige told the committee he estimates savings would be about $250 million…" 1987 *Journal Record [Oklahoma City]*, 10 Jun.: "With uncertainty rising, if you 'under promise, over deliver,' you will not only keep the customers satisfied, you'll keep the customers." 1991 Tom Peters, "20 Ideas on Service," *Executive Excellence* 8, no. 7 (Jul.) 3: "One survey…found that the main determinant of service effectiveness, in the customer's eyes, concerned expectations. I call it 'underpromise, overdeliver.'"

**Buy the RUMOR, sell the news (fact, facts).**

1977 Robert B. Feduniak, "Hogs and Coffee," *Financial World* 146, no. 2 (15 Jan.) 72: "This might seem odd in view of futures' reputation for anticipation [,] 'Buy the rumor, sell the news,' and so forth." 1983 George Angell, *Sure-Thing Options Trading* (Garden City NY: Doubleday) 73: "The general rule is to 'buy the rumor, sell the news.'" 1983 "Currency Hotline," *Business International Money Report*, 27 May: "[Currency] Traders have a phrase for this; Buy the rumor, sell the news.'" 1985 *Globe and Mail [Toronto]*, 20 Sep.: "…[S]peculators generally 'buy the rumor and sell the fact.'" 1986 *Gazette [Montreal]*, 16 Jun.: "One Montreal analyst described the steep drop as a classic case of 'buy the rumor, sell the news.'" 1987 *Wall Street Journal*, 22 Jul.: "It's the old adage: Buy the rumor, sell the fact." 1993 *Wall Street Journal*, 4 Mar.: "In the stock market, you buy the rumor and sell the facts." 2005 *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 5 Dec.: "You know the old Wall Street adage, 'Buy the rumor, sell the fact.'" 2009 Kenneth R. Solow, *Buy and Hold is Still Dead (Again)* (New York: Morgan James), 239: "This is one manifestation of the old investment saying, 'buy the rumor and sell the news.'" 2010 *Dow Jones Institutional News [New York]*, 14 Oct.: "It will be one of those crystal clear 'Buy the rumor, sell the facts' moves."

**The SHIP has (already) sailed.**

1978 *Wall Street Journal*, 12 May: "Others say that once Mr. [Joseph] Baird makes a decision it is almost impossible to get him to change it. 'He'll always say, 'That ship has sailed,' one official adds." 1985 *Chicago Tribune*, 8 Nov.: "'We're going to get out and slam the door,' [sports agent Tom] Collins said. 'That ship has sailed.'" 1994 *Los Angeles Times*, 25 Dec.: "There's no reason to burn them up pursuing the leaders. That ship has already sailed." 1996 *Village Voice [New York]*, 9 Jan.: "To [Evan] Wolfson, the time to argue the merits of [gay] marriage has passed; 'the ship has already sailed.'" 2006 *Sunday Mail [Brisbane, Australia]*, 17 Sep.: "I'm still of that opinion but the ship has already sailed. The Australian Rugby Union blueprint has been rubber stamped by the state union, and that's that." Cf. "The train has left the station" And "The horse is out of the barn."

**SHUT UP and calculate.**

1989 N. David Mermin, "What's Wrong with This Pillow?" *Physics Today* 42, no. 4 (Apr.) 9: "If I were forced to sum up in one sentence what the Copenhagen interpretation says to me, it would be 'Shut up and calculate!'" 2005 *Wall Street Journal*, 14 Oct. : "Even those of us who are doing these experiments usually just 'shut up and calculate.'" 2007 Maximilian Schlosshauer, *Decoherence and the Quantum-to-Classical Transition* (Berlin: Springer) 329: "If one would like to go beyond a purely pragmatic 'shut-up-and-calculate' approach to quantum mechanics…, it is virtually impossible not to get tangled up in interpretive questions." 2011 David Kaiser, *How the Hippies Saved Physics* (New York: Norton) 3: "…[P]hilosophical inquiry or open-ended speculation of the kind that Bohr, Einstein, Heisenberg, and Schrödinger had considered a prerequisite for serious work on quantum theory got shunted aside. 'Shut up and calculate' became the new rallying cry." 2012 *Financial Times [London]*, 14 Jan.: "…[S]uch philosophical engagement had fallen out of fashion in favour of a 'shut up and calculate' approach." 2013 Jochen Pade, *Quantum Mechanics for Pedestrians 1: Fundamentals* (Heidelberg: Springer) xvii: "…[T]his was subsumed under the slogan 'shut up and calculate.'" 2017 *Winnipeg Free Press*, 21 Jan.: "This led to quantum-research supervisors telling physics students who asked how it works to 'shut up and calculate.'" 2018 *New York Times Book Review*, 13 May: "The popular four-word summary of the Copenhagen interpretation is: 'Shut up and calculate.'" The proverb, common among modern physicists (most often uttered or cited jocularly), acknowledges the daunting difficulty of envisioning or explaining how and why quantum physics "works," notwithstanding the extreme accuracy of the calculations that it yields. The expression is most reliably ascribed to the physicist David Mermin, though widely misattributed to Richard Feyman—first (in 1989) by Mermin himself—as explained by Mermin, "Could Feyman Have Said This?" *Physics Today* 57, no. 5 (May 2004) 10-11.

**You can SLEEP well or eat well.**

See "You can eat well or sleep well."

**START low (and) go slow.**

1916 Archibald McClelland Hall, ed., *Select Orations* (New York: Macmillan), xxix: "…[H]e [an orator] should keep to the conversational pitch, or even below this. 'Start low, go slow' is an excellent adage." 1959 S.W. Decker, Jr., "Prevention of Sunburn and Light Allergy with Methoxsalen," *GP* 19, no. 3 (Mar.) 116: "A good rule [for the therapeutic administration of UV rays] is, 'start low and go slow.'" Peter P. Lamy, "Pharmacology and Therapeutics," in *Research Issue 32: Drugs and the Elderly Adult*, edited by Meyer D. Glantz, et al. (Rockville MD: U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services) 121: "The adage of 'start low and go slow' is often cited, but it is not always helpful.'" 1989 William R. Smith, "Pipe Dream on Peachtree Street, *Georgia Trend* 5, no. 2 (Oct.) 40: "He [mayor Maynard Jackson] believes Atlanta should start by developing a modest venture, allowing momentum to build. 'As my grandfather used to say,' adds Jackson, 'start low, go slow'…" 1995 Glen Stimmel and Mary Guttierrez, "Psychiatric Disorders," in *Therapeutics in the Elderly*, edited by Jeffrey Delafuente and Ronald Stewart, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: Harvey Whitney) 325: "The old axiom 'start low and go slow' is certainly valid, but such caution should not lead to failure to reach a fully therapeutic dose." 1997 Rebecca Williams, "Medications and the Older Adult," *Food and Drug Administration Consumer* 31, no. 6 (Sep.-Oct.) 17: "The old adage 'start low and go slow' applies especially to the elderly."

**START small (and, then, to), go big (Start small to get big).**

1964 Absalom Willis Robertson (speaking), *Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates: Senate* (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office) 110, part 1, 819: "'Start small—go big' may be said to be the strategy of those who doubt the power of our free society…'Start small—go big' is the strategy of the big spenders." 1971 Gifford H. Albright, "Role of A62 Grid Coordinates in Automated Architectural Drawing," in *Precoordination—Basics for Industrialized Building: Proceedings* (Building Science Series 32), edited by Russell W. Smith, Jr. (Washington DC: U.S. Bureau of Standards) 97: "This may be quite contrary to approaches which many persons think should be taken. That is to start small and go big…" 2002 Julius E. Ettington, *The Winning Trainer*, fourth ed. (Woburn MA: Buttersworth-Heine-mann) 567:

"Your best (realistic) approach is to start small to get big." 2014 Michael R. Braun and Scott F Lathan, *Mastering Strategy: Workshops for Business Success* (Santa Barbara CA: Praeger) 121: "Your employees will early get discouraged if objectives seem out of reach. Start small, then go big." 2017 *Wisconsin State Journal [Madison]*, 39 Apr.: "He [Alex Virijevech] plans to run for local office…before making a run for the House in 2040. 'Start small and go big,' he said. 'Go big or go home.'"

**Do not marry (fall in love with) a STOCK.**

1938 *Barron's [Boston]*, 22 Aug.: "'Never fall in love with a stock.' It may prove to be perishable goods." 1969 David L. Markstein, *Practical Ways to Build a Fortune in the Stock Market* (New York: Cornerstone) 152: "Don't marry a stock. Give loyalty to your family and to your friends but don't waste it on a scrap of paper." 1972 Sheldon Zerden, *Best Books on the Stock Market* (New York: Bowker) 128: "Here is an actual case of a man who ignored the famous Wall Street axiom, 'Don't fall in love with a stock,' and made it pay off.'" 1975 "The Funds: Don't Fall in Love," *Forbes* 116, no. 7 (Oct.) 91: "The experience with Huyek…illustrates a Cogan maxim: Don't fall in love with a stock." 1995 *Nashville [TN] Banner*, 24 Jul.: "Don't 'marry' a stock or become sentimental about it to the point where you won't sell it when it needs to be sold." 1999 Derrick Niederman, *The Inner Game of Investing* (New York: Wiley) 76: "When it comes to the sell side…, sentimentalists consistently get into trouble by violating the age-old maxim, 'Don't fall in love with a stock.'" 2000 *Albuquerque [NM] Journal*, 1 Oct.: "As another true adage advises, 'Don't fall in love with a stock, because it will not love you back.'" 2005 *Sunday Business Post [Cork, Ireland]*, 18 Sep.: "Never fall in love with horses or stocks." 2008 *Financial Times [London]*, 26 Apr.: "…[Vahan] Jahigian prompts him with the old adage, 'never marry a stock.'"

**The STREETS (always) talk.**

1981 *Boston Globe*, 1 Jun.: "'How do you know this happened then?'…'The streets, man. The streets kill and the streets talk.'" 2003 Marcus Baram, "Murder Was the Case," *Vibe*, Oct.: 157: "All secrets will be revealed. Like they say, the streets always talk." 2007 *Guardian [London]*, 24 Nov.: "…[T]he streets always

talk and people always know what's going on…" 2009 Derron Strickland, *Foundations* (Bloomington IN: AuthorHouse) 48: "My boys kept me in loop [sic] because the streets always talk." 2009 *The Blade [Toledo OH]*, 3 May: "We hear it everywhere—the streets talk…" 2010 Mitch Credle, *Stranger in the Streets* (Morrisville NC: Lulu) 134: "You know the streets talk. People are just running their mouths." 2012 Wallace Ward, *Heavy in the Streets* (Bloomington IN: Xlibris) 140: "Well you know how the streets talk, and plus I gotta lot of haters who wanna see me dead…" 2016 *Daily Press [Newport News VA]* 12 Sep.: "Right after these murders, people like to say 'the streets talk,' and one person tells another person…"

**When (If) THUNDER roars, go indoors.**

2004 *Ledger [Lakeland FL]*, 5 Aug.: "'No place outdoors is safe from a thunderstorm,' he [William Roeder] added. 'When Thunder roars, go indoors.'" 2005 *Madison [WI] Capital Times*, 10 Jan.: "Now his [Michael Utley's] nonprofit group's motto is 'When Thunder Roars, Go Indoors.'" 2006 *Daily Herald [Arlington Heights IL]*, 26 Jun.: "'The rule is, "when thunder roars, go indoors"' she [Mary Ann Cooper] said." 2007 *The Australian [Canberra]*, 13 Jul.: "…[E]xperts have been pushing the slogan 'When thunder roars, go indoors.'" 2007 "iPod Wearer Hit by Lightning," *Current Science* 93, no. 5 (2 Nov.) 15: "…[T]he jogger should have followed the old adage, 'When thunder roars, go indoors.'" 2008 *Berkshire Eagle [Pittsfield MA]*, 5 Aug.: "…[T]he old adage 'When thunder roars, go indoors,' isn't very helpful when you're miles from a house." 2009 *Telegram & Gazette [Worcester MA]*, 26 Jul. (title of article): "Danger zone: If thunder roars, go indoors." 2014 *Tuscaloosa [AL] News*, 28 Apr.: "If you can hear thunder, you are close enough to be in danger from lightning. If thunder roars, go indoors."

**We're here for a good TIME, not a long time.**

1977 "Knock 'Em Dead Kid," (song by the Canadian rock band Trooper): "We're here for a good time / Not a long time, not a long time / So have a good time / The sun can't shine every day." 1986 Steve Symanovich, "What's His Line? Retailer Tackles Fly-Fishing Market," *San Francisco Business Journal* 7, no. 32 (19 May) 1: "The second piece of philosophy goes like this: 'We're

put here for a good time, not a long time.'" 1990 Rick Hillis, *Limbo River* (Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P) 141: "There were broken bolts and nuts in the popcorn and cigarette butts…but we didn't care. 'We're here for a good time, not a long time,' Marcel laughed." 1992 *Telegram & Gazette [Worcester MA]*, 11 Oct. "…[A]n attitude summed up in a ski bum slogan, 'We're here for a good time, not a long time.'" 2005 *Herald Sun [Melbourne, Australia]*, 10 Oct.: "They often live by the adage 'we're here for a good time, not a long time.'…" 2018 *Gold Coast Bulletin [Southport, Australia]*, 14 Jun.: "What's the old saying, we're here for a good time, not a long time."

**The TRAIN has (already) left the station.**

1976 *Atlanta Constitution*, 2 May: "…[W]hatever message they can muster to send to the power wielders in the party may be too little too late. As Coleman Young, mayor of Detroit, told the conferees, 'The train has already left the station. But,' he added, 'it can be flagged down along the way.'" 1976 *New York Times*, 15 May: "'The train has left the station,' he [Coleman Young] said of Mr. [Jimmy] Carter's surging candidacy. 'But I do have some tickets.'" 1981 *New York Times*, 22 Mar.: "The expression 'You've missed the boat' was replaced by 'That train has left the station.'…" 1984 John McLaughlin, "GOP Platform Notes," *National Review* 36, no. 14 (27 Jul.) 18: "On the New Right, Richard Viguerie and his colleagues want to be heard, too, but feel that Chairman Lott has shut them out. 'The train has left the station with the doors locked and the windows closed,' says Viguerie." 1989 *USA Today [McLean VA]*, 23 Mar.: "'Public concern and public empathy have already crested. That train has left the station,' says George Swales, director of AIDS education…" 2003 Jim Kitchens, *The Postmodern Parish* (Durham NC: Alban) 5: "We really don't have much choice about whether we are going to deal with these changes: the train has already left the station." 2010 John Geisheker, "AIDS XVII, Mexico City: Reason for Hope," in *Genital Autonomy: Protecting Personal Choice*, edited by George C. Denniston et al. (New York: Springer) 61: "Well-financed proponents…were quick to claim, 'The train has already left the station.'" Cf. "The ship has sailed" and "The horse if out of the barn."

**TRAVEL light, travel far.**

1943 Bonaro W. Overstreet, *Courage for Crisis* (New York: Harper) 14: "'Travel far and travel light'—a good deal of jaunty wisdom is compressed into those few words." 1970 Timothy Leary, *Jail Notes* (New York: World) 114: "Collect personal gear to ship out. Two ball point pens. Shower shoes. Two packages rolling tobacco. Travel light, travel far." 1989 Jan Knappert, *The A-Z of African Proverbs* (London: Karnak) 130: "Travel light, travel far" (identified as a "South African" proverb). 1997 *Geographical Magazine* 69, no. 5 (May), back cover: (ad for Brasher Boot Co.) "Treavel Light, Travel Far…Travel in Comfort" (ellipsis dots as shown). 1999 Samuel John Hazo, *As They Sail* (Fayettville: U of Arkansas P) 100: (verse) "I claim the Iroquois were right— / 'Travel light, travel far.'" 2003 Wendy Williams (with Karen Hunter), *Wendy's Got Heat* (New York: Simon & Schuster) 259: "Travel light and travel far applies to everything you do in life." 2009 *Globe and Mail [Toronto]*,10 Oct.: (horoscope for Leo) "For the next two or three days at least you've got to keep moving. Travel light. Travel far." 2011 *Courier-Mail [Brisbane, Australia]*, 8 Apr. (title of article): "Travel Light, Travel Far—A Success Story Even with GFC [Global Financial Crisis]." 2012 Lee Child, "Everyone Talks," *Esquire* 157, nos. 6-7 (Jun.-Jul.) 136: "No bags, no schedule, no plan. Travel light, travel far" (so the popular fictional character Jack Reacher sums up his way of life). 2015 *Nottingham [UK] Evening Post*, 18 Apr.: "It was the late Chris Brasher…who remarked 'Travel light, travel far,' which is eminently sensible and a philosophy I have adhered to since."

**No TREE grows to heaven (to the sky, forever).**

1909 "The Stock Market Is Ragged," *Commercial West* 15, no. 3 (16 Jan.) 14: "Otherwise, the market would continue to go up and never suffer serious setbacks. As one financial writer puts it, 'A tree cannot grow to the sky.'" 1919 Thomas Gibson, "The Problem of Peace," *Financial World* 32, no. 35 (16 Jun.) 4: "…[W]ith the Persian proverb, 'No tree grows to Heaven' always in mind, it will be possible for shrewd and observant people to escape the deluge." 1927 *Barron's [Boston]*, 10 Oct.: "Beyond offering the somewhat trite reflection that no tree grows to the sky, there is no need to moralize about it." 1929 A. Vere Shaw, *10 Rules for Investors* (New York: Hugh Bancroft) [4]: "According to the German proverb,

however, 'no tree grows to heaven.'" 1964 *Austin [TX] American-Statesman*, 23 Jun.: "'There's an old Swedish saying that no tree grows to heaven,' the Swiss [soccer] coach [Roy Hodgson] said. 'But that's not true with sports. In the sporting world, trees are expected to grow to heaven.'" 1973 *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*, 6 Aug.: "'Trees don't grow to the sky,' runs an old Wall Street saying…" 2000 *Sydney [Australia] Morning Herald*, 2 Feb.: "Also, be aware of the famous investment axiom, 'no tree grows forever.'"

**UNDERPROMISE and overdeliver.**

See "Under-promise and over-deliver."

**When the UNITED STATES (U.S., America, Wall Street, etc.) sneezes, the world catches (a) cold (pneumonia.)**

1977 Michael P. Todaro, *Economic Development in the Third World* (London: Longman) 16: "It was once said that 'when the United Sates sneezes, the world catches pneumonia.' A more fitting expression would perhaps be that 'the world is, like the human body, if a part aches, the rest will feel it…'" 1983 John A. Byrne, "Waiting for the Double Whammy,: *Forbes* 131, no. 11 (23 May) 182: "Unfortunately, many foreign markets are also weaker than Wall Street for economic reasons. As the adage goes, when the U.S. sneezes, the world catches a cold." 1994 *New York Times*, 30 Sep.: "The old adage that when America sneezes, the world catches a cold applied with special force in financial markets yesterday." 1998 *Jerusalem Post*, 14 Jan.: "As they say, when Wall Street sneezes the world catches a cold." 2011 *Daily Advertiser [Wagga Wagga, Australia]*, 10 Aug.: "'The saying goes that America sneezes and the world catches pneumonia and that's what's happening now,' Mr [Michael] McCormack said." 2014 Bruce Jones, *Still Ours to Lead* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution) 102: "The old saying was, 'When America sneezes, the world catches cold.' That is still true."

**The WAY you practice is the way you play.**

See "How you practice is how you play."

**An ugly WIN is better than (beats) a (pretty) loss (An ugly win is still a win).**

1984 *Philadelphia Daily News*, 1 Nov.: "'All in all,' [boxer Johnny] Bumphus said, 'you always say an ugly win is better than

a pretty loss.'" 1986 *[Ottawa] Citizen*, 1 May: "'It was an ugly win, but a win is a win,' [hockey coach Ted] Sator said." 1988 *Los Angeles Times*, 26 Oct.: "'An ugly win beats a pretty loss every time,' [basketball player Wayne] Engelstad said." 1990 *Windsor [ON] Star*, 19 Feb: "They say an ugly win is better than no win at all. At times the Windsor Lancers were really ugly…" 1990 *Orlando [FL] Sentinel*, 22 Feb: "…[Basketball] Coach Tom Folliard said [,] 'I thought we played very flat and lethargic, but an ugly win is better than a pretty loss.'" 1991 *Colorado Springs Gazette*, 28 Oct.: "'An ugly win is still a win,' said Reggie Rivers, Denver's other rookie running back." 1993 *[Montreal] Gazette*, 28 Oct.: "…[Soccer coach] Bob Lenarduzzi says an ugly win is better than no win at all." 1996 *Sun [Baltimore]*, 22 Dec.: (headline) "Lesson: An ugly win is still a win." 1997 *New York Times*, 16 Mar.: "I tell everyone that an ugly win is better than a great loss." 1997 *Los Angeles Times*, 26 Oct.: "We played flat, but an ugly win is a win just the same." 2002 *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 17 Feb.: "…[T]he Yellow Jackets weren't about to complain because even an ugly win beats the alternative."

**A WOMAN has to work twice as hard to get half as far (half as much, half the credit, etc.) as a man.**

1974 "Kampus Keyhole," *Alcalde* 62, no. 6 (Jul.-Aug.) 12: "It was once said that women have to work twice as hard and be twice as smart as men to get half as much notice." 1990 Nancy Dart and Marilyn Tucker, "Workaholic Lawyers: If You're Not One You Know One," *Michigan Bar Journal* 69: 1180: "The old adage that 'women have to work twice as hard to get half as far' as men still rings true for many women attorneys." 1991 Linda Alderman, *Why Did Daddy Die?: Helping Children Cope with the Loss of a Parent* (New York: Simon & Schuster) 138: "There was a sign on the wall that said, 'A woman has to work twice as hard as a man to get half as much recognition.'" 1992 Gary Bernard and Kalman Glantz, *Staying Human in the Organization* (Westport CT: Praeger) 1: "Overheard on the way to work:…'It's true what they say: A woman has to work twice as hard as a man to get half as far'" 1995 *Debates of the House of Commons of Canada* [Hansard] (Ottawa: House of Commons) 233, no. 164 (3 Mar.) 10338 (Val Meredith speaks): "Yes, women today will experience chauvinism and discrimination in their lives. But as one of my staffers says, a woman

has to work twice as hard as a man to get half the credit." 2018 *Irish Independent [Dublin]*, 8 Sep.: "[I]t's long been said that a woman has to work twice as hard to be taken half as seriously as a man…"

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STEPHAN FRECH

# DAS DOPPELLEBEN DES „MEISTER HÄMMERLI“: EINE REDENSART ZWISCHEN VOLKSMUND UND VOLKSETYMOLOGIE

***Abstract:*** Um unheimliche Wesen wie Kobolde oder den Teufel nicht beim rechten Namen nennen zu müssen, hält die Sprache euphemistische Umschreibungen und onymische Phraseme bereit wie den „Meister Hämmerli“. Der Beitrag zeigt, wie „Meister Hämmerli“ in Vergessenheit geriet und nach der Aufklärung als „tüchtiger Handwerker“ umgedeutet wurde und in literarischen Texten des 19. Jh. weiterlebte. Quelltexte aus der Reformationszeit, Akten von Hexenprozessen und lexikographische Werke erlauben es, den Bedeutungswandel über fünf Jahrhunderte hinweg zu verfolgen.

***Keywords:*** Teufelsnamen**,** Meister, Felix Hemmerli, Redensart, Volksetymologie, Hexenprozess

Meister Hämmerling, mein Lieber,
Kannst Du mir die Brücke zimmern?
*Heinrich Heine, Sehnsüchtelei*

## *1. Einleitung*

Alte Zürcher erinnern sich noch an die heute fast vergessene sprichwörtliche Redewendung „Da muesch de Meister Hämmerli hole“. Sie wurde als spöttische Antwort auf knifflige oder nicht lösbare, meist handwerkliche Arbeiten gegeben. Wenn man den Schweizer Quellen des 18. und 19. Jh. Glauben schenken will, ist mit diesem Ausdruck der Zürcher Gelehrte Magister Felix Hemmerli gemeint. Felix Hemmerli lebte von ca.1388/89 bis 1458/61 im spätmittelalterlichen Zürich, wurde in Konstanz festgenommen und starb in einem Luzerner Gefängnis.[1] Gegen diese Erklärung spricht jedoch, dass ‚Meister Hämmerli’ bzw. ‚Meister Hämmerling’ im ganzen deutschen Sprachraum bekannt ist und verhüllend den Teufel oder ein unheimliches Wesen bezeichnet.

Der folgende Beitrag geht der Frage nach, was bzw. wer sich hinter dem Phrasem ‚Meister Hämmerli’ versteckt und ob eine schweizerische Redewendung vorliegt. Dieser Ansatz wird durch

die diachrone Fragestellung ergänzt, welche linguistischen und kulturgeschichtlichen Gründe dazu geführt haben, dass die historische Bedeutung des genannten Phrasems heute als ‚vergessen' gilt.

Auf die schweizerische Herkunft weist die Form, die Diminutiv-Bildung auf ‚-li' hin; diese Ableitung ist als Familienname in der deutschen Schweiz belegt und allgemein bekannt. Schweizerisch scheint auch die sprichwörtliche Redensart „er ist ein rechter Meister Hämmerli", i.S.v. ‚ein (neunmal)kluger bzw. vorwitziger Mensch sein',[2] und das bereits erwähnte ‚de Meister Hämmerli hole' bzw. ‚frööge' (fragen). Im Kern dieser Redensart steht jedoch das gesamtdeutsche, onymische Phrasem[3] ‚Meister Hämmerli' bzw. ‚Meister Hämmerling', das sich in verschiedenen Varianten wie Meister Hemmerli(n), Hämmerli(n), Hämmerlein, nd. Hemerken, Hamerken bzw. Hämmerling, Hemmerling erhalten hat. Meister Hämmerli steht im christlichen Kontext figurativ für den Teufel und ähnliche unheimliche Gestalten des Volksglaubens wie Kobolde, Dämonen und – wegen des Hämmerns – Poltergeister.[4] In einem Prozess semantischer Säkularisierung, der mit der Abnahme des Teufelsglaubens einhergeht, verblasst die ursprüngliche mythologische Bedeutung, und das Phrasem kann auch den Scharfrichter, Abdecker und sogar den Hanswurst bezeichnen;[5] d.h. Vertreter von Randgruppen der Ständegesellschaft, die nach früherem Verständnis unehrliche Berufe ausübten.

Die frühesten datierten Belege für Meister Hämmerli (weiter MH) findet man in der Chronik Sabbata (um 1533) des St. Galler Johannes Kessler (1503–1574),[6] beim Zürcher Reformator Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575) und im Ambraser Liederbuch von 1582, in den Aufzeichnungen des Pfarrers Johannes Hutmacher von 1583 sowie in den Zürcher Protokollen der Hexenprozesse von 1571 bis 1591.[7] Kessler verwendet den Ausdruck i.S.v. ‚Narr'; das Pfarrodel aus dem Emmental von Hutmacher berichtet von einem Marionettentheater, in dem eine Figur „meister Hämmerlin" vorkommt.[8] Im Ambraser Liederbuch bezeichnet der Begriff dagegen den Teufel: „welchs meister hemmerlein wol gefelt, | das sich die welt so gar grewlich stelt.";[9] ebenso in den Hexenprozessen. Bei Bullinger findet man die früheste Verbindung zu Felix Hämmerli.

### *2. Die Innere Form: Meister Hämmerli oder Hämmerling*

Es handelt sich beim MH um eine zweigliedrige, verhüllende Umschreibung bzw. einen Euphemismus, dessen Funktion darin besteht, den eigentlichen Namen des unheimlichen Wesens zu verbergen.[10] Damit schafft die innere Form von Beginn weg die Voraussetzungen dafür, dass die eigentliche Bedeutung verblassen kann. Das Verhüllende unterscheidet den MH von anderen euphemistischen Umschreibungen wie ‚der Gottseibeiuns’ oder ‚der Leibhaftige’, mit denen man ebenfalls vermeidet, den Teufel namentlich zu nennen. Sie verstecken aber ihre Referenz ‚Teufel’ nicht, sind heute noch bekannt und bezeichnen ausschließlich den christlichen Teufel. Parallel zu diesen linguistischen Voraussetzungen verändern sich die sozio-kulturellen Bedingungen. Der Volksglaube an den Teufel und übernatürliche Wesen nimmt ab, und seit dem 17. Jh. entmythisieren aufklärerische Gelehrte und Pädagogen den kindlich-naiven Wunder- und Aberglauben. Der Teufel wird zu einem abstrakten Konzept für das ‚Böse’, ‚Schlechte’ und unterscheidet sich grundlegend von der Vorstellung des ‚Leibhaftigen’, der als körperliches Wesen gedacht wurde.

Auf sprachlicher Ebene begünstigen die beiden Komponenten – ‚Meister’ und ‚Hämmerli / Hämmerling’ – zusätzlich das Verblassen des Phrasems. Der Meister-Begriff hat sich seit seiner doppelten Übernahme ins Deutsche als ‚Magister’ und ‚Meister’ immer wieder verändert und kann als Kontinuum von Bedeutungen beschrieben werden, die oft bis heute nachwirken und zur Differenzierung ‚Magister: akademischer Grad’ und ‚Meister: berufliche, außeruniversitäre Qualifikation’ geführt haben. Das eingedeutschte ‚Meister’ wird seit dem späten Mittelalter für jemanden gebraucht, der es in seinem Handwerk – bzw. Tätigkeiten wie Fechten oder Schach – zur hohen Könnerschaft gebracht hat. Zuvor aber bezeichnete ‚Meister’ jemanden, der eine Wissenschaft oder Kunst beherrscht und sie auch unterrichten kann;[11] in der Bedeutung ‚Gelehrter’, ‚Poet’ wird ‚Meister’ heute für historische Persönlichkeiten wie den Mystiker Meister Eckhart gebraucht. Die deutsche und lateinische Form zeigten im 16. Jh. noch keinen fassbaren semantischen Unterschied. Im spätmittelalterlichen Meistersang der Zünfte lassen sich beide Bedeutungsebenen, die des Künstlers und die des Handwerkers, gleichzeitig erkennen; das Handwerkliche und Okkulte lebt noch in den Begriffen der Freimaurer wie ‚Logenmeister’, ‚Meister vom Stuhl’ bzw. ‚Stuhlmeister’ fort. Das Poetische und

Unheimliche erklingt in Paul Celans „Todesfuge“ – „der Tod ist ein Meister aus Deutschland“ – oder in Michail Bulgakovs Roman „Meister und Margarita“.

‚Meister’ steht primär als akademischer Grad bzw. als Berufsqualifikation, ohne figurativ zu sein. Die figurative Potenz erhält ‚Meister’ erst, wenn es sich mit einem Sachwort bzw. einem Über-, Schimpf- oder Spottnamen verbindet. In seinem Werk „Bürgerliche rechtsgelehrsamkeit der Teutschen“ von 1757 schreibt Johann Georg Estor über die verschiedenen Berufsbezeichnungen des Schinders, die in der Gegend von Marburg gebräuchlich waren:

> Man nennet sie auch klemeister, wasenmeister, caviller, feldmeister, zůchtiger, abdecker, abschålmer, halbmeister, racker ec. […] In hisigen oberfůrstentume heissen sie meister. Ferner nennet man sie: meister hanns! meister fix! meister håmmerling[12]

In den Meistern ‚Hans’ (Johannes) und ‚Fix’ (Felix) finden wir Kurzformen von Vornamen (s. u.), die im Phrasem keine Nomina propria mehr sind, sondern figurativ als Appellativa den Beruf bezeichnen.

Begünstigt wird das Verblassen der figurativen Bedeutung von MH durch das zweite Glied des Wortkomplexes. Der Begriff ‚Hammer’ schafft nochmals einen Bezug zum Handwerk, insbesondere zum Schmiedehandwerk. Als mythologische Waffe wurde der Hammer in der mythologischen Schule mit Thor, dem Wettergott, in Verbindung gebracht.[13] Für die mythologische und arealsprachliche Komponente des Hammers interessant ist die Bemerkung von Rochholz, wonach die Verkleinerungsform ‚Hämmerli’ im Aargauischen und Elsäßischen neben ‚Teufelsfinger’, ‚Donnerstein’ auch für Belemniten gebraucht wird.[14]

Die figurative Bedeutung von MH ist ebenfalls nicht so eindeutig, wie es zunächst scheint. Statt als Teufel kann MH als Repräsentation sagenhafter oder märchenhafter Wesen beschrieben werden, die von der christlichen Vorstellung des Teufels zwar überlagert sind, aber im Volksglauben vielschichtig und kaum fassbar bleiben.[15] So erscheint beispielsweise der MH in Ludwig Bechsteins ‚Deutschem Sagenbuch’ (1853) als ambivalentes Wesen, das in verschiedenen Gestalten auftritt und ebenso helfen wie bestrafen und auch schaden kann:

> 625. Meister Hämmerling
> In vielen Bergwerken läßt sich der Berggeist erblicken, bald als Mönch, bald als Bergmann, meist riesenhaft, mit Augen wie Teller so groß und feurig. Häufig ist er hülfreich thätig, liebt und schützt fromme Bergleute, plagt und straft die bösen. Fluchen ist ihm verhaßt, das straft er am härtesten. Die Bergleute nennen ihn Meister Hämmerling oder auch den Berg-Mönch da, wo er in Mönchsgestalt sich zeigt. […][16]

Dass mit ‚Hämmerli’ und ‚Hämmerling’ zwei ähnlich klingende, ihrer Bildung nach aber unterschiedliche Ableitungen zu ‚Hammer’ vorliegen, ändert nichts an der phraseologischen Bedeutung, doch an der wörtlichen, die im Hintergrund mitklingt.

‚Hämmerling’ drückt durch die Ableitung ‚-ling’ eine Gruppen-Zugehörigkeit aus, also jemanden, dem ein Hammer gehört und der damit schalten und walten kann. Dagegen stellt ‚Hämmerli’ eine alemannische Diminutiv-Ableitung zu ‚Hammer’ dar. So gesehen bezeichnet ‚Hämmerli' – was sich beinahe verharmlosend anhört – ein ‚Teufelchen’. Doch schon Grimm stellt in seiner Deutschen Mythologie fest, dass Teufel Eigennamen tragen, die „aus älteren volksmäßigen benennungen“[17] stammen. Oft handelt es sich dabei um normale Vornamen, die im Diminutiv stehen: „Sehr gewöhnlich sind sodann menschliche eigennamen, am liebsten in der vertrauten koseform, wie sie auch kobolden zustehen“.[18] Unter den von Grimm aufgezählten Beispielen sticht aber ‚Hämmerli’ insofern heraus, dass hier kein Vorname, sondern ein Appellativum vorliegt, das als Familienname vorkommt.

Wenn man sich von der semantisch zu engen Vorstellung des Teufels befreit und stattdessen ein übernatürliches Wesen vorstellt, das schaden, strafen, aber auch schützen und helfen, ja sogar den erlösenden Tod bringen kann, wirkt das Diminutiv nicht mehr irritierend. Man denke an vergleichbare Phraseme wie ‚Freund Hein/Hain’ oder ‚Gevatter Tod’.[19] Die Begriffe ‚Freund’ und ‚Gevatter’ suggerieren Nähe und Vertrautheit, sie verbinden sich wie MH mit einem zweitem Glied, das strukturell an der Stelle eines Eigennamens steht, und drücken so nochmals ‚Bekanntschaft/Vertrautheit’ aus. Der Tod erscheint in diesen Wendungen nicht als Vernichter des Lebens, sondern als Begleiter des Sterbenden: Er steht dem Menschen in seiner letzten Stunde bei, kann ihn von Leiden erlösen und begleitet ihn in eine andere Welt. Auch Rochholz

erklärt, dass MH „als abholender Todesgott gedacht werden kann, welcher schleunig abberuft (er b'rüeft) oder nur am Fensterladen klopft (er pöpperlet)".[20] In dieser Funktion überschneiden sich die Bedeutung von MH als unheimlichem Wesen, das Macht über Leben und Tod hat, mit der Bedeutung ‚Henker/Scharfrichter'. Der Scharfrichter führt die vom eigentlichen Richter ausgesprochene Strafe aus, und er begleitet den Verurteilten auf seinem letzten Gang. Damit übernimmt er in der realen Welt zwei Funktionen, die MH im mythologischen Raum ausübt: strafen und ins Jenseits führen.

### *3. Die Metamorphose zum Henker und Handwerker*

In den Akten der 79 Hexenprozesse, die von 1487–1701 in und um Zürich zu einem Todesurteil geführt haben, weil sich die angeschuldigten Frauen mit dem Teufel eingelassen hätten, wird der Teufel dreimal MH genannt: 1571, 1591 und 1616. [21]

> Darauf habe er [der ‚böse Geist'] sie umfangen, in den rechten Arm gebissen, sich gegen[über] ihr genannt, dass er Meister Hämmerli heisse, und mit ihr seinen Willen vollbracht, dessen sie ihm gestattet habe.[22]

Die Nennungen von MH konzentrieren sich auf einen relativ engen Zeitraum von 50 Jahren und bezeichnen stets den Teufel, den ‚bösen Geist', nie den Scharfrichter.[23] In der Vorgeschichte des Hexenprozesses von Fürstenberg gegen den Notar Mathias Tinctorius wird u. a. berichtet, dass es in Hüfingen zum Streit zwischen der Frau des Tinctorius, Jacobäa Schülin, und dem Scharfrichter Meister Hans gekommen sei, da sie ihn MH genannt habe. „Er [Meister Hans] legte nämlich diesen Namen [Meister Hämmerlin] als gleichbedeutend mit Teufel aus, während die Notarin damit nur den im Kinzigthal geläufigen Ausdruck für Nachrichter gebraucht haben wollte".[24] Man kann dieser Aussage entnehmen, dass MH regional und stilistisch unterschiedlich gebraucht werden konnte, nämlich als dialektales Kennwort und als Beleidigung. Übrigens ist ‚Meister Hans' nach Estor (s.o.) selbst schon ein Name für den Schinder.

Aus der Zeit des Schwaben Kriegs überliefert der Barocklyriker Julius Wilhelm Zincgref (1591–1635) eine Anekdote über einen jugendlichen Räuber, der ‚Hans Hammer' heißt. Als die ganze Räuberbande gefangen und in „Statt Hall" schon hingerichtet und nur noch der Jüngste – ein „Reutersbub" – übrig geblieben ist, fragt ihn

der Schultheiß nach seinem Namen. Als der ihn nennt, lässt der Schultheiß den Jungen ebenfalls köpfen:

> Da sagt der Schultheiß: dieweil du dich dan im feindtsbrief vnd auch itzo nicht hemmerlin / sonderen hammer genennet / gleich alß ein gestandener Mann. Auß Buben werden Menner / vnd auß Menneren alte leut / was sie in der jugent gewont / treiben sie auch im alter. ec. Also hat Meister Hå̊mmerlin den Kopff auch hergeben müssen.[25]

In der Doppelgänger-Erzählung „Magister Rößlein“ (1812) von Karl Wilhelm Salice Contessa (1777–1825), heute noch als einer von E. T. A. Hoffmanns Serapionsbrüdern bekannt,[26] steht MH nicht mehr für den Teufel, sondern für den Scharfrichter. Der Teufel, der mit Rößlein eine Wette eingegangen ist, nimmt für ein Jahr das Aussehen des Magister Rößlein an und vertritt ihn auch zuhause bei dessen zänkischen Frau Mathilde, damit der lebensfrohe Magister unbehelligt seinen bacchantischen Lastern frönen kann. Wie leicht zu erahnen ist, wird selbst der Teufel unter dem „Ehejoch“[27] Mathildes leiden, und er wird buchstäblich zum armen Teufel (ebd., 16)! Derweil genießt Rößlein seine Freiheiten mit Liebschaften und Wein. Doch eines Morgens erwacht er verkatert im Gefängnis, wohin ihn der Teufel heimlich getragen hat. Hier erfährt er vom Gefängniswärter, der ihn unsanft weckt, dass die Wache ihn zur „letzten Reise“ (ebd., 47) führen soll. Verwirrt fragt Rößlein: „‚und wo bin ich denn?’ – ‚Beim Meister Haltunsfest,’ entgegnete jener [der Wachsoldat] ‚und wollen wir euch sofort dem Meister Hämmerlein überliefern, auf daß ihr in der Familie bleibt.’“ (ebd., 48). Die beiden Meister ‚Haltunsfest’[28] und ‚Hämmerlein’ repräsentieren hier zwei Instanzen der weltlichen Gerichtsbarkeit, der Gefängniswärter und der Henker bilden eine ‚Familie’. Bildhaft wird die Richtstätte als „Meister Hämmerleins Werkstatt“ bezeichnet und die Vorstellung eines ‚Handwerkers’ wird erkennbar.

> Zur Seite aber zeigte ihm einer der Soldaten den Galgen und sprach: „Da ist Meister Hämmerleins Werkstatt, wo er euch das ewige Leben anmessen soll. Er steht schon auf der Leiter und wartet auf euch.“ (ebd., 50)

In Contessas Erzählung wird zwischen Meister und Magister unterschieden: Die Meister Hämmerlein und Meister Haltunsfest stellen von Amtes wegen den Vollzug der Rechtsprechung sicher, der

Magister Rößlein verfügt dank dem Pakt mit dem Teufel über ein besonderes, magisches Wissen. In Verbindung mit dem lat. magister wirkt der Familienname ‚Rößlein' ironisch und drückt damit auch den etwas zweifelhaften Status des Gelehrten aus; die verräterische Diminutiv-Endung kann aber auch als Hinweis auf sein Alter Ego, den Teufel, gelesen werden.

In der Literatur finden sich viele Belege für den MH in der Funktion eines Scharfrichters. Einen Beleg dafür gibt Heinrich Zschokke (1771–1848) in seinem historischen Roman „Der Freihof von Aarau" (1822/24). Hier heißt der Scharfrichter „Meister Hämmerli"; von einem unheimlichen Wesen ist ihm sein bösartiges Lachen geblieben, das er bei der Ausübung seines Amtes hören lässt.[29]

Ganz bescheiden, geradezu bieder tritt dagegen der arbeitsame Schmied Horn in der Erzählung „Meister Hämmerlein; oder: wer ungebeten zur Arbeit geht, geht ungedankt davon" auf; erschienen ist die Erzählung 1799 anonym und ohne Angabe des Druckortes.[30] In dieser kurzen, 14-seitigen Schrift erinnert sich der Pfarrer Helfrich an einen Schmied, den er als Jugendlicher noch gekannt habe.

> In meinen Geburtsorte war ein Gemein-Schmid, Namens Horn, im gemeinen Leben Meister Hämmerlein genannt; denn die Kirche war der einzige Ort, wohin er an Werktagen ohne sein Hämmerlein gieng[31]

Nur am Anfang der Erzählung wird der Schmid einmal mit seinem eigentlichen Namen bezeichnet. Sein Spitzname wird motiviert durch das typische Werkzeug des Schmieds, den Hammer, der jedoch untypisch als „Hämmerlein" bezeichnet wird. Entgegen allen lexikalisierten Bedeutungen von MH zeichnet sich Horn durch seine Frömmigkeit, Bescheidenheit, Anspruchslosigkeit und besonders durch seinen Fleiß aus: „Meister Hämmerlein konnte nichts, was sich in der Eile, oder nach und nach verbessern ließ, unverbessert lassen, die schadhafte Sache mochte ihn angehen oder nicht." (ebd., 7). Seine Hilfeleistungen werden christlich verklärt: „[er] dachte wie Mose" (cf. 2. Mos. 23.5; ebd., 11, Fußnote). Zwar werden ihm die Arbeiten ordentlich bezahlt, doch sein eigentlicher Lohn sei die allgemeine Wertschätzung seiner Mitmenschen: „Erstlich und vor allem wurde sie [die Arbeit] ihm bezahlt mit allgemeiner Liebe. […] Nicht minder ärntete er für seine Gemeinnützigkeit auch vorzügliche Achtung." (ebd., 11f.).

Mit diesem moralisierenden Werk wollte der Verfasser das im Untertitel genannte Sprichwort widerlegen, das als „Sprichwort kein Wahrwort“ (ebd., 4) sei; ein Motiv, das dem Erzähler als Rahmen dient. So formt er aus dem Lebenslauf des Schmieds eine idealtypische Vita eines christlichen Handwerkers, der durch Arbeit zu Wohlstand und gesellschaftlicher Anerkennung kommt, heiratet und Kinder zeugt, die später selber glücklich verheiratet sind. Er erreicht in Ehren ein hohes Alter, und bei seinem Ableben beweint ihn das ganze Dorf. Die Geschichte endet mit den Worten: „Sein Lebenslauf aber, ist noch heute eine Widerlegung des Sprichworts: ‚wer ungebeten zur Arbeit geht, geht ungedankt davon’“ (ebd., 16).

Für die Bedeutungsentwicklung von MH ist die Schrift in zwei Punkten aufschlussreich: Erstens ist hier die Verschiebung zur neuen figurativen Bedeutung ‚Handwerker’ abgeschlossen, und zweitens wird dieser biedere Handwerker als christliche Figur gezeichnet, die keinen Bezug zur ursprünglichen Bedeutung mehr aufweisen soll.

Das Phrasem erscheint hier entmythifiziert und wird nun durch einen profanen Alltagsgegenstand motiviert. Dennoch finden sich in der Figur des Schmieds noch Spuren, die den verblichenen mythologischen Hintergrund erahnen lassen. In seinem eigentlichen Namen ‚Horn’ klingt ‚der Gehörnte’ an. In der Erzählung „spazierte“ der „reisende Geselle“ (ebd., 4f.) genau in dem Moment im Ort vorbei, als der alte Schmied das Zeitliche gesegnet hatte und „etliche wackere Schmiedknechte“ sich erfolglos um die Nachfolge beworben hatten. Seine Herkunft und sein Umfeld bleiben bis auf die knappe Bemerkung „’Wo seyd Ihr her?’ Aus Schwaben.“ (ebd., 5) im Dunkeln. Seine strebsamen, unermüdlichen Hilfeleistungen erinnern an die guten und gleichzeitig nicht ganz geheuren Hausgeister wie die Heinzelmännchen, Wichtel oder Kobolde. Einen märchenhaften Zug enthält auch die folgende Passage, in der der Schmied einen unbeseelten Gegenstand wie ein Brett reden hören kann: „’Wer hat Euch darum ersucht, das Brett fest zu nageln, guter Freund?’ fragte ihn der Schulze. – Das Brett selbst – versetzte der Bursche“ (ebd., 5). Seinen Hammer legt er nur dann aus der Hand, wenn er den geweihten Raum der Kirche betritt (ebd., 4). Vor allem aber ist der ‚Schmied’ an sich sprachgeschichtlich und semantisch eine schwer fassbare und mythologisch vielschichtige Figur: „In der Zwielichtigkeit dieser Figur offenbart sich eine gewisse Diskrepanz zwischen dem heidnischen und christlichen Weltbild.“[32]

In diesen literarischen Texten, die um und nach 1800 entstanden sind, wird der Name MH jedes Mal anders verwendet. Contessa lässt im Geiste der Romantiker die alten Bedeutungen von MH verspielt weiterleben, Zschokke nimmt der Wendung ihre figurative Bedeutung und das anonyme Erbauungsbüchlein formt das Phrasem so um, dass der MH zum Vorbild einer christlichen Handwerker-Vita werden kann. In dieser Umdeutung lebt das Phrasem weiter. 1887 taucht MH in einer Zürcher Werbung für die Mützenfabrik von E. Klinke auf:

> Herr Klinke ist, ich seh' es ein,
> Ein wahrer Meister Hämmerlein !
> In Schipfe 5 wohnt er, nicht wahr,
> Bedient reell der Kunden Schaar !" [33]

Dass diese Neukonzeption als Handwerker sich erfolgreich durchsetzen konnte, zeigt auch eine 1910 in Bern erschienene Publikation „Ratschläge für jugendliche Arbeiter von Meister Hämmerli. Der gewerbetätigen Schweizerjugend gewidmet" von Werner Krebs, in der spöttische oder satanistische Anspielungen ausgeschlossen werden dürfen.

In Deutschland ist die doppelte Deutung als Wicht bzw. als Handwerker noch in der Nachkriegszeit auf einem Kinder-Baukasten erkennbar. Unter dem Namen MH werden noch heute Nagelspiele vertrieben, auf deren Verpackungen ein bastelnder Wichtel lacht;[34] aus der DDR stammt eine Version mit technischen Zeichnungen als Schachtelbild.[35]

### *4. Felix Hemmerli: Volksetymologie unter Gelehrten*

In der Schweiz verknüpft sich das Phrasem mit weiteren Komponenten, die als sprichwörtliche Redensarten gebraucht werden. Zudem wird in den Quellen des ausgehenden 18. und beginnenden 19. Jh. statt der phraseologischen Bedeutung eine profane Lesart vorgeschlagen, die MH mit dem Zürcher Chorherren Felix Hemmerli gleichzusetzen versucht. Einen Beleg für diesen MH findet man in Salomon Vögelins (1774–1849) Stadtbeschreibung „Das alte Zürich, oder eine Wanderung durch dasselbe im Jahr 1504" von 1829. In der fiktiven Stadtführung schildert Vögelin, wie ein Ortsfremder in die Limmat-Stadt kommt, um am Glückshafenrodel, einem historischen Wettschießen, teilzunehmen.[36] Zwei junge Zürcher – Diethelm Röust und Werdmüller – zeigen dem Fremden die

Stadt. Beim Großmünster berichtet Röust, dass Felix Hemmerli im Haus „Zum grünen Schloß“ gewohnt haben soll:[37]

> dieses war die Behausung des Magister Felix Hemmerlin, über den Ihr mich vorhin gefrag habet. Er stammte von einem alten Zürichergeschlecht ab […] Dabey war er gar ein feiner, gescheidter, auch satirischer Kopf, also daß man heut bey Tage noch zu einem, den man als sinnreich und gescheidt rühmen will, spricht: „Du bist mir ein rechter Meister Hemmerlin!“ Deßgleichen wenn man dunkle und schwer aufzulösende Sachen andeuten will, heißt es gemeinlich: „Dazu muß man den Meister Hemmerlin holen.“[38]

Der Zürcher Werdmüller wirft an dieser Stelle ein: „Nun versteh ich auch das Sprüchwort vom Meister Hemmerlin!“[39] Die Stelle belegt, dass der Begriff MH sprichwörtlich gebraucht wurde und volksetymologisch auf den Zürcher Hemmerli zurückgeführt wurde.[40] Linguistisch liegen hier zwei unterschiedliche Redewendungen vor, die mit MH als Kern gebildet werden. Während die erste – ‚ein [rechter] MH sein’ – meist spöttisch gebraucht wird, klingt in der Erklärung „wenn man dunkle und schwer aufzulösende Sachen andeuten will“ eine zweite, beschwörende Bedeutungsebene an: ‚den MH holen’. – Dem Zürcher Felix Hemmerli werden jedoch keine faustischen Verbindungen mit überirdischen Kräften nachgesagt!

Das Nebeneinander der wörtlichen und phraseologischen Bedeutung findet man etwas früher auch im einst populären Jugendbuch „Der Schweizerische Robinson“ des Berner Pfarrers Johann David Wyß (1743–1818), das sein Sohn Johann Rudolf Wyß 1812 in Zürich drucken ließ.[41] Im Unterschied zu Defoes Robinson lebt der Schweizer zusammen mit seiner Familie auf der Insel. Als die Schiffbrüchigen Kokosnüsse sehen, die unerreichbar auf einer Palme wachsen, plumpst unerwartet eine Nuss herab. Einer der Knaben meint, „da geht es ja fast wie in den Feen-Mährchen“[42] zu, worauf der Erzähler erklärt, dass „der Zauberer, der uns so bereitwillig aufwartet“ (ebd.) ein Affe sei. Der Affe wird danach als „höflicher und sehr verständiger Hexenmeister, der da droben seinen Hokuspokus macht“ (ebd., II 54) bezeichnet. Auch hier stehen das Geheimnisvolle und der Spott nebeneinander. Nun folgt der Bezug auf MH: „Ja, ja! sagte Jack, und guckte lustig zu den Nußtrauben

empor: der Meister Hemmerlin macht seine Sachen ganz kapital“ (ebd., II 54f.) In einer Fußnote erklärt Wyss:

> Wahrscheinlich von dem berühmten und gelehrten Felix Hemmerlin, einem Chorherrn zu Zürich noch vor der Reformation, nennt man in der Schweiz mitunter einen geschickten Mann, und zumahl einen Tausendkünstler oder vermeynten Zauberer, kurzweg Meister Hemmerlin. Selbst der böse Feind erhält bisweilen, drollig genug, diesen Nahmen. (ebd., II 54f.)

Etwas vorsichtiger – „wahrscheinlich“ – wird hier ebenfalls der Zürcher Chorherr mit dem MH gleichgesetzt. Wyss erwähnt aber ausdrücklich, dass der Teufel – der „böse Feind" – im Spiel sein könne.

Dieses Schwanken zwischen wörtlicher und figurativer Lesart findet man auch in Melchior Kirchhofers (1775–1853) „Sammlung Schweizerischer Sprüchwörter“ von 1824:

> 72. Er ist ein rechter Meister Hämmerli.
> Das will sagen, er ist ein geschickter Mann, ein Tausendkünstler, ein rechter Hexenmeister. Dieses Sprüchwort erhält das Andenken des gelehrten Propsts und Chorherrn Felix Hämmerlin (Malleolus), der an Gelehrsamkeit seine Zeitgenossen übertraf, und durch seine leidenschaftlichen Ausfälle gegen die Eidgenossen den bittern Haß derselben, und ein trauriges Schicksal sich zuzog.[43]

Offensichtlich waren mehrere MH-Redewendungen – das Idiotikon erwähnt noch „der M. H. hole Einen“[44] – in der Schweiz gebräuchlich. Es stellt sich die Frage, woher diese profane Lesart stammt und ob es ein Zufall ist, dass alle drei zitierten Autoren – Vögelin in Zürich, Kirchhofer in Schaffhausen und Wyss in Bern – protestantische Pfarrer waren. Hatten sie eine gemeinsame Quelle? Denkbar ist die Kenntnis von Bullingers (1504–1575) Tiguriner Chronik (entstanden1572/74), von deren Bekanntheit bis ins 18. Jh. zahlreiche Abschriften zeugen. In einer handschriftlichen Kopie von 1611 findet sich zu Hämmerli die Randglosse: [45]

> doctor felix hemerli darvon ist von Eydgno[sse]n ein sprüch wortt enstanden das wan wir von einem redend der sich ettwas under nommen das er nit glüklich ußfürtt und doch ettwas ist

> und syn will daruf nit yederman vil hatt das man spricht das ist meyster hämerli[46]

Wyss, Kirchhofer und Vögelin ist gemeinsam, dass sie den Leser bilden wollen. Vögelin möchte dem Leser einen Abriss über Geschichte und Topographie Zürichs bieten. Wyss betont im Untertitel seiner Robinsonade den Bildungsaspekt: „Ein lehrreiches Buch für Kinder und Kinder-Freunde zu Stadt und Land“. Und Kirchhofers Sprichwortsammlung soll „Ein Buch für die Weisen und das Volk“ sein.

Durch ihr Studium der Theologie verfügten alle drei Autoren über ein solides philologisches Wissen. Es ist offensichtlich, dass sie den mythologischen Hintergrund kannten, aber der Gleichsetzung von MH mit Felix Hemmerli – durchaus im Sinne der aufklärerischen Funktion ihrer Werke – als scheinbar evidenteren, gleichzeitig entmythisierten Deutung den Vorzug geben.

Eiselein verwirft in seiner Sprichwortsammlung (1838) diese Interpretation:

> Rührt nicht von dem schweizer Magister Hämmerlin, Malleolus, her; sondern ist viel älter und man bezeichnet damit den Teufel oder einen Hexenmeister, Zessenmacher. Ich bemerke, daß Leute aus den Familien Hämmerlin und Schrat meistens Schwarzes Haar und dunkle Hautfarbe haben.[47]

Wander übernimmt in seiner Sprichwörtersammlung – gegen Eiselein und ungenau – Kirchhofers Erklärung und bestimmt die Wendung „Er ist ein rechter [MH]“ ebenfalls als „schweizerisch“, mit dem entscheidenden Unterschied, dass er den Mystiker Thomas von Kempen (um 1380–1471) als Namensspender für MH identifizieren will, dessen Familiennamen latinisiert ebenfalls *Malleolus* lautet.

> In diesem Sprichwort wird nach Kirchhofer das Andenken des zu Kempen im Erzbisthum Köln 1380 geborenen, gelehrten Propstes und Chorherrn erhalten, des Verfassers des ascetisch-mystischen und vielfach angefochtenen Werks: Von der Nachfolge Christi. Thomas' a Kempis eigentlicher Name ist Hamerken oder Hämmerlein (Malleolus). Wie Kirchhofer hinzufügt, übertraf er seine Zeitgenossen an Gelehrsamkeit, zog sich aber durch seine leidenschaftlichen Ausfälle gegen die Eidgenossen den bittern Hass derselben zu.[48]

Da Kempen am Niederrhein liegt, müsste Wander eigentlich die Frage aufgreifen, warum anstelle des Zürcher Chorherren ausgerechnet der Augustiner Chorherr von Kempen in der Schweiz zu sprichwörtlichem Ruhm gekommen sein soll. Wanders polemische Kritik an Eiselein irritiert, weil Wander selbst Kirchhofer ungenau und verfälschend zitiert.

> Als Grund für diese Behauptung führt er [s.o., Eiselein 1838, 275] an, dass Leute aus den Familien Hämmerlin und Schrat meistens schwarzes Haar und dunkle Hautfarbe haben. Nebenbei verweist er auch auf Grimm's Mythologie, und zwar in seiner Weise auf die ganze, nicht auf einen gewissen Abschnitt oder eine Seite. Besser wäre es allerdings gewesen, er hätte aus der alten Literatur mit bestimmter Quellenangabe nachgewiesen, dass die Redensart vor dem Verfasser der Nachfolge Christi bereits vorhanden gewesen sei; doch ist offenbar die einfache Behauptung, dass durch Hämmerlin der Teufel oder ein Hexenmeister und Possenmacher bezeichnet worden, viel leichter. (ebd.)

Das Zitat zeigt, dass ein Versuch unternommen wird, die Redewendung aus profaner Perspektive mit einem namentlich nachweisbaren, spätmittelalterlichen Gelehrten erklären zu wollen und so eine mythologische Herleitung zu verschleiern.

***5. Meister Hämmerli ein Hanswurst?***

Zahlreiche Sagen handeln davon, wie jemand den Teufel übertölpelt, so dass man über das Scheitern der Inkarnation des Bösen lachen kann. Mephisto als Possenreißer – „Ihr Mann ist tot und lässt Sie grüßen." (Faust I) – zeigt Goehte besonders in „Auerbachs Keller" und im „Studierzimmer". Adelung führt unter ‚Hämmerling' die Bedeutung *Possenreißer* an erster Stelle an: „In den Marionetten-Spielen wurde ehedem der Pickelhäring oder Hanswurst Meister Hämmerling oder Hämmerlein genannt."[49]

Da MH auch die unehrlichen Berufe wie fahrende Schausteller bezeichnen kann, passt der Possenreißer ins eigentliche Konzept des MH. Neben dem im DWB, von Rochholz und Röhrich erwähnten Gedicht von Johann Rist (1607–1667) „An Meister Hämmerling" („Unser Meister Hämmerling, | Hämmerling, das Haubt der Naren"[50]) ist es bemerkenswert, dass ausgerechnet der älteste Beleg um 1533 (?) von Johannes Kessler die Bedeutung ‚Narr' nennt:

> er [Christoph Schappeler[51]] sye nun biß her fur ain doctor und fur ain maister hemerli geachtet, hab doch uff den hochen schu o len nichts anderst gelernet , dann den Narristotilem (Aristotilem), so man nennet den maister von hochen unsinnen[52]

In seinen Aufzeichnungen vom 11. August 1583 berichtet der Berner Johannes Hutmacher, Pfarrer in Büren, von zwei fahrenden Schauspielern, einem „landtfarer von Esslingen“[53] und seinem musizierenden Gesellen „so ein gougkler gwäsen“ (ebd.), die Marionettentheater aufgeführt haben. Ersterer habe „meister Hämmerlin gespilt“ (ebd.), während sein Geselle das Publikum mit Feuerspeien unterhalten habe.

***6. Zusammenfassung***

Zusammenfassend kann festgehalten werden, dass das onymische Phrasem MH im ganzen deutschen Sprachraum bekannt war. In den berücksichtigten Quellen sind jedoch mehrere sprichwörtliche Wendungen bezeugt, die zum Phrasem MH gebildet werden:

1) „ein [rechter] MH sein“: spöttisch ‚ein vorlauter, siebengscheiter Mensch sein’
2) „den MH holen/fragen“: beschwörend, ironisch ‚jemanden um Hilfe anrufen, der über besondere, übermenschliche Fähigkeiten verfügt’
3) „der M.H. hole Einen“: drohend ‚hol Dich der Teufel!’

Als schweizerisch können die erweiterten MH-Redensarten angesehen werden, da sie nur in Deutsch-Schweizer Quellen belegt sind. Einen Zürcher Ursprung dürfte die volksetymologische Gleich-stellung mit Felix Hemmerli haben, die zumindest unter reformierten Theologen, möglicherweise beeinflusst von Bullingers Glosse, bis in die erste Hälfte des 19. Jh.s verbreitet wurde.

Datierbar belegt ist der MH seit dem 16. Jh. Seit dem ausgehenden 18. Jh. kann beobachtet werden, dass in MH die mythologische Bedeutung immer mehr verblasst und dass der Ausdruck nun auch in der Bedeutung ‚guter/hervorragender Handwerker’ gebraucht wird. In diesem Sinne ist das Phrasem noch in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jh. belegt.

Der Verfasser [St. F.] kann sich erinnern, Ende der 60er-Jahre ‚de MH frööge’ in Gesprächen mit seinem Zürcher Großvater, der Handwerker war, noch gehört zu haben. Aber auch diese Verwendung ist weitgehend in Vergessenheit geraten, so dass der MH heute

nur noch in linguistisch interessierten Kreisen bekannt ist – dank der Wörterbücher von Adelung, Grimm und ihrer Nachfolger. So einfach lässt sich der Teufel doch nicht aus der Sprache austreiben.

***Anmerkungen***

[1] Zu Felix Hemmerli s. Halter-Pernet 2017.

[2] Vgl. Röhrich 2001, II 638; umfassend mit vielen Belegen s. Rochholz 1856, II 204–207.

[3] Zu Namen als phraseologische Einheiten s. Burger 1998, 46.

[4] Vgl. zum Teufel in der Volkssage Petzoldt 2002, 130.

[5] Vgl. z.B. Adelung; online: woerterbuchnetz.de/Adelung?lemma= 2_der_haemmerling (am 08.02.2014); DWB; online: woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB?lemma=haemmerling (am 08.02.2014).

[6] Kessler 1866, IX: Datierung unsicher.

[7] Sigg 2012.

[8] Türler 1925, 43; zum erwähnten Stück fehlen weitere Angaben.

[9] Bergmann 1845, 142, in einer Fußnote deutet der Herausgeber MH als „wohl Felix Hämmerlin", was Rochholz 1856, II 206, als „Versehen" bezeichnet.

[10] Vgl. dazu Birkhan 2010, 126.

[11] Paul 2002, 651.

[12] Estor 1757, 430; online: deutschestextarchiv.de/estor_rechtsgelehrsamkeit01_1757/442 (am 08.09.2019).

[13] Zum Thorshammer vgl. Grimm 1876, II 834-835; Idiotikon 1890, II 1272; online: digital.idiotikon.ch/idtkn/id2.htm#page/21271/mode/1up (am 08.09.2019); Rochholz 1856; II 204–207; Röhrich 2001, II 637; Böldl 2013,195-199; zum Hammer im Volksglauben Bächtold-Stäubli 1987, III 1370-1378; zur mythologischen Schule s. Petzoldt 2002, 63f.

[14] Rochholz 1856, II 205.

[15] Vgl. dazu Birkhan 2010, 123-127.

[16] Bechstein 1853, 519.

[17] Grimm 1876, II 888.

[18] Grimm 1876; II 889, vgl. auch 838.

[19] Vgl. zu ‚Freund Hein (<Heinrich)' Röhrich 2001, II 693f.; ‚Gevatter Tod' ebd., II 545.

[20] Rochholz 1856, II 204.

[21] Vgl. Sigg 2012, 7: Voraussetzung für ein Todesurteil, was zwingend Verbrennung bedeutete, war das Eingeständnis der Verleugnung Gottes und die sexuelle Vereinigung mit dem Teufel. Formelhaft wird deshalb berichtet, unter welchem Namen und welcher Gestalt der ‚böse Geist' erschienen sei; zum MH vgl. S. 33, 77, 146.

[22] Sigg 2012, 33.; Nr. 11. Verena Keretz von Meilen, 1571.

[23] Belege für MH i.S.v. ‚Henker' s. Idiotikon 1890, II 1273; online: digital.idiotikon.ch/idtkn/id2.htm#page/21271/mode/1up (am 08.09.2019).

[24] Franck 1870, 10.

[25] Zincgref 1626, 352.

[26] Nach Hitzig wurde Contessa als Sylvester portraitiert; vgl. Segebrecht 2008, 1243. – Die hier zitierte Contessa-Ausgabe (1826) von Houwald nennt als Erscheinungsjahr 1810.

[27] Contessa 1826, 43.

[28] ‚Häscher’, ‚Büttel’, s. DWB; online: woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB?lemma=haltunsfest (am 08.09.2019).

[29] Vgl. Zschokke 1824, II 287 (Kap. 31, Die Mordnacht).

[30] Hämmerlein 1799. – Die schlichte, ovale Titelvignette zeigt einen Schmied beim Hämmern am Amboß, im Hintergrund ist die Esse und ein Blasbalg zu erkennen. Die im Text erwähnten Ortsangaben lassen keine Rückschlüsse auf Entstehungs- bzw. Handlungsort zu.

[31] Hämmerlein 1799, 4.

[32] Tsvetaeva 2012, 406.

[33] Werbe-Annonce, in: Nebelspalter 1887/13, Heft 20, ohne Seitenzahl; online: e-periodica.ch/cntmng?pid=neb-001:1887:13::416 (am 08.09.2019).

[34] Hersteller Dusyma; vgl. online: dusyma.com/de/-/Meister-Haemmerlein-zid035600 (am 03.09.2019).

[35] Hersteller Cabezi; vgl. online: puppenhausmuseum.de/ddr-spielzeuge-6.html (am 03.09.2019).

[36] Diese Handlung ergänzt Vögelin mit „Erklärungen und Nachträgen bis auf die neueste Zeit“, welche die eigentliche Erzählung im Umfang übertreffen (Vögelin 1829, Kommentar 155ff.). Für die 2. Auflage 1878/79 wurde dieser Kommentar von Arnold Nüscheler und von Salomon Vögelins Enkel Friedrich Salomon überarbeitet und erweitert.

[37] Vgl. Vögelin 1878/79, 332; heute Zwingliplatz 3 (mündliche Auskunft des Baugeschichtlichen Archivs in Zürich), das „Grüne Schloss“ erwähnt schon Bullinger 1611, XI. Buch, 23. Kap., fol. 649r (Abschrift von Johannes Haller).

[38] Vögelin 1829, 44–45.

[39] Vögelin 1829, 45.

[40] In der zweiten Auflage berichtigt der Kommentar nach Rücksprache mit der Redaktion des Schweizerischen Idiotikons diese Erklärung, s. Vögelin 1878/79, 333.

[41] Im Folgenden zit. nach der 2. Aufl.: Wyss 1821, Bd. II., Kap. 17, 42–81.

[42] Wyss 1821, II 53.

[43] Kirchhofer 1824, 79f. – Entsprechend deutet Kirchhofer die angeführten Meister-Hämmerli-Verse als Verhöhnung Hemmerlis: „Der Meister Hämmerli wird sonst noch, vielleicht nur des Reimes wegen, im Mund geführt, z. B. Der Meister Hämmerli | Geht d’Stegen uf ins Kämmerli | und d’Stegen ab ins Bett. Oder: Der Meister Hämmerli | Geht zu der Magd ins Kämmerli. Wie leicht war es der Klerisey, einen Mann, der über sie hervorragte, zum Gespött zu machen.“ (ebd., 332).

[44] Als Drohung gegenüber Kindern s. Idiotikon 1890, II 1273; online: digital.idiotikon.ch/idtkn/id2.htm#page/21271/mode/1up (am 08.09.2019).

[45] Zur Tiguriner Chronik s. Bächtold 2006; online: irg.uzh.ch/projekte/tiguriner/tc-dt.html (am 08.09.2019).

[46] Bullinger 1611, XI. Buch, 23. Kap., fol. 649r. Randglosse (Abschrift von Johannes Haller); s. auch Vögelin 1878, 333, Anm. 4.

[47] Eiselein 1838, 275.

[48] Wander; online: woerterbuchnetz.de/Wander?lemma=haemmerlein (am 08.02.2014).

[49] Adelung; online: woerterbuchnetz.de/Adelung?lemma=2_der_haemmer ling (am 08.02.2014).

[50] Zit. nach Rochholz 1856, II 206.

[51] Christoph Schappeler (um 1472 St. Gallen bis 25.8.1551 St. Gallen), Schweizer Reformator; in: HLS; online: hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/014764/2011-07-08/ (am 10. 09. 2019).

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ROSEMARIE GLÄSER

# SPRICHWÖRTER, GEFLÜGELTE WORTE UND ZITATE ALS MOTTI IN DEM BUCH *BREXIT. EINE BILANZ* VON RUDOLF G. ADAM (2019)

***Abstract:*** The article is intended to analyse the sources and functions of mottoes to chapters in political publications as presented in the topical book *BREXIT. Eine Bilanz* by Rudolf G. Adam (2019). This German author worked as an adviser, diplomat, (vice)president, academic teacher and writer in many fields and was associated with influential national and international institutions. His close connection with life and culture in the United Kingdom for more than 60 years, and with Britain's relationship towards the European Union which resulted in the Referendum on June 23, 2016, provide the background for Adam's critical book *BREXIT*. The mottoes to each sub-chapter as intertextual links have been drawn chiefly from British and American literature. They constitute an essential structural element throughout this book and bear witness to the author's profound knowledge and personal historical commitment. In addition to mottoes, he uses proverbs, quotations, maxims, slogans and proverbial sayings also in the following text. In this respect, the exposed mottoes and the traditional phraseological expressions in their textual environment are striking stylistic features of R.G. Adam's linguistic portrait.

***Keywords:*** Brexit; Motto/Motti; Sprichwort; Zitat; geflügeltes Wort; sprichwörtliche Redensart; Maxime; Losung; Intertextualität; Anspielung; Stilelement; Ausdrucksmittel; Individualstil; Sprachporträt; politische Publizistik

## *1. Einleitung*

Auf dem deutschen Buchmarkt erschienen 2019 in der politischen Publizistik mit Bezug auf die jüngste Zeitgeschichte Großbritanniens zwei richtungsweisende Bücher, deren Verfasser alsbald durch Vorträge, Lesungen und Diskussionen eine starke öffentliche Wirkung erzielten. Es waren der britische Historiker Ian Kershaw, dessen umfangreiches Werk *Roller-Coaster: Europe, 1959 – 2017* (London 2018) in der deutschen Übersetzung von Klaus-Dieter Schmidt unter dem Titel *Achterbahn. Europa 1950 bis*

*heute* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, München) erschienen war, und der deutsche Diplomat und Publizist Rudolf G. Adam mit seinem Buch *BREXIT. Eine Bilanz*. Es wurde im Januar 2019 vollendet und erschien bereits im März 2019 im Springer-Verlag Wiesbaden. Der Geschichtswissenschaftler Ian Kershaw bezog sich auf sein Werk, als er im Zyklus der traditionsreichen Dresdner Reden im Staatsschauspiel Dresden am 10. März 2019 das Thema „Europas Krise und Zukunftspersepktive" behandelte. Der Autor Rudolf G. Adam konnte sein aktuelles *BREXIT*-Buch auf der Leipziger Buchmesse am 22. März 2019 am Stand des Springer-Verlages in einer Lesung mit anschließender Diskussion vorstellen. Beide Redner waren bereit, Exemplare ihrer Bücher für Besucher zu signieren. Auf diese Weise hatte auch die Verfasserin dieses Beitrags Gelegenheit zu einem kurzen Gespräch.

Als akademisch gebildete Publizisten mit Auslandserfahrung schreiben beide Autoren einen inhaltlich anspruchsvollen, sprachlich ausgewogenen und eingängigen Stil. Eine strukturelle Gemeinsamkeit ihrer Bücher besteht in der Verwendung von Motti als Einstimmung auf das folgende Haupt- oder Unterkapitel. Diese Fremdtexte stammen aus Werken der Belletristik oder Sachprosa und sind aufschlussreich im Hinblick auf ihre Intertextualität. Insofern sind Motti fakultative Fremdtexte, die extern einem Text vorangestellt sind, thematisch, funktional, makrostrukturell und typographisch zu ihm in Beziehung treten und von dem Rezipienten eine intertextuelle Dekodierung verlangen (vgl. R. Gläser 1997).

In der literarischen Tradition Großbritanniens sind Motti in unterschiedlichen Textsorten anzutreffen. Beliebt als Motti sind Aussprüche von Dichtern, Politikern, Philosophen, Ökonomen, Naturwissenschaftlern oder auch von Publizisten. Manche Autoren verwenden neben einfachen Motti auch Doppelmotti. So bezieht der Historiker Ian Kershaw seine Motti aus Zitaten der Staatsmänner Harry S. Truman, Nikita Chruschtschow, Michail Gorbatschow, George Bush und der Schriftsteller George Orwell und Jean-Paul Sartre. Er verwendet solche Motti als eine Art Wegweiser für jedes seiner 12 Hauptkapitel. Der nachgestellte „Ausblick", überschrieben „Eine neue Ära der Unsicherheit", berührt auch den Brexit und trägt als Motto einen Ausspruch des Philosophen Kant:

> „Aus so krummem Holze, als woraus der Mensch gemacht ist, kann nichts ganz Gerades gezimmert werden." (S. 745)

Immanuel Kant, 1784

Im Unterschied zu dem Werk *Achterbahn* von Ian Kershaw weist das Buch *BREXIT. Eine Bilanz* von R. G. Adam keine Motti in den Hauptkapiteln auf, sondern konzentriert 44 Motti auf die Unterkapitel. Es sind sowohl Einzel- als auch Doppelmotti aus Zitaten von Dichtern und Politikern, aber auch geflügelte Worte und Sprichwörter. Die Gesamtheit des Belegmaterials der Motti soll im Mittelpunkt der Analyse im Abschnitt 3 stehen. Zunächst soll der Tätigkeitsbereich des Verfassers des *BREXIT*-Buches, Rudolf G. Adam, nach Schwerpunkten dargestellt werden.

### *2. Der Tätigkeitsbereich des Autors Rudolf G. Adam*

Der deutsche Autor Rudolf Georg Adam wurde 1948 geboren. Bereits als Schüler verbrachte er die Sommerferien in England, wo er auf einer Farm unweit von Winchester mit der Landarbeit vertraut wurde. Auf der Universität Oxford studierte er von 1968 bis 1974 das Fach Modern History. Nach dem Abschluss als B.A. 1971 promovierte er zum P.D. Danach profilierte er sich als deutscher Diplomat im Auswärtigen Amt in verschiedenen Ländern und Institutionen (Singapur, Peking, Moskau). Drei Jahre war er als Redenschreiber für Bundespräsident Richard von Weizsäcker tätig. Mit Großbritannien verband ihn eine tiefe Affinität über 60 Jahre. Als Chargé d'Affairs leitete er die deutsche Botschaft in London. Er wurde Vizepräsident des Bundesnachrichtendienstes, später Präsident der Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik. Er arbeitete als Korrespondent für die *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Als Hochschullehrer an der Universität München und als öffentlicher Referent über politische Themen ist er in der Zeit des Ruhestandes noch aktiv.[1]

Das Werk *BREXIT* zeugt von profundem Fachwissen, persönlichem Engagement für die Bewahrung eines gedeihlichen Zusammenwirkens zwischen Großbritannien und der EU und einer einfühlsamen, leserfreundlichen und ausdrucksstarken Sprachgestaltung. Jedem Haupt- und jedem Unterkapitel ist eine Zusammenfassung vorangestellt. Die Hauptkapitel schließen mit einer Literaturliste und Hinweisen zu „weiterführender Literatur". Die Fußnoten sind maßvoll verteilt.

Das prägnante Gestaltungsmerkmal des Buches sind jedoch die Motti, deren Herkunft und Funktion in den folgenden Abschnitten im Mittelpunkt stehen sollen.

***3. Materialanalyse der Motti***

In den Unterkapiteln der Hauptkapitel sowie im Schlusskapitel ohne Untergliederung finden sich in dem Werk *BREXIT* insgesamt 44 Belege für Motti. Sie verteilen sich auf 30 Einzelmotti und 7 Doppelmotti. Das Doppelmotto kann aus alltagssprachlichen wie auch aus literarischen Quellen stammen (z.B. ein Sprichwort kombiniert mit einem Zitat). Als Motti verwendet der Autor Adam Sprichwörter, geflügelte Worte und Zitate. Die Sprichwörter sind gegenüber den Zitaten weitaus schwächer als Motti vertreten, begegnen aber im fortlaufenden Text – ebenso wie sprichwörtliche Redensarten – als Stilmittel der Veranschaulichung und Bildkraft. Gelegentlich verwendet Adam Zitate in abgewandelter Form. Er bevorzugt Aussprüche englischer Dichter und Schriftsteller, berücksichtigt aber auch amerikanische und französische Autoren sowie einige aus der Antike.

Eine wichtige Rolle unter den Zitaten spielen außerdem Aussprüche englischer und amerikanischer Politiker und Ökonomen. Diese Zitate gewinnen einen neuartigen Aussagewert in Bezug auf die gegenwärtige Situation in Großbritannien im Entscheidungs- und Realisierungsstadium des Brexit. Insofern eröffnet das gewählte Motto eine überzeitliche Sicht und erweitert den historischen Horizont in der Themenbehandlung innerhalb der Unterkapitel.

*3.1 Sprichwörter*

In dem Unterkapitel 1.4 mit der Überschrift „Brüssel (1973)“ erörtert R. G. Adam rückblickend die schwierigen politischen Verhältnisse, unter denen das Vereinigte Königreich am 1. Januar 1973 nach mehreren Anläufen endlich Mitglied der Europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft in Brüssel werden konnte. Seinen leicht skeptischen persönlichen Kommentar kleidet der Autor in ein Motto mithilfe eines Sprichworts, das er als rhetorische Frage formuliert:

*Better late than never?* (S. 23)

In einem weiteren Beleg erscheint ein allgemein gängiges Sprichwort in abgewandelter Gestalt. In dem Unterkapitel 1.5 mit der Überschrift „Das erste Referendum (1975)“ nimmt Adam in dem gewählten Motto Bezug auf das Sprichwort

*The voice of people is the voice of God*
(cf. als Quelle The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs, S. 238)

Er entscheidet sich aber für eine modifizierte, den Inhalt des Sprichworts abwägende Wiedergabe in Form eines Zitats von Alexander Pope (1688 – 1744), das für seine Argumentation die Funktion eines Mottos erfüllt. Es lautet:

> *The people's voice is odd*
> *It is, and is not, the voice of God* (S. 25)
> (Alexander Pope)

Als Quelle dieses Zitats nennt das *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (nachfolgend abgekürzt *ODQ*) Alexander Popes Text *Imitations of Horace* (Book 2, Epistle 1). Es folgt ein weiterer Verweis auf einen früheren Beleg bei dem englischen Gelehrten und Theologen Alcuin (Lebenszeit ca. 735 – 804), der eine umfangreiche Lebensregel dieses Inhalts in lateinischer Sprache aufgestellt hatte. Die im *ODQ* angeführte englische Übersetzung dieses Textes (Letter 164 in *Works,* Vol. 1, p. 438; 1863) hat folgenden Wortlaut: „And those people should not be listened to who keep saying the voice of people is the voice of God, since the riotousness of the crowd is always close to madness" (zitiert in *ODQ,* S. 523). Der Historiker Adam will mit dem durch das Zitat vermittelten Sprichwort ausdrücken, wie unzuverlässig der Wahrheitsgehalt einer „Volksmeinung" sein kann, zumal dann, wenn sie sich auf eine höhere Instanz oder Autorität bezieht.

Ein weiteres Sprichwort verwendet R. G. Adam als Motto in dem Unterkapitel 2.10, überschrieben „Die Europäische Union". Es lautet:

> *What's done cannot be undone*. (S. 130)

Diese Formulierung begegnet auch als Zitat in William Shakespeares Drama *Macbeth* (1600), 5. Akt, 1. Szene. Insofern hat Shakespeare ein Sprichwort seiner Zeit literaturfähig werden lassen. Das *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs* bestätigt diese Form des Sprichworts und ergänzt die sinnentsprechende Dublette

> *Things past cannot be recalled* (S. 58).

Den thematischen Bezug dieses Sprichworts als Motto des Unterkapitels sieht Adam in dem Umstand, dass es in Großbritannien bereits „Brexiteers" gab. Der Tory-Politiker Cameron äußerte sich als Gegner der Europäischen Union und lehnte die Berufung von Jean Claude Juncker zum Vorsitzenden der Kommission ab.

In dem Unterkapitel 3.8 mit der Überschrift „Der Brexit nimmt Gestalt an (2018)“ richtet Adam den Blick auf die innenpolitische Entwicklung Großbritanniens unter der Premierministerin Theresa May. Ein nicht nummerierter Themenabschnitt trägt die Überschrift „Geht der Kapitän von oder über Bord?“ Darauf folgt als Motto ein Ausspruch ohne Quellenangabe. Er lautet:

> *Inside the harbour, no need for a navigator.*
> *But on the high sea, neither.* (S. 223)

Diese allgemeingültige Weisheit könnte als Sprichwort gedeutet werden. In den herangezogenen Nachschlagewerken ist sie jedoch nicht verzeichnet.

Im Vergleich mit den als Motti auftretenden Zitaten sind die Sprichwörter in dieser Funktion unterrepräsentiert. Charakteristisch sind hier nur englischsprachige Belege. Dagegen verwendet Adam deutschsprachige Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten weitaus häufiger im laufenden Text, wo sie nicht exponiert sind, sondern gemäß ihrer kommunikativen Bestimmung und lexikalischen Einbettung die Bildkraft einer Aussage unterstützen können. Solche Sprichwort-Belege sollen im Abschnitt 3.4.1 vorgestellt werden.

*3.2 Geflügelte Worte*

Unter den von R. G. Adam als Motti gewählten Zitaten befinden sich kurze und eingängige Aussprüche von Politikern wie auch solche unbekannter Herkunft, die in die Alltagskommunikation Eingang gefunden haben und den Sprichwörtern nahestehen. In der Regel gerät der Urheber eines solchen populär gewordenen Ausspruchs im Laufe der Zeit in Vergessenheit.

*Splendid Isolation*

Den Einstieg in das erste Hauptkapitel seines *Brexit*-Buches eröffnet R. G. Adam mit der lapidaren Überschrift „Fremd in Europa: *In Europe, but not of Europe*“ (S. 1). (Hervorhebung – R.G.). Im ersten Unterkapitel legt er dar, wie Winston Churchill seine Einstellung gegenüber der Einigung Europas im Laufe der Nachkriegsjahre geändert hat. Während er sie in seiner Rede in Zürich 1946 noch befürwortete, betonte er 1950 die Distanz Großbritanniens gegenüber der Gemeinschaft für Kohle und Stahl (EGKS). Adam wählt als Motto für diesen Anfang seiner Erörterung das geflügelte Wort

*Splendid Isolation* (S. 1).
(Marquess of Salisbury 1895)

Als Beleg dieser wie eine Parole oder ein Schlagwort wirkenden Formulierung nennt das *Macmillan Dictionary of Quotations* die Phrase „splendid isolation diplomacy" des englischen konservativen Politikers George Goschen (1831 – 1907) in einer Rede vom 26. Februar 1896 in Lewes.

Das Unterkapitel 1.6 über „Brügge (1988)" behandelt die Haltung der Premierministerin Margaret Thatcher zur EWG. Nach anfänglicher Unterstützung der „wichtigsten Entscheidungen" dieser Organisation wurde sie zur Kritikerin der Bestimmungen des Binnenmarktes der EWG, die auch für Großbritannien strengere Regulierungen mit sich brachten. Dieser Thematik stellt Adam ein Doppelmotto voran (S. 31):

*I want my money back!*
*No, no, no!*
(Margaret Thatcher)

*The lady protests too much, methinks.*
(William Shakespeare)

Dieser Ausspruch der Iron Lady mit Bezug auf die strengeren Zahlungen Großbritanniens für den Binnenmarkt und ihre Forderung nach Vergünstigungen erlangte durch die Medien eine hohe Popularität. Als Quelle des Shakespeare-Zitats, des zweiten Mottos, nennt das *Macmillan Dictionary of Quotations* das Drama *Hamlet* (Act III, Scene 2), zitiert aber den ursprünglichen frühneuenglischen Wortlaut: „*the lady doth protest too much, methinks*" (p. 521).

In dem Unterkapitel 2.6 „Die Weichen werden gestellt (2015)" erörtert R. G. Adam die Vorbereitungen des Referendums über die zukünftige Mitgliedschaft Großbritanniens in der EG, formulierte als Alternative zwischen „Leave" und „Remain". Daher bemüht sich der konservative Premierminister Cameron als Verfechter der Austrittspolitik auch um die Unterstützung Boris Johnsons. Diese Handlungsweise veranschaulicht Adam durch das Motto

*Et tu, Boris? (S. 90)*

Es ist als rhetorische Frage die Abwandlung des Zitats *Et tu, Brute?,* einer Anspielung auf die römische Geschichte. Diese Worte werden

Julius Caesar zugeschrieben, als er unter seinen mörderischen Angreifern seinen Freund Brutus erkannte.

Das *ODQ* verzeichnet die Form *Et tu, Brutus?* ohne Berücksichtigung des grammatisch korrekten Vokativs „*Et tu, Brute?*" und bietet die englische Übersetzung „You too, Brutus?" mit der Erklärung: „Traditional rendering of Suetonius *Lives of the Caesars* (Divus Julius), sect. 82: ‚Some have written that when Marcus Brutus rushed at him, he said in Greek' ‚You too, my child' (…)?" Cf. Julius Caesar 591:13 (zitiert S. 174).

Das Unterkapitel 2.3 mit der Überschrift „Die Bloomberg-Rede (2013)" behandelt Camerons Kontakte mit Harold Wilson und sein Versprechen eines *in/out* Referendums. Cameron betonte die Souveränität Großbritanniens gegenüber der EU. Er wollte sie durch Nachverhandlungen wiedergewinnen – im Sinne der späteren Forderung *Take back control,* die zu einem geflügelten Wort und zu einer Parole in der Argumentation zu Gunsten eines Brexit wurde. Diesen Machtkampf kennzeichnet der Autor Adam als Gleichnis mit dem vorangestellten Motto

*David und Goliath?*

formuliert als rhetorische Frage (S. 66). Auffällig ist hier die deutsche Kopula *und* (im Unterschied zu den übrigen englischen Motti). Mit diesem geflügelten Wort nimmt Adam Bezug auf das Alte Testament (1. Samuel, 17, 49 f.). Der Überlieferung nach siegte der Waffenträger David über den Philister Goliath, der wegen seiner Körpergröße als „Riese" galt, im Zweikampf dadurch, dass er ihn mit seiner Steinschleuder tötete. Diese Szene wurde in der bildenden Kunst wiederholt gestaltet, z.B. durch die Statue des David von Michelangelo.

*3.3 Zitate*

Die Fülle und Vielfältigkeit der Zitate, die R.G. Adam als Motti verwendet, zeugen von seiner gediegenen Allgemeinbildung und tiefgründigen Belesenheit in der englischen, amerikanischen und europäischen Literatur sowie von der Kenntnis der Werke englischer und amerikanischer Politiker und Ökonomen. Unter den durch Motti zitierten englischen Schriftstellern steht William Shakespeare (1564-1616) mit 7 Belegen an erster Stelle. Es folgen mit jeweils einem Einzelzitat die Dichter Edmund Burke (1729-1797); John Dryden (1631-1700); W.E. Henley (1849-1913); John

Milton (1608-1674); Alexander Pope (1688-1744); George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950); Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) und Oscar Wilde (1854-1900).

Jeweils ein Zitat für ein Einzelmotto wählt Adam aus der amerikanischen und französischen Literatur, vertreten durch John Updike (1932-2009) und Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980). Einzelbeispiele für Zitate aus der Antike als Motti sind Julius Caesar (100-44 v.Chr.); Vergil (Publius Vergilius Moro, 70-19 v.Chr.); Seneca (4 v.Chr.-65 n.Chr.) und der griechische Feldherr Pyrrhus von Epirus (319-272 v.Chr.).

Bereichert wird der Fundus der Motti durch Zitate englischer Politiker, darunter Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881); William Pitt d.J. (1759-1806); Harold Macmillan (1894-1986); John Major (geb. 1943); Margaret Thatcher (1925-2013) und durch einen Ausspruch des amerikanischen Präsidenten Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) sowie des britischen Ökonomen John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946).

Durchgängig verwendet Adam englischsprachige Zitate. Die Ausnahme eines deutschsprachigen Zitats ist aber ein markanter Ausspruch des Physikers Albert Einstein (1879-1955). Es lautet: „Zwei Dinge sind unendlich: das Universum und die menschliche Dummheit, aber beim Universum bin ich mir nicht ganz sicher“ (S. 233).

Am Anfang der Betrachtung ausgewählter Motti sollen Shakespeare-Zitate stehen. Es gelingt dem Autor des *BREXIT*-Buches weitgehend, aus den dramatischen Werken Shakespeares solche prägnanten und eingängigen Aussprüche auszuwählen, die im weiteren Sinne auf die problemgeladene Thematik des folgenden Unterkapitels zutreffen könnten und als Einzelmotti geeignet erscheinen. Dieses Vorgehen soll durch einige Beispiele veranschaulicht werden. Überschrift:

> Unterkapitel 1.7 „Schwarzer Mittwoch und EU–Romanze unter John Major und Tony Blair (1992-2005)“

Hierzu gehört das Motto

> *„The course of true love never did run smooth.“ (S. 36)*
> (William Shakespeare)

Als Quelle nennt das *ODQ* das Drama *A Midsummernight‘s Dream*, Act I, Scene I.

In dem Teilkapitel 3.5, überschrieben „Die Wahlen vom 8. Juni 2017: May verliert Zeit und Macht", verwendet R.G. Adam ein zutreffendes Zitat aus einem Historien-Drama Shakespeares, das lautet:

> *I wasted time, and now time wastes me. (S. 185)*
> (William Shakespeare)

Als Quelle verzeichnet das *ODQ* das Königsdrama *Richard II* (1595), Act 5, Scene 1.

In dem Unterkapitel 2.8 „Remain: Britain Stronger in Europe (2016)" erscheint als Vorspann das Motto

> *And makes us rather bear those ills we have*
> *Than fly to others that we know not of* (S. 113)
> (William Shakespeare)

Es handelt sich um Verszeilen aus Hamlets bekanntem Monolog „To be, or not to be. That is the question", Act III, Scene 1.

Aber im Original steht hinter der Aussage des Relativsatzes „that we know not of" ein Fragezeichen. Adam gibt die Entscheidungsfrage Hamlets zwischen Selbstmord oder Ertragen des Leidens an den Verhältnissen nur als Ellipse wieder. Shakespeare beschreibt die Ungewissheit des Zustandes nach dem Freitod mit eindringlichen Bildern, die Hamlet vor diesem Schritt zurückschrecken lassen (Hervorhebungen R.G.):

> „But that the *dread* of *something after death*
> The *undiscovered country* from whose bourn
> No traveller returns, *puzzles the will*.
> And makes us rather bear those ills we have
> Than fly to others that we know not of?"

Der Text enthält eine Topikkette von Substantiven (*dread, undiscovered country* und – entsprechend dem Verb – *no return*), die sich als Analogon zu den Folgen eines Brexit deuten lassen könnten. Adam assoziiert damit die Unwägbarkeiten des Brexit, aber auch deren hypothetische Vermeidung durch das Beibehalten der bisherigen Verhältnisse (in Großbritannien). Die politischen Entscheidungen des Parlaments nach dem Wahlsieg Boris Johnsons als Premierminister im Dezember 2019 haben das in dem Hamlet-Zitat befürchtete Szenario bisher keineswegs außer Kraft gesetzt.

In diesem Zusammenhang sei nochmals auf das in dem Doppelmotto mit Bezug auf Margaret Thatchers Forderung

> *„I want my money back!*
> *No, no, no!*"
> erwähnte Shakespeare-Zitat aus dem Drama *Hamlet* verwiesen (Act III, Scene 2)
>
> „*The lady protests too much, methinks*" (S. 31)
> (William Shakespeare)
> (vgl. Abschnitt 3.2 „Geflügelte Worte") hingewiesen.

Ein zweites Doppelmotto mit einem Shakespeare-Zitat verwendet Adam in dem Unterkapitel 4.4 „Folgen für die EU". Das Hauptkapitel 4 „Der Brexit und seine Folgen" enthält in Einzelabhandlungen Analysen der zu erwartenden Nachwirkungen des Brexit für das Vereinigte Königreich; für die Republik Irland; für die EU und für Deutschland.

Das Doppelmotto in dem Unterkapitel 4.4 lautet:

> *„O call back yesterday, bid time return!"*
> (William Shakespeare)
>
> *„The bedrock of European union is the consent of the people."*
> (S.321)
> (Edward Heath)

Das Shakespeare-Zitat stammt nach den Angaben im *ODQ* aus dem Königsdrama *Richard II* (1595) Act III, Scene 2. Für das Zitat des Premierministers Edward Heath ließen sich in den konsultierten Nachschlagewerken keine Hinweise finden.

Ein drittes Doppelmotto mit einem Shakespeare-Zitat gebraucht R.G. Adam in dem Unterkapitel 2.9 „Leave: Vote Leave, Leave. EU und grassroots. out (2016)". Das Hauptkapitel 2 hat die Überschrift „Der Weg zum Brexit – David Cameron im Kampf gegen die EU und die eigene Partei". Das Doppelmotto zu 2.9 lautet:

> *„Like a scurvy politician, seem to see the things thou doest not"*
> (William Shakespeare)
>
> „*The people are the masters*" (S. 122)
> (Edmund Burke)

Als Quelle des ersten Mottos nennt das *ODQ* das Drama *King Lear* (1605-6), Act IV, Scene 6. Der Kontext erschließt sich erst durch einen Vergleich mit dem Gesamtwerk. Der Handlungsort ist eine unwirtliche Gegend an der Küste von Dover. Dort begegnet der von seinen Töchtern verstoßene und wahnsinnig gewordene König seinem ehemaligen treuen Gefolgsmann, dem Earl of Glocester. Dieser wurde von dem rachsüchtigen Schwiegersohn Lears geblendet und befindet sich unbehaust in Begleitung seines Sohnes Edgar, der seinerseits von den Feinden des Königs verfolgt wird. Lear erkennt den blinden Glocester an der Stimme und gibt ihm den bitteren Rat:

„Take that of me, my friend, who have the power.
To seal the accuser's lips. Get thee glass eyes;
And, like a scurvy politician, seem
To see the things thou doest not. (…)"

Im weiteren Sinne erkennt der Historiker in diesem Text möglicherweise eine Parabel angesichts der Manipulierbarkeit zeitgenössischer Politiker.

Das zweite Motto, „*The people are the masters*", stammt nach den Angaben des *ODQ* aus einer Rede des irischen Schriftstellers und Politikers der Whigs, Edmund Burke. Sie wurde in dem Organ der Parlamentsvorgänge, dem *Hansard,* vom 11. Februar 1780 (column 67) veröffentlicht. (zitiert S. 158)

Zu erwähnen ist abschließend das Einzelmotto in dem Unterkapitel 2.10, betitelt „Die Europäische Union".

*„What's done connot be undone". (S. 130)*

Es ist ein Sprichwort, das von Shakespeare in seinem Drama *Macbeth* (1606), Act 5, Scene 1, verwendet wurde. (vgl. Abschnitt 3.1 dieses Aufsatzes)

Unter den Zitaten unterschiedlicher Autoren, die Adam als Motti verwendet, lässt sich eine thematische Gruppe solcher authentischen Meinungen erkennen, die unmittelbar auf England, seine Bewohner und seine Stellung zum europäischen Kontinent abzielen. Einige sind überzeitlich gültig, andere haben einen konkreten Bezug zu Ereignissen der englischen Geschichte. Im Folgenden wird auf die Nennung des Unterkapitels, dem sie vorangestellt sind, verzichtet und nur die Seitenangabe in dem *BREXIT*-Buch beibehalten. Bemerkenswert ist das Doppelmotto

> *„A soggy little island, huffing and puffing to keep up with Western Europe“* (S. 262)
> (John Updike)

Als Quellenangabe verzeichnet das *ODQ* den Text des Schriftstellers in *Picked Up Pieces* (1976), London Life, Written 1969. (zit. S. 707)

> *„England is sticky with self-pity and not prepared to accept peacefully and wisely the fact that her position and her resources are not what they once were.“ (S. 262)*
> (John Maynard Keynes)

Zu diesem zweiten Zitat, der Einschätzung des englischen Wirtschaftswissenschaftlers, konnte in den konsultierten Nachschlagewerken keine Quelle nachgewiesen werden.

> *„The continent will not suffer England to become the workshop of the world.“ (S. 194)*
> (Benjamin Disraeli)

Als Quelle nennt das *ODQ* eine Rede des Schriftstellers und Führers der Konservativen Partei, Benjamin Disraeli, die am 15. März 1838 im Hansard (Column 940) veröffentlicht wurde. Der Wortlaut des Zitates weicht aber von der Wiedergabe in Adams *BREXIT*-Buch ab, indem er offenbar zweideutig ist:

> *„The Continent will [not] suffer England to be the workshop of the world.“ (zitiert S. 246)*

> *„England has saved herself and will, I trust, save Europa by her example.“ (S. 161)*
> (William Pitt d.J.)

Das *ODQ* zitiert eine erweiterte Version dieses Mottos:

> „England has saved herself *by her exertions*, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example.“ (zit. S. 515)
> (William Pitt; 1759-1806)

> *„But 'tis the' talent of our English nation*
> *Still to be plotting some new reformation*“ (S. 252)
> (John Dryden)

Nach Auskunft des *ODQ* stammt das Zitat aus dem Text „The Prologue at Oxford“ (1680), „Prologue to Nathaniel Lee, *Sophonisba,* sec. ed. 1681“. (zitiert S. 261)

> *„No Englishman is ever fairly beaten.“ (S. 57)*
> (G.B. Shaw)

Als Quelle dieses Zitats nennt das ODQ das Drama *Saint Joan* (1924), Scene 4. Das Stück ist nicht nach Akten eingeteilt, sondern ist eine Folge von Szenen.

> *„What have I done for you, England, my England?“* (S. 61)
> (W.E. Henley)

Der Kommentar zu diesem Zitat lautet im *ODQ* „Pro Rege Nostro (1900)“ als Quellenangabe und „W.E. Henley (1849-1913)“ als „English poet and playwright“. (zitiert S. 332)

> *„We are part of the community of Europe and we must do our duty as such.“ (S. 168)*
> (Lord Salisbury)

Dieses Motto hat R.G. Adam dem Unterkapitel 3.2 „Die Suche nach dem maßgeschneiderten Abkommen“ vorangestellt. Es könnte als Vermächtnis dieses Staatsmannes gelten. Das *ODQ* (S. 553) nennt als Quelle „Marquess of Salisbury (1830-1903), speech at Caernarvon 10 April 1888“, veröffentlicht in der Tageszeitung *The Times* vom 11. April 1888.

Eine besondere Wertigkeit gewinnt das *Doppelmotto,* für das sich Adam als Vorspann für das Kapitel 5, das mit der Überschrift „Ausblick“ den Abschluss seines Buches *BREXIT. Eine Bilanz* bildet, entschieden hat. In der inhaltlichen Zusammenfassung des Folgetextes stellt er fest, dass das Referendum von 2016 über den Ausstieg Großbritanniens aus der EU keine Einmütigkeit der Wähler hinsichtlich der Zukunft ihres Landes erzielt hat. Nach dem Stand der politischen Lage im Januar 2019 gelangt der Autor zu der Einsicht: „Die EU ist gut beraten, Großbritannien die Tür für eine Rückkehr möglichst weit offen zu halten. Sie sollte die Zwischenzeit nutzen, um sich selbst prinzipiellen Fragen nach ihrer raison d’être zu stellen“ (S. 353).

Das nachfolgende Doppelmotto besteht aus einem Zitat des amerikanischen Präsidenten Abraham Lincoln und des englischen Dichters und politisch engagierten Puritaners John Milton. Beide

Persönlichkeiten waren in revolutionäre Vorgänge ihres Landes einbezogen: Abraham Lincoln im 19. Jh. im amerikanischen Sezessionskrieg für die Abschaffung der Sklaverei in den Südstaaten und die Gleichberechtigung aller amerikanischer Bürger. Und John Milton war im 17. Jh. aktiver Publizist im englischen Bürgerkrieg, der zur Beseitigung des Königtums und zur Errichtung einer zeitweisen Demokratie unter Oliver Cromwell (in den Jahren 1649-1688) führte.

Das erste Motto des Schlusskapitels lautet:

> *„With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right,let us strive to finish the work we are in" (S. 353)*
> (Abraham Lincoln)

Das sich anschließende zweite Motto lautet:

> *„Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live" (S. 353)*
> (John Milton)

Als Quelle des ersten Zitates des Doppelmottos nennt das *ODQ* die zweite Antrittsrede des amerikanischen Präsidenten Abraham Lincoln vom 4. März 1865. Aus diesem Text hat R.G. Adam jedoch nur eine verkürzte Fassung des Zitats für sein Motto verwendet. Der vollständige Text enthält eine emotional eindringliche Erläuterung, die aus dem notwendigen Zusammenhang hervorgeht und im *ODQ* folgendermaßen wiedergegeben ist:

> *„With malice toward none; with charity to all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in: to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."*
> (Quelle: R.P. Basler (ed.) *Collected works [of Abraham Lincoln]* 1953, Vol. 8, S. 333)

Es versteht sich, dass dieser vollständige Wortlaut aufgrund seiner Länge für ein Motto nicht geeignet ist. Daher beschränkt sich R.G. Adam auf den Kernsatz des ethischen Gebots, das in den Parallelismus der drei Präpositionalphrasen eingebettet ist und eine Steigerung der Ausdruckskraft erfährt.

Das zweite Zitat des Doppelmottos

*„Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live" (S. 353)*
(John Milton)

stammt nach den Angaben in *ODQ* (S. 475) aus der Schrift John Miltons über „*The Doctrine and the Discipline of Divorce*" von 1643, eingereicht „To the Parliament of England".

Der Ansatzpunkt dieser grundsätzlichen Abhandlung war, das Eherecht in England zu liberalisieren und die Ehescheidung zu legitimieren. In dieser Hinsicht bestand ein ursprünglich biographischer und privater Bezug zu einer zivilrechtlichen Angelegenheit, die Milton selbst betraf. Der puritanische Dichter und Publizist war von seiner lebenslustigen, weitaus jüngeren und geistig unter ihm stehenden Ehefrau auf längere Zeit verlassen worden. Die Unvereinbarkeit der Lebensweisen führte zur dauerhaften Entfremdung und schließlich zur Scheidung der Ehepartner. So fand die private Erfahrung Miltons Eingang in einen juristischen Text, der für andere Länder, wo der Protestantismus noch nicht staatliche Geltung erlangt hatte, beispielhaft wirken sollte. Insofern war mit der Entscheidung über die Auflösung der Ehe Miltons ein Präzedenzfall („precedence") gesetzt. Das eigentliche Kernwort „Divorce" ist jedoch in dem von Adam als Motto wiedergegebenen Milton-Zitat nicht enthalten und muss von dem Leser seines *BREXIT*-Buches aus dem historischen Hintergrund erschlossen werden. Aber es geht Adam als Kenner der Zeitgeschichte ebenso wenig wie Milton als Zeitgenosse der bürgerlichen Revolution in England lediglich um Trennung („divorce"), sondern auch um Normen gesitteten Zusammenlebens der einzelnen Menschen und der Völker. Deshalb stellt er das Zitat John Miltons an den Schluss seines „Ausblicks" – offenbar auch eingedenk der Visionen, die Milton mit seinen poetisch-epischen Werken *Paradise Lost* und *Paradise Regained* geschaffen hat.

### *3.4 Sprichwörter, sprichwörtliche Redensarten, geflügelte Worte und Maximen im fortlaufenden Text*

Der Schwerpunkt der Untersuchung lag in den vorangehenden Abschnitten auf dem Motto als Strukturprinzip und Stilmerkmal des *BREXIT*-Buches von R.G. Adam. Aber die sprachlichen Darstellungsmittel, die in das Motto Eingang finden, wie Sprichwörter,

sprichwörtliche Redensarten, geflügelte Worte, Maximen und Losungen, begegnen gleichermaßen im fortlaufenden Text und entfalten hier ihre Bildkraft und inhaltsbezogene Wirkung.

Die Motti sind, textlinguistisch betrachtet, ein konstitutives Gütemerkmal des *BREXIT*-Buches. Sie stellen Bezüge zu Personen und politischen, kulturellen und geographischen Verhältnissen in einer räumlichen und zeitlichen Dimension her. Mit ihrer Wahl als Vorspann zu einem Unterkapitel erschöpft sich jedoch nicht die sprachliche Gestaltungskraft des Autors. Sein Sprachporträt und sein Individualstil wären nur einseitig wiedergegeben, wenn die Ausdrucksmittel im Kontext, in der Themenentfaltung und Informationsvermittlung des Autors, außer Betracht blieben. Die folgenden Teilkapitel bieten Einblicke in die Verwendung von Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten, denen hauptsächlich das Interesse der Parömiologie gilt, in einem Textkontinuum. Der Text ist damit die Informationsquelle über die Hintergründe des Brexit aus der Sichtweise eines fachkompetenten, gesellschaftspolitisch verantwortungsbewussten und sprachgewandten Historikers.

*3.4.1 Sprichwörter*

Im Unterschied zu den Motti verwendet R.G. Adam im fortlaufenden Text hauptsächlich Sprichwörter und Losungen in deutscher Sprache. Aus Platzgründen wird bei den folgenden Belegen nur die Seitenangabe genannt und auf einen Bezug auf das Unterkapitel verzichtet. (Die Hervorhebungen stammen von der Verfasserin R.G.)

*Der Teufel steckt im Detail*

„Man war sich einig, dass ein Rahmenabkommen möglich war, dass [sic!] allerdings zahllose technische Details künftigen Verhandlungen zwischen Experten überlassen würde [sic!]. Und jedem war klar, dass, wie überall, *der Teufel im Detail stecken* würde und die konkrete Interpretation dessen, was politisch vereinbart war, viele künftige Reibungen versprach." (S. 214 f.)

*Weil nicht sein kann, was nicht sein darf*

„Die EU ist ein noch nicht sturmerprobtes, fragiles Gebilde, das seine Kraft vor allem aus dem eschatologischen Glauben schöpft, dass sie die historische Zielbestimmung Europas ist, es deshalb zu ihr keine Alternative geben kann. Sie muss aus jeder Krise gestärkt herausgehen, weil alles andere unvorstellbar wäre. Viele Fehlent-

wicklungen der EU werden ignoriert, *weil nicht sein kann, was nicht sein darf*." (S. 335)

*Der Berg kreißte und gebar eine Maus*
„Von den Themen, die die Debatten jenseits des Kanals beherrscht hatten: Haushaltsbeiträge, Rückverlagerung von Kompetenzen in den nationalen Bereich, Zuständigkeiten des EuGH [= Europäischer Gerichtshof – R.G.] und wirksame Beschränkung von Migration war nichts zu finden. Für die britische Öffentlichkeit hatte *ein Berg gekreist* [sic!] *und eine lächerliche Maus geboren*. Kritiker wiesen sofort darauf hin, dass es sich um eine politische Absichtserklärung, nicht um einen völkerrechtlich bindenden Vertrag handelte." (S. 109)

*Das englische Sprichwort*
*You cannot have your cake and eat it*
(angegebene Grundform im *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs,* 1982, S. 109) hält R.G. Adam in einer modifizierten Form fest, in der es Boris Johnson gebraucht hat. Der Kontext erklärt das beabsichtigte Wortspiel des Politikers:

> „Die Schuld daran, dass die Dinge sich schwieriger entwickeln als von den Brexit-Propheten 2016 großspurig verkündet, schieben die Boulevardzeitungen schon jetzt der EU zu. Umgekehrt wachsen auf dem Kontinent Unmut und Ungeduld mit einem Partner, der ständig nach Sonderregelungen, Vergünstigungen oder Nachverhandlungen verlangt und, in den unsterblichen Worten von Boris Johnson, seinen *Kuchen haben und essen will*." (S. 259)

Zur Erläuterung des Zitats Johnsons fügt Adam eine Fußnote an: Boris Johnson am 30. September 2016: „*I'm rather for having my cake and eating it, too*!" (Anmerkung 10, S. 259)

*You can't start fattening pigs on market day*
Diese wie ein Sprichwort wirkende Formulierung eines „Mitarbeiters von *Britain Stronger in Europe*" erwähnt R.G. Adam im Zusammenhang mit der Bewertung der schwankenden Haltung Camerons gegenüber der EU, zwischen einer positiven Bewertung, die eine *Remain*-Botschaft für die britische Bevölkerung sein konnte, und der Warnung der Öffentlichkeit vor „Verlust und Verfall", wenn ein Austritt stattfände. Adam stellt fest: „Auch Cameron hatte

es vorgezogen, die EU in einem negativen Licht erscheinen zu lassen. Diese langfristig vernachlässigte Aufklärung über die positiven Seiten der EU ließ sich nicht in drei Monaten „nachholen". [Es folgt die Fußnote 39] … Ein Mitarbeiter von *Britain Stronger in Europa* brachte es auf die drastische Formel: „*You can't start fattening pigs on market day*" (S. 115).

*3.4.2 Maximen und Losungen*

Wie Sprichwörter wirken mitunter gängige politische Maximen, die von Politikern europäischer Nationalstaaten mit dem Vokabular der EU vertreten werden. Solche Aussprüche, die gleichermaßen als Losungen gelten können, sind: „*Scheitert der Euro, scheitert Europa*" und „*Scheitert Europa, scheitern Wohlstand und Frieden*" (S. 337f.). Dafür bietet R.G. Adam eine schlüssige Begründung:

> „Die EU hat sich bisher in Krisen immer mit einer Taktik beholfen, die große Ähnlichkeit zum *project fear* (Hervorhebung im Original) hat. Es wird eine Schicksals- und Wertegemeinschaft Europas beschworen. Es ist warnend die Rede von Chaos, Absturz, vom Ende der Friedenszeit seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. „*Scheitert der Euro, scheitert Europa*", heißt es dann. Unausgesprochen steht dahinter: „*Scheitert Europa, scheitern Wohlstand und Frieden und es droht der Rückfall in die unselige Geschichte vor 1945*." (S. 337 f.)

Mit Bezug auf die Flüchtlingspolitik vertreten die EU-Mitglieder als Grundsatz die Maxime, die in der Öffentlichkeit als Parole und Losung im Umlauf ist:

> *„Wer sich nicht ausweisen kann, wird ausgewiesen."* (S. 301)

Die lautliche Eingängigkeit verbindet sich in dieser Formulierung mit der semantischen Doppeldeutigkeit des Begriffs „*ausweisen*":

1) verwaltungstechnisch: sich durch ein amtliches Dokument identifizieren und legitimieren, und
2) durch eine behördliche, rechtsstaatliche Maßnahme bei Vorliegen dringender Gründe jmdn. des Landes verweisen bzw. abschieben.

Die Abneigung der Briten gegen eine Ausweispflicht, die zu einem heftigen Widerstand führen kann, erläutert Adam an einem Beispiel aus der jüngsten Vergangenheit:

„Der Skandal um Angehörige der Windrush-Generation, die sich im Frühjahr 2018 nicht hinreichend legitimieren konnten, führte zum Rücktritt der Innenministerin Amber Rudd. Er beleuchtete dieses Dilemma schlagartig: Die *Devise* lautete: *Wer sich nicht ausweisen kann, wird ausgewiesen!*" (S. 301)

Im Zusammenhang mit der Diskussion über den Brexit zitiert Adam Losungen der Bewegung „Britain Stronger in Europe", die für einen Verbleib des Vereinigten Königreichs in der EU plädierte. Solche Losungen waren bei den *Remainers:*

*„Don't let them gamble with your future!"*
„*Leaving Europe would be a leap in the dark!*"
„*Alternatives are all worse*." (S. 116, Fußnote 4)

Einen entgegengesetzten Standpunkt vertraten die *Brexiteers* mit den Losungen *Vote Leave* und *Take back control*. (p. 122)

Die *Devise Take back control* gilt nach Kenntnis des Autors Adam für die Regelung des Grenzverkehrs von Waren, aber nicht von Personen. Er stellt fest:

> „*Take back control* (im Original kursiv) ist aber nicht gleichbedeutend mit Grenzkontrollen. Waren lassen sich an Grenzen kontrollieren, Menschen nicht, zumindest solange Großbritannien den EU-Ländern visafreie Einreise zum Urlaub, für Besuche oder Geschäftsreisen gestattet (…)" (S. 301)

Nach den Recherchen von Katrin Pribyl ist die Losung „Take back control" eine Erfindung von Dominic Cummings, dem geistigen Inspirator des Brexit. Er führte diese Campagne noch vor dem EU-Referendum und erfand den „Siegesspruch Take back control". (vgl. den Artikel von Katrin Pribyl in den *Dresdner Neuesten Nachrichten* vom 5. September 2010, S. 3)

*3.4.3 Geflügelte Worte*

Markante Aussprüche von Politikern können durch die Medien ihre Popularität erhöhen, aber auch im Wortlaut verändert werden, wenn sie den aktuellen Verhältnissen nicht mehr entsprechen. So berichtet R.G. Adam, wie Theresa May als konservative Premierministerin in ihrem konsequenten Ringen um die Zustimmung des

Unterhauses zu dem mit der EU ausgehandelten Brexit-Deal mit der *Iron Lady*, Margaret Thatcher, verglichen wurde. Diese hatte von sich behauptet:

> „*The lady is not for turning*." (vgl. R. Gläser 2014, S. 286)

Adam beschreibt, wie Theresa May kurzfristig Änderungen in der Tagesordnung des Unterhauses vornehmen musste, als sie über ihren Brexit-Vertrag abstimmen lassen wollte. Die Situation bot sich wie folgt dar:

> „May warb schon fast flehentlich um Zustimmung. Aber ihre Überzeugungskraft schwand. Immer wieder flüchtete sie sich in Phrasen und wich präzisen Fragen mit wolkigen, bisweilen roboterhaft wiederholten Wendungen aus. Als sich abzeichnete, dass ihre Niederlage unausweichlich werden würde, ließ sie kurzfristig die Abstimmung von der Tagesordnung des Parlaments absetzen. Der *Daily Telegraph* ätzte: ‚*The lady is for turning!*' und spielte damit auf die legendären Worte von Margaret Thatcher[69] an."

In der Fußnote 69 nennt Adam die Quelle dieses Ausspruchs der *Iron Lady:*

> „Margaret Thatcher: *Rede auf dem Parteitag der Konservativen Partei* in Brighton*, 10.10.1980: ‚You turn if you want to. The lady's not for turning'." (zitiert S. 233 f.)

Theresa May beharrte auf der Maxime „Brexit means Brexit" und war nicht zu Zugeständnissen gegenüber der EU bereit.

Ein geflügeltes Wort von Boris Johnson, der die Brexit-Entwürfe von Theresa May konsequent durchkreuzte und einen harten Brexit forderte, lautete:

> *„There are some people who think that Brexit isn't going to happen."*

Adam erläutert den Hintergrund dieser lapidaren Behauptung:

> „Er goss vernichtende Kritik über die EU und schmeichelte britischem Nationalstolz […]. Seine euphorische Beschwörung all der Vorteile, die ein radikaler Brexit mit sich brächte, kulminierte in dem trumpistischen Ausruf: *I believe we can be the greatest country on Earth!*" (zitiert von Adam, S. 191)

Die Quelle dieses Ausspruchs Johnsons ist sein Beitrag „My vision for a bold, thriving Britain enabled by Brexit“ im *Daily Telegraph* vom 15. September 2017 (zitiert von Adam in seinem eigenen Literaturverzeichnis, S. 242, Titel Nr. 10).

Johnson orientiert sich mit seiner Vision der Weltmacht Großbritanniens an der Parole Donald Trumps „*Make Amerika great again!*“ und „*America first*“.

*3.4.4 Sprichwörtliche Redensarten*

Zu dieser Gruppe der bildhaften, festen Wortverbindungen gehören substantivische, verbale und adverbiale sprichwörtliche Redensarten. Im Satzkontext können sie variiert und stilistisch wirkungsvoll eingesetzt werden.

Substantivische sprichwörtliche Redensarten

*Ein rotes Tuch*

„Vor allem entfalteten die einwandernden Arbeiter massiven Lohndruck, weil sie keine Ansprüche stellten, oft schwarz arbeiteten und selbst unzumutbare Arbeitsbedingungen bereitwillig hinnahmen. Dies war für britische Gewerkschaften, die Jahrhun-derte lang für akzeptable Arbeitsbedingungen gekämpft hatten, ein rotes Tuch.“ (S. 44)

*Wasser auf die Mühle*

R.G. Adam verwendet den variierten Ausdruck *Hochwasser auf die Mühlen*.

„Dies war ein doppelter Schlag gegen May: Denn wie konnte die EU einem Nicht-Mitglied die Erhebung von EU-Steuern anvertrauen, das schon als Mitglied geschummelt hatte? Großbritannien kurz vor dem Parteitag der Konservativen und in der ohnehin verfahrenen Situation vor den verhassten EuGH [= Europäischer Gerichtshof – R.G.] zu zerren, *war Hochwasser auf die Mühlen* aller radikalen Brexiteers.“ (S. 218)

*Pfahl im Fleisch*

„Viele überzeugte EU-Anhänger mögen sich insgeheim freuen über das Ausscheiden des ewigen Bremsers, Nörglers und Störers, der immer wieder Sonder- und Ausnahmeregelungen für sich beansprucht. Viele glauben, jetzt sei der Weg frei für die nächsten ambitiösen Integrationsprojekte. Sie übersehen dabei, dass Großbritannien auf Jahre hinaus ein *Pfahl im Fleisch der EU* bleiben wird, ein

Akteur, der von außen nicht weniger Einfluss auf die Geschichte der EU ausüben wird als zuvor von innen (…)." (S. 332 f.)

*Dorn im Auge*
„Die damit einhergehende Schmälerung des Nationalstaates wollten die Briten keinesfalls hinnehmen. Dass britische Richter Rechtsnormen anwenden mussten, die nicht dem britischen Recht entstammten, war vielen ein *besonderer Dorn im Auge*." (S. 47)

*„Spiel, Satz und Sieg" gewinnen*
„Er [John Major als Parteiführer der Konservativen und Premierminister – R.G.] trug den Maastricht-Vertrag mit, sorgte allerdings dafür, dass Innere Sicherheit keine Gemeinschaftsmaterie wurde, und verhinderte einen expliziten Bezug auf eine föderale Zielsetzung. Er bestand auf Ausnahmeregelungen beim Sozialkapitel und bei der Währungsunion *(opt outs)*. Damit, so triumphierte er, habe er ‚*Spiel, Satz und Sieg*' für Großbritannien gewonnen."
(übersetztes Zitat) – nicht Eigenprägung des Autors Adam (S. 36 f.)

Verbale sprichwörtliche Redensarten

Diese stark bildhaften Wendungen stehen den Sprichwörtern nahe, sind aber keine vollständigen Sätze mit einer didaktischen Absicht. Dennoch können sie eine allgemeine Lebenserfahrung ausdrücken. Die verbalen sprichwörtlichen Redensarten sind mit einem reichen Belegmaterial in Adams BREXIT-Buch vertreten, sodass in diesem Zusammenhang nur typische Beispiele ausgewählt werden können. Da der Autor seine kritische Sicht auf die britischen Vorstöße zu einem Austritt aus der EU wiederholt zum Ausdruck bringt, verwendet er häufig negativ gefärbte Sprachbilder, um nachteilige Entwicklungen oder Fehlentscheidungen von Politikern im Vereinigten Königreich zu kennzeichnen.

*das Wasser abgraben / den Wind aus den Segeln nehmen*
„Trotzdem war dies ein Ergebnis, mit dem niemand gerechnet hatte. Es war ein Menetekel für die Konservativen. UKIP war drauf und dran, den Konservativen bei der EU-Thematik *das Wasser abzugraben*. Es wurde höchste Zeit, UKIP und der von ihr betriebenen radikalen EU-Kritik *den Wind aus den Segeln zu nehmen*." (S. 83)

*vor den Kopf stoßen*
„Cameron hatte bereits verschiedene Gruppierungen in seiner Partei *vor den Kopf gestoßen,* als er für die Homo-Ehe, eine radikale

Reform des Oberhauses, staatliche *grammar schools* (kursiv im Original) und eine höhere Entwicklungshilfe eintrat." (S. 88)

*sich in eine Zwickmühle bringen*
„Cameron hatte sich und sein Land *in eine Zwickmühle gebracht*. Er wollte sein Land zu besseren Bedingungen in der EU halten. Gleichzeitig musste er einen Brexit als nicht nur akzeptable, sondern attraktive Alternative beschreiben und die EU in ihrer gegenwärtigen Form als inakzeptabel niedermachen." (S. 104)

*kein gutes Haar lassen*
„Statt dessen setzte er (Cameron – R.G.) seine abfällige Rhetorik über die EU fort, glaubte, die so Gescholtenen müssten ihm entgegenkommen und seine Parteifreunde würden sich freuen, wenn er schließlich mit einer Institution ein neues Abkommen schließen würde, an der er selbst zuvor *kein gutes Haar gelassen hatte*." (S. 103)

*Öl ins Feuer gießen / die Flucht nach vorn antreten*
„Es war ein Paradebeispiel dafür, wie der Versuch, Dinge zu verschleiern und nachträglich zu bemänteln, nur weiter *Öl ins Feuer gießt*. Nicht nur Camerons Finanzgebaren sorgte für den Skandal, sondern seine ungeschickten Versuche, zu vertuschen, zu bagatellisieren und sich mit spitzfindiger Verbalakrobatik herauszuwinden. Cameron geriet in den Verdacht, Steuern hinterzogen zu haben. Das war tödlich. Nach einer Woche vergeblicher Versuche, die *Meute investigativer Journalisten* abzuwehren, trat Cameron die *Flucht nach vorne an*." (S. 137)

*in den Wind schlagen*
„Cameron hatte fast alles falsch eingeschätzt. Er hatte die Warnungen seiner militärischen Experten *in den Wind geschlagen,* er hatte den Widerwillen der Bevölkerung unterschätzt (…)." (S. 75)

*alles auf eine Karte setzen / mit einem Schlag beenden*
„Cameron war gewarnt worden, das Schottland-Referendum könne das Ende der dreihundertjährigen Geschichte der Staatenunion zwischen England und Schottland bedeuten, Großbritannien könne in Schottland und ein Klein-England zerfallen, aus dem *United* könne ein *Disunited Kingdom* (kursiv im Original) hervorgehen. Dennoch *setzte er alles auf eine Karte*. Er wollte die leidige Kontroverse über

den Status Schottlands, der sich schon über Jahrzehnte hinzog, *mit einem Schlag beenden*." (S. 77)

*die Axt an die Wurzel legen*

„Oder – noch bedenklicher – wie soll man mit einem Ergebnis umgehen, das zwar in England das ‚Nein' deutlich bekräftigt (um 60 %), in den übrigen Landesteilen aber ein noch ausgeprägteres Votum für *Remain* liefert (deutlich mehr als 65 %)? Ein solches Ergebnis ist keineswegs unwahrscheinlich. Es würde die *Axt an die Wurzeln* des Vereinigten Königreiches legen und unweigerlich weiterreichende verfassungsrechtliche Streitigkeiten auslösen." (S. 355 f.)

*seine Seele verkaufen*

„UKIP konnte auf diese Weise den Schwerpunkt der Konservativen Partei erfolgreich in Richtung des eigenen EU-feindlichen Programms verschieben. In gewisser Weise ist es keine Übertreibung zu behaupten, UKIP habe die Konservative Partei geradezu geentert. Andere sprechen von einem *faustischen Pakt,* in dem die konservative Partei ihre *Seele an UKIP verkauft* hätte, um an der Macht zu bleiben." (S. 82 f., Fußnote)

*die Folterwerkzeuge zeigen*

„May *zeigt* den Rebellen ihrer eigenen Partei *all die Folterwerkzeuge,* die nach einem vertraglosen Brexit drohten. Von der stolzen Selbstsicherheit der Phrase *No deal is better than a bad deal* war nichts mehr zu spüren. Jetzt lautete Mays Botschaft: *Nothing could be worse than no deal!* Es gab wenig Zweifel, dass dies alles dazu bestimmt war, Unruhe und Besorgnis der Bevölkerung auszulösen und die Bereitschaft zu einem Kompromiss mit der EU zu erhöhen – es war Mays Äquivalent zu Camerons *project fear*." (S. 216)

(Die Parolen („Botschaften") der Premierminister May und Cameron stehen im Original in Kursivdruck.)

*noch in den Knochen stecken/sitzen*

„Die Erinnerung daran, wie Niederländer und Franzosen den Verfassungsvertrag in einer Volksabstimmung hatten scheitern lassen und wie die Iren den Lissaboner Vertrag zunächst verwarfen und erst nach kosmetischen Veränderungen in einer zweiten Volksabstimmung gebilligt hatten, *saß* allen EU-Politikern *noch tief in den Knochen*." (S. 68)

Adverbiale sprichwörtliche Redensarten

Die ermittelten Belege bilden eher eine Randgruppe.

*zwischen Skylla und Charybdis lavieren / vor den Bug schießen*
„May musste *zwischen Skylla und Charybdis* lavieren. Auf der einen Seite stieg der Druck, einen harten Brexit und den jähen Absturz aus bisherigen Handelsbeziehungen zu vermeiden. Aber jedesmal, wenn sie versuchte, derartige Besorgnisse bei ihrer Positionierung zu berücksichtigen, *schossen* ihr die Brexit-Fundamentalisten aus ihrem Kabinett *vor den Bug* und ließen sie zurückschrecken." (S. 189)

*mit einem silbernen Löffel im Munde geboren worden sein*
Übersetzung des Idioms born with a silver spoon in one's mouth
„Cameron soll einmal auf die Frage, *ob er mit einem silbernen Löffel im Munde geboren worden sei,* geantwortet haben, es seien eigentlich zwei gewesen. Der Reichtum seiner Familie, sein privilegierter Lebenslauf, seine arrogante Selbstgewissheit und seine dubiosen Freundschaften in der Medienwelt – alles das *kam wieder hoch* und *trieb einen tiefen Keil* zwischen ihn und die Mehrheit seiner Landsleute." (S. 138)

Diese Beispiele für sprichwörtliche Redensarten in der Funktion von Substantiven, Verben und Adverbien, ausgewählt aus einem reichen Belegmaterial, sind charakteristisch für das Bemühen des Autors R.G. Adam um Anschaulichkeit und Überzeugungskraft seiner Darstellung der Verhältnisse im Vereinigten Königreich nach dem Referendum von 2016. Er analysiert diese Entwicklung nicht aus nüchterner Distanz, sondern mit emotionaler Anteilnahme, wobei er gelegentlich drastische Formulierungen und expressive Ausdrücke gebraucht. Diese unterstützen seine Argumentation zu den Vorgängen im Parlament und zur Haltung der Premierministerin Theresa May. Die den Kontext bildenden Textausschnitte vermitteln zugleich Hintergrundinformationen, die im weiteren Sinne einen Bezug zu dem Motto des betreffenden Teilkapitels, dem der Beleg entnommen ist, herstellen.

### *4. Schlussbetrachtung*

Das zeitgeschichtlich bedeutsame Buch *BREXIT. Eine Bilanz* von R.G. Adam markiert den Status quo vom Januar 2019 der Entwicklung Großbritanniens in Richtung Austritt aus der EU. Die dramatischen Vorgänge im britischen Parlament in den Folgemonaten

mit der viermaligen Ablehnung des Austrittsabkommens, das die Premierministerin Theresa May mit den 27 Mitgliedsstaaten der EU ausgehandelt hatte, führten schließlich zu ihrem Rücktritt. Ihr Nachfolger, Boris Johnson als Vertreter der unnachgiebigen Austrittsbefürworter, ergriff im Umgang mit dem Parlament Maßnahmen, die in der politischen Geschichte Großbritanniens als demokratischer Staat ohne Beispiel waren. Die von Premierminister Johnson über das Parlament verfügte mehrwöchige Zwangspause, die es im Sommer 2019 arbeitsunfähig machte, wurde von dem Supreme Court of Justice unter seiner Vorsitzenden, Lady Hall, für rechtswidrig erklärt. Aber Johnson ordnete Neuwahlen an, um seine Macht bei der endgültigen Abstimmung über seinen *Brexit Deal* zu stärken. Bei der Unterhauswahl am 12. Dezember 2019 erzielte die Konservative Partei einen deutlichen Stimmenzuwachs. Medienbeobachter verglichen die Vorgänge im britischen Unterhaus mit den Ausmaßen eines Shakespeares-Dramas.[2]

Der Brexit wurde am 31. Januar 2020 vollzogen, Großbritannien verließ nach 47 Jahren Mitgliedschaft die EU. Die weitere Entwicklung der verbliebenen 27 Mitgliedsstaaten auf dem europäischen Kontinent wird erweisen, ob R.G. Adam als Historiker mit seinem „Ausblick" am Schluss seines *BREXIT*-Buches, mit seinen Prognosen sowie dem Doppelmotto mit den Aussprüchen von Abraham Lincoln und John Milton Recht behalten wird.

Nicht unberechtigt und sogar beherzigenswert erscheint das Motto, das die Organisatoren des 26. Elbhangfestes in Dresden, der Landeshauptstadt des Freistaates Sachsen und der Partnerstadt von Coventry, für das Jahr 2016 vorsorglich zwei Jahre im Voraus, bereits 2014, festgelegt hatten. Das Dresdner Elbhangfest vom 24. – 26. Juni 2016 stand unter der Schirmherrschaft von Sir Sebastian Wood, dem Britischen Botschafter in Deutschland, und hatte das Motto

*Come together!*

Es begann einen Tag nach dem Referendum in Großbritannien, das über einen Austritt aus der EU entschieden hatte. In den in Elbnähe gelegenen Ortsteilen der Stadt Dresden entstand jedoch ein englisches Flair[3] mit nachgebauten roten Telefonzellen und Briefkästen, geschmückten Gärten und originellen Pubs, einem Festzug und zum Gedenken an den 400. Todestag von William Shakespeare einer Freiluftaufführung von „Romeo und Julia". In diesem Sinne

wurde das Motto *Come together!* zur aktuellen, gemeinsam erlebten Wirklichkeit des englischen Sprichworts

*Unity is strength*.

***Anmerkungen***

[1] Zu den biographischen Angaben vgl. *Wikipedia* vom 17. März 2019 sowie „Der Autor" in: *BREXIT. Eine Bilanz*, S. 369 f.

[2] Beitrag von Katrin Pribyl, Überschrift: „Die große Schlacht um Westminster". Unterzeile: *„Ein Drama von shakespeareschen Ausmaßen:* Nach all den Abgesängen auf das „älteste Parlament der Welt" hat das britische Unterhaus die Entmachtungspläne Boris Johnsons vorerst abgewehrt. Hat sich der Premier verzockt? Oder spielt ihm und seinem Strippenzieher das Chaos sogar in die Karten?" In: *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten* (Seite 2 „Blickpunkt"), 5. September 2019 (Hervorhebung – R.G.)

[3] Beitrag von Nora Domschke, Überschrift: „Beatles, Brexit, Biergenuss". Unterzeile: „Zum Elbhangfest gab's hohen Besuch von der Insel. Tausende feierten am Wochenende Großbritannien. Trotz allem." In: *Sächsische Zeitung*, 27. Juni 2016, S. 13. (Dresdner Ausgabe)

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GEORGI KAPCHITS

# SOMALI PAREMIAS AND THEIR RUSSIAN EQUIVALENTS

***Abstract:*** It has long been noticed that paremias (proverbs, sayings etc., with all the differences of languages and cultures of the peoples who created them, are alike. This is due to the nature of paremias. As Russian folklorist G. L. Permyakov established, "they are signs and models of certain situations or certain relations between objects." And since the situations that people encounter are the same everywhere, the paremias, invented by them to describe these situations, coincide in meaning. This fully applies to Somali and Russian proverbs and sayings. Some of them coincide almost textually, some others differ in the images used in them.

Proverbial sentences can be closed (proverbial class) and open (proverbial phrases class). At the same time, depending on the type of the motivation of their general meaning (transferred, direct or not immediate), they are divided into six subclasses: proverbs proper, folk aphorisms, non-divided sentences, proverbial phrases proper, by-words and non-divided phrases.

In addition, proverbial sentences can be simple and complex (syntactically), they have different "goals of utterance" (that is, they can be affirmative or negative), they have a modality (they can be narrative, hortatory and interrogative). Thus, the Somali and Russian paremias, which coincide in meaning, may differ not only in the images used in them, but also in their linguistic and paremiological structures.

Of the three main structures of all proverbs and sayings – linguistic (and compositional) structure, logical (and semiotic) structure and object-image structure, the coincidence in their logical structure and in the types of things opposed in them, i.e, the coincidence in their meaning, is crucial for determining their similarity.

***Keywords:*** Somalia, Russia, paremia, equivalent, sign, logical-semiotic classification

It has long been noticed that paremias (proverbs, sayings etc.) show great similarities despite significant differences in the languages and cultures of the peoples who created them. This is due

to the nature of paremias. As Russian folklorist G. L. Permyakov has established, they are "signs and models of certain situations or certain relations between objects."[1] And since the situations that people encounter bear similarities, the paremias they invent to describe these situations, typically coincide in meaning.

This description applies to such widely separated cases as Somali and Russian proverbs and sayings. Some of them almost coincide textually: *A drenched man is not afraid of water* (Somali) and *A drenched man is not afraid of rain* (Russian), *A fly will not get into a closed mouth* (Somali) and *Even a fly will not get into a locked mouth* (Russian). Other proverbs which look alike, differ in the images used: *A leopard's cubs are also spotted* (Somali) and *A pig's piglets are also striped* (Russian), *All camels were two-year-old* (Somali) and *Every bull was a calf* (Russian).

Proverbial sentences can be closed (proverbial class) and open (proverbial phrases class).[2] At the same time, depending on the type of the motivation of their general meaning (transferred, direct or not immediate), they may be divided into six subclasses: 1) proverbs proper (*A barking hyena is better than one which keeps silent*); 2) folk aphorisms (*Tell lies, but let your lies resemble the truth*); 3) non-divided sentences (*There is not yet a fire for the last dates*, i.e. until one job is completed one should not start another one. This refers to a story about a man who was given some dates, and not knowing that they are eaten raw decided to fry them; before he had had time to kindle the fire he was given another handful of dates, and he said these words); 4) proverbial phrases proper (*When all the people sing for camels he sings for donkeys*, i.e. not to the point); 5) by-words (*With your obstinacy you can lose a basin of food*, i.e. with such a bad character as yours you can harm yourself) and 6) non-divided phrases (*I should have said "Whoa!")*. This refers to a story about a herdsman whose animals strayed into a forest while he was asleep, and all were killed by wild beasts. When he awoke to realize what had happened, he grieved for a long time, admitting to himself "I should have said "Whoa!" i.e., I should have stopped the herd ahead of time)

In addition, proverbial sentences can be simple and complex (syntactically); have different "goals of utterance" (can be affirmative or negative) or have a modality (can be narrative, hortatory and interrogative). The Somali and Russian paremias, whose meanings coincide, may differ not only in the images used, but in

their linguistic and paremiological structures as well. For example, compare the following pairs of paremias, which are recognized as equivalents: *Where you see a stature do not look for mind* (a Somali proverb) – *His stature is that of yours, but his mind is that of a calf* (a Russian byword); *If a woman helps a man in the fight against drought, he will win* (Somali, a compound sentence) – *With a good wife grief is only half grief* (Russian, a simple sentence); *God does not offend a brave man* (Somali, a negative sentence) – *God accompanies a daring man* (Russian – an affirmative sentence), etc.

Of the three main structures of all proverbs and sayings – linguistic (and compositional) structure, logical (and semiotic) structure and object-image structure – the coincidence in their logical structure and in the types of things opposed in them, (i.e., the coincidence in their meaning), is crucial for determining similarities.

As evident from the body of scholarship by G. L. Permyakov, devoted to the semantic structure of paremias, the theme of a proverb or a saying is the invariant pair of opposing entities, embracing the meaning of images used in this proverb or saying. Thus, the theme of the Somali proverb *If you want to receive a kid, ask for a calf* is the thematic pair IIa1 Big – Small. The thematic group with the same name includes proverbs and sayings about large and small things, significance and insignificance in general, including significant and insignificant events and actions, as well as significant (outstanding) and insignificant people. There are approximately one hundred thematic groups (Good – Bad, Old – Young, Action – Reaction, Generative – Generated, etc.) The members of the invariant thematic pairs (in real adages they are usually represented by pairs of concrete things (such as the goat and the calf in the above-mentioned proverb) establish different relationships with each other.

For instance, Straight and Crooked (i.e. straight and crooked things, truth and falsehood, honest and dishonest people, justice and injustice) can form relations of Compatibility – Non-Compatibility (*Straightforwardness and slyness cannot enter one and the same place),* relations of Qualitative Correspondence – Non-Correspondence *(A false speech is listened to by a false ear),* relations of Qualitative Superiority – Inferiority (*A stolen she-camel does not give birth to legitimate colts)* and so on. The number of

relation types established by the members of thematic proverbial pairs is twenty-eight. The logical-semiotic classification of paremias collected in accordance with these types of relations are called formative groups.

Every proverb in each usage can express only one type of relation between things (opposite entities) mentioned in it, and therefore can be attributed to only one formative group. But a proverb can have one, two, three or even more thematic pairs (or not have any). Thus, some proverbs can be attributed to one, two, three or more thematic groups (or to none of them). In proverbs with more than one invariant thematic pair, one pair can obviously prevail over the others. For example, the Somali proverb *The tribe of the straight chieftain is straight and that of the crooked chieftain is crooked* belongs to the thematic group III5. Heading – Headed (the thematic pair 'chieftain' and 'tribe' is main and the pair of 'straightness' and 'crookedness' is additional). The corresponding Russian proverb *Like priest, like people* contains only one thematic pair. These Somali and Russian proverbs belong to the formative group 15. Qualitative Correspondence – Non-Correspondence of the Heading and the Headed and their actions.

The exact meaning of any paremia lies at the intersection of the thematic group in which it is included, and the formative group that demonstrates the type of logical connection between the members of the thematic pair existing in this paremia.[3] It follows that semantic equivalents are such Somali and Russian paremias, whose place in the system of logical-semiotic classification completely coincides.

Here are some examples**:**

1. **Boqorba wax baa la sii baraa**

*Even a chieftain is to be taught*

Thematic group IIc4. Knowledge – Ignorance

Formative group 3. Limitedness – Non-Limitedness of Knowledge and Ignorance

**Russian equivalent**: *Live and learn*

Thematic group IIc4. Knowledge – Ignorance

Formative group 3. Limitedness – Non-Limitedness of Knowledge and Ignorance

2. **Calool dheregsani calool baahan kama naxdo**

*A filled stomach does not sympathize with an empty one*

Thematic group IIa14. Fed – Hungry

Formative group 9. Friendliness – Hostility of Fed and Hungry

**Russian equivalent**: *The fed does not understand the hungry*

Thematic group IIa14. Fed – Hungry

Formative group 9. Friendliness – Hostility of Fed and Hungry

3. **Af aadan lahayn lama aammusiyo**

*One cannot force somebody else's mouth to keep silent*

Thematic group IIb2. One's Own – Somebody Else's $x^4$: IIc1. Word – Silence

Formative group 5. Non-Feasibility – Feasibility of Actions with One's Own and Somebody Else's

**Russian equivalent**: *You won't throw a handkerchief on someone else's mouth*

Thematic group IIb2. One's Own – Somebody Else's x: IIc1. Word – Silence

Formative group 5. Non-Feasibility – Feasibility of Actions with One's Own and Somebody Else's

4. **Nin tuur lihi isagaa kaa yaqaan siduu u seexdo**

*A hunchback knows better than you how he should sleep* [i.e. everybody knows better than you what he needs]

Thematic group IIb8. Oneself – Others x: IIb11 Straight - Crooked

Formative group 22. Qualitative Superiority – Inferiority of Oneself and Other

**Russian equivalent**: *Do not teach the lame to hobble*

Thematic group IIb8. Oneself – Others x: IIb7 Healthy – Sick

Formative group 22. Qualitative Superiority – Inferiority of Oneself and Other

5. **Sidaan kuugu lisay iiguma hambaynin**

*I had milked for you much milk but you have left me only a little*[5]

Thematic group III1 Action – Reaction x: III14 To Give – To Take

Formative group 17. Quantitative Correspondence – Non-Correspondence of Action and Reaction

**Russian equivalent**: *You say to him 'We shall eat it seven together' and he says to you 'I shall eat it myself''*

Thematic group III1 Action – Reaction x: IIb8. Oneself – Others

Formative group 17. Quantitative Correspondence – Non-Correspondence of Action and Reaction

It is hardly possible to find the exact Russian correspondences for all Somali paremias, but almost always the similar ones can be found. We are talking, firstly, about such pairs of adages, one of which contains one thematic pair, and the other one includes two pairs or more. For example, in the Somali proverb *Together ants can carry even a lizard* there are two thematic pairs: IIc2. Unity - Disunity (main) and IIa1. Big - Small (additional), but in the similar Russian paremia, *(When people act together nothing is heavy* there is only the first one.

Secondly, the Somali and Russian paremias may include different, but close in meaning, thematic pairs or may contain the same thematic pairs, the logical connection between the members of which, however, refer to different (albeit close) formative groups: Thus the Somali proverb *A little raven won't peck his mother's eye out* belongs to the thematic group III2. Generating – Generated and the Russian proverb *A raven won't peck another raven's eye out* refers to the thematic group IIb4. Similar – Unlike, whereas the formative group in both of them is the same – 9. Friendliness – Hostility.

There are, finally, paremias belonging to different thematic and formative groups, but, nevertheless, similar to each other. Here is an example: in the Somali proverb *The jackal has changed its step but still does not walk like the Prophet* [i.e. one cannot change oneself] the main thematic pair is I1. Content – Form and

the formative group is 2. Invariability – Variability of Content and/or Form of things. The Russian adage *A cuckoo cannot become a falcon* lies at the intersection of the thematic group IIa10. Good – Bad and the formative group 11. Transformation – Non-Transformation of Good into Bad and Bad into Good. However, it is obviously impossible to deny the similarity of these two paremias. It is based on their common additional thematic pair IIa3. High – Low which is close in meaning to the pair of Good and Bad: the "bad" beast (jackal) cannot remake itself; the "bad" bird (cuckoo) cannot turn into a good one. Moreover, Invariability and Non-Transformation also have much in common.

The logical-semiotic classification of paremias is of universal character. This means that the observations and conclusions presented in this article are applicable to any bilingual collection of proverbs and sayings.

***Notes***

[1] G. L. Permyakov. Proverbs and sayings of the peoples of the East. Moscow. 2012, p. 17.

[2]Hereinafter we are dealing with one-phrase paremiological clichés. The Somali paremiological stock also includes adages consisting of two or more sentences, as well as dialogue clichés and so-called "numeral" proverbs. Most of them are polysemantic, which makes it difficult or even impossible to find their Russian equivalents.

[3] If one of these members is not represented explicitly, it is implied as, for example, in the Somali proverb A fool cannot justify himself [and a clever man can].

[4] The intersection mark x is followed by the index and the decoding of the additional invariant thematic pair, which is present in a paremia (see G. L. Permyakov. Proverbs and sayings of the peoples of the East. Moscow. 2012, pp. 625-635.

[5]According to Somali customs, a guest after having received some milk should leave a part of it to the host.

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# "LOVE TRUMPS HATE": PROVERBIAL AND IDIOMATIC LEITMOTIFS OF THE ANTI-TRUMP SOCIAL MEDIA DISCOURSE

***Abstract:*** The present paper explores different aspects of the use of proverbs and popular idioms found in anti-Trump social media posts. It draws on the analysis of 700 texts posted on Facebook and Twitter during September 2019 and January 2020 by a number of opposition communities. First, we offer some introductory remarks about the topic, methods, and the practical material. Second, we present a thematic classification of the sampled media texts. Third, we discuss the idiomatic portrayal of the President and the Republican Party and the use of multiple codes (i.e. phenomenon of creolization) in the collected posts. Fourth, we look into how culture specific proverbs, mostly modified, are employed as a form of structuring American socio-political reality and verbalizing the present-day phenomena, and, then, highlight the problem of paremiological creativity. Last, we specify what cognitive-discursive functions the analyzed proverbs and idioms fulfill in the anti-Trump social media discourse. The study has confirmed the proposition that proverbs and idioms as lingua-cognitive signs possess significant potential for influencing mass audiences and molding public opinion.

***Keywords:*** Donald Trump, anti-Trump discourse, social media, Facebook, Twitter, proverbs, idioms, modifications, creolized texts, politics, public opinion, media image

## *Introduction*

In the recent decades, the scholarly interest in the language of the mass media has been growing. Combined with a cognitive approach, media linguistics explores the role of media texts in structuring the information picture of the world, cultural and ideological factors affecting the production and interpretation of mass media texts, and also the linguistic means of creating stereotypes and media images of public figures (Добросклонская 2005:7).

With their currency, popularity, and incredible penetration rate, media texts serve as channels of informing audiences about the happenings in all spheres of life; become the platform for

sharing opinions, judgements, and expressing attitudes to all sorts of events. The language of the mass media can also be regarded as one of the instruments of social and political power. Language scholars worldwide have been engaged in the investigation of, among other things, the means of creating media portraits of political figures and the potential of the media for molding public opinion. It has been noted that "a prominent feature of political communication in the 21st century is the normative use of social media", especially Facebook, Twitter and Instagram (Malala and Amienyi 2018: 1). With that in mind, we set out to examine how proverbs and popular idioms function in anti-Trump social media posts with the focus on their role in painting the media portrait of the POTUS [President of the United States] and forming the public opinion about him and his administration.

***Methods and data***

For the analysis, we sampled 700 texts posted on Facebook and Twitter during September 2019 and January 2020; 60 of them contain proverbs and/or idiomatic expressions. We chose to study the texts by such opposition internet groups, as "We Resist", "Middle Age Riot", "Yes She Can", "Trump Repercussions", "The Other 98%", etc. Based on the stated missions of these communities, their main goals are "to find provocative news items, biting commentary, and clever memes" proving that the Trump administration and Republican Party are wrong, "to amplify progressive voices of the resistance", and to create a political wave to boost the numbers of voters in the 2020 presidential election and prevent D. Trump from being re-elected.

The research was carried out within the framework of the cognitive-discursive paradigm in linguistics; contextual analysis, the method of linguistic description, sampling method, and the method of statistical data analysis were employed. One of the basic postulates in our work is Veronika N. Telia's statement that phraseology constitutes the greatest culture-bearing layer of a language (Телия 2004: 11). We, therefore, study proverbs and idioms as precedent phenomena, that are the core elements of the cognitive base ("background knowledge") shared by a lingua-cultural community, with a special focus on paremias as communicative set expressions (or micro-texts per se) encapsulating certain cultural prescriptions (Konstantinova 2017: 159 – 160). Thus, the

proposition behind the research is that paremias and idioms as lingua-cognitive signs possess significant potential for influencing mass audiences and molding public opinion.

***Results***

We started the analysis of the sampled material with its thematic classification. The distinguished thematic groups are given below:

- *criticism of D. Trump as president*
  Here we shall consider the following highly charged post:




*Figure 1*

The image highlights one of the principal promises of D. Trump's 2016 presidential campaign – to build a larger wall on the border with Mexico to stop the influx of illegal immigrants. The proverb "Been there, done that" in combination with the very conspicuous symbols (the flag of the German Nazi Party with the Hakenkreuz ["hooked cross"] and the flag of the Soviet Union featuring the iconic hammer and sickle design) immediately arrests the attention and alludes to the outcome of the given promise – the so-

called "border crisis" involving the separation of thousands of parents and their young children, keeping the children in the detention centers, and multiple cases of child abuse and deaths. One might assume that all of these facts prompted the media to liken the detention centers to concentration camps and evoked the use of the two symbols labeled with the proverbial captions. Thus, the modern proverb "Been there, done that" is split into two parts to offer a powerful warning comment on the current situation by referring to the two lessons from history – Hitler Germany and the Stalin oppression regime in the Soviet Union;

- *criticism of D. Trump's personality*

The self-explanatory modern proverb "You can't fix stupid" appears in one of the plethora of brilliant comic tweets by John Harzell (aka Middle Age Riot):




*Figure 2*

The paremia is used in its traditional (non-modified) form to convey the author's strong opinion about D. Trump's persona and, at the same time, it substantiates the plea to remove the man who poses a threat to the well-being of the country from the Oval Office ("nuclear codes", we believe, can be interpreted here as a metaphor for the President's right to take drastic actions or make momentous decisions).

The following tweet uses the discursive strategy of directly addressing the whole American nation in the form of an email:

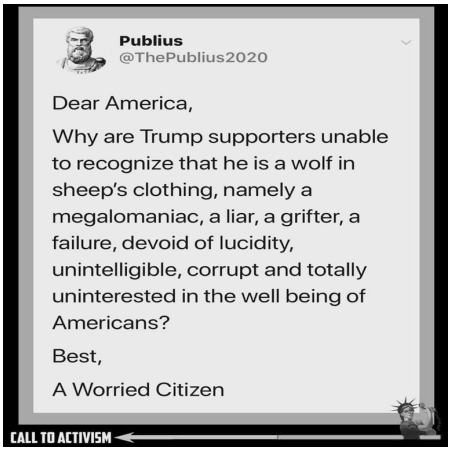



*Figure 3*

In the cited context, the sender of the tweet succinctly expresses his view of the current president's true personality with the help of the popular idiom "a wolf in sheep's clothing" ("somebody who appears to be harmless but is really dangerous"). Due to its cognitive nature, the set expression, used as a summary at the beginning of the paragraph (superphrasal unit), serves as an epitome of the list of unflattering epithets compiled by "a worried citizen" and presents the point of emotional and cognitive intensity of the text;

- *criticism of D. Trump's appearance*

The next post features a sophisticated modification of *Nike*'s well-known slogan "Just do it" which has already entered the English language as a paremia and has been included in the *Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* (Doyle, Mieder and Shapiro 2012: 57).

Turned upside down – but easily recognized, however, – the brand's logo becomes a part of a caricature image of president Trump's infamous hair. Thus, the meme containing a proverb with a morphological modification of the verb (do → undo) makes an urgent plea to correct the mistake (undo the metaphorical hair) and not to allow D. Trump to be re-elected in 2020.




*Figure 4*

- *criticism of Trump's family*

In the following post, the President's eldest son Donald Trump Jr. is compared to the member of the British Royal family – Prince Harry, Duke of Sussex:




*Figure 5*

As we see, the authors draw up a list of both young men's accomplishments. While highlighting the examples of Prince Harry's philanthropic work and active service with the army, they claim D. Trump Jr. to be involved in a number of illegal or, at the very least, unethical activities. This vivid comparison is efficaciously completed with the proverbial summary: "The rotten apple doesn't fall far from the tree". The sender of the post chooses to expand the traditional proverb "The apple doesn't fall far from the tree" by introducing the strongly suggestive epithet "rotten", which serves to pinpoint the same nature of the father and son and promote the negative image of D. Trump and his family on the social media.

- *criticism of D. Trump's supporters*

In the example below, the author mocks Trump voters and those Americans who still support him with the help of the expanded popular proverb "Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me", which, in the context of the opposition to the Trump administration, can be treated as an anti-proverb:




*Figure 6*

The cleverly modified proverb "Be careful what you **vote** for" (*Cf.* "Be careful what you **wish** for") works powerfully as a caption to the photo shot of State Senator Pete Lucido taken at a Trump rally in the following post:

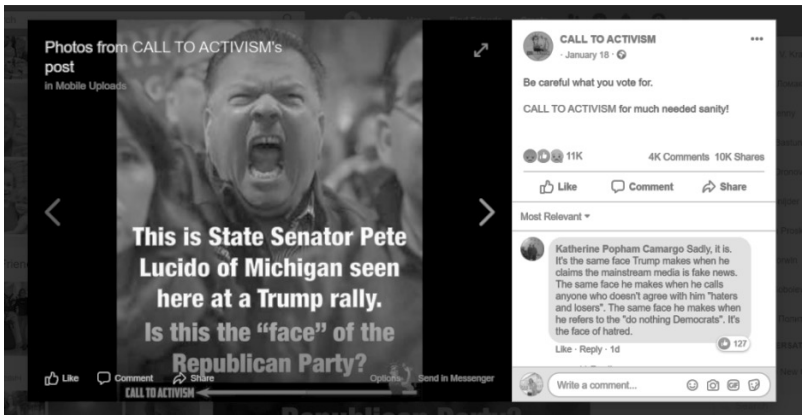



*Figure 7*

Like the traditional paremia, meant to warn people to be cautious with their desires for the result may be disappointing, the altered saying prompts the audience to thoughtfully consider what choices they will make in the upcoming elections;

- *criticism of the Trump administration*

In the following post by the very prolific blogger The Middle Age Riot the idiom "the lesser of two evils" ("faced with a choice between two unsatisfactory/immoral options") is employed to comment on the situation when, after the potential removal of the President from office as a result of impeachment, Vice President Mike Pence (who has been severely criticized by the opposition or even considered politically more dangerous than Trump) will step up into the Oval office:




*Figure 8*

The idiom here is used as a building block for a sustained metaphor contained in a telling statement constructed on the common syntactical pattern for expanding proverbs or proverbial sayings **If … P…, (then)…**;

- *criticism of the Republican party*

A sarcastic expansion of the popular quotation "I think therefore I am", that started as a dictum by the French philosopher René Descartes (Mieder 2006), makes the following text a brilliant example of conciseness and meaning.

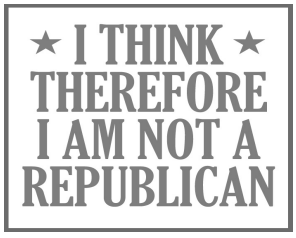



*Figure 9*

- *allegations of D. Trump's criminal acts*

The emotionally and semantically charged post given below caricatures the case of D. Trump's alleged extortion of the Ukrainian government that served as the ground for his recent impeachment trial.

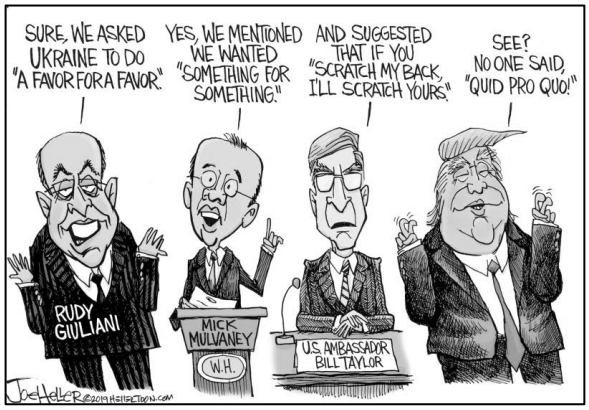



*Figure 10*

Three memetic politicians (R. Giuliani, M. Mulvaney and B. Taylor) offer their own verbalizations of the "quid pro quo" phrase, that was at the center of the inquiry, demonstrating its common usage meaning – "giving one valuable thing for another", while D. Trump denies "quid pro quo" ever happening in its legal meaning, i.e. as a violation of the law. In case with the former US Ambassador to Ukraine Bill Taylor, the alternative expression is a popular proverb "Scratch my back and I'll scratch yours". Along with the other two phrases it serves to ridicule the way the truth and facts can be mispresented in politics.

- *impeachment*

When the possibility of starting the impeachment trial of D. Trump was first being discussed, the following post appeared on "The Volatile Mermaid" Facebook page:




*Figure 11*

In this case we find the discursive strategy of a direct address which contains the altered proverb "Practice what you impeach" (*Cf*. "Practice what you preach"). With the clever paremic modification involving wordplay (lexical substitution "preach" → "impeach") and the reference to one of the two precedents in the US history – Bill Clinton's impeachment hearings, the author urged the Republicans to be consistent and admit that President had committed impeachable offenses and his actions gave enough ground for the inquiry.

Another laconic text using the earlier discussed evocative and asserting ad slogan turned proverb "Just do it" prods the House of Representatives to initiate the procedure:




*Figure 12*

Of special interest in any discursive study of proverbs and other culturally laden linguistic phenomena are the instances of their multiple use which creates phraseologically saturated contexts (Konstantinova 2017: 176). Such contextual confluence of phraseologisms, proverbial sayings and a proverb makes the following tweet stand out and catch the reader's attention:

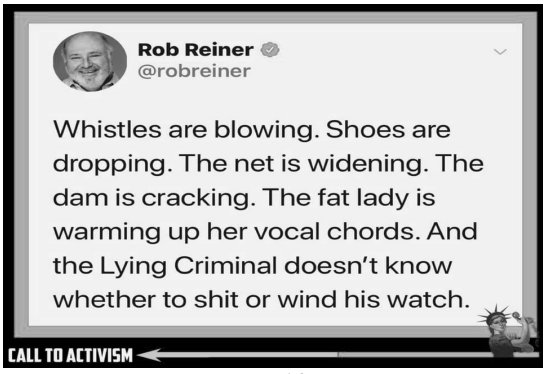



*Figure 13*

In the given post we find the chain of the following linguistic units:

- "Whistles are blowing" – the idiom "blow the whistle" alluding to the whistleblower who filed the complaint

about D. Trump's phone call to the Ukrainian president, which triggered the whole impeachment process.

- "Shoes are dropping" – the idioms "to wait for the other shoe to drop" ("await a seemingly inevitable event to happen") or "drop the other shoe" ("do the next obvious thing") meaning this will lead to a legal inquiry into the case.
- "The net is widening" – the criminology term "net widening" stressing that more individuals are being controlled by the criminal justice system in connection with the alleged violation of the law.
- "The dam is cracking" – the metaphor "dam failure" employed to denote a catastrophe characterized by a sudden and uncontrolled release of water, i.e. the worst case scenario for the President.
- "The fat lady is warming up her vocal chords" – the phrase containing a sustained metaphor built on the proverbial plot (*Cf*. The opera isn't over till the fat lady sings) – predicting that this is going to be a lengthy process;
- "the lying criminal doesn't know whether to shit or wind his watch" – a slang expression "to shit or wind his watch" denoting, according to the Urban Dictionary, a panicked state of confusion suggesting what the President must have been feeling at that time.

Marked by brevity of expression due to the listed concise, but nonetheless charged with meaning and emotion expressions, this phraseologically saturated short instance of a text reveals the author's attitude and hope that the events will unfold according to his idiomatic scenario.

- *2020 election*

Some of the posts/memes in our practical material dealing with the coming elections are stylized as social issue ads, e. g.:




*Figure 14*

The modern anti-proverb "Friends don't let friends vote Republicans" brimming with heartfelt political advice is based on the paremiological pattern – modern proverb that originated as a social campaign slogan "Friends don't let friends drive drunk" (also parodied in a number of anti-proverbs "Friends don't let friends die", "Friends don't let friends forget where they come from", "Friends don't let friends drink and tweet", etc.). The recognizable format of an ad containing important pieces of information to promote social well-being and educate about serious social issues adds to the effect of representing the 2020 elections as an event of paramount significance for the future of the nation.

***Idiomatic Portrait of Donald Trump and the GOP in Social Media Posts***

In this part of the article we are going to look into the most common and conspicuous idioms that make a composite portrait of president Trump as created on the social media:

- "a wolf in sheep's clothing" (= "somebody who appears to be harmless but is really dangerous") (see Fig. 3);
- "sweep (something) under the rug" (= "to hide something that is illegal, embarrassing, or wrong").

This idiom consistently appears in the social media posts we are dealing with in our research. Republican Senators, who are deemed by anti-Trump activists to be accomplices to President's cover-up in the impeachment trial, are shown sweeping the dirt under the metaphorical rug, thus trying to hide the ugly truth under its cover:




*Figure 15*




*Figure 16*

The poignant "sweep under the rug" image given below echoes the "blood on one's hands" (Fig. 21) and "a stain on one's reputation" (Fig. 22) idioms (discussed further on in the article) as the President is depicted leaving dirty footprints on the Preamble to the Constitution with the momentous "We the People" opening phrase:

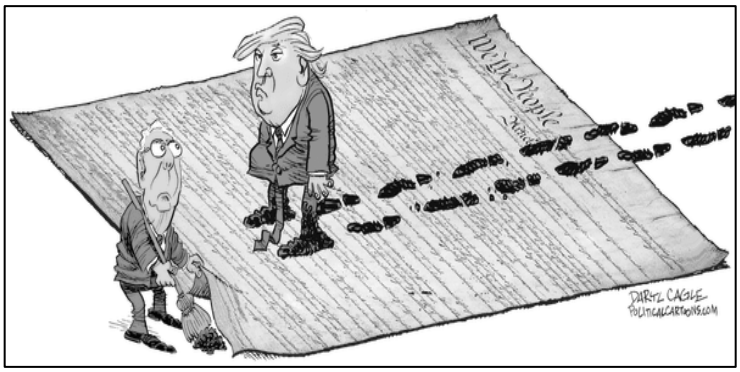



*Figure 17*




*Figure 18*

- “be born with a silver spoon in one’s mouth” (= “be born into a wealthy family”)



*Figure 19*

- "throw someone under the bus" (= "to harm someone through deceit or treachery"; "to avoid blame, trouble, or criticism by allowing someone else to take responsibility"):




*Figure 20*

- "a stain on one's reputation/character" (= "a symbol of discredit and disgrace")




*Figure 21*

***Multiple codes in anti-Trump social media posts***

Another notable feature of the sampled texts to be discussed here is the efficacious use of multiple codes. Of special scholarly interest are the instances of text creolization, i.e. the synthesis of verbal and non-verbal means for creation of such "media products", wherein the visual element is explicitly present (or is dominant) whilst its successful interpretation relies on the implied verbal component. Such ingenious pictorializations of proverbs and idioms present semiotic objects with a phraseological centerpiece vital for decoding the message.

The idiom "have (someone's) blood on (one's) hands" ("to be the cause of someone's death; to bear the guilt or responsibility of someone's death or injury") is encrypted in the following creolized text.

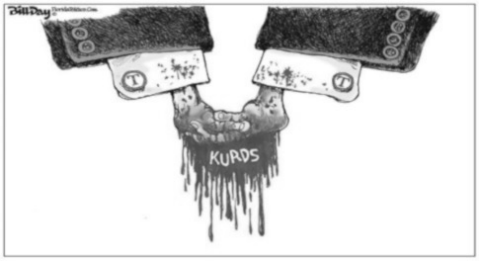



*Figure 22*

The informed target audience unmistakably perceives the allusion to D. Trump's October 2019 decision to allow Turkish troops to invade northern Syria, thus ceasing to support the Kurdish people which resulted in their bloodshed. This act of turning back on US allies was vastly condemned by the media as abandoning or betrayal of the Kurds by the President. Therefore, an unspoken accusation conveyed through a screaming image possesses significant potential for influencing the opinions of the social media users.

Next we shall consider the following example:

In this caricature image the idiom "throw someone under the bus" ("to harm someone through deceit or treachery"; "to avoid blame, trouble, or criticism by allowing someone else to take responsibility") is present as a "phraseological splinter" (V.

Mokienko's term) ("We're gonna need a bigger **bus**!"), thus offering the clue for the correct interpretation of the conveyed pictorial content. The given example features visual dephraseologization of the idiomatic expression: D. Trump is shown throwing the Kurds under a bus thus adding to the pile of victims including top US officials and some of his closest supporters, and proclaiming that there is more to follow ("We're gonna need a bigger bus!"). The author's vision of the POTUS's behavior as, at the very least, immature and unethical, his inability to admit his own mistakes and the tendency to blame others for his failures, is clearly traceable in this eye-catching and memorable creolized text.




*Figure 23*

***Culture specific proverbs in the posts about D. Trump's presidency***

From the point of view of cognitive linguistics, proverbs are mental models of recurrent situations. Being symbols of important bits of human experience (history, social mindsets and stereotypes, world view), paremias serve as ways of making sense of, or processing, experience. Their discursive use in standard form is linked to their authority and tradition, while frequent modifications of proverbs in communication are called for by the need to name novel or renewed concepts. Proverbs, therefore, become peculiar metalanguage of different events and can be utilized as an instruction for interpretation of attitudes, assessments, judgments, and opinions delivered by authors of different social and political

stripes. In this part we are going to deal with the proverbs specific to American culture or of American origin that take on a unique discursive role – that of subtle commentators of the current happenings in the socio-political life of the country.

We shall begin the discussion of certain aspects of employing culturally specific paremias in the opposition groups' posts about D. Trump by pointing out that some modern proverbs trace their origin to presidential discourse; a number of proverbs symbolic for American culture and socio-political life of the nation are inextricably associated with the names of prominent US presidents.

Our sampled material contains the aforementioned gems of wisdom that help paint the portrait of the present "leader of the free world" strikingly contrasting the images of his iconic predecessors. The authority of the following "presidential" proverbs refers the audience to the lofty rhetoric permeated with patriotic feelings (F. D. Roosevelt's "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself"), (J. F. Kennedy's "Ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country"), formulation of the governing philosophy indicating the presidents' ability to assume ultimate responsibility and possession of leadership qualities (T. Roosevelt's "Speak softly and carry a big stick, H. Truman's "The buck stops here"), and is opposed to D. Trump's statements (real and imagined but still epitomizing his rhetoric, views, and actions) and biting remarks about him in the posts given below:




*Figure 24*

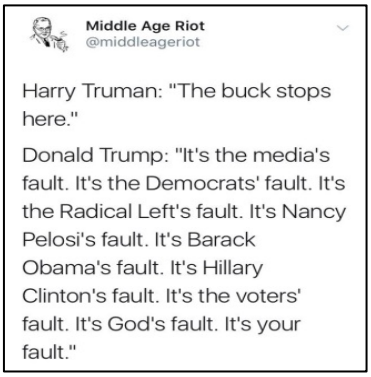



*Figure 25*




*Figure 26*




*Figure 27*




*Figure 28*

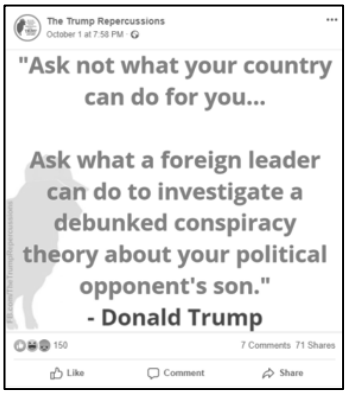



*Figure 29*

Of special interest is the following meme titled "Past Trump-like Presidents" making an advantageous use of the collage technique – in our case, bringing together a number of culturally laden texts and legendary images.

This iconographic post depicts an imagined world of Trump-like presidents and is built on perverted words and captioned deeds by the former US leaders that put the Trump's presidency in a proverbial nutshell before the social media users' eyes. Thus, the legendary act of honesty – chopping down the cherry tree by a young George Washington and admitting the wrongdoing to his

father – is blamed by the memetic figure on a Mexican immigrant. The liberation of slaves by Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy's inauguration speech patriotic appeal turned proverb "Ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country" are presented as an attempt by the fantasy presidents at a quid pro quo. Another proverbial gem – Franklin D. Roosevelt's elevating assertion "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself" – radiates a prejudiced attitude towards other cultures and religions. All of the alterations, one can conclude, have been inspired by D. Trump's racist diatribes and his choice of political methods in the recent years.

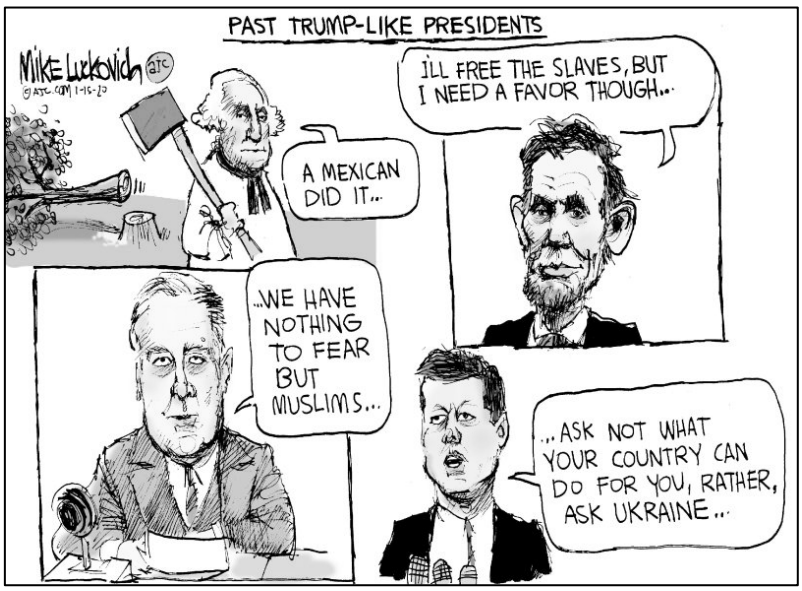



*Figure 30*

A number of examples in our practical material feature a witty employment of another American dictum "In America anyone can grow up to be president."

The given posts manifest a drastic change in the perception of the once powerful social mantra encouraging to aim high in life: in the first case (Fig. 31) it is achieved through the use of the proverb as a part of a rhetorical question ("Can we just admit we may have taken this "anyone can grow up to be president" thing just a

bit too far…?") – which is in itself an effective discursive device; and in the second example (Fig. 32) through the use of a contradictory summary ("Now it's a warning") in the coda position of the tweeted text.




*Figure 31*




*Figure 32*

As our study of the collected media texts has revealed, the modern proverb "Love it or leave it" has yet again become a frequent ultimatum-like statement in the contemporary American immigration media discourse. The use of this jingoistic slogan (Doyle, Mieder and Shapiro 2012: 152), last exensively utilized in the Nixon era, is now invoked in connection with the nationalist stance in the policy and rhetoric of the President and the GOP. D. Trump's post containing the phrase and telling the four female lawmakers of colour ("the squad") to return to their countries, if they don't like it in the USA, stirred the media and triggered a heated exchange of tweets.

In the following example, for instance, the proverb serves as metalanguage in the discourse:

The Fox Channel hosts tried to justify the notorious President's tweet by stating that it is free from racist content ("when did 'love it or leave' become racist?"). To contradict this post, however, the "Call to Activism" authors published an old picture of a sign (decades ago welcoming the visitors to the town of Smithfield) that features the proverb "Love it or leave it" as a slogan proclaiming the dominance of the Ku Klux Klan nationalist idea in the area.




*Figure 33*

In the context cited below, the proverb is lexicalized and is used as an attribute in an address to the anti-Obama people supporting the current president (« "love it or leave it" folks») that condemns their hypocritical use of the phrase under discussion:




*Figure 34*

Another politically charged popular paremia "See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil" (see, e.g. Mieder 1997 about its use in the Cold War period cartoons) has recently reentered the media discourse as well. The latest additions to our practical material,

that kept being posted during the impeachment trial of D. Trump, feature the proverbial three-monkey image, as in the following posts:

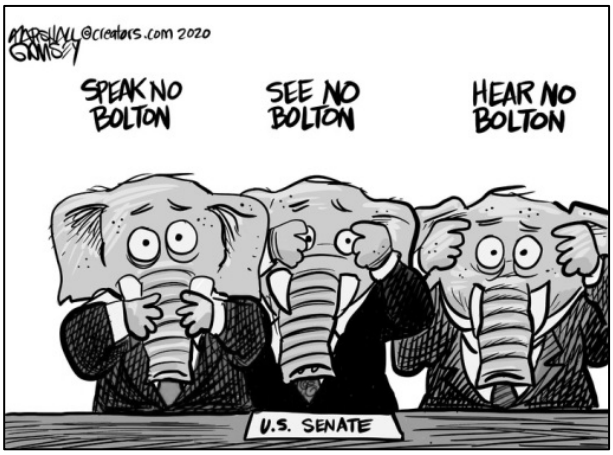



*Figure 35*




*Figure 36*




*Figure 37*

The memetic GOP senators and the Fox News Channel people covering the impeachment trial are depicted as figures refusing to acknowledge the facts or allow those facts to be known to public due, as the traditional proverb implies, to the lack of moral integrity and responsibility.

***Paremiological creativity in the anti-Trump discourse***

In his 1996 encyclopaedic article on proverbs, Wolfgang Mieder claimed that "modern-day America represents yet another "heyday" of the proverb" and argued that proverbial neologisms do appear on a regular basis (Mieder 1996: 598). This statement can be seemingly applied to the present socio-linguistic situation in the USA, wherein important realia necessitate the emergence of concise and powerful verbal packaging. Thus, the problem of paremiological creativity will be briefly touched upon here (for it deserves to be the object of an independent study) in connection with the two pseudo-proverbial (or, one might argue, neo-proverbial) expressions – the Democrats' slogan "Love trumps hate", involving the wordplay with the President's last name, and the clever dictum "Build bridges not walls". Both formulae have been frequently appearing in the anti-Trump discourse to comment on his hatred-filled rhetoric against immigrants and the border wall project. Built on the traditional paremiological patterns (*Cf.*, e.g.

Build bridges not walls ← Make love not war; Love trumps hate ← Familiarity breeds contempt), the sayings have been gaining currency and undergoing modifications.

Furthermore, it seems highly significant that Hillary R. Clinton chose to conclude her 2016 presidential campaign employing in her Philadelphia rally speech the compelling combination of the two phrases under consideration: "When your kids or grandkids ask what you did in 2016, you'll be able to say you voted for a stronger, fairer, better America. An America where we **build bridges, not walls**. Where we prove, conclusively, that yes: **Love trumps hate**."

Below we shall give several examples of the two neo-proverbs used in the social media memes/posts (their application, however, is not restricted to Facebook and Twitter; they appear on mugs, T-shirts, bumper stickers, and banners):

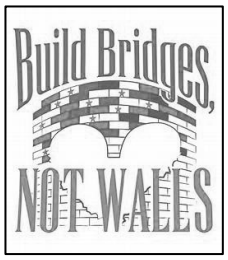



*Figure 38*




*Figure 39*




*Figure 40*




*Figure 41*




*Figure 42*

***Cognitive-discursive functions of proverbs and idioms in the posts about D. Trump***

The last aspect to be considered in the present paper is the cognitive functions the sampled paremias and idiomatic expressions fulfill in discourse (Konstantinova 2017). In our practical material, they are as follows:

1) semantic highlighting (serve as cues for discourse explication and interpretation);

2) emotional highlighting (help mark the focal points of foremost emotional intensity in discourse and convey attitude);
3) cognitive economy (function as succinct linguistic codes/ compact markers of fragments of reality in discourse);
4) phatic function (serve as markers of sociality. They are also meant to arouse curiosity and involve the audience in a peculiar intellectual game of identifying the idioms and proverbs and, especially, their nonce transformations. The acquisition of "cultural linguistic competence" (V. Telia's term meaning the ability to discern idioms in discourse and grasp their intended meaning) is vital for forming the feeling of association with or belonging to the community of Americans engaged in political life of the country and taking a stand against the Trump presidency).

***Conclusion***

In the course of the study of the empirical material we distinguished several principal thematic groups of social media posts wherein paremias and idioms appear (criticism of D. Trump as president, criticism of D. Trump's personality, criticism D. Trump's appearance, criticism of Trump's family, criticism of D. Trump's supporters, criticism of the Trump administration, criticism of the Republican party, allegations of criminal acts, impeachment, 2020 elections). Instances of employing unaltered proverbs and idioms as well as their modified versions were noted. The latter present special scholarly interest as they are used to encapsulate the elements of the *contemporary worldview* ("picture of the world") shared by the Americans of the anti-Trump political stripe.

The media texts under consideration feature universally known proverbs and idioms (e.g. "wolf in sheep's clothing", "the lesser of two evils") and also expressions peculiar to American culture (for the most part they are proverbs, e.g. "In America anyone can grow up to be president", "Ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country"). Such culture specific paremias undergoing creative change serve as a form of structuring and verbalizing renewed or novel cognitive content – modern socio-political realia and phenomena.

Beneficial use of creolized texts in anti-Trump social media discourse, involving the rich Anglo-American phraseological and, primarily, paremiological strata, accounts for its complex, multi-

layered nature, and gives it an edge, thus increasing the potential for influencing Internet users.

The research has demonstrated that the main goal of the analyzed Facebook and Twitter posts (affecting mass audiences, creation of unfavorable media images of D. Trump, and molding negative attitude to President and his policies) is realized through a specific linguistic expression – culturally laden units of phraseology (proverbs and idioms) that participate in various sorts of creative modifications (language play, parody, anti- and pseudo-proverbs, etc.).

The acquired lingua-cultural content of the posts about the US President, his administration and supporters, therefore, makes media texts conspicuous and efficacious elements of the discourse, endows them with significant potential for influencing mass audiences and molding public opinion. We, therefore, can conclude that our hypothesis has been proven by the study.

Acknowledgments: The reported study was funded by Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFBR), project number 20-012-00239.

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DENNIS F. MAHONEY AND WOLFGANG MIEDER

# „ZOLLFREY SIND GEDANKEN DOCH“: SPRICHWÖRTLICHES IN FRIEDRICH VON HARDENBERGS (NOVALIS) WERKEN

***Abstract:*** Das Zitieren und Variieren bekannter deutscher Sprichwörter ist ein wichtiger, aber bisher übersehener Aspekt im Werk Friedrich von Hardenbergs (Novalis). Die Analyse dieses Verfahrens trägt zu einem besseren Verständnis von solchen Werken wie *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* bei. Ein hervorragendes Beispiel ist das Lied von Heinrichs Großvater Schwaning, das im starken Kontrast zum traditionellen Bild von Novalis als ätherischem Jüngling steht, denn hier werden mit Hilfe von Sprichwörtern wie „Zollfrei sind Gedanken doch“ die geheimen erotischen Wünsche von Mädchen (und Jünglingen) offenbart.

***Keywords:*** Literatur, Novalis. Romantik, Sprichwörter, Redensarten, *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, Liebe, Träume.

Seit der Veröffentlichung von *Novalis Schriften* im Jahr 1802 und der verklärenden biographischen Einleitung zur dritten Auflage von 1815 hat der Mythos, den Friedrich Schlegel und Ludwig Tieck damit aufbauten, ihren jung verstorbenen Freund Friedrich von Hardenberg (1772-1801) zwar zum Inbegriff der deutschen Romantik, aber auch zur Verkörperung einer lebensfernen, verschwommenen Kunstauffassung gemacht. Erst durch die historisch-kritische Novalis-Ausgabe (1960-) von Richard Samuel, Hans-Joachim Mähl und Gerhard Schulz wurde deutlich, wie sehr sich Hardenberg mit den politischen, philosophischen, naturwissenschaftlich-technischen, religiösen und auch ästhetischen Hauptfragen der Zeit zwischen 1789 und 1800 auseinandergesetzt hatte. Aber noch nicht weit bekannt ist sein Interesse an sprachschöpferischen Elementen der Volkssprache wie Sprichwörtern und Redewendungen. Albert Höft wies im Jahre 1935 darauf hin, dass Lichtenberg, Friedrich Schlegel und Novalis in ihren Aphorismen das Allgemeingut volkstümlicher Wendungen und Sprichwörter „zum Ansatzpunkt des eigenen Denkens“ erheben, im

Unterschied zu Lavaters 1787 geschriebenen *Vermischten unphysiognomischen Regeln zur Selbst- und Menschenkenntnis*, wo Sprichwörter „als abschließender Ausdruck sittlicher Wahrheiten zitiert und als nachahmenswerte Muster vor den Leser hingestellt werden.“[1] Ebenfalls erwähnte Kurt Besser in seiner im selben Jahr erschienenen Dissertation, dass es große Ähnlichkeiten in den Ausdrucksformen des Sprichworts und des Aphorismus gebe, wobei „das Allgemeine des Sprichworts eine persönliche Schattierung und Betonung erfährt im Aphorismus.“[2] Aber weder bei Höft und Besser noch bei späteren Autoren zum Thema Aphorismus wird das genaue Verarbeiten von Sprichwörtern bei Novalis dargestellt.[3]

In einem Studienheft aus dem Frühjahr 1798, als Hardenberg zum ersten Mal unter dem Namen „Novalis“ veröffentlichte, steht die Frage „Was sind Sprichwörter?“ (2, 591: 283).[4] Dieses Interesse an Sprichwörtern ist kein Einzelfall. Innerhalb einer im Dezember 1799 verfassten Liste von Arbeitsplänen und Büchernotizen steht zum Beispiel die Bemerkung „kräftige Provinzialausdrücke – Sprüchwörter etc. gesammelt“ (3, 754). In einem 2005 im *Proverbium* erschienenen Beitrag zur Verwendung von Sprichwörtern und Redewendungen bei den deutschen Romantikern wurde die Hoffnung ausgedrückt, dass eine derartige Liste in den letzten Bänden der historisch-kritischen Ausgabe von *Novalis Schriften* erscheinen würde.[5] Obwohl eine solche Liste noch nicht gefunden worden ist, haben Gerhard Schulz und Gabriele Rommel 2006 die zuletzt zitierte Bemerkung in ihrem Band zu den Originalhandschriften von Hardenbergs technischem und wissenschaftlichem Werk herausgegeben (6-3, 322). So wissen wir, dass sie aus der Zeit stammt, wo Hardenberg an seinem Roman *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* zu schreiben begann, und in unmittelbarer Nähe zu Listen steht, die sowohl mit seiner beruflichen Arbeit als auch mit dem Eingangssonett zu *Ofterdingen* tun haben.[6] Da liegt nahe, dass Hardenberg in der Tat Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redewendungen gesammelt hat, die er in seinen literarischen und philosophischen Schriften verwenden wollte. Deshalb haben wir nach der Untersuchung aller bisher erschienenen Bände der historisch-kritischen Ausgabe von Novalis eine ausführliche Liste von Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten im literarischen, philosophischen und beruflichen Werk Friedrich von Hardenbergs gesammelt und sie nach den jeweiligen Schlüssel-

wörtern alphabetisch angeordnet. Die bedeutendsten davon werden wir in ihrem unmittelbaren Kontext dis-kutieren – sei dies eine Gedichtstrophe, ein philosophisches Fragment oder ein Brief an Freunde, Familienmitglieder oder Kollegen. Unsere Untersuchung zeigt, dass das Zitieren und Variieren bekannter deutscher Sprichwörter ein wichtiger Aspekt von Hardenbergs Schaffen war und dass eine Analyse dieses Verfahrens zu einem besseren Verständnis von solchen Werken wie *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* beitragen kann.

Sowohl in den Briefen als auch im schriftstellerischen Werk findet man Einführungsformeln, die beweisen, dass Hardenberg Sprichwörter mit Absicht verwendet. Zum Beispiel warnt er in einen langen Brief vom 14. März 1793 seinen Lieblingsbruder Erasmus davor, mit dem Vater und ihrem adelstolzen Onkel zu sehr in Streit zu geraten:

> Daß jede Sachen zwei Seiten hat ist ein abgedroschener Gemeinplaz, der aber gleich Leben und Neuheit gewinnt, wenn man mit ihm jeden Schritt im alltäglichen Leben mißt und seine Anschaulichkeit bis zu einer Art von Instinkt der Urtheilskraft erhöht. (4, 114)

Damit er nicht altklug wirkt, verweist Hardenberg später im selben Brief auf einen Lieblingsfehler von ihm und den meisten Menschen, nämlich „alles in eins und Eins in Allem haben zu wollen“ – eine ironische Bemerkung, wenn man berücksichtigt, daß im „Astralis“-Gedicht am Anfang des geplanten 2. Teils von *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* „Eins in allem und alles im Einen“ ein Zeichen des kommenden Goldenen Zeitalters ist (1, 318):

> Wir sehen dann oft den Wald vor lauter Bäumen nicht, oder streben nach etwas, das wir nicht anschaulich sondern nur begriffsweise begehren, und verfehlen dadurch des leisen Winks, den uns die Natur gab. (4, 116)

In einem weiteren Brief an Erasmus vom 12. März 1794 empfiehlt er Selbstironie und zerstreuende Tätigkeit als Kurmittel gegen die Furcht des Bruders vor Schwindsucht (woran beide später sterben sollten):

> Gewohnheit thut ja alles, so kannst Du Dich auch ans Lachen über Deine Schwachheiten gewöhnen. Gutta cavat lapidem

> [Der Tropfen höhlt den Stein]. Glaube mir, in solchen geringscheinenden Gemeinsprüchen trifft man auf das älteste, gediegenste Gold der Lebensweisheit. (4, 129)

Und was Lebensweisheit angeht – die folgenden Zeilen aus Hardenbergs frühem Rokokogedicht „An Filidor" verraten eine Bekanntschaft mit den 1775 von Matthias Claudius im *Wandsbecker Boten* (Nr. 75) veröffentlichten und sehr schnell sprichwörtlich gewordenen Versen „Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang, / Der bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang"[7]:

> Du weißt ja das Sprüchwort wohl, daß jeden Mann auf Erden
> Zum wahren Glück nicht braucht gewünscht zu werden
> Als Wein und Gesundheit und dann ein Mädchen zärtlich und warm
> Von Scherzen umflattert und ungetrübt vom Harm... (6-1, 383f.)

Ein anderes bisher unveröffentlichtes Lied aus dem Jugendnachlaß beginnt mit einem Hinweis auf die Anfangsworte im biblischen Buch des Predigers (1: 2):

> Das alles eitel ist das sagt schon Salomon
> O! höret ihr Mädchen ihm zu
> Die Jugend fliehet bald[,] nimmt Schönheit mit davon
> Nichts bleibet in ewiger Ruh. (6-1, 196)

Allerdings schließt das Lied mit einem eher horazischen „Carpe diem"-Ratschlag: „Genießt mit frohen Sinn der Liebe Seligkeit / So lange sie Jugend euch gönnt " (6-1, 197). Im 1789 verfassten Gedicht „An den Sohn des Herrn Professors Bürger" gibt es eine weitere Einschränkung zum Thema Eitelkeit:

> Rollen dir mehr Jahre auf den Scheitel
> Liebe doch stets Einfalt und Natur,
> Rufe dann: ja alles ist doch eitel
> Ausgenommen meine Kindheit nur, ...(1, 497; 6-1, 259)[8]

Der junge Hardenberg war auch in der Lage, Eitelkeit und Lustigkeit in Beziehung mit einander zu bringen. Die Verserzählung „Der Teufel" handelt von einem Schalk, „in dessen Beutel / Es just nicht allzurichtig stand / Und der den Spruch, daß leider alles eitel / Auf unserm Runde ist, nur zu bestätigt fand" (1, 546; 6-1,

432). Um seine Lage zu bessern, verspricht er jedermann in einer Kleinstadt für zwanzig Kreuzer den Teufel zu zeigen. Wenn er aber seinen Beutel aufzieht und niemand etwas darin sieht, ruft der Schalk: „das eben ist der Teufel“ (1, 547; 6-1, 433).

Die Verserzählungen „Der Schwabe und Lenore“ bzw. „Lenore und der Schwabe“, die Martina Eicheldinger als freie Nachdichtungen von Jean de La Fontaines ‚Le Gascon puni‘ identifiziert (6-2, 442), enthalten neben vielen sprichwörtlichen Redensarten eine Anspielung auf Salomons Worte in „Lenore und der Schwabe“.[9] Was aber dort eitel zu sein scheint, ist der Sturm des Schwaben Thomas auf die Keuschheit der weiblichen Hauptfigur; und laut dem Erzähler wäre wahrscheinlich selbst Salomon in Versuchung gekommen:

> Die tapfre Festungshüterinn
> War von der Zehe bis zum Kinn
> Und von dem Kinn bis an den Scheitel
> Ein wahrer Engel, tadellos
> Nicht gar zu klein, nicht gar zu groß
> Kurz so, das Salomon, es ist doch alles eitel;
> Nicht ohne alle Exception
> Der alten Welt zum besten gegeben hätte.
> Und sicherlich, mein Herr, ich wette
> Trotz seinem Scepter und seiner Perlenkron
> Und seiner Moral ein Geck geworden wäre... (6-1, 427)

In dieser längeren Fassung der Verserzählung heißt die weibliche Hauptfigur nicht Lenore, sondern Angeline, aber so engelsgleich ist sie vielleicht doch nicht, wie die folgenden Worte an ihren schwäbischen Freier andeuten:

> Mit einemmal spricht Angeline
> In deren unschuldsvoller Mine
> Nur Kenner lose Schalkheit sehn:
> Wenn sie so große Lust mich zu verbinden haben
> So haben sie anjezt Gelegenheit dazu
> Nur hören sie mir mit beyden Ohren zu: (6-1, 428)

Sie verspricht Thomas ihre Gunst, wenn er, als Frau verkleidet, neben Herrn Bartel Schnee, dem alten Ehemann ihrer Nachbarin Klaudine, die Nacht verbringt. Der Schwabe beschließt, sein Leben zu wagen mit Hilfe einer sprichwörtlichen Redensart: „Und

sollte mir das Glück ein Beinchen unterschlagen / So sterb ich doch im schönsten Wagestück“ (6-1,429). In der Nacht kommt zum im Nachtkorsett von Angeline verkleideten Schwaben eine Figur, die Thomas für Schnee hält:

> Befühlte ihn vom Kopf bis zu den Füssen
> Doch glücklich nur von außen, recht
> Als ob er den Braten gerochen hätte
> Doch von dem Unterrock und von der kleinen Kornette
> Beruhigt schlief er bald mit lautem Schnarchen ein. (6-1, 429f.)

Nachdem Thomas eine zugleich verdrießliche und angstvolle Nacht verbracht hat, erfährt er jedoch am frühen Morgen, dass die ihn überall herumtastende Person niemand anders war als „die schlaue Schöne“ Angeline, die dann in Verbindung mit Klaudine „ein Duo im Lachen“ beginnt (6-1, 430). Wir Leser lernen nicht, „Ob sich der Schwabe davon geschlichen / und vor den 40zigen hierdurch gewitzigt ward“ (6-1, 431), denn Schwaben werden bekanntlich erst mit 40 Jahren verständig. Aber der Erzähler hat bereits versichert: „wie ihr wißt, das Ende macht alles gut“ (6-1,428). Solche schwankhaften Gedichte wie „Der Teufel“ und „Lenore und der Schwabe“ passen nicht zum erdentrückten Novalis-Bild des 19. Jahrhunderts. Aber sie machen auf eine schalkhafte Eigenart im späteren Werk aufmerksam. Wir werden sehen, dass z. B. in Schwanings Lied aus *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* Erotik, Humor und sprichwörtliche Formulierungen wie „Zollfrey sind Gedanken doch“ (1, 273) eine Dreieinheit bilden.

Bereits das erste der 114 *Blüthenstaub*-Fragmente, wo Hardenberg zum ersten Mal das Pseudonym „Novalis“ verwendete, enthält eine bedeutende Variation des biblischen Spruchs „Wer sucht, wird finden“ (Matthäus 7: 8), nämlich: „Wir suchen überall das Unbedingte, und finden immer nur Dinge“ (2, 413). Die Herausgeber der historisch-kritischen Ausgabe sehen in diesem Fragment eine Zusammenfassung der Argumente in Schellings 1795 geschriebener Abhandlung *Vom Ich als Princip der Philosophie oder über das Unbedingte im menschlichen Wissen*, worin Schelling den Paradox untersucht, dass das Unbedingte weder in unserem empirischen Selbst noch in den Dingen um uns, die wir durch unsere Vorstellungen bedingen, zu finden ist (2, 747). Statt langer Argumente braucht Hardenberg allerdings nur

einen einzigen Satz, was Friedrich Schlegels Bemerkung in seinen eigenen *Athenaeum*-Fragmenten illustriert: „Witzige Einfälle sind die Sprüchwörter der gebildeten Menschen."[10]

Schlegel hat eine andere Variation des Themas von Suchen und Finden so sehr geschätzt, dass er sie aus Hardenbergs ursprünglichem Manuskript entfernt hatte und sie in seinen *Athenaeum*-Fragmenten verwendete, nämlich:

> Wer sucht, wird zweifeln. Das Genie sagt aber so dreist und sicher, was es in sich vorgehen sieht weil es nicht in seiner Darstellung und also die Darstellung nicht [in] ihm befangen ist, sondern seine Betrachtung und das Betrachtete frey zusammenzustimmen, zu einem Wercke frey sich zu vereinigen scheinen. (2, 418: 22)[11]

Diese Hoffnung kommt auch in einem anderen *Blüthenstaub*-Fragment zum Ausdruck, wo Hardenberg die Aussage des Sprichworts „Was Hänschen nicht lernt, lernt Hans nimmermehr" ins Gegenteil kehrt und es durch die Redensart „der Herr im Hause sein" verstärkt:

> Der Deutsche ist lange das Hänschen gewesen. Er dürfte aber wohl bald der Hans aller Hänse werden. Es geht ihm, wie es vielen dummen Kindern gehn soll: er wird leben und klug seyn, wenn seine frühklugen Geschwister längst vermodert sind, und er nun allein Herr im Hause ist. (2, 437: 61)[12]

Für die Frühromantiker ist es allerdings die Aufgabe des genialischen Künstlers und Kritikers, nicht des Philosophen, diesen Prozeß im Gang zu bringen und dadurch die ansonsten hoch geschätzten Bestrebungen von Fichte und seinen Nachfolgern zu überflügeln.

Selbst während seiner oft sehr abstrakten *Fichte-Studien* aus den Jahren 1795-96 schließt Hardenberg eine Besprechung vom Prinzip der Vervollkommnung in der Menschheit mit der Bemerkung „Die Kunst muß über die rohe Masse triumphiren – Übung macht den Meister" (2, 291: 651). Dieses Sprichwort findet später seine Verwendung in dem ersten der sechs witzigen Dialoge, die schon 1802 nach Hardenbergs Tod veröffentlicht wurden, und zwar im Kontext der schwierigen Aufgabe, mit der immer größer werdenden Masse an Neuerscheinungen im Büchermarkt fertig zu werden: „Übung macht den Meister, und auch im Bücherlesen"

(2, 663). Ebenfalls gibt es im sechsten Dialog – einer Parodie der neuen Mode von naturphilosophischen Spekulationen – die ironische Verwendung eines Sprichworts, wenn der erste Sprecher meint:

> Denn sieh die Natur ist ganz ungeheuer grob – und wer sie recht kennen lernen will, der muß sie grob anfassen – Auf einen groben Klotz – Gehört ein grober Keil. Dieses Sprüchwort ist für die Naturlehre gemacht, denn sie soll ja hier durch den Verstand gespalten werden. Da müssen unsre Vorfahren rechte Meisterkenner der Natur gewesen seyn, denn nur in Deutschland ist die eigentliche Grobheit entdeckt und cultivirt worden. (2, 670)

Dazu erwidert sein Gesprächspartner mit einer Reihe von derben sprichwörtlichen Redewendungen: „Nur beym gemeinen Mann gedeiht sie [die Grobheit] noch und darum ist auch dem die Natur noch grün. Den Vornehmern hat sie längst den Rücken gekehrt und wird ewig den feinen Leuten bereitwillig genug zeigen, wo sie sizt“ (2, 670). Er beendet seine Überlegungen mit der Feststellung, „wer recht viel Natur in sich hat – dem ist das alles so natürlich; und was ist davon zu sprechen. Wer davon spricht, der ist ein Stümper ohne Kraft und Saft, denn wovon man spricht, das hat man nicht; das ist ein Axiom“ (2, 671). Deshalb beschließen die beiden, mit dem Reden über Natur aufzuhören, „denn sonst geht unsere Natur durch die Lappen“: „Du hast Recht, da hätt’ uns bald die Mode einen Streich gespielt.“ Statt dessen wollen sie auf den Weinkeller gehen: „dort ist die Natur zu Hause, daß wir wieder recht natürlich werden.“ Nur sollen sie dort nicht vom Wein reden, „denn wovon man spricht, das hat man nicht“ (2, 671). Solche Beispiele zeigen, wie selbst in seinem philosophischen Werk Hardenberg mit Hilfe von Sprichwörtern und Redewendungen lebendige und lebensechte Dialoge geschaffen hat.

Ein anderes aufschlußreiches Beispiel für die Verwendung von Sprichwörtern ist der jugendliche Dramenentwurf „Kunz von Stauffungen“, dessen wiedergefundene handschriftliche Fassung im Band 6-1 der historisch-kritischen Ausgabe veröffentlicht worden ist. Eine bisher unveröffentlichte Abschrift aus Goethes *Götz von Berlichingen* (6-1, 96), wo Götz sich mit Lerse unterhält, verdeutlicht, dass Hardenberg in seinem eigenen Dramenversuch die Lebendigkeit von Goethes Sprache nachahmen will. Ein auf 1790

datierbares Tagebuchblatt, das Hardenbergs melancholischer Stimmung Ausdruck gibt, zitiert zum Beispiel die letzten Worte von Goethes Helden: „Himmlische Luft, Freyheit, Freyheit – die Welt hienieden ist ein Gefängniß“ (4, 3). Die folgende Stelle aus „Kunz von Stauffungen,“ wo sich Franz – wohl Franz von Sickingen, eine handelnde Person in *Götz* und auch der Titelheld eines anderen Dramenentwurfs Hardenbergs (1, 565-567; 6-1, 475-476, 543f.) – mit Kunz unterhält, hat allerdings das wohl berühmteste *Götz*-Zitat als Vorbild.[13] Nachdem sich Kunz beschwert hat, dass der Kurfürst den ihm unsympathischen Ritter Hans von Ueberlingen als Freier seiner Tochter Kunigunde aufdringen will, erwidert Franz:

> Wär das Mädel mein und sie wollt'n nicht und ich nicht und ich hättn einmal abgewiesen, so dürft er mir nicht wiederkommen, der Scheiskerl, [ic]h wolltn zum Haus naus portiren[. E]r sollt den Himmel vor'n Baßgeige ansehn und wär das ganze heilge Römsche Reich vor'n. Der Kürfürst mögt mir im Arsche lecken. (1,562; [6-1,101])

Diese letzte somatische Redewendung, die mit dem überlieferten Bild von „Novalis“ als einem zarten, ätherischen Jüngling arg im Widerspruch steht, kommt auch in einem Brief vom November 1794 an Erasmus von Hardenberg vor, wo es über einen ihnen bekannten Forstjunker heißt: „Kalitsch kann mich im Arsche lecken“ (4, 145). In einem früheren Brief an Erasmus vom 2. Mai 1794 hat Hardenberg ausgerechnet an seinem zweiundzwanzigsten Geburtstag eine andere derbe Formulierung verwendet: „der Teufel soll Dich aber holen, wenn Du nicht *Sonntag* bei guter Zeit in Leipzig bist [...]“ (4, 131). Im Dramenfragment antwortet Franz mit ähnlichen Worten auf die Frage, ob Kunz Ueberlingen morgen mitbringen soll: „Aber bringe mir ihn nicht, der Teufel hole dich, wenn dus thust, und mich, wenn ich ihn leiden kann“ (1, 563; 6-1, 104).[14] Solche Stellen illustrieren Martina Eicheldingers Bemerkung im Kommentarband zum dichterischen Jugendnachlaß Friedrich von Hardenbergs: „Seine Orientierung an Goethes frühem Drama tritt nicht zuletzt auch in der bildhaften, expressiven und zuweilen derben Sprache zutage, die sich durch mundartliche Färbung, sprichwörtliche Wendungen und Redensarten auszeichnet“ (6-2, 208).

In ihrem Dialog verwenden die Freunde weitere Sprichwörter und Redensarten. „Mein Herz lacht mir im Leibe“ (1, 563; 6-1,103), sagt Kunz, wenn er an ihre gemeinsam verbrachte Jugend denkt. Und bei der Erinnerung an das Wirtshaus in Heilbronn, wo die beiden zuerst Freundschaft geschworen haben, mahnt Franz: „Trink Bruder. Alte Liebe rostet nicht“ (1, 563; 6-1, 103). Kunz hat auch seine Tochter Kunigunde lieb: „es ist ein Mädchen zum Fressen“ (1, 562; 6-1,102). Deswegen ist er des Nachts so besorgt, dass Ueberlingen ein Auge auf sein Mädel geworfen hat, worauf sein Freund erwidert: „wenn Franz auf der Bärenhaut liegt, läßt er sich so leicht nicht stören“ (1, 562; 6-1, 102). Wir haben bereits darauf hingewiesen, dass Hardenberg eine Vorliebe für Tiermetaphorik in Redewendungen hat. So schreibt er an Erasmus in einem Brief vom 13. Oktober 1795 nach einem Besuch bei seiner Braut Sophie von Kühn:

> Du bist aber doch der Hahn im Korbe. Von Dir wird unaufhörlich gesprochen – beständig nach Dir gefragt – Du mir oft zum Beispiel gemacht – Kurz Du bist nie mehr geachtet und geliebt worden. (4, 155).

In dem Dramenfragment wird Ueberlingen auch mit einem Hahn verglichen, allerdings nicht in einem positiven Sinn. So sagt der Bauer Schwarz über ihn:

> Ja siehst du so gehts, wenn einen ein Fürst freundlich ansieht, da denckt man, eine Leiter höher zu seyn als die andern KristenMenschen, da schwillt einen der Kamm, da glaubt man vom lieben Gott apart geschaffen zu seyn, daß einen die Andern den Beingürtel lösen (1, 559; 6-1, 98).

Dass Ueberlingen als stolzer Hahn bezeichnet wird, ist auch heute allgemeinverständlich, aber man muss bibelfest sein, um die letzte Redewendung zu begreifen. In ihrem Kommentar erläutert Eicheldinger sie auf folgende Weise: „Sprichwörtliche Wendung in Anlehnung an Joh. 1: 27, wo Johannes der Täufer über den Messias sagt: ‚Ich bin nicht würdig, ihm den Schuhriemen zu lösen‘“ (6-2, 208). Es wäre im Laufe des Dramas nicht verwunderlich, wenn sich Schwarz und sein Kamerad Köhler als Anhänger Luthers erwiesen hätten, der im 1. Akt von *Götz* als „Bruder Martin“ auftritt. Auf jeden Fall wird hier ersichtlich, dass Friedrich von Hardenberg – nicht weit von der Lutherstadt Eisleben

geboren, wo er 1790 für einige Monate aufs Gymnasium ging – auch am Anfang seiner dichterischen Kariere biblische Sprichwörter und Redewendungen gebrauchen und umformulieren konnte.

Wenn Ueberlingen selber in die Herberge kommt, wo die beiden Bauern am Tische sitzen, schweigen sie fein still, denn Schwarz beteuert:

> es wäre Tollheit wenn ich mit dreister Stirn ihm sagte: Ueberlingen ihr seyd ein Grobian, ein aufgeblaßnes Segel, ein Hochmutsnarr, ein Fürstendiener. Er ließ mir den Buckel wacker gerben, wie Hirschhaut und ließ mich obendrein mit Hohnlachen laufen. (1, 559; 6-1, 98)

Ihre Einschätzung von Ueberlingen wird auch demonstriert, wenn dieser ihnen sagt: „Ich dächte ihr reißtet! ihr habt genug gesoffen; ich will allein seyn; es riecht wie Lumpenpack hier“ (1, 560; 6-1, 99). Auch was Kunz und Kunigunde angeht, ist er im darauffolgenden Monolog voller Stolz:

> Und der alte, gleisnerische Betrüger – Er ist es, der Sie wi[e]der mich erbittert, denn sollte diese allein mich nicht kennen, zwanzig lägen zu meinen Füßen, wenn ich ihnen zulächelte, Reichere – Vornehmere, aber Schönere? Ueberlingen! sollst du dich von einem Mädchen am Gängelbande führen lassen, du dem ein ganzes Land, der Kurfürst selbst verehrt und von ihm führen läßt. (1, 560; [6-1, 99])

Deswegen hat er vor, zu Kunigunde zu fahren und sie entweder zu heiraten oder mit Gewalt zu nehmen, wird aber im Walde von Sassenberg, Kunigundes Geliebten, im Zweikampf getötet. Kein Wunder, dass Ueberlingen beim ersten Anblick seines Feindes sagt: „S'ist Sassenberg, nu dem bin ich nicht ans Herz gewachsen“ (1, 560; 6-1, 100).

Ein Hauptwert von solchen frühen Verserzählungen wie „Lenore und der Schwabe“ oder Dramenversuchen wie „Kunz von Stauffungen“ besteht darin, dass sie Einblicke in die Werkstatt eines werdenden Dichters bieten, der bereits als Jugendlicher immens belesen und auch dazu bereit war, die Früchte seiner schöngeistigen Lektüre durch Nachdichtungen oder Übersetzungen zu verwerten. Eicheldinger macht zum Beispiel darauf aufmerksam, wie oft der junge Hardenberg direkt oder indirekt auf

seinen Lieblingsdichter Horaz zurückgreift: „Im Jugendnachlaß finden sich rund dreißig Nachdichtungen und freie Bearbeitungen von Gedichten seines Vorbildes“ (6-1, 13). Ein Beispiel ist „An Faber“, das die Ode II, 16 von Horaz nachahmt, wo der genügsame und zufriedene Weise gepriesen wird:

> Die ferne Zukunft mag der nicht durchblicken
> Der gern zufrieden ist
> Und der, kehrt ihm Fortuna auch den Rücken
> Doch nicht ihr Lächeln gleicht vergißt. (6-1, 53)

Bereits die erste Strophe dieses Gedichts erwähnt, wie Diogenes der Zyniker die Wonne der Ruhe „in seiner Tonne“ sucht (6-1, 52). In einem anderen Gedicht heißt es ähnlich: „Der Weise Diogen spricht: nur in einer Tonne / Trifst du o Jüngling Weisheit an“ (6-1, 484). Und in einem Gedicht zum Neujahrstag 1789 bittet der Sprecher, er möge nimmer „den goldnen Mittelweg“ schmähen (1, 477; 6-1, 211). In ähnlicher Weise mahnt Hardenbergs Stammbucheintragung vom 16. September 1791 für seinen Jenenser Kommilitonen Friedrich Creuzer: „μηδεν άγαν“ [Alles mit Maß] (4, 88) – anscheinend als Anspielung auf dessen vielleicht zu eifriges Studieren. In einem Brief an seinen verehrten Professor Reinhold in Jena vom 5. Oktober 1791, bevor Hardenberg mit dem Studium in Leipzig anfängt, heißt es nun auf sich selbst bezogen: „Γνωθι σεαυτον [erkenne dich selbst] soll mein Memento mori seyn“ (4, 97) – was eine Anspielung auf die Inschrift des Apollo-Tempels zu Delphi mit der christlichen Mahnung an die menschliche Sterblichkeit verbindet. Reinholds Nachfolger in Jena war Fichte, dessen Philosophie des Selbstbewußtseins Hardenberg in den Jahren 1795-96 intensiv studierte. Eine Frucht dieses Studiums ist ein Gedicht vom 11. Mai 1798, dessen Schlußzeilen hier nach der historisch-kritischen Ausgabe zitiert werden, das aber nach der wiederaufgefundenen Handschrift eigentlich als „Kenne dich Selbst“ bezeichnet werden sollte:[15]

> Nur der vernünftige Mensch ist der ächte Adept – er verwandelt
> Alles in Leben und Gold – braucht Elixire nicht mehr.
> In ihm dampfet der heilige Kolben – der König ist in ihm –
> Delphos auch und er faßt endlich das: *Kenne dich selbst*. (1, 404)

Aber Hardenberg ist auch in der Lage, ein derbes lateinisches Sprichwort in ein kurzes gereimtes Briefgedicht vom 26. Oktober 1795 einzubauen, wo er seinem Bruder Erasmus „Politisches Maulhalten gegen gewisse, alte Leute" empfiehlt:

> Man trage ruhig sein Hauskreuz, beherzige die goldne Regel:
> Cacatum non est pictum [Gekackt ist noch nicht gemalt],
> Kuck Dich nicht nach der Welt um.
> und suche so friedlich mit allen zu leben, als wäre die Welt Elysium. (4, 157)[16]

Wahrscheinlich denkt hier Hardenberg so wie im früheren Brief an Erasmus vom 14. März 1793 sowohl an seinen Vater als auch an seinen Onkel, der unbedingt wollte, dass sein Neffe einen Anstellung im preußischen Staatsdienst bekommen sollte, während Hardenberg jetzt lieber in Sachsen arbeitete, um in der Nähe seiner Braut Sophie von Kühn bleiben zu können. Schon vor dem Abschluß seines Studiums in Wittenberg hatte Hardenberg Ende Mai 1794 als Schlusswort eines langen Briefes an seinen Vater das lateinische Sprichwort gewählt: „Ubi bene, ibi patria. [Wo es gut geht, da ist das Vaterland]" (4, 136).[17]

Noch ein Beispiel von Hardenbergs Kenntnis von Maximen aus dem klassischen Altertum soll hervorgehoben werden, nämlich die Redewendung „sub Rosa", die Hardenberg achtmal in seinen Briefen verwendet. Im Altertum war die Aufstellung einer Rose bei einem Festgelage ein Zeichen, dass das, was dort gesagt oder getan wurde, geheimgehalten werden soll. Eine Anspielung auf diesen Brauch steht in dem Weinlied des Dichters Klingsohr bei dem Augsburger Fest im sechsten Kapitel des Romans *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, wo Heinrich seine Geliebte Mathilde kennen und lieben lernt. Wie David Scrase bemerkt: „Quite specifically linked in this song and quite assuredly component parts of any *Fest* are the ideas of wine, love, intoxication, Dionysos, the Golden Age and poetry."[18] Hier heißt es über den Wein:

> Aus seiner Wiege dunklem Schooße,
> Erscheint er in Krystallgewand;
> Verschwiegener Eintracht volle Rose
> Trägt er bedeutend in der Hand. (1, 275)

Eine frühere Strophe von Klingsohrs Lied beschreibt den Reifungsprozess des Weins mit einem verstecken Hinweis auf die Redewendung „Luftschlösser bauen“:

> Sie legen ihn in enge Wiegen
> In's unterirdische Geschoß.
> Er träumt von Festen und von Siegen
> Und baut sich manches luft'ge Schloß. (1, 274)

Wie die folgende Liste aus unserem Register zeigt, kommt diese Redensart sowohl in Hardenbergs Briefen als auch in seinen Gedichten vor:

> Ich hatte mir unterwegs schöne spanische Schlösser gebaut (4,113)
>
> dann laß uns nur erst gewissermaaßen Fuß fassen. Ich rede nicht von Luftgebäuden (4,176)
>
> Und mußten in der Luft noch manches Schlößchen baun (1,398; 4,225)
>
> Und bauen Zauberschlösser auf (6-1,249)

In neunten und abschließenden Kapitel des ersten Teils, wo Klingsohr ein Märchen erzählt, wird aus der Redensart sogar ein wichtiger Schauplatz im Reich des Mondkönigs, dessen Tochter Ginnistan ein Schauspiel für ihren Reisebegleiter (und baldigen Liebhaber) Eros inszeniert:

> Die Schatzkammer war ein großer Garten, dessen Mannichfaltigkeit und Reichthum alle Bescheibung übertraf. Zwischen den ungeheuren Wetterbäumen lagen unzählige Luftschlösser von überraschender Bauart, eins immer köstlicher, als das Andere. Große Heerden von Schäfchen, mit silberweißer, goldner und rosenfarbner Wolle irrten umher, und die sonderbarsten Thiere belebten den Hayn. Merkwürdige Bilder standen hie und da, und die festlichen Aufzüge, die seltsamsten Wagen, die überall zum Vorschein kamen, beschäftigten die Aufmerksamkeit unaufhörlich. (1, 298f.)

Dazu heißt es in dem 2005 erschienenen, 2010 neugedruckten Aufsatz „‚Luftschlösser bauen‘: Traditionelle und innovative Funktion eines redensartlichen Wunschbildes“:

> So gelingt es diesem Romantiker [Novalis], der gewöhnlich eher negativ ausgelegten „Luftschlösser" Redensart einen positiven und vergeistigten Wert abzugewinnen, der sie aus der prosaischen Alltagswelt in die poetische Welt der Imagination überführt.[19]

In *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* gibt es auch direkt zitierte Sprichwörter, wovon das auffälligste in dem Gespräch im ersten Kapitel vorkommt, wo Heinrich von einem seltsamen Traum erzählt, in dem eine blaue Blume erscheint, zu der er eine besondere Zuneigung empfindet. Darauf reagiert der emsig arbeitende Vater, der wegen des schlafenden Sohnes aufs Frühstück hat warten müssen: „Träume sind Schäume, mögen auch die hochgelahrten Herren davon denken, was sie wollen, und du thust wohl, wenn du dein Gemüth von dergleichen unnützen und schädlichen Betrachtungen abwendest" (1, 198). Heinrichs Vater ist der Prototyp des Philisters, des engstirnigen Kunstfeindes, der in den Schriften von E.T.A. Hoffmann und anderen spätromantischen Schriftstellern umbarmherzig parodiert wird. Innerhalb der optimistischen Frühromantik besteht allerdings die Möglichkeit, dass der Vater von seinem Sohn lernen kann. Heinrich spricht weiter mit dem Vater und bringt ihn zu der Erkenntnis, dass ein ähnlicher Traum ihn dazu gebracht hatte, aus Italien nach Augsburg zurückzukehren und sich um seine künftige Gattin, Heinrichs Mutter, zu werben. Der Vater erinnert sich sogar an den Schluss dieses längst vergessenen Traums, wo ein flügeltragendes Kind ihn und Heinrichs Mutter über die Erde trägt (1, 202).

In einer Notiz aus dem November 1799, kurz vor dem Anfang der Arbeit an *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, stellt Friedrich von Hardenberg fest, nichts sei poetischer als alle Übergänge und heterogene Mischungen. Er gibt auch ein spezifisches Beispiel: „Mischung des Groben, Gemeinen, sprüchwörtlichen mit Edeln, Hohen, Poetischen" (3, 587: 221) und empfiehlt die Sprache von Luther und Lessing in dieser Hinsicht. Ein Vergleich der sprichwörtlichen Sprache von Heinrichs Vater mit Heinrichs Beschreibung von Träumen als „ein bedeutsamer Riß in den geheimnisvollen Vorhang [...], der mit tausend Falten in unser Inneres hereinfällt" (1, 198-99) verdeutlicht, dass diese Mischung des Gemeinen und des Poetischen Hardenbergs Ruf nach einer Romantisierung der Welt aus dem Frühjahr 1798 entspricht:

> Indem ich dem Gemeinen einen hohen Sinn, dem Gewöhnlichen ein geheimnißvolles Ansehn, dem Bekannten die Würde des Unbekannten, dem Endlichen einen unendlichen Schein gebe so romantisire ich es – Umgekehrt ist die Operation für das Höhere, Unbekannte, Mytische, Unendliche – dies wird durch diese Verknüpfung logarythmisirt – Es bekommt einen geläufigen Ausdruck. romantische Philosophie. *Lingua romana*. Wechselerhöhung und Erniedrigung. (2, 545: 105)

Im Kontext unseres Aufsatzes könnte man sagen, Novalis habe sich bemüht, die Welt dadurch zu romantisieren, dass er den Traum von der blauen Blume in Verbindung mit dem Sprichwort „Träume sind Schäume" brachte. Es ist also kein Wunder, dass die Blaue Blume selbst sprichwörtlich geworden ist, so dass Aphoristiker und Journalisten sie in ihren eigenen Variationen zum Thema romantischer Sehnsucht gebrauchen.[20]

Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redewendungen hört Heinrich auf der Reise mit seiner Mutter von seiner Geburtstadt Eisenach nach ihrer schwäbischen Heimat in Augsburg. In einer Erzählung der sie begleitenden Kaufleute, die an die Sage von dem griechischen Dichter Arion erinnert, erfährt Heinrich, wie ein Sänger, der von habgierigen Matrosen ins Meer geworfen werden soll, die Bitte ausspricht, „daß er noch vor seinem Ende seinen Schwanengesang spielen dürfe" (1,212). Nachdem er ein letztes Lied singt und freiwillig ins Meer springt, wird er von einem „dankbaren Unthier" (1, 212) ans Land gebracht, während sich die Schiffer so sehr um seine Schätze streiten, dass die meisten in einem mörderischen Kampf sterben und die wenigen Überlebenden nicht in der Lage sind, das Schiff zu steuern, das dann strandet und untergeht. Am Ende bekommt der Sänger seine Schätze durch die freiwillige Hilfe des Meertiers wieder. So lernt Heinrich, der gleich zu Beginn des Romans zwischen seiner Sehnsucht nach der blauen Blume und aller „Habsucht" unterscheidet (1, 195), dass die wahrhaft schöpferische Tätigkeit des Menschen ihn mit seiner Umwelt aussöhnt und diese sogar vermenschlicht, während hingegen Feindseligkeit und Gier zerstörerisch für deren Urheber werden. Im fünften Kapitel vernimmt Heinrich ein Lied des Bergmanns über Gold, den im Innern der Erde herrschenden König sowohl der Metalle als auch der vielen Menschen, die nicht wissen, wo der Schuh der Besitzgier sie drückt:

Ein unermeßliches Geschlecht
Umgiebt die festverschlossenen Pforten,
Ein jeder spielt den treuen Knecht
Und ruft den Herrn mit süßen Worten.
Sie fühlen sich durch ihn beglückt,
Und ahnden nicht, daß sie gefangen;
Berauscht von trüglichem Verlangen
Weiß keiner, wo der Schuh ihn drückt. (1,249)

Es gibt nur wenige Menschen, die nicht nach den Gaben des Königs dürsten und daher in der Lage sind, sein Schloß zu untergraben, damit am Ende der Tag der Freiheit anbricht und alle Menschen in die alte Heimat getragen werden (1, 250).

Die Gegenwart dieser Heimat erlebt Heinrich in Augsburg, wenn er im Hause Schwanings, seines Großvaters, den Dichter Klingsohr und seine Tochter Mathilde kennenlernt. Schwaning singt beim Fest ein Lied, das im starken Kontrast zum traditionellen Bild von Novalis als ätherischem Jüngling steht, denn hier werden mit Hilfe von Sprichwörtern und Redensarten die geheimen Wünsche der Mädchen (und wohl auch der Jünglinge) offenbart:

Allem was die Eltern sprechen,
Widerspricht das volle Herz.
Die verbotne Frucht zu brechen
Fühlen wir der Sehnsucht Schmerz;
Möchten gern die süßen Knaben
Fest an unserm Herzen haben (1, 272f.).

Die Redewendung von verbotener Frucht ist eine Anspielung auf die Geschichte vom Sündenfall im Paradiesgarten, aber die Mädchen fragen in der nächsten Strophe des Liedes:

Wäre dies zu denken Sünde?
Zollfrey sind Gedanken doch.
Was bleibt einem armen Kinde
Außer süßen Träumen noch? (1, 273).

Die Antwort der Mädchen auf die erste Frage, die wir im Titel unseres Aufsatzes zitieren, gilt auch für den Titelhelden, denn Heinrichs Traum am Anfang des Romans hat einen starken

erotischen Charakter, wenn er in ein Becken steigt, das ein bläuliches Licht von sich wirft:

> neue, niegesehene Bilder entstanden, die auch in einander flossen und zu sichtbaren Wesen um ihn wurden, und jede Welle des lieblichen Elements schmiegte sich wie ein zarter Busen an ihn. Die Flut schien eine Auflösung reizender Mädchen, die an dem Jünglinge sich augenblicklich verkörperten. (1, 197).

In seinem Aufsatz über Novalis und Wieland, dessen Verserzählungen Vorbilder für den jungen Hardenberg waren, bemerkt Richard Samuel zu Schwanings Lied:
In der erhaltenen Urschrift schließt das Gedicht entschieden gewagter als im ersten Druck des Romans, wenn wir die zwei Fassungen vergleichen (HKA I: 623-33, hier 633 [Urschrift]; I: 272-74, hier 273-74 [Erstdruck]):

| *Urschrift* | *Erstdruck* |
|---|---|
| Groß sind eines Mädchens Plagen | Groß sind eines Mädchens Plagen |
| Und ihr Herz ist doch so heiß | Ihre Brust ist krank und wund |
| Ihre Brust ist krank und wund | Und zum Lohn für stille Klagan |
| Ach! zum Lohn für unsre Klagen | Küßt sie noch ein welker Mund. |
| Küßt [wohl gar] uns noch ein Greis. | Wird denn nie das Blatt sich wenden |
| [Möchten] holde Freyer eilen | Und das Reich der Alten enden?[21] |
| Herz und Bett mit uns zu theilen. | |

Vielleicht noch wichtiger für unsere Zwecke ist die Tatsache, dass die beiden letzten Verse im Erstdruck eine sprichwörtliche Redensart enthalten, und wohl nicht nur des Reimes wegen: „Wird denn nie das Blatt sich wenden, / Und das Reich der Alten enden?“ (1, 274) [22]

Es ist ein Glück für Heinrich und Mathilde, die Küsse miteinander tauschen, bevor das Fest zu Ende geht (1, 276), dass ihre „Alten“ so verständig sind!

Schwaning verspricht am nächsten Abend mit Hilfe eines Sprichwortes bald ein Hochzeitsfest auszurichten: „Frühe Hochzeiten, lange Liebe“ (1, 290). Und Klingsohr erzählt am selben Abend ein Märchen, wo am Ende Liebe und Poesie über Hass und Tod triumphieren und ein neues goldenes Zeitalter auf Erden anfängt: „Kein Stein lag mehr auf einer Menschenbrust“ (1, 313). Heinrichs zweiter Traum unmittelbar nach dem Ende des Festes

nimmt sowohl den Ertrinkungstod seiner Geliebten vorweg (1, 278f.). Aber die Vision von Mathilde, die Heinrich am Anfang des unvollendeten zweiten Teils des Romans erlebt, gibt ihm die Hoffnung, dass sie doch wiedervereinigt werden (1, 321f.). Und ein mystischer Gesang, der in der Forschung seit Jacob Minors Novalis-Ausgabe von 1907 das „Lied der Toten" genannt wird, verheißt, dass die Freuden des Festes in Augsburg die Vorbereitung eines ewigen Festes seien, wo sich „Hab' und Gut" mit „Lebens-Glut" reimt (1, 361). Wenn Friedrich von Hardenberg selber länger auf Erden gelebt hätte, wer weiß, was mit Hilfe seiner Sammlung von Sprichwörtern und Redensarten noch entstanden wäre!

***Register aller Sprichwörter und Redensarten***

Zwar *Alpen* (Berge) kommen nicht zusammen doch Menschenkinder (6-1, 214)

Alle Moral fängt affectirt an. Sie gebietet Affectation. Aller *Anfang* ist ungeschickt (2, 558)

Quintus bin ich geblieben, geplackt und *arm*, wie die Landmaus (3, 262)

Mit Recht können manche Weiber sagen, daß sie ihren Gatten in die *Arme sinken* – Wohl denen, die ihren Geliebten in die Arme *steigen* (3, 590)

Der Kurfürst mögt mir im *Arsche* lecken (1, 562; 6-1, 101)

Kalitsch kann mich im *Arsche* lecken (4, 145)

so hat mir diese Begebenheit erst die *Augen* geöffnet (4, 107)

Ich kucke durch die Finger; Du
Drück auch das Eine *Auge* zu (4, 181)

wenn Franz auf der *Bärenhaut* liegt (1, 562; 6-1, 102)

Er sollt den Himmel vor'n *Baßgeige* ansehn (1, 562; 6-1, 101)

Und sollte mir das Glück ein *Beinchen* unterschlagen (6-1, 429)

Wird denn nie das *Blatt* sich wenden (1, 274)

Das *Blatt* dreht sich einst – die Letzten werden die Ersten sein. In diesen Worten liegt eine Fülle trostreichen Sinns (4, 172)

Und was ich meine sage ich / Nehm vor den Mund kein *Blatt* (6-1, 132)

und fühlen so drückend das *Blei* an unsern Füßen (4, 50)

Als ob er den *Braten* gerochen hätte (6-1, 429)

Das neue Test[ament] ist uns noch ein *Buch* mit 7 Siegeln (3, 567)

und mir den *Buckel* schmieren lassen müssen (1, 370; 3, 680)

Er ließ mir den *Buckel* wacker gerben (1, 559; 6-1, 98)

beherzige die goldene Regel: *Cacatum* non est pictum [Gekackt ist noch nicht gemalt] (4, 157)

daß ich ihm *deu[tsch]* und rund meine Meynung sage (4, 132)

Was einem Quinzika nur Böhmische *Dörfer* sind (6-1, 422)

nur blieb ihm die kleine Fabel ein *Dorn* im Auge (1, 296)

[*Ehe*] im Himmel ist geschlossen (1, 390)

mit mir je *eher* je lieber Abrede zu nehmen (4, 112)

Je *eher*, je lieber – bald wird Tag seyn – Gott gebe Frühlingstag (4, 176)

Der erste *Eindruck* ist der Mächtigste und treuste, der immer wiederkommt (2, 600)

*Eins* nach den Andern, sonst wird nichts fertig (4, 323)

Es ist da glatt wie *Eis* (1, 562; 6-1, 102)

Und der den Spruch, daß leider alles *eitel* / Auf unserm Runde ist (1, 546; 6-1, 432)

Das alles *eitel* ist das sagt schon Salomon (6-1, 196)

ja alles ist doch *eitel* / Ausgenommen meine Kindheit nur (1, 497; 6-1, 259)

Kurz so, daß Salomon, es ist doch alles *eitel* (6-1, 427)

Und wie ihr wißt, das *Ende* macht alles gut (6-1, 428)

Und die *ersten* werden die lezten seyn. eine philologische persönliche Paradoxe (2, 636)

Delphos auch und er faßt endlich das: *Kenne* [erkenne] dich selbst (1, 404)

hab ich mir zum strengsten Gesetz gemacht *erkenne* dich selbst [auf Griechisch] (4, 97)

als ein rüstiger Degen meinen *Fehdehandschuh* hinzuwerfen (6-1, 557)

Entweder ganz geschwiegen, oder besser ganz geredet und ohne *Feigenblatt* (4, 193)

Wenn dir das Glück die *Fersen* zeiget (6-1, 143)

wenn Du wüßtest, wie kümmerlich ich nur von eignen [*sic*] *Fette* zehren muß (4, 330)

Der züchtige [Jean Paul] Richter wird *Feuer* vom Himmel rufen (4, 280)

Ich kucke durch die *Finger*; Du
Drück auch das Eine Auge zu (4, 181)

Man zeigt mit *Fingern* dann auf euch (6-1, 90)

in der wir leben, wie der *Fisch* im Wasser (4, 323)

da ich heroisch die *Flotte* hinter mir verbrannt habe (4, 168)

einen Groll gegen Dich hat, und selbst die *Flügel* einziehn muß (4, 327)

es ist ein Mädchen zum *Fressen* (1, 562; 6-1, 102)

Denn ihre strenge *Frömmigkeit* / war nur das Sprüchwort ihrer Zeit (6-1, 396)

Die verbotne *Frucht* zu brechen (1, 272)

dann laß uns nur erst gewissermaaßen *Fuß* fassen. Ich rede nicht von Luftgebäuden (4, 176)

In der Poësie glaub ich festen *Fuß* gefaßt zu haben (4, 242)

wenn Du an einem Ort einheimisch wärst und mit vielen Leuten auf einem vertraulichen *Fuße* (4, 328)

Erasmus ist hier gewesen und legt sich Ihnen zu *Füßen* (4, 190)

zwanzig lägen zu meinen *Füßen*, wenn ich ihnen zulächelte (1, 560; 6-1, 99)

Kann er erst selbst gehen, so mag er immer in Deine *Fußtapfen* treten (4, 329)

sollst du dich von einem Mädchen am *Gängelbande* führen lassen (1, 560; 6-1, 99)

Die sie am *Gängelbande* führten (4, 68; 6-1, 387)

*Geben* und nehmen (4, 150)

Wäre dies zu denken Sünde? / Zollfrey sind die *Gedanken* doch (1, 273)

Alles was *geschieht*, geschieht zu unserm Besten
(S'il n'y a point de Dieu, il faut' s'en faire) (3, 419)

*Gewohnheit* thut ja alles (4, 129)

Das *Glück* hat seine Methode (4, 157)

Wie kann der Gedanke scheiden, was *Gott* zusammenfügte (2, 173)

Und nimmer die Stunden mit *Grillen* entweihn (1, 385)

Nur jeder sich und seine *Grillen* liebt (1, 460)

bey solchen *Grillen* oft einen lustigen Mann oder gar einen Hanswurst (4, 128)

Nur beym gemeinen Mann gedeiht sie [die Grobheit] noch und darum ist auch dem die Natur noch grün (2, 670)

hat ihn ja *Gut* und Blut angeschworen (1, 558)

hat ihn ja *Gut* und Blut zugeschworen (6-1, 97)

Unser *Hab'* und Gut (1, 361)

Nein ehr will ich mein träges Pferdchen treiben / Das ohnedem der *Haber* sticht (6-1, 405)

Jeder *Hahn* ist Herr auf seinem Miste (2, 152)

Du bist aber doch *Hahn* im Korbe (4, 155)

so würde ich kein *Hahnrey* seyn (1, 370; 3, 680)

nur muß man bei seinen Erfahrungen immer nur bis an den *Hals* ins Wasser gehn (4, 120)

Mir liegt jetzt zu viel untereinander auf dem *Halse* (4, 276)

dann lege man *Hand* ans Werk. Allmählich wird man in jeder Art Meister (2, 588)

weil die ganze Familie Sie, als die Stifterin Ihres Glücks auf den *Händen* trägt (4, 151)

daß ich in dieser Rücksicht einem jährigen Ehemann den *Handschuh* hinwerfen könnte (4, 181)

Der Deutsche ist lange das *Hänschen* gewesen. Er dürfte aber wohl bald der Hans aller Hänse werden (2, 436; 2, 437)

Und der oft von sich selbst schon übern *Haufen* fällt (1, 516)

er nun allein *Herr* im Hause ist (2, 436; 2, 437)

und einem bißchen Verstand über alles *Herr* wird (4, 120)

Ich hoffe meines Geschäftes Herr zu werden (4, 163)

nu dem bin ich nicht ans *Herz* gewachsen (1, 560; 6-1, 100)

Mein *Herz* lacht mir im Leibe (1, 563; 6-1, 103)

Der *Himmel* ist bey uns auf Erden (1, 160)

um ihr einen *Himmel* auf Erden zu verschaffen (1, 213)

Wo hängt der *Himmel* voll Geigen (2, 637)

Wie allg[emeine] Menschengedancken und nicht, wie *Hinzens* und Kuntzens Gedancken (2, 643)

Was hilft das lange Zaudern, sagte der Alte. Frühe *Hochzeiten*, lange Liebe (1, 290)

und da wolln wir die *Hölle* heiß genug machen (1, 566; 6-1, 544)

gegen willkührliche Wahnbegriffe muß ich auf meiner *Hut* sein (4, 45)

Den vierzehn *Jahre* so entzücken, (Bald sind die 7 Wochen voll) (1, 388)

da schwillt einen der *Kamm* (1, 559; 6-1, 98)

und jene doch mit offenen *Karten* spielt (2, 503)

Der mit den Kinderschuhen lange / Der Liebe *Kartenhaus* verließ (1, 387)

Das verbrannte *Kind* fürchtet sich fürs Feuer (1, 583; 6-1, 136)

Wo *Kinder* sind, da ist ein goldenes Zeitalter (2, 456)

War von der Zehe bis zum *Kinn* / Und von dem Kinn bis an den Scheitel / Ein wahrer Engel (6-1, 427)

Der Alte ist recht in der *Klemme* (1, 558; 6-1, 97)

Auf einen groben *Klotz* – Gehört ein grober Keil. Dieses Sprüchwort ist für die Naturlehre gemacht, denn sie soll ja hier durch den Verstand gespalten werden (2, 670)

zum Zerhauen ist der *Knoten* – Langsames Nisteln hilft nichts (4, 141)

Die Danscour hüpft aus dem Köberchen [kleinerKorb], wenn sie an Euch denkt (4, 154)

Mancherley ist mir seit 3 Monaten durch den Kopf gegangen (4, 242)

Befühlte ihn vom *Kopf* bis zu den Füssen (6-1, 429)

Karoline will sich auch noch besser bey Erasmus für das *Körbchen* bedanken (4, 154)

Der ist ein Stümper ohne *Kraft* und Saft (2, 671)

ohne *Kraft* und Saft (4, 129)

Und riethen drinne *kreutz* und quer / Bald dis und das und hin und her (6-1, 434)

Sonst geht unsere Natur durch die *Lappen* (2, 671)

Der gute Schwabe sein ganzes *Latein* verschwitzet (6-1, 426)

Das *Leben* ist sehr kurz (2, 666)

Unser *Leben* ist ein Traum heißt soviel, als unser Leben ist ein Gedanke (3, 63)

Unser *Leben* ist kein Traum – aber es soll und wird vielleicht einer werden (3, 281)

und läuft mirs ja über die *Leber* (1, 566; 6-1, 482)

denen ich diesen Winter mich mit *Leib* und Seele ergeben will (4, 87)

wird mein Schwabe […] wie eine *Leiche* blaß (6-1, 424)

Das Blatt dreht sich einst – die *Letzten* werden die Ersten sein. In diesen Worten liegt eine Fülle trostreichen Sinns (4, 172)

Die dummen Fragen der Kinder erscheinen jetzt in einem ganz andern *Lichte* (3, 178)

Jetzt erscheint auch der Gelehrte Stand ein einem neuen *Lichte* (3, 315)

der alles in Caricatur und in einem drolligen *Lichte* sieht (4, 128)

sie setzt eine gute Sache in ein verdächtiges *Licht* (4, 193)

Gott sprach es werde Licht und es ward (3, 297)

Die *Liebe* ist stumm, nur die Poesie kann für sie sprechen (1, 287)

Trink, Bruder. Alte *Liebe* rostet nicht. (1, 563; 6-1, 103)

Und mußten in der *Luft* noch manches Schlößchen baun (1, 398; 4, 225)

Er träumt von Festen und von Siegen/ Und baut sich manches luft'ge *Schloß* (1, 274)

Ich hatte mir unterwegs schöne spanische *Schlösser* gebaut (4, 113)

Und bauen *Zauberschlösser* auf (6-1, 249)

dann laß uns nur erst gewissermaaßen Fuß fassen. Ich rede nicht von *Luftgebäuden* (4, 176)

Zwischen den ungeheuren Wetterbäumen lagen unzählige *Luftschlösser* von überraschender Bauart (1, 298)

Über die *Maxime des Maaßhaltens* – mehrfache Arten des Maaßes (3, 409)

[alles mit Maßen; Maß halten; Maß ist zu allen Dingen gut]

Da lief es ihm kalt durch *Mark* und Bein (6-1, 424)

Alles mit *Maß* [auf Griechisch] (4, 88)

daß nicht jetzt schon die Ketten fallen wie die *Mauern* von Jericho (4, 141)

Muß sich Adolf das *Maul* wischen (6-1, 356)

Hüte dich über die *Mittel* nicht den Zweck zu verlieren (2, 233)

daß es immer nur *Mittel* und fast nie Zweck seyn darf (4, 110)

Ich nimmer schmäh den goldnen *Mittelweg* (1, 477; 6-1, 211)

Wer stets des *Mittelwegs* sich freuet (6-1, 142)

da ist denn freilich ächter guter *Muth* theuer (4, 197)

Die *Natur* verändert sich sprungweise (3, 273)
[Die Natur macht keine Sprünge]

Fürsten sind *Nullen* – sie gelten an sich nichts (2, 668)

Die Ordnung, die der Onkel oft tauben *Ohren* predigte (4, 169)

Uni bene, ibi *patria* [Wo es gut geht, da ist das Vaterland] (4, 136)

Hat unser *Pfahl* ins Fleisch (6-1, 106)

Die *Philosophie* kann kein Brot backen (3, 315)
[Mit der Philosophie kann man keinen Hund aus dem Ofen locken]

An diese politische *Quadratur* des Zirkels ist sehr viel Mühe gewandt worden (2, 495)

Anwend[ung] der vorigen Bemerckung auf die *Quadratur* des Zirkels (3, 329)

Läßt sich der Zirkel *quadriren* (3, 388)

aber ich darf die *Rechnung* nicht ohne Wirth machen (4, 167)

Der Ausdruck – *aufs reine bringen* (3, 454)

Mit einer Sache aufs *reine* kommen (4, 31)

Ohne *Richter*, kein Kläger (2, 629)

Wir spielen hier fast mit die erste *Rolle* (4, 122)

Ich spiele hier eine große *Rolle* (4, 144)

Ich habe Weißenfels doch sub *rosa* gern verlassen: Zu viel ist ungesund (4, 144)

Es ist sehr Zeit sub *rosa* – daß ein neuer Geist in die Geschäfte ko[mmt] (4, 156)

Doch dis sub *rosa*. Man darf nicht vor der Zeit plaudern (4, 160)

jedoch nur auf ein paar Tage und sub *rosa*, wenn der Alte nach Dresden ist (4, 162)

da ich, sub *rosa*, zwar guten Willen […] habe (4, 169)

heyrathet Comtesse Loeben – ebenfalls sub *rosa* (4, 175)

Sub *rosa* – die Osterfeyertage hätte ich kommen können (4, 181)

traf dort (sub *rosa*) seinen älteren Bruder verzweifelt beinah (4, 265)

Verschwiegener Eintracht volle *Rose* / Trägt er bedeutend in der Hand (1, 275).

kehrt ihm Fortuna auch den *Rücken* (6-1, 53)

Den Vornehmern hat sie [die Grobheit] längst den *Rücken* gekehrt (2, 670)

Hab Gold und Güter, viel, wie *Sand* am Meer (1, 499)

Du bist mir treu geblieben und hast nein Andenken nicht auf *Sand* am Ufer geschrieben (4, 138)

<Soviel wie *Sand* an fernen, blauen Meeren> (6-1, 239)

Nicht baut auf Fürstengunst des heißt auf losen Sand (6-1, 335)

Man muß vielleicht in allen *Sätteln* gewesen seyn, um auf Einem recht zu sitzen (4, 163)

die in einem lieblichen Wahnsinn mit der wirklichen Welt nach ihrem Belieben *schaltet* und waltet (1, 100)

und besteigst die Rosinante der ordinären Post – um die *Scharte* auszuwetzen (4, 193)

Berauscht von trüglichem Verlangen / Weiß keiner, wo der *Schuh* ihn drückt (1, 249)

Ein *Schuß* in die blaue Luft (4, 141)

Ob sich der *Schwabe* davon geschlichen / und vor den 40zigen hierdurch gewitzigt ward (6-1, 431)

daß er noch vor seinem Ende seinen *Schwanengesang* spielen dürfe (1, 212)

Die meisten M[enschen] wollen nicht eher *schwimmen*, bis sie es können (3, 373)

Wer aber dies nicht will, der ist vollk[ommen], wie der, der nicht eher *schwimmen* will, bis ers kann (3, 384-385)

Da sich die mehrsten nur um *Seifenblasen* reißen (1, 460; 6-1, 270)

Früh lernt er luftige *Seifenblasen* fliehn (4, 70)

Daß jede Sache zwey *Seiten* hat ist ein abgedroschener Gemeinplatz (4, 114)

Nur daß bei Herrn *Sitt* und Brauch (6-1, 306)

Du seist unsterblich, und es sei nur eine *Spiegelfechterei* (4, 199)

Die frühe Verbreitung machte mir übleres *Spiel* (4, 278)

Und nun ward er wol *Spinne* Feind (6-1, 414)

Und Tugend fest wie *Stahl* (6-1, 255)

Kein *Stein* lag mehr auf einer Menschenbrust (1, 313)

Wer von sich selbst den *Stein* ewiger Weisheit begehrt (1, 404)

und suchen den *Stein* der Weisen unter jeder Gestalt (4, 122)

Wenn ich ihr den *Stempel meiner* Erfahrung aufdrücke (3, 414)

Denn wer gesund ist! Ha! Der strebt / Bis zu den *Sternen* hin (6-1, 402)

Du hast recht, da hätt' uns bald die Mode einen *Streich* gespielt (2, 671)

Wir *suchen* überall das Unbedingte, und finden nur Dinge (2, 413)

Wer *sucht*, wird zweifeln (2, 418)

und daß auch Sie gefunden haben, was Sie *suchten* (4, 295)

Aber bringe mir ihn nicht, der *Teufel* hole dich, wenn dus thust (1, 563; 6-1, 104)

der *Teufel* soll Dich aber holen (4, 131)

den lahmen Fuß zum *Teufel* zu jagen (4, 160)

*Thurmbau* zu Babel (2, 189)

In Einem giebt der Magen, in den andern die Lunge und so fort, den *Ton* an (3, 242)

Sie sucht Diogenes in seiner *Tonne* (6-1, 52)

Vielleicht versteckt in einer *Tonne* (6-1, 224)

Der Weise Diogen spricht: nur in einer *Tonne* / Trifst du o Jüngling Weisheit an (6-1, 484)

vergiß die Fehler am *Topf* und laß Dir gut schmecken, was drinnen ist (4, 129)

der Vater arbeitete emsig fort und sagte: *Träume* sind Schäume (1, 198)

*Gutta* cavat lapidem [Der *Tropfen* höhlt den Stein]. Glaube mir, in solchen geringscheinenden Gemeinsprüchen trifft man auf das älteste, gediegendste Gold der Lebensweisheit (4, 129)

Die Kunst muß über die rohe Masse triumphiren – *Übung* macht den Meister (2, 291)

*Übung* macht den Meister, und auch im Bücherlesen (2, 663)

Tout est *Vanité – ist der empirische Idealismus (2,601)*

Die alte Klage, daß alles *vergänglich* sey (2, 667)

*Verzug* schadet selten (1, 579; 6-1, 113)

Was sie der *Waagschaale* des Herzens nimmt – legt sie auf die Schaale des Geistes (4, 170)

Wir sehn dann oft den *Wald* vor lauter Bäumen nicht (4, 116)

Die Zeitnaturen sind wie der *Wein* – je älter, je köstlicher (3, 271)

Du weißt ja das Sprüchwort wohl, daß jeden Mann auf Erden / Zum wahren Glück nicht braucht gewünscht zu werden / Als *Wein* und Gesundheit und dann ein Mädchen zärtlich und warm (6-1, 383-384)

Kuck Dich nicht nach der *Welt* um (4, 157)

Über den Spruch: des Menschen*wille* ist sein Himmelreich (2, 601)

Wo gilt der gute *Wille* alles, und wo nichts? Dem Leser bleibt der Schluß auf sein Vaterland nach einem bekannten Sprüchwort überlassen (2, 632)

dessen ganzes *Wol* und Weh davon abhängt, ob ein Blütenblatt in diese oder jene Welt fällt (4, 202)

Einzelne *Wolken* gehen bald vorüber (4, 155)

Wer Fragmente dieser Art beym *Worte* halten will der mag ein ehrenvester Mann seyn (2, 466)

Mir der größte *Wurf* gelungen schien (1, 389)

Mir ist dieser *Wurf* gelungen (1, 390)

Was *X*, das Y (1, 385) (Strukturformel)

Jedes Ding hat seine *Zeit*. Übereilung (2, 562)

Es können goldene *Zeiten* erscheinen – aber sie bringen nicht das Ende der Dinge (2, 269)

sagte mein Schulmeister immer, *temps* docturs; / Was soll denn das heißen? / Kommt *Zeit*, kommt Rath, wenns nur nicht so lange dauert (6-1, 356)

Ich habe Weißenfels doch sub rosa gern verlassen: *Zu viel* ist ungesund (4, 144)

***Anmerkungen***

[1] Albert Höft, „Das historische Werden des Aphorismus“ (1935), in *Der Aphorismus*. Hrsg. von Gerhard Neumann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976), S. 112-129, hier S. 124.

[2] Kurt Besser, *Die Problematik der aphoristischen Form bei Lichtenberg, Fr. Schlegel, Novalis und Nietzsche* (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1935), S. 14.

[3] Für weitere neuere Studien zum Aphorismus, die Novalis diskutieren, vgl. Gerhard Neumann, *Ideenparadiese. Untersuchungen zur Aphoristik von Lichtenberg, Novalis, Friedrich Schlegel und Goethe* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1976), S. 265-416; Harald Fricke, *Aphorismus*. Sammlung Metzler Band 208 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1984), S. 91-97; Friedemann Spicker, *Der Aphorismus. Begriff und Gattung von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts bis 1912* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), S. 74-77, und ders., *Kurze Geschichte des deutschen Aphorismus* (Tübingen: Francke, 2007), S. 37-38.

[4] Wir zitieren aus *Novalis. Schriften: Die Werke Friedrich von Hardenbergs*. Begründet von Paul Kluckhohn und Richard Samuel. Herausgegeben von Richard Samuel (†) in Zusammenarbeit mit Hans-Joachim Mähl (†) und Gerhard Schulz. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe in vier Bänden, einem Materialienband und einem Ergänzungsband in vier Teilbänden mit dem dichterischen Jugendnachlaß und weiteren neu aufgetauchten Handschriften.

Bd. 1: *Das dichterische Werk*. Hrsg. von Paul Kluckhohn und Richard Samuel, unter Mitarbeit von Heinz Ritter und Gerhard Schulz (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1960). 3., nach den Handschriften ergänzte, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage 1977.

Bd. 2: *Das philosophische Werk I*. Hrsg. von Richard Samuel, in Zusammenarbeit mit Hans-Joachim Mähl und Gerhard Schulz (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1965). 3., nach den Handschriften ergänzte, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage 1981.

Bd. 3: *Das philosophische Werk II*. Hrsg. von Richard Samuel, in Zusammenarbeit mit Hans-Joachim Mähl und Gerhard Schulz (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1968). 3., von den Herausgebern durchgesehene und revidierte Auflage 1983.

Bd. 4: *Tagebücher, Briefwechsel, Zeitgenössiche Zeugnisse*. Hrsg. von Richard Samuel, in Zusammenarbeit mit Hans-Joachim Mähl und Gerhard Schulz (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1975). Verbesserte Nach Hrsg. von Richard Samuel, in Zusammenarbeit mit Hans-Joachim Mähl und Gerhard Schulz (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1975). Hrsg. von Richard Samuel, in Zusammenarbeit mit Hans-Joachim Mähl und Gerhard Schulz (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1975). Nachdruck der 2. Auflage 1998.

Bd. 5: *Materialien und Register*. Hrsg. von Hans-Joachim Mähl und Richard Samuel. Bearbeitung der Register von Hermann Knebel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1988).

Bd. 6-1. *Der dichterische Jugendnachlaß (1788-1791) und Stammbucheintragungen (1791-1793)*. Hrsg. von Hans-Joachim Mähl, in Zusammenarbeit mit Martina Eicheldinger. Bearbeitung der Stammbücher von Ludwig Rommel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1998).

Bd. 6-2. *Der dichterische Jugendnachlaß (1788-1791) und Stammbucheintragungen (1791-1793)*. 2. Teilband: Kommentar. Hrsg. von Hans-Joachim Mähl, in Zusammenarbeit mit Martina Eicheldinger. Bearbeitung der Stammbücher von Ludwig Rommel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999).

Bd. 6-3. *Schriften und Dokumente aus der Berufstätigkeit*. 3. Teilband: Kommentar. Hrsg. von Gabriele Rommel und Gerhard Schulz (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006).

[5] Dennis F. Mahoney, „‚Was nicht ist, kann noch werden': Proverbs and German Romanticism." In: Proverbium 22 (2005): 145-165, S. 152. Hier zitiert nach seinem Abdruck in *From Goethe to Novalis. Studies in Classicism and Romanticism. Festschrift for Dennis F. Mahoney in Celebration of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Hrsg. von Wolfgang Mieder (New York: Peter Lang, 2015), S. 271.

[6] Vgl. das Kapitel „Siedepfannen und Sonette" in der Monographie von Gerhard Schulz: *Novalis. Leben und Werk Friedrich von Hardenbergs* (München: Beck, 2011), S. 159-176, wo das Verhältnis zwischen dem Bergbaubeamten „Hardenberg" und dem Dichter „Novalis" in der Zeit der Entstehung des *Ofterdingen*-Romans eingehend diskutiert wird.

[7] Vgl. Wolfgang Mieder, *„Wein, Weib und Gesang". Zum angeblichen Luther-Spruch in Kunst, Musik, Literatur, Medien und Karikaturen* (Wien: Edition Praesens, 2004).

[8] Für diejenigen Leser, die nur Zugang zum ersten Band der historisch-kritischen Ausgabe haben, geben wir bei den Zitaten in Klammern auch die Seitenzahl aus Band 1 an.

[9] Nur „Lenore und der Schwabe" wird im Haupttext zitiert und besprochen, aber die folgenden Redensarten aus „Der Schwabe und Lenore" stehen in unserem Register: „Was einem Quinzika nur Böhmische *Dörfer* sind" (6-1, 422); „Der gute Schwabe sein ganzes *Latein* verschwitzet" (6-1, 426); „wird mein Schwabe […] wie eine *Leiche* blaß" (6-1, 424); „Da lief es ihm kalt durch *Mark* und Bein" (6-1, 424).

[10] Friedrich Schlegel, *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*. Bd. 2: *Charakteristiken und Kritiken I*. Hrsg. von Hans Eichner (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1967), S. 170: 29. Besser bemerkt allerdings zu Schlegels Fragment: „die echten Sprichwörter sind im ganzen Volke verbreitet und bekannt, Aphorismen aber selten über einen engen, zeitlich und örtlich begrenzten Umfang hinaus wirklich bekannt, und auch dies im wesentlichen nur durch Vermittlung von Schrift und Druck" (s. Anm. 2), S. 13.

[11] Schlegel, ebd., S. 213: 283.

[12] Zur Geschichte des deutschen Sprichworts, wofür der Aphorismus von Novalis als Antisprichwort dient, vgl. Wolfgang Mieder, „‚Was Hänschen nicht lernt, lernt Hans nimmermehr': Zur Überlieferung eines Luther-Sprichwortes," in *Sprichwörtliches und Geflügeltes: Sprachstudien von Martin Luther bis Karl Marx* (Bochum: Brockmeer, 1995), 23-32.

[13] Vgl. Heinz-Eugen Schramm, *L.m.i.A.: Des Ritters Götz von Berlichingen denkwürdige Fensterrede oder die bewußten vier Buchstaben hinterrücks enthüllt, ins rechte Bild gesetzt und mit dankenswerter Unterstützung der Herren Dante, Mozart, Schubart, Goethe, Schiller u.a. in Verbindung mit dem Internationalen Götz-Sprachenführer als Handbuch zur weltweiten Pflege des Götz-Zitats für nachsichtige Zeitgenossen bearbeitet* (Tübingen: Fritz Schlichtenmayer, 1960); und Wolfgang Mieder, *„Wie anders wirkt dies Zitat auf mich ein". Johann Wolfgang von Goethes entflügelte Worte in Literatur, Medien und Karikaturen* (Wien: Praesens Verlag, 2011), S. 257-267.

[14] Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang die Behauptung des Erzählers in „Lenore und der Schwabe", dass seine weibliche Hauptfigur wirklich existiere: „Soviel bezeug ich auf Dichterparole/ Das Mädel lebt im Schwabenreich/ Und hab ich sie belogen so hole/ Der Pferdefuß, mich mit dem Mädchen gleich" (6-1, 427).

[15] Vgl. Ludwig Stockinger, „Das ‚Selbst' und das ‚selbst': Zur Deutung von Kenne dich Selbst im Lichte der neu aufgefundenen Handschrift." In *Novalis – Das Werk und seine Editoren*. Hrsg. von Gabriele Rommel (Oberwiederstedt: Forschungsstätte für Frühromantik und Novalis-Museum Schloss Oberwiederstedt, 2001), S. 87-101.

[16] Vgl. Werner Bellmann, „‚Cacatum non est pictum'. Ein Zitat in Heines *Wintermärchen* [und bei Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz]." *Wirkendes Wort*, 33 (1983): 213-215.

[17] Zur Überlieferung dieses Spruchs bei Cicero und seiner Verwendung von Schriftstellern wie Georg Forster und Goethe, vgl. Dennis F. Mahoney, „‚Ubi bene ibi patria' oder: Amerika, hast du es besser?." *Goethe-Jahrbuch* 126 (2009): 149-160, vor allem S. 149f.

[18] David Scrase, „The Moveable Feast: The Role and Relevance of the *Fest* Motif in Novalis' *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*." *New German Studies* 7 (1979): 23-40. Hier zitiert nach seinem Abdruck in Essays on German Literature and the Holocaust. Festschrift for David A. Scrase in Celebration of his Eightieth Birthday. Hrsg. von Wolfgang Mieder (New York: Peter Lang, 2019), S. 157-171, S. 159.

[19] Vgl. Wolfgang Mieder, *„Spruchschlösser (ab)bauen". Sprichwörter, Antisprichwörter und Lehnsprichwörter in Literatur und Medien* (Wien: Edition Praesens, 2010), S. 341-362, hier S. 351.

[20] Vgl. Hans Kudszus, „Wir müssen die blaue Blume suchen, um einen Kaktus zu finden," *Jaworte, Neinworte* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970), 58; Erwin Chargaff: „Er war ein Romantiker, aber leider allergisch gegen blaue Blumen," *Bemerkungen* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981), 35; Rolf Nünninghoff, „Die Kunst einer täglichen Praxis besteht darin, im Dickicht der Banalitäten die blaue Blume des Besonderen zu finden, bevor sie verwelkt," *Aphorismen, Aphrodismen und andere Ungereimheiten* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag DVS, 1999), 149; Gerhard Uhlenbruck, „Die wahre Liebe sollte man immer durch die blaue Blume sagen," *Ins eigene Netz: Aphorismen* (Aachen: Stippak, 1977), 103; Gerhard Uhlenbruck, „Die Blaue Blume der Romantik sehen wir gerne durch eine rosarote Brille," *Worthülsenfrüchte, oder ein Körnchen Wahrheit für alle Tage: Ein Kalendarbuch für 2002* (Köln: Ralf Reglin, 2001), 22.01; Tonia Damm, „Die Blaue Blume öffnet sich Jedem, der warten kann in Geduld – pflücken lässt sie sich nicht," *Erwartungsland: Gedichte – Erzählungen – Aphorismen* (Offenbach am Main: Arnim Otto Verlag, 1997), 84; Winfried Schindler, „Farbenblinde sollte man nicht die blaue Blume suchen lassen," Ein- und Ausfälle. Aphorismen (Annweiler am Trifels: Sonnenberg, 2010), S. 49; Wilhelm Ziehr, „Farbe, wie blau, kann zur Metapher für den Vorgang des Dichtens werden," *Variationen beständiger Gedanken; Aphorismen zur Zeit und Reflexionen über Lyrik* (Marburg: Verlag Blaues Schloss, 2017), 125. Nina Gronenberg, „Auf der Suche nach der roten Blume: Puritanische Prolen auf dem Bundeskongreß des marxistischen Studentenbundes," *Die Zeit*, Nr. 9 (2 März 1973, U.S.-Ausgabe), 2; Jan Burger, „Blauhemd und blaue Blume: Marion Titze ist auf der Suche nach den geistigen Grundlagen unserer Zeit," *Die Zeit*, Nr. 13 (25. März 1999), Literatur, 8. Vielen Dank für Wolfgang Mieders jahrelange Suche nach solchen Blüten der Blauen Blume!

[21] Richard Samuel, „Novalis und Wieland", in *Christoph Martin Wieland. Nordamerikanische Forschungsbeiträge zur 250. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages 1983*. Hrsg. von Hansjörg Schelle (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1984), S. 393-412, S. 410.

[22] Im Brief vom 27. Februar 1796 an Erasmus hat Hardenberg seinen kranken und melancholischen Bruder mit Hilfe von zwei Sprichwörtern zu trösten versucht: „Du bist ein physisch leidender – aber moralisch thätiger Mensch. Das Blatt dreht sich einst – die Letzten werden die Ersten sein. In diesen Worten liegt eine Fülle trostreichen Sinns. Bleibe fest im Glauben an die Universalitaet Deines Ichs. Du wirst auf Deine Leidensstunden, wie auf ein verwelktes Blatt, einst herunterblicken". (4, 172) Leider sollte Erasmus am 14. April 1797 sterben, nicht einmal einen Monat nachdem Sophie von Kühn, die erste Verlobte Friedrich von Hardenbergs, am 19. März 1797 im Alter von fünfzehn Jahren gestorben war.

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# „ES GEHT DOCH NICHTS ÜBER EINEN GESUNDEN BREI VON LÜGEN UND PHRASEN“: SPRICHWÖRTLICHES IN DEN TAGEBÜCHERN VON JOSEPH GOEBBELS

***Abstract:*** The manipulation and misuse of the German language during the time of National Socialism has been studied in considerable detail. The role that folklore in general and proverbs and proverbial expressions in particular have played has also been investigated. There is also the important diary of the Jewish philologist Victor Klemperer who survived the Holocaust while recording the language of the perpetrators. Adolf Hitler employed a considerable amount of proverbial language in *Mein Kampf* and his speeches, with Joseph Goebbels making frequent use of proverbs and proverbial expressions in his propagandistic speeches and articles. His voluminous diary that he kept between 1924 and 1945 is replete with proverbs and proverbial expressions. He uses proverbs to justify or to explain the aggressive policies and dangerous actions of the regime. The many proverbial expressions, especially those that refer to various parts of the body (somatisms), express in colloquial language his anti-Semitic tirades and his devious warmongering. Some of these phraseologisms became leitmotifs for his lies and attacks, showing once and for all that proverbial language is by no means sacrosanct and can become a dangerous weapon when used to manipulate, deceive, and violate others. Many contextualized examples show that Joseph Goebbels employed certain words and expressions in such inhumane fashion that they have become taboo today out of respect for the victims of his evil designs.

***Keywords:*** Anti-Semitism, diary, German language, Joseph Goebbels, Adolf Hitler, Jews, Victor Klemperer, leitmotif, National Socialism, propaganda, proverb, proverbial expression, rhetoric. somatism, war.

Obwohl es in diesem Beitrag um die sprichwörtliche Sprache der umfangreichen Tagebücher des Reichspropagandaministers Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945) geht, sei am Anfang auf Victor Klemperers (1881-1960) postum erschienenen massiven Bericht *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten. Tagebücher 1933-1945* (1995) hingewiesen, der als einmaliges Zeitdokument über das

Dritte Reich aus der Sicht eines jüdischen Intellektuellen zu gelten hat. Erst der katastrophale Luftangriff auf Dresden brachte dem Romanisten Klemperer am 13. Februar 1945 die Rettung vor dem Abtransport der letzten dort noch überlebenden Juden in den sicheren Tod im Vernichtungslager. Unter ständiger Lebensgefahr hat er als Philologe die propagandistische, aggressive und vor allem antisemitische Sprache der Nationalsozialisten auf über 1500 Seiten registriert, woraus er bereits 1947 seine bahnbrechende Studie *LTI. Notizen eines Philologen* zusammenstellte. Dieses Buch über die „Lingua Tertii Imperii" ist inzwischen in mehreren Auflagen und in Übersetzungen erschienen und bildet die Basis aller weiteren Untersuchungen über den Mißbrauch der Sprache durch die Nationalsozialisten. Klemperer war überzeugt davon, daß die Analyse der Sprache von Adolf Hitler, Joseph Goebbels und anderen, natürlich auch der gleichgeschalteten Medien, erkennen läßt, was sie für verbrecherische Taten im Sinne hatten (Mieder 2002b). Indem er sich an das Grimmsche Märchen „Die klare Sonne bringt's an den Tag" (Nr. 115), an die balladenhafte Märchenbearbeitung „Die Sonne bringt es an den Tag" (1831) von Adalbert von Chamisso oder an das seit 1846 belegte Sprichwort „Die Sonne bringt es an den Tag" erinnerte (Wander 1867-1880: IV, 612, Nr. 36), schrieb er am 31. März 1942 in sein Tagebuch:

> *LTI*. Die Sprache bringt es an den Tag. Bisweilen will jemand durch Sprechen die Wahrheit verbergen. Aber die Sprache lügt nicht. Bisweilen will jemand die Wahrheit aussprechen. Aber die Sprache ist wahrer als er. Gegen die Wahrheit der Sprache gibt es kein Mittel. (Klemperer 1995: II,58)

Es sei aber vermerkt, daß der Kulturkritiker Karl Kraus das Antisprichwort „Die Sprache bringt es an den Tag" bereits 1933 in seinem satirischen Werk *Die dritte Walpurgisnacht* formuliert hat, das allerdings erst 1936 nach seinem Tod im Druck erschienen ist (Kraus 1952: 241; Mieder 1999b: 102). Es ist daher zu bezweifeln, daß Klemperer es von Kraus übernommen hat. Sie werden das Antisprichwort unabhängig voneinander geprägt haben, um die Verlogenheit des Naziregimes zu brandmarken. Erwähnt sei noch, daß Klemperer diese eingängige Veränderung des ursprünglichen Sprichwortes als eine Art Leitmotiv in seinem *LTI*-Buch benutzt: „Was jemand willentlich verbergen will, sei es nur vor andern, sei es vor sich selber, auch was er unbewußt in sich trägt: die Sprache

bringt es an den Tag“ (Klemperer 1987: 16; vgl. noch S. 166-167; Mieder 2000: 21-24).

Wie Karl Kraus hat auch Victor Klemperer die Nationalsozialisten von Anfang an sprachlich entlarvt, wie aus zwei weiteren Bänden *Leben sammeln, nicht fragen wozu und warum. Tagebücher 1918-1932* (1996) hervorgeht. So liegen also einmal vier gewaltige Tagebuchbände für die Zeit der Nationalsozialisten von Victor Klemperer und fünf gekürzte Bände von Joseph Goebbels vor, die nun in einer wissenschaftlichen Gesamtedition von 31 Bänden (Fröhlich 1993-2008) erschienen sind. Natürlich wollte Klemperer als Opfer ein ehrliches Zeugnis seiner Zeit mit all seinen Greueltaten ablegen. Interessanterweise sah der verlogene Propagandameister Goebbels seine Tagebücher ebenfalls als eine Möglichkeit, sich seine Gedanken, Ideen, Vorstellungen, Probleme und Komplexe von der Seele zu schreiben, wobei ihm wie in seinen Reden und Schriften „Wahrheit und Lüge Fragen der Zweckmäßigkeit waren“ (Heiber 1962: 157). Als Katholik sieht er sein Tagebuch sogar als Ersatz für die Beichte in der Kirche. So schreibt er am 23. März 1925:

> Ich bin müde. Ich will schlafen gehen! Gute Nacht, du mein liebes Buch, mein sorgsamer Beichtvater. Dir sage ich Alles. Alles! Hier bin ich Mensch, hier darf ich’s sein! Gute Nacht! (1925,1,168; alle Zitate aus den Tagebüchern werden mit der Jahres-, Band- und Seitenzahl angegeben)

Das liest sich eher kindisch von dem fast 30jährigen Goebbels, der als promovierter Germanist mit der Dissertation *Wilhelm von Schütz als Dramatiker. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Dramas der Romantischen Schule* (Heidelberg 1922; vgl. Neuhaus 1974) seine *Faust*-Kenntnisse durchblicken läßt. Bekanntlich meint Faust in der Szene „Vor dem Tor“ (Z. 940), daß er sich unter Menschen wieder wohl fühlt, während Goebbels mit dem Zitat ausdrücken will, daß er seinem Tagebuch alles ganz ehrlich mitteilen kann. Das ist allerdings unglaubwürdig, wenn man diesen von seinem fanatischen Sendungsbewußtsein überzeugten Menschen in diesen Tagebüchern näher betrachtet (Fröhlich 1987: 495). Überall Haß, Hohn, Brutalität, Lüge und Antisemitismus, aber von Menschlichkeit geschweige denn Selbstkritik kaum eine Spur. Die „Beichtstuhlfunktion des Tagebuchs“ wird immer weniger bedeutend und Goebbels sieht sich als befähigter „Chronist des Natio-

nalsozialismus, später zudem als Chronist des Krieges“ (Nill 1991: 153). Er spricht selbst von seinem „politischen Tagebuch“ (1924,1,153), das nach seinem „Tode zu veröffentlichen“ (1936, 3,996) ist. Auf keinen Fall sollen seine Aufzeichnungen im Krieg verloren gehen: „Ich schaffe meine Tagebücher, 20 dicke Bände, in die unterirdischen Tresore der Reichsbank. Sie sind doch zu wertvoll, als daß sie einem evtl. Bombenangriff zum Opfer fallen dürften. Sie schildern mein ganzes Leben und unsere Zeit. Läßt das Schicksal mir dafür ein paar Jahre, dann will ich sie für spätere Generationen überarbeiten. Sie werden draußen wohl einiges Interesse finden“ (1941,4,1548). Man kann sich gut vorstellen, wie diese Überarbeitung ausgesehen hätte – viel Weißwäscherei und noch mehr Lügen! Schon am 24. Juli 1924 schreibt er in sein Tagebuch: „Es geht doch nichts über einen gesunden Brei von Lügen und Phrasen“ (1924,1,103). Kein Wunder dann, daß sich so viele Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten in seinen Aufzeichnungen finden lassen.

Was er wohl allein aus seiner ins Religiöse gesteigerten Begeisterung für Adolf Hitler gemacht hätte. Hier nur einige typische Beispiele, die seinen überschwenglichen Stil erkennen lassen:

> Ich lese Hitlers Buch zu Ende. Mit reißender Spannung! Wer ist dieser Mann? Halb Plebejer, halb Gott! Tatsächlich der Christus, oder nur der Johannes? (1925,1,200)
>
> Alles hat dieser Mann, um König zu sein. Der geborene Volkstribun. Der kommende Diktator. (1925,1,204)
>
> Ich weiß nicht, ich habe ihn gern wie einen Vater. Hitler ist ein Universalmensch. (1928,1,306)
>
> Hitler ist der große, überragende Stratege. Ihm nach! Dann werden wir siegen. (1932,2,729)
>
> Hitler ist Reichskanzler. Wie im Märchen! (1933,2,757; vgl. auch 1935,3,897)
>
> Der Führer ist sehr menschlich., ganz rührend und lieb. Er ist das größte geschichtliche Genie, das wir je besessen haben. Eine Ehre, ihm dienen zu dürfen. (1940,4,1438)
>
> Sollte dem Führer eine Wendung der Dinge gelingen – und ich bin fest davon überzeugt, daß ihm die Gelegenheit dazu

> kommt –, dann wird er nicht der Mann des Jahrhunderts, sondern der Mann des Jahrtausends sein. (1945,5,2127)

Natürlich benutzt Goebbels den redensartlichen Vergleich „wie im Märchen" im positiven Sinne, aber man möchte ihm die Redensart „erzähl mir keine Märchen" betreffs seiner ungezügelten Lobgesänge auf Hitler entgegenhalten (Röhrich 1991-1992: II,1000)! Schließlich sind es doch übertriebene Unwahrheiten, die er da vom Stapel läßt. Bernd Sösemann stellt diesbezüglich mit Recht fest: „Goebbels' Tagebuchaufzeichnungen dokumentieren die Selbstdarstellung der Herrschaftsträger, sie sind Zeugnisse bewußter Inszenierungen. Nicht Glaubwürdigkeit und Korrektheit bezeichnen die ihnen angemessenen Bewertungskategorien, sondern weitaus mehr Machtkalkül, ideologische Sinnstiftung, politische Opportunität und propagandistische Strategien – wenn man einmal von dem penetranten Hang des Schreibers zur Beweihräucherung absieht" (Sösemann1993: 141).

In der Tat dreht sich alles bei Goebbels um Propaganda für den Nationalsozialismus, Adolf Hitler und sich selbst sowie schließlich immer mehr für den totalen Krieg (Moltmann 1964) und den schrecklichsten Antisemitismus (Doob 1950, Bussemer 2005). Am 2. März 1929 schreibt er: „Meine Aufgabe ist: Propaganda und Volksaufklärung" (1929,1,355), wobei er allerdings Wörter wie Manipulation und Lüge unterschlägt (Bauer 1988: 73). Mit Recht spricht Sigrid Frind in ihrem frühen Beitrag „Die Sprache als Propagandainstrument des Nationalsozialismus" (1966) von einer „Sprachmanipulation im Dritten Reich […], wobei die irrationale Sprache Hörer und Leser überwältigt und in ein einheitliches Denken und Handeln oder, um die einschlägige Vokabel zu gebrauchen, *Volksempfinden* hineinmanövriert" (Frind 1966: 135). Zu dieser Sprache der Nationalsozialisten liegen verschiedene Bücher vor, die das Vokabular und den Stil untersuchen, wie zum Beispiel Eugen Seidel und Ingeborg Seidel-Slotty, *Sprachwandel im Dritten Reich. Eine kritische Untersuchung faschistischer Einflüsse* (1961), Cornelia Berning, *Vom Abstammungsnachweis zum Zuchtwort. Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus* (1964), Siegfried Bork, *Mißbrauch der Sprache. Tendenzen nationalsozialistischer Sprachregelung* (1970), Gerhard Bauer, *Sprache und Sprachlosigkeit im „Dritten Reich"* (1988) und Robert Michael und Karin Doerr *Nazi-Deutsch / Nazi German. An*

*English Lexicon of the Language of the Third Reich* (2002). Zahlreiche Aufsätze kommen hinzu, und doch ist festzustellen, daß auf den immer wieder zu beobachtenden Gebrauch von Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten nur recht sporadisch wenn überhaupt hingewiesen wird. Zur manipulierenden Verwendung solcher Sprachformeln von den Nationalsozialisten ganz allgemein und von Adolf Hitler in *Mein Kampf* und seinen Reden liegen zwei Studien vor (Mieder 1983 und 1995), aber speziell zu Joseph Goebbels' Gebrauch formelhafter Sprache gibt es nun Alexander Quacks wertvollen Beitrag „Phraseme der ‚NS-Sprache'. Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung zur Verwendung von Phrasemen in ausgewählten Reden des NS-Agitators Joseph Goebbels" (2018). Leider aber befaßt Quack sich nur ganz knapp mit Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten an sich (Quack 2018: 274-276), obwohl diese doch in den Reden und Aufsätzen mit beachtlicher Frequenz auftreten. Goebbels war sich der Bedeutung dieser volkssprachlichen Ausdrücke wohl bewußt und behauptete 1934 auf dem „Parteitag der Treue" rundweg: „Wir müssen die Sprache sprechen, die das Volk versteht, wer zum Volke reden will, muß, wie Luther sagt, dem Volk aufs Maul sehen" (Mieder 1983: 182 und 1995: 184; Klemperer 1987: 246). Wie nun im Folgenden gezeigt werden soll, hat sich Joseph Goebbels seine eigene Aussage sehr zu Herzen genommen, denn er spricht in seinem Tagebuch, um es redensartlich auszudrücken, wie ihm der Schnabel gewachsen ist, und zwar so stark, daß es zu Anhäufungen von sprichwörtlichen Redensarten und Sprichwörtern kommt. Fast auf jeder Seite der fünfbändigen Ausgabe der Tagebücher sind vor allem Redensarten und weniger auch Sprichwörter zu finden, die einen „aggressiven und doch einfachen, volkstümlichen Stil" (Reuth 1990: 127) erkennen lassen.

Es ist verschiedentlich auf Goebbels' „einhämmernden" Stil (Seidel und Seidel-Slotty 1961: 1) beziehungsweise seine „Hammerschlagtaktik" (Grieswelle 1972: 149) hingewiesen worden, die sich durch Häufung oder Wiederholung gewisser Wörter, Bilder, Formeln und Slogans bemerkbar machen. Diese die Hörer oder Leser überwältigende Taktik zeigt sich zuweilen auch in der Anhäufung sprichwörtlicher Ausdrücke. Als Beispiel hier gleich die frühe mit Haß angefüllte antisemitische Tirade vom 4. Juli 1924 mit der zweimaligen Verwendung der Redensarten „eine starke Hand brauchen (haben)" und „an die Luft setzen":

> Uns fehlt in Deutschland eine starke Hand. Schluß machen mit Experiment und Phrase. Anfangen mit Ernst und Arbeit. Das Judenpack, das sich dem verantwortlichen Gedanken der Volksgemeinschaft nicht fügen will, an die Luft setzen. Auch verhauen. Geldabenteurer, an die Luft gesetzt. Gustav Noske hatte etwas von einer starken Hand. Wenn der Mann mit seinen Machtmitteln die jüdische Gefahr bekämpft hätte! Wir stünden heute weiter. Deutschland sehnt sich nach dem Einen, dem Mann, wie die Erde im Sommer nach Regen. […] Herr, zeig dem deutschen Volke ein Wunder! Ein Wunder!! Einen Mann!!! (1924,1,94)

Schon hier zeigt sich die „Gewalttätigkeit und Unmenschlichkeit" in der Sprache der Nationalsozialisten, wobei Goebbels diese vordergründige Brutalität immer wieder auf die Spitze treibt (Winterfeldt 1965: 231). Doch nicht nur das, denn Goebbels vermag auch noch seine pseudoreligiösen Sprachelemente hinzuzufügen (Bramsted 1971: 87), die schon hier auf seine spätere Anhimmelung Adolf Hitlers verweisen.

In dem folgenden Beispiel zeigt sich erneut die übertriebene Aneinanderreihung sprichwörtlicher Redensarten. Man hat in der Tat den Eindruck, daß Goebbels unter Logorrhöe leidet und besessen ist von seiner Sprachflut (Hochhuth 1977:19):

> Das ist für die gesamte Presse ein gefundenes Fressen. Und das bedeutet, daß ich die Suppe auslöffeln muß. Es ist zum Kotzen. Der Kampf beginnt. Die ganze Presse gegen mich. Ich bin, wie ich voraussagte, der Prügelknabe. […] Die Situation ändert sich von Stunde zu Stunde. Alles ist ein wüstes Tohuwabohu [Wirrwarr]. Ich bin innerlich ganz wund. Und vollkommen mit den Nerven herunter. (1930,2,491)

Hier tritt auch die Redensart „es ist zum Kotzen" aus dem Vulgärjargon auf, der zur Drastik des Ausdrucks bei Goebbels gehört (Grieswelle 1972: 155). Sie entwickelt sich im Tagebuch und wohl auch in seinen Reden zu einem anstößigen Leitmotiv, wie etwa in diesen Beispielen:

> Gott, was sind die meisten Menschen entsetzlich kleinlich. Und dabei so nichtig in ihren Kleinigkeiten, das ist manchmal zum Kotzen. (1924,1,162; zu Goebbels' Menschenverachtung vgl. Fest 1963: 135-136))

> Eine elende Sorge ums Geld. Es ist zum Kotzen! Keine Lust zum Arbeiten. (1926,1,233)
>
> Hitler trifft wie gewöhnlich wieder keine Entscheidung. Es ist zum Kotzen mit ihm! (1930,2,452)
>
> Wir stehen vor den schwersten Entscheidungen. Und München schläft. Es ist zum Kotzen! Was soll das noch werden? (1930,2,473)

Doch hier nun noch ein weiterer „Kotzen"-Beleg mit mehreren Redensarten und einer Anspielung auf das bekannte Götz-Zitat „Leck mich am Arsch", wofür Goebbels eine anale Vorliebe hatte (vgl. 1925,1,199; 1930,2,460; 1931,2,589; 1937,3,1085; vgl. Mieder 2011: 257-267):

> Man muß sich da auf den Götz-Standpunkt stellen. Aber die Nerven gehen dabei drauf. Auf meinem Tisch liegen die Ladungen [vors Gericht] wieder zuhauf. Es ist zum Kotzen. Aber ich darf dabei nicht die Nerven verlieren. […] Ich glaube, Göring treibt mir gegenüber ein falsches Spiel. […] Es geht ums Ganze. […] Das geht alles wie am Schnürchen. […] Wird Magda auf eine Stunde kommen. Ich zweifle daran. Sie liebt mich nicht ausschließlich. Schwamm drüber! Ex. Arbeiten, weitergehen. Trotz aller Öde. (1931,2,586)

Solche Anhäufungen lassen sich auch in den letzten Kriegsjahren finden, wie etwa am 4. März 1944, wo die drei Redensarten „gute Miene zum bösen Spiel machen", „am Ruder sein" und „an Haupt und Gliedern" (vgl. Röhrich 1991-1992: II,677) auftreten:

> Heute müssen wir gute Miene zum bösen Spiel machen. Ich glaube auch nicht, daß die Einrichtung der NS-Führungs-offiziere etwas erreichen kann, solange noch die alten Generäle am Ruder sind. Die Wehrmacht und insbesondere das Heer müssen einer Reform an Haupt und Gliedern unterzogen werden. (1944,5,2010)

Hin und wieder greift Goebbels neben den sprichwörtlichen Redensarten auch zu einem Sprichwort, das dann die besprochene Situation oder das angeführte Problem verallgemeinernd relativiert, wie hier das Sprichwort „Jeder hat sein Päckchen zu tragen":

> Schwechten-Saal vor eingeladenen Gästen über die Finanzen gesprochen. Dabei kommen ganze 700 Mk heraus. Tropfen auf den heißen Stein. Dafür muß man nun Bittgänge zum ewigen Spießer machen. Es kommt einem der Kaffee hoch. […] Auch sie hat mit ihrem Hause große Geldsorgen. Jeder hat sein Päckchen zu tragen. Wenn man nur nicht so scharf in den eigenen Reihen bekämpft würde! (1931,2,594)

Hier nun noch ein letzter Beleg für solche Anhäufungen vom 10. Februar 1944, wo Goebbels sich in diesem Krisenjahr an bessere Zeiten und treue „Kumpel" mit drei ausdrucksstarken Redensarten erinnert:

> Ich habe in Berlin Mitarbeiter von echtem Schrot und Korn gefunden. Sie stammen zum größten Teil noch aus der Kampfzeit, sind mir treu ergeben und gehen mit mir durch dick und dünn. Es handelt sich hier um eine Garde, mit der man Pferde stehlen kann. Wenn solche Männer an der Ostfront kommandierten, so stände es vermutlich besser, als es in Wirklichkeit steht. (1944,5,1982)

Da nun das Wort „Kampf" gefallen ist, das mit hoher Frequenz bei Goebbels auftritt (Kessemeier 1967: 262), sei auf seine leitmotivische Vorliebe für die Redensart „Kampf bis aufs Messer" in der Bedeutung von etwas oder jemanden mit allen nur möglichen Mitteln bis zum Äußersten bekämpfen hingewiesen (Röhrich 1991-1992: II,1025). Folgende Belege zeigen die rücksichtslose Aggressivität

> Geistige Erlösung? Nein Kampf bis aufs Messer. Nur nicht das Vitalste im Leben, Politik, Geschichte vergeistigen wollen. (1925,1,212)

> Die D.N.V.P. katastrophale Verluste. Die beiden Linken fabelhaft zugenommen. Es wird einen Kampf bis aufs Messer geben. (1928,1,291)

> Abends liest Hitler uns seinen Aufruf vor. Scharf gegen die Defaitisten. Keine Versöhnung. Kampf bis aufs Messer. (1932,2,741)

Das schlimmste Beispiel kommt vom 31. März 1933, am Abend vor dem Boykott gegen die jüdische Bevölkerung. Zu der

„Kampf"-Redensart kommen noch Phraseologismen wie „den Kopf hängen lassen", „Gespenster sehen", „an den Kragen gehen" und „eine Heidenangst haben" in der antisemitischen Variation „eine Judenangst haben" hinzu, die alle bereits den Holocaust ahnen lassen:

> Viele lassen die Köpfe hängen und sehen Gespenster. Sie meinen, der Boykott würde zum Krieg führen. Wenn wir uns wehren, können wir nur Achtung gewinnen. Wir […] beschließen, daß der Boykott morgen in aller Schärfe beginnen soll. […] Geht die Hetze im Ausland zu Ende, dann wird er abgestoppt, im anderen Falle beginnt dann der Kampf bis aufs Messer. Nun sollen die deutschen Juden auf ihre Rassegenossen in der Welt einwirken, damit es ihnen hier nicht an den Kragen geht. Ich gebe vor der Pressekonferenz in einer atemlosen Stille eine diesbezügliche Erklärung ab. Hier paßt das Wort: Die Juden haben eine Judenangst. (1933,2,789)

Da überrascht eigentlich nur noch, daß Goebbels nicht auch die von ihm wiederholt eingesetzten Redensarten „nichts zu lachen haben" und „jdm. wird das Lachen vergehen" mit Bezug auf das bevorstehende Schicksal der Juden benutzt (Fröhlich 1990: 211). Victor Klemperer hat in seinem *LTI*-Buch auf Hitlers Vorliebe für solche „Lachen"-Redensarten hingewiesen: „Eine der besonders häufig wiederholten und paraphrasierten Führerphrasen ist eine Drohung, das Lachen werde den Juden schon vergehen, woraus später die ebensooft wiederholte Äußerung wird, daß es ihnen wirklich vergangen ist" (Klemperer 1987: 190; Mieder 2000: 49-51). Goebbels verwendet die beiden Phraseologismen immer als überhebliche und prophetische Drohungen, die seine unmenschliche Machtbesessenheit unter Beweis stellen:

> Die Deutschnationalen sind von einer impertinenten Arroganz und Hochnäsigkeit. Aber das Lachen wird ihnen bald vergehen. (1932,2,701)

> Aber heute werde ich meine Gegenmaßnahmen treffen. Die [Rundfunksprecher] werden nichts zu lachen haben. (1936,3,1009)

> Arme Tschechei! Sie wird in näherer und weiterer Zukunft nichts zu lachen haben. (1937,3,1043-1044)

> Es stehen für abends wieder ganz massive Angriffe [auf London] bevor. Das Lachen ist den Lords vergangen. Nun atmet aus den Reuterberichten das kalte Grausen. (1940,4,1471)
>
> Jedenfalls werden die Juden in einer kommenden Welt nicht viel Grund zum Lachen haben. Heute schon gibt es in Europa eine ziemliche Einheitsfront dem Judentum gegenüber. (1941,4,1659)
>
> Unseren Feinden werde das Lachen noch vergehen, insbesondere in bezug auf den Luftkrieg; denn jetzt begännen wir schon zurückzuschlagen (1944,5,1994; indirektes Zitat von Hitler)
>
> Sollte das möglich sein, dann wird den Engländern allerdings das Lachen und das Beschönigen vergehen, denn die A4-Waffe hat natürlich eine viel enormere Wirkung als die V1-Waffe. (1944,5,2069)

Aus parömiologischer Sicht ist dieses letzte Beispiel von besonderem Interesse, denn hier kommt zu Goebbels' teuflischem Lachen noch das Sprichwort „Die Katze läßt das Mausen nicht" hinzu, das er mit Bezug auf den Marxismus so umformuliert, daß ihre Anhänger als gemeingefährliche Tiere erscheinen, die es kämpferisch zu überwältigen gilt:

> Wie die Katze nicht vom Mausen läßt, so läßt der Marxismus nicht vom Dolchstoß. Zwar triumphieren die roten Bonzen heute, aber das Lachen wird ihnen wohl bald vergehen. Was heute unpopulär ist, das wird morgen populär sein. Wir müssen nur fest und standhaft bleiben, nicht nachgeben und auf unserem Recht bestehen. (1932,2,715)

Drohung und Prophezeiung verbinden sich bei Goebbels ständig, wobei seine Tagebuchtiraden zum Antibolschewismus und Antisemitismus keine Grenzen kennen. Welcher irrationaler Judenhaß (vgl. Hoffend 1987: 263-263-265) tritt in folgenden Aussagen hervor, die alle auf die sogenannte „Endlösung der Judenfrage" (1942,4,1762) hinweisen. Verben wie „ausradieren", „ausrotten", „eliminieren", „liquidieren" und vor allem auch „ausmerzen" sind durch ihren mörderischen Gebrauch während der Nazi-Zeit heutzutage unbrauchbar oder nur mit Vorsicht zu benutzen, und so ist es zu begrüßen, daß Matthias Heine in seinem Buch *Verbrannte*

*Wörter. Wo wir noch reden wie die Nazis – und wo nicht* (2019: 134-137) immerhin das Verb „liquidieren" einschließt:

> Diese Judenpest muß ausradiert werden. Ganz und gar. Davon darf nichts übrig bleiben. (1936,3,1004)
>
> Die Juden sind die Läuse der zivilisierten Menschheit. Man muß sie irgendwie ausrotten, sonst werden sie immer wieder ihre peinigende und lästige Rolle spielen. (1941,4,1695-1696)
>
> Überhaupt vertrete ich die Meinung, daß, je mehr Juden während dieses Krieges liquidiert werden, desto konsolidierter die Lage in Europa nach dem Kriege sein wird. (1942,4,1764)
>
> Zehn Juden im Konzentrationslager oder unter der Erde sind mir lieber als einer in Freiheit. (1942,4,1799)
>
> In Verfolg des Heydrich-Attentats sind in Sachsenhausen eine ganze Reihe inkriminierter Juden erschossen worden. Je mehr von diesem Dreckzeug beiseitegeschafft wird, umso besser für die Sicherheit des Reiches. (1942,4,1813)

Menschenfeindliche Vergleiche der Juden mit Läusen und anderem Ungeziefer, wie es stereotypisch auch auf andere Feindbilder übertragen wird, stehen in dem Kapitel „Ungeziefer der Menschheit" in der furchtbaren Sprichwörtersammlung *Der Jude im Sprichwort der Völker* (1942: 34-40) von Ernst Hiemer, die in dem nationalsozialistischen Der Stürmer Buchverlag erschienen ist und wider Erwartens (!) in einem rechtsradikalen Leipziger Verlag im Jahre 2016 nachgedruckt worden ist (vgl. dazu Mieder 2019). Zu erwähnen ist noch, daß Goebbels in dem vorletzten Beleg die Sprichwortformel „X ist (sind) mir lieber als Y" (etwa: Zwei Sommer sind mir lieber als ein Winter) anwendet, die seiner Aussage eine volkssprachliche Prägnanz verleiht. Da fragt man sich dann nur noch, warum er nicht gleich von „Vergasung" (Mieder 2000: 168-171) spricht.

Doch damit sind diese Ausführungen bei den eigentlichen Sprichwörtern angelangt, die zu der „gewollt volkstümlichen Sprache" der Nationalsozialisten mit ihren „alten Lebens- und Spruchweisheiten, Stilblüten, drastischen und unverblümten Bildern und Redewendungen" (Bork 1970: 94) gehören. Das Sprachregister, das Goebbels in all seinen Mitteilungen zur Verfügung stand, erzeugt einen propagandistischen „Rattenfängereffekt"

(Heiber in Goebbels 1971-1972: I,XXXIII; vgl. Mieder 2002a: 147-156), dem auch Leser seiner Tagebücher ausgeliefert sind. Man wird sozusagen hineingezogen in seine sprichwörtlichen Aussagen, die er als Rechtfertigung, Prophezeiung, Argumentation und vor allem Autorität zitiert. Doch wie würde er wohl heute auf seine prophetische Verwendung vom 8. Juni 1925 des auf Major Ferdinand von Schill zurückgehenden Sprichwortes vom 12. Mai 1809 reagieren, womit dieser seinen gewagten Angriff auf Napoleon charakterisierte? Während das Sprichwort „Lieber ein Ende mit Schrecken als ein Schrecken ohne Ende“ (Wander 1867-1880: I,815, Nr. 29; Büchmann, 1995: 417-418) die gewagte Kriegsentscheidung zum Ausdruck bringt, teilt Goebbels das Sprichwort in zwei Möglichkeiten der politischen Entwicklung:

> Die Politik ist ernster als es scheint. […] Bis Ende dieses Jahres kommen die Katastrophen. Dann haben wir und die Kommunisten das Wort. Und es wird ein Schrecken ohne Ende oder ein Ende mit Schrecken werden. (1925,1,187-188)

Am Ende war dann doch wirklich alles nur noch ein Schrecken in der Gestalt des Krieges und des Holocausts mit den unzähligen Opfern weltweit.

Als eine Art sprichwörtliches Leitmotiv tritt das klassische Sprichwort „Gutta cavat lapidem“, das in viele Sprachen übersetzt worden ist und im Deutschen als „Steter Tropfen höhlt den Stein“ gängig ist (Paczolay 1997: 349-352), in den Tagebüchern von Joseph Goebbels auf. Es erscheint zwischen 1932 und 1945 fünfmal als das am meisten verwendete Sprichwort in der fünfbändigen Tagebuchausgabe. An und für sich drückt das Sprichwort bildhaft aus, daß mit Ausdauer manches zu erreichen ist. Für Goebbels aber wird es zu einer psychologischen Formel, die seine groteske Besessenheit verfestigt und wohl auch rechtfertigt:

> Ich schreibe jeden Tag einen Aufsatz gegen das Kabinett. Steter Tropfen höhlt den Stein. Man sieht zwar nicht unmittelbar, daß diese Angriffe Erfolg haben, aber auf die lange Dauer können sie nicht ohne Auswirkung bleiben. (1932,2,718)

> Geheimausschuß zur Durchführung deutsch-japanischen Abkommens. Ich trete ihm auch bei. Wir werden nun in den anderen Staaten bohren. Das dauert lange, aber steter Tropfen höhlt den Stein. (1937,3,1031-1032)

> Die [Propaganda]Arbeit unserer Schwarzsender nach Frankreich ist mustergültig. Die französische Öffentlichkeit schweigt darüber, um nicht darauf aufmerksam zu machen. Auch unsere Sendungen nach England wirken nach allen Meldungen großartig. Wir verfahren nach dem Prinzip: steter Tropfen höhlt den Stein. (1940,4,1371)

> Unsere Propaganda ins Ausland wirkt nach und nach. Man darf nicht zu frühe Erfolge erwarten. Aber steter Tropfen wird auch hier den Stein höhlen. Wir müssen Geduld haben und mit zäher Verbissenheit immer in dieselbe Kerbe schlagen. (1940,4,1391). Hier kommt noch die gewalttätige Redensart „in dieselbe Kerbe schlagen" hinzu.

> Der Führer hält mir gegenüber in keiner Weise mehr zurück. Zwar habe ich in den eigentlich wichtigsten Kriegsfragen auch diesmal keinen praktischen Erfolg errungen. Aber ich glaube, wie ich schon betonte, daß steter Tropfen auch hier den Stein höhlen wird. (1945,5,2152)

Das Sprichwort ist ihm also „Prinzip" zum Weitermachen nationalsozialistischer Gewalttätigkeiten, zur ständigen Fortführung des Krieges sowie zur mörderischen Verfolgung der Juden und anderer Opfer. Man sieht hier, wie ein anscheinend harmloses Sprichwort einem gefährlichen Menschenfeind als Leitstern dienen kann. Sprichwörter sind in der Tat nicht harmlose Weisheiten, denn sie können wie Einzelwörter und Redensarten mißbraucht werden.

Oft zitiert Goebbels traditionelle Volkssprichwörter, die kurz und bündig als eingängige Erklärungen, allgemeine Feststellungen aber auch Rechtfertigungen zitiert werden. Auch hier dienen sie gewöhnlich dazu, Argumente und Beobachtungen zu verallgemeinern und somit volkssprachlich hervorzuheben. Fast immer werden die Sprichwörter in ihrem vollen Wortlaut zitiert, doch kommt es zuweilen auch nur zu Anspielungen oder zur strukturellen Auflösung aus syntaktischen Gründen:

> Göring tut so, als ob er stellvertretender Papst sei, nachdem er im Fraktionsvorstand sitzt. Na ja, neue Besen. (1930,2,529; Neue Besen kehren gut)

> Göring aast etwas zu sehr. Aber wo nichts ist … [Punkte von G.] Er kann auch keine Wunder wirken. (1937,3,1097; Wo nichts ist, hat der Kaiser das Recht verloren)
>
> Die Kinder sind bei Mussolini gewesen. Er hat sie geherzt und geküßt. Sie sind ganz stolz. Helga sagt: „Der andere Führer ist auch sehr nett." Kindermund! (1937,3,1133; Kindermund tut Wahrheit kund)
>
> Es muß Gras über die ganze Sache wachsen. Und Zeit dahingehen, die bekanntlich alles heilt. (1938,3,1256; Die Zeit heilt alle Wunden)
>
> Die Presse muß einheitlich geführt werden und kann nicht zween Herren dienen. (1940,4,1492; Man kann nicht zugleich zwei Herren dienen)
>
> Aber bei Gott und augenblicklich bei den Engländern ist alles möglich. (1941,4,1563; Bei Gott ist alles möglich)
>
> Ich bin in letzter Zeit etwas mit den Nerven angeknockt, so daß ich nur unter besten Voraussetzungen überhaupt Nachtruhe finde; und soviel man an Schlaf nachholen kann, soll man nachholen, denn wir stehen zweifellos vor harten Beanspruchungen, die einen gesunden Körper und einen gesunden Geist erforderlich machen. (1944,5,2031)

In dem letzten Beleg geht es um das in viele Sprachen übersetzte lateinische Sprichwort „Mens sana in corpore sano", das im Deutschen als „Gesunder Geist in gesundem Körper" umläuft. Goebbels wird die Anordnung von Körper und Geist umgekehrt haben, weil er ja von körperlichen Beschwerden spricht.

In der folgenden Belegkette geht es nun um direkt zitierte Sprichwörter, die Goebbels zuweilen zwei- oder dreimal benutzt hat. Die Texte werden chronologisch wiedergegeben, wobei ersichtlich wird, daß Sprichwörter über zwei Jahrzehnte hinweg als Volksweisheiten in den Tagebüchern auftreten. Sie gehören, wie auch in seinen Reden und Aufsätzen, zu seinem volkssprachlichen Sprachstil, was übrigens in den noch zahlreicher verwendeten sprichwörtlichen Redensarten, die weiter unten zitiert werden, noch deutlicher zum Vorschein kommt:

> Ich werde ein Spießer: Kommt Zeit, kommt Rat! (1925,1,194)

Fürstenabfindung! Recht muß doch Recht bleiben. Auch den Fürsten. Frage des Privateigentums nicht erschüttern! (1926, 1,228)

Heute bringt [Gregor] Straßer einen gemeinen Artikel gegen Berlin. Die Katze läßt das Mausen nicht. (1928,1,292). Mit einer kleinen Variation auch: [Franz von] Papen entwickelt einen Plan, um [Kurt von] Schuschnigg zu stürzen. Der Kater läßt vom Mausen nicht. Aber das ist gut so. (1937,3,1169)

Dann ist der Sieg uns sicher. Ich glaube daran. Der Glaube versetzt Berge! (1928,1,309)

Man lernt doch nie aus. Die meisten Menschen sind Schweine. Nur wenige sind Menschen. (1928,1,323)

Warum muß ich auf das Glück verzichten? Wahrscheinlich deshalb, damit in Deutschland wieder einmal alle glücklich werden können. Einige müssen säen, damit viele ernten können. Das ist schwer, aber es muß wohl so sein. (1929,1,363). Anspielung auf dieses Bibelsprichwort auch hier: Man möchte vor Wut platzen, wenn man sich überlegt, daß wir gesät haben, und die [politischen Gegner] nun ernten sollen. Es ist eine Unanständigkeit, sich dumm dreist in ein Bett hineinzulegen, das andere gerichtet haben. (1932,2,693). Und nun noch eine doppelte Sprichwortaussage: Das ist immer so im Leben. Von nichts kommt nichts, und wer nicht säen will, kann auch nicht mähen. (1933,2,774)

Aber bis zum Oktober, da der V.B. hier seine Druckerei eröffnen wird, geht noch manche Stunde dahin. Es wird nichts so heiß gegessen, wie gekocht wird. (1930,2,458)

Mussolini scheint die Judenfrage nicht erkannt zu haben. Auch in Italien ist nicht alles Gold, was glänzt. Aber es hat einen Führer, und der hat die Macht. (1930,2,477)

Ich weiß wie gewöhnlich noch nicht, wohin ich fahren soll. Ich überlasse das dem Augenblick. Wer die Wahl hat, der hat allemal die Qual. (1930,2,487)

Aber ich wehre mich garnicht mehr dagegen [Angriffe im Reichstag]. Ich bin des Treibens müde! Es sind die schlech-

> testen Früchte nicht, an denen die Wespen nagen. (1930, 2,499)
>
> Ich bin trotz allem guter Laune. Aber man soll den Tag nicht vor dem Abend loben. Sei menschenfeindlich und mißtrauisch. Der Freunde in der Not gehen 100 auf ein Lot. (1931,2,607). Mitten im Zweiten Weltkrieg kommt Goebbels in etwas aufgelöster Fassung auf des erste dieser beiden Sprichwörter zurück: Die Ostlage hat sich eine Kleinigkeit stabilisiert. Wir wollen den Tag nicht vor dem Abend loben, aber daß es etwas besser mit uns steht, sieht man auch am feindlichen Nachrichtendienst, der wesentlich reservierter auftritt. (1943,5,1857)
>
> Die Roten nutzen die Gelegenheit aus; aber wer zuletzt lacht, lacht immer doch am besten. Ein schamloser Lügenfeldzug wird bis ins kleinste Detail eröffnet. (1932,2,632)
>
> Aber wir alle wollen ihm [Hitler] helfen, und wo ein Wille ist, da wird sich auch ein Weg finden lassen. (1932,2,686). Zur Geschichte dieses nicht sehr alten Sprichwortes vgl. Mieder 2017.

Von Interesse ist natürlich, daß Goebbels das Sprichwort „Dem Mutigen gehört die Welt“ gleich dreimal benutzt hat. Einmal fügt er sogar noch das bekannte Sprichwort „Wer nichts wagt, der gewinnt auch nichts“ hinzu. Das Problem dabei ist allerdings, daß solche Sprichwörter herangezogen werden, um die schlimmen Pläne und Taten der Nationalsozialisten zu rechtfertigen oder gar zu loben:

> Und dem Mutigen gehört die Welt! das ist das Große am Führer, daß er mit ewig gleichbleibender Zähigkeit einem einzigen Ziel nachstrebt und ihm alles zu opfern bereit ist. (1932,2,702). Noch einmalmit einem zweiten Sprichwort: Dem Mutigen gehört die Welt! Wer nichts wagt, der gewinnt auch nichts (1936,3,929; vgl. Reuth 1990: 338). Schließlich auch noch dieser Beleg: Und das Rheinland ein Freudenmeer. Der Einmarsch planmäßig verlaufen. Dem Mutigen gehört die Welt. (1936,3,934)

Auch die folgenden Sprichwortbelege zeigen immer wieder, wie Sprichwörter eingestzt werden, um Passiertes oder Gegebenes

umgangssprachlich zu erklären, zu relativieren oder zuverschleiern:

> Vor dem Gebäude stauen sich die Menschenmassen. Lauter Nazis. Unsere Leute sind zu Hunderten in den Saal hineingelangt, auf welche Weise, mag der liebe Gott wissen. Jedenfalls sind sie da nach dem Sprichwort: wer zuerst kommt, mahlt zuerst. (1932,2,705). Dies ist das einzige Mal, daß Goebbels eine Sprichwort-Einführungsformel benutzt. Zu dem Sprichwort an sich vgl. Mieder 2018.

> Die Welt ist gegen uns. Aber wir brauchen uns deshalb keine grauen Haare wachsen lassen. Noch ist nicht aller Tage Abend. (1935,3,862). Hier kommt noch die negierte „Haar"-Redensart hinzu, die volkssprachlich zeigen soll, daß die politischen Gegner in der Mitte der dreißiger Jahre nicht zu befürchten sind, denn noch ist lange nicht alles entschieden, wie es das Sprichwort ausdrückt.

> [Arnold] Raether hat Korruption gemacht. Ich beurlaube ihn gleich. Wird entlassen. Ordnung und Sauberkeit müssen sein. (1935,3,898) Wiederum um eine zweite Komponente erweitert tritt das Sprichwort „Ordnung muß sein" auch hier auf: Ordnung und Disziplin muß sein, vor allem in dieser Zeit, in der psychologische Fragen eine so große Rolle spielen. (1941,4,1529)

> Damit [ist] diese Krise auch vorbei Aber wohl nur aufgeschoben, nicht aufgehoben. (1937,3,1058)

> Prag veröffentlicht sein Statut. Gänzlich unzulänglich. Typisch tschechisch: Viel Lärm um nichts. Auf dieser Basis kann überhaupt nicht verhandelt werden. (1938,3,1242)

> Aber wir lassen uns auch nicht lumpen und sind auf der Hut. Vorsicht ist hier die Mutter der Weisheit. (1939,3,1308). Hier wieder eine Verbindung von Redensart und Sprichwort.

> Man kann mit diesen Leuten nicht arbeiten. Wie der Herr, so's Gescherr. (1940,4,1452)

> Große Stockung. Mit einem Wort: ein richtiger Pechtag. Aber alle Tage ist kein Sonntag. (1940,4,1509)

Wir wollen zuerst noch eine Reihe von Sicherheiten schaffen, Gefangene machen etc. Was man hat, das hat man. Also fordern wir zuerst einmal Erfüllung einiger Formalitäten. (1941,4 ,1564)

Es herrscht in Berlin Hochbetrieb. Aber man hat denEindruck, es lohnt sich. Auch hier muß man das Eisen schmieden, solange es glüht. (1941,4,1713). Mit einer „Grundsatz"-Einführungsformel auch in diesem Beleg: Man hat den Eindruck, daß unsere Außenpolitik sich langsam ins Gleiten begeben hat. Hier muß ich nach dem Grundsatz vorgehen: Schmiede das Eisen, solang es glüht. (1944,5,2106)

Wir haben zwar durch den Kriegseintritt Japans gewissermaßen Glück gehabt. Aber es ist auch das Ergebnis einer unermüdlichen diplomatischen Bearbeitung der dafür in Frage kommenden maßgebenden Tokioer Kreise. Der Herr hat es den Seinen nicht im Schlaf gegeben, sondern der Kriegseintritt Japans ist das Ergebnis vieler schlafloser Nächte. (1941, 4,1719)

Es ist klar, daß er [Winston Churchill] Roosevelt Lorbeerkränze windet, genau wie Roosevelt ihm, da beide ja nach dem Prinzip vorgehen müssen: mitgegangen, mitgefangen, mitgehangen. (1942,4,1727)

Jedenfalls ist es ein Unsinn, wenn die englischen Kommentatoren daraus auf den Beginn einer Niederlage unserer Truppen schließen. Davon ist überhaupt kein Anzeichen zu bemerken, und hier ist wohl der Wunsch der Vater des Gedankens. (1942, 4,1820)

Wenn es den Menschen zu gut geht, dann handeln sie so wie der Esel, der auch aufs Eis geht, wenn es ihm zu wohl ist. Wir laufen Gefahr, daß wir, um ein Nietzsche Wort zu gebrauchen, durch allzu große Schonung allmählich angekränkelt werden. (1942,4,1856)

Ich weiß nicht, ob das den Tatsachen entspricht; denn erfahrungsgemäß verlangen Völker in besetzten Gebieten, wenn man ihnen den kleinen Finger reicht, die ganze Hand und sind keineswegs mit dem kleinen Finger zufrieden. (1943,5,1864)

> Dieser Erlaß ist gänzlich unzulänglich, weil er nach der Methode: „Wasch mir den Pelz, aber mach mich nicht naß!“ aufgebaut ist. Ich fordere einen schärferen Erlaß. (1943,5,1914)

> Der Bischof von Münster [Graf Clemens August von Galen] hat eine Rede gegen die Vergeltung gehalten, die einfach jeder Beschreibung spottet. Wenn ich diese Rede veröffentlichte, würde er sicherlich auf offener Straße verprügelt werden. Er polemisiert dagegen, daß wir gegen England eine Vergeltung durchführen. Man dürfe selbst nach den schwersten Luftangriffen nicht nach dem Prinzip handeln: „Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn!“; das sei nicht christlich, aber auch nicht deutsch. Man könnte wünschen, daß der Bischof Galen einmal drei oder vier Stunden mitten im Bombenhagel säße; dann würde er vermutlich über diese Frage anders denken, als das heute der Fall ist. (1944,5,1989-1990)

Das hier zuletzt auftauchende Vergeltungssprichwort „Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn“ aus der Bibel (2. Mose 21,24; Matthäus 5,38), das Goebbels am 23. Februar 1944 im Unterschied zu Graf von Galen für völlig angebracht und berechtigt hält, hatte sein großes Vorbild Adolf Hitler in einer Rede am 30. Januar 1942 verwendet. Was einmal metaphorisches Sprichwort oder bildhafte Redensart war, das wurde von Hitler, Goebbels und anderen in gemeingefährliche und tödliche Aktion umgesetzt. Bei Hitler wurde das Bibelsprichwort zur volkssprachlichen Rechfertigung der tatsächlichen Vernichtung der europäischen Juden pervertiert:

> Wir sind uns dabei im klaren darüber, daß der Krieg nur damit enden kann, daß entweder die arischen Völker ausgerottet werden, oder daß das Judentum aus Europa verschwindet. Ich habe am 1. September 1939 [eigentlich schon am 30. Januar 1939] im Deutschen Reichstag es schon ausgesprochen […], daß das Ergebnis dieses Krieges die Vernichtung des Judentums sein wird. Zum erstenmal wird diesmal das echt altjüdische Gesetz angewendet: „Aug’ um Aug’, Zahn um Zahn!“ (Domarus 1962: II,1828-1829; vgl. auch Klemperer1995: II,470)

Der bereits erwähnte Karl Kraus hat diese Brutalität und Unmenschlichkeit der Nazi-Sprache mit Bezug auf Hitlers noch

früheren Gebrauch dieses Sprichwortes bereits 1933 in seinem satirischen Werk *Die dritte Walpurgisnach* gebrandmarkt:

> Wenn diese Politiker der Gewalt noch davon sprechen, daß dem Gegner „das Messer an die Kehle zu setzen", „der Mund zu stopfen" sei, oder „die Faust zu zeigen"; wenn sie überall „mit harter Faust durchgreifen" wollen oder mit „Aktionen auf eigene Faust" drohen: so bleibt nur erstaunlich, daß sie noch die Redenarten gebrauchen, die sie nicht mehr machen. Die Regierung, die „mit aller Brutalität jeden niederschlagen will, der sich ihr entgegenstellt" – tut es. „Ausstoßen aus der Deutschen Arbeitsfront" läßt das Brachium erkennen, mit dem deren Machthaber an einer Kehlkopfverletzung beteiligt war; und vollends erfolgt die Absage an das Bildliche in dem Versprechen eines Staatspräsidenten: „Wir sagen nicht, Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn, nein, wer uns ein Auge ausschlägt, dem werden wir den Kopf abschlagen, und wer uns einen Zahn ausschlägt, dem werden wir den Kiefer einschlagen." (Kraus 1952: 122; Mieder 2000: 54)

So spricht Karl Kraus mit Recht bereits zur Zeit der „Machtübernahme" Hitlers und der Gewalttätigkeiten seiner Gefolgsleute von einem „Aufbruch der Phrase zur Tat" (Kraus 1952: 123), was sich besonders an der Verwendung somatischer Redensarten erkennen läßt. Die Pervertierung des „Auge und Zahn"-Vergeltungs-sprichwortes steigerte sich schließlich zum Mord an Millionen von unschuldigen Opfern und zeigt, daß mißbrauchte Sprichwörter lebengefährlich sein können.

Was nun somatische Redensarten betrifft, so zeigt Goebbels' wiederholter Gebrauch davon seine emotionale und aggressive Einstellung zu Personen und Sachverhalten. Zum Teil mehrmals auftauchende Phraseologismen wie „zum Halse heraushängen", „die Zähne zeigen" und „den längeren Atem haben" geben den Tagebuchberichten eine volkssprachliche Expressivität, die natürlich vor allem auch in seinen lautstarken Reden zu beobachten ist. Die folgenden Auszüge in chronologischer Anordnung machen deutlich, daß Goebbels' Drohungen, Prophezeiungen, Prahlereien und Lügen durchgehend zu seinem hämmernden Sprachstil gehören. Hin und wieder kommen zu den körperbezogenen Ausdrücken noch weitere Redensarten hinzu, die seinen übertriebenen Redefluß bloßstellen:

Wir stehen mitten im Wahltrubel. Mir hängt's schon zum Halse heraus. Meine Nerven fangen an zu streiken. (1928,1, 284). Und auch noch: Diese ewigen Stänkereien hängen mir zum Halse heraus. (1930,2,533)

In Wedding toben schon wieder Straßenschlachten. Das ist die festverankerte Republik. Es ist zum Heulen! Es wird nicht besser werden, bis dem Gesindel einmal die Zähne gezeigt werden. Wann kommt unser Tag? (1929,1,374). Erneut auch: Man muß den Roten nur die Zähne zeigen, dann kuschen sie. (1932,2,675)

Göring hetzt ununterbrochen gegen mich. Aus einer krankhaften Eifersucht heraus. Er kriecht Hitler förmlich in den Arsch. Wenn er nicht so dick wäre, würde ihm das auch wohl gelingen. (1931,2,598)

Aber wir verharren in Resistenz. Nun kommt es darauf an, wer den längeren Atem hat. (1931,2,560). Und noch: Nur die Nerven behalten. Nicht aus der Ruhe kommen. Wer den längsten Atem hat … [Punkte von G.] (1931,2,574). Schließlich ganz einfach: Mal sehen, wer hier den längeren Atem hat. (1938, 3,1196)

Jetzt müssen wir die Zähne zusammenbeißen und durchhalten. (1932,2,646)

Göring hat Rosinen im Kopf. Er … [frustriert?] alle Menschen schon durch sein pampiges Großmannstum. (1933,2,828)

Der Führer ist noch unschlüssig. Ich plädiere: nicht handeln, bevor der Russenpakt nicht endgültig ratifiziert. Dann aber die Gelegenheit beim Schopfe ergreifen. So wird's wohl auch gemacht werden. (1936,3,927)

Führer sehr scharf gegen asoziale Elemente. Müssen ausradiert werden. In einem Krieg und Zwangsarbeitslagern. Sonst hoffentlich bald in eine deutsche Kolonie abgeschoben. Das ist Humanität! Sozial gegen solche, die es verdienen. Sonst aber gegen Verbrecher die harte Faust. (1937,3,1047)

Kleine Entente-Konferenz in Belgrad: Jugoslawien will nicht mehr so recht mittuen, auch Rumänien hat kalte Füße bekommen. (1937,3,1061). Und noch: Man scheint auch in London

kalte Füße bekommen zu haben. Jedenfalls streckt man dort verzeifelt Friedensfühler aus und benimmt sich dabei reichlich ungeniert. (1940,4,1385). Schließlich ganz kanpp: Amerika hat auch kalte Füße bekommen. Albion steht ganz allein. (1940,4,1454)

Also wird es Zeit. Nun muß etwas geschehen. Sonst wächst uns die Sache über den Kopf. (1938,3,1196)

Um die einzelnen Punkte [Memorandum Hitlers an Chamberlain] geht noch ein erbitterter Kampf. Der spitzt sich soweit zu, daß Chamberlain plötzlich aufstehen und gehen will: er habe nun seine Pflicht getan, es sei aussichtslos und er wasche seine Hände in Unschuld. (1938,3,1273)

Die öffentliche Meinung ist wie umgedreht. Alles atmet auf, daß die große gefährliche Krise vorbei ist [durch Chamberlains Beschwichtigungskonzept]. Wir sind alle auf einem dünnen Drahtseil über einen schwindelnden Abgrund gegangen. Nun haben wir aber wieder festen Boden unter den Füßen. (1938,3,1276)

England muß in die Knie gezwungen werden. (1939,3,1346). Und noch: Einige vertreten immer noch den Standpunkt, daß es in diesen Wochen gelingen könnte, England in die Knie zu zwingen. Ich halte diese Hoffnung für sehr vage. Jedenfalls soll man sich nicht darauf einstellen. Und für guten Luftschutz sorgen. (1940,4,1485; vgl. Reuth 1990: 459).

Den Russen steht anscheinend das Wasser bis zum Hals. (1940,4,1373)

Herrlich ist es, so lange mit dem Führer unter vier Augen zu sprechen. Da ist er immer am vertrautesten. Er redet ganz als Mensch zu mir. (1940,4,1431)

England dürfte ja eigentlich nicht wieder mit einem blauen Auge davonkommen. (1940,4,1442). Und auch diese interessante Variation, die die immer prekärere Situation des Dritten Reiches zeigt: Der Führer ist sehr besorgt; aber ich glaube, wir werden doch mit zwei blauen Augen davonkommen. (1944, 5,1985)

> Das Volk ist und bleibt das Fundament unsrer ganzen Arbeit. Ich lerne eine ganze Reihe von prachtvollen Arbeitern und Arbeiterinnen kennen, die aus ihrem Herzen keine Mördergrube machen. Eine schöne Plauderstunde mit richtigem Volk. Was ist dagegen das ganze intellektuelle Geschwätz. (1940,4,1502; zum Anti-Intellektualismus vgl. Nill 1991: 170-180) Und noch dieser Beleg mit der biblischen Redensart (Matthäus 21,13): Vor allem aber habe ich dabei das beglückende Gefühl, daß der Führer mir völliges Vertrauen entgegenbringt, und daß ich deshalb schon aus meinem Herzen keine Mördergrube zu machen brauche. (1944,5,2069)

> Bezüglich der jüdischen Mischehen, vor allem in Künstlerkreisen empfiehlt der Füher mir etwas reserviertes Vorgehen, da er der Meinung ist, daß diese Ehen sowieso nach und nach aussterben und man sich darüber keeine grauen Haare wachsen lassen soll. (1941,4,1710)

> Man [Rußland] kann nicht einfach mitten bei Beginn einer großen Offensive einen Verlust von 2000 Panzern auf sich nehmen, ohne mit der Wimper zu zucken. (1942,4,1802) Und auch: Die Engländer geben sich den Anschein, als wenn sie diese Schläge hinnähmen, ohne mit der Wimper zu zucken. (1942,4,1812).

> Es ist praktisch im Reich eine geordnete Führung nicht mehr möglich. […] Man kann sich die Folgen davon an den fünf Fingern abzählen. Kurz und gut, die Lage ist ziemlich unerträglich geworden […]. (1945,5,2165)

> Ich fühle in mir eine große moralische und nationale Verpflichtung auch dem deutschen Volke gegenüber, da ich einer der wenigen bin, die heute überhaupt noch das Ohr des Führers besitzen. (1945,5,2168)

In der Tat konnte man sich das Ende des Dritten Reiches am 22. März 1945 an den bildhaften fünf Fingern abzählen, wobei die Metapher vielleicht noch nicht ganz so kraß wirkte wie die direktere Feststellung, daß das Ende unabwendbar war. Interessant ist aber auch die zitierte Aussage vom 22. Juni 1944, wo Goebbels die biblische Redensart „aus seinem Herzen keine Mördergrube machen“ in der Bedeutung von „offenherzig sein“ (Röhrich 1991-

1992: II,706) verwendet. Gerade das war ja Joseph Goebbels nicht, und sein Herz kann mit teuflischer Ironie wohl als wirkliche Mördergrube bezeichnet werden.

Doch dieser Unmensch benutzt natürlich nicht nur somatische Redensarten, sondern er verfügt über ein großes Repertoire ausdrucksstarker sprichwörtlicher Redensarten. „Gern streute der Verfasser der ‚Reich'-Leitartikel volkstümliche Redewendungen ein" (Kessemeier 1967: 186) und überhaupt läßt sich feststellen, daß seine schriftlichen und mündlichen Aussagen reich an volkstümlichen Redewendungen waren, „die der alltäglichen Umgangssprache, aber auch dem Gassendeutsch entliehen waren" (Kessemeier 1967: 98). Dieser bildhafte Stil zeigt sich auf den meisten Seiten, oft sogar mehrfach, des umfangreichen Tagebuchs. In den zwanziger Jahren spürt man, daß er noch gar nicht so richtig überzeugt ist, daß die Nationalsozialisten eine politische Chance haben:

> Das alte System muß zuvor ganz Bankerott machen. Dann sind wir da! Die Treiber zum neuen Deutschland! Wieviel Wasser wird darüberhin noch die Wupper (normalerweise: den Rhein] hinunterfließen? (1925,1,178)

> Am Sonntag Hannover große Programmberatung. Wird verlaufen wie das Hornberger Schießen. (1926,1,222)

Aber bald schon ist ihm Adolf Hitler zugetan und macht ihn zu seinem aufpeitschendem Sprachrohr, das vor nichts zurückschreckt:

> Gottlob. Hitler gibt Rechenschaft. 2 Stunden lang. Nicht ganz auf der Höhe. Mich lobt er vor der Öffentlichkeit über den grünen Klee. Im Auto fährt er mich heim. Er mag mich wohl (1926,1,251)

Für seine aggressive Art, sich sprachlich zu profilieren, gibt es wohl keine bessere Redensart als „kein Blatt vor den Mund nehmen", das im Tagebuch zu einem aufschlußreichen Leitmotiv wird. Die Redensart paßt selbstverständlich auch auf Hitlers Redeweise:

> Vor überfülltem Hause geredet. Der ganze Hof mit Prinz August Wilhelm war da. Großer Erfolg. Ich habe kein Blatt vor den Mund genommen. (1929,1,422)

> Die Unterredung mit Chamberlain ist sehr herzlich, aber auch sehr dramatisch verlaufen. Der Führer hat kein Blatt vor den Mund genommen. (1938,3,1268)
>
> Ich lege vor, schimpfe mit voller Tonstärke gegen die sog. Gesellschaft und nehme kein Blatt vor den Mund. Der Führer hat seinen Spaß daran. (1939,3,1299-1300)
>
> Englische Kriegsschiffe greifen den unbewaffneten deutschen Dampfer „Altmark" […] an. Aber wir gehen schon in der Sonntagspresse mit voller Tonstärke dagegen vor und machen ein wahres Höllenkonzert. Das ist ein Schulbeispiel englischer Willkür, und wir nehmen kein Blatt vor den Mund. (1940,4,1377)
>
> Der Führer hat kein Blatt vor den Mund genommen. Die englische Seeräuberei muß beendet werden. (1940,4,1384-1385)

Die folgenden wiederum chronologisch angeordneten Belege zeigen, wie Goebbels immer wieder auf bekannte Redensarten zurückgreift, die seinen Aussagen eine bildhafte Komponente verleihen. Man hat dabei nicht das Gefühl, daß all dies etwas mit einem bewußten Stilwillen zu tun hat. Vielmehr scheinen sprichwörtliche Redensarten mehr oder weniger automatisch aufzutreten, weil sie zu seinem umgangssprachlichen Deutsch gehören. Doch führen diese volkssprachlichen Bilder oft auf indirekte Weise zu emotionalen, aggressiven und rücksichtslosen Aussagen:

> [Gregor] Straßer hat noch keine Ahnung, welch ein Ungewitter sich über seinem Haupt zusammenzieht, Ich sag ihm auch nichts. Hitler mag hier die Kastanien aus dem Feuer holen. Gregor tut mir selbst etwas leid. (1930,2,454) Und auch noch: Sie [die Japaner] warten nicht, bis wir ihnen die Kastanien aus dem Feuer holen, sondern sie greifen an und tun das Ihre, um den Krieg für sich zu einem günstigen Ende zu führen. (1941,5,2314)
>
> Hitler – und das ist hier das Wesentliche – nimmt wieder die Zügel in die Hand. Und die gesamte Bonzokratie kuscht und macht schön. So sind sie: diese Heldenbarden. Alle, alle, alle. Es wird einem speiübel! (1930,2,480)

[Paul] Schultz erzählt mir von der preußischen Justiz. Das sind perverse A.[rschlöcher]. Ein Saustall, der ausgemistet werden muß. (1931,2,564)

Ich werde morgen abend nach Berlion zurückfahren und den gordischen Knoten zerhauen. Hitler hält treu zu mir. Das werde ich ihm nie vergessen. (1931,2,578). Und noch: Wir haben einen großen diplomatischen Sieg erfochten. Der Führer hat wieder mal den gordischen Knoten durchhauen. USA wird sich vorerst hüten, aktiv in den Konflikt einzugreifen. (1940,4,1482)

Irgendwie wird es wohl um den Burgfrieden gehen. Hitler sieht wie immer ganz klar. Man kann ihm kein X für ein U vormachen. (1932,2,610)

Die Regierung plant ein S.A.-Verbot für das ganze Reich. Hier ist Göring der Hauptmacher. Das ist allerdings ein Spiel mit dem Feuer. (1932,2,642)

Wir sollen also die Suppe auslöffeln, die die anderen eingebrockt haben. Dann schon lieber in der Oppostion bleiben, bis wir die ganze Macht bekommen, um auch durchgreifend handeln zu können. (1932,2,666). Aund auch: Die Plutokratie muß jetzt die Suppe auslöffeln, die sie sich eingebrockt hat. (1940,4,1384)

Nimmt er [Hitler] die [Vollmacht] auf sich, dann ist das ein Beweis für ein ungeheures Maß von Zivilcourage. Und dabei haben wir nur dieses eine Eisen im Feuer. (1932,2,683). Und noch: Mussolini hat [Bernardo] Attolicio in einem Telegramm gebeten, ich möchte in der deutschen Presse die englisch-italienische Spannung etwas abmildern. Ich tue das auch, denn wir müssen mehrere Eisen im Feuer haben. (1936,3,957). Schließlich auch dieser dritte Beleg: Mit England verbessert sich das Verhältnis zusehendst [!]. Wir müssen viele Eisen im Feuer haben. (1937,3,1034)

Unter uns allein hecken wir bereits neue Pläne aus. Der „Angriff“ macht schwere Vorstöße gegen das Kabinett. Er fängt an, die Katze aus dem Sack zu lassen. Der Führer entwickelt kühne Gedanken zur plötzlichen Aufhebung der Krise. (1932, 2,698)

> Infolgedessen verbreitet sich überall im Produktionsleben Panik und Verzeiflungsstimmung. Die Ratten verlassen das sinkende Schiff. Es kommt nur noch darauf an, daß wir stark bleiben und nicht nachgeben. (1932,2,704)
>
> Die Situation ist ja so verzwickt, daß man fast keinen Ausweg mehr sieht. Wenn das so weiter geht, dann bringt diese Regierung die ganze Nation auf den Hund. (1932,2,717)
>
> Wir tun so viel, wie wir können. Aber alles das ist nur ein Tropfen auf den heißen Stein. (1933,3,786)
>
> Auch der Führer will seinen Kampf gegen Windmühlenflügel nicht mehr. (1936,3,994). Zur Geschichte dieser Redensart vgl. Mieder 2006.

Von tiefgreifender Bedeutung is Goebbels' dreimalige Verwendung der Redensart „die Würfel sind gefallen," denn hier kommt ein gewisser Fatalismus zum Ausdruck. Einmal entschieden, gibt es keinen anderen Weg mehr. Der Einmarsch in Österreich wird kommen, die Presse wird manipuliert, und der Feind wird, redensartlich ausgedrückt, sein blaues Wunder erleben:

> Um Mitternacht noch zum Führer gerufen. Die Würfel sind gefallen: am Samstag Einmarsch [in Österreich]. Gleich bis Wien vorstoßen. (1938,3,1213). Und auch: Die Würfel sind gefallen. Wir stellen die Presse und den Rundfunk auf Kampf ein. (1940,4,1457). Dann noch dieser dritte Beleg mit einer weiteren Redensart: Daraus [Verhandlungen] ist zu entnehmen, daß nunmehr die Würfel gefallen sind. Der langen Rede kurzer Sinn: das deutsche Schwert ergreift wieder das Wort. Der Feind wird sehen, daß wir stärker sind, als er uns eingeschätzt hat. (1942,4,1841)

Zu erwähnen ist hier, daß auch Winston Churchill diese auf Englisch als „the die is cast" auftretende Redensart mehrmals benutzt hat. Sie geht in beiden und anderen Sprachen auf Julius Caesar zurück, der seinen unwiderruflichen Entschluß, über den Rubicon zu gehen, mit der lateinischen Fassung „iacta alia est" begründete. Auch bei Churchill tritt während des Zweiten Weltkrieges ein deutlicher Fatalismus hervor. Einmal schreibt er in einem Brief vom 12. Januar 1942 ganz persönlich, daß er sich nicht gerade wohl dabei fühlt, nach einem Besuch bei Präsident Roosevelt in

Washington mit dem Flugzeug über den Atlantik nach England zurückzufliegen. Als ehemaliger Marinemensch wäre ihm die gefährliche Schiffsreise lieber gewesen: „I had always regarded an Atlantic flight with awe. But the die was cast. Still I must admit that if at breakfast, or even before luncheon, they had come to me to report that the weather had changed and we must go by sea I should have reconciled myself to a voyage [… by] ship" (Mieder und Bryan 1995: 31). Von allergrößtem Interesse ist jedoch seine Verwendung der Redensart zur Zeit der Invasion an der Küste der Normandie:

> The hours dragged slowly by until, at 9:15 p.m. on the evening of June 4 [1944], another fateful conference opened at Eisenhower's battle headquarters. Conditions were bad, typical of December rather than June, but the weather experts gave some promise of a temporary improvement on the morning of the 6th. After this they predicted a return of rough weather for an indefinite period. Faced with desperate alternatives of accepting the immediate risks or of postponing the attack for at least a fortnight, General Eisenhower, with the advice of his commanders, boldly, and as it proved wisely, chose to go ahead with the operation, subject to final conformation early on the following morning. At 4 a.m. on June 5 the die was irrevocably cast: the invasion would be launched on June 6. (Mieder und Bryan 1995: 31-32)

Hier geht es um eine gewichtige Entscheidung der Weltgeschichte, um Nazi-Deutschland zu besiegen. Niemand wird bestreiten, daß die Redensart eine schwerwiegende Funktion ausübt. Churchill, der Nobelpreisträger, kann wohl als Genie betrachtet werden, aber gewiß nicht Hitler, wie Goebbels es in dem folgenden Beleg wahrhaben will. Diese und andere zeigen immer wieder, wie Goebbels sprichwörtliche Redensarten einsetzt, um sich manipulativ und lügenhaft zu profilieren:

> Der Führer hat die Widerstände überwunden. Er ist ein Genie! Die tschechische Frage beherrscht weiter die öffentliche Meinung. Ich lasse noch etwas Öl ins Feuer gießen. (1938,3,1221)

> Die Befestigungen im Westen sind noch nicht fertig. Unsere Generäle in Berlin haben natürlich wieder die Hosen voll. Aber das nützt nun doch nichts. (1938,3,1241)

Das ist jetzt auch fertig. Es wird einen kleinen Sturm im Wasserglas ergeben. (1939,3,1306). Und noch ganz knapp: Das wird sich übrigens alles geben. Sturm im Wasserglas! (1940, 4,1380)

Ich hebe aus der Presse den Illusionismus bzgl. Englands heraus. Kein Defaitismus, aber auch keine Luftschlösser. (1939, 3,1345). Zur Herkunft und Überlieferung dieser Redensart vgl. Mieder 2010.

In der Politik und an den Fronten Ruhe. Das heißt Ruhe vor dem Sturm. (1939,3,1350). Und auch: Im Süden herrscht Ruhe. Allerdings vor dem Sturm. Ein Bombenangriff auf Paris wird vorbereitet. Nur auf militärische Ziele. (1940,4,1428-1429)

Ich gebe darin [in einer Rede] einen großen Überblick über die Lage. Ich glaube, sie wird gut werden. Man muß heute jedes Wort auf die Goldwage [!] legen. (1940,4,1372)

Auf der Gegenseite wird mit einer geradezu entwaffnenden Torheit gearbeitet. Man treibt dort das Wasser direkt auf unsere Mühlen. (1940,4,1397)

Churchill hat eine harte Nuß zu knacken. Das ist ja auch der Sinn der Übung. (1940,4,1455)

Die letzte Nacht brachte wieder eine Reihe von englischen Luftangriffen. Wir waren nicht ganz so tätig. Unser Schlag muß wie ein Blitz aus heiterem Himmel kommen. Der wird treffen. (1940,4,1469)

In USA kann niemand etwas werden, auch nicht Präsidentschaftskandidat, wenn er nicht am Ende doch mit den Wölfen heult. Jedenfalls ist Europa gesichert und fest in unserer Hand. (1941,4,1526)

Wir werden den Herren Engländern schon die Suppe versalzen. (1940,4,1512)

Der Führer sagt: ob recht oder unrecht, wir müssen siegen. Das ist der einzige Weg. Und es ist recht, moralisch und notwendig. Und haben wir gesiegt, wer fragt uns nach der Methode. Wir haben sowieso soviel auf dem Kerbholz, daß wir

> siegen müssen, weil sonst unser ganzes Volk, wir an der Spitze mit allem, was uns lieb ist, ausradiert werden. Also ans Werk! (1941,4,1603)

Dieser gerade zitierte Beleg vom 16. Juni 1941, dem Vorabend des Krieges gegen die Sowjetunion, ist von besonderem Interesse, weil er das Denken von Hitler und Goebbels aufzeigt. Elke Fröhlich schreibt dazu: „Der heroische Fatalismus, der sich hier ausspricht, basierte auf tiefsitzenden Ängsten und durch sie begründeten Rachegefühlen wegen der entgangenen Möglichkeit des schnellen Sieges (gegen England), nicht zuletzt aber auch auf der Überzeugung von der zusammenschweißenden, fanatisierenden Wirkung krimineller Komplizenschaft. Was man schon auf dem Kerbholz hatte, trieb zu neuer Vernichtungswut an“ (Fröhlich 1987: 522). Hier zeigt sich eine erschütternde Radikalität, die vor nichts zurückschrecken wird.

Auch in den letzten Kriegsjahren hören solche redensartlichen Belege nicht auf, die Goebbels immer wieder als Erklärung, Argumentation, Rationalisierung und Rechtfertigung heranzieht:

> In USA wachsende Krise. Roosevelt sitzt zwischen zwei Stühlen. Das Isolationslager bekommt mehr und mehr Oberwasser. (1941,4,1615)

> Ich habe den Eindruck, als seien wir im Ostfeldzug nun glücklich über den Berg. Vielleicht wird es noch hier und dort die eine oder andere Panne geben; aber nach menschlichem Ermessen ist ein schwerer Rückschlag nicht mehr zu erwarten. (1941,4,1636)

> In diese Kategorie der großen Weltverschwörung gegen Deutschland gehören auch die beiden anderen, Churchill und Stalin. Was gilt diesen Verbrechernaturen noch ein wel-tanschaulicher Unterschied, den sie ohne Rücksicht über Bord werfen, wenn es sich darum handelt, das nationalsozialistische Deutschland auszulöschen. (1941,4,1640)

> Er [Hitler] glaubt auch nicht, daß Churchill noch wie früher auf so hohem Roß sitzt, sieht aber auch in keiner Weise einen nahe bevorstehenden Zusammenbruch des Churchill-Regimes voraus. (1942,4,1748)

> Die oppositionellen Blätter [in den USA] fürchten, daß sein [Roosevelts] Verfahren mehr und mehr zu einer Art von Roosevelt-Diktatur führen werde und daß der Krieg schließlich das Ergebnis habe, daß man zwar den Teufel austreibe, aber Beelzebub zurückbleibe. (1942,4,1850-1851)

> Der Führer hält nicht viel von einer Vergeltung, die nicht laufend durchgeführt werden kann. Er will deshalb lieber noch ein paar Wochen warten, als das Pulver zu früh verschießen. Die Wirkung der Vergeltung wird, so hoffen wir alle, enorm sein. Insbesondere die A4-Waffe verspricht die außerordentlichsten Erfolge. (1944,5,2007)

> Es wäre wünschenswert, daß in ganz Frankreich so ein [schlechtes] Wetter herrschte. Das würde den Herren Churchill und Roosevelt einen dicken Strich durch die Rechnung machen. Wie mir berichtet wird, ist es in der Tat so. Wir können dem Schicksal dafür nur dankbar sein. (1944,5,2055) Diese Aussage stammt vom 7. Juni 1944, also einen Tag nach der Normandie-Landung.

> Man dürfe damit [mit härtesten Maßnahmen] nicht mehr hinter den Berg halten, denn es sei nun kurz vor 12. (1944,5, 2062). Indirekte Rede Goebbels' gegenüber Hitler.

> Es ist geradezu bewundernswert, wie der Führer in diesem Frontdilemma immer und unentwegt auf seinen guten Stern vertraut. Man hat manchmal den Eindruck, als lebte er in den Wolken. Aber er ist ja schon so oft wie ein Deus ex machina aus den Wolken niedergestiegen. (1945,5,2176)

Die beiden zum Schluß zitierten Belege aus dem letzten Kriegsjahr, jeweils mit zwei sprichwörtlichen Redensarten, zeigen das antithetische Denken und Formulieren von Goebbels (Klemperer 1987: 270-271; Nill 1991: 243-248), das zwischen Torschlußpanik und Hoffnung schwankt. Und dann kurz vor dem völligen Zusammenbruch des Dritten Reiches erscheint noch einmal Hitler als bewunderter Gott (vgl. Fest1963: 121-122)!

Von Interesse ist noch, daß der propagandistische Lügner Goebbels eine leitmotivische Vorliebe für die Redensart „das Blaue vom Himmel herunterlügen" hat. Immer wieder beschuldigt

er seine Feinde damit und versteckt seine eigenen Lügen in Reden und Schriften sowie im Tagebuch:

> Die rote Journaille lügt das Blaue vom Himmel herunter. Ich schreibe dagegen einen saftigen Aufsatz: „Lügengesindel". (1931,2,555)
>
> Die jüdische Presse lügt das Blaue vom Himmel herunter. Sie bringt gefälschte Photographien, um ihrer Leserschaft darzutun, daß sie uns nicht zu fürchten braucht. Uns kann das nur recht sein. Je leichter sie uns einschätzen, desto unvorsichtiger werden sie, und je mehr sie uns in Ruhe lassen, um so sicherer steigen wir empor. (1932,2,628)
>
> Die Journaille lügt in ihrer Angst das Blaue vom Himmel herunter. (1933,2,743)
>
> London schwindelt das Blaue vom Himmel herunter bzgl. der letzten Luftkämpfe. Wir gehen energisch dagegen an. (1940, 4,1365)
>
> Die Engländer schwindeln über den Fall „Altmark" [von den Engländern angegriffenes deutsches Marineschiff] das Blaue vom Himmel herunter. Aber ich bleibe ihnen die Antwort nicht schuldig. Wir schießen aus allen Propagandarohren. Rundfunk, Presse, Auslandsjournalisten werden von uns eingesetzt. Ein Höllenchor der Entrüstung. Wir werden den feigen Mördern schon einheizen. Alle Entlastungsmanöver von London verpuffen. (1940,4,1378)
>
> Dazu schwindeln die Plutokraten das Blaue vom Himmel herunter. Nach ihnen müßte es in Berlin gar keinen heilen Bahnhof mehr geben. Wir lassen das ruhig weiterlaufen. Herrliches Alibi für uns. (1940,4,1474)
>
> Der Führer hat wieder mal den richtigen Instinkt gehabt. Moskau lügt das Blaue vom Himmel herunter. (1941,4,1616)

Alles typisch Goebbels, der andere als Lügner hinstellt, weil er die Wahrheit nicht akzeptieren will. So rechtfertigt er mit dieser Redensart im Prinzip seine eigenen Lügen betreffs der immer heikler werdenden Lage des Dritten Reiches.

Damit kommen diese Ausführungen zu der sprichwörtlichen Redensart „mit Stumpf und Stiel ausrotten", deren wiederum

leitmotivischer Gebrauch von Goebbels sie heute nicht mehr zulässig machen sollte. Die Redensart bringt die nationalsozialistischen Gewalttaten auf einen bildhaften Nenner, denn es ging schließlich um das unmenschliche „Ausrotten" aller als Gegner empfundenen Menschen. So heißt es im Tagebuch:

> [Manfredo Conte di] Gravina tut sein Bestes, unser Recht zu wahren. Die deutschen Sozis fallen ihm dabei in den Rücken und konspirieren mit den Polen. Gesinnungsperversion! Das alles werden wir einmal mit Stumpf und Stiel ausrotten. (1930,2,537)
>
> Ich schreibe ein wirkungsvolles Plakat gegen die K.P.D. und S.P.D. […] Das Kabinett hat eine sehr scharfe Verordnung gegen die K.P.D. beschlossen. Diese Verordnung sieht die Todesstrafe vor. Das ist auch notwendig. Das Volk verlangt das jetzt. Es erfolgen Verhaftungen über Verhaftungen. Nun wird die rote Pest mit Stumpf und Stiel ausgerottet. Widerstand zeigt sich nirgendwo. (1933,2,770)
>
> Scheußliche Schilderung der von den Roten verübten Greueltaten [in Spanien]. Es wird einem direkt schlecht dabei. Das muß mit Stumpf und Stiel ausgerottet werden. (1936,3,1003)
>
> Über die rote Herrschaft in Asturien [Spanien]. Das ist geradezu grauenerregend. Ausrotten, mit Stumpf und Stiel! (1937, 3,1158)
>
> Der Führer ist entschlossen, den ganzen Generalsklan, der sich gegen uns gestellt hat, mit Stumpf und Stiel auszurotten, um damit die Wand niederzubrechen, die von dieser Generalsclique künstlich zwischen dem Heer einerseits und Partei und Volk andererseits aufgerichtet worden ist. Zweifellos ist dieser Ausrottungsprozeß mit einer momentanen Krise verbunden. (1944,5,2086)
>
> Ich bleibe bei meinem Standpunkt. Der politische Witz wird ausgerottet. Und zwar mit Stumpf und Stiel. (1939,3,1305)
>
> Dieser jüdische Terrorismus muß aus ganz Europa mit Stumpf und Stiel ausgerottet werden. Das ist unsere historische Aufgabe. Mit dem Bolschewismus wird zweifellos auch das Judentum seine große Katastrophe erleben. Der Führer gibt noch

> einmal seiner Meinung Ausdruck, daß er entschlossen ist, rücksichtslos mit den Juden in Europa aufzuräumen. Hier darf man keinerlei sentimentale Anwandlungen haben. Die Juden haben die Katastrophe, die sie heute erleben, verdient. Sie werden mit der Vernichtung unserer Feinde auch ihre eigene Vernichtung erleben. Wir müssen diesen Prozeß mit einer kalten Rücksichtslosigkeit beschleunigen, und wir tun damit der leidenden und seit Jahrtausenden vom Judentum gequälten Menschheit einen unabschätzbaren Dienst. (1942,4,1756)

Das hat Joseph Goebbels tatsächlich am 16. Februar 1942 in sein Tagebuch geschrieben! Es fehlt eigentlich nur noch das schlimme Wort „Endlösung", das drei Wochen später als „Endlösung der Judenfrage" (1942,4,1762) im Tagebuch auftritt. Elke Fröhlich stellt völlig überzeugend fest: „In der Bereitschaft zur Ausmerzung oppositioneller und störender Personen und Gruppen kannte seine Radikalität jetzt keine Grenzen mehr; auch die Sprache der Tagebücher enthüllt einen vor nichts mehr zurückschreckenden Vernichtungswillen" (Fröhlich 1987: 518). Was das Endresultat dieser unvorstellbaren und unverständlichen Vernichtungspläne war, hat der weltweit bekannte Holocaust-Forscher Raul Hilberg von der Universität von Vermont in seinem grundlegenden Werk *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* (1990) aufgezeichnet.

Von einem sprachlichen und parömiologischen Standpunkt getrachtet ist es erschütternd, wie die von Goebbels herrschsüchtig und unmenschlich verwendeten Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten, die zum allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch zählen, zu gefährlichen und schließlich tödlichen Mißhandlungen geführt haben. Die durch einen Stabreim gebundene Redensart „mit Stumpf und Stiel ausrotten" mit der Bedeutung von „ganz und gar vernichten" ist seit dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert überliefert (Röhrich 1991-1992: III,1583), doch sollte sie nun nach ihrer mehrmaligen teuflischen Verwendung von Joseph Goebbels zusammen mit den Sprichwörtern „Arbeit macht frei" (Brückner 1998) und „Jedem das Seine" (Doerr 2000) sowie der sprichwörtlichen Redensart „etwas bis zur Vergasung tun" zu den unakzeptablen und unbrauchbaren Ausdrücken der deutschen Sprache gehören (vgl. Klemperer 1987: 22). Vom selben Jahr, als Goebbels den zuletzt zitierten Beleg mit der „Stumpf und Stiel"-Redensart in sein Tagebuch geschrieben hat, stammen zwei knappe Aufzeichnungen

von dem Nobelpreisträger Elias Canetti, die all dies treffend untermauern:

> Im Gebrauch ihrer Lieblingswendungen und -worte sind die Menschen geradezu unschuldig. Sie ahnen nicht, wie sie sich verraten, wenn sie am harmlosesten daherplappern. Sie glauben, dass sie ein Geheimnis verschweigen, wenn sie von anderen Dingen reden, doch siehe da, aus den häufigsten Wendungen baut sich plötzlich ihr Geheimnis drohend und düster auf. (Canetti 1993: 17)

> Wenn die Menschen vom Leben und Treiben in ihnen auch nur die leiseste und unverbindlichste Ahnung hätten, würden sie vor vielen Worten und Redensarten zurückschaudern wie vor Gift. (Canetti 1993: 19; Mieder 1999a: 183)

Hier hat man das Gefühl, als ob Canetti im Jahre 1942 Goebbels ins Gebet nähme, aber diesem Vielredner und -schreiber fehlte jegliche selbstkritische Sprachanalyse. Mit Recht hatte auch Georg Büchner in seinem Drama *Dantons Tod* (1835) schon gefordert: „Geht einmal euren Phrasen nach, bis zu dem Punkt wo sie verkörpert werden" (III. Akt, 3. Szene; Mieder 2001:4-5). Das hat Joseph Goebbels nicht getan, denn sonst hätte er möglicherweise seine mündliche und schriftliche Sprachwut zügeln können. Stattdessen machte er seine aggressive Propagandasprache zu einer gemeingefährlichen Waffe, die allerhand Sprichwörtliches einschließt.

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# MORE THAN MEETS THE EYE: WHAT PROVERBS MEAN IN THE THEOLOGICAL WORKS OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG

***Abstract:*** This study presents twenty five cases of semantic comparison that demonstrate the similarity between a text fragment from the translated theological works of the world-renowned Swedish scientist, engineer, philosopher and mystic Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) and its corresponding proverb or phrase (e.g., *virtue is its own reward, truth will out, love is blind, my better half, a stumbling block,* etc.). Some conclusions regarding the possible origin of such proverbs and phrases are suggested resting on the results of this analysis.

***Keywords:*** Allusion, Bible, cultureme, Emanuel Swedenborg, meaning, philosophy, proverb, religion, theology

## *Introduction*

In Chapter Seven of his book *Awareness Bound and Unbound: Buddhist Essays*, entitled "The Dharma of Emanuel Swedenborg", the contemporary American scholar of Zen Buddhism David R. Loy grapples with "some of the more provocative parallels between Swedenborgianism and Buddhism" (Loy 2009: 107–128). He starts his essay with duly acknowledging the contribution to Zen Buddhism of D. T. Suzuki (1996), who, before publishing his main works around the middle of the twentieth century, had already introduced the Swedish scientist, philosopher and theologian Emanuel Swedenborg to Japan; Suzuki was the first Japanese author to translate four of his most widely-known theological works into Japanese and to write his own commentaries on Swedenborg's biblical hermeneutics and mystical doctrine of Christianity, which were all later translated into English. Thus Suzuki's works and their English translations succeeded in making Swedenborg much better known not only in Japan, but also in the whole of the English-speaking world. David Loy acknowledges his debt to the great Japanese Zen scholar by placing a charac-

teristic quotation from his seminal book *Suedenborugu* (published in 1913) in the beginning of the chapter in the way of a suitable motto to it. After an in-depth discussion of the main assets of the two great religious traditions, instead of making a conclusion by summarizing their similarities and pointing out their differences, Loy chooses to close his essay with what sounds like a strikingly personal confession, which seems to open up another discussion on the author's own personal reception of Swedenborg's doctrine: "Not having visited heaven or hell, I can only hope that, if they exist, they function in the way Swedenborg has described. After one studies his well-structured and extraordinarily detailed eschatology, other conceptions of the afterlife lose whatever credibility they might retain in our skeptical age. If the universe does not work in the way Swedenborg explained, well, maybe it should" (p. 128). This rather enigmatic passage leaves the reader wondering whether the author suggests that Swedenborg's "well-structured eschatology" should be taken as a matter of course and duly trusted, or just admired as a great work of art.

In eighteenth-century Europe and Russia, the great mystic and visionary Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was very well known while he was still alive, especially in the later years of his life, when, after having published anonymously almost all of his hermeneutical theological works, written in Latin (like his many scientific works prior to that) in some European cities outside of Sweden (mainly London and Amsterdam, as he was aware of the possible negative reception of his theology by the Lutheran church in his home country), he eventually decided to disclose his authorship of them. In my country, Bulgaria, the situation regarding Swedenborg has been rather peculiar. If we don't count the samizdat translation into Bulgarian of his best known and most popular work, *Heaven and Hell*, parts of which used to be disseminated subversively during the previous political regime before its actual translation from Latin into Bulgarian and "official" publication in 2004, or the remarkable works of the eminent Bulgarian erudite Tsvetan Stoyanov on Western literature, in which some of Swedenborg's ideas are discussed in a wider literary and cultural context (see Stoyanov 1973), during the nearly five decades of the socialist-communist regime in my country and the next thirty years of its extension, this outstanding proponent of the European Enlightenment was almost completely unheard of. In 2012, how-

ever, an event of tremendous cultural importance took place in Bulgaria: the publication of a truly unsurpassed study in terms of scope, variety, complexity, insightfulness, erudition and depth of interpretation, of Emanuel Swedenborg's life, work, and impact on other scholars, poets and writers, the result of a lifetime of painstaking labor, astounding knowledge and unique creative inspiration – the book of 520 pages *Еманuел Сведенборг. Архитект на вечността* [Emanuel Swedenborg: Architect of Eternity] authored by the eminent Bulgarian translator, editor, researcher into Scandinavian literatures and university professor Vera L. Gancheva (Gancheva 2012).

As a proverb scholar, I must confess that Vera Gancheva's book has provided me not only with the much needed first-hand meticulously documented and brilliantly structured information about and in-depth critique of the life and intellectual exploits of this great European Enlightener and the detailed and exhaustive knowledge of his reception on both sides of the Atlantic and beyond, but also with the courage, inspiration and determination for continuing my own research into one very specific aspect of Swedenborg's colossal work, namely, how proverbs mean in the context of his hermeneutical interpretations of the Bible and his descriptions of the spiritual worlds he claims to have personally seen, heard, and explored. In this paper, I plan to spend no time defending or refuting Swedenborg's idealistic philosophical system or his mysticism, neither will I discuss the profound impact of his imaginative writings on so many great figures like Immanuel Kant, William Blake, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Ralph Waldo Emerson (who in his book of 1850, titled *Representative Men*, places him among the greatest figures of humanity) and other transcendentalists like Henry David Thoreau, or on Hans Christian Andersen, Honorè de Balzac, the French symbolists, Vladimir Solovyov, and August Strindberg, to name but a few, as this has already been done in very great depth by Vera Gancheva herself (in her article of 2008 and the third part of the book) and many other dedicated scholars, among whom Samuel Willard Crompton (2005) and Dole and Kirven (1997), authors of two very informative synopses of Swedenborg's life and work, Martin Lamm (2000), Lars Bergquist (1999/2005) and Ernst Benz (2002), whose insightful biographies have become a must for every scholar of Swedenborg, Devin Zuber (2010), author of the philosophical

essay "The Buddha of the North: Swedenborg and the Transpacific Zen", or Cassie Lipowitz (2014), who compares his doctrine to Sufism in her essay "Seven are the Steps to Heaven: a Comparative Study of Swedenborg and Sumnani", to name just a few. Suffice it to say that before experiencing a psychological crises in his mid-fifties, which made him finally turn to theology and dedicate the last twenty seven years of his long and productive life exclusively to Bible studies, Swedenborg had succeeded in building himself the impeccable reputation of a respected scientist, engineer, mathematician, philosopher, inventor, financier, entrepreneur, statesman and nobleman both in his home country, in continental Europe and Russia (where he was awarded the prestigious title of Professor Emeritus by the University of Saint Petersburg just across the Baltic Sea), and in the newly founded United States of America. Instead, I will focus right away on the topic of the allusions and contextual interpretations of some English proverbs and (proverbial) phrases which I found scattered in many of Swedenborg's theological works translated from the original Latin into English. This paper should be viewed as a work in progress, as while going through the huge bulk of Swedenborg's books I constantly keep discovering new contexts and new interpretations of the proverbs I have already examined that add new, additional layers to their meanings, which confirms once again the well-known dictum of their fundamental semantic indefiniteness (Krikmann 1974a, 1974b, Mieder 2014: 23).

My intention to deal with Swedenborg's works in their English translation and not with the original texts in Latin derives not so much from my modest knowledge of Latin acquired in my youth at Sofia University in the course of only two semesters, taught however by the brilliant Makariy Portalsky, for which I am forever grateful, but from the specifically paremiological aim of this study, which is to explore in some depth the semantic evolution of a group of English proverbs whose standard (i.e., long-established and well-known) meanings, because of their long currency and wide distribution, may have long begun to sound a little too general, vague, and perhaps even somewhat "trite" or "hackneyed" to generations of English speakers, native and otherwise. It is certainly important and worthwhile to carry out a similar study of the Latin counterparts of the same proverbs and their contextual explanations in the original Latin texts, but let us remem-

ber that with English having become the modern lingua franca of science and scholarship today, this paper, by hopefully reaching other proverb scholars fluent in English, may rekindle the sadly dwindling interest in Emanuel Swedenborg's astounding powers of imagination, remarkable insights, and exemplary scholarly style of reasoning, as well as in the unexpectedly deep layers of wisdom that seem to be stored in many familiar proverbs in one of the most widely known languages of today.

A note is in order here: Swedenborg was not a paremiologist, neither was he a paremiographer or a linguist, although occasionally in his writings he does discuss linguistic matters such as language as a specifically human trait, or the etymology of certain terms; as will be seen in the discussion below, the text examples identified in his writings do not always involve the literal text of the proverb or phrase under study; rather, each of the text fragments dealt with here is as an allusion to a certain proverb to the extent to which its wording and / or meaning are more or less recognizable and transparent in it. After reading this paper, some proverb scholars may even begin to see "more than meets the eye" whenever they encounter some perfectly "innocent" proverb, a habit I gradually acquired while exploring in awe and amazement the surprisingly versatile, strange and fantastic treasure trove of wisdom and poetry stored in Swedenborg's works.

My two earlier studies on the topic (Petrova 2019b, 2020) deal with Swedenborg's theological interpretations of two small groups of English proverbs and proverbial phrases from the point of view of linguoculturology. This paper is a continuation of this project.

***The Method***

The kind of **semantic comparison** I apply to the English proverbs and phrases and their corresponding text fragments found in Swedenborg's works consists in the following: the semantics of the proverb or phrase (i.e., its standard (literal or implied) meaning) is compared to the semantics of the corresponding text fragment or section alluding to the proverb; for the sake of clarity and convenience, the proverb or its variant or paraphrase in the text fragment is shown in bold type and the examples discussed are numbered. The definitions of the proverbs (their standard meanings) are taken either from some of the dictionaries that

provide such explanations (e.g., Dubr., OCDP, Manser, Gen., FD), or from the Internet, where they can be found in context, or they come from my own knowledge and experience. In some less obvious cases, **the theory of the cultureme** is applied (for its detailed explanation and demonstration see Petrova 2016 and 2019a), because it helps elicit not only the meaning of the proverb, but also its main cultureme (the main entity the proverb prescribes or criticizes) and message (the advice it gives). As will be shown below, the diverse results yielded by the analysis range from total, sometimes even literal, semantic identity to various degrees of similarity, all of which however include an explanatory and substantially enlarged interpretation of the proverb's standard meaning from a very specific, theological perspective.

The text excerpts identified in Swedenborg's works that contain allusions to certain proverbs and phrases are shown in the way traditionally accepted in Swedenborgianism: not with the pages on which they appear in the books, but with the numbers of the sections originally used by the author and later by his translators and editors for the purposes of cross referencing, followed by the book title or its initials. In almost all of the cases, the whole sections are given in order for an appropriate context to be provided in which the proverb meaning fully unfolds; some of the longer sections whose parts bear no direct relationship to the meaning of the proverb discussed are (substantially) abridged.

***Comparative Analysis***

The first **(1)** case I will be looking at is the metaphorical proverb ***Crosses are ladders that lead to heaven*** (OCDP) and its transcendental explanation suggested by Swedenborg. We know that the metaphorical proverbs, which often make up the greater part of proverbs in some languages, differ from the literal (or direct) ones (e.g., *A green Christmas, a white Easter* (DAP*), A friend in need is a friend indeed* (App.), *Practise what you preach* (App.), *Pardon all but thyself* (App.)), in that their meanings and messages are indirectly suggested and implied instead of directly (or literally) stated. These proverbs have two separate and distinct planes of signification: an immediate or **surface plane**, and a **deep plane** (Luria 1979: 245, Permyakov 1988: 20–21, Petrova 2006: 22, 2016: 20–21, 2019: 296). The images and the situations created by means of the images on the immediate, surface, or **ex-**

**pression**, plane serve as a tool, medium, and a first-order sign for conveying another, different and specific idea on the deep or **content** plane. It is this idea that is the proper **definition** (explanation, standard meaning) of the proverb, which itself can be rendered in plain and neutral language, or, simply stated language with no imagery and no stylistic devices (tropes). The metaphorical proverb *Crosses are ladders that lead to heaven* can for example thus translate into the following neutral definition: "suffering leads to spiritual growth". In it, the image of the crosses – an obvious allusion to the Crucifixion – and the implied image of someone climbing a ladder of crosses and reaching to heaven, all translate into the abstract idea of suffering that leads to some kind of great spiritual attainment or growth. A very similar idea is found in section 513 of Swedenborg's book, *Heaven and Hell* (HH) (see in particular the parts in bold type below, which are partial paraphrases of the proverb):

> "[…] The good spirits who are to be instructed are brought by the Lord to these places [i.e., certain special 'regions' in heaven] when they have completed their second state in the world of spirits, and yet not all. For **those who have been instructed in the world, have been prepared there by the Lord for heaven, and also are taken up into heaven** by another way – some immediately after death, some after a short stay with good spirits, where the grosser things of their thoughts and affections, which they have contracted from honours and riches in the world, are removed, and in that way they are purified. **Some first are vastated […] in places […] called the lower earth, where some suffer severely.** These are such as had confirmed themselves in falsities and yet had led good lives, for when falsities have been confirmed they inhere with much force, and until they have been dispersed, truths cannot be seen, and thus cannot be received."

In the paraphrase above, we don't see all of the images used in the proverb – for example, both the crosses and the ladders are missing – but the image of heaven and the meaning that the souls headed for heaven are vastated (i.e., they undergo trials that are meant to purify them), which prepares them for eternal life – are preserved. What is also retained is the positive evaluation of this

idea, denoted by the plus sign of the proverb cultureme, "suffering as a means to attaining spiritual growth (+)". More importantly, the excerpt provides a lot of tangible detail that serves to explain how, when, where and why some people undergo such trials and what exactly gets purified via the vastations; all this helps reveal its deeper, transcendental meaning.

Another example is the classical proverb ***Sound mind in a sound body*** (DAP) **(2)**, which Swedenborg interprets in his typically coherent, orderly and circumstantial way in section 330 (given in full here) of his book *Divine Love and Wisdom* (DLW): "Since the end of creation is an angelic heaven from the human race itself, all other created things are meant to that end; these means, because they have reference to man [in older texts like this the noun *man* and its pronouns are used generatively to include both sexes], have respect to these three human attributes, his body, his rational faculty, and the spiritual nature which is given him in order that he may be united with the Lord. For a man cannot be united with the Lord unless he be spiritual, nor can he be spiritual unless he is rational**, nor rational unless his body be in a sound condition**. These things are like a house; the body is like the foundation, the rational faculty is like the house built upon it, the spiritual nature is like the things in the house, and union with the Lord is like dwelling in it. Hence are evident the order, degree, and respect in which uses, as means to the end of creation, have relation to man; they sustain his body, they perfect his rational faculty, and they enable him to receive what is spiritual from the Lord."

In this excerpt we see the proverb paraphrased: the collocation "a body in a sound condition" is used in the place of "a sound body" and the collocation "the rational and spiritual" [attributes to man] replaces "sound mind". As can be seen from Swedenborg's explanation, good health appears to be an absolutely indispensable condition for the spiritual development of human beings, and, as has been argued, there are valid reasons for this.

An interpretation of the same proverb but from another perspective was discovered in section 142 of another of Swedenborg's books, *Divine Providence* (DP): "No one is reformed [in order to be saved] in a state of bodily sickness because his reason is not then in a state of freedom; **the state of the mind depends on that of the body**. When the body is sick, the mind is also, if for no other reason because it is withdrawn from the world.

Withdrawn from the world it thinks indeed about God but not from him, for it is not possessed of freedom of the reason. […] In this state by itself no one can be reformed, but he can be strengthened in it if he was reforming before he fell ill."

This excerpt asserts once again that body and mind are interdependent, and the lack of physical health is a great impediment to the freedom of reason, which, according to the author, is an indispensable condition for the reformation of the soul and ultimately for the person's eternal salvation.

Another interesting case to look at is the English proverb ***The face is the index of the heart*** (App.) **(3)**, an allusion to which was found in section 486 of the book *Heaven and Hell* (HH): "All the delights a man has are the delights of his ruling love, for he feels nothing to be delightful except what he loves, thus especially that which he loves above all things. These delights are various. In general, there are as many, as there are ruling loves; consequently, as many as there are men, spirits, and angels; for no one's ruling love is in every respect like that of another. For this reason, no one has a face exactly like that of any other; for **each one's face is an image of his mind**; and in the spiritual world it is an image of his ruling love." In this fragment we see the actual wording of the proverb embedded in the text itself. It explains why people's faces are so different and unique. The reason for this, argues the author, is in the ruling love of each person, which is never exactly the same as that of other people. He further explains that this most important, ruling affection, which ultimately characterizes and singles out each individual, during the life of the body is only dimly reflected on his or her face, but becomes truly and wholly visible and recognizable after death.

The next proverb, ***Idle brains are the devil's workshop*** (App.) **(4)**, together with its variants and synonyms, ***Idle hands are the devil's tools*** (DAP), ***Idleness is the mother of all vices / evil*** (Dubr.), ***By doing nothing we learn to do ill*** (Dubr.), and ***The devil is always at the elbow of an idle man*** (DAP), when used in general discourse, condemns sloth, idleness, and laziness in a very general way. Swedenborg alludes to this proverb at least in two different places in his works. In sections 361 through 365 of *Heaven and Hell* (HH), when describing the life of the rich and the poor after death, he argues that material wealth or poverty have no impact whatsoever on the destiny of the individual after death;

what then truly matters is each person's love to the Lord and to his neighbor while he was in the body, and the sincere and selfless acts of charity he has performed during his life. The author differentiates between two kinds of people: "materially rich or poor" and "spiritually rich or poor", meaning persons abounding with, or lacking in, love to God and to their neighbors, while by the phrase "poor in spirit" he means those who realize they have no knowledge of spiritual truths, but are eager and willing to acquire it. The writer points out that "the wealth [of the rich in the spiritual and celestial worlds] is such as their uses were in the world, and such, too, is their delight and happiness [by *uses* Swedenborg means service, deeds, practical work]. Good uses are providing oneself and one's own with the necessaries of life, also desiring wealth for the sake of one's country and for the sake of one's neighbor, whom a rich man can benefit more than a poor man. These are good uses, because **one is able thereby to withdraw his mind from an indolent life which is harmful, since in such a life man's thoughts run to evil** because of the evil inherent in him."

This fragment provides a lot of meaningful background to the idea of how harmful idleness can be. It shows how keeping oneself occupied by doing something useful for others can serve as a powerful protection against the constant assaults of evil surrounding man from all sides and, most importantly, from the evil which constantly attacks him from the inside. Swedenborg is very consistent in stressing that man's *proprium* [the properties arising from a person's physical nature, his self or ego] is inherently and intrinsically evil and that one can only overcome one's own proprium by ardently adhering to God's truths and by consistently implementing the Ten Commandments throughout one's life. This paragraph also argues, contrary to the widespread belief in the egotism of the rich, that wealthy people are not necessarily bad; it's not wealth, but the inordinate love of wealth, money and power that makes a person bad; on the contrary, in the hands of a good man, wealth can be very useful and beneficial, because he can share it with his less privileged brothers and sisters and make them happy.

Still another even more detailed and vivid allusion to the proverbs about idleness can be seen in section 249.13 of the book *Conjugial Love* (CL): "Man was created for use because use is the

container of good and truth, from the marriage of which is creation, and also conjugial love […]. By pursuit and business are meant every application to use; for while a man is in some pursuit and business, or is in use, his mind is limited and circumscribed – as by a circle within which it is successively coordinated into a form [i.e., structure] that is truly human; within which, as from home, he sees the various lusts outside of himself, and from sanity of reason within exterminates them, and consequently also the wild insanities of promiscuous lust. […] **The contrary happens to those who give themselves up to idleness and ease; their mind is unrestrained and indeterminate, and therefore the man *[homo]* admits to the whole of it every vain and frivolous conceit that flows in from the world and from the body**, and it bears him along into the love of them. That then also conjugial love is cast into exile is evident; for by idleness and sloth the mind is rendered stupid and the body torpid, and the whole man becomes insensible to every vital love, especially to conjugial love, from which as from a fountain go forth the activities and alacrities of life."

Without quoting verbatim any of the proverbs about idleness, in this section the author quite obviously alludes to them again, adding another perspective to the way their meaning and message are to be understood – that of married love, which in many other places in his books he places on the same level as a person's useful and selfless service to others. Idleness is thus shown as a great impediment to individual growth and – which is particularly important – eventually to eternal salvation. As far as the image of the devil is concerned, in the proverbs as part of folklore it is used as a stylistic device, a metaphor, suggesting something sinister, mean, cruel and evil, while in the context of Swedenborg's doctrine the devil is a very real personage.

Our fifth case deals with the proverb ***Evil communications corrupt good manners*** (App.) **(5)**. An elucidating allusion to it can be found in sections 208–209 of *Heaven and Hell* (HH). When used in general discourse, the proverb warns against communicating with bad people, which can be very harmful to an innocent person, but when placed in a transcendental context some additional meanings are realized that have to do with the hierarchy and subordination of the spiritual and celestial worlds. Swedenborg persistently stresses that there is a very strict order, hierarchy and

subordination in the afterlife, which must always be taken into account: "One heaven is joined with another, or the society of one heaven with the society of another, by the Lord alone, both by direct and by mediate influx, directly from himself, and mediately from the higher heavens in order into the lower. As the conjunctions of the heavens by this inflowing is from the Lord alone **there is a most careful precaution against any angel of a higher heaven looking down into a society of a lower heaven and talking with anyone there; for the angel is thus immediately deprived of his intelligence and wisdom**. […] No influx is possible."

In this section, instead of evil people, angels belonging to a lower level in heaven are envisioned, but the author warns that they too should be cautiously avoided by the better angels, i.e., the ones above them, because of the imminent danger they present to the latter. What is implied as a guiding principle is that heaven is very hierarchical in structure, an idea which may probably seem too "undemocratic" to the contemporary liberal western mind. Moreover, there seem to be very strict protective boundaries "erected" between the different levels, which stand in the way of those who want to mix with others indiscriminately. Arbitrary communication between and among angels with different qualities and belonging to different hierarchical levels appears to be wrong and harmful. Neither here nor elsewhere is any explanation given why this should be so, there is just the express warning that failing to obey divine order will most certainly result in punishments for the culprits.

The phrase ***naked truth*** (P.A.) **(6)**, i.e., absolute, pure and complete truth, truth lacking in trappings, is explained by way of Swedenborg's idea of *innocence* that appears to be deeply characteristic of the different types of angels and is inherently very close to truth: "As the garments of angels correspond to their intelligence they correspond also to truth, since all intelligence is from Divine truth; and therefore it is the same thing whether you say that angels are clothed in accordance with intelligence or in accordance with Divine truth. The garments of some blaze as if with flame, and those of others glisten as if with light, because flame corresponds to good, and light corresponds to truth from good. Some have garments that are glistening white and white without the effulgence, and others garments of various colors, because

with the less intelligent the Divine good and truth are less effulgent, and are also received in various ways, glistening white and white corresponding to truth, and colors to its varieties. **Those in the inmost heaven are not clothed, because they are in innocence, and innocence corresponds to nakedness**." (HH: 179)

This text and especially the paraphrase of the expression *naked truth* in bold type in it offer a strikingly beautiful description of the celestial world showing the fundamental purity and sublimity of innocence, which is closely linked to truth and truthfulness that are the complete opposites to falsity and artificiality. Innocent truth needs no decorations, it is sufficient in itself.

Still another case of comparison involves the literal proverb ***Virtue is its own reward*** (App.) **(7)**. It is explained transcendentally in section 7[3] of the book *Conjugial Love* (CL): "…Have you forgotten the Lord's words, that he who would be great in heaven must become a servant? Learn then what is meant by kings and princes, and by reigning with Christ, that it is to be wise and perform uses; for the kingdom of Christ, which is heaven, is a kingdom of uses. For the Lord loves all, and from love wills good to all, and good is use. And as the Lord does goods or uses mediately through the angels, and in the world through men, therefore **to them that perform uses faithfully he gives the love of use and its reward, which is internal blessedness; and this is eternal happiness**."

The paraphrase of the proverb in bold type does not mention the word "virtue", but the idea is alluded to in the collocation "them that perform uses faithfully". Apart from advocating selfless service to others, this section also conveys the idea that virtuous people, who during their life on earth can rarely be happy and satisfied, will be richly rewarded in the afterlife, and that their well deserved reward will be exceptional – utter and eternal happiness and bliss.

In section 823 of Volume One of Swedenborg's twelve volume book *Arcana Caelestia* (AC) we find a transcendental interpretation of the metaphorical proverb ***You reap what you sow*** **(8)** (Dubr.) together with its synonyms, among which ***As you brew, so you must drink*** (Dubr.) and ***Sow the wind and reap the whirlwind*** (Dubr.), and modern variant, ***What goes around comes around*** (DMP). In general discourse, the standard meaning of this proverb group is "whatever a person does is exactly what he or

she is gets back", its main cultureme, "retribution (+)" and its message – "Beware of what you are doing and especially of your bad deeds, as there will be consequences". The corresponding explanatory text in the book reads as follows: "**Whatever a man has done in the life of the body successively returns in the other life, and so does all that he has even thought**. When his enmities, hatreds and deceits return, the persons against whom he has indulged hatred and has clandestinely plotted are made present to him, and this in a moment. […] The thoughts a man has harbored against others make their appearance openly, for there is a perception of all thoughts. Hence come lamentable states, for there concealed states break out openly. With the evil all their evil deeds and thoughts thus return, to the life; but it is not so with the good. With these all their good states of friendship and love return, attended with the highest delight and happiness."

This description does not include the proverbs above, but their meaning is fully preserved and unfolded in such a way as to leave no doubt in the imminent reality of every single deed a person has committed or thought he has harbored in life, which leave their indelible imprint in his life after death.

Very similar to it is the proverb ***As a tree falls, so shall it lie*** (DAP) **(9)**, whose meaning is that a person's destiny is fully determined by his life. An explanation of this proverb is found in section 277b of the book *Divine Providence* (DP), which retains the literal wording of the proverb: "It is plain without explanation that man must be led away from evil in order to be reformed. For one who is in evil in the world is in evil after he has left the world. Not removed in the world, evil cannot be removed afterwards. **Where a tree falls, it lies**. So, too, when a man dies his life remains such as it has been. Everyone is judged according to his deeds, not that these are recounted, but he returns to them and acts as before. Death is a continuation of life with the difference that then man cannot be reformed. For reformation is effected in full, that is, in what is inmost and outmost, and what is outmost is reformed suitably to what is inmost only while man is in the world. It cannot be reformed afterwards because as it is carried along by the man after death it falls quiescent and conforms to his inner life, that is, they act as one."

As can be seen again, the transcendental interpretation of the proverb abounds with a lot of supportive detail and diverse

arguments. It puts across the message of how important it is for people to try to reform themselves while they are still alive. This idea resonates fully with the message of the preceding proverb group.

The meaning of the proverb ***Love is blind*** (Mied.) **(10)** is explained in a similarly methodical and circumstantial way in the following fragment from section 406 of the book *Divine Love and Wisdom* (DLW): "Love apart from the understanding, or the affection of the love apart from the thought of the understanding, can have neither bodily sense nor action; because **love apart from the understanding is, as it were, blind,** and affection apart from thought is, as it were, in darkness, for the understanding is the light by which love sees. […] [F]or action from love apart from the understanding is like that of a man in the dark when he knows not what he is doing. In such an act, there could be no intelligence or wisdom, and it could not be called a living act, for action derives its essence from love and its distinctive character from intelligence. Besides, all the power of good is exercised by means of truth." And further: "**What is action from love without the aid of the understanding? Such action could only be called irrational**. The understanding points out what is to be done and how it is to be done; and love cannot know this without the help of the understanding; and therefore thereby is such a marriage between love and the understanding that, although they are two, they still act as one." (409 DLW)

Here and elsewhere in his works, the theologian persistently reiterates that love must always unite with wisdom (and, by implication, with reason, understanding, intelligence and truth), otherwise it is useless, dangerous, and harmful.

In the excerpts above, the subject content of the proverb, which in the first part in bold is used verbatim, is significantly enlarged through involving in the disquisition the various aspects of love and understanding and truth as important prerequisites for love. The proverb, on the contrary, only states that love is blind, without qualifying the kind of love it envisions. Still, there is a presupposition in it, that the kind of love that should be condemned is the love that is blind, i.e., that fails to see things clearly and therefore lacks understanding of what things really are as it is far from truth. In contrast, the excerpt states expressly that love must never be divorced from truth. What remains the same in both

members of the comparison is the negative evaluation of the culturemе "blind love (–)" and the common message that one must beware of blind, irrational love and, by implication, aspire to the kind of love that is wise and enlightened.

Much in the same way as in the case above, the transcendental interpretation of the metaphorical proverb ***Variety is the spice of life*** (DAP) **(11)** in section 158 (HH), whose definition in general discourse is "variety makes life interesting, fulfilling and rewarding", confirms the proverb culturemе – "variery (+)". Swedenborg illustrates this idea by describing the frequent alterations of the inner states of the angels in the celestial world, explaining that "the delight of life and of heaven which they have from the love and wisdom that are from the Lord, would gradually become worthless if they were in it continually, as is the case with those who are in delights and pleasures without variety. […] Also, by alternations of delight and lack of delight, the perception and sensation of good becomes more exquisite." The latter, says the author, has to do with the perfection of angels, which is perpetual (cf. 10 200 AC).

As can be seen from this description, the kind of variety that is envisioned in the text fragment is the alternation between delight and lack of delight experienced by angels in heaven, and not a constant flux of diverse joys and delights in life experienced by humans, as the proverb may be suggesting. But regardless of what is implied in the word *variety* in the proverb, the text comes to confirm the proverb's message of the intrinsic value of diversity.

The transcendental meaning of another proverb, the ancient maxim ***As above, so below*** (Hermes) **(12)**, is illustrated in a very vivid and picturesque manner in the book *Divine Love and Wisdom* (DLW), especially in section 321, which is given here in full: "Be it known that the spiritual world in outward appearance is entirely similar to the natural world. There are countries, mountains, hills, valleys, plains, fields, lakes, rivers, and springs of water as in the natural world; thus all things of the mineral kingdom. There are parks, gardens, groves, woods, and in them all kinds of trees and shrubs bearing fruit and seeds, plants, flowers, herbs, and grasses, thus all things of the vegetable kingdom. There are also animals, birds, and fishes of every kind; thus all things of the animal kingdom; man is there an angel or a spirit. This preliminary statement is meant to show that the universe of the spiritual world

is entirely similar to the universe of the natural world, with this difference only, that things there are not fixed and settled like those in the natural world, because everything there is spiritual and not natural."

The sections that follow elaborate on the dazzling beauties of the spiritual world, adding even more detail. The section above corresponds to the first part of the proverb, the word "above", which denotes the spiritual world that is supposed to "stand" higher than the natural world people live in, which is the one "below". While the proverb is compact and terse, its detailed interpretation abounds with very specific detail.

Our next case, the metaphorical proverb ***The wish is father to the thought*** (FD) **(13)**, whose meaning is that our thinking and way of reasoning is determined by what we love (and not the other way round), is discussed and elaborated in many different parts of Swedenborg's doctrine. The theologian stresses ever so often the link between, on the one hand, love and the human will, and, on the other, love and human reason, intelligence and wisdom. Love and affection, he claims, wholly determine man's character and the direction of his will. Moreover, love, affection and therefore the will determine a person's way of thinking and reasoning: "love, or the will, unites with wisdom, or the understanding, but that wisdom, or the understanding, does not unite with love, or the will; and therefore again it is evident that the knowledge that love acquires from the desire to know, and the perception of truth which it acquires from the desire to understand, and the thought which it acquires from the desire to see what it knows and understands, do not belong to the understanding but to love. **Thoughts, perceptions, and therefore knowledge**, flow indeed from the spiritual world but they **are not received by the understanding but by the love**, according to the mode in which it is affected in the understanding. It appears as if the understanding receives them, and not love, or the will; but this is a mistake. It appears also that as if the understanding unites itself to love, or the will, but this is also a mistake; love, or the will, unites itself to the understanding and brings about a reciprocal union, which arises from its marriage with love; for it is love and the power of love which cause this reciprocal union." (DLW: 410. XII)

This excerpt explains step by step why love comes first and why people can understand more easily the things they love and

always find logical arguments to justify their wishes and desires no matter whether they are right or wrong. Swedenborg often reiterates this idea, claiming that even when someone is fond of falsities and evil, he can still find logical arguments to prove that they are good and true.

The well-known Renaissance maxim ***Man is a microcosm*** (P.A.) **(14)** is given multiple interpretations in various parts of Swedenborg's teaching in the context of his famous doctrine of correspondences. The proverb is a shortened version of the longer and much older maxim, which was developed from a specific perspective in more recent times by the Renaissance philosopher Paracelsus (1493/94–1541), who writes the following: "Man is a microcosm, or a little world, because he is an extract from all the stars and planets of the whole firmament, from the earth and the elements; and so he is their quintessence" (BQ). I am going to quote a couple of excerpts illustrating another, even deeper aspect of this very ancient idea in the way it is understood in Swedenborg's theology: "Man was called by the ancients a microcosm, because he resembles the macrocosm or universe as a whole. But it is not known at the present day why man was so called by the ancients; […] the ancients called man a microcosm or little universe from a knowledge of the science of correspondences, which the most ancient people possessed, and also from their intercourse with the ancients in heaven." (319 DLW) Swedenborg often writes about the succession of the four epochs in the long history of the human species known as the Golden, Silver, Copper, and Iron Ages, in the course of which people's spiritual bond with heaven, he claims, was gradually and progressively diminished until in the middle of the eighteenth century it reached its lowest point of almost utter extinction that prompted a new rejuvenation for which he believes to have been specifically called and chosen. He stresses that "**there is nothing in the created universe which does not correspond to something in man, not only to his affections and consequently to his thoughts, but also to the organs and viscera of his body**; the correspondence, however, is not with these regarded as substances but with their uses. It is for this reason that in the Word where the Church and its members are spoken of, trees are so often mentioned, for example olives, vines, and cedars; also gardens, groves, and woods; and again, the beasts of the earth, the birds of the air, and the fish of the sea. They

are mentioned … because they are correspondences and make one by correspondence with that to which they correspond. This is why when men read about these things in the Word, the angels have no consciousness with such objects, but think only of the corresponding states of the Church and its members". (324 DLW) And further: "Since all things in the universe bear resemblance to man, Adam is described as to his wisdom and intelligence by the Garden of Eden, in which there were trees of every kind, and also rivers, precious stones and gold, and animals to which he gave names. All these things signify the various attributes he possessed and which constituted the being who is describes as Man." (325 DLW) Besides the direct confirmation of man's sameness or similarity with the universe, but only in the form of correspondences between different uses, what is also implied in these text fragments is that the whole Bible is built on such correspondences; they function as sacred signs and symbols, which, when interpreted correctly, tend to strengthen the absolutely vital bond between the human and the divine worlds.

In a transcendental context, the famous commandment turned proverb ***Love thy neighbor*** (Mied.) **(15)** according to Swedenborg quite surprisingly does not really mean loving the personality, or *proprium*, of one's friend or companion. This is how the philosopher discusses this commandment in its relation to the main and more important commandment to love God: "There are two distinct loves in heaven, love to the Lord, and love towards the neighbour. In the utmost or third heaven is love to the Lord and in the second or middle heaven is love towards the neighbour. Each proceeds from the Lord and each makes heaven. What the distinction is between these two loves and how they are conjoined appears in heaven as clear light, but in the world only obscurely. In heaven, by loving the Lord, is not meant loving him in respect of his person but loving the good which is from him, and loving good is willing good and doing it from love; and loving the neighbour does not mean loving a companion in respect of his person but loving the truth which is from the Word, and loving the truth is willing and doing it." The two footnotes to this section explain further that "[t]o love the Lord and the neighbour is to live according to the Lord's commandments", "[t]o love the neighbour is not to love the person, but to love that with him from which he is what he is, that is, his truth and good (10 143, 10 153, 10 310, 10 578,

10 648 AC)", and also that "those who love the person, and not that with him from which he is what he is [his truth and good] love evil and good alike" (3 820 AC). "Charity towards the neighbour – summarizes the author, – is doing what is good, just, and right, in every work and every function (8 120 – 8 122 AC)." (HH 15)

As we can see, the kind of perfect and righteous love Swedenborg promotes is equated with demanding discipline and truthfulness to the Ten Commandments, with stern justice and fairness, and not with the liberal acceptance of our companion with all his or her shortcoming, errors, blunders and vices, as one might think. Indeed, this kind of critical, uncompromising and highly principled love even applies to God! It turns out that loving the *proprium* of our friend is to "love evil and good alike", i.e., not to differentiate between them, which is not tolerated in heaven.

The Bible phrase ***a stumbling block***, which in general discourse is explained as "a challenge or hindrance that prevents something from being accomplished" (FD) **(16)**, is given a very vivid and utterly strange and unusual interpretation in section 534 of *Heaven and Hell*: "The way that leads to heaven, and the way that leads to hell were once represented to me. There was a broad way tending towards the left or the north, and many spirits were seen going in it; but at a distance a quite large stone was seen where the broad way came to an end. From that stone two ways were branched off, one to the left, and one in the opposite direction to the right. The way that went to the left was narrow or restricted, leading through the west or the sound, and thus into the light of heaven; the way that went to the right was broad and spacious, leading obliquely downwards towards hell. All at first seemed to be going the same way until they came to **the large stone where two ways meet**. When they reached that point they were separated; the good turned to the left and entered the restricted way that went to heaven; while **the evil, not seeing the stone at the fork of the ways, fell upon it and were hurt**; and when they rose up they ran on in the broad way to the right which went towards hell. What all these things signified was afterwards explained to me: namely, that by the first way which was broad, wherein many both good and evil went together and talked with each other as friends, because there was no visible difference between them, were represented those who in externals live alike honestly and justly, and between whom seemingly there is no difference. By

the stone where the two ways met or at the corner, upon which the evil fell and from which they then ran along the way leading to hell, was represented the Divine Truth, which is rejected by those who look towards hell; and in the highest sense by this stone was signified the Lord's Divine Human."

When we compare the phrase "a stumbling block" with this text, we can see right away several discrepancies. First, the phrase lacks all of the spiritual content of the text fragment. Second, the images, the situation, the drama and the metaphor of the text section are completely lost in the phrase. Third, only a small portion of the subject content of the description is retained in it – the image of the stone, but without mentioning its size. A further difference is the negative connotation of the image of the stone in the phrase in contrast to the positive connotation of the image of the large stone in the descriptive passage. In sum, in the process of semantic evolution, the secularized phrase, when compared to the text from which its true meaning probably derives, has been almost completely changed in that its original esoteric meaning has disappeared.

The proverb ***Like will to like*** (Manser) **(17)** unfolds its transcendental meaning in section 511 of the book *Heaven and Hell*: "In this second state the separation of evil spirits from good spirits takes place. For in the first state they are together, since while a spirit is in his exteriors he is as he was in the world, thus the evil with the good and the good with the evil; but it is otherwise when he has been brought into his interiors and left to his own nature or will. The separation of good spirits from evil spirits is effected by various methods; in general, by their being taken about to those societies with which in their first state they had communications by means of their thoughts and affections, thus to those societies that they had induced to believe by outward appearance that they are not evil. Usually, they are led about through a wide circle, and everywhere what they really are is made manifest to good spirits. **At the sight of them the good spirits turn away; and at the same time the evil spirits who are being led about turn their faces away from the good towards that quarter where their infernal society is, into which they are about to come**."

The description above shows in very concrete terms and by means of appropriate images exactly how the principle of the attraction of similarities, tersely summarized in the proverb *like will*

*to like*, operates in the spiritual world. Swedenborg explains that the attraction and the ensuing separation of spirits into good and bad is ultimately determined not by the "externals" of the person, but by his or her "internals", i.e., by his or her dominant inner state. What is retained in both members of the comparison is the positive evaluation of this principle of attraction.

Our next example is the Bible proverb ***God is no respecter of persons*** (DAP) **(18)**. It is explained as "[God's] attitude and behaviour to someone is uninfluenced by considerations of another's rank, power, wealth etc" (FD). This proverb is used almost literally and then explained in detail in the beginning of section 509 of the same book (HH): "When evil spirits are in this second state, as they rush into evils of every kind they are subjected to frequent and evil punishments; and **there is no regard for person, whether one had been in the world a king or a servant**. Every evil carries its punishment with it, the evil and the punishment being connected; therefore whoever is in evil is also in the punishment of evil." Although the word "God" is missing in this excerpt, it is implied in it, in the chapter, and indeed in the whole book and in all other works of the author; unlike the proverb, the excerpt mentions the severe punishments that are to be endured by the evil when finally justice is meted out to them. What is implied in both members of the comparison is the positive value of the idea of a just and fair judgment, uninfluenced by external factors.

Another short and well known proverb is ***Truth will out*** (App.) **(19)**, which has a large number of variants and synonyms (for their detailed discussion see Petrova 2019a). Its meaning is unfolded in section 507 of the same book (HH): "When in this second state, spirits become visibly just what they had been in themselves while in the world, what they then did and said secretly being now made manifest; for now, because external things do not restrain them, they speak such things openly, and also try to do them, not being fearful of their reputation as in the world. They are also brought into many states of their evils, that what they are may be evident to angels and good spirits. Thus are hidden things laid open and secret things uncovered, in accordance with the Lord's words:

> There is nothing covered up that shall not be revealed, and hid that shall not be known. Whatsoever ye have said in

> the darkness shall be heard in the light, and what ye have spoken in the ear in the inner chambers shall be proclaimed on the housetops. *Luke XII. 2, 3.*
>
> I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. *Matt. XII.* 36.

The proverb *Truth will out*, like the previous one, is short and generalizing. It doesn't mention the spiritual or the celestial worlds, it only states tersely that truth will be revealed, without specifying the time when this is to happen, but implying a truth about some bad deeds committed by a person who is afraid of revealing them to others. In contrast, in the extended explanation above, it is shown to whom exactly all bad truths will be laid open. It is also stated that not just bad deeds, but also bad thoughts will be laid open and judged in the day of judgment. Thus the implicit meaning of the proverb becomes fully explicit, enlarged and enriched with a lot of additional relevant information. As regards the positive evaluation of the idea of the imminent revelation of truth, both members of the comparative analysis preserve it.

Still another example is the idiom ***to wear one's heart on one's sleeve*** **(20)** whose definition in general discourse is "to openly display or make known one's emotions or sentiments" (FD). An allusion to this idiom may be seen in section 505 (HH): "When the spirit is in the state of its interiors it becomes clearly evident what the man was in himself when he was in the world, for at such times he acts from his proprium. **He who was in the world interiorly in good then acts rationally and wisely**, and even more wisely than in the world, because he is released from connection with the body, and thus from all earthly things that caused obscurity and interposed, as it were, a cloud."

When we compare the idiom and the excerpt, we can easily see again, first, the much richer subject content of the latter. The idiom, however, uses certain images on the expression plane – those of the sleeve and the heart, which are missing in the larger text. These images may have derived from a custom related to the tournaments during the Middle Ages in Europe, which exacted from the participants to wear the insignia of their noble rank or that of their lady on their garments or shields. The excerpt thus envisions the good, honest, open and sincere persons (such as the

medieval knights were supposed to be, at least according to the code of chivalry), who, once in the spiritual world, are finally free to speak their mind openly and fully. It also explains why such persons feel much better there: they no longer suffer from the physical burdens which hamper and distort the expression of their true feelings.

A very interesting case is the proverb ***Marriages are made in heaven*** (App.) **(21)** and its transcendental parallel text, discovered in section 383 (HH): "I have also been permitted to see how those in the heavens are associated in marriage. Everywhere in heaven those who are alike are associated together and those who are unlike are dissociated. Any one society in heaven therefore consists of those who are alike. Like are brought to like not by themselves, but by the Lord [which brings us back to the discussion of the proverb *Like will to like* above **(**no. **17)**] … and equally, consort to consort whose minds can be joined into one are drawn together; and consequently at first sight they inmostly love each other, and see themselves to be consorts, and enter into marriage. For this reason, **all marriages in heaven are from the Lord alone**. They have also marriage feasts; and these are attended by many; but the festivities differ in different societies."

In this case we again observe the same features like in the cases discussed earlier. The first thing that may strike the reader is that in the theological description the proverb is used literally. What is added is the indispensable condition which makes these marriages possible: the perfect unity of mind and soul between the lovers: "Conjugial love is willing what another wills, thus willing mutually and reciprocally (2 731 AC)." It follows from this explanation that the marriages on earth that are between different and conflicting partners are entirely ruled out. Swedenborg often reiterates in his books, that at the present time and age (the 18th century) such heavenly marriages barely exist on earth and that the ones that do exist are not true marriages but mostly social or business contracts.

An even more enlarged and detailed explanation of the same proverb can be found in section 228 (20) of the book *Divine Providence* (DP) that can at the same time serve as an appropriate explanation of the phrase ***love at first sight*** (P.A.) **(22)**: "For people who desire truly conjugial love, the Lord provides similar partners, and if they are not found on earth, He provides them in

heaven. This results from the fact that **all marriages of truly conjugial love are provided by the Lord**. […] The Lord's divine providence is most specific and most universal in connection with marriages, because all delights of heaven flow from the delights of conjugial love, like sweet waters from a gushing spring. It is therefore provided that conjugial pairs be born, and they are raised and continually prepared for their marriages under the Lord's guidance, neither the boy nor the girl being aware of it. Then, after a period of time, the girl – now a marriageable young woman – and the boy – now a young man ready to marry – meet somewhere as though by fate, and notice each other. And **they immediately recognize, as if by a kind of instinct, that they are a match, thinking to themselves as from a kind of inner dictate, the young man, "she is mine", and the young woman, "he is mine"**. Later, after this thought has for some time been settled in the minds of each, they deliberately talk about it together and pledge themselves to each other in marriage. We say as though by fate, by instinct and as from a kind of dictate, when we mean by Divine providence, that is how it appears. For the Lord unveils their similarities so that they notice each other." This section adds another slant to the idea of the sacred and divine character of true love – its romantic nature, which has been the subject of innumerable works of art. Swedenborg succeeds in elevating the love between a man and a woman to new and greater, cosmic heights. For him, sexual love is not just a union meant to produce children, but a perfect union between two souls glorifying God. He often repeats that in heaven married couples do not have children. Instead, they work together in love to create spiritual fruits.

Close in meaning to the proverb about married love above is the phrase ***my better half*** (Kunin) **(23)**, meaning "my husband or wife". We find an explanation of the idea of the wholeness and completeness of the married couple together with a literal wording of the phrase in section 367 (HH), here quoted in full: "Marriage in heaven is a conjunction of two into one mind. It will first be explained what this conjunction is. The mind consists of two parts, one called the understanding and the other the will. When these two parts act as one they are said to be one mind. In heaven the husband acts the part called the understanding and the wife acts the part called the will. When this conjunction, which belongs to man's interiors, descends into the lower things pertaining to the

body, it is perceived and felt as love, and this love is conjugial love. From this it is clear that conjugial love has its origin in the conjunction of two into one mind. This in heaven is called cohabitation; and it is said that **they are not two but one. So in heaven a married pair is spoken of not as two, but as one angel."**

Although in this excerpt we don't see the word "half", it is implied by the word "one" in the collocation "one angel", which denotes a unity made up of a man, who is the intellectual half, and a woman – the part of the will, implying love, affection and other related emotions. In Swedenborg's theological system, these two halves complement each other and build one single whole, called an angel.

The same phrase is repeated and explained further in section 52 of the book *Conjugial Love* (CL): "[…] **married couples in heaven are not two but one angel**. Therefore, by the conjugial union they fulfill themselves with respect to their humanity, which is to want to be wise and to love what has to do with wisdom." Here, one more aspect is added to the idea of unity and oneness – the shared aspiration of the husband and wife towards wisdom.

We see the same phrase explained from still another perspective in section 50. 4 (CL): "A man is then given a suitable wife, and a woman, likewise, a suitable husband. This is because the only married couples who can be accepted into heaven so as to remain there are those who have been inwardly united, or who can be united as though into one. **For married couples in heaven are not called two but one angel**. This is meant by the Lord's words, that they are no longer two, but one flesh. The reason these are the only married couples who can be accepted into heaven is that they are the only ones who can live together there, that is, who can be together in the same house and in the same bedroom and bed. For all those who are in heaven are associated to the infinities and the close similarities of their love, and their homes are determined accordingly. This is because there are no dimensional spaces in the spiritual world, but they have appearances of spaces, and these appearances are determined according to the states of their life, and their states of life are determined according to the states of love. Consequently, **no one in the spiritual world can stay anywhere but in his own house, which is provided and appointed to him according to the nature of his love** [this sentence brings associations with proverbs about home, such as *East or west,*

*home is best* and *Home, sweet home*"]. If he stays anywhere else, his chest labors and he has difficulty breathing. By the same token, two people cannot live together in the same house unless they are likeness of each other. And they cannot live together at all as married partners unless their feelings for each other are mutual. If these feelings of attraction are external and not at the same time internal, the very house or place separates them and drives them away." As can be seen from the excerpt, the subject content of this explanation is an enlarged version of the phrase *my better half*, for it not only stresses literally that the married couples in heaven are one angel, but also gives a lot of detailed information about the kind of unity and oneness that can make two people a true married couple. At the same time it provides the reader with a lot of factual knowledge of the heavenly worlds, which Swedenborg claims to be well familiar with.

The metaphorical proverb ***Love makes the world go round*** (OCDP) **(24)** meaning "love is the driving force in nature" was found in section 34[3] of the same book, *Conjugial Love* (CL): "But even though love is so frequently mentioned, nevertheless scarcely anyone knows what love is. Whenever someone meditates on it, he cannot then form for himself any idea in his though about it, thus he cannot bring it into the light of his understanding, because it is not a matter of light, but of warmth [light in Swedenborg's doctrine corresponds to wisdom, intelligence and reason, while warmth corresponds to love, affection and will]. Therefore, he says either that love is not anything, or that it is merely some stimulus flowing in through his vision, hearing and social interaction, which thus affects him. He doesn't know **that love is his very life, not only the general life in his whole body and the general life in all his thoughts, but also the life in every single particle of them**. The wise person can perceive this from considering the following proposition: If you take away the impulse of love, can you form any thought? Or can you perform any action? In the measure that the affection belonging to love cools, is it not true that in the same measure thought, speech and action cool? And the warmer the affection grows, the warmer they grow? Love, therefore, is the warmth in a person's life or his vital heat. The warmth of the blood, its redness, have no other origin. The fire of the angelic sun, which is pure love, causes it." In this excerpt love is shown to be the vital energy that keeps life going. Swedenborg

often explains that physical nature, including the physical sun, is dead and that it is only due to God's love and wisdom that it is infused with life and kept alive and in constant motion. The same idea is repeated in section 46 (DLW), "nor can they [the blind in spiritual things] think otherwise of **love and wisdom**, or at all realize that **they are the source of all things in nature**", as well as in 52 (DLW), "**All things in the universe were created by the divine love and wisdom of God-Man**." While the first part in bold just above is a paraphrase of the proverb, the second part stresses expressly the role of love united with wisdom, which emanate from the Lord (223.13 CL) and act as creators of the universe. The same proverb is literally repeated and explained once more in section 392 of the book *Divine Love and Wisdom* (DLW): "These two vital motions, the cardiac and the pulmonic, exist and persist because the whole angelic heaven, both in general and in particular, experiences them. And the whole angelic heaven experiences them because the Lord from the sun where He is, which is an emanation of Him, communicates them. That sun transmits these two motions from the Lord; and as all things in heaven and on earth depend on the Lord's operation through that sun, and stand in a relation to each other due to their form, like the parts of a mechanism which are arranged in series from first to last, and as **the life from love and wisdom is from Him, and all the forces of the universe derive their life from His love and Wisdom**, it is plain that these two motions have no other origin; and it follows that their variations take place according to the reception of love and wisdom."

This passage explains somewhat laboriously and in a peculiarly mechanistic way how the universe is kept in constant motion. Swedenborg the anatomist, inventor, engineer and mathematician, being a true exponent of the Age of Reason, offers many similar disquisitions in his books. Here he lays special stress on the unity of God's Love and Wisdom, which alone can maintain life in the whole universe and in all its parts.

Finally, there also exist proverbs about jealousy **(25)**, for example ***Without jealousy, there is no love*** and its variants, ***Love is never without jealosy*** (DAP) and ***Where there is no jealousy there is no love*** (Askideas), which are given a very interesting transcendental interpretation in Swedenborg's book *Conjugial Love*, one of his latest and most mature creations. In it, Sweden-

borg the psychologist defends jealousy as a perfectly legitimate expression of love, giving all of the underlying spiritual reasons for this claim. His disquisitions on the topic cover several pages, so I am going to quote only the most prominent parts of his argument: "Jealousness...may be just or unjust. Jealousness is just in married couples who love each other. In them, it is a just and prudent zeal to keep their conjugial love from being violated, and a just anguish therefore if it is violated. An unjust jealousness...is found in people who are by nature suspicious, and who, from a viscidity and biliousness of blood, suffer a sickness of the mind. [...] [J]ealousness as a term derives from the same root as *zeal* [italics added; this linguistic statement is, indeed, correct, at least as regards English (cf. Longman)], with a suffix (-ness) denoting quality; […] Viewed in itself, zeal is, so to speak, the fire of love set ablaze. […] Jealousness is a kind of blazing fire against those who attack the love shared with a married partner, and a kind of trembling fear at the thought of losing that love. Jealousness is spiritual in character in monogamists, and natural [pertaining to the man's proprium and therefore evil] in character in polygamists. […] One finds jealousness also in regard to mistresses, but not such as arises in regard to wives. Jealousness is also found in animals and birds." 357 (CL) And further: "When they [people] speak of being zealous and acting from zeal they mean nothing else but an intensity of love. […] For it is the nature of all love to erupt into indignation and anger, even into rage, whenever it is dislodged from its delights. So it is that when love is interfered with, especially a governing one [i.e., the ruling love that defines and sustains a person], there results a disturbance of the mind. And if that interference does injury, it becomes a white-hot fury. It can be seen from this that zeal is not the highest degree of love, but that it is love set ablaze. When one person's love finds a corresponding love in another, they are like two confederates; but when one person's love rises up against another's love, they become as enemies. The reason is that love is the very being of a person's life. Consequently, anyone who attacks another's love, attacks his very life; and this results in a state of white-hot fury against the attacker, like the state of anyone, who encounters another trying to kill him." (358.1, CL) As can be seen from these two excerpts, Swedenborg equates jealousy with the legitimate state of mind arising in someone who protects his love and therefore himself

from mortal danger. But jealousy seems to have still another aspect that has to do with afterlife and eternal happiness: "In married partners who love each other tenderly, jealousness is a just anguish in accord with sound reason, that their conjugial love not be sundered and thus perish. Every love carries with it a fear and anguish – a fear of its perishing, and anguish if it does. The same is true of conjugial love […]. Such a zeal in married partners who love each other tenderly is just and in accord with sound reason, because it is at the same time a fear of losing eternal happiness, not only one's own, but the partner's as well, and because it is a protection against adultery. […] [This follows] from the fact that from conjugial love comes the blessedness of their [the partners'] souls, the happiness of their minds, the delights of their breasts, and the pleasure of their bodies. And because these continue for them in eternity, it is a fear for the couple's eternal happiness. That such a zeal is a just protection against adulterous affairs, is obvious. On that account it is like a fire blazing out against any encroachment and protecting itself against it. It is apparent from this that **anyone who loves his partner is also jealous**, but justly and soundly so, in the measure of man's wisdom." (371.9 CL) Apart from the almost literal repetition of the proverbs about jealousy, this last excerpt also adds some important information about the dangers that may beset the love of the married partners not only in this life, but also in afterlife. The author dwells on the idea of eternity, where happily married couples continue sharing the blessedness of their love, but only on condition that it has been kept intact and they were true to one another while they were still in their physical bodies. What these excerpts do not tell us, is what happens to the married couples who are estranged and do not love each other, which however is explained elsewhere at great length multiple times in Swedenborg's books.

Many more cases can be added to our discussion, for Swedenborg's books do abound with diverse allusions to many proverbs and phrases, if one chooses to look closer. But the twenty five cases presented here should be quite sufficient for us to conclude that there is a lot of similarity in each of the analyzed couples and that in all of the cases Swedenborg's theological interpretations of the proverb or phrase are significantly enlarged and developed in much greater detail and from a different and very original perspective.

These examples also suggest that there exists an enduring although not immediately obvious bond between some of the common proverbs of the people and the esoteric wisdom stored in the sacred books of humanity and their hermeneutical interpretations by men like Swedenborg. Whether this bond derives from common origin or we are dealing with instances of polygenesis, we still do not know. All we can say at this stage in our research is that proverbs have their own widely familiar meanings that are played out repeatedly in various situations in our everyday life, but their specific, transcendental interpretations in wisdom literature do reach astounding heights. We can start unraveling these sacred meanings only after we acquaint ourselves with the works of some long-forgotten man of genius like the Swedish philosopher, theologian and visionary Emanuel Swedenborg. Only when we place them in the context of his descriptions of a transcendental plane of existence where they seem to belong and from which they have probably originated, can these humble reminders of ancient wisdom reveal their true value, dazzling us with their striking brilliance and astounding magnificence.

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# "WINNING FREEDOM AND EXACTING JUSTICE": A. PHILIP RANDOLPH'S USE OF PROVERBS AND PROVERBIAL LANGUAGE

***Abstract:*** This essay explores Randolph's biographies, writings, and speeches in order to illustrate some of the proverbs and proverbial language that A. Philip Randolph used throughout the Labor and Civil Rights eras. There is no doubt that proverbs and proverbial sayings had a profound influence on Randolph's life and rhetoric. He used them frequently and effectively in a number of different ways including: during court proceedings, in his many speeches and writings, and in his *Messenger* magazine which he published with Chandler Owen from 1917 to 1928. Randolph used proverbs from the Bible, important political figures, and also famous literary figures. He also created some proverbs himself. Examining these different areas illustrates that Randolph was fully aware of the political influence that proverbs often have and he sought to utilize this authority whenever necessary.

***Keywords:*** African American, Bible, A. Philip Randolph, civil rights, folklore, human rights, labor, paremiology, proverbs, politics, segregation, the March on Washington Movement (MOWM)

A. Philip Randolph (April 15, 1889 – May 16, 1979), considered by many to be the father of the modern Civil Rights era, is one of the most important and dynamic political figures in America for a number of reasons. Randolph was the driving force behind the biggest watershed moment in American civil rights history. The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom took place on August 28th, 1963. At 74 years of age, Randolph and his March on Washington (MOWM) committee would lead over 250,000 thousand peaceful protesters to the steps of the Lincoln memorial in what would be the largest display of non-violent direct action ever recorded. For many, this event represents the pinnacle of Randolph's political influence, and it is the event that would propel Martin Luther King, Jr. to international prominence. From a historical perspective, the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs

and Freedom became known as a figurative passing of the torch, from Randolph to King, or from the old guard to the new, but in addition to the march, Randolph should be remembered for a lot of different reasons. First of all, Randolph is one of the first black leaders of the early twentieth century to demand economic, social, and political freedom for African Americans, at a time when most of black America was divided on such issues. The Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey debates had reached their height during the mid-twentieth century and many felt that blacks should focus on either economic gains, which Washington advocated for, social and political advancement, which was supported largely by DuBois with his "talented tenth" ideology, or complete separatism, which Garvey promoted with the "back to Africa" movement. Randolph instead insisted on total equality for all people and regarded the philosophies of his contemporaries as being separatist and also undemocratic.

Secondly, Randolph's success in implementing non-violent direct action during the mid and late twentieth century, as a sustainable form of protest, helped to make peaceful mass demonstrations common place in American society.[1] Lastly, Randolph initiated the African American labor movement. While the Socialist party was a valuable political platform for Randolph during his early years because they claimed to advocate for the rights of all workers, they were not very affective in achieving better wages and working conditions for blacks. Randolph was concerned specifically with African American worker's rights, and after fighting for over a decade he was able to establish the nation's first predominantly black labor union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, (BSCP) on August 25th, 1925. This huge accomplishment would serve as a natural segue from the Labor Movement to the Civil Rights era. The first labor union of its kind, this milestone achievement helped to pave the way for a succession of monumental events that would soon follow. For instance, the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), which sought to end wage discrimination and prejudice in hiring practices, and the eventual desegregation of all areas of American society. Over the years, a number of presidents would issue executive orders that would help to alleviate the problems of racism, segregation, and unfair wages largely paid to African Americans and poor whites. Yet, the most important detail about this era in

history is that the many changes in legislation that took place during the twentieth century, including President Roosevelt's 1941 executive order that ended racial prejudice in American defense industries and President Truman's 1948 executive order to abolish segregation in the military, would more than likely have simply amounted to nothing more than empty promises if Randolph did not apply constant political pressure to acting Commanders-in-chiefs and their governing bodies. Randolph, "talked personally with every President since Calvin Coolidge. To all he had pleaded for justice for black people. Sometimes he met with failure, sometimes with success. But every President for… forty years knew that sooner or later, Phil Randolph would be on his doorstep asking him to take political risks on behalf of black citizens" (Davis 1972: 149-50).

Randolph had a number of personal traits that made him an effective political leader. He was largely a self-taught and independent thinker. He was always smart, graduating at the top of his class from the Cookman Institute (now Bethune-Cookman College) and serving as the valedictorian of his class in 1907. When he moved to Harlem in 1911, he took advantage of the many free courses offered at the City College of New York. He valued knowledge greatly throughout his entire life. Randolph also possessed the unwavering values of honesty, integrity, and fearlessness. These important values would be exemplified repeatedly throughout his lifetime through his use of proverbs and proverbial language. I argue here, that it is, in fact, Randolph's proverbial proficiency which helped to allow his strong values to be transformed into affective political weapons. Although Randolph did not use proverbs frequently, when he did employ them, it was done to move people emotionally, and also for the purpose of persuasion; either to persuade political adversaries or to persuade political constituents.

In using proverbs politically, Randolph is drawing from a well-established tradition of proverb use by successful black leaders. This tradition is documented by folklorist, and paremiologist, Wolfgang Mieder. Mieder has written about the proverb use of Frederick Douglass, *"No Struggle, No Progress": Frederick Douglass and His Proverbial Rhetoric for Civil Rights* (2001), President Barack Obama, *"Yes We Can": Barack Obama's Proverbial Rhetoric* (2009), the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,

*"Making a Way Out of No Way": Martin Luther King's Sermonic Proverbial Rhetoric* (2010), and Congressman John Lewis (Ga.), *"Keep Your Eyes on the Prize": Congressman John Lewis's Proverbial Odyssey for Civil Rights"*(2014). These texts are important for a number of reasons. To start with, they depict the significance of proverbs and proverbial language in the national effort to end discrimination and racial prejudice. Next, they prove that proverbs are as equally important today as they were centuries ago. Additionally, Mieder's texts prove that proverbs are effective due to the fact that all of the aforementioned leaders lived to see many of their social and political goals realized. Consequently, the success of leaders like King, Obama, and Lewis will be encouraging to future generations of leaders as they examine their predecessor's language for knowledge and insight in order to continue to improve living conditions in America (see Mieder 2005 and 2019). Thus, proverbs have and always will play important roles in uniting multitudes of people in America for the cause of social justice, and it is important to realize where Randolph falls on this continuum.

According to Mieder, proverbs may be defined as "…concise traditional statements of apparent truths with currency among the folk. More elaborately stated, proverbs are short, generally known sentences of the folk that contain wisdom, truths, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorizable form and that are handed down from generation to generation" (Mieder 2004: 4). Additionally, from a stylistic perspective, there are a number of poetic devices such as: alliteration, parallelism, hyperbole, paradox, personification, and metaphor which may serve as internal and external markers. (Mieder 2004) Mieder's definition emphasizes the fact that the transmission of important ideas and values are a very significant function of proverbs. In this sense they may also be viewed as "well-established ideology" configured to a "certain form" (Fabian 1990: 29). Understanding the significant amount of moral authority that people place in proverbs helps political figures such as Randolph to employ them strategically. He often used a number of different kinds of proverbs, and surprisingly enough, the proverbs that Randolph used are not shown to have African origins. According to folklorist and paremiologist Anand Prahlad, "Based on the printed collections, we can safely say that very few proverbs in currency among African-

Americans are of African origin. A primary reason for this is that proverb texts exist as preformed linguistic units, making the retention of items difficult in an extreme situation such as slavery, where language groups were stripped of their native tongues and given new ones to replace them" (1996: 28). This explains why among all of the many different sources for proverbs that Randolph uses, none of them seem to be African.

As opposed to a chronological organization, this essay is organized according to the different sources for proverbs that Randolph employed. The first major source of proverbs for Randolph is the Bible. Biblical proverbs appear most frequently in Randolph's writings. The second source of proverbs to be discussed here are the sayings that Randolph employs that come from important political figures. The third source for proverbs that are addressed are the proverbs that Randolph uses that may be attributed to famous literary figures. In mapping out a discussion of Randolph's proverb use it is important to note that Randolph used all of the proverbs recorded here with one purpose in mind, to advance the causes of social justice, and it is in this sense that they may also be viewed as political weapons. According to Mieder, proverbs frequently materialize through economic circumstances, and in his fight for social, political, and economic freedom for African Americans, Randolph was able to coin a number of memorable sayings of his own (1993: 35), so lastly, there will be discussion of some of the proverbs that Randolph created himself.

Randolph's biblical adages comprise the majority of the extensive repertoire of sayings that he would use frequently. Many of these sayings were more than likely acquired as a young child in Florida. Randolph was Born in Crescent city Florida on April 15th, 1889, to James and Elizabeth Randolph, who were both a part of the very first generation of newly emancipated slaves. Throughout his early years, James, Sr., an African Methodist Episcopal minister, would instill in Randolph a love for learning. Randolph and his older brother James, Jr., read daily with their parent's encouragement. The Reverend James Randolph spent a lot of time searching the shelves of old bookstores in order to find texts that he felt his sons should read. He wanted his sons to be familiar with the history of the AME church as well as about every black leader in America including: "Hannibal, Crispus Attucks, Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Frederick Douglass, and

Richard Allen…" (Taylor 2006: 11). They would also often spend countless hours reading the Bible, arguing about the meaning of Scripture, and also, against their parent's wishes, debating the existence of God. In addition to reading literature, they would also spend time listening to their father's sermons and the sermons of other southern black ministers which were, no doubt, filled with proverbial folk wisdom. Although Randolph would be an atheist in adulthood, southern African Methodist Episcopal values would be ingrained in him for the rest of his life.

The values that Randolph acquired in the AME church and the values that his parents instilled in him were always on full display because of his proverb proficiency. Proverbs never dominated Randolph's oratory, but he did use them at times in very strategic and calculated ways such as to emphasize important points, or to end his speeches or letters. Many of the proverbs that Randolph employed were from the Bible. The Bible is filled with well-known proverbs that can easily be used to contextualize the plight of black people in America, which is more than likely one reason they suited Randolph's purposes so well. Furthermore, Randolph knew from personal experience as a preacher's son, that biblical proverbs generally resonate with large audiences.

During his commencement address at Morgan State College in 1959. Randolph works hard to communicate some of his values to the graduating student body and he also uses important and well-known proverbs from biblical Scripture in the process. Throughout the speech he urges students to read often, to register to vote, and to also invest in black communities. Randolph ends his commencement address by employing a biblical proverb. He says, "The night, however dark, is never endless. The star of the break of dawn is not far. The hour of decision and action is now. In the words of the Psalmist, "I will lift mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my strength" (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 256). The first statement is an allusion to the proverb, "The darkest hour is that before the dawn" first recorded in the biblical writings of English author, Thomas Fuller in 1650 (*A Pisgah- Sight of Palestine*) (Wilson 1970: 168). It is also used on at least a few occasions by Martin Luther King, Jr. (Mieder 2010: 348) The second part of Randolph's closing statement, "I will lift mine eyes…" (KJV Psalms 121) is also biblical. The complete idea in this passage is best captured in reading the first two lines of Psalm 121

together which reads, "I will lift mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help, My help cometh from the LORD which made heaven and earth" (KJV Psalms 121). The first line having become proverbial through frequent usage, is used by Randolph on a number of different occasions to instill a sense of faith in his audiences and to encourage them to stay strong in the face of adversity. It takes hearing only a very small portion of the first line of this very powerful passage to remind Randolph's audience that in difficult times, help will only come from God. Furthermore, Randolph wants his audience to realize that the fight for justice will be long and difficult, and that they will be able to continue the fight by keeping faith.

In "African Methodism and the Negro in the Western World" (1962), a speech made in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of the Bermuda African Methodist Episcopal Conference, Randolph celebrates the history of the AME church. During the speech he also emphasizes the significance of the church's role in American and African American history and he praises the AME founder, ex-slave, Richard Allen, characterizing him as a revolutionary thinker along the same lines as European, protestant reformist, Martin Luther. (Kersten and Lucander 2014). Randolph says:

> And in reaffirming his deep concern about the people, Jesus said: "I have compassion on the multitude because they have now been with me three days and have nothing to eat. And if I sent them away fasting to their own houses they will faint by the way, for divers of them came from far." And he blessed a few loaves of bread and fishes and fed them. This strange witness of the will of God startled his followers, when he observed: "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it." He shocked the Pharisees, Sadducees and scribes, as well as his own disciples, when he declared: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 148-49)

The biblical proverb, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God," (KJV

Mark 10:25) is used here to stress the important values of: leadership, selflessness, compassion, devotion, and generosity. In the biblical passage recited by Randolph, Jesus places the needs of his followers above his own needs and employs the proverb to further emphasize to his followers the importance of self-sacrifice. His followers have suffered to travel with him and Jesus ultimately rewards his disciples for their devotion. He also wants to emphasize the importance of helping others while denouncing earthly materialism. These are all values that have been fundamental to the AME church since its inception. Randolph lived his life according to these same principles which is why, in his later years, those that were still around him largely viewed him as a Christ-like figure. Many knew that his dream of black liberation started in his youth during Reconstruction. According to historian, Cynthia Taylor, "As a young man, he dreamed about 'carrying on some program for the abolition of racial discrimination' because his generation had an obligation to engage in pursuits that would benefit all people regardless of color. 'I got this from my father,' Randolph observed, 'that you must not be concerned about yourself alone in this world'" (2006:8). Randolph is trying to convince his audience to stay true to themselves and to not place value on material items. He is also imparting on them, one of his greatest strengths as a political leader, selflessness. It is well documented in history texts that Randolph would not sell out, and he could not be bought. Randolph would often shun material wealth for the cause of gaining economic and political freedom for African Americans. For instance, Randolph always refused to be over-paid as the leader of any organization that he was a part of including the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), preferring instead to pay his staff and to use excess funds to maintain daily operations. When political rivals sent him a check for an exorbitant amount money in order to try to convince him to abandon the cause, Randolph returned the check with a simple message attached, "Negro principle, not for sale" (Santino 1983: 407). During the height of economic depression, when Randolph and most of his BSCP affiliates were literally struggling to survive, Randolph would refuse a high ranking position from then New York City mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia even though the position came with an annual salary of seven thousand per year, a considerable amount of money during the Depression era. Based on these

events from Randolph's life, one can easily see that Randolph always shunned worldly riches in order to advance the movement.

According to Mieder, proverbs of all kinds, even biblical ones, when employed politically, may be used with positive or negative intentions. As Mieder asserts in *The Politics of Proverbs: From Traditional Wisdom to Proverbial Stereotypes*, "As can be imagined, proverbs as a powerful verbal tool in the hands of politicians become a two-edged sword, employed both as a positive and negative device to influence, if not manipulate, citizens" (1997: 4). Randolph primarily used proverbs in positive ways, but there does exist at least one instance, in which biblical proverbs are used to characterize political opponents negatively. "A New Crowd - A New Negro" (1919) was first published in Randolph's *Messenger* magazine. Randolph edited the *Messenger* with Chandler Owen from 1917 to 1928. The magazine was used to denounce prejudice, racial violence, and to promote Socialism as an answer to global capitalism and racial oppression. Inspired by the Russian Revolution and similar political uprisings that opposed traditional European hierarchies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Randolph felt that these movements were a clear sign of a global paradigm shift in political thought. (Kersten and Lucander: 2014) In "A New Crowd - A New Negro" Randolph argues that the ineptitude of the Republican party to address lynching and increasing racial violence in America has become apparent enough for blacks to finally abandon them for the Socialist party. In doing so, he characterizes this new generation of politics as representing both a "New Crowd" and a "New Negro" while blacks who still place their faith in the Republican party represent the "Old Crowd" of black leadership. In addition to representing black Republicans, it becomes evident, in part, through Randolph's use of biblical proverbs that the "Old Crowd" also represents the black church and their failure to engage in social and political issues. Randolph says:

> In the church the old crowd still preaches that "the meek will inherit the earth," "if the enemy strikes you on one side of the face, turn the other," and "you may take all this world but give me Jesus." "Dry Bones," "The Three Hebrew Children in the Fiery Furnace" and "Jonah in the Belly of the Whale," constitute the subjects of the Old

> Crowd, for black men and women who are overworked and under-paid, lynched, Jim Crowed and disfranchised—a people who are yet languishing in the dungeons of ignorance and superstition. Such then is the Old Crowd. And this is not strange to the student of history, economics, and sociology. (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 123)

The proverbs, "The meek will inherit the earth" (KJV Psalm 37:11; KJV Mathew 5:5) and "If the enemy strikes you on one side of the face, turn the other cheek," (KJV Mathew 5:39),[2] are both used negatively in this instance by Randolph to represent issues with the black church that he felt would eventually be detrimental to all African Americans; namely the black church's complacency with pulpit politics and blind faith in the Republican party, and their ineffectiveness in addressing racial violence. As Randolph asserts, the New Crowd "…would not send notes after a Negro is lynched" (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 124).

The "A New Crowd - A New Negro" issue was published immediately following the "red summer" of 1919 when at least 25 bloody race riots erupted across several states and nearly fourty cities. Nearly three hundred African Americans were murdered and at least five whites were killed. According to Taylor "…Randolph and Owen judged the Negro Church's apolitical, antiracial position as a contributing factor in the riots" (2006: 49). Randolph and Owen knew that racial prejudice was the primary cause of the riots, and according to them breeding grounds for race hatred were "American institutions like social clubs and groups, schools, newspapers, and the Christian Church, … [and] as part of the Christian Church, the Negro church was just as guilty" (Taylor 2006: 49).

In addition to publishing the article, Randolph and Owen printed a political cartoon alongside it using the proverb from Mathew 5:39 as a caption.[3] "Above the caption 'Following the Advice of the Old Crowd Negro' are three figures: Booker T. Washington saying, 'Be modest and unassuming;' W.E.B. Dubois saying, 'Close ranks. Let us forget our grievances;' and a third figure in clerical collar and garb saying, 'When they smite thee on one cheek –Turn the other.'" A second cartoon above the caption 'The New Crowd Negro Making America Safe for Himself' depicts a young Negro driving an armored car while shooting at

soldiers, saying, 'Since the government won't stop mob violence, I'll take a hand'" (Taylor 2006: 49). Although they are political cartoons, Randolph seriously believes that the black church should play a much larger role in putting an end to lynchings and mob violence. As a young child Randolph would witness his father, Reverend James Randolph Sr., prevent the lynching of a black man who was accused of molesting a white woman. After hearing that a lynch mob was on its way to the county jail, Randolph's father tucked a handgun underneath his jacket and gathered as many church members as he could to go and meet the angry mob. His wife, Elizabeth, with young Asa and James, Jr., would keep watch at home on the front porch with a shotgun resting comfortably across her lap. Randolph, Sr. successfully averted the mob and no one was hurt or injured, but the notion that the church should play an active role in preventing lynching stayed with Randolph all of his life, and he fought to instill this notion in others. At no point would Randolph ever advocate "turning the other cheek." (Anderson 1972: 42; Taylor 2006: 7)

Randolph would publish another article the same year entitled "The Failure of the Negro Church" (1919) in which he would criticize the black church for rejecting labor unionization and also for placing too much emphasis on increasing its own profits. In the article Randolph asserts that, "Collections occupy three-fourths of the time of most services. Sermons are selected with a view to impressing the members with the importance of the injunction that it 'it is more blessed to give than to receive'" (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 125). Randolph exemplifies his criticism of the church with the popular biblical proverb, "it is more blessed to give than to receive" (KJV Acts 20:35). While this proverb is generally viewed as containing a positive message, it is used in this instance negatively, in order to illustrate ways that the wealthy black church, as an institution, is effectively stifling the social, political, and economic progress of African Americans. Many felt that Randolph's frequent attacks on the black church signaled his conversion to atheism which Randolph, at the time, would neither confirm nor deny in order to prevent the loss of supporters.

Regardless of Randolph's position on the existence of God, Randolph still felt that the black church offered a spiritual model for what he had hoped to achieve for African Americans in the Labor Movement, and many agree that his use of biblical proverbs

illustrate this fact. As Kersten and Lang assert, "To have the [railway] porters build a union as they had helped members of their racial group build powerful churches was the motive behind Randolph's use of religious appeal and terminology… 'Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free' was the heading for most of the bulletins sent out by national headquarters of the Brotherhood and [was also] used on the cover page of the Brotherhood's publication *The Black Worker*" (2015: 24-25). Overall, Randolph felt that religion would always be a major source of spiritual strength for most African Americans, and he also knew that he could easily tap into this force whenever he wanted to by citing biblical proverbs as powerful forms of political rhetoric.

In addition to biblical proverbs, Randolph also employed the well-known proverbial quotations of famous political figures such as: Karl Marx, Alexander Hamilton, Booker T. Washington, Henry Highland Garnet, and Frederick Douglass. The sayings that Randolph chose are as equally significant as the political figures that he borrowed them from. In a *Messenger* article entitled "Lynching; Capitalism Its Cause; Socialism Its Cure" (1919) Randolph, in an appeal for Socialism says, "Black and white workers unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to gain" (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 122). The proverb is taken from section four of Marx's *Communist Manifesto* (1848). The original passage reads, "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." Randolph's spin on these famous lines illustrates the faith that he placed in Marx, and it also illustrates the extent to which he was familiar with Marx's writings. It is well documented that in his early years, Randolph read Marx like most children would read fairy tales. Throughout Randolph's early adulthood he remained highly engrossed in Marx and there is no doubt that Marx provided Randolph with a model for fighting for the rights of the working class in the United States.

From Hamilton, one of the founding fathers of the United States, Randolph acquires the proverbial quotation "The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will." It is written into the constitution of Massachusetts by Hamilton in 1780 and seems to encapsulate the foundational tenet of Chapter 2, Section I, article 13. The opening of this section reads:

> NEXT to permanency in office, nothing can contribute more to the independence of the judges than a fixed provision for their support. The remark made in relation to the President is equally applicable here. In the general course of human nature, A POWER OVER A MAN'S SUBSISTENCE AMOUNTS TO A POWER OVER HIS WILL. And we can never hope to see realized in practice, the complete separation of the judicial from the legislative power, in any system which leaves the former dependent on pecuniary resources on the occasional grants of the latter." (*The Avalon Project, Yale*)

This section of the constitution establishes the separation of the judicial and legislative branches of government and the proverbial quotation in this case is employed to emphasize the fact that this stark division of powers is imposed in order to prevent any degree of interdependence among the various branches of government. Randolph's use illustrates how well-versed he was in political science. He would employ this proverb on at least three notable occasions, in *The Messenger* article entitled, "The Negro in Politics" (1919), at another time when he spoke before the U.S. Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce (1934), and in an article entitled, "March on Washington Movement Presents Program for the Negro" (1944).

In "The Negro in Politics" Randolph is basically advocating for the Socialist party as a solution to many problems that African Americans faced during Reconstruction which included: racial violence, disenfranchisement, joblessness, and industrial capitalism. Randolph feels that if African Americans continue to put their moral and financial support in either the Democratic or Republican parties, they will only continue to see the same results. Randolph says, "Negro leaders, generally, have been creatures of the Republican or Democratic parties, which hold them in leash and prevent them from initiating consideration of the appointment policy. Aptly, and truly too, has it been said that the 'power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will' or expressed more popularly 'he who pays the fiddler will call the tune' (169). Randolph often liked to stack these two proverbs together. The second folk proverb, 'he who pays the fiddler will call the tune' has been documented as early as 1895 and is much more common; not

being attributed to any single individual (Speake 2015: 244; Wilson 1970: 615). In some ways Randolph's use of "the power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will" is a direct reflection of Hamilton's reason for employing it in the constitution. Hamilton wants to emphasize the dangers of granting too much power to any single branch of government, while Randolph employs it to emphasize that African Americans are granting too much power to the Republican and Democratic parties who have been largely unsuccessful in fighting on their behalf. In other words, if African Americans continue to financially support the same political factions then they would continue to be pigeonholed.

The scenario is slightly different, but the message is the same when Randolph speaks before the U.S. Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce in 1934. Randolph is advocating for A bill to amend the 1934 Railway Labor Act, because the bill would greatly help the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) chances of gaining union recognition and collective bargaining rights. Randolph must convince the committee that if the bill is not passed, then the Railway Labor Act will be in danger of being severely weakened. In an authentic display of true diplomacy, Randolph would employ the two proverbs at the most opportune moment. Randolph says, "If you eliminate that phase of the bill, permitting the companies to pay the representatives of the company unions, then you really destroy the power of the bill, because if the companies are able to pay the representatives of the company union, then they will be able to intimidate the employees and practically prevent them from joining legitimate and bona-fide unions. So, that I think is basic, because the power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will, and usually the man who pays the fiddler calls the tunes, so the Pullman Company by paying these representatives of the company union, they make them do just what they want done" (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 62-63). According to Anthropologist, Ruth Finnegan, in some African societies proverbs are often used for the purpose of deliberation. She says, "In court and elsewhere there are also frequent occasions for using a proverb to smooth over a disagreement or bring a dispute to a close. According to the Yoruba proverb, 'A counsellor who understands proverbs soon sets matters right,'[4] and a difficult law case is often ended by the public citation of an apt proverb which

performs much the same generalizing function as citing legal precedents in other societies" (Finnegan 1970: 28).[5] The proverbs that Randolph employs are not African in origin, but this information is evidence that there is a universal element to the way that they function. Finnegan also explains that proverbs may also help one to maintain composure during times of social conflict. She says, "Though proverbs can occur in very many different kinds of contexts, they seem to be particularly important in situations where there is both conflict and, at the same time, some obligation that this conflict should not take on too open and personal a form" (1970:30). It is well documented that Randolph never used profanity or "lost his cool" during intense battles in courtrooms or during White House visits. Therefore, one may assert that proverbs may have helped Randolph to maintain his poise.

A Decade later Randolph would use the same two proverbs again in "March on Washington Movement Presents Program for the Negro" (1944). According to historians Andrew E. Kersten and David Lucander this represents Randolph's clearest articulation of the aims of the March on Washington Movement (MOWM) because Randolph's philosophy is so thoroughly explained and his political goals are so intricately mapped out. In this article he argues for a number of things including: unity among the black race, black unionization, equal employment, the wide-spread use of non-violent direct action, mass social pressure in the form of marches, and a non-partisan Negro political block. In a subsection entitled *Political* Randolph articulates what he sees as a need for a black non-partisan political bloc. Randolph says:

> It is common knowledge that Negroes as Democrats do not amount to much. They can get but little done for Negroes. Similarly, Negroes as Republicans are not very strong and their voice is seldom heeded. Negroes as Socialists or Communist are helpless, but when Negro Republicans, and Democrats step forward in a united front expressed in a powerful non-partisan political bloc, they will be heard and heeded by political boss or mayor, governor, president, Senate or House Committees. (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 219)

Randolph is still arguing for increased African American involvement in politics, only now he is abandoning the notion of

partisanship all together. As Randolph continues, he reiterates his point by employing the two proverbs, and they are as equally applicable. The concluding paragraph of this section reads:

> Therefore, upwards of 15 millions of Negroes need not forever play the role of political mendicants. They have power if they will mobilize by registering in mass for non-partisan political action. Such a political bloc should be financed by Negroes entirely. It is still true that the power over man's subsistence is the power of his will, and he who pays the fiddler calls the tune. Therefore, such a non-partisan political bloc should not accept any money from Republican, Democratic, Socialist or Communist Party. It should be entirely free. It cannot be free if it is subsidized by any politicians. (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 219-20)

Randolph envisions a black voting body that is united and fully able to advocate for the needs of the African American community. Randolph employs the two proverbs to emphasize the notion that this black political bloc would need to maintain its economic freedom in order to continue to be effective. "The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will" rang true for Hamilton in the late 18th century and it is remarkable that it would still be equally relevant for Randolph nearly two centuries later.

Earlier in his career, Randolph would use a proverb that was coined by former slave and abolitionist, Frederick Douglass. Douglass's successful struggle for freedom would be used as a theme in a 1926 *Bulletins* leaflet for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). *Bulletins* were one-page publications that were created to supplement the *Messenger* because they were much less expensive to produce (Hawkins 2015: 105-06). This particular *Bulletins* edition features a sculpture entitled *The Chrysalis* which depicts a kneeling black minstrel performer, hat in hand, begging for change. Emerging from the minstrel is a respectable, dignified, looking black man wearing a suit. One caption reads: "Douglass fought for the abolition of chattel slavery and today we fight for economic freedom. The time has passed when a grown-up black man should beg a grown up white man for anything" (Hawkins 2015: 105). Another feature of this leaflet is a short letter written to BSCP members from Randolph which reads, "Ye Brotherhood men, hold high your banner of solidarity.

Remember that a quitter never wins and a winner never quits. Remember that he who would be free must himself first strike the blow. Let us stand firm and be unafraid. Pay your dues and assessment. The Mediation Board will call us soon. If we fight and faint not, we shall reap our just reward in due season" (Kersten and Lang 2015: 105). Frederick Douglass and the abolitionist cause serve as the theme, while the adage embodies the primary message. The proverb "He who would be free must himself strike the first blow" is generally credited to Douglass (see Mieder 2001: 229-231 for his use), even though he was certainly not the first to use it. In fact, he was not even the first abolitionist to use it. Henry Highland Garnet employs this proverb in his "Address to the Slaves of the United States of America" (1843). Garnet's address would first appear as a preface to the second edition of abolitionist David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1830). In the address Garnet says, "It is an old and true saying, that 'if hereditary bondmen would be free, they must themselves strike the blow.'" More than likely, as an ode to his abolitionist predecessor, Douglass would employ the same proverb in a famous speech that he would deliver on the streets of Rochester, New York on March 2nd, 1863 entitled, "Men of Color, to Arms." In the speech Douglass says, "Words are now useful only as they stimulate to blows. The office of speech now is only to point out when, where, and how to strike to the best advantage…'Now or never.' Liberty won by white men would lose half its luster. 'Who would be free themselves must strike the blow.'" In using Douglass as a theme and employing the same proverb, Randolph is able to effectively communicate to porters that the fight for union representation would be a herculean battle, but certainly no more difficult than the struggle for emancipation. Randolph is also emphasizing the fact that it is a battle that they must initiate and fight themselves.

There are also other proverbs included in this leaflet as well. For instance, "A quitter never wins and a winner never quits" (Doyle, Mieder, and Shapiro 2012: 277) as well as a number of truncated proverbs. For instance, "Fight and faint not" and "We shall reap our just reward" which are both biblical references to verses that appear in the book of Galatians. The actual Bible verse reads "And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not" (KJV Galatians (6:9). It may also be a

truncated version of the proverb "For whatever a man soweth, that shall he also reap" (KJV Galatians 6:7). When Randolph employs proverbs even in truncated forms, he does so very strategically and they are always meaningful.

In "The March on Washington Movement and the War" (1943), Randolph is warning all involved in the March on Washington Movement (MOWM) that non-violent direct action would not be an easy tactic to implement, especially in the face of extreme violence, but fear of retaliation would jeopardize the entire cause. In the process of communicating this message, Randolph alludes to an important passage from Garnet's "Address to the Slaves of the United States of America" (1843). Randolph says, "a people who have fear in their hearts are doomed to be slaves" (Taylor 2006: 163). Exactly, one hundred years before Randolph, Garnet would use somewhat similar language in speaking about the abysmal emotional and psychological state of the newly arrived Africans to the new world. Garnet says, "But, they came with broken hearts, from their beloved native land, and were doomed to unrequited toil, and deep degradation." For Garnet, his address is a call to awaken the spirits of African Americans who remain in bondage in the South. Unlike the newly arrived Africans, Garnet wants them to forget their troubles and unite for the purpose of freeing themselves. Perhaps Randolph's variation of the passage is a centennial celebration of Garnet's famous address which was delivered exactly one hundred years prior. After all, it was near this time that Randolph would send King and other civil rights leaders to be trained in non-violent direct action by the Highlander Folk School which was built and dedicated to Garnet in 1932.

In 1964, Randolph would receive a humanitarian award presented to him by the Israel labor organization Histadrut whose name translates as "General Federation of Laborers of the Land of Israel." According to Kersten and Lucander, "As a trade unionist and believer in independence for the colonial world, Randolph looked to Israel as an example in nation building…Randolph saw great value in Israeli collective farming practices and the potential of consumer co-ops to empower the working class" (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 342). In Randolph's acceptance speech he would employ a proverb that was popularized by Booker T. Washington who used it in his "Atlanta Compromise" (1895). "Cast down your

bucket where you are" may not have been a proverb at the time, but after gaining international fame, for most, it only takes this brief sentence to convey Washington's entire message. When Washington says "Cast down your bucket were you are," it is a way of describing in metaphorical terms, to an all-white audience, the need for African-Americans to abandon their fight for social and political freedom and to focus instead on improving their own economic circumstances by concentrating on the agricultural and industrial trades. This was the overarching goal of Washington's Tuskegee Institute. Similarly, Randolph would employ the proverb because he recognizes in Histadrut, a global struggle for democracy, independence, freedom, and the universal struggle to overcome the colonial condition. For Randolph, Washingtonian philosophy represents a very important and necessary first step towards independence. Of this struggle Randolph says, "For the Afro-Asian students to watch the operation of the cooperative farms or consumer co-ops, or trade unions at work in factories and shops, to look at the projects for irrigation and the experiments in scientific agriculture, and to discuss how the same techniques may be used back home in Nigeria or Kenya or Ceylon, in fact, in practically all of the Afro-Asian countries where freedom is new and fragile and the problems are big, is a valuable lesson in self-help. Association by African and Asian leaders with the purpose and spirit, as well as the pragmatic life of Histadrut, is a basic lesson in creative experience. The heart of the lesson is the wisdom of one's 'letting his bucket down where he is'" (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 344). The proverb in this case more than likely resonated well with every audience member that had knowledge of Washington and what he was able to accomplish at Tuskegee.

Randolph also uses proverbs from famous literary figures. This is not surprising considering how widely read Randolph was. As a youth he would read a great deal of American and English literature including: "Charles Dickens, John Keats, Jane Austen, Charles Darwin, and William Shakespeare" (Kersten 2007: 3). One quote from English poet John Donne that Randolph employs comes from Randolph's magazine the *Black Worker* which was used by Randolph to keep porters notified of all BSCP activities and to alert them to any Pullman Company litigation that he felt they should be aware of (Taylor 2006). In an article entitled "Brotherhood and Our Struggle Today" (1929), Randolph says,

"no man can live unto himself alone. Workers must organize, fight and hang together or they will hang separately" (Taylor 2006: 114-15). The first part of this statement is a variation of a passage that was originally written by Donne in his *Devotion Upon Emergent Occasions* (1624) in a subsection entitled "Meditation XVII." The original statement reads, "No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main" ( Donne 574-75). The very same line of this section also contains another famous phrase that has also become a well-known proverb, "never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee" (Donne 574-74). One could easily make the inference that Donne's musings of life and death were on Randolph's mind when he employed the proverb. In fact, when Randolph combines the two statements, Donne's "No man is an island," and his own statement "hang together or hang separately," in a philosophical sense, Randolph's message begins to mirror Donne's. While Donne is explaining every man's responsibility to contribute to humanity, Randolph is explaining the role that every porter must play in contributing to black labor unionization. Likewise, in the fight for unionization the proverbial death of one porter could very well mean the literal death of the entire union.[6]

Randolph also found proverbial wisdom in Shakespearean lore. In fact, he was well versed in it. When Randolph first moved to Harlem in 1911, he founded a Shakespearean society called Ye Friends of Shakespeare. According to historian, Cornelius L. Bynum, "This acting troupe, which included Randolph's future wife [Lucille Green], performed scenes from *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Othello*, the *Merchant of Venice*, and *Romeo and Juliet* in Harlem churches and community centers. These productions helped to draw Randolph into the social life of the community, but they also informed his evolving worldview" (2010: 58-59). A proverb that Randolph says helped to shape his life and worldview comes from *Hamlet*, "above all to thine own self be true then canst be false to no man" (Bynum 2010: 59). It is a proverb that Randolph would perform countless times in front of audiences and is derived from a few lines in Act I, scene III when Lord Polonius says to Laertes, "This above all: to thine ownself be true, And it must follow, as the night the day, Thou canst not then be false to any man." Thinking about his life retrospectively years later in an interview Randolph says that "throughout his life and career he

strove to abide by Polonius's admonition" (Bynum 2010: 59). Randolph's desire to stay true to himself was always made evident by his actions. From his early years of adulthood Randolph was devoted to ending racial and economic disparity for African Americans even if it meant creating financial losses for himself. Randolph "lost his porter job at Consolidated Gas Company for trying to organize a union, then he got fired from a waiter position for doing the same thing. Randolph was content to tread water, promoting the cause while living hand to mouth" (Welky 2014: 20).

Randolph also uses a number of common sayings or proverbs that were already in circulation, but not necessarily attached to any important figure. When people are already familiar with certain proverbs, they often require no build up, and little or no explanation. For instance, in *The Messenger* in an article entitled "The Issues -The Negro and the Parties" (1924), Randolph employed a variation of the well-known proverb "Last hired, first fired" (Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012: 121).[7] In the article Randolph is urging new black voters in Harlem to support the Progressive Party as opposed to Democrats or Republicans. He says, "The [Robert] La Follette Progressives are committed to a plan of social legislation which is calculated to meet the problems of unemployment. Negroes will benefit from any policy which will bring a solution of unemployment, for they are the first fired and the last hired" (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 176). The order here is reversed, but the message remains the same.

Randolph would employ the proverb again in a testimony given before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in 1963. In this testimony Randolph argues for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). Randolph says, "It was with the beginning of the defense industry, when 'No Help Wanted' signs changed to 'Help Wanted—White' that the indignant organization of Negroes to gain a fairer share in the nation's reviving economy spurted. It took the combination of a wartime manpower shortage and the threat of a march on Washington to secure Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941, and the establishment of the Presidents Committee on Fair Employment Practices. But as soon as the national war emergency was over—and Democracy safe—the old, national pattern of 'last hired, first fired' crept back" (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 104). Randolph established the National

Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) in 1943 and would continue to work to make the FEPC permanent for over two decades. Due to Randolph's continued efforts the FEPC would finally become permanent with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, only under a different name. It would now be known as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Thus, Randolph did see his plan come to fruition. Nearly six decades after being established from blueprints that Randolph helped to create, the EEOC is still actively working to make the "last hired, first fired" sentiment a thing of the past.[8]

Another common proverb that Randolph expresses is "familiarity breeds contempt" (Speake 2015: 105). Randolph employs the proverb in The *Messenger* in an article entitled "Segregation in the Public Schools" (1924). In this essay, Randolph is advocating for the desegregation of the public-school system, and the proverb helps him to explain the psychology behind segregation. Randolph says,

> The plain people are permitted only periodically, on some august or state occasion, to view the person of the King. It is ever shrouded in the halo of mystery, thereby investing the ruler with the power, authority and aspect of the supernatural. In democracies and republics, too, those who own for a living struggle to be worshipped and obeyed as little uncrowned kings by those who work for a living. In order to be so regarded, they avoid contact with the despised common herd. True is the old adage: familiarity breeds contempt. It is a fact of common knowledge to all students of the history of the slave regime that the slave owners prevented, upon pain and severe punishment, the association of free Negroes with Negro slaves. (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 130).

In the very same essay Randolph employs another well-known proverb, "Show me the company you keep and I will tell you who you are" (Mieder, Kingsbury, and harder 1992: 109). He usess the proverb to describe some of the drawbacks of maintaining segregated schools. The passage reads:

> Assuming, for the sake of argument, that there are persons in society better than they, criminals undoubtedly could

> improve themselves through contact with the so-called "best people." Imitation in society, according to [Gabriel] Tarde, is one of the greatest forces for modern progress. Certainly the association of criminals with their betters could not make them worse. The old saying "show me the company you keep and I will tell you who you are," carries with it the idea that if one associates with criminals, he is a criminal; if he associates with respectable people, he is respectable. It goes further, and implies that if one is respectable and associates with bad people, he will become bad. But the reverse should also be true, viz.: that if the "no-good" associate with the good, they will become good. (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 131)

All in all, Randolph uses the proverb "familiarity breeds contempt" to elucidate the psychology behind segregation while he uses the proverb "show me the company you keep and I will tell you who you are" in order to explain an important reason why this kind of psychology and practice should be impermissible in the United States.

In 1944 Randolph was asked to run for Congress for the Twenty-Second Congressional District of New York which included Harlem. Randolph's previous two attempts at public office had failed, so he declined this invitation and chose to endorse his friend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. instead. (Kersten and Lucander 2014) In a speech entitled "Why I did Not Elect to Run for Congress," he would explain his decision, citing his distaste for politics and his desire to continue the fight for social and political equality as primary reasons. Randolph uses a well-known proverb to capture some of these sentiments. He says, "I want to remain free and independent to pursue the course I think best in doing my humble bit in the interest of winning freedom, justice and democracy for the Negro people in America and the world. (…) In politics, as in other things, there is no such thing as one getting something for nothing. The pay-off may involve compromises of various types that may strike at the basic convictions and ideals and principles that one has held dear all of his life" (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 189-90). Randolph's variant of the proverb, "You don't get something for nothing" (Speake 2015: 190) effectively

emphasizes the fact that a third political run would impose a number of trade-offs that Randolph was simply not willing to make.

In 1969, in an interview for *Ebony* magazine, speaking with journalist Phyl Garland, Randolph uses the common proverbial expression "to stand upon one's shoulders." This expression has been used by a number of black political leaders over the years to describe the process by which political gains are achieved. Randolph feels that all of the advances made by the leaders that lived before him paved the way for himself and others like him to continue the struggle for equality. In what would be one of Randolph's last recorded interviews he says:

> "We are creatures of history," he declares to his audience of one, "for every historical epoch has its roots in a preceding epoch. The black militants of today are standing upon the shoulders of the 'new Negro radicals' of my day—the '20s,'30s and '40s. We stood upon the shoulders of the civil rights fighters of the Reconstruction era and they stood upon the shoulders of the black abolitionist. These are the interconnections of history and they play their role in the course of development." (Garland 1969: 31)

Even though Randolph is not talking about the history of proverbs or proverbial expressions, the proverbial expression that Randolph uses certainly tells an interesting story. Other civil rights leaders have also used the proverbial expression "to stand upon one's shoulders," one of the most notable and earliest being Frederick Douglass. In one instance, Douglass employs a variation to describe what he sees as the sole task of a democracy, which is to be led by the people. Douglass says, "keep no man from the ballot box or jury box or the cartridge box, because of his color—exclude no woman from the ballot box because of her sex. Let the government of the country rest securely down upon the shoulders of the whole nation; let there be no shoulder that does not bear up its proportion of the burdens of the government" (Mieder 2001: 91). In addition to Douglass, Congressman Lewis (Ga.) (Mieder 2014: 387) and President Obama also used the expression from time to time. Obama proclaims that he "stands on the shoulders of giants" in reference to Lincoln, Douglass and other influential political leaders that fought for social justice (Mieder 2009: 116).

This expression speaks to the significance of being knowledgeable about history. As these leaders demonstrate in using the expression, it is impossible to realize whose proverbial shoulders one is standing on, if one is not cognizant of the past.

The most well-known and celebrated of Randolph's proverbs appear in a speech entitled "A Vision of Freedom" (1969). The address would be delivered at a gala at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel in New York in honor of him on his 80th birthday. Bayard Rustin, a close friend, and key coordinator behind the March on Washington, organized the event. Randolph's speech would be delivered in front of important business leaders, labor leaders, government officials and dozens of influential civil rights leaders including Coretta Scott King (Kersten and Lucander 2014). Throughout Randolph's speech he discusses many of his life accomplishments and urges all of the leaders in attendance to continue the struggle for equality. The proverbs that Randolph employs may not have been proverbs at the time, but a half century later, they appear in nearly every text written about his life. In the closing of the speech Randolph says:

> Salvation for the Negro masses must come from within. Freedom is never granted: it is won. Justice is never given: it is exacted. But in our struggle we must draw for strength upon something that far transcends the boundaries of race. We must draw for strength upon the capacity of human beings to act with humanity towards one another. (Kersten and Lucander 2014: 110)

Randolph was not the first civil rights leader to use the proverb "Freedom is never granted: it is won." As a proverbial quotation it was first used by Martin Luther King, Jr. in his book *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (1967) In King's text the saying is originally worded as, "Freedom is not given, it is won" (King 1967: 19; Mieder 2010: 313). Paremiologist Wolfgang Mieder devotes an entire chapter in his text on King to this very saying. The chapter is entitled "'Freedom is not given, it is won': Martin Luther King's Proverbial Quotation" (2010: 143-145). This is a very important civil rights quote that has since become proverbial by Randolph's later use of the phrase. Likewise, Randolph's second saying, "Justice is never given: it is exacted"

is a variation of the "freedom" proverb and has more than likely not yet become proverbial.

A variation of Randolph's statement also appears in the epitaph of his first biography, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait* by Jervis Anderson (1972). It reads:

> Salvation for a race, nation or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given; it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuing evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships.

In both cases the proverb stays the same while the wording of the messages are slightly different. Randolph uses the sayings to articulate a universal call for activism, which speaks to the very core of his philosophy. From the very start of his career as an activist, Randolph did not only advocate for the rights of African Americans, but he believed that he was improving America for people of all races. By improving conditions for black people, he knew that the restraints imposed on society by capitalism would also slowly dissipate, and that the dehumanizing effects of industrialization would also gradually be abated. Above all, Randolph wanted the newly found empowerment of working-class African Americans to gradually permeate all facets of American culture. Randolph's statement "Freedom is never granted: it is won. Justice is never given: it is exacted" is intended to serve as a rallying call for all people to unite in the name of freedom and justice in order to make the mirages created by prejudice and divisive politics much more transparent.

In conclusion, while this essay is not a comprehensive collection of every proverb that Randolph has ever used, it does offer a glimpse at some of the proverbs, and his methodology for employing them. Overall, evidence illustrates that Randolph used them in very calculated ways. He used them strategically and politically, in order to make people listen to him and to convince others of the significance of his message. In this sense, Randolph's proverbs may be viewed as political weapons. If he felt strongly enough about any issue, he would use them. Another thing that is fascina-

ting about Randolph's proverb use is that it clearly illustrates how well read he really was and how well-versed he was in biblical Scripture, classic literature, and American and world history. He would often offer his audiences simple sayings that also contained a lot of historical significance. A huge part of the process of employing proverbs for Randolph was contextualization, meaning that he would oftentimes match proverbs to certain situations with dead-on precision. A. Philip Randolph was truly a proverb master.

***Notes***

[1]According to historian, Cynthia Taylor, "Randolph explained that his 'advocacy of the philosophy of nonviolence as one of the highways for fundamental social change' was inspired by the life of Jesus Christ as well as by Gandhi. But even before he had heard of Gandhi, Randolph attributed his 'belief in the moral and spiritual power of non-violence from his father who was a minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church' and a man of 'high moral commitments'" (2006: 158-159).

[2] Both Frederick Douglass and Martin Luther King, Jr also used the proverb, "If the enemy strikes you on one side of the face, turn the other cheek," (KJV Mathew 5:39) in a variety of ways. In some instances, King uses it to advocate for non-violent direct action (Mieder 2010: 246-247) while Douglass uses it most often to characterize what he views as the enslaved African American mind-set (Mieder 2001: 153-154).

[3] Henry Louis Gates, Jr. also discusses the significance of Randolph and Owen's political cartoons in *Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow* (2019: 276).

[4] Patrick Ibekwe also cites a variation of this Yoruba proverb in *Wit and Wisdom of Africa: Proverbs from Africa and the Caribbean* (1998). It reads, "A wise person who is skilled in the use of proverbs settles disputes" (153).

[5] John Messenger "The Role of Proverbs in a Nigerian Judicial System" (1959) also cites the use of proverbs to settle disputes in Nigerian culture, asserting that they are used in a wide variety of ways including "…as a method of gaining favor in court" (64).

[6] Martin Luther King, Jr. cited the same passage from Donne's Devotion Upon Emergent Occasions (1624) profusely. Wolfgang Mieder documents Douglass's and King's use of Donne in at least ten separate speeches and sermons that King delivered between 1955 and 1968. King uses Donne's proverbs much like Randolph; to encourage his followers to join him in the struggle for civil rights. Surprisingly, King attributes the message to Donne in every single instance (Mieder 2010: 410-414; for Douglass see Mieder 2001: 410-414).

[7] Doyle, Mieder, and Shapiro, The Dictionary of Modern Proverbs (2012) document the use of the proverb "last, hired, first fired" as early as 1918.

[8] One may only guess about whether or not King had Randolph's message to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in mind when he uses the proverb, "last hired, first fired" the very same year in what would be regarded as one of King's

many landmark speeches. King says, "We've been pushed around so long; we've been the victims of lynch mobs so long; we've been the victims of economic injustice so long – still the last hired and the first fired all over this nation" (Mieder 2010: 345).

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# IGBO POST-CONTACT PROVERBS OF THE INYI COMMUNITY

***Abstract:*** This article is on post-contact proverbs in Inyi community of southeastern Nigeria. Before now, there is no ethnography on post-contact Inyi proverbs. To acquire data, the researcher used the quantitative research method. Interview schedule and participant observation are the instruments of data collection. Post-contact proverbs in Inyi were obtained from *Umunna* meetings and traditional marriage ceremonies and also from respondents who are *Okenyes* or Inyi elders versed in Inyi culture. The meanings of these proverbs and the occasions in which they are used were also obtained. Forty-four post-contact proverbs were collected during the fieldwork. The eleven (11) contact proverbs which were obtained during participant observation were utilized by Inyi indigenes who were younger than the *Okenyes*. The remaining thirty-three post-contact proverbs came from the *Okenyes*. The need for a wider study of Igbo post-contact proverbs is advanced.

***Key words:*** Paremiology, Post-Contact Proverbs, Auto-ethnography, Social change.

## *Background of the Study*

This autoethnography aims to study post-contact proverbs in a changing Inyi community of southeastern Nigeria in the context of a speech event. Post-Contact Proverbs are those that are created or imported by a society as a result of social contact with other cultures. One of the most important developments in the study of proverbs was the shift to more ethnographic approaches in the 1960s. This approach attempted to explain proverb use in relation to the context of a speech event, rather than only in terms of the content and meaning of the proverb (Arewa and Dundes, 1964).

Social change occurs in every community the world over. Change, therefore, is seen as "the only consistent fact in human or social life" (Igbo and Anugwom, 2002:9). In line with this change, there are many post-contact proverbs among the Igbo. The Inyi villagers encountered the British, experiencing their modes of

transportation which included bicycles, horses, palanquins and hammocks on which a Briton was carried by four ethnics. A proverb, utilizing alliteration and rhyme, arose because of the hammock encounter: "Ozu ńwa Bekee, e vulie nya enu, wa, wa, wa; e vude nya ala, wa, wa, wa" (The white man's corpse, if it is carried up, it is no, no, no; and if it is carried down, it is no, no, no). This interesting proverb points to the insatiable nature of some people despite all well-meaning efforts to satisfy them.

This study, therefore, examines post-contact proverbs, that is, the proverbs that are created through social change which comes specifically from external influences on this ethnic group area of Inyi understudy.

***Statement of the Problem and Relevance of the Study***

There is the lack of awareness of the proverbial status of post-contact proverbs in Inyi community. The situation is worsened by the dearth of focused research or ethnography on post-contact Inyi proverbs, which results from social change coming from external influences on Inyi, especially from Western education. Thus, this study identifies and studies the post-contact proverbs in Inyi town. Post-contact Inyi proverbs, when isolated, will be useful for historical studies whose aims are to assess the mode and rate of acculturation and evolution in given ethnic groups. The post-contact proverbs would be indices of the emic of the Inyi. This study will also help in enculturation or socialization, that is, the process of people learning about their own cultures. This study will provide information as ethnography for equality measures in comparative studies or ethnologies.

***Research Questions***

The following questions are the focus of this research:

(i) What are the post-contact proverbs resulting from social change among the Inyi?
(ii) What are their meanings?
(iii) On what occasions are these proverbs used?

***Literature Review***

It is germane to look at international scholarship on post-contact proverbs and social change in order to ascertain the findings of paremiological studies that are close to this present research. Modern proverbs, sometimes, build on loan translations and

phraseological units of earlier proverbial expressions. Both the Bible and Medieval Latin have played a considerable role in distributing proverbs across Europe. Scholars have concluded that cultures that treat the Bible as their "major spiritual book contain between three hundred and five hundred proverbs that stem from the Bible" (Mieder, 1990:12). Hans Walther assembled approximately 150, 000 Latin proverbs and their variants from the Middle Ages through the 17th century in the volumes of *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitaris ac recentioris aevi*. His collection shows that many of the proverbs were common throughout Europe either in the Latin original or through loan translations into the vernacular languages. These variants show that connections and loan translations are happening as part of the origins of proverbs. There are other assemblages the world over (Mieder, 1997:402).

Paremiological minima of the most frequently used phraseological units of all national languages in the world are desirable pursuits that are less imbibed by paremiographers. Two noted examples of attempts to establish a paremiological minimum in America are those by Haas (2008) and Hirsch, Kett, and Trefil (1988). Studies of the paremiological minimum have been done for a limited number of languages, including Hungarian (Katalin & Litovkina, 2007: 135-155); Nepali (Valerie, 2010: 389-490); Gujarati (Doctor, 2005) and Esperanto-planned languages (Fielder, 1999:178).

There are many more paremiographies than there are paremiological essays on Nigerian proverbs. Ironically, these paremiographies are not as accessible to Western scholars as the paremiological articles are (courtesy of such international proverb journals as *Proverbium*, *Paremia* and *Folklore*).

Nigerian paremiological publications circulating globally include the article in volume 30 of *Proverbium,* "In Capsule: Saws and Sex Mores Among the Igbo of Nigeria" (Ezeh, 2013). In this important work, the career anthropologist, Peter-Jazzy Ezeh, examines proverbs and related forms on sex and sex-related matters as part of the emic of the Okposi, an Igbo of Nigeria's glottocultural group. Using participant observation in the autoethnography, he listed and explored "plains", proverbs, idioms and *Ncha*. Ezeh comments on samples he collected, revealing, by subtext, the Okposi's innate high value of the sacred body parts of wives and

mothers, of which verbal desecration can mean the destruction of the social self.

Other paremiological work in global circulation is the "Language and Igbo Philosophy: Towards an Igbo Phenomenology of Language" in *Philosophy Today* (Chukwulobe, 1995); "The Concept of Chineke [the creator] as Reflected in Igbo Names and Proverbs" in *Communio Viatorum* (Ifesieh, 1983); "Towards a Hermeneutic Re-creation of Igbo Proverbs on Human Destiny", in R. Madu. *African Symbols, Proverbs and Myths: The Hermeneutics of Destiny* (Madu, 1992); "On the Structure of Aniocha Igbo Proverbs" in *Proverbium* (Monye, 1993); "The Use of Proverbs in Ola Rotimi;s *The Gods Are not to Blame*." In *Proverbium* (Monye, 1995); "The Nature of Speech in Igbo Proverbs" in *Proverbium* (Opata, 1992); "Personal Attribution in Wellerisms" *International Folklore Review* (Opata, 1988); "Characterization in Animal-Derived Wellerisms: Some Selected Igbo Examples" in *Proverbium* (Opata, 1990), etc.

In contrast, paremiological publications or studies dealing specifically with post-contact Igbo proverbs are almost non-existent. There are snatches of such studies hidden in paremiographical books of other matters. An example of such books is Nwadike's *The Igbo Proverb: A Wider Perspective* (Nwadike, 2009). This desideratum of post-contact proverb scholarship is not limited to Igbo proverbs. Just as there is the need for a compendium of modern Igbo proverbs, there is also the need for a dictionary of modern African proverbs, that is, proverbs which originated within the 20th and 21st centuries.

Available mostly for circulation in Nigeria are many published Igbo paremiographies and short notes in published works by writers. These publications focus more on comprehensive ethnic proverbs but write little on post-contact proverbs, indicating that there is limited availability of or accessibility to such contact proverbs. Amongst these works is Thomas W. Northcote's paremiography, *Anthropological Report on the Ibo-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria, Part III, Proverbs, Narratives, Vocabularies and Grammar* (London: Harrison and Sons). It presents more than 1000 proverbs in Igbo. The book was printed before the Onwu Commission rules of spelling, so it is a bit hard to read. Literal English is given, in addition to interpretations (Northcote, 1913).

F.C. Ogbalu's *Ilu Igbo (The Book of Igbo Proverbs)* presents over 1000 Igbo proverbs, grouped by topic, some with English translations (Ogbalu, 1965). Other paremiographies include Ogbalu (1974), Basden (1966), Carnochan & Belonwu (1963, 1967, 1976), Okonkwo (1977, 1979), Njoku (1978), Njoku (1990), Obi (1978), Davids (1980), Penfield (1983), Amadiume (1995), Okafor (2001), Onwudufo (2007) and Duru (2014), etc.

The gathering of data for a comprehensive dictionary of Igbo proverbs, part of an Igbo Salvage Ethnography project, was began around 1973 championed by Prof. Donatus Nwoga in the Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka (Nwoga, 1984). About 2000 proverbs were collated by student field workers in exercise books and tape recorders but the transcription and organization of the data appears to be at a rudimentary phase and requires a sustained full-scale approach for its completion (Onuigbo and Unaegbu, 2013:27).

As expressed in ethnographies of Nigerian ethnic groups, western colonization and the proselytizing effects of Christianity and Islam have created the regression of autochthonous practices and institutions as extraneous ones are being substituted (Ezeh, 2004:96). Ethnographers such as Basden (1983:285-296), Meek (1931) and Harrison (2001) found such similarities of cultural change in their ethnographies. There are studies in Nigeria which try to show how proverbs can influence social change. This is different from the study of proverbs which result from social change. Such publications would include, "Contradictory Yoruba Proverbs about Women: Their Significance for Social Change" (Yusuf, 1995:206-215). There are also studies which apply proverbs to modern challenges. For example, there is the use of proverbs as heuristics in the domain of dominoes (Borajo et al., 1990:129-137). There is also the use of proverbs to influence social attitudes and values through the mass media (Lau, 1996: 135-159).

Fused traits are the outcomes of cultural changes. Such fusion or syncretism is often more influential than cargo cult restraints. Proverbs are an integral part of worldviews and cultures the world over. The availability of fused traits in proverbs is, therefore, not surprising.

The emergence of a new proverb to contradict an older one demands research into the change of circumstance which predi-

cated the new stance. This phenomenon introduces problems such as metamorphosis, anti-proverbs and adaptations.

***Inyi Community and Proverbs***

It is germane to state who the Inyi people are. The name "Inyi" denotes a metaphor, a critical element in the formation of proverbs. It is the Igbo name for the red water tree. Because of historical circumstances involving the tree and the founder of the town under study, the name was given to him and it later became the name of the town. Some literature on Inyi, whose means of data collection is based on oral tradition, support the pattern that he was born to a couple living in Agunese near Umueji in Uvume's settlement, but, because his upper baby teeth appeared first before those in the lower jaw, he was thrown into Aguezi, an evil forest near the Mmamu River. This forest was charged with deposits of uncontainable charms and catacombs of forgotten life (Onwumechili, 2006:4) ("Inyi, Nigeria," 2015) (Mberedeogu, 2009:103).

Records vary from the point where the baby progenitor was abandoned in the forest. There are different accounts on the circumstances of who found him. There are pointers to an Nkwerre man (Onwumechili, 2006:5), Ji-Ala ("Inyi, Nigeria," 2015) or Ezeodiri (Mberedeogu, 2009:103). The baby was named Inyi because he was found near the Inyi tree, after he was exiled as a youth for sleeping with an *ajadu* (widow) on mourning (Onwumechili, 2006). No one knows what his former name was before that time. Upon tracing both the botanical and English names for the Inyi tree, the researcher found out it is Erythrophleum Suaveolens and "red water tree" respectively (Akinpelu *et al*., 2012:447) or sassy, or sasswood, or ordeal tree (Burkill, 1985: 118). There are different accounts on how Inyi grew into adulthood and the women who gave birth to his children (there are mentions of Inyi having two wives, or one wife called Ukagbantu. He was also said to have fathered a son with Ji-Ala's daughter) ("Inyi, Nigeria," 2015). All investigated accounts agree, though, that his five sons had families which formed the Inyi settlement. Other adopted children also had their families. Migrant families morphed into settlements also and soon the town grew into nine villages. The villages, in order of seniority in some accounts or accepted precedence in others, are: Umuome, Enugwu, Obule, Amankwo, Agbariji,

Arum, Umuagu, Nkwerre and Akwu (Onwumechili, 2006) ("Inyi, Nigeria," 2015) (Mberedeogu, 2009).

Early proverbial expressions abound in Inyi. One of them is, "Ukagbantu mmu Inyi" (Ukagbantu that procreated Inyi). This saying refers to the origins of Inyi, showing that Ukagbantu gave birth to Inyi people being the wife of Inyi. It is a conscious attempt to preserve that bit of history by Inyi people. Another saying that touches on Inyi history is also prevalent. It is "Inyi nese omire" (five sons of Inyi of great prowess). This saying preserves for history the accurate number of the direct sons of Inyi. It came about from the prowess of the sons. For as the five sons of Inyi grew into manhood, they exhibited the character inherited from their father. They became renowned and acquired recognition as "umuinyi nese omire". Another saying strives to preserve another part of Inyi history. It is "Agbariji na Arum wu nwanne" (Abariji and Arum are brothers). An ethnographic report has it that a direct son of Inyi, Agbariji, had an unmarried daughter that procreated Arum (Onwumechili, 2006:9).

The proverbial expression, "Inyi ji ofu iko anu mmanya" (Inyi people are comfortable with drinking together from one cup of wine) and "Inyi nw'ochucho" (the sweet ambiance of Inyi/ pax inyi) came about because of a time when the people of Inyi lived together in peace (Mberedeogu, 2009:175).

Wellerisms also abound in Inyi. One developed around the investiture of the Emume Inyi abia title (or "Igba abia" in Igbo) on qualified men of Inyi. The investiture is usually done on an Nkwo market day. It is the ultimate traditional title in Inyi which was permitted by the deity of Inyi town, Ajala Inyi. The wellerism that showed how the people regarded the abia title is: "Obuako nwa Ezechineke shi na ihe nya jiri mara ma Inyi na agba Abia wu na nya turu okuahu, ashi na obiaha na ahia maka nowu Nkwo Abia" (Obuako the son of Ezechineke said that the reason he knew that Inyi celebrate Nkwo Abia was that when he ordered earthenware bath basin, he was told there was none in the market because it was Nkwo Abia day). Obuako was a historical figure, a sage from somewhere around Ndikelionwu to whom several wellerisms and quotations like the one above are attributed (Onwumechili, 2006:24).

Post-contact proverbs exist in Inyi. The purpose of this research is to locate as many of them as possible. One of them

already common is one that came with the peregrinating Aro who had first contact with the Inyi between 1690 AD and 1902 AD. It goes: "Ana ha achi Aro achi, ana eso ha eso (you don't lead Aro, you, instead follow them in accordance with their wishes).

Another post-contact proverb goes: "Ebe ogu jimkpa nno, ogu pam no ebeahu lawu" (Where there are twenty young men, there are twenty Pounds Sterling). This means that teamwork is important. The Pound Sterling was an introduction by the British into Inyi and other Igbo-speaking areas.

***Review of Theories***

The theories used for the theoretical framework in this study are:

1. "Paremiological Minimum" advanced by Grigorii L. Permiakov (1919-1983). He developed the theory of the core set of proverbs that full members of a given society know. This he called the "paremiological minimum" (Permiakov, 1979). For example, an adult Igbo man is expected to be familiar with "Egbe bere, ugo bere, nke si ibeya ebele, nku kwaya" (Equivalent to the English: "Live and Let Live"). This Igbo proverb is thus part of the Igbo paremiological minimum. Proverbs that are not widely known in a community by adults would not be part of the paremiological minimum. Thus, the paremiological minimum is not the total number of proverbs in a community, but the small set of proverbs that are widely known across the community by most adults.

2. The Colour Theory of Culture: While exploring the existence of the Supreme Deity concept in Igbo pre-missionary contact religious thoughts, Unaegbu and Ezeigbo (2013:54-55) came across evidence of cultures overlapping each other and forming synthetic and syncretic amalgams. The evidences appeared in differing views about which deity was supreme between *Chukwu* and *Ala*. In Nri-influenced cultures, *Ala* was preeminent having become more emphatic than *Chukwu* with the growing importance of agriculture. In Aro-influenced cultures, which came later, *Chukwu* was preeminent. This overlapping of values, also hinted at by Kalu (2002:365), led to the assertion below by Unaegbu & Ezeigbo (2013:55), relevant for folklore studies as well as paremiology:

> Culture … is like a colour in a larger river of other colours. It has shallow hues outwards and deeper hues inwards. And time pulls the penumbral hues into the umbral heart. Just like a painter moves his paintbrush to mix a red colour with a green colour to produce yellow, so also two cultures mix to produce a novel hybrid. The more ideas and people move around like the hand of the painter, the more a culture adopts new modes and abandons old ones or allow them to go into desuetude like the colours. In modern times, therefore, the pull for this adoption and abandonment is more intense than ever.

This colour concept of culture has an ally in the **theory of Dialectic**. This theory of Dialectic was propounded by the German philosopher, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. It was his philosophic system created to explain the growth of ideas. Hegel believed that the evolution of ideas occurs through a dialectical process—that is, a concept (or thesis) gives rise to its opposite (antithesis), and as a result of this conflict, a third view, the synthesis, arises. The synthesis is at a higher level of truth than the first two views. Hegel's work is based on the idealistic concept of a universal mind that, through evolution, seeks to arrive at the highest level of self-awareness and freedom ("Dialectic", 2009).

### *Theoretical Framework*

*1. Paremiological minimum (operationalization).*

This study is guided by the paremiological minimum theory by Grigori L. Permiakov. It is anticipated that while some form of paremiological minimum exists for users of core Inyi proverbs, loan translations of general Igbo contact proverbs may be seen as modern Inyi proverbs by adult users and thus these may exist as paremiological minimum for users of these modern Inyi proverbs or Inyi contact proverbs which originated within the 20th and 21st centuries. The relevance of evoking this theory in the present essay is for its operationalization in the repertoire of loan translations which are highly expected to occur, given the high rate of interpenetration of different cultures, including other Igbo cultures within Inyi community in recent times. This theory will show clearly if the general Igbo proverbs are becoming part of the Inyi

proverbs as to be the paremiological minimum of Inyi proverbs in modern times.

*2. The Colour Theory of Culture (Operationalization)*

This study, utilizing the colour theory of culture, understands that even though the same contact proverbs may be spoken in other Igbo communities, they are done with a distinct dialect. Their penetration into every Igbo land occurs through admixture as explained in the Colour Theory of Culture. This is because of the particular nature of the dispersal of knowledge in the 20th and 21st centuries, which crosses over barriers of community, sometimes, even languages. Thus, the peculiar nature of contact proverbs which are used within these modern centuries is such that a new hypothesis of the origins and dispersal of these newer and even older proverbs is needed. In view of the theories hinged upon, the researcher hypothesizes that while older known proverbs originate within an old community and remain within it, without many outlets to travel out with its users, newer modern known proverbs (or contact proverbs) travel away from their source communities and become glocalized in other nearby communities. This may be seen as the older-localization-newer-globalization paremiological hypothesis. It remains to be verified.

***Research Population and Study Area***

Inyi people form the research population, especially those, who are residents within the Inyi community. Inyi town makes up a large majority of the total population of Oji River which is 82, 105 as of 1991 and 126,587 as of 2006 as revealed in the Nigerian census carried out by the National Population Commission of Nigeria. This means that in fifteen years, the population rose by 44, 482 people at approximately 2, 965 people every year. From 2006 to 2018 is twelve years. Thus, 12 x 2, 965 people will be 35,580. If this figure is added to 126, 587, this means that in 2018, the population of Oji River is approximately **162, 167** people.

Inyi is a town in Oji River Local Government Area of Enugu State. Because of the arterial network of nine roads which radiated from a nexus or junction at the centre of Inyi town (See Figure 1), the people were influenced immensely by the nearby Nri and later Aro people. This junction was so unique that during the Nigerian Civil War, the British Broadcasting Corporation Radio announced to the world that "the strategic junction of Inyi has fallen to the

federal troops" (Udeh, 2001:2).Advanced spiritual consultations and concoctions were done by the Nri people for Inyi even as recent as the mid twentieth century (Madu, 2010:114).

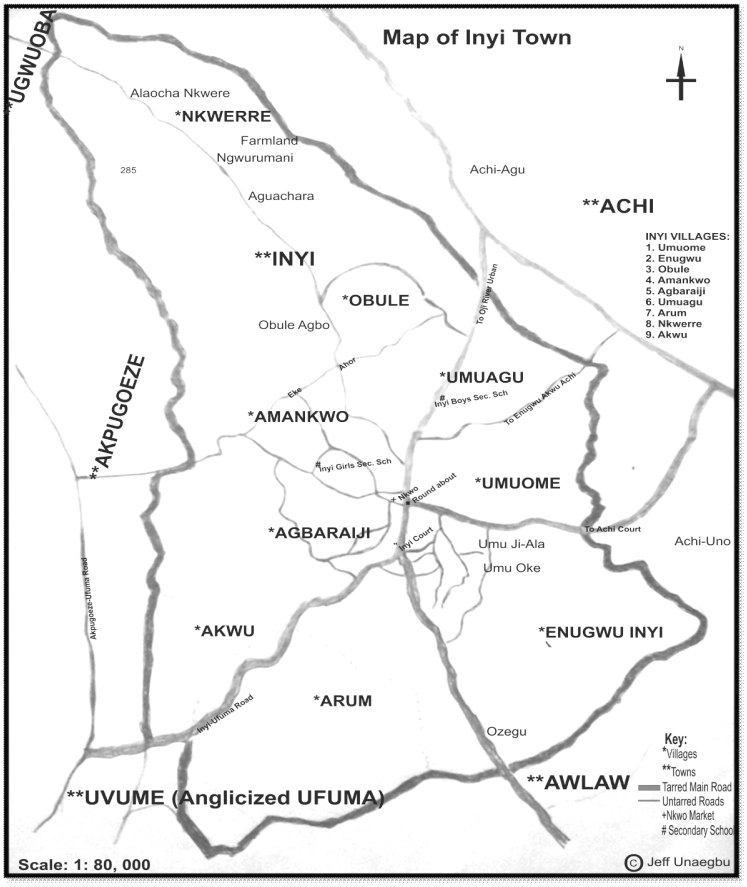



Fig. 1: Map of Inyi Town in Oji River LGA, Enugu State of Southeastern Nigeria

This interaction with the Nri facilitated social change in Inyi during pre-contact times. The situation of Nkwo Inyi market near the junction aforementioned catalyzed and still catalyzes social change. From pre-contact times, traders from the direction of Umuleri, Umunya, Agukwu-Nri amongst others (who Inyi people call "Ag-

benu") trooped to Inyi during Nkwo days to purchase agricultural products from farmers who display them (Udeh, 2001:3).

***Research Design***

The method for data collection is qualitative. Inyi has a preponderance of semi-literate people. Inyi has a preponderance of illiterate people as its ethnics living within the town. The illiteracy is understood as regarding to Western education. On matters of Inyi culture, the ethnics are quite literate. The use of qualitative method of data collection is preferable in studies such as this present one, whose objective is to make specific descriptions of specific phenomena.

The type of qualitative research design utilized were Participant Observation (Participant as Observer) and Structured Interview.

***Method of Data Analysis***

The presentation and analysis of data is idiographic. The research that was done had no need for nomothethic analysis which is suitable for such sciences as chemistry, physics or economics whose purpose is to create principles which are to be universally applied. Thus, the more practicable analytic style or method is idiographic, which is pertaining to the case study. The term "nomothetic" comes from the Greek word "nomos" meaning "law". Psychologists who adopt this approach are mainly concerned with studying what we share with others, that is to say in establishing laws or generalizations. The term "idiographic" comes from the Greek word "idios" meaning own" or "private".

***Residence and Duration of Fieldwork***

The researcher lived among the Inyi people for three months (November 2017 to January 2018), travelling out when it was necessary and making adjustments depending on conditions in the field. The reason for restricting the duration to three months instead of a year or more is because, normally, the researcher is supposed to spend some months learning the language of the community. He will also have to make adequate arrangements for taking up residence. These are herculean obstacles to a researcher who is not a member of the Inyi community. These two limitations are however non-existent for this present researcher. He is a member of the Inyi community and has stayed for short periods within the

community that could easily accumulate to more than five years. Thus, he is a language and culture bearer. During the course of this research, the researcher lived in his own house within the John Unaegbu's compound at Amankwo village of Inyi community. John Unaegbu is the researcher's father. Thus, naturally, the challenges of paying rent did not arise. Amankwo is one of the nine villages that make up Inyi community. The nine villages in order of seniority are Umuome, Enugwu, Obule, Amankwo, Agbariji, Arum, Umuagu, Nkwerre and Akwu.

***Data Collection using Structured Interview and Participant Observation***

The researcher was able to use the Participant as Observer variant of the Participant Observation method in six naturally situated town hall *Umunna* meetings and three traditional marriages. Altogether, there were nine events, each occurring once in the nine villages. The researcher used the Participant as Observer variant during the meetings and ceremonies because he made his presence known in meetings that he had no reason to attend, except for purposes of research. Attending meetings holding in villages that are reserved for only members of that village easily raise suspicions of espionage if the researcher did not make his mission plain to everyone. Data were collected into a tape recorder during the ceremonies aforementioned.

The structured interviews occurred at the end of these events. The researcher prepared an interview guide derived from the research questions and successfully administered it on eighteen respondents who were *okenyes* or culture bearers in the nine villages, utilizing the purposive sampling technique. The eighteen respondents represented the nine villages that make up Inyi town. These eighteen respondents were the "*okenyes*" or those **elders above seventy-five years who were very knowledgeable in Inyi culture.** They were the literate culture bearers of Inyi (literate in Inyi ways of life). They, therefore, possessed special knowledge in Inyi culture and had knowledge in the linguistic form that was being collected. They also hold the "paremiological minimum". Whatever contact proverb was obtained from them was ultimately reliable as having become part of the Inyi culture. Two culture bearers represented each of the nine villages, making a total of eighteen respondents. Thus, Participant Observation (Participant

as Observer) and Structured Interview were the instruments for data collection.

Thirty-three contact proverbs were obtained from the structured interviews while only eleven contact proverbs were obtained from participant observation. A total of forty-four contact proverbs were obtained. It was easier distilling the meanings of the contact proverbs obtained during structured interviews than deciphering them from participant observation during the events.



Plate 1: An *okenye,* Mazi Forster Okonkwo of Umuowara, Amankwo, Inyi (Right) and the researcher (Left).

***Contact Proverbs in Inyi***

Forty-four contact proverbs were obtained. What distinguished them from other kinds of proverbs is that they contain subjects and objects which came with the white man or with other cultures outside Inyi. This article will list them alongside their meanings obtained from both participant observation and structured interviews in alphabetical order. Each is presented first in the Inyi language, and then an English translation is provided. The meaning follows and the occasions when it was used are also revealed. This is in line with the research questions.

**1) A na eji aňuro anara ngozi?**

**English Translation:**Does one receive blessings (suggestive of Holy Communion) while having snuff in his palm?
**Meaning**: It is not good to do the right thing at the wrong time or to approach a good opportunity with kid gloves or the wrong gloves.
**Occasion used:** When trying to motivate the right action.

**2) A shị na ejighi anya ọma aba ụka mmụọ nsọ**

**English Translation:**
Our people say that one who joins a Pentecostal church is compelled by bad circumstances.
**Meaning**: This means that someone looking for help can go to places where he or she will not normally be found. Desperate situations require desperate measures. A drowning man catches at a straw.
**Occasions used:** During situations in which people go to unlikely lengths or unlikely places in order to get solutions to their problems. It is also used to motivate people to take bold actions to end a bad situation.

**3) Agbụshị na- agba Ọlụ nọ ha n'akwa**

**English Translation:**
The ant that stings Olu people is hidden in their clothes.
**Meaning**: People are sometimes the cause of their problems.
**Occasion used:** When a person is suffering from what he has brought upon himself.
**Note:** The Olu people are generally the riverine Igbo (Ogbaru, Onitsha, Oguta etc), riverine Igala and Niger Deltans living in riverine or coastal areas.

**4) A makwashị ụwa jiọji, ọdụ ka ụgbiam adụhọ**

**English Translation:**
When one ties the George wrapper, it appears as if he has no pact with poverty.
**Meaning**: Appearances could be deceiving.
**Occasion used:** When one suspects that another person is hiding his real self or situation. Or when one is trying to explain that his situation is more dire than is being observed.

**5) A na apatchị, ọna eliki**

**English Translation:**
While we patch a section of a tyre, another area leaks.
**Meaning**: This means that while one is trying to solve a problem, another problem arises.
**Occasion used:** During an avalanche of problems that the speaker meets.

**6) A na ashị na ọku gbara fada ị na ajụ ma ọgbara ahụ ọnụ ya**

**English Translation:**
It is said that a Reverend Father suffered burns, and you are asking if his beard got burnt too.
**Meaning**: Seeing is believing. It is better to see for oneself even when an eyewitness tells one what had happened.
**Occasion used:** Used by a speaker to question the doubt arising from a person as to the veracity of a situation.

**7) A na ha achị Aro achị, ana eso ha eso**

**English Translation:**
It is obvious you don't lead the Aro, you, instead, follow them in accordance with their wishes.
**Meaning**: This means that when you come to a place, you behave according to their customs. You follow a ruler according to his rules. When in Rome, behave like Romans
**Occasion used:** During a delicate situation in which a ruler demands obedience or in which a person arrives at a strange city.
**Note:** This came with the peregrinating Aro who had first contact with the Inyi between 1690 AD and 1902 AD.

**8) Awụsa abatagwo Ọka**

**English Translation:**
The Hausa man has entered Awka.
**Meaning**: A problem has become direr and would likely overwhelm the speaker. A target is about to be captured.
**Occasion used:** When a situation would consume the speaker if he does not act fast. When a goal is about to be achieved or has just been achieved.

**9) Beta anụ, beta anụ, owụ kwanu na ahụ nama**

**English Translation:**
Cut more meat! Cut more meat! It is even from the body of a cow.
**Meaning**: When it comes to squandering other people's properties no one considers the waste.
**Occasion used:** During a situation in which people are threatening to surround a benefactor with problems.
**Note**: "Nama" is a Hausa word for meat. Cow meat was usually referred to when the Hausa Fulani had contact with the Igbo. Thus, the proverb came after contact with the Hausa word.

**10) Chukwu Okike Abiama meche, ọnyị họ bekee**

**English Translation:**
In the end, Chukwuabiama (Ibini Ukpabi) could not withstand the white man.
**Meaning**: This means that no matter what a challenger does, the speaker would defeat him.
**Occasion used:** During a bout or challenge.
**Note:** This refers to the defeat of the Aros in 1902 by a British expedition.

**11) E jị he enyo achọ ihe agba n'aka**

**English Translation:**
You don't need a mirror to see what is worn on the hand.
**Meaning**: What is in plain sight and understandable by all needs no explanation. A gold fish has no hiding place.
**Occasion used:** In describing a situation that is understandable and seen by all.

**12) Ebe ọgụ jimkpa nnọ, ọgụ pam nọ ebe ahụ lawụ**

**English Translation:**
Where there are twenty young men, there are twenty Pounds Sterling.
**Meaning**: This means that teamwork is important.

**Occasion used:** During a situation where there are many hands that could help.
**Note:** The Pound Sterling was a monetary introduction by the British into Inyi and other Igbo-speaking areas.

**13) Eji Igbo agwanya onye ọcha?**

**English Translation:**
Can you use the Igbo language to explain something to a white man?
**Meaning**: What is in plain sight and understandable by all needs no explanation. I don't need to tell you what I can do, you should know.
**Occasion used:** To explain that a challenge is easy for one.

**14) Fada shị mechie anya, mechie, maka na ịmaha ihe ọhụrụ**

**English Translation:**
If the priest says, "close your eyes", do so, for you don't know what he saw.
**Meaning**: Succumb to the suggestions of the wise and experienced ones.
**Occasion used:** During an advice.

**15) Hafụ ihe edere na moto, banye moto**

**English Translation:**
Ignore the inscription on a vehicle and enter the vehicle**.**
**Meaning**: This means that you should ignore the discouraging appearance of a person or situation and utilize the advantage that a person or situation can offer.
**Occasion used:** During a situation in which you are sure a person is able to perform a feat but another person doubts it.

**16) Ichie nwanyi eze, ọkpọga gi n'eligwe:**

**English Translation:**
If you crown a woman, she will take you to heaven.
**Meaning**: A good deed will trigger better responses.
**Occasion used:** In giving advice.

**17) Igote nwarọ ike adụhọ anwu, igudowe na ka ghụ**

**English Translation:**
If you engage a weak Aro for an ambush, you get involved in catching the target of the ambush yourself.
**Meaning**: You hire people who are fit to do a job else you end up doing it yourself.
**Occasion used:** In utilizing the services of an expert.

**18) Kamu fụ Fada ọkụ ngbara**

**English Translation:**
Let me see the Father who sustained burns.
**Meaning**: Let me visit the loo.
**Occasion used:** When one is pressed.

**19) Kwa! Kwa! Kwa! Kọbọ ghụ sokwee**

**English Translation:**
Ha! Ha! Ha! Your kobo goes with it!
**Meaning**: Remember that as you smile and enjoy the company of a girl, you will eventually pay for it. Nothing goes for nothing.
**Occasion used:** When one is being carried away by the presence of a lady.
**Note:** Kobo is the smallest coin in the Nigerian currency.

**20) Le mu, le motosaikọrọ/ Ọgba tum tum**

**English Translation:**
It is obvious to you how I strain to maintain this motorbike.
**Meaning**: This means that a given situation is threatening to subdue the speaker.
**Occasion used:** During a calamitous situation that the speaker finds threatening.

**21) Ma nwa Arọ asụ họ nsu, ọ gbaa ama**

**English Translation:**
If the Aro man does not stammer, he will divulge a secret.
**Meaning**: One needs discretion in handling delicate situations.
**Occasion used:** As advice to a person who is too hasty.

**22) Mmadụ aňụbehe tii ọchọwa ovatii**

**English Translation:**
One has not taken tea, yet he is looking for ovaltine.
**Meaning**: One has not achieved a goal, he or she is looking for a higher one.
**Occasion used:** As advice to a person who is too eager to accomplish a high goal.

**23) Mmanwu anawa gwo Idah**

**English Translation:**
An inactive masquerade has gone back to his Idah ancestors.
**Meaning**: A situation has ended. A great person is dead.
**Occasion used:** To announce a funeral or end of an activity.
**Note:** This proverb originated from Anam but had become loaned into Inyi. Idah is the ancestral home of many Anam people of Anambra.

**24) Ndụ kwaya ekweheshi anyị mara ndụ wụ ndụ grajueeti**

**English Translation:**
Choristers do not allow us to distinguish between them and university graduates.
**Meaning**: A situation in which two people are silent and respectful such that you don't know who the trouble-maker between them is.
**Occasions used:** In situations where two people behave wisely yet it is suspected one of them is mischievous.

**25) Ndụ mechaniki nọ na Ọnịcha ekwehe anyị mara ndụ wụ ndụ ara**

**English Translation:**
It is hard to differentiate the mechanic at Onitsha from the madmen because of their appearances.
**Meaning**: This means that when two people behave in a rowdy manner, it may be difficult to differentiate which of the two is the foolish trouble-maker and which is the wise person who had fallen for his bait.
**Occasion used:** During situations in which a well-respected person fights verbally or physically with a known and disrespected trouble-shooter.

**26) Ndụ na agba aliňja, ndụ ọzo a na agba Ikoro Bende.**

**English Translation:**
While some people are dancing Alija, some others are dancing Ikoro Bende.
**Meaning**: People in the same situation, behave differently.
**Occasion used:** To show how two people are not the same.

**27) Nkita shị na eshigbo aha ya wụ Job mana ndụ kpọrọ ya ashị na-akpọ ya dọọgụ**

**English Translation:**
The dog said that its proper name is Job but those who hate it call it dog.
**Meaning**: If you want to destroy a person, you spread a false propaganda against that person. Give a dog a bad name to be able to hang it.
**Occasion used:** To show that a campaign of calumny is afoot.

**28) Nwata na ata akara na-ata ego nya**

**English Translation:**
The child who eats bean balls, known as akara, spends his own money.
**Meaning**: Nothing goes for nothing. You can't eat your cake and have it. Every action has its consequences.
**Occasion used:** When one is being carried away by a situation that is making him spend some money.

**29) O tegokwe anyi nhụwara Awụsa na ụta.**

**English Translation:**
We are used to seeing the Hausa with arrows.
**Meaning**: We are used to this seemingly dangerous situation. Or we are used to empty threats.
**Occasion used:** In calling someone's bluff.
**Note:** The transhuman Cattle Fulani was encountered by the Igbo and they were regarded as the Hausa who carried bows and arrows but never shot any.

**30) Ọwụ ụkwụ a ka nama nji erụ Umuahia?**

**English Translation:**
Is it at this pace that this cow will eventually get to Umuahia?

**Meaning**: A man should not dilly-dally when he has work to do**.**
**Occasion used:** To motivate someone to be faster.

**31) Ọbaha uru mmadụ nta nshị aboki.**

**English Translation:**
It is not necessary for a person to eat the excreta of a Hausa peasant.
**Meaning**: It is not important to stoop to attend to trivial matters**.**
**Occasion used:** To dissuade someone from doing something unimportant.

**32) Ọna eme ghụ ka filmu.**

**English Translation:**
It will pass you by like a film.
**Meaning**: You may realize late the consequences of your actions**.**
**Occasion used:** To call someone's attention to a dangerous eventuality.

**33) Ogbenye dụ be onye ọcha.**

**English Translation:**
Poverty can be seen even in the home of the white man.
**Meaning**: The rich also cry. Bad things can happen to anyone**.**
**Occasion used:** To call someone's attention to the equality of life's circumstances.

**34) Ọwụ mụ ka Aba na amụrụ ọkpọ?**

**English Translation:**
Are Aba people learning how to box by challenging me?
**Meaning**: Am I being challenged by a weaker person to a bout?
**Occasion used:** To disregard a person's challenge.

**35) Onwehe ụzọ ejiri ga Chukwuabiama du nfe**

**English Translation:**
There is no short route to Chukwuabiama (Aro Oracle at Arochukwu).

**Meaning**: There is no short cut to success.
**Occasion used:** To show the enormity of a project or an assignment.

**36) Onwere ihe Kalụ nla achọ na obu engine**

**English Translation:**
There is something Kalu is looking for in the heart of the engine.
**Meaning**: People will go to all lengths to get the truth.
**Occasion used:** To show that something demands scrutiny.

**37) Onye ara shị la nya mewe nwa nya mmiri-Chukwu nya wụọ mmiri n'ihu na azụ nihi la ọmaha ebe Christ ga eshi abịa.**

**English Translation:**
The mad man says that when baptizing his child, he pours water on him both front and back because he does not know which direction Christ is coming from.
**Meaning**: Anyone planning anything has to look into all aspects of it and make room for eventualities.
**Occasion used:** To show that something demands scrutiny.

**38) Onye Arọ anagha ashị nwa Arọ ibe nya na Ibun Ukpabi shị shị kele nya.**

**English Translation:**
An Aro man does not tell another Aroman that Ibini Ukpabi greets him.
**Meaning**: You don't deceive a person who knows what you know.
**Occasion used:** To show that someone knows what one knows.

**39) Onye Aro anọho, onye Nnewi arụa agwu**

**English Translation:**
If the Aro man is not there, the Nnewi man conducts the cleansing rituals.
**Meaning**: No one is indispensable.
**Occasion used:** To show the indispensability of individuals.

**40) Onye Chukwu gbara ekeresimesi, ya gbaara ụmunna ya**

**English Translation:**
He whom God has given a Christmas gift should also do the same for his kinsmen.
**Meaning**: Remember others when things are good for you.
**Occasion used:** To remind people of helping one another.

**41) Ọwụhọ na ọnụm ka ina anu na ụkọchukwu vu amụ**

**English Translation:**
It is not from me you will hear that a reverend father has a penis.
**Meaning**: Everyone is human.
**Occasion used:** When showing that a person is also human.

**42) Ọwu kwanu maka mmadụ ka eji aga Ibadan**

**English Translation:**
It is because of human beings that one sets for a journey to Ibadan.
**Meaning**: No man is an island.
**Occasion used:** When showing that people need to associate with one another.

**43) Ozu nwa bekee, e vulie nya enu, wa, wa, wa; e vude nya ala, wa, wa, wa**

**English Translation:**
When the white man's body is carried up, you'll hear "no, no, no!"; When it is brought down, you'll hear "no, no, no!".
**Meaning**: This proverb points to the insatiable nature of many people despite all well-meaning efforts to satisfy them.
**Occasion used:** When showing that some people are insatiable.
**Note:** The Igbo people encountered the British, experiencing their modes of transportation which included bicycles, horses palanquins and hammocks. Important Britons were usually carried on palanquins and hammocks by ethnics. The Inyi community encountered this proverb from other Igbos.

**44) Voom ka mma karịa statịmentị.**

**English Translation:**
It is better to run away from the police when one is guilty, than to face the stress of making a statement.
**Meaning**: It is better to run away from a situation that could consume one.
**Occasion used:** When warning someone of danger.

***Discussion***

The researcher observed that more contact proverbs are obtained during structured interviews than during participant observation. Thirty-three contact proverbs were obtained from the *Okenyes* during the structured interview while only eleven contact proverbs were naturally situated utterances that occurred during the events in which the researcher used participant observation. This shows that there is a much larger corpus of contact proverbs known to *ndikenyes* than are used during ceremonies.

All the eleven (11) post-contact proverbs obtained during participant observation were utilized by Inyi indigenes who were younger than *ndiokenye*. *Ndiokenye* were men above seventy-five years and who are versed in the Inyi way of life. Post-contact proverbs are used more readily by the younger generation than by the older generation as is observed in this work.

All the culture bearers interviewed have traveled out of Inyi to communities other than Igbo communities before coming back to Inyi.

The researcher had encountered some of the post-contact proverbs obtained in this research in previous chance discussions and events outside Inyi community. For example, a particular post-contact proverb that was uttered by an *Okenye* was "Mmanwu anawa gwo Idah". The researcher has heard this proverb uttered by a young lecturer in the Political Science Department of the University of Nigeria, a community which is a confluence of many Igbo cultures from the standpoint of an anthropologist. The young lecturer, Mr. Darlington Okoye, alias *Anunkankankpi* hails from Nri in Anambra State. His own version encountered was "Mmanwu anaba go Idah". This shows that post contact proverbs can spread through loan translations into vernacular languages. Upon further enquiry through Internet search, the researcher discovered that the post-contact proverb in question was said to have origina-

ted from Anam in Anambra State. Idah is reported as the ancestral home of many Anam people of Anambra. Thus, the variants also show that connections and loan translations are happening as part of the origins of proverbs. This has been demonstrated by Hans Walther in his collection of approximately 150, 000 Latin proverbs and their variants from the Middle Ages through the 17th century in the volumes *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitaris ac recentioris aevi*. As has been reported, his assemblage revealed that many of the proverbs were common throughout Europe either in the Latin original or through loan translations into the vernacular languages. The variants also indicated that connections and loan translations are also happening as part of the origins of proverbs (Mieder, 1997:402).

***Conclusion***

The problem which the researcher encountered was the lack of awareness of the proverbial status of post-contact proverbs in Inyi community. The situation was worsened by the dearth of focused research or ethnography on post-contact Inyi proverbs, which resulted from social change coming from external influences on Inyi, especially from Western education. Thus, the problem of the study was identifying and studying the post-contact proverbs in Inyi town.

While carrying out documentary research for the literature review as part of solving the problem, the researcher discovered that paremiological publications on post-contact Igbo proverbs were almost non-existent. The only encountered study which dealt with this type of proverb in passing is Nwadike's *The Igbo Proverb: A Wider Perspective* (Nwadike, 2009:18-22).

Aside from this dearth of scholarship on this anthropological linguistic form (post-contact proverbs), there are, at present, no comprehensive paremiographies or compendia of post-contact Igbo proverbs. Only seven (7) post-contact proverbs are present in the aforementioned Nwadike's paremiology.

Furthermore, there is no dictionary of post-contact African proverbs. In this age, ideas for proverb yearbooks in every country in the world have been advanced (Mieder, 1997:399). But as has been advanced elsewhere, no such African proverb yearbook, much less, Nigerian proverb yearbook, has been created in the world at the time of this study. If these lapses are covered, then

there will be chances for increased paremiology of such specialized forms as post-contact proverbs.

The researcher was able to distil forty-four post-contact Inyi proverbs, thereby helping to increase knowledge and literature about Igbo post-contact proverbs. When such findings are eventually published, there would then be published literature on post-contact proverbs.

The researcher concludes that a wider research on post-contact proverbs in Igbo cultures is necessary to ascertain properly the corpus of this type of new proverbs and their influences in Igbo life and customs.

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# BEATRICE GRIMSHAW'S PROVERB SPLICER AND HER ARTFUL USE OF PROVERBS

***Abstract:*** The neglected Irish-born writer Beatrice Grimshaw (1870-1953) created a character in a novel who spliced English language proverbs. Putting such spliced proverbs into his mouth, Grimshaw both developed the character and inserted some bright spots of humor into the novel. Patrick O'Brian has created a proverb-splicing character that has attracted scholarly attention in his novels, but Grimshaw's use of this technique predated his by about 60 years. Grimshaw also used proverbs in other artful ways.

***Keywords:*** Beatrice Grimshaw, Patrick O'Brian, proverbs, anti-proverb, proverb splicing.

The neglected Irish-born writer Beatrice Grimshaw (1870-1953) was a famous author 100 years ago. Though unknown by most today, her use of proverbs is noteworthy, particularly her splicing of proverbs in *The Sorcerer's Stone*. This article not merely lists her proverbs but shows her artistry in her use, and even creation, of proverbs.

Many authors have been noted for their skillful use of proverbs, with book-length studies written about the use of proverbs by some of them, e.g. Chaucer (Whiting 1934), Robert Browning (Smith 1989), Agatha Christie (Bryan 1993), Cervantes (Mieder 2016), to name only four. These writers have generally used standard proverbs, either intact or by quoting only a portion, counting on the reader to fill in the rest. Scholars have written hundreds of articles, books chapters, and dissertations about various authors' use of standard proverbs.

A small group of fiction authors have created original proverbs used in known cultures, including R. D. Blackmore in the United Kingdom (Kirwin 1973), Ignatius Mabasa in Zimbabwe (Veit-Wild 2009:696), Ernest Bramah for Chinese (Hawthorn 2016), E.M. Forster for English (Gish 1972), Waterhouse for

Persia (1990), and writing in French Prosper Mérimée created a proverb for Roma (Gypsy) culture (Northrup 1915:153). The Nigerian playwright Femi Osofisan also created English proverbs in a play set in Nigeria (Adeoti 2019:88).

Also, some authors have created original proverbs for imagined cultures, e.g. J.R.R. Tolkien (Boswell 1969, Stanton 1996, Trokhimenko 2003, Clinton 2014, Rowe 2016), Herman Melville (Unseth 2015), C.S. Lewis (Unseth 2011). Perhaps in the mind of the public the best known example of created proverbs in fiction is in the mouth of the movie character Forrest Gump, with more of his created proverbs being created by the screenplay writer Eric Roth and actor Tom Hanks than the novel's author, Winston Groom (Winick 1998:124). Instead of creating proverbs, some authors have taken existing proverbs and twisted them, creating anti-proverbs. For example, in the Harry Potter books, J.K. Rowling created such twisted anti-proverbs as "It's no good crying over spilt potion," derived from "It's no good crying over spilt milk" (Haas 2011: 38).

In contrast to these proverb creators, there has also been a smaller group of fiction authors who have creatively developed their characters by having them repeatedly splicing pieces of proverbs. This writing technique of splicing proverbs, and the users of this technique, has been studied by few scholars. The only notable scholarly work specifically on proverb splicing by fictional characters is Brunvand's study (2004) of the repeated humorous utterances of O'Brian's Jack Aubrey.

The most prolific and best-known author of fictional proverb splicing is Patrick O'Brian, creator of the proverb-splicing and proverb-mangling naval officer, Capt. Jack Aubrey. By the third of his twenty novels about Capt. Aubrey (*HMS Surprise*), his character is marked by splicing pieces of proverbs and generally mangling them, saying such things as, "There's a good deal to be said for making hay while the iron is hot" (Brunvand 2004: 155) and "I should never count the bear's skin before it is hatched" (Brunvand 2004: 155), "You cannot both have a stitch in time and eat it" (Brunvand 2004: 167). Some of his splicings are quite complex, "Only this morning I was thinking how right they were to say it was better to be a dead horse than a live lion.'… No, I mean better to flog a dead horse than a live lion… Yet even that's not

quite right, neither. I know there is a dead horse in it somewhere" (quoted in Brunvand 2004:163,164).

The splicing and mangling of proverbs is such a standard part of Aubrey's character that there has even been a parody volume written about Aubrey's adventures, complete with more spliced proverbs, such as "When in Rome eat the sauce of the gander" (Wenger 1999:115).

Certainly, other authors have spliced proverbs, such as John Austin, the philosopher of language, who has been noted for splicing proverbs in his non-fiction scholarly writing (Ricks 1992), e.g. "There are more ways of killing a cat than drowning it in butter" (Austin 1962:48) and "I am merely flogging the converted" (Austin 1970:56).

Wolfgang Mieder cites a splice from a magazine article title, "A proverb in the hand—is often worth a thousand words" (Mieder 1993:151, fn. 68). Proverb splicing has also been used by the poets, e.g. Paul Muldoon wrote "There's no smoke after the horse is gone" (Muldoon 2005:173), combining "There is no smoke without fire" and "Locking the stable after the horse is stolen." Other poets who spliced proverbs include the Germans Fred Endrikat (1890-1942) and Hansgeorg Stengel (1922-2003) (Mieder 2019:186).

This present article focuses itself on the proverb splicings spoken by fictional characters, people who are characterized by the splicing of proverbs.

Spliced proverbs have been classified as a type of anti-proverb, such as "A penny saved gathers no moss" (Litovkina and Mieder 2006:40). Within the category of anti-proverbs, spliced proverbs share a prominent common feature with each other and form an internally cohesive sub-category of anti-proverbs. In the French Oulipo circle, they were known as "perverbes." The preeminent writer using these perverbes was Harry Mathews (Mieder 2019). Mathews wrote a variety of very creative things using perverbes, but not in any novels.

As I finished this article, I found that a Nigerian scholar, Gbemisola Adeoti, had recently noticed the proverb splicing of Grimshaw's Marquis. He noted that a character in a play by Oladejo Okediji "reminds one of the eccentric Marquis in Beatrice Grimshaw's *The Sorcerer's Stone*" (2019:87). He noted that this Nigerian playwright once spliced four Yoruba proverbs together.

He translated the passage into English thus, with passages from the four proverbs set off in parentheses, and the proverbs numbered:

"(As we look at the partridge),[1] its feathers become brown more and more, but the woodcock (never changes its last year's dress),[2] as (the robin wakes up, bubbling with energy).[3] Since yesterday morning, (the rain has crowded the pigeon together with)[4] corn."

***Grimshaw's proverb splicer***

There has not yet been scholarly notice of an earlier proverb splicing character in a novel by Beatrice Grimshaw, except the recent sentence by Gbemisola Adeoti, as just noted above (2019:87). Grimshaw was an Irish writer who left home in 1907 for the South Pacific, spending most of the rest of her life in Papua New Guinea and Australia. Grimshaw's work was neglected and forgotten by the public for some decades. The scholarly world, however, has started to notice her: Laracy & Laracy (1977), Gardner (1977, 1985, 1987), Evans (1993a,b, 2006), Broderick (2004), Waldroup (2004), Fowler (2006), an explosion of work by Clare McCotter (2006a,b,c, 2007a,b,c,d, 2008a,b), Mahony and Patten (2016), and Reeve (2017).[1] Of all this scholarly attention, instead of addressing her writing technique and craft, much of it has followed today's academic fascination with race, identity, other, and gender, topics related to Grimshaw as a European woman in New Guinea, writing about exotic cultures. There are no entries for Grimshaw in Mieder's two-volume bibliography of proverb studies (2009).

When Grimshaw first went to the South Pacific in 1904, she wrote for the *Daily Graphic* of London, plus publicity pieces for ship companies and the government, such as articles and even a book promoting settlement on Pacific Islands. She soon began writing novels set in the region, beginning with *Vaiti of the Islands* (1907), then her most popular novel *When Red Gods Call* (1911b).

In 1913, what was probably her second most popular novel, *The Sorcerer's Stone*[2] was published in the USA in serial form in *Everybody's Magazine*. It was soon after published in book form in Philadelphia in 1914. In the novel, a French Marquis exploring the island of New Guinea frequently splices and mangles English proverbs. Her fictional French Marquis is in New Guinea to study

the occult and magic in New Guinea and hires a guide, a seasoned British explorer identified simply as Flint. The Marquis is the affable foil to the no nonsense seasoned British explorer who is always aware of his surroundings and very alert to dangers around them. By contrast, the Marquis is a romantic, and though a large man, ("six feet four, and weighs near eighteen stone"[3]), a very eager and adept solo dancer. The book contains two wonderful illustrations of the Marquis dancing, one between pages 18 and 19, the other between 120 and 121, depicting the romantic Marquis, dancing in a blissful rapture.

Grimshaw described him as "polyglot", and on one occasion "a perfect Tower of Babel" (p. 115). The Marquis' use of English is sometimes a bit short of standard, e.g. "What can I ever do to recompense you of my life that you have saved?" (p. 88). However, Flint always understands the Marquis' colorful English perfectly.

One of the ways Grimshaw develops the character of the eccentric Marquis is by his repeated splicing and mangling of English proverbs. His humorous splicing of proverbs is an endearing quirk of this likable, if laughable, character. His spliced proverbs are given in the table below, together with the page numbers where they appear, and my identification of the proverbs behind these splices.

| **The Marquis' quotation** | **Proverb quoted at beginning** | **Proverb quoted at ending** |
|---|---|---|
| "A bird in the bush blows nobody good." (p. 62) | "A bird in the bush is worth two in the hand." | "It's an ill wind that blows nobody good." |
| "Our friend, Monsieur Mo, is not such a fool as he glitters." (p. 66) | "He is not such a fool as he appears to be." | "All that glitters is not gold." |
| "Faint heart gathers no moss." (p. 84, 85) | "Faint heart never won fair lady." | "A rolling stone gathers no moss." |
| "I am not the new broom that never rejoices." (p. 94) | "The new broom sweeps clean." | "It is a poor heart that never rejoices." |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| “A stitch in time is as good as a mile.” (p. 97) | “A stitch in time saves nine.” | “A miss is as good as a mile.” |
| “The proof of the pudding sweeps clean.” (p. 109) | “The proof of the pudding is in the eating.” | “The new broom sweeps clean.” |
| “Hope deferred makes a long turning.” (p. 112) | “Hope deferred makes the heart sick.” | “It is a long road that makes no turning.” |
| “The shorn lamb must not halloo till it is out the wood.” (p. 140) | “Heaven tempers the wind to the shorn lamb.” | “Don't halloo till you are out of the wood.” |
| “The pitcher that goes to the well is soonest mended.” (p. 153) | “The pitcher will go to the well once too often.” | “Least said is soonest mended.” |
| “The rolling stone maketh the heart sick.” (p. 181) | “The rolling stone gathers no moss.” | “Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.” |
| “Make hay while the iron is hot.” (p. 184) | “Make hay while the sun shines.” | “Strike while the iron is hot.” |
| “They lock the stable door when the milk is spilt.” (p.203) | “Lock the stable door after the steed is stolen.” | “Don’t cry over spilt milk.” |
| “He said that there was no use crying over a bridge till you came to it.” (p. 228) | “No use crying over spilt milk.” | “Don’t cross a bridge till you come to it.” |
| “A cat may look at a king... but a king in gloves catches no mice.” (p. 234) | “A cat may look at a king.” | “The cat in gloves catches no mice.” |
| “Procrastination is the steed that is stolen.” (p. 263) | “Procrastination is the thief of time.” | “Lock the stable door after the steed is stolen.” |
| “It’s a wise child that knows ‘tis folly to be wise.” (p. 267) | “It is a wise child that knows its own father.” | “Where ignorance is bliss, ‘tis folly to be wise.” |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| "Handsome is who tells no tales." (p. 273) | "Handsome is as handsome does." | "Dead men tell no tales." |
| "A dead man is out of the wood." (p. 273,274). | "Dead men tell no tales." | "Don't halloo till you are out of the wood." |
| "Fair and softly is always to be blessed." (p. 277) | "Fair and softly goes far." | "Man never is, but always to be blessed." |
| "Heaven tempers the wind to the lame dog." (p. 220) | "Heaven tempers the wind to the shorn lamb." | "Help a lame dog over a stile." |

The Marquis' saying "Make hay while the iron is hot" is a good example of a spliced proverb. It is fascinating that this splices the same two proverbs as one of the examples from O'Brian's proverb-splicing Capt. Jack Aubrey, "There's a good deal to be said for making hay while the iron is hot" (Brunvand 2004: 155). Also, these same two proverbs were spliced previously by a university student in 1887 "Let us make hay while the iron is hot" (*L.F.U Stentor* 1897:100). The same two proverbs are also found spliced as "Make hay while the iron is hot" on a website devoted to such incongruent conflations of phrases, http://www.conflations.com/pages/congruent.html. It is clear that these two proverbs easily come to people's minds when splicing proverbs.

It is interesting to note that Grimshaw's Marquis uses pieces of some proverbs more than once. For example, he uses both halves of "The new broom sweeps clean," but each in a different context.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| "I am not the new broom that never rejoices." (p. 94) | "The new broom sweeps clean." | "It is a poor heart that never rejoices." |
| "The proof of the pudding sweeps clean." (p. 109) | "The proof of the pudding is in the eating." | "The new broom sweeps clean." |

Similarly, Grimshaw's Marquis uses both halves of "Lock the stable door after the steed is stolen," but in different utterances.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| "They lock the stable door when the milk is spilt" (p.203) | "Lock the stable door after the steed is stolen" | "Don't cry over spilt milk." |
| "Procrastination is the steed that is stolen" (p. 263) | "Procrastination is the thief of time" | "Lock the stable door after the steed is stolen." |

In the following example, the Marquis uses the second half of the same proverb in two different contexts:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| "A dead man is out of the wood." (p. 273,274). | "A dead man tells no tales." | "Don't halloo till you are out of the wood." |
| "The shorn lamb must not halloo till it is out the window." (p. 140) | "Heaven tempers the wind to the shorn lamb." | "Don't halloo till you are out of the wood." |

***Discussing proverbs overtly***

The Marquis' splicing and mangling of proverbs is done so often and so spectacularly that Flint, the first-person narrator, is even described as consciously thinking about it. Sometimes he thinks about it inwardly and his thoughts about the proverb splicings are mentioned in his narrative, the most relevant portions underlined below. The first time, he thinks about the Marquis' manner in his twisting of a proverb: "'I am not the new broom that never rejoices,' replied the Marquis, twisting the proverb in a superior tone" (p. 94). The second time, Flint described his feelings, "I wouldn't have laughed at one of his upside-down proverbs for a case of iced champagne" (1914:122). In the third case, he refers to an earlier reply by the Marquis, "He answered with the mangled proverb I have already quoted" (1914:271). Later, he notices that the Marquis had quoted a proverb correctly: "'Distant fields are always green,' quoted the Marquis gravely; and I was so amazed to hear him quote a proverb right side up for once that I almost dropped the diamond" (1914:171,172).

Following one of the Marquis' entertaining proverb splicings, Flint even talks to the Marquis about it overtly. The Marquis has just said, "The proof of the pudding sweeps clean as your excellent

British proverbs make it, and I decide to act," and Flint replied echoing the splicing of proverbs, "Well your proverbs are original, Marky [Flint's joking form of "Marquis"], but I don't know that they haven't a queer sort of sense of their own. And a pudding this size ought to sweep most things clean—if you will have it that way" (1914:109-110).

This represents another parallel with O'Brian's technique with Capt. Aubrey, having the proverb splicer's interlocutor join in with the splicing of proverbs, such as when the ship's doctor replies to Aubrey, "it is your rolling stone that gets the worm" (Brunvand 2004: 166).

Twice, Grimshaw's Marquis speaks of proverbs as a labeled set. One is in the section just quoted, "The proof of the pudding sweeps clean as your excellent British proverbs make it, and I decide to act" (100,101). The other example is even more entertaining, as the Marquis not only splices proverbs, he also humorously mislabels the genre:

> "Even if the end shall be death, then my friend, a dead man is out of the wood. I love your English axes."
>
> "'*Saws*, I suppose you mean,' I said."
>
> "I knew it had to do with tools; it is altogether the same" (1914:273,274).

Having misquoted and spliced two proverbs, the colorful Marquis speaks of "your excellent British proverbs" (1914:109). The use of the plural form of "proverb" is intriguing. Did the Marquis mean that he was aware he was splicing pieces of two proverbs in the conversational moment, or did he refer to "your excellent British proverbs" as a general collective? Or was Grimshaw cleverly laying out a grammatical ambiguity for the alert reader?

Though not a proverb, Grimshaw also puts another subtle piece of almost-correct English in the mouth of the Marquis. Out in the New Guinea bush, far from luxuries and familiar supplies, the Marquis says he wants, "Some many tins of meat and a jeremiad of champagne" (1914:228). Actually, he is thinking of a "jeroboam of champagne", a jeroboam consisting of 4.5 liters. The negative "jeremiad" clashes humorously when linked to "champagne" with the luxurious intention of a "jeroboam." This makes Grimshaw's little joke of the Marquis' colorful errors in English extra sweet to those who catch it.

In contrast to the colorful Marquis, the no-nonsense guide, aptly named Flint, uses only one proverb. As would be expected, Flint uses it in its standard shape, "Every man to his taste" (1914:292).

***Grimshaw's usage of proverbs in other writings***

Though Grimshaw entertained readers of *The Sorcerer's Stone* with the use of spliced proverbs, she also knew how to use non-spliced proverbs effectively in her writing, in both fiction and nonfiction. Many times in her other writings, she used proverbs more or less intact.

> "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." (1923:172).
>
> "A miss is as good as a mile; If you are dead, you cannot make a fuss, and if you are alive, where is the reason?" (Grimshaw 1912:5).
>
> "Never cross a bridge till you come to it, is my motto" (1911b:12).
>
> "Don't cross bridges before we come to them." (1915: 189).
>
> "'God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb.' It was Sterne who said that, and he ought to know, for with all his genius, he was weak to stand against the winds of life. I think God does so temper the cruelest of all winds for us who are shorn of the strength and the splendours of other men" (1920:188).
>
> "Sailors kept a good look out on the visitors, for it was clear that these latter meant to make hay while the sun shone, and were bent on carrying off anything that was not nailed down." (1910:226).
>
> "Young Britons will continue to do what they are advised not to, and ships will carry out many a man to the far wild countries… 'Sink or swim' is the motto of this kind of colonist, and if he often goes under, he very often floats on the top, and comes in on the flood-tide of good luck. 'Fortune favours the brave' — a proverb none the less true, because of its age." (Grimshaw 1908:62).

> "Why does the Papuan miner so strenuously endeavor to upset the old proverb about truth being stranger than fiction? He does not succeed, for nothing that we can imagine is half so strange as the things that have really happened to him." (Grimshaw 1911a).

> Autobiographically she wrote, "For two months I occupied the little house among the palms, and was happy. 'Can a man be more than happy?' runs the Irish proverb, and answer there is none." (1908: 197).

> "A miss is as good as a mile, for all me, 'specially when it's nine hundred mile." (1907:50).

> "Least said, soonest mended." (1922:95).

> "Facts are cold-blooded things." (1916:211), a variant of the more standard "Facts are stubborn things."

***Partial proverbs***

She realized that readers recognize an appropriate phrase from a proverb and associate it with the standard form of the proverb. She exploited this in *The Sorcerer's Stone*. Knowing that readers will recognize part of a proverb, in other writings she often used part of a proverb for effect, knowing that readers would link it to the whole proverb.

> "There's a proverb about gift horses and mouths." (1923:51).

> "The ill wind has blown good to planters and settlers." (1908:127).

> "They would be set adrift in one of the boats, as soon as the schooner was clear of the land, so that they should tell no tales." (1907:232).

> "Not being quite such a fool in this matter as he looks." (1908:93).

Grimshaw took the proverb "If youth but knew, if old age but could" and played with the first half in the beginning of a story about a young adventurer: "They hint a lie who say, 'if youth but knew'" (1916:5). This was followed in the next paragraph by, "You feel the round gold coin of youth held tight within your

hand, and know that there is nothing in this world it may not buy. Youth knows! But Paul Corbett, aged twenty-two…knew, that day. But what is the use of knowing when you may not do?" (1916:6).

***Politics and a proverb?***

It is intriguing that Grimshaw used the proverb "A cat may look at a king" in at least three of her novels. She used it once in *The Sorcerer's Stone*, as seen above, spliced to another, "A cat may look at a king... but a king in gloves catches no mice." She also used this same proverb, without being spliced, in *Vaiti of the Islands* (1908:181). The same proverb is also found in her novel *When the Red Gods Call*, with a clever parallelism following, "A cat may look at a king, and an unlucky dog of a trader, at a queen, without asking permission, any day" (1911:172). Is it possible that Grimshaw, originally from Ireland, was nursing sympathies for Irish independence (not realized until 1920)? Did she repeatedly use this proverb thinking of the kings in London ruling over Ireland, Edward VII until 1910 and then George V? Maybe she was hinting that the British kings were not so high and mighty after all, even a cat could look at them.

***Created proverb***

As was mentioned earlier, a limited number of authors have been noted for creating proverbs in their fiction for writing about real cultures. Grimshaw can now be added to the list. In *My Lady of the Island*, the first-person narrator describes an original proverb in the speech of his friend Gore: "Things will dry straight if you only let 'em alone. That was one of Gore's pet proverbs" (Grimshaw 1916:212).

***Non-proverb phraseology***

In addition to her artistic uses of proverbs, Grimshaw also artfully played with another piece of phraseology, the familiar phrases of a 19th century "well-known nonsense rhyme."

*"I wish I was a cassowary*
*On the plains of Timbuctoo,*
*For then I'd eat a missionary,*[4]
*Arms, legs and hymn book too*." (1914: 300)

This is in chapter VII, the final chapter of *The Sorcerer's Stone*, titled in a forshadowing way as "Concerning a cassowary and a hymn book."

The narrator, Flint, and the Marquis had finally reached a port city, secretly carrying the large gem that was the sorcerer's stone. There in Port Moresby the Marquis became infatuated with a woman of uncertain origins and character. The woman has a pet cassowary (a very large bird of New Guinea, related to the ostrich), a first a link to the rhyme. Smitten, the romantic Marquis refers to her as "beautiful missionary" (1914:301), creating a second parallel with the missionary of the "nonsense rhyme."

Dancing, the Marquis exclaimed, "'Beautiful missionary!' he said, pausing in his dance, 'do you think the savage animal [cassowary] would eat you?"…"If it will not eat the lovely missionary, will it eat the lovely hymn book too?" (1914:301). The Marquis' conversation goes on to makes more references to the poem.

With Flint and the Marquis watching, the cassowary then suddenly snatches and swallows a miniature hymn book, another link to the poem. Seeing the cassowary swallowing the unexpected large object, Flint realizes where the "beautiful missionary" is keeping their missing gem.

The last line of this poem has been found in varied form. Noteworthy sources long after her novel have a form that assumes the missionary to be male, "*Cassock, bands and hymn book too"* (Bartlett 1968:617, Browning 1951:313, Knowles and Partington 1999:817). However, there were other forms of the fourth line in circulation when Grimshaw was young, the *Literary World* having given five different versions in 1892 (Table Talk 1892:309). Grimshaw used her version of the poem that did not mention clerical vestments which would have been identified only with male missionaries. Rather, her version mentions only "arms" and "legs", perfectly applicable to the shapely arms and legs of the woman the Marquis addressed as "beautiful missionary."

Again, Grimshaw cleverly twists and artistically uses an established phraseologism in *The Sorcerer's Stone*.

***Conclusion***

Grimshaw cleverly used the repeated proverb splicings by the Marquis to develop the character and also entertain the reader. In

addition, she created a proverb in *My Lady of the Island*. "Things will dry straight if you only let 'em alone" (Grimshaw 1916:212).

It is likely that O'Brian's proverb splicing Capt. Jack Aubrey will remain the best-known fictional proverb splicer. Aubrey's proverb splicing carried on over 17 novels, O'Brian's novels sold well, and the proverb splicing Capt. Aubrey received extra exposure when the movie *Master and Commander: Far Side of the World* was released in 2003. Brunvand's article about Aubrey's proverbial struggles (2004) has secured Aubrey a place in the academic study of fictional proverb (mis)users.

However, this article has shown that it is worth noting the earlier comedic proverb splicings of Beatrice Grimshaw's Marquis, also from the far side of the world. She is known for her novels, but this article has also highlighted her skills as an author at the level of crafting phrases and sentences, with a focus on her handling of proverbs.

***Notes***

[1] It is odd to me that I am describing the proverb use of such an obscure author, while there are still no published studies devoted to the proverb use of such established female authors as Jane Austen or any of the Bronte sisters, according to Mieder's two-volume proverb bibliography of proverb studies (2009).

[2] The Harry Potter novel that J.K. Rowling had originally titled *The Philosopher's Stone* was marketed in North America as *The Sorcerer's Stone* in 1998. Those at the American publisher may possibly have been aware of Grimshaw's earlier use of the title, but there was no confusion for the public since Grimshaw's novel was by then forgotten and unknown.

[3] Fourteen stone is 252 pounds or 114 kilos.

[4] Having been a missionary in Ethiopia, I find this less amusing than most readers.

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WOLFGANG MIEDER

# A PAREMIOLOGIST'S DREAM COME TRUE: "THE WOLFGANG MIEDER INTERNATIONAL PROVERB LIBRARY" AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

***Abstract:*** This is a report describing the events that resulted in the establishment of "The Wolfgang Mieder International Proverb Library" in May of 2019 at the University of Vermont. It is an account of Prof. Mieder's donation of about 9000 proverb collections and studies about proverbs to his university. They are now housed in the historical Billings Library on campus. As a research center it welcomes scholars and students from anywhere to pursue their paremiographical and paremiological research projects. The report also includes a number of press releases that reported on this exciting matter. Several pictures of the beautiful bookcases appear at the end of these accounts.

***Keywords:*** Billings Library, international, Wolfgang Mieder, paremiography, paremiology, research center, Thomas Sullivan, University of Vermont.

Miracles do happen – at least at the University of Vermont! It all started with Prof. Wolfgang Mieder turning 75 on February 17, 2019. A surprise birthday reception sponsored by UVM's President Thomas Sullivan and his wife Leslie and attended by close to two hundred colleagues, students, and friends took place on February 20th. At the end of several laudatory remarks Prof. Mieder was presented with the celebratory volume *Living by the Golden Rule. Mentor – Scholar – World Citizen. A Festschrift for Wolfgang Mieder's 75th Birthday* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2019), edited by his colleague Prof. Dennis Mahoney and his former student Dr. Andreas Nolte. This was followed by a champagne dinner for some special guests, with Prof. Mieder and his wife Barbara Mieder being seated next to the Sullivans. One word led to another, and quite naturally the discussion turned to what one day might happen to Prof. Mieder's large proverb library housed in his country home at Willison, Vermont, and in the International Proverb Archives in the Waterman Building at the university. President

Sullivan and his wife had seen the almost 9000 books on previous occasions, and they most certainly understood the concerns of the Mieders about the future of this unique personal library of the world's paremiographical and paremiological scholarship. As the unforgettable birthday event came to an end, President Sullivan mentioned in parting that he had an idea that we should discuss and that I should be in touch with him. And the rest is history, as the saying goes.

It so happened that the recently restored Billings Library that served as the university library between 1885 and 1961 and that was designed by the famous American architect Henry Hobson Richardson was in need of a special collection of books to fill twelve beautiful bookcases with glass doors and interior lighting. President Sullivan contacted Dean of Libraries Mara Saule and Head of Special Collections Jeffrey Marshall and together it was decided that Prof. Mieder's proverb books should find their permanent home in them. Here is Prof. Mieder's overjoyed response of March 19, 2019:

> Thank you for your kindness and generosity. I am still in disbelief that this is all of a sudden working out. It is truly unbelievable, and let me assure you that Barbara, I, and hundreds of proverb scholars throughout the world are so relieved, thankful, and happy about this development. It really is like a miracle!
>
> Yes, we can plan on working on the measurements [of all the books] next week. I am afraid that we shall need a few more bookcases when I sit here at home and look at my collection. But as you indicated, there is room for another bookcase in each cove, and I am sure we can find the money for what is needed.
>
> I definitely think that Scott [Miller] and I as well as you [Jeffrey Marshall], if you wish, should look at the collection again and do some official measuring next week. It will all work out, and I thank you [Jeffrey], Mara, and Tom from the bottom of my heart. Do I really deserve this wonderful treatment and recognition? Amazing!
>
> Wolfgang

And here is yet another of several such short notes from March 16, 2019, in which Prof. Mieder expressed his appreciation and

thankfulness for having found a space at UVM for him to donate his proverb book collection:

> What absolutely fantastic friends I have!!! You all - of course Tom and Leslie - and many, many more. How is it all possible!?
>
> This is a DREAM come true! Let me assure you that this has been on Barbara's and my mind for many years. And now my beloved UVM is doing this for me. Truly incredible!
>
> We shall forever be thankful, and this proves once and for all that it was the right decision to dedicate our lives to the University of Vermont. We also want to stress again that we can help pay for the additional shelves.
>
> Thank you for now for everything you have done to make this possible,
>
> Wolfgang and Barbara

Six large bookcases were added to the six that were already placed into the North Lounge of the Billings Library. Each bookcase is divided into three sections with glass shelves measuring 33 inches each (4 shelves x 99 inches = 396 inches per bookcase x 12 cases = 4752 inches). Each bookcase has wooden doors at the bottom for another shelf for oversize books (1 shelf x 99 inches = 99 inches per bookcase x 12 cases = 1188 inches). The total of 5940 inches or 495 feet or 165 yards of shelf space was the perfect fit for the large collection. It is arranged alphabetically by languages (Afghan, African, Arabic, Armenian, Canadian, Chinese, Czech, Danish, etc.), but there are also large sections on dictionaries of quotations, international collections, and slang as well as an invaluable comprehensive section of scholarly studies about proverbs. The cumbersome move took place on May 6 and 7, 2019, giving Prof. Mieder the joy of writing to Thomas Sullivan, Mara Saule, and Jeffrey Marshall on May 8:

> It took four of us [Scott Miller from the library, two professional movers, and Prof. Mieder] fifteen hours to move my books to Billings. All 12 cabinets are filled, and it all looks absolutely beautiful! Thank you for making all of this possible. It is a great honor for me. I still can't believe it!
>
> Take care, Wolfgang

Once the "book" dust settled, it gave Prof. Mieder much pleasure and joy to inform the international community of proverb scholars and students about "The Wolfgang Mieder International Proverb Library" that is meant to serve as a research center for visitors from around the world. Numerous paremiologists from Canada, China, Germany, Hungary, Kenya, Mongolia, Russia, and of course the United States had done research here before, and it is hoped that many others will come in the future to benefit from this rich research base. Here is just one letter of June 1, 2019, in which Prof. Mieder informed his many colleagues and friends about the much-appreciated research center at the University of Vermont:

> Dear friends,
>
> Fantastic news! My entire International Proverb Library with thousands of proverb collections and proverb studies has now been moved to one of the most beautiful buildings of the University of Vermont. It is the Billings Library, a completely restored building that is over one hundred years old and on the green of the campus. The books are in twelve special bookcases under glass. I still can't believe that my beloved University of Vermont did this for me. As you all know, this is a truly unique collection of thousands of phraseological/paremiological books from around the world in many languages. Another about 10.000 copies of scholarly publications from journals, dissertations, etc. are also part of my holdings, making all of this a valuable center for international proverb studies.
>
> Come and have a look, but in the meantime, dear Barbara has taken a few pictures yesterday that I am attaching here for you. We are both so very thankful and happy that our worries about what will happen to my library are now over. And I didn't even have to convince the university to take all of this. It just happened with the President of the university together with the Dean of Libraries and the Head of Special Collections deciding that it would happen. I am truly blessed with dear friends and what an honor for me to donate fifty years of collecting to my university.

Take a look at the pictures, please, and sense my joy, even though I now need to go to the library in order to use my treasured books!

Wolfgang and Barbara (who is thrilled to know that my library is at a beautiful place)

Speaking of pictures, Sally McCay, the university photographer, has taken a series of photographs of "The Wolfgang Mieder International Proverb Library" that are attached at the end of this report. Since this scholarly event drew plenty of attention by the media, five reports and interviews that reached across the country and beyond are also reprinted as an impressive documentation of this unexpected and thus incredible happening.

As a final comment, it should be noted that this report is not meant that Prof. Wolfgang Mieder is looking for additional publicity or praise. It is simply felt that the fact that a permanent home could be found for his proverb book collection that has now officially been assessed at the value of $275,315 is noteworthy for future generations of proverb scholars. It carries with it the hope that they will come to the University of Vermont in beautiful Burlington to make good use of these invaluable paremiological treasures.

The following article by Emma Pettit appeared on July 15, 2019, together with a picture of Wolfgang Mieder in "his" library in the electronic version of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*:

***A Scholar of Proverbs Built a Vast Collection of Books. Then Opportunity Knocked.***
Enna Pettit

Good artists copy; great artists steal. Perhaps Benjamin Franklin knew as much, because when he wrote his famous *Poor Richard's Almanack*, he did not cite sources for the proverbs that peppered its pages.

To many, quippy sayings like, "Time is money," are synonymous with the Founding Father. People think Franklin thought them up. But Wolfgang Mieder, one of the world's leading proverb scholars, knows better.

Mieder and a colleague [Damien Villers] traced the saying to a short, anonymous text published in a London-based newspaper,

*Free Thinker*, in 1719. In fact, many of the sayings commonly attributed to Franklin actually come from English proverb collections, said Mieder, a professor of German and Folklore at the University of Vermont.

Tracking down the origins of proverbs is "detective work," he says. "You kind of feel like you're discovering things." He has researched and written about cultural wisdoms for nearly five decades and, in the process, amassed a one-of-a-kind scholarly library. It includes about 9,000 books (including 252 that Mieder has written, co-authored, or edited) and 6,500 photocopied articles and dissertations, all about proverbs. He doubts anything like it exists, anywhere.

Until recently, the tomes were stacked high in his home and campus offices. Now, the Burlington university has assembled Mieder's collection on campus, in the brand-new Wolfgang Mieder International Proverb Library.

How the library came together was quite fortuitous, says Mara Saule, the recently retired director of libraries at the university. Mieder, who is 75, needed a place to store his collection. A wing of the newly renovated Billings Library needed books to fill its shelves. Moving the collection there would kill two birds with one stone.

Or perhaps, said Saule, "Good things come to those who wait."

*"As Contradictory as Life"?*

It was in the 1960s, as a Ph.D. student at Michigan State University, that Mieder first fell in love with the language of proverbs. "I noticed that these bits of wisdom that are part of literature clearly play a significant role as far as rhetoric is concerned, or philosophical ethical messages, but also humor and parody," he said.

He learned that many of the proverbs people treasure are traceable to Greek and Roman antiquity ("Time flies.") or to religious texts ("Pride comes before the fall.") or to an era in which Latin was the lingua franca ("Not everything that glitters is gold."). Then there are proverbs that are indigenous to specific cultures. "The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence" and "Go big or go home" are quintessentially American, Mieder said.

Importantly, proverbs are not absolute truth, Mieder said, since the wisdoms they impart often don't align. Yes, "absence makes the heart grow fonder." But also, if you're "out of sight," you're "out of mind."

"Proverbs are as contradictory as life," he says.

And they are anything but sacrosanct. Proverbs can be racist, sexist, and ugly. A saying that's fallen out of fashion, thankfully, is "A woman's tongue is like a lamb's tail," meaning it never stops moving, Mieder said. Proverbs are essentially metaphors and therefore can be harnessed as powerful political rhetoric, Mieder said. Adolf Hitler, with his anti-Semitic proverbs, was a master of that.

Sometimes, a proverb that seems innocuous is not. The phrase "To call a spade a spade" is an old Greek expression that means, essentially, to call something by its name, Mieder said. But in American slang, a "spade" can be a derogatory term for an African-American, and therefore the proverb can take on a racist meaning. Knowing that, it's best to avoid using it, Mieder wrote in one of his books, *Call a Spade a Spade: From Classical Phrase to Racial Slur*.

To Mieder, each proverb is a window through which to view history, philosophy, ethics, and culture. "You could say to me, 'Oh, c'mon, Wolfgang. You spent almost a year doing this,'" Mieder said, referring to the spade book. "But it was a journey. Look at where it took me – to Greek antiquity all the way to card games."

Mieder tells his students his work is like being King Arthur at the Round Table. He's got a knowledge base on which to rely. But he has the freedom to take his horse – his scholarship – wherever he pleases. "Proverbs, to me, are so alive," he said, "and my pleasure in life has been that [in] my scholarship, I can go in any direction I want."

*A Proper Reading Room*

Over his career, Mieder's compass seemed to point everywhere.

He has written about Bob Dylan, Frederick Douglass, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony. He has written about Barack Obama, whose "linguistic prowess" is "mind-boggling."

He would write about President Trump, but he can't, he says. "The man doesn't use metaphor."

This winding journey also led Mieder to books. Heaps and heaps of books. Friends sent them from Estonia or Latvia. Mieder tracked them down in second-hand stores, spending $10 on some and $300 on others. (His favorite is Archer Taylor's classic 1931 study *The Proverb*. At a shop called Serendipity, he stumbled across the original, dust jacket intact.) He estimates that the whole collection could be worth a quarter of a million dollars, but he's giving it to the university, free. "A penny saved is a penny earned" is boring advice, anyhow.

He and his wife, Barbara, who taught high school for 40 years, had to build an addition onto their country home to store all his books. He'd joke to his students that he'd occasionally have to "smuggle" a new book into his own house. Although, Mieder notes, none of his collecting would have happened without his wife's "interest, care, and love."

Over the past decade, as the Mieders grew older, they periodically wondered what was going to happen to the collection. Mieder put out feelers, but he's a realist. Libraries have no space, and books are no longer the coin of the realm. Maybe all good things really do come to an end.

But hope springs eternal.

At his 75th birthday party, Mieder spoke with Tom Sullivan, then the president of the university, about his dilemma. Sullivan thought a newly renovated library on the campus needed some books to make it feel like a proper reading room. "All of a sudden it clicked," Mieder said.

Mieder got to work, measuring the bookshelves the university had ordered. "Six of those babies weren't going to do the trick," he said, so the university ordered more. A moving company took 15 hours to pack up and move all the books. Now, at home, his office echoes a little, he said.

Mieder's lifelong collection is displayed behind glass in a wing of the Billings Library, which has a "Hogwarts" feel to it, with a long wooden hallway and high ceilings, said Jeffrey D. Marshall, director of special collections.

It's wonderful, Mieder said. Already, proverb scholars from China, Kenya, Mongolia, and South Africa, among other countries, have visited. "There are crazy people like myself, a few in

every country in the world, who are obsessed," Mieder said. "In a positive way, I hope."

Mieder says he was trained in an era when professors built their own libraries. Now that practice is dying out. But he isn't bitter about it. Different strokes for different folks. He knows his life circumstance allowed him to do it. He and Barbara both worked and have two Labradors, but no children. He isn't, for example, a young assistant professor with two kids and mounting bills who lives in a small apartment.

"In a way, I'm a dinosaur," Mieder said. "But I'm so happy that my dinosaur has found a home."

Link: https://www.chronicle.com/article/A-Scholar-of-Proverbs-Built-a /246681?cid=wcontentlist_hp_latest

On August 3, 2019, Jeff Wakefield of the publicity office of the University of Vermont posted the following text, once again with a picture of Wolfgang Mieder in the proverb library, on the *UVM Today* electronic website:

***In Proverbial Happy Ending, Scholar's Massive Book Collection Finds a New Home***
Jeff Wakefield

Of all people, Wolfgang Mieder would seem to deserve the peace of mind that comes from hard work and goals accomplished.

Over his nearly half century at UVM, the gregarious German professor has written or edited well over 200 books and published over 500 articles on proverbs, his academic specialty. For decades he's produced a massive annual of proverb criticism called *Proverbium*, published at UVM. He's given more than 500 talks in two dozen countries on his special topic. And he's been the subject of no less than six festschriften, collections of essays written by scholars commemorating a fellow expert.

But for a good decade, Mieder has been troubled.

The source of his worry? A bulging addition to his home, the largest room in the house, that held – in floor-to-ceiling shelves covering all four walls – the massive array of proverb collections and proverb studies he had accumulated over five decades of acquisition.

It wasn't the strain on the domestic infrastructure caused by his habit of adding 100 new books a year that was making him anxious; it was what would happen to all those volumes in the future. Mieder turned 75 this year.

His wife Barbara, surveying the stuffed shelves, would ask, "Wolfgang, you're getting to an age; what am I to do if something happens to you?" Mieder recalls.

"It was such a unique library, I didn't want it to be dispersed," Mieder says. "That was my big worry – seeing the books end up at some book sale selling for a dollar apiece."

That would be a significant loss, and not just for sentimental reasons.

In the last few years, hordes of proverb scholars from the U.S., Kenya, China, Germany, Ireland, Hungary, Russia, Spain and beyond have trooped to Mieder's home in Williston to access his proverb collections in 20-plus languages and dip into proverb studies with titles like *The Adages of Erasmus* and *"Right Makes Might": Proverbs and the American Worldview*, Mieder's latest. "There really is no other collection like it in the world," Mieder says.

The logical way to preserve such a treasure would be to transfer it to the special collections department of a university. But time and again, at universities abroad and in the U.S., including UVM, Mieder heard the same story – his collection was too much of a good thing.

"Nobody wants collections," he says. "There isn't the space."

The size was a deal-breaker, confirms Jeff Marshall, Special Collections director at UVM. "There simply wasn't room for it."

*Friends in high places*

The topic of what would happen to his collection was never far from Mieder's mind, and he wasn't above giving voice to his worries with his friends, some of whom – like Leslie and Tom Sullivan, UVM's former president – were not only sympathetic, but in a position to help.

At Mieder's 75th birthday party, a gala event with a special dinner held in the Alumni House's Pavilion in February, the German professor was seated next to the Sullivans.

"He's always sharing with me what his new books are, and I've seen his library," Sullivan said. "He said, as he's said before, 'I'm not quite sure what I'm going to do with my books.'"

By coincidence, Sullivan had just returned from a visit to the Billings Library, where North Lounge, a majestic room once stuffed with books when Billings was UVM's only library, was now eerily book-free while Special Collections staff puzzled over the space. It lacked the security to house any of the department's collections. What could go there instead?

"Wolfgang, I have an idea; I'll get back to you," Sullivan said to his dinner companion.

*Solution looking for a problem*

Sullivan promptly paid a visit to then dean of libraries Mara Saule and suggested Mieder's collection would be a perfect fit for North Lounge. She warmed to the idea, likening Mieder's books and North Lounge to two puzzle pieces that fit together perfectly.

Marshall – who was close to moving a large collection of surplus books to the space for ornamental purposes only – was also bullish. The North Lounge space was "a solution looking for a problem," he says, and one had magically appeared.

"Once it clicked, everyone was like, this is perfect," says Selene Colburn, UVM Libraries' communications director

Sullivan, whose office contributed six sets of three bookshelves to the project, delivered the news to Mieder, who was delighted. About two months later, his collection of about 8,000 [almost 9,000] volumes – 6,000 from Mieder's home and another 2,000 in a proverb archives down the hall from his office in Waterman Building – had taken up residence in Billings, moved in two giant truckloads and placed on the shelves in careful order by Mieder and three library staff.

The Wolfgang Mieder International Proverb Library, the only one of its kind, officially opened in the middle of May.

For Mieder, the worry is gone. "It's a dream come true, and I couldn't be more grateful to UVM," he said. "My American colleagues all say this is just incredible that the university has done this."

Marshall is happy, too. "It looks great. And it's a meaningful collection that will be useful to scholars."

And there are ancillary benefits. Those proverb scholars from around the world whom Mieder hosted at his home for days on end? "Now they can sit at the library all day, and I'll take them out to dinner."

Link: https://www.uvm.edu/uvmnews/news/proverbial-happy-ending-scholars-massive-book-collection-finds-new-home

A third press release, again with a great picture of the library by Lisa Rathke from the Associated Press appeared in many newspapers throughout the country and beyond on September 16, 2019:

***Collection of Premier Proverb Scholar Opens at UVM***

BURLINGTON, Vt. (AP) – From "Strike while the iron is hot" to "Been there, done that," proverbs have been developed around the world for centuries, spread by word of mouth, writings, and nowadays social media.

University of Vermont professor Wolfgang Mieder, thought to be the world's premier paremiologist, has been studying the concise statements for 50 years, amassing thousands of books and writings that are now housed in a new unique library named after him at the school.

"In my wildest dreams I never thought this would happen," said Mieder, 75, a university distinguished professor of German and folklore, who's thankful to find a home for his unique collection.

The extensive library of about 9,000 volumes ranges from collections of proverbs including German, Chinese, Turkish and Hungarian to thousands of books and dissertations on what proverbs are, their origins and function. It includes, of course, Mieder's own writings.

He is "one of the greatest proverb scholars of all times and the greatest of our generation," said Dan Ben-Amos, a professor of folklore at the University of Pennsylvania, in an email.

The energetic 75-year-old has written 246 books and 569 articles on proverbs, edited a scholarly annual called "Proverbium" and given 405 talks on his favorite topic in 21 countries, according to UVM.

"Bolstered by his incredible library, his studies are about how movers and shakers of society make a difference, and shape movements, with their speech," said Simon Bronner, a distinguished

professor emeritus of American studies and folklore at Pennsylvania State University, who is now a dean and professor at the University of Wisconsin.

Mieder's working definition of a proverb is: a concise statement of an apparent truth which has currency. They can be religious or secular. Among his favorites: "Different strokes for different folks," which people may remember from a television show or song.

"I like that proverb because for once it's not prescriptive. It doesn't tell you what to do," he said. "It tells you to be reasonable, to realize that people have different priorities, different thoughts, different ideas."

He also particularly likes one that Martin Luther King Jr. used a lot, "Making a way out of no way."

Mieder said his wife had become concerned about what would happen to the books if something happened to him. The couple had already added onto their home a few times to accommodate a good portion of his collection.

Over the years he's had scholars visit from around the globe and taken them to his home to see the collection.

Mieder talked with UVM's library officials but the school had no room for the books. That was until recently.

In 2018, the school had just renovated a building that it considers to be its most architecturally important – the Billings Library – which over the years was no longer serving as a library. But a large lounge that returned to its original function as a reading and study room – with long tables – was lacking something on the rich wood-grained walls.

"A room without books is like a body without soul," as the proverb goes.

Mieder's collection soon found a home. The library opened in May.

Other professors haven't been so lucky, said Mieder, who said he knows of retirees who have had to give away their books or give them to secondhand book dealers, dispersing their collections.

"I think it speaks very, very highly of UVM that all of this happened," he said. "And seemingly everybody is happy about it. I certainly am. And I'm extremely thankful."

Link: https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2019/sep/16/collection-of-premier-proverb-scholar-opens-at-uvm/

This fourth website text is based on an interview with Mitch Wertlieb of the Vermont Public Radio station on November 22, 2019:

***Professor's Collection of 9,000 Books of Proverbs Has New Home at UVM Library***
Mitch Wertlieb

Professor Wolfgang Mieder has taught at UVM for more than 40 years. The school's Billings Library is now home to Mieder's private collection of thousands of books of proverbs.

Wolfgang Mieder, a professor of German and folklore at the University of Vermont, has a private collection of 9,000 books of proverbs from all over the world. Amassed over decades, his collection stretches more than the length of two football fields. It's now housed at UVM's Billings Library, but before that? He was in danger of losing the vast majority because he was running out of space in his Williston home.

Mieder told VPR he and his wife had even built shelving onto their home to accommodate the large book collection.

"Books were lying on top of each other and behind each other," he said, "so this idea of the University of Vermont establishing the International Proverb Library as a research center is so unique – not because of me – but it is so unique that it went around the scholarly world."

But what if that space hadn't been available at Billings? Mieder said he had spoken with other libraries, but noted there really wasn't enough space for all those books. He said, worst case, his collection would have been broken up and "destroyed" over time.

"It would have been a shame, I think, because this is a collection that is truly unique," Mieder said. "I don't care what library you go to in the world, including the Library of Congress – you're not going to find this."

Wolfgang Mieder has acquired books of proverbs in more than 20 different languages, including Russian, Ukrainian, Chinese and Spanish among them, as well as some very old English proverbs, like this collection dated back to 1768.

Mieder is one of the world's leading proverb scholars, and he publishes an annual critique through UVM on the subject called *Proverbium*.

What is a proverb?

"A good working definition would be that a proverb is a concise statement of an apparent truth which has currency," Mieder explained. "And the word apparent is important because not every proverb is necessarily always true. After all, we have these contradictory proverbs, like "absence makes the heart grow fonder" and "out of sight, out of mind."

"But it is important proverbs are short – the average length is about seven words – and it has to gain some currency among people."

Different cultures, similar proverbs

"Many proverbs are dealing with such basic human matters, like love and understanding and friendship – of course, also hate – compassion," Mieder said. "So there's no reason why proverbs that are quite similar, if not identical, shouldn't be created in different cultures."

"What becomes interesting is that every culture has of course its indigenous, its own proverbs," he continued, "and those are the ones that give translators a tremendously difficult time. Because from culture to culture, proverbs might want to say the same thing but they use different metaphors."

As an example, Mieder noted the popular English proverb "the early bird catches the worm" – but a similar-meaning proverb in German translates to "the morning hour has gold in its mouth."

Mieder said those different metaphors make translating on the fly tricky. That's why, Mieder said, United Nations translators were known to keep Russian proverbs nearby to quickly consult their meaning when translating Nikita Khrushchev.

In general, Mieder said he would like more focus in today's world on ways people are similar. "The more you study them," Mieder said of proverbs, "the more you realize that we human beings are really much more alike than different."

Picking some favorites:

Mieder said an American proverb he particularly likes is "different strokes for different folks," which he traces back to the 1940s. "That is a proverb that almost had to have grown on

American soil," Mieder said. "You need a democratic viewpoint to come up with 'different strokes for different folks.'"

Two other proverbs he said he shares with students are "making a way out of no way," and also what's known as the golden rule: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.

"I tell the students, 'You know, it might sound primitive but if you could attempt to live your life maybe by those three little tidbits, it might not be a bad idea,'" he said.

Link: https://www.vpr.org/post/professors-collection-9000-books-proverbs-has-new-home-uvm-library

Finally, this fifth report, an expanded version (repeating the first few paragraphs) of Jeff Wakefield's earlier report above, appeared in February 2020 in *Inquiry*, a campus publication featuring major accomplishments at the University of Vermont. A shorter version also appeared with a picture in *The University of Vermont Quarterly* (Fall 2019), p. 10:

***King of Proverbs***

***Billings Library is a fitting home for the research collection and scholarly legacy of Wolfgang Mieder***
Jeffrey Wakefield

Of all people, Wolfgang Mieder would seem to deserve the peace of mind that comes from hard work and goals accomplished.

Over his nearly half century at UVM, the gregarious German professor has written or edited well over two hundred books and published more than five hundred articles on proverbs, his academic specialty. For decades, he's produced *Proverbium*, a massive annual of proverb criticism. He's given hundreds of talks in two dozen countries and been honored with no fewer than six *festschriften*, collections of essays written by scholars commemorating a fellow expert.

But for a good decade, Mieder has been troubled.

The source of his worry? A bulging addition to his home, the largest room in the house, that held – in floor-to-ceiling shelves covering all four walls – the massive array of proverb collections and proverb studies he had accumulated across five decades.

It wasn't the strain on the domestic infrastructure caused by his habit of adding one hundred new books a year that was making

him anxious; it was what would happen to all those volumes in the future. Mieder turned seventy-five this year.

"It was such a unique library, I didn't want it to be dispersed," Mieder says. "That was my big worry – seeing the books end up at some book sale selling for a dollar apiece."

That would be a significant loss, and not just for sentimental reasons. In the last few years, hordes of proverb scholars from around the world have trooped to Mieder's home in Williston to access his proverb collections in twenty-plus languages and dip into proverb studies with titles like *The Adages of Erasmus* and *"Right Makes Might": Proverbs and the American Worldview*, Mieder's latest.

The logical way to preserve such a treasure would be to transfer it to the special collections department of a university. But time and again, at universities abroad and in the United States, including UVM, Mieder heard the same story—his collection was too much of a good thing.

No one had the space.

If a bulging book collection in serious need of a home is the end phase of a celebrated scholarly career, how did things begin?

After earning a PhD from Michigan State University in German literature in 1970, Mieder thought he'd be content to live the life of a traditional German professor. "I love teaching German and always have," he says. But after joining UVM's German and Russian Department the next year, he began to expand his horizon.

"I thought my career could be broader and more international if I used my language skills" – he speaks three languages fluently and can get by in another half dozen – and brought them to bear on what was becoming a scholarly specialty, proverbs, the subject of his PhD dissertation and of several papers he'd published in German.

His CV shows that Mieder leapt into the life of proverb scholarship with a vengeance. By his mid-twenties, he had already published several books, in English as well as German, and numerous articles on his specialty.

It helped that Mieder found proverbs – which he defines as distilled generalizations and observations of human behavior and experiences expressed so concisely they are easily repeated – to be endlessly fascinating.

For starters, they span the history of human civilization, he will tell you. The first recorded proverbs – including *Big fish eat little fish* and *One hand washes the other* – were etched in cuneiform on Sumerian tablets about 2,500 B.C.

Antiquity was a golden age for proverbs, giving rise to many gems still in use today, from *Times flies* to *Many hands make light work*.

"Then there are the ones that all of us like so very much that got their start in medieval Latin were translated to other languages," Mieder says, like *Strike while the iron is hot* or *When the cat's away, the mice will play*.

Humans have been spouting proverbs since time immemorial for several reasons, Mieder says. Importantly, they lend an air of authority. "It isn't just the speaker saying something," he says, "When you say, *Two wrongs don't make a right*, you have the weight of history and tradition behind you. It gives your words extra force."

One thing proverbs don't represent, Mieder says, is absolute truth. The proof? They often contradict one another.

The most famous pair of contradictory proverbs, Mieder says, is *Out of sight, out of mind* and *Absence makes the heart grow fonder*.

"We pick the proverb that fits a particular case," he says. "If a relationship of a young daughter or young son has broken up, what should the mother or father say to console the youngster? You might say, Remember, *Out of sight, out of mind,* or you could say, *Absence makes the heart grow fonder*. It all depends what message you want to send."

One of Mieder's favorite areas of inquiry is what he calls the "anti-proverb," a term he coined that has become so useful to proverb scholars, it now merits its own Wikipedia entry. "Proverbs can be played with," he explains, so their meaning is subverted or changed entirely. Advertising copywriters have long made great use of this technique, often for comic effect.

But there are more serious uses of anti-proverbs, too. "We all know the proverb, *Nobody is perfect*; we've said it a thousand times," Mieder says.

"But if you just take the word nobody and split it, you all of a sudden have *No body is perfect*. And that is, of course, a

completely different meaning," one that has been adopted by feminists, among others.

Contemporary proverb scholarship includes examining the increasing influence of American proverbs spinning out worldwide on the wings of pop culture and modern media. Mieder counts *There's no such thing as a free lunch* and *Garbage in, garbage out* as distinctly American proverbial wisdom. Mieder finds that development "exciting," not because he is a cultural imperialist, "but because you can now study the dissemination of proverbs."

While research, including his own, shows that young people use fewer proverbs than earlier generations, Mieder is skeptical of those results. It's true that "they don't use the proverbs that the older generation did. But the modern generation has also its own proverbs."

He has that fact on good authority. In the proverb course he's taught to UVM undergraduates across the past decade, Mieder challenges his students to identify new proverbs. Some of his favorites gathered over the years? *There's an app for everything*. *Sun's out, guns out*. And the ski slope inspired *Go big or go home*.

Of course, to do all of that scholarship – across time and cultures – requires access to scholarly materials, especially for a scholar as exacting as Mieder.

"If you really want to become an expert in something, you've got to stick with the program," he says, referring to the books and articles he amassed year after year. "If I write an article, and I know that there's this little note in a book somewhere in distant Australia, then I need to get it before I write because it might be relevant."

All that care resulted in a huge oeuvre of first-rate work – and a household library groaning with books and articles.

The topic of what would happen to his collection, in light of the polite rejections he'd received from libraries around the world, was never far from Mieder's mind. And he wasn't above giving voice to his worries with his friends, some of whom – like Leslie and Tom Sullivan, UVM's former president – were not only sympathetic, but in a position to help.

After hearing Mieder's tale of woe at dinner one day, Sullivan paid a visit to then library dean Mara Saule and Special Collections director Jeff Marshall. Saule and Marshall, Sullivan knew, had a challenge of their own – how to best to stock shelves in the recently re-opened Billings Library North Lounge space.

Sullivan sensed a fit. Mieder's books could be a top-drawer working collection, a scholarly complement to hallowed Billings, but wouldn't require the same level of security and climate control of volumes in the permanent collection.

Within a week, his collection of eight [about nine] thousand volumes – six thousand from Mieder's home and another two thousand in a proverb archives housed near his office in Waterman Building – had taken up residence in Billings, moved in two giant truckloads and fastidiously placed on the shelves in careful order by Mieder and three library staff.

The Wolfgang Mieder International Proverb Library, the only one remotely like it in the world, officially opened in May 2019.

For Mieder, the worry is gone. "It's a dream come true, and I couldn't be more grateful," he says.

It couldn't have happened to a nicer, or a finer, scholar, say his peers.

"He is the king, the world's leading proverbs scholar," says Dan Ben-Amos, professor of Folklore, Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, and a top proverb scholar in his own right.

Simon Bonner, professor emeritus of American Studies and Folklore at the Pennsylvania State University and currently dean of the College of General Studies at the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee, goes further. He calls Mieder's proverb library "a monument to one of history's great scholars. It's not just a collection of proverb books. I hope that, years from now, it will inspire us to ask about Wolfgang Mieder and what kind of person he was, what kind of model he is for all scholars."

***Postscript:***

On July 31, 2019, UVM's registrar Veronika Carter, a former undergraduate and graduate student of Prof. Mieder, sent him a congratulatory note on "The Wolfgang Mieder International Library" simply stating that "I did not realize I wrote this 13 years ago! I am thrilled that President Sullivan made it happen. Congratulations!" And here is her attached letter to then President Daniel Fogel of November 10, 2006:

President Fogel,

I read with interest your essay about the future of the University of Vermont. I have a suggestion to add to your vision for the future of the University. I believe that UVM would benefit from having a Proverb Collection in the redesigned Special Collections section of the Billings Library. In addition to being a staff member of the Registrar's Office, I am also pursuing a German Master's Degree at UVM and have had the pleasure of taking a German Folklore class with Professor Wolfgang Mieder. I had completed a German minor in my undergraduate studies at UVM and this is not the first time I've had the opportunity to take a course from Prof. Mieder.

In addition to being an extraordinary teacher, he has amassed a wealth of knowledge about proverbs and folklore in general. UVM currently has a room on the fourth floor of Waterman dedicated to his proverb collection, but I know that he has a much larger assortment of materials at home. Students and scholars alike would benefit from having the complete collection in a more central and accessible location. I think it is important to recognize Prof. Mieder's status as a world-renowned expert on proverbs and I would like to point out that his name is mentioned in the Wikipedia entry for "Proverb" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Proverb).

I hope that you will consider my suggestion to add an extensive proverb collection to the Billings Library. I believe that it would be a shame not to, especially if UVM is to become the nation's premier small public research university.

Sincerely,
Veronika Carter

President Fogel responded kindly but could not act on this thoughtful suggestion. It took more than ten additional years to raise several million dollars to restore the Billings building. Thus, it fell on President Thomas Sullivan to make this long-forgotten plea a reality. In any case, this is what Prof. Mieder wrote to Veronika Carter, whom he meets daily in the Waterman Building at UVM, on the same day that she contacted him:

Dear Veronika,

This is incredible! And you even found your valuable letter!

So let me thank you for taking this initiative so many years ago! When I see my friend Dan Fogel the next time, I will tell him about your letter.

Above all I want to thank you for your kindness and vision. All of this means the world to me. And how wonderful that what you envisioned has now become a reality. So you are quite the prophet!

Always know that you will be one of my very favorite students!

Wolfgang

There is so much good will, support. and love that played into the unexpected creation of "The Wolfgang Mieder International Proverb Library". Thoughtful visionaries and mountain movers made it all possible, and Prof. Wolfgang Mieder and his wife Barbara will forever be thankful to them and their beloved University of Vermont for making a permanent home possible for the world's proverb scholarship for the benefit of scholars and students from everywhere.






Wolfgang Mieder
Yale
Proverbs Are Never
Ephemera


The Wolfgang Mieder
INTERNATIONAL PROVERB LIBRARY


Studies about Proverbs
Elke Peyerl
CAMBRIDGE
Einfachen Formen
Clichés


Romanian
Russian
CALAUZA BIBLICA


LUTZ RÖHRICH
DAS GROSSE LEXIKON
der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten
1
2
3



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WOLFGANG EISMANN

# PETER GRZYBEK (1957-2019)

Am 29. Mai 2019 ist Peter Grzybek in Graz, Österreich, gestorben. Er war Professor an der dortigen Universität am Institut für Slavistik und hat auch in in PROVERBIUM wichtige Beiträge publiziert.

Peter Grzybek wurde 1957 in Herne geboren, studierte nach dem Abitur in Bochum Anglistik, Slavistik und Sprachlehrforschung. Er absolvierte mehrere Auslandsaufenthalte und nahm während eines Aufenthaltes in Moskau unter schwierigen Bedingungen bereits 1983 Kontakt zu dem russischen Parömiologen Grigorij L'vovič Permjakov auf. Die Bekanntschaft mit diesem Gelehrten und dessen Werk sollte sein eigenes Schaffen im Bereich der Parömiologie in entscheidender Weise beeinflussen. 1984 schloss er sein Studium in Bochum mit einer Arbeit zur NEUROSEMIOTIK SPRACHLICHER KOMMUNIKATION ab. Aus seinem Interesse an der Psycho- und Neurolinguistik entstand eine erste wissenschaftliche Arbeit. Bereits 1984 gab er seine SEMIOTISCHEN STUDIEN ZUM SPRICHWORT heraus und publizierte eine Reihe von Beiträgen zur Sprachlehrforschung. Er wurde Mitarbeiter am Institut für Slavistik und promovierte 1988 mit der Arbeit SEMIOTISCHE STUDIEN ZUM ZEICHENBEGRIFF DER SOWJETISCHEN SEMIOTIK (MOSKAUER UND TARTUER SCHULE). In dieser mit einem Preis ausgezeichneten Arbeit schilderte er die sowjetische Semiotik als eine angewandte Semiotik, die sich, ausgehend von einer dyadischen Zeichendefinition, zu einer prozessorientierten Semiotik im Sinne von Peirce entwickelte und durch die Einbeziehung von Neurosemiotik und Kultursemiotik die Trennung in reine und angewandte Semiotik tendenziell überwand.

Nach seiner Promotion erhielt er 1989 an der Universität Bochum in der Abteilung Slavische Literaturwissenschaft eine Stelle als wissenschaftlicher Assistent. Mit Michael Fleischer begründete er 1989 das Jahrbuch ZNAKOLOG. AN INTERNATIONAL YEARBOOK OF SLAVIC SEMIOTICS, das bis 1996 erschien.

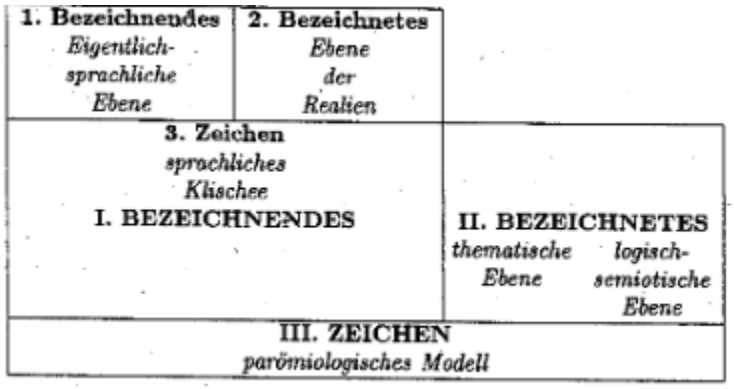
1992 erhielt er eine Stelle als wissenschaftlicher Angestellter am Institut für Slavistik der Universität Graz, wo er sich bereits 1994 habilitierte. 1998 wurde er in Graz zum außerordentlichen Universitätsprofessor ernannt. Er gab Studien zur kulturellen Semiotik und zur Psycho- und Neurosemiotik in der Reihe BOCHUMER BEITRÄGE ZUR SEMIOTIK heraus, in deren Beirat er 1993 aufgenommen wurde. Auf seine Initiative hin entstand 1994 die Reihe STUDIEN ZUR PHRASEOLOGIE UND PARÖMIOLOGIE. Sie wurde später durch die Reihe PHRASEOLOGIE UND PARÖMIOLOGIE fortgesetzt, an deren Betreuung und Gestaltung er maßgeblich beteiligt war. Peter Grzybek war auch eines der Gründungsmitglieder der "Europäischen Gesellschaft für Phraseologie ", die 1999 gegründet wurde und in deren wissenschaftlichem Beirat er von der Gründung bis 2006 tätig war. Er arbeitete sehr aktiv in der "Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Semiotik " mit, deren Geschäftsführer er von 1996-2010 war. Im Jahr 2004 wurde er Mitglied des Herausgeberbeirats von PROVERBIUM. Zudem war er von 1995-2001 Mitglied des Herausgeberbeirats von *De Proverbio. An Electronic Journal for International Paremiology* (http://www.deproverbio.com/journal.php/) und seit 2007 Mitglied des wissenschaftlichen Beirats der „International Association of Paremiology." Außerdem wirkte er in zahlreichen anderen Gesellschaften mit.

Er hatte mehrere Gastprofessuren inne und leitete auch das Grazer Institut für Slavistik von 2004-2011. Seine umfangreichen Interessen reichten von der Parömiologie und den sog. kleinen Formen über die Semiotik, die Psycho- und Neurosemiotik, die Sprachlehrforschung, die Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaft, bis hin zur quantitativen Linguistik. In allen Bereichen gibt es substantielle Publikationen von ihm. Da er immer gut organisiert war, hat er ein umfangreiches Publikationsverzeichnis hinterlassen, das Zugang zu all seinen Publikationen bietet:
http://peter-grzybek.eu/science/publications/index.html

Da diese hier nicht alle gewürdigt werden können, soll die Konzentration im Folgenden auf den Arbeiten zur Parömiologie liegen. Die einzelnen Titel werden nicht immer genannt, da sie aus seinem Publikationsverzeichnis ersichtlich sind.

Zunächst sollen die grundlegenden Arbeiten zur Definition und zur Semiotik des Sprichworts im Vordergrund stehen. Bereits in seinen einleitenden ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR SEMIOTISCHEN SPRICHWORTFORSCHUNG von 1984 hat Peter Grzybek nach einer grundle-

genden Analyse der bisherigen theoretischen Sprichwortforschung (vor allem Seitel, Crepeau) die Verdienste Permjakovs herausgestrichen, der für ihn die Grundlagen für eine semiotische Erforschung des Sprichworts legte. Permjakov hatte die Elemente des Sprichworts in eine sprachliche Ebene, eine logisch-semi-otische Ebene und eine Ebene der Realien, eingeteilt, die später durch eine vierte thematische Ebene (eine semantische Opposition) ergänzt wurde. Sprachliche Ebene und Ebene der Realien sind auf der denotativen Signifikationsebene anzusetzen und logisch-semiotische und thematische Ebene auf der konnotativen. Aus letzterer ergibt sich die Modellfähigkeit der Sprichwörter. Grzybek hat das mehrfach in folgendem Schema veranschaulicht:




Mit der Präzisierung und Modifizierung des Modellbegriffs bei Permjakov ist Grzybek später Einwänden begegnet, die die teils ungenaue Abgrenzung von Zeichen und Modell an Permjakovs Konzeption hervorhoben. Dazu hat er die von Seitel getroffene Unterscheidung von Interaktionssituation, Sprichwortsituation und Referenzsituation modifiziert, indem er von einer doppelten Analogie ausging, die der Sprichwortverwendung zugrundeliegt und eine Differenzierung von Modellsituation (die Seitelsche Sprichwortsituation) und Situationsmodell (eine Klasse von Situationen) vorgenommen. Immer wieder hat er bei aller grundsätzlichen Übereinstimmung mit Permjakov zwar nie dessen grundsätzliches Klassifikationssystem kritisiert, aber doch dessen konkrete Klassifikationen, die manchmal an der Oberfläche orientiert waren und nicht an der abstrakten Idee, wie das ja Permjakov

selbst gefordert hatte. Während für den Angehörigen einer Kultur eigentlich Modellsituation und Situationsmodell zusammenfallen, kann jemand, der in dieser Kultur nicht zu Hause ist, leicht von einer Modellsituation falsche Schlüsse auf das Situationsmodell ziehen. Genau das wirft Grzybek Permjakov in Einzelfällen seiner logisch-semiotischen, aber auch seiner thematischen Klassifikation vor, auch wenn er sie für einen äußerst wichtigen Beitrag zur Bedeutungsbeschreibung von Sprichwörtern hält. Grzybek hat die Konzeption Permjakovs in vielen Beiträgen kritisch geschildert und auch zur Verbreitung seiner Schriften außerhalb Russlands wesentlich beigetragen. So hat er 2000 die GRAMMATIK DER SPRICHWÖRTLICHEN WEISHEIT von G.L. Permjakov in die deutsche Sprache übersetzt und herausgegeben und darin mit Christoph Chlosta auch 50 bekannte deutsche Sprichwörter nach der logisch-semiotischen Klassifikation von Permjakov klassifiziert. Er hat mit einer Reihe anderer Sprichwortforscher in Russland regen Kontakt gepflegt und auch einen Beitrag zur Entwicklung der semiotischen Sprichwortforschung in der UdSSR publiziert. Über seine damaligen Schwierigkeiten bei der Beschaffung von Texten zur Parömiologie von Permjakov und Arvo Krikman hat er mehrfach berichtet.

Ausgehend von Permjakovs Untersuchung zur Bekanntheit von Sprichwörtern und zur Erstellung parömischer Minima hat Peter Grzybek eine große Anzahl von Publikationen den Fragen der empirischen Sprichwortforschung, der Bekanntheit von Sprichwörtern und der Erstellung von parömischen Minima in einer Reihe von Kulturen gewidmet. Mit Kollegen in Essen arbeitete er an einem größeren Projekt zur Frage der „Sprichwörter-Minima im Deutschen und Kroatischen.“ In einer Reihe von empirischen Untersuchungen bekannter deutscher und kroatischer Sprichwortsammlungen hat er nachgewiesen, dass die Bekanntheit der Sprichwörter von vielen Variablen abhängt, wobei das Alter oft eine entscheidende Rolle spielt. Er fand heraus, dass es besonders den kroatischen Sprichwortsammlungen an Qualität und vor allem an Authentizität mangelt. Zugleich unternahm er mit seinen Kollegen auch Untersuchungen zur Sprichwortverwendung in der Tagespresse. Die Untersuchungen zur Bekanntheit von Sprichwörtern erstreckten sich auf den Vergleich von Kanada und den USA, Deutschland und den USA, Deutschland und Österreich, wobei Bekanntheit eine die Sprichwörter kennzeichnen-

de Kategorie war, während die Kenntnis sich sich auf individuelle oder kollektive Sprichwortkenntnis von Personen bezog. Aufgrund der empirischen Untersuchungen erstellte Peter Grzybek mit seinen Kollegen ein Experimentalkorpus von 2000 deutschen Sprichwörtern und konnte mit Christoph Chlosta den Nachweis erbringen, dass trotz regionaler Unterschiede der bekannte Sprichwortschatz in Österreich und Deutschland weitgehend gleich ist. Der Bekanntheitsgrad von Sprichwörtern war für ihn auch eine Voraussetzung für die Bestätigung der These von ihrer möglichen Normhaftigkeit.

Bei der Suche nach der Bekanntheit kroatischer Sprich-wörter stieß er darauf, dass die 20 bekanntesten kroatischen Sprichwörter alle lateinische Äquivalente hatten. Daraufhin plädierte er dafür, kultursemiotische Schlussfolgerungen aus der allgemeinen und empirischen Sprichwortfortschung zu ziehen. Die Untersuchungen zur Bekanntheit von Sprichwörtern führten ihn auch dazu, dass er die Teiltextrepräsentation für die einzig verlässliche Methode zur Ermittlung der Bekanntheit hielt. Das galt auch für die Ermittlung usueller Varianten von Sprichwörtern mit denen er sich mehrfach beschäftigte. Zuletzt systematisierte er diese Studien 2012 in einer Untersuchung zu allen möglichen Formen der Variation von Sprichwörtern. Dabei standen ludistische und humoristische, aber besonders auch Variationen der sprachlichen Oberfläche im Vordergrund.

Im Verlaufe seines viel zu kurzen Forscherlebens begann Peter Grzybek sich mehr und mehr der quantitativen Linguistik zu widmen. Das fand seinen Niederschlag auch in seinen Arbeiten zur Sprichwortforschung. Auch hier konnte er auf Vorarbeiten von Arvo Krikman, mit dem er regelmäßig Kontakt hatte, hinweisen. Er untersuchte die Länge von Sprichwörtern, aber auch die Länge der Teilsätze zweigliedriger Sprichwörter und kam hier zu teils unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen, in Abhängigkeit davon, welche Korpora er zugrundelegte. Auch dabei sollte der Bekanntheitsgrad eine nicht unwichtige Rolle spielen. Denn es stellte sich heraus, dass Bekanntheitsgrad und Kürze der Sprichwörter mit einander korrelieren: Je höher der Bekantheitsgrad, desto kürzer die durchschnittliche Satzlänge der Sprichwörter. Aufgrund der mehrfachen Analyse von deutschen und vor allem slovenischen Sprichwörtern (aus der Sammlung Kocbek) kam Peter Grzybek 2002 zu der Vermutung, dass „die gesetzmäßige Organisation der

Häufigkeit der sprichwortlichen Satzlängen sprichwortspezifisch und übersprachlich sein könnte."

Die Untersuchungen zur Satzlänge verband er mit Untersuchungen zur Wortlänge in Sprichwörtern. 1998 wurden aus der kroatischen Sprichwortsammlung Daničićs von 5957 Sätzen /5935Sprichwörtern die 625 bekannteren Sprichwörter ermittelt, und es kam heraus, dass die Wortanzahl in den bekannteren Sprichwörtern in der Regel geringer ist als die in den weniger bekannten. Und auch die Wortlänge ist größer in den unbekannteren als in den bekannteren Sprichwörtern. Gleichzeitig gilt auch für die bekannteren Sprichwörter, dass es eine Tendenz bei zunehmender Satzlänge zu abnehmender Wortlänge gibt.

Er untersuchte 2004 auch die Wortlängenhäufigkeit in slovenischen Sprichwörtern und verband das mit einer Re-Analyse einer ähnlichen Untersuchung von Krikman zu estnischen Sprichwörtern. Hier kam er zu dem Schluss, dass auch die Wortlängenverteilung in Sprichwörtern Regelmäßigkeiten folgt, jedoch nicht mit der von Fließtexten und Wortlisten identisch ist. Zudem gibt es hier keine einheitlichen sprachübergreifenden Gesetzmäßigkeiten. Daher könnten sprachspezifische Besonderheiten eine Rolle spielen.

Ausgehend von Arvo Krikmans Beobachtung, dass die Wortlänge bei zunehmender Länge der Sprichwörter abnimmt, bestätigte Grzybek 2014 auch seine Hypothese, dass die Wortlänge in Sprichwörtern abhängig ist von der Position in einem Sprichwort und auch hier gewissen Gesetzmäßigkeiten folgt.

Zudem untersuchte er nicht nur die Satzlänge, sondern auch die Häufigkeit mit denen bestimmte Wörter in Sprichwörtern vorkommen. Bei der Untersuchung der slovenischen Sprichwortsammlung von Kocbek fand er 2004 heraus, dass offenbar für Sprichwortkorpora die gleichen Gesetzmäßigkeiten gelten wie für homogene Texte und Textkorpora.

Neben den zahlreichen quantitativen Untersuchungen, die hier nicht alle aufgeführt werden können, beschäftigte sich Peter Grzybek in einer frühen Phase auch mit der Psychosemiotik des Sprichworts und schrieb bereits 1984 darüber, dass man die strikte Trennung von Linguistik/Semiotik als Beschreibung der Struktur oder des Textes und Psychologie als Beschreibung von deren Verarbeitung interdisziplinär überwinden müsse, indem Struktur als Prozess aufzufassen sei und eine Psychosemiotik im Sinne von

Ullmann das „Zeichenverhalten generell zu erforschen“ habe. Er gab einen Überblick über die Forschung zur Verarbeitung und zum Verstehen von Sprichwörtern und plädierte dafür, dass – wie es die Texttheorie und die Psychologie im Rückgriff auf Vladimir Propp mit der Entwicklung einer Reihe von unterschiedlichen Typen von story grammars getan habe – man auch im Rückgriff auf Permjakovs semiotische Untersuchungen eine psychologisch fundierte „proverb grammar” erarbeiten könnte. Leider ist er dieser Idee später nicht weiter nachgegangen. Er hat auch zum Sprichwort in literarischen Texten gearbeitet und hierbei betont, dass Sprichwörter darin nichts über Haltung, Moral usw. des Autors aussagen, aber zur Konturierung der literarischen Figuren dienen. Sie liefern auch kein Normen- und Wertesystem einer Gesellschaft, doch werden sie im Text nach bestimmten Kriterien selektiert und zu Trägern zusätzlicher Information. Mehrere Studien hat er dem Verhältnis von Sprichwort und Fabel gewidmet. Er sieht 1998 Sprichwörter als minimale Form der Aktualisierung eines kulturellen Bedeutungspotentials und versucht den Nachweis, dass Permjakovs Ansatz der Übertragung der logisch-semiotischen und thematischen Klassifikation der Sprichwörter auch auf die (klassische) Fabel anwendbar ist. In seinem Beitrag zur Bestimmung der im Englischen oft fälschlich so genannten weather proverbs gelingt ihm 2016 nach einer Analyse der Bezeichnung für dieses Phänomen in diversen Sprachen eine Bestimmung, die dessen thematischem, sprichwortaffinem und prognostischem Charakter gerecht wird: Meteo-Prognostische Parömien (Meteo-Prognostic Paroemias). Zusammen mit dem Unterzeichneten hat er 1994 eine begründete Unterscheidung von Phraseologismus, sprichwörtlicher Redensart und Sprichwort vorgenommen, in der auch die fließenden Übergänge zwischen diesen Einheiten zur Sprache kommen.

Er hat 2008 nicht nur einen kritischen Überblick über die slovenische Sprichwortforschung gegeben, sondern in Slovenien, in Kroatien, in der Slovakei und in anderen Ländern junge Forscher und Forscherinnen dazu angeregt, Forschungen zur Bekanntheit, zur Erstellung von Minima und zu quantitativen Sprichwortanalysen zu unternehmen. Dabei hat er diesen oft mit Rat und Tat zur Seite gestanden.

Nicht nur die Grazer Slavistik hat einen lieben und engagierten Kollegen verloren, auch die internationale Parömiologie hat

einen großen und schmerzhaften Verlust erlitten. Alle, die ihn als stets hilfsbereiten Kollegen gekannt haben, aber auch diejenigen, die ihn nicht persönlich gekannt haben, werden Peter Grzybek aufgrund seiner großen wissenschaftlichen Verdienste ein ehrendes Andenken bewahren.

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Peter Grzybeks parömiologische Publikationen
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JOSEPH G. HEALEY

# TRIBUTE TO JOHN S. MBITI
(30 November 1931 - 6 October 2019)

We continue to mourn and celebrate our ancestor in Christ -- John S. Mbiti, the Kenyan professor, author and theologian who died in Switzerland on 6 October, 2019 at the age of 87. He was one of the founders of our African Proverbs Project and the African Proverbs Working Group. He was one of cornerstones of our African Proverbs, Sayings and Stories Website. A "Search" on our website reveals 32 references/hits. https://afriprov.org/?s=Mbiti

He was the leading scholar/researcher of, and writer on, Akamba Stories, Proverbs and Sayings. He provided the important "African Proverb of the Month" for October, 2000:

> *Mbiti yi mwana ndiisaa ikamina. (Akamba)*
> *Fisi mwenye mtoto hali na kumaliza chakula. (Swahili)*
> *The hyena with a cub does not eat up (consume) all the available food.* (English) https://afriprov.org/oct2000

He stated:

> Proverbs are a rich source of African Religion and philosophy. They contain and point to a deep spirituality, as well as theological and philosophical insights. In this case they form a bridge between traditional African religiosity and biblical teaching... African oral theology is a living reality. We must come to terms with it. We must acknowledge its role in the total life of the church. It is the most articulate expression of theological creativity in Africa. This form of theology gives the church a certain measure of theological selfhood and independence.

An Anglican priest and Canon he taught Theology and Religion for many years at Makerere University in Uganda. Mbiti's seminal book, *African Religions and Philosophy* (1969) has had a great influence on African Theology and African theologians. We

can thank John Mbiti for many theological insights including the expression "the living dead," how African time looks backward, etc. He tried to shape and re-awaken African Religion that many young people have ignored or are not well informed about.

John Mbiti is now one of our revered ancestors in Christ, one of our living dead. May he rest in peace.

Here are some tributes to Marehemu John Mbiti by his friends and colleagues:

***Jesse N.K. Mugambi (Kenya):***

*Introduction*

Professor John Samuel Mbiti bid us goodbye on 6 October 2019 in Switzerland. He is one of the very rare record-breakers in academia. The total number of words in his books and papers run into millions, not thousands. His titles are many:– at least twenty-five. . . Academic; Adviser; Anthropologist; Artist; Author; Counselor; Diplomat; Ecumenist; Exegete; Interpreter; Linguist; Mediator; Mentor; Missiologist; Parent; Pastor; Pathfinder; Planner; Poet; Preacher; Priest; Professor; Promoter; Teacher; Theologian; Translator . . . His books cover a wide range of themes: Christology; Ethics; Exegesis; Fiction; Folklore; Hermeneutics; Mediation; Poetry; Translation; Worldviews! It is difficult to summarize in a few words the depth and breadth of such a great scholar as John Mbiti. He was proficient in nine languages, and published in at least three of them: English; German; French; Greek; Hebrew; Kamba; Swahili . . . It is difficult for one person to describe in a few words the personality and contribution of such a person as John Mbiti. In this paper I summarize my encounter with him, and his impact on me.

*A Personal Appreciation*

I first heard of John S. Mbiti in 1966-67, when I was a student in a two-year teacher-training course at Machakos College in Eastern Kenya. That college, as all the rest in Kenya, had a majority of expatriate tutors, some from Britain and the rest from the USA. The few Kenyan tutors on the staff were keen on introducing the students to African authors who at that time were few. By then Professor John S. Mbiti had already published his book, *Akamba Stories* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966). My tutors encouraged me and other students to read John S. Mbiti's works. At that time

I was compiling the first draft of my manuscript of poems, and writing a research project on St. Paul, based on *Romans* 13. My favorite subjects were English and Religion. Thus I read Mbiti's book of stories and at this early stage of my academic and professional career. I recall observing the economy of language that Mbiti employed in both poetry and prose. Writing could be fun, I thought. Later, I read his *Poems of Nature and Faith,* which I found equally profound. John S. Mbiti, among other African authors, became one of my mentors in authorship, long before I met him in person.

In 1968 I entered Kenyatta College, Nairobi, for a one-year upgrading teacher-training course in Religious Education and English that would qualify us to teach in High School. Ronald Dain, our head tutor there, was a voracious reader– keen to expose his students to all books that he considered important. We learned from him that Professor John S. Mbiti was at that time Head of the Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy at Makerere University College, Uganda, which was a Constituent College of the University of East Africa. The Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy at Makerere was the only place in East Africa where these two disciplines could be "secularly" studied. In addition to the teacher-training course at Kenyatta College, some of us simultaneously enrolled for the University of East Africa Certificate in Theology, which was examined and certified by the department headed by Professor Mbiti at Makerere University College. By that time Mbiti had already begun compiling the *Occasional Research Papers*. Several volumes were typed, mimeographed and bound in multiple copies for circulation to universities in Africa and abroad. Most of the authors of these 'Occasional Papers' were students at Makerere. The best of the Papers written by students at Kenyatta College were also included in the *Occasional Research Papers*.

In addition to this series, Professor Mbiti served as Editor of the Journal then sponsored by the Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy, called *Dini na Mila*. The most acclaimed research papers by both staff and students would be published in this journal. I was thrilled to learn that my Research Paper at Kenyatta College had been selected for publication in *Dini na Mila* Vol. V, No. 1 of 1971. Professor John Mbiti wrote to me making important and constructively critical comments on my paper "Traditional

Religion of the Embu People." It was delightful to receive a typed critical comment from such an important scholar as John S. Mbiti. The same paper was retyped, mimeographed and circulated to many institutions between 1969 and 1971. This was my first research paper to be published and severally cited.

Early in 1969 Professor Mbiti was invited to address the Annual General Meeting of the Christian Churches Educational Association (CCEA) at the All Saints Cathedral, Nairobi. His well-attended lecture focused on the importance, and necessity of including African Religions and Philosophy within the Christian Religious Education curriculum. Most missionaries were skeptical about this proposal, but a few of them were willing to take Professor Mbiti at his word. As part of his address Professor Mbiti announced the publication of his new book, *African Religions and Philosophy*. The entire school curriculum in Kenya was at that time under review, after publication of the Kenya Education Act of 1968. As one of the few Kenyans involved in this curriculum revision, I became an admirer of Professor Mbiti's work, which provided the essential frame of reference for all of us involved in promoting the African cultural and religious heritage in the revised curriculum.

After teaching for a short while at Chania High School, Thika, I spent one academic year (1969-70) at the Westhill College of Education, Birmingham, England. Westhill was one of the Selly Oak Colleges, where Professor Mbiti had taught a decade earlier (1959-60). While in the UK I spent several weeks at the CMS Archives in London. My time in the UK was a very important part of my training. I spent much time in the Cadbury Central Library at Selly Oak, Birmingham reading very widely as time permitted. Upon my return to Kenya from Britain in 1970 I was posted as a tutor in Religious Education at Kagumo Teacher Training College, Nyeri. The Education Act (1968) was already in force, and we were expected to avoid indoctrination in class at the same time that we trained teachers to impart examinable knowledge and skills. In addition to teaching I was also appointed the Lay Chaplain of the College. In that capacity I was able to impart much of what I had learned, especially from the work of Professor John Mbiti. By then several other African writers had become widely known, including Ngugi wa Thiong'o of Kenya, Okot p'Bitek of Uganda and Chinua Achebe of Nigeria. Of all these, John S. Mbiti

was the most appealing, because of the thoroughness with which he conducted his research and presented it in publications.

Late in 1971 I was admitted as a mature student for an undergraduate course in Philosophy and Religious Studies at the University of Nairobi. This department had just been launched in the 1970-71 academic year. Thus I was in the first cohort of alumni in our Department, which had the retired Anglican Bishop Stephen Neill as Founding Chairman. Most members of the teaching staff were expatriates– from Britain, Germany, Ireland and the USA. Only two members of the teaching staff were Kenyan. Prejudice against the African cultural and religious heritage was almost unbearable. Fortunately, my class consisted of mainly mature students, who had been teachers and tutors prior to enrolment. We could therefore afford to challenge our lecturers on points about which we thought they were mistaken.

I recall one morning when Professor (Bishop) Stephen Neill came to deliver another of his eloquent lectures on Comparative Religion. He quickly drew a Religious Map of the World, in which he showed the continents and assigned major religions— one for each continent. Protestantism was assigned to Europe and North America. Catholicism was assigned to South America; Islam to the Middle East. Hinduism was assigned to India; Buddhism, to South East Asia. Confucianism was assigned to China and Marxism was assigned to Eurasia. According to Neill, the Religious Map of the World was complete. As classmates we looked at each other, and whispered among ourselves: Has the learned Professor (Bishop) not forgotten something? Most of us had personal copies of Professor Mbiti's book, *African Religions and Philosophy*. And we took Prof. John S. Mbiti very seriously. In whispers we nominated the oldest classmate kindly to request Professor (Bishop) Neill to explain the omission. The conversation was as follows:

> 'Excuse us, Professor Sir, it seems that your Religion World Map is incomplete!'
>
> *'No! No! My Religious Map of the World is complete!'*
>
> 'Excuse us, Professor Sir, we do not see Africa on your map!'
>
> *'That is correct, dear students! There is no African religion!'*

> 'But excuse us, Professor (Bishop), Sir, Professor Mbiti has written much about it.
>
> *'Listen to me! There is no African Religion!'* we were told.
>
> We listened as ordered, but of course we did not take him seriously.

That morning was one of the turning points in my academic career. We were not convinced that our Professor (Bishop) had even bothered to read Professor Mbiti's books. I promised myself to read more, research more and publish more, so that there could be more scholarly evidence to document the African cultural and religious heritage. By then, Professor Mbiti had published two more of his important scholarly works: *African Religions and Philosophy* (1969); *Concepts of God in Africa* (London: SPCK, 1970) and *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). During this undergraduate period I wrote a Paper titled "The African Experience of God." It was originally drafted as an assignment submitted to one of those expatriate lecturers, who wanted the African students to explain the difference (if any) between the "African experience of God" and any other "experiences." The thrust of my argument was that this was an improper formulation of the question. The assignment presupposed that "God" was a "constant" term. The problem was not the "experience" but the definition of "God." This paper was later published in *Africa Thought and Practice,* Vol. V, No. 1, 1974, edited by Professor Odera Oruka. Professor Kwasi Wiredu, another of my mentors, favorably commented on my paper. He was at that time teaching at the University of Ghana. It was in that paper that I first commented in writing on my own impression of Professor Mbiti's works.

Early in June 1973 I had the privilege of attending the first exploratory meeting between African and African-American Christian Theologians, convened at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, with Professor James H. Cone as the host. At that time Professor John S. Mbiti was winding up his Sabbatical Year at Union Theological Seminary. There were seven African theologians: John S. Mbiti (Kenyan – Makerere University); Kwesi Dickson (Ghanaian – University of Ghana); Christian Gaba (Ghanaian – University of Cape Coast); Fashole Luke (Sierra Leonean

– Fourah Bay College, Free Town); Desmond Tutu (South African -- Theological Education Fund, London); Gabriel Setiloane (South African); and Jesse N.K. Mugambi (Kenyan – University of Nairobi). Among the African theologians in that meeting, I was the youngest.

At the planning stage it had been agreed that there would be 12 African American theologians as hosts and counterparts. Among these were: James H. Cone, Gayraud Wilmore, Preston Williams, Herbert Brown, Charles Long, J. Deortis Roberts, John Bennett, Shelby Rooks, Willis Logan and George B. Thomas. It was a memorable experience for me to be part of this distinguished gathering, of which Professor Mbiti and other distinguished African and African-American scholars were present, including a prospective Archbishop and Nobel Prize Laureate, Desmond Tutu. Earlier, in 1972 the Joint Religious Education Panel in Kenya had elected me to co-author a textbook for one of the courses in in preparation for the East African Certificate of Education. The book was published as *The African Religious Heritage* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1976). John S. Mbiti's book *African Religions and Philosophy* was one of our valuable resources as we prepared our manuscript. Later Professor Mbiti published an abridged version under the title *Introduction to African Religion* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1976). He also published *The Prayers of African Religion* (London: SPCK, 1975). Thus my academic and professional formation is nurtured through the mentorship of Professor John Samuel Mbiti, even though he was not a direct supervisor, lecturer or professor.

On completion of my undergraduate studies I was admitted for enrolment in a Master of Arts course through research at the University of Nairobi. I chose to conduct research on Perspectives of Christianity in East Africa with particular reference to African writers. One of the writers I selected for analysis was Professor John S. Mbiti. He kindly agreed to read through an early draft of my manuscript. During the WCC Fifth Assembly at Nairobi in November 1975, Professor Mbiti gave me an appointment during which we went through his comments regarding my observations on some of his arguments. He was very thorough in his critique of my manuscript. This interview had a great impact on the final formulation of my Thesis. Another influence came from my interview of other East African creative writers especially Okot

p'Bitek. This research was later published as *Critiques of Christianity in African Literature* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992). The book includes a Chapter on John S. Mbiti, as revised on the basis of our discussions sixteen years earlier. My Thesis for MA was completed in 1977. Thereafter I enrolled for doctoral research at the University of Nairobi.

For my doctoral research I wrote on "Problems of Meaning with Reference to Religion", completed in 1984. The focus was on Ludwig Wittgenstein's remark that "whereof we cannot speak, thereon we must pass over in silence". Wittgenstein did not write off religion. Rather he recognized and appreciated that philosophical logic was inadequate for expressing religious experience. Further, he recognized and appreciated that meaning in verbal language depends on the uses we attach to words and gestures. There are no fixed meanings for any words. We decide what meaning we wish to attach to a word, according to our interests, values and ideologies. Religious language, therefore, must be 'unmasked' and unpacked, in order that people of various cultures may communicate effectively. The fruits of my doctoral research were to be utilized in my lectures at the University of Nairobi, particularly in my teaching of undergraduate courses in Philosophy of Religion, Religion and Science, and Contemporary Religious Thought. Some aspects of the doctoral research were summarized in my textbook titled *Philosophy of Religion* (BRP 103, College of Education and External Studies, 1988). Contrasting Mbiti with Wittgenstein, perhaps it would be appropriate to suggest that where Wittgenstein would pass over in silence, Mbiti would illustrate in *parables, proverbs* and *riddles*– according to the African cultural and religious heritage. In all my research, Professor Mbiti's published works have formed one of my frames of reference. His contribution to theological anthropology is remarkable.

When three of my books were published in 1989, Professor Mbiti was gracious to send me his critiques, very precise and concise. He was always very gentle in his criticism, and very cool when responding to those who might differ with his views or approaches. In 1996 while I was on the staff of the All Africa Conference of Churches I invited him to address one of our Occasional Guest Lectures. It was very well attended, and the discussion reminded me of the other lecture he had delivered eighteen years earlier at the All Saints Cathedral. This time he focused on the

meeting points between Christianity and African Religion. What is the resonance between the Holy Spirit and the traditional African concept of spirits? The lecture raised more questions than answers. Mbiti challenged African missiologists to be more careful and avoid condemning African notions of spirits. Without such notions, it is difficult for Africans to make sense of the Holy Spirit.

In March 2005 Professor Mbiti and I were invited as speakers to deliver lectures at a conference convened by the University of the Western Cape. Several other prominent African theologians also attended: Mercy Oduyoye, John Pobee, Tinyiko Maluleke, Isabel Phiri and others. It was refreshing to hear Professor Mbiti again. This time he referred to the African concept of time, emphasizing in a new way, the fact that "time" in Africa is not a commodity for sale or purchase, but an expression of relationships. At the end of his lecture, questions were invited. One of the questions is, in my view the most memorable. A White South African asked:

> 'Professor Mbiti, you have talked at length about African identity. How do you define an African?'
>
> There was silence in the room, as Professor Mbiti prepared himself to answer. Then Mbiti began to speak:
>
> 'I do not know what your problem is. Africans know themselves. They do not need to be defined.'

There was laughter in the theatre for a short while, then silence as we prepared ourselves for the next question.

When I learned that Professor Mbiti was coming to Nairobi in September 2005, I requested him to spare a few hours for us to get together and chat. I was privileged to spend a whole afternoon and evening with him on 10 September. During that time, he allowed me to engage in a video-recorded conversation. It was the first time in our academic and professional careers to share experiences covering so much scope for so long. Professor Mbiti remained continually involved in research. One of his latest research initiatives was in African Proverbs.

This event was in the context of a wider collaborative project, and the major part of which he was responsible, came to a climax in 2000 with the final publication of five volumes of proverbs that he edited from Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho and Uganda. He also undertook, as sole author the task of translating the entire *New Testament* into the Kamba language. The first draft

was completed in September 2005, and the published version was published at Nairobi in December 2014. His doctoral research published as *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background* (1971) is certainly echoed in these later publications.

Professor John S. Mbiti occupies a unique place in the history of African religious scholarship. He is the first and only scholar to synthesize the continental European structural anthropology with the Anglo-American Empiricist ethnography. This synthesis made it possible for Mbiti to compile and publish a compendium of research, hitherto unmatched by any other scholar. Three masterpieces are testimonials to this achievement: *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1969); *Concepts of God in Africa* (London: SPCK) and *Prayers of African Religion* (London: SPCK, 1975). Many critiques of Mbiti's works have focused on his theory of the African concept of time. However, it is worthwhile to appreciate that his enquiry into the African concept of time was not an end in itself. Rather, it was a conclusion he reached while inquiring why African Christians responded to missionary evangelization in a particular way. John Mbiti's enquiry was not approached from philosophical ontology, but from theological eschatology. Both philosophical ontology and theological eschatology are controversial subjects.

Perhaps it is correct to suggest that if the assumptions are correctly formulated and the scope is clearly demarcated, any argument can hold– including Mbiti's view of the "African Concept of Time." My view of this subject is that matter, duration and space are interrelated in any ontological framework including African ontology. For that reason, "time"– "duration" as an ontological concept should be analyzed as an attribute of "matter" and "space." Professor Mbiti was dealing more with New Testament Eschatology than Philosophical Ontology, hence his conclusion. Viewed from his theological perspective, his observations and conclusions made sense. Different conclusions could be drawn from the same empirical observations if differing presuppositions are used as the basis for analysis and synthesis. The fact that Mbiti's work stimulated so much debate both in Africa and abroad is direct evidence of his immense contribution to African scholarship.

*Multi-Dimensional Aspects of Mbiti's Authorship*

John Mbiti is one of the most prolific African scholars of the twentieth century. He is very widely travelled and exposed, having studied and worked in Kenya, Uganda, USA, UK and Switzerland where he lived with annual visits to his home in Kenya. His first degree was in English and Geography before he specialized in Theology and Religious Studies. The foundational training in Language and Geography has paid dividends, as manifested in his passionate concern to present the African cultural and religious heritage integrally. While most ethnographers would have wished to emphasize the diversity of African peoples, Professor Mbiti has successfully illustrated the cultural and religious fabric that weaves together the legacy of Africa's common history from prehistoric times. In the academic discipline of Religious Studies he tops the list. He is a creative writer, poet, ethnographer, anthropologist, linguist, *New Testament* exegete, novel translator, *Bible* translator, liturgist, philologist. The rest of this tribute illustrates these various aspects of Mbiti's creative mind.

a) ***Creative Writer:*** In 1954, at the age of 23 Mbiti published a novel in Kamba entitled *Mutinga na Ngewa Yake,* which went through several reprints. In the same year he published a Kkamba translation of R.L. Stevenson's abridged novel, *Treasure Island* under the title *Kithimani kya Uthwii*. In 1966 he published *Akamba Stories,* an anthology of folklore from the Akamba heritage. Thus Mbiti started his literary career as a novelist. He writes lucidly and graphically. His attention to detail is remarkable. During my interview with him in September 2004 he explained how everything around him brightened his imagination both at home and in school. He was keen to learn from both the Akamba heritage and the missionary legacy. This openness to learn produced a mind finely tuned to linguistic subtlety and artistic creativity.

b) ***Poet:*** John Mbiti's *Poems of Nature and Faith* was published in 1969. It illustrates his mastery of the English language, which he used for expressing the African worldview with particular reference to faith in God and appreciation of Creation.

c) ***Ethnographer:*** Ethnography is the science of describing and documenting the cultural and religious heritage of specific ethnic communities. His doctoral thesis at Cambridge University was an ethnographic monograph published under the *title New Testament Eschatology in an African Background*. Although this book portrays Mbiti's knowledge and expertise as a New Testament scholar, it is equally successful in establishing John Mbiti as an accomplished ethnographer. In 1970 he published *Concepts of God in Africa,* a systematic compilation of notions of deity among the peoples of tropical Africa. The book is derived from ethnographic monographs.

d) ***Anthropologist*****:** John Mbiti qualifies for the title of *Anthropologist*. In view of this interest in the traits that are applicable to the whole of humankind in general, as manifested among the various peoples of Africa. In continental Europe the discipline of Anthropology belongs to the social sciences together with psychology, sociology and Economics. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century Anthropology acquired a profile under the banner of structuralism. Darwinist evolutionism was extended to human cultures, presupposing that human beings evolve their social structures progressively from simpler to more complex forms. Erroneously, moral evolutionism was appended to this Darwinist thinking and extended to the study of religions. The result was the hypothesis most lucidly articulated by Sir Edward Tylor in his book *Primitive Culture* (1875). *Anthropology* is distinct from *Ethnography*. The latter collects, compiles analyses empirical data pertaining to specific ethnic communities in the same way that biological and physical sciences do. John Mbiti strongly argued against evolutionist interpretations of religion, and maintained that humans, irrespective of the complexity or simplicity of their technology, have the capacity to profoundly worship the Creator.

e) ***Linguist and Translator*****:** John Mbiti spoke, taught, preached and wrote in several languages, perhaps many more than any of his peers. He is the first African scholar to translate and publish the New Testament, as the sole

author, from Biblical Greek into an African language – Kamba. With this achievement he ranks among the pioneer translators of the Bible, including Martin Luther, John Wycliffe and William Tyndale. He has challenges other African scholars to emulate him, and avail African readers the joy of reading the Bible in their own languages, in versions authored by their own scholars who understand their respective worldviews from within.

f) ***New Testament Scholar*:** John Mbiti's book *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background,* established him as a great authority in Biblical Greek as well as the Kamba worldview. Few scholars globally have achieved so much as linguists, translators and authors.

g) ***Ecumenist*:** Although an Anglican priest, John Mbiti was at home in various Christian expressions of Christianity. This openness facilitated his service as Director of the Ecumenical Institute, Bossey, as a member of staff in the World Council of Churches (1974-80).

h) ***Missiologist*:** In 1970 John Mbiti wrote a challenging paper titled "The Crisis of Mission in Africa." Concisely, he outlined the challenges that the missionary enterprise had brought alongside the Gospel, especially because of emphasizing conversion at the expense of theological depth. He observed that Christianity in Africa risks expanding numerically, at the expense of theological depth. This risk is more apparent in this Third Millennium, than it was during the 1970s.

i) ***Mentor*:** Many scholars from across the world and across the whole denominational spectrum have grown theologically through the mentorship of Professor John Mbiti. This achievement is attested in references that are acknowledged in many books.

j) ***Pan-Africanist*:** While Mbiti was deeply rooted in his Akamba culture, he was at the same time a Pan-Africanist and a globalist. He was at home wherever he went, and mentored many people through his humility and accessibility.

*Conclusion*

Professor John Samuel Mbiti was a profound theologian and philosopher, solidly grounded in his Akamba worldview, at the same time that he felt "at home" in any culture wherever he was invited to go and study, work, speak. Beneath his simple lifestyle there was a deep religiosity and profound philosophical and theological outlook. No words can adequately articulate the depth of insight that Professor Mbiti radiated among the audiences he addressed, and the reader who perused his books and papers. He has set a very high standard for the present and future generations to emulate, both in Africa and elsewhere.

***Laurenti Magesa (Kenya and Tanzania):***

Mzee John was a great mind and soul. What he did for African self-identity in African theology and in many other areas is incomparable. May he rest in eternal peace. This leads me to reflect on:

*Orality and Ubuntu*

"If you want it to endure, put it down on paper!"

Such is the advice academic institutions throughout the world have insisted on since the invention of the art of writing nearly 3,500 years before the Christian Era. Though extremely important, the written text should not – must not – replace the significance of the spoken word in human relations.

As the physical representation of the spoken word, writing is a child of orality or the spoken word, which is, arguably, the most significant distinguishing mark of being human. At its best, speech generates communion, togetherness and community, constructing what is known in African philosophy as *Ubuntu*. To be human in the African view is to communicate with other human beings.

From the African perspective, oral communication is what creates human relationships by linking individuals and communities together. This has two possible outcomes: as already noted, it either ties people together with bonds of understanding and love, achieving peace, on the one hand, or it can cause misunderstanding and discord, tearing protagonists apart, on the other. Of course, even the written word has the ability to cause either of these results

in human relations, but it is the spoken word that must be accorded pride of place in these processes.

A biblical saying illustrates the power of the spoken word in the dynamics of human interactions. Represented as the mouth and the tongue in the Bible, the word is a potent tool. "Those who guard their mouths and their tongues keep themselves from calamity," the Book of *Proverbs* notes (*Prov*. 21:23). Similarly, an African proverb warns, *A cutting word is worse than a bowstring; a cut may heal, but the cut of the tongue does not*. These two maxims may be taken as summarizing biblical and African thought about the significance of the spoken word in human existence.

Regardless of its consequences, oral communication is central to human life and relationships. Absence of it does not augur well for the health of the human community. The widespread use of internet today, that is replacing face-to-face encounters, is a case in point. Experts now point out the consequences of loss of direct (or primary) verbal communication on individuals and communities. The world was unaware of it only a few decades ago.

In a book titled *What Is Your Dangerous Idea? Today's Leading Thinkers on the Unthinkable* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2014) psychologist Daniel Coleman spells out some of the very serious concerns that cyber communication has engendered. They include the social dimension of the human reality. "The internet," Coleman points out, "undermines the quality of human interaction, allowing destructive emotional impulses freer rein under specific circumstances." They are also neurological: "The reason is a neural fluke that results in cyber-disinhibition of the brain systems that keep our more unruly urges in check. The tech problem: a major disconnect between the ways our brains are wired to connect and the interface offered in online interactions."

Coleman spells out the difference between actual verbal, face-to-face interaction and virtual engagement by internet (or writing, for that matter). It consists in the fact that inhibitions that govern propriety of human responses in "a live interaction" are reduced, if not completely removed. Because there is now no "real-time, ongoing feedback from the other person," checks and balances so effectively provided in oral communication are minimized or no longer exist. As Coleman notes, for example, "the person would never say the words in the e-mail to the recipient were they face

to face." At least, the individual in question would not say them or behave in the same way.

What this means is that verbal interaction often serves positively as a form of protector of social behavior. In the African understanding of human life, the word is expected to stand at the service of *Ubuntu*. The connection between the spoken word and the evolution of society and community is, in this view, therefore, intrinsic and inseparable. It is the reason why the spoken word is accorded such importance in African traditions: it contains the potential to build or destroy, to heal or kill, to bind together or scatter humanity. The word is, for this reason, sacred.

As oral tradition, the word is adaptable and, in terms of large communities, extremely resilient. Stability, often erroneously presumed to be lacking in the oral genre of human communication, but almost exclusively associated with writing (as academic counsels suggest) lies in its flexibility. Unlike the written text which is static and requires arduous interpretation or exegesis – often involving guesswork as to the "intention" of the original author – the durability of the oral tradition lies in its permanent freshness.

Oral tradition does not need formal, constant decoding of meaning. While retaining its basic intrinsic import, it easily and adjusts itself to the social requirements of the moment in the current context. Its actual expression may change, but the message it conveys remains pristine, defying the accusation of internal distortion. The elder's stories around the fireplace in the evening may vary in presentation from generation to generation, but they retain the original meaning and moral guidance.

"Put it down on paper," yes, but do not discard the story around the fireplace. The former is the child; the latter is the mother of *Ubuntu*.

***Francis Njuguna (Kenya):***

The late African theological guru, Prof John Samuel Mbiti must have been a "theological trouble-maker" as it must not been easy for him to convince each one of us that the African person was notoriously religious. One needed to walk an extra mile and so he did our African theological guru, the late Professor Mbiti. My take is that our historians will spare him some pages in their work on the theological role he played. May the very theological

mustard seed he planted and subsequently watered grow to the biblical BIG tree.

***Stan Nussbaum (USA):***

I remember John Mbiti as a member of the board of the African Proverbs Project, 1993-96. I have no doubt that his participation helped us get the original grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts which eventuated in the creation of www.afriprov.org. I was amazed and humbled at his consistent, prompt, thorough handling of everything related to his substantial part of that project. I also will never forget something he prayed at our first board meeting in Nairobi, "Lord, some of us are not quite sure what we are to do here, but we have come together to do it." Every word of that is a first-grade word, but the sentence is post-doctoral in its insight. Jesus could do that, and John Mbiti could follow his example. It was a delight to hear him as he did.

***Ron Pagnucco (USA):***

How ought we remember John Mbiti? He was one of the architects of the curriculum of multiculturalism. Working from Kampala, he helped to define a whole world of ritual and thought. It is right that he should be honored and celebrated, for his work greatly enabled a more respectful, more sympathetic, and more systematic engagement between religious traditions. And yet, in our own time, it is important to remember how quickly calls for cultural integrity can become engines for nativism and intolerance. From his lecture hall at Makerere John Mbiti conjured up a religious order in which people fit seamlessly into a theological system that governed their thought and dictated their dispositions. Mbiti's view of African religious life—as integrated, whole, and all-embracing—made non-conformists seem to be opponents of good order. His scholarly work converged with the Amin regime's bloody efforts to root out dissenters, target minorities, and impose political conformity on Uganda's people.

I have tremendous respect for Mbiti and his work. One of the important characteristics of any religion -- that religion may permeate all of one's life, be totalizing, which can be good or negative -- religion's totalizing character can be useful to any authoritarian ruler if he can enlist the religion to support him, provide sacred legitimation. Of course, as we know well, religion can also

be a resilient source of resistance to an authoritarian ruler, as it has been true in many cases in Africa, evidenced by our diocese's native son, Father John Kaiser, murdered by the Kenyan State. I would add that I do not think any religion is as homogeneous as Mbiti seems to think, as is evidenced in the book by Toft, et al. , *God's Century*.

***Grace Njau, CPS (Kenya):***

The late professor John Mbiti was a scholar of the African Religions and philosophy. He dealt almost exclusively with the traditional concepts and practices in different African Societies before the colonial period. Mbiti's work generally highlighted the changes brought by the colonialists to African societies and how this was embraced. Despite all these changes, the traditional beliefs, customs, culture and other African artifacts still play an important role in the people's day today living. The changes are affecting the material life and beginning to stretch deeper on way of life, language, response to emotional changes etc. his work clearly drew a real picture of the unity of African religion and philosophy.

Change is inevitable in all aspects of life and so does the works of this scholar. He devoted his work in comparing the traditional and the modern religious activities and its impact in both individual and family level. "The Nature of God" is one of his attributes that I will focus on. Professor Mbiti expressed the understanding of most African societies of who God is. He also compared this with the western world understanding of God. There are similarities and differences cutting across the whole continent so the changes brought by the missionaries to Africa are minimal because God already existed in Africa. Therefore, the African thoughts and beliefs are true and not abstract.

Examples from African context and other worlds' understanding of the nature of God.

> **God is Omniscient** - meaning God knows everything and his understanding surpasses human beings. Zulu and the Banyarwanda refers God as the Wise One, Akan refers him as "He who knows or sees all." Yoruba people describes him as 'Only God is Wise'

**God is Omnipresent** - God is everywhere and even the wrong doers cannot escape his judgment and nothing is hidden before him.

**God is Almighty** - Meaning God is bigger than other gods in the society. Most African societies regard him as high in hierarchy followed by other spirits and below is the human who reigns in earth. Yoruba describe him as Akan Ashanti describe God as all-powerful and the mighty.

**God is Omnipotent** - God is powerful. Congo sees God's presence in the forest and the forest is symbolic to them. The Gikuyu make sacrifices and prayers for rain and believe God will make mountains quake and rivers to flow. The Teso and Bukusu also sees God's omnipresent in terms of controlling spirits which are beyond human control.

**God is Kind and Merciful -** he is ready to forgive and pity his people in time of sorrow. During difficulties, danger, illnesses he is the one who brings comfort. The Igbo say God does them what is good and they have no reason to complain.

All these examples match with what the *Bible* talks about who God is in the life of humans. The modern Religious Education that is in the Christian, Muslim, and other religions complete what the traditional African Religion had taught.

Due to development processes that have emerged in most African societies, changes have also been experienced in different levels; commercial, industrial, technical, education and urbanization which has called for adjustments here and there. New permanent buildings have replaced the mud shrines and temples. Today Christianity is more pronounced in most African countries and the question remains what is the fate of the old religion?

Currently its study has become part of history but behind every modernization and education traditional beliefs remain because it cannot fate away it keeps rising even after lapse in decades and centuries to come. Humans die but family ties remain strong and are passed from one generation to another.

Religion therefore still wields great power in the modern world, some communities strongly belief in their spiritual forces

of many kinds this can be witnessed in wearing of charms by children and adults as a sign of protection, existence of kingdoms in West and East Africa respectively. The African religion is important various educational fields especially the anthropologists, sociologists and others historical fields. Though this religion has been misunderstood by early authors, all the memories, beliefs, culture and artifacts still linger in our memories.

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ROUMYANA PETROVA

*"Right Makes Might": Proverbs and the American Worldview*. By Wolfgang Mieder. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2019. Pp. 375.

The author of this new book on proverbs does not need to be introduced as he has long been one of those extraordinary men, who have even during his lifetime managed to become a living classic in his field, universally known, hailed and admired by practically thousands of proverb scholars all over the world. I feel truly grateful and honored to be given the opportunity to write this review, and happy and proud that we international proverb scholars see how after five decades of steady and untiring creative effort Wolfgang Mieder has offered us yet another outstanding contribution to proverb studies and, in particular, to one of its very important aspects: how proverbs have helped shape and still continue to shape the worldview of a people, i.e. their culture. The title of the book, chosen once again with the correct mixture of precision and inspiration, sums up the passionate plea the book as a whole puts across: the author's desire, wish and belief that now that we are at the end of the second decade of the third millennium AD, America, "the land of the brave and the home of the free", will remain true to its original great aspirations and ideals of freedom and justice for all, epitomized by one of its greatest nation builders, Abraham Lincoln, whose picture we see on the book cover. Being a committed scholar of American culture for quite long, I can think of no better way of designing the cover of a book with such a title. If in the present day and time that America is so deeply torn and divided by social and economic conflicts there still exists a powerful and meaningful symbol recognized and admired by all and a figure that is still able to unite the nation, it is no doubt the figure of Abraham Lincoln.

This hefty book of 375 pages is structured along the lines of several previous equally large and exhaustive books on the same topic, published by Wolfgang Mieder over the last thirty years:

*American Proverbs: a Study of Texts and Contexts* (1989), *The Proverbial Harry S. Truman: An Index to Proverbs in the Works of Harry S. Truman*, authored jointly with George B. Bryan (1997), *The Proverbial Abraham Lincoln* (2000), *Proverbs. A Handbook* (2004) (which notwithstanding its broad, international grasp is understandably largely centered on the American worldview), *Proverbs are the Best Policy: Folk Wisdom and American Politics* (2005), *"Yes, We Can": Barack Obama's Proverbial Rhetoric* (2009), *"Making a Way Out of No Way": Martin Luther King's Jr.'s Sermonic Proverbial Rhetoric* (2010), *"All men and Women are Created Equal": Elizabeth Cady Stanton's and Susan B. Anthony's Proverbial Rhetoric Promoting Women's Rights"* (2014a), and *"Behold the Proverbs of a People": Proverbial Wisdom in Culture, Literature, and Politics* (again largely oriented towards the American worldview) (2014b), not to mention the multiple studies and articles that deal with some more specific aspects of the same theme. As can be seen at a glance, this incredible, almost non-human creative output can have no other motive but the passionate desire of the author to promote what he firmly believes are the greatest ideals that have made America the haven of freedom and hope it has been since its inception about four centuries ago for several generations of people on earth.

Placed in the context of the other books on this topic, the present volume is at the same time an extension and a contribution to it, as it includes many essays that have already been published, but also adds some important new subject content to its main theme. As Wolfgang Mieder explains in the *Preface* (pp. vii–xvii), the book includes ten earlier articles, published in journals and conference proceedings in the period between 2008 and 2015, but there are also three entirely new chapters, *Introduction*: *Rumination on Authentically American Proverbs*, (pp. 1–33), Chapter 8, *"The Rich Get Richer, and the Poor Get Poor": Bernie Sander's Proverbial Rhetoric for an American Sociopolitical Revolution"* (pp. 230–262), and Chapter 12, *"To Be (All) Greek to Someone": Origin, History, and Meaning of an English Proverbial Expression* (pp. 334–351). The main idea uniting all of the chapters is the socio-political history of America placed in a specific, proverbial context, from the adoption of the Declaration of Independence in the eighteenth century on until the last presidential elections in 2016, which covers a period of roughly two and a half centuries.

The last period of three years from 2016 until 2019 covering the current Trump-Pence administrations is naturally left out as there hasn't been enough time for the author to distance himself from it and to allow of a sufficiently detached, balanced and objective evaluation: we know that true scholars generally tend to not get embroiled in all of the distracting passions and prejudices of current politics, which may inevitably influence his or her unbiased judgment, and that in the present election period, which is again rife with high passions, great expectations, and inordinate ill will towards the rival party it will serve everybody well if the wisdom of the proverb "Time heals all wounds" were taken into account.

The focus of the book is on what the author believes are the most important sociopolitical figures and trends that according to him have had the greatest say in shaping America's unique and very specific worldview and its national character. Going through the chapters one by one, the reader can witness firsthand both the steady flow and the dramatic dynamics of this process. The last, twelfth chapter, which deals with a topic that is outside of the general theme of the book, comes to remind us that the political landscape may change, but there are certain aspects of life which can be relatively stable, detached and self-contained, like scholarly research "for its own sake", which does not and should not always have to deal with topical issues and actual politics. This chapter is another of Wolfgang Mieder's masterpieces of painstaking, meticulous, historical, superbly documented research into the multifaceted, long and exciting history of the expression "something is (all) Greek to me".

What is particularly striking about this book is that it is written entirely from the heart. It doesn't quite read like a "scientific" book, but more like a personal account, even a confession. All chapters tell of something that has deeply moved the author, which he wants to openly share with his readers. I was particularly moved for example by the many heart-felt autobiographical details in the chapter about the implementation of the Marshall Plan (Chapter 3) and especially where it details how it helped so many families in Germany to survive the terrible hunger and post-war devastation, and more particularly by George Marshall literally asking in his open address on the radio on October 5, 1947 all American families to "avoid waste of food and economize on food

consumption. We can tighten our belts – clan our plates – push ourselves away from the table" (p. 111).

The individual chapters have their own literature sections and this kind of approach makes the book a very convenient teaching tool, as the author himself explains. They can be used separately in a wide range of classes like American Literature, American History, American Folklore, American Politics and Culture, American Studies, or Academic / Scholarly writing (English Composition). At the end of the book there is an expertly structured index, which is one of its most valuable parts. I, being a proverb scholar for more than twenty years, have always wished for the editors and authors of books on proverbs to supply such indexes instead of only the traditional ones of words and names, because they give the proverb scholar the excellent opportunity to see each and every proverb used in the book in its proper historical and cultural context, supplied with the necessary comments; we are all aware that there are not very many proverb dictionaries available that provide definitions of proverbs, a particularly vexing problem for researchers into the semantics of proverbs, so this index will certainly be of great help for all those dealing with this very important issue.

The *Preface*, which is a good ten pages long, lays out the subject content of the book in its proper sequence. It starts with an explanation of the choice of chapters with regard to what the author believes are the most important sociopolitical aspects of American culture (p. vii), to later dwell briefly on each particular chapter by way of a concise summary, which always includes a large number of examples and illustrations. In this way, right from the start of the book the reader is immersed into a wealth of genuine "words of wisdom", each in its proper place, a foretaste of the exciting journey he or she is about to take. Furthermore, the *Preface* discusses the thematic distribution and chronological sequencing of the different topics that are related to the main message of the author. The approach that is generally adopted is chronological, which is another very good choice, as it allows the reader to see at a glance the dynamics of the sociopolitical situation in America together with the spatial and temporal interdependence between the specific events, figures, trends and ideas. At the end of the *Preface* (pp. xvi – xvii) we see placed the heartfelt thanks to the people that have been instrumental in making

this book published, and a dedication to the leaders of the University of Vermont, whom Professor Mieder has known and worked with for close to fifty years. I can sense a note of nostalgia for the great times my great friend and mentor has had during this half century, but also an optimistic belief that the university will continue developing its excellence and will always be "hitching its wagon to a star" in the words of the American transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The *Introduction* is new to the book, but it deals with a problem that has very long been in the center of Professor Mieder's attention: "What is an authentic American proverb?" He starts his disquisition on this complicated and rather controversial issue by meticulously tracing the history of the problem, illustrating each and every step of his argument with a plethora of examples and plenty of references, as is his wont (I wish I had known Professor Mieder earlier to learn at the very start of my scholarly career how to conduct etymological research into individual proverbs). From this chapter we learn that even today most paremiographers do not differentiate between English and American proverbs, with one exception, Wolfgang Mieder himself, who was the first ever to explore and prove the true American origin of 1,250 proverbs that really deserve the label "American proverbs" (Mieder 2015) (p. 2). Indeed, etymology, this demanding branch of linguistics that deals with solid evidence of the place and time of origin of a linguistic item and the human community that created it, preserved it and kept using it, should be acknowledged as the most important, even single defining factor in labeling an ethnonym, and not so much its dissemination, distribution or some other aspect. As a longtime scholar of linguoculturology I find this groundbreaking contribution to proverbiology of exceptional value, because such an approach not only legitimizes linguistically America as a nation in its own right (and not just a mixture of immigrants who happen to be inhabiting the same continent and to be speaking the same lingua franca, American English), but also provides prospective scholars with the right conditions for conducting linguocultural studies of its uniqueness, based on this particular proverb corpus, as well as contrastive studies involving proverbs of other nations.

Further in this opening chapter, Wolfgang Mieder provides plenty of examples to show the right origin of some proverbs that

have been translated into another language, e.g. German, like, for example "Der frühe Vogel fängt den Wurm"('The early bird catches the worm'), "Ein Apfel pro Tag halt den Artz fern" ('An apple a day keeps the doctor away') and several others (p. 4), brilliantly illustrating the dynamics of the processes of proverb dissemination and distribution via loan translations. This chapter also deals with the structure of proverbs and, in particular, with their most productive patterns (pp. 10–15), as well as with the more recent subgenre of antiproverbs (pp. 15–16). The author then illustrates how proverbs usually originate, first by presenting several of them that are still associated with certain historical figures such as President Thomas Jefferson, President John Quincy Adams, civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., or authors (Mark Twain, Anita Loos, etc.), before looking at others associated with some other prominent figures (pp. 16–20). He then shows that some songs, advertisements and technology can also originate certain proverbs, e.g., "For every drop of rain that falls, a flower grows", "When it rains, it pours" (which reminds us of the old English proverb "It never rains, but it pours"), "Trust in God, but lock your car", etc. (pp. 20–21), until we finally reach p. 23, where Mieder lists the eleven most characteristic American proverbs, each with the year of its origin (e.g, "Paddle your own canoe" (1802), "This is a free country" (1848), "Think outside the box" (1971)", etc.), which I find invaluable for scholars of American cultural history. The chapter closes with a brief discussion of the most typical American proverb, "Different strokes for different folks" (p. 24). Finally, the gigantic five-page list of secondary literature on the problem that is supplemented by an extremely important and exhaustive list of proverb collections (pp. 28–33), offers another treasure trove to the prospective researcher into American culture.

This introductory chapter thus gives a vivid, truthful, detailed and up-to-date picture of the origin, nature, and evolution of the American proverbs, proving that although they are much more recent than the proverb systems of other nations, they do make up a unique and fully legitimate part of the international treasure trove of traditional folk wisdom. It also serves as a perfect starting ground for important further research, opening new vistas for the ethnologist, anthropologist and linguoculturologist, as well as for the historian and political scientist.

Chapter 1, *"Let Us Have Faith that Right Makes Might": Proverbial Rhetoric in Decisive Moments of American Politics* (pp. 34–62) has first appeared in *Proverbium 2008*. Its inclusion in a book centered on the American worldview is more than justified, although it is oriented towards politics rather than folklore, which is traditionally regarded as the true foundation of ethnic and national culture and its most defining manifestation. But with a young nation like the United States, the figures of various statesmen, social activists and especially presidents have more often than not come to epitomize the nation as a whole, because every four years they are being elected by the people themselves and can thus more easily become a focal point of the aspirations of very diverse individuals, classes and ethnic groups. Compared to similar figures in some other, older nations, these men and women have been much more influential and thus much more a defining factor in shaping the American worldview and culture. Especially in more recent times, with the massive influx of mainstream media, the Internet, and the social media into the lives of millions of people, it has become increasingly easy for American presidents and other prominent figures to inspire, unite or – sometimes – divide the nation with their speeches and addresses. Wolfgang Mieder starts his discussion of the rhetoric of these prominent individuals with an informative and elucidating historical account of the problem in the way it evolved from its inception in ancient Europe (Rome) and its continuation in later times, before tracing chronologically the proverbial rhetoric of specific American leaders like Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Abigail Adams, Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr., Ronald Reagan, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama. Each of these figures is made to stand out with his or her very peculiar rhetoric, vividly illustrated with the most characteristic examples. The chapter concludes with the fitting observation that "[p]roverbs permeate our sociopolitical life everywhere and at all times, and they are significant signs of the wisdom and worldview of an entire nation trying to uphold the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all its citizens, and – with the help of the United Nations – for all human-

kind" (p. 59), which points to the leading role American culture continues to play in today's globalizing world.

Chapter 2, *"These are the Times that Try Women's Souls": The Proverbial Rhetoric for Women's Rights by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* (pp. 63–99), originally published in *Proverbium 32 (2015),* promotes the historical and authentic kind of feminism (very different from its modern perversions) via discussing the life, work and correspondence of two great nineteenth-century American activists, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, who each devoted nearly half a century of her life in the struggle for women's social, economic, professional, legal and political rights. This chapter is a synopsis of a much larger book, which explores the vast correspondence between these two remarkable Victorian ladies and includes a glossary of their proverbial rhetoric (cf. Mieder 2014a). The first few pages of the chapter deal with the history of the problem. The very special, proverbial, focus of this study is thus made to stand out against the background of other similar studies of the lives of these two great women, which the author acknowledges and discusses with due respect and objectivity. Wolfgang Mieder's detailed and enlightening analysis that makes up the body of the essay does not limit itself on proverbs only (e.g., "A burnt child dreads the fire", "Judge not from appearances", "The hand that rocks the cradle moves the world", etc.), but includes a lot of phrases too. Typically, many of the examples discussed come from the Bible (e.g., "Let the dead bury their dead", "Sour grapes will set teeth on edge", "Eat and drink and be merry", "the golden calf", etc.), classical literature ("Nature abhors a vacuum", "The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse", "herculean efforts", etc.) and various other sources. Another great asset of Wolfgang Mieder's style of writing is its extreme vividness and the attention to specific detail. He never tires of quoting one example after another of how Stanton and Anthony used certain proverbs to fit their specific rhetorical intentions, and duly explains the situations they were placed in. One such example is the specific use of the proverb "The laborer is worthy of his hire" by Susan B. Anthony (p. 90), which Mieder discusses on p. 91: "It is of interest to note that in 1897, Anthony had no choice but to argue that the demand of "equal pay for equal work" would have no way of becoming law

as long as women did not have the right to cast their vote. More than a hundred years later, the struggle for equal pay for equal work is still going on, but great progress has indeed been made, and it behooves modern women to give considerable credit for these advanced to Susan B. Anthony in particular." This dispassionate comment immediately links this instant with the present situation in America and much of the world, where women are still paid less than men. Another case in point is the way the Golden Rule proverb ["Do unto others as you would have them do unto you"] was used by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, which is shown on pp. 94–95: "…here is yet another passage with the Golden Rule where she shows herself as quite the scholar of comparative religions. She is absolutely correct in stating that the world's religions all have the Golden Rule in one form or another, as has been shown by Albert Griffin in his *Religious Proverbs: Over 1600 Adages from 18 Faiths Worldwide* (1991, 67–69). Even though there are differences in these faiths, the common Golden Rule as the supreme moral guidepost should enable people everywhere to live in peace and enjoy their human rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

"Every race," says a recent writer [Octavius Frothingham in his The Religion of Humanity (1873)], "above the savage has its Bible. Each of the great religions of mankind has its Bible. The Chinese pay homage to the wise words of Confucius, the Brahmans prize their Vedas, the Buddhists venerate their Pitikas, the Zoroastrians cherish their Avesta, the Scandinavians their Eddas, the Greeks their oracles and the songs of their bards," the Christians believe the New Testament to be divinely inspired, the Hebrews of our day accept with equal reverence the Old Testament, and thus all along each nation has its own idea of God, religion, revelation; and each alike has believed its own ideas the absolute and ultimate. Much as these 'Bibles' differ in all that is transient and local, the texture of sentiment, the moral and religious principles are the same, showing a responsive chord in every human soul, in all ages and latitudes. All Bibles contain something like the Decalogue; the 'Golden Rule,' written in the soul of man, has been chanted round the globe by the lips of sages in every time and clime. This is enough to assure us that what is permanent in morals and religion can safely bear discussion and the successive

shocks of every new discovery and reform. (Stanton in Gordon 1997–2013, 3: 456–57; May 11, 1879)."

This comment together with the long quotation reinforces the message the author wants to put across: that the ideals these women were fighting for are truly enduring and of utmost importance for humankind as such.

By vividly presenting many similar cases, Wolfgang Mieder succeeds in depicting the images of two great matriarchs whose unwavering dedication and resolve made it possible for women in America and the larger world to enjoy the many rights and freedoms they have today, e.g., property rights, the right for education, the right to run for government office, and so many others. One is struck with their personal integrity and great self-sacrifice, which spring from the high moral principles with which they were raised and educated. It seems, then, that in spite of the universal suppression of women, there did exist in nineteenth-century America the right environment for such fine and respectable ladies to be born, live, work, and campaign freely, and, interestingly, be also able to afford this rather exorbitant hobby. Unfortunately, some women today, including very well-paid stateswomen, in spite of the much greater opportunities for self-education and personal advancement, not only seem to take all these important rights for granted, but often twist and abuse them to fit their own selfish agendas, completely forgetting the noble effort that went into the struggle for their promotion.

Chapter 3, *"The American People Rose to the Occasion": A Proverbial Retrospective of the Marshall Plan after Seventy Years*, has also been previously (in 2017) published as an essay. It is approximately of the same length as the chapters that precede it and, like them, has its own reference section. It dwells on another typically American feature – the great generosity of its people and government shown to others in times of trouble, and, in particular, the work and dedication of one man, the then United States Army Chief of Staff George Marshall, in implementing the massive recovery plan that practically raised post-war Europe from the ashes on its feet. George Marshall's powerful rhetoric rests on proverbs like "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing" (p. 105), "The proof of the pudding is in the eating" (p. 107), "Practice what you preach" (p. 109), "God helps those that help themselves" (p. 111),

"Man does not live by bread alone" (p. 115), and quite a plethora of proverbial phrases. Again, each case where a certain proverb has been employed in his famous speeches and addresses is provided with the appropriate communicative setting and explained in terms of the political objectives pursued by the post-war American government while promoting its interests and mission in Europe and the world. This chapter draws the image of a remarkable soldier-statesman, who deeply believed that in order to make the world a better place for all people to live, the principle of cooperation and empathy where rich countries help poorer nations as a matter of course contributes to true democracy much more than the dog-eat-dog principle of ruthless exploitation and competition for profit at all cost. We of course remember that America did not start the Second World War (which also applies to the situation with first World War), but it was America together with the USSR and their allies whose joint efforts and huge sacrifice won the war against Nazi Germany and Japan and finally ended it. But in order for America to be able to help the deprived nations of Europe and the Pacific and restore their economies, it itself had to become powerful and rich and openly and proudly assume its new role as the leader of the world.

In this chapter (and indeed in the whole book) Wolfgang Mieder frankly shares his informed opinion about many of the world's leaders like Truman, Churchill, Stalin, or Molotov while discussing their true role in the process of designing the political map of post-war Europe. I myself, being a survivor of communism and living in a former Soviet Bloc country, Bulgaria, can think of no better way of laying out the hard facts which brought about the division of post-war Europe into the democratic West and the totalitarian, communist East. In the three decades of teaching my two-semester Anglophone Area Studies class and preparing for my DLitt dissertation, T*he Axiosphere of America: A Linguocultural Study of Proverbs* (Petrova 2016), I spent a great deal of time studying history and political books, seeing many documentaries, traveling and talking to people who have witnessed some of these events. This all helped broaden my knowledge of the actual role played by some of these leaders in the history of Europe, the USA, and indeed the whole world. From this standpoint I can now confidently say that many of the portraits drawn by Wolfgang Mieder are true down to the tiniest detail.

Chapter 4, *"Making a Way Out of No Way": Martin Luther King Jr.'s Proverbial Dream for Human Rights* (pp. 123–144), is a logical (and chronological) extension of the previous topics. It first appeared in 2012 and its inclusion in a book lie this one is a must. This essay presents realistically and with much love and admiration the figure of the greatly acclaimed fighter for the civil rights of African-Americans, Martin Luther King, Jr., from the point of view of his very specific rhetorical style, which relied heavily on the unique American Gospel tradition. The chapter draws heavily on a large number of previous studies on Martin Luther King Jr.'s life and work, which are each incorporated into its argument. What makes it different from them is its focus on the proverbial nature of King's rhetoric that had until recently remained largely unnoticed (pp. 123–124), notwithstanding the fact that diverse researchers into his style have always agreed that "[t]here is…hardly a page in King's oeuvre that does not at least contain a reference to the Bible" (p. 127, cited from Stevenson 1949; Mieder 1990; Griffin 1991). Similarly to the previous chapters, in this one too Wolfgang Mieder explores the employment of each phrase that has become characteristic of King's preaching for a non-violent struggle for equality and against racial segregation by placing it in its proper historical context and providing overwhelming relevant information. He demonstrates in great detail how King, being a Baptist preacher himself and a master orator, often made ample use of both Bible and secular proverbs, like "Love your enemies" (p. 126), "Man does not live by bread alone" (p. 127), "He who lives by the sword shall perish by the sword" (p. 128), "You can't ride a man's back unless it's bent" (p. 129), "Last hired, first fired" (p. 129), "Time and tide wait for no man" (p. 130), "No pain, no gain" (p. 130), "No man is an island" (p. 131), "God will make a way for us where there seems no way (p. 137)", and many others. King is surely best remembered for his famous "I have a dream" speech of August 25, 1963, which stirred the conscience of millions of people both in the USA and abroad. This powerful "mantra", as Mieder explains (p. 140), continued to be used again and again as "I still have a dream" until 1967. This essay succeeds in showing that in the 1960s the American people still had a long way to go to attain the principles and ideals of the Declaration of Independence and make them part and parcel of their everyday lives.

Chapter 5, *"Keep your Eyes on the Prize": Congressman John Lewis's Proverbial Odyssey for Civil Rights* (pp. 145–181) is of a very similar kind. It dwells on the life and work of another famous and highly educated African-American social justice warrior, Congressman John Lewis. This essay was first published in 2014 and now, five years later, makes another truly integral part of this important book on the American worldview. The chapter centers on the rhetorical powers of this great leader, who was an ardent admirer of Martin Luther King, Jr. and most probably followed in his footsteps when writing his own speeches. Wolfgang Mieder writes of the numerous occasions, when this remarkable man used to energize his listeners with his sermonic speeches, exacting from them constant vigilance and untiring determination to continue their non-violent struggle until they finally attain the noble goals of the American Declaration of Independence. He shares his own admiration for this hero by describing the moment when Lewis delivered a speech after receiving an honorary doctoral degree at the University of Vermont on May 20, 2007, when he spoke to a "spellbound audience of students, faculty, staff, parents, relatives and friends" (p. 151). As Lewis himself shares in a personal letter to Professor Mieder, he did indeed know in person both King and his father, also a Baptist minister, who during one of his son's sermons, "would be sitting in the audience, and when the spirit began to move, Daddy King would say, "Make it plain, son. Make it plain." Lewis too was of course very fond of Bible proverbs and phrases, such as "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth", "pie in the sky", "between the cradle and the grave" (p. 156), "Blood asks (for) blood" (p. 158), "to be a thorn in the flesh", "to have the scales fall from one's eyes" (p. 160), or "to be a voice crying out in the wilderness" (p. 161), which he applied skillfully to attain the desired effect. The author also tells of how another favorite proverb of Lewis's, this time an old African adage, was understood and employed by him: "There is an old African proverb: 'When you pray, move your feet.' As a nation, if we care for the Beloved Community, we must move our feet, our hands, our hearts, our resources to build and not to tear down, to reconcile and not to divide, to love and not to hate, to heal and not to kill. In the final analysis, we are one people, one family, one house – the American house, the American family" (p. 165).

The chapter traces all the trials and tribulations of John Lewis's hard and dramatic life supplying a great amount of relevant details, which help recreate a realistic, vivid picture of Lewis and his immediate surroundings in the American South. It is excellent for students of American cultural history and for all those who want to understand the real roots of the anti-segregation movement of the 1960s.

Chapter 6 is about another African-American figure, America's former president Barack Obama. Its title is formulated in the same characteristic way, with another proverb being mentioned in its first part, *"I'm Absolutely Sure About – The Golden Rule": Barack Obama's Proverbial Audacity of Hope* (pp. 183–199). This chapter is somewhat short, only 16 pages (compared to the 38 pages of the previous one). It has been published twice, in 2009, and 2014, before making its way into this book. After tracing some facts about his life, education and the role models on which Obama claimed to have built his own political career, Wolfgang Mieder sets upon analyzing his proverbial rhetoric in his book *The Audacity of Hope* (2006), where Obama presents his personal and political manifesto. The main body of the chapter is conveniently divided into eight thematic parts, titled *Republicans and Democtars, Values, Our Constitution, Opportunity, Faith, Race, The World Beyond Our Borders, and Epilogue*, which follow closely the structure of the book. While I was going through the pages of this chapter, my attention was caught by several proverbs placed in their contexts with which both his two books and many of his speeches are replete, characterizing Obama's style of writing and speaking: "He that is not with me is against me", "War is hell", "The best-laid plans of mice and men often go astray" (p. 186), "Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing" (p. 187), "Talk is cheap" (p. 188), "Winner take all", "The rising tide lifts all boats" (p. 190), "Better isn't good enough" (p. 193), "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" (slightly adjusted), "I am my brother's keeper", "E pluribus unum", and "Out of many, one" (p. 194); the last three were used in one of Obama's speeches of 2004, which closes in a memorable way: "Alongside our famous individualism, there's another ingredient in the American sage. … A belief that we are connected as one people…. It's that fundamental belief – I am my brother's keeper, I am my

sister's keeper – that makes this country work. It's what allows us to pursue our individual dreams, yet still come together as a single American family. 'E pluribus unum.' Out of many, one". I will close this section with a quotation taken from p. 310 in the book *The Audacity of Hope*, which does not contain any proverbs, but reveals this president's balanced attitude to America's role as the greatest world power at the start of the twenty first century: "Why conduct ourselves in this way? Because nobody benefits more than we do from the observance of international 'rules of the road.' We can't win converts to these rules if we act as if they apply to everyone but us. When the world's sole superpower willingly restrains its power and abides by internationally agreed-upon standards of conduct, it sends a message that these are rules worth following, and robs terrorists and dictators of the argument that these rules are simply tools of American imperialism."

This chapter equips the prospective scholar of American culture with even more first-hand knowledge of the stable and enduring yet constantly changing profile of American society and the great intricacies and complexities of internal and international politics. While thinking about this president from the point of view of this chapter but also from the point of view of many other reliable and authentic narratives, studies and documentaries that present him in an entirely different light I keep reminding myself that it is quite impossible for anyone, including even for the greatest of scholars, to be completely unbiased when writing about a political figure they truly and deeply love and admire (or, vice versa, hate and despise). I for one have witnessed many times how even leaders like Lenin, Stalin and Hitler were admired and adored so completely and by so many people. In my country, for example, many people, including academics, still feel genuinely nostalgic about the days when we they ruled by the Communist Party, no matter how unhappy and indignant they used to be at the time. What we continue to see is that in the eyes of the ardent supporters even the most overwhelming evidence simply means nothing. Beauty does lie in the eye of the beholder. Fortunately, in democratic societies the balance of justice is always restored in the next presidential elections.

Chapter 7 is titled in the same manner, with a proverb in the beginning: *"Politics is Not a Spectator Sport": Proverbs in the*

*Personal and the Political Writings of Hillary Rodham Clinton* (pp. 215–229). It was first published in 2015 and now, four years later, is quite rightly included in this book about the American worldview, since it describes one of the most recent and most popular figures in the political history of the USA. Notwithstanding his great regard for Hillary Clinton, however, Wolfgang Mieder does not shy away from telling us openly right from the start that she has several times (during the attack on the American embassy in Bengazi and when she used her private server for conducting the confidential correspondence of the State Department) behaved in ways that have put the nation into jeopardy (p. 201). This chapter, again, is replete with many examples showing Hillary Clinton as a skilful politician who heavily relies on proverbs, especially in her books, but when conducting negotiations has generally deliberately preferred plain and direct language to avoid ambiguity. Some of these proverbs and phrases she heard from her parents, others from her teachers or her ministers at church, e.g., "Love your neighbor", "Love your enemies", "Don't put your lamp under a bushel basket but use it to light up the world" (p. 206), "Nature passes nurture" (p. 207), "If life hands you lemons, make lemonade", "What is good for General Motors is good for America" (p. 208), but she usually uses them in her own way and often in an altered form. What is particularly interesting about this chapter is that it discusses the subgenre of pseudoproverbs, i.e., adages most of which are on the way to becoming true proverbs, e.g., "Service is not a one-way street", "If women and girls don't flourish, families won't flourish", "Where women prosper, societies prosper", "There's no such thing as other people's children", "Security takes more than a blanket", "Honor the past, imagine the future", etc. (p. 211). Wolfgang Mieder discusses at great length the true origin of Clinton's "signature" proverb, which has become quite popular recently, "It takes a village to raise a child" (pp. 214–217). Another invaluable part of this chapter is the section dealing with the situational meanings of several proverbs: "Three strikes and you are out", "A candle loses nothing of its light by lighting another candle", "Don't ask, don't tell", "The devil is the details", "The buck stops here", "Don't worry, be happy" and "Trust but verify" (pp. 223–224), which provides the proper context in which these meanings are played out. The author closes the chapter with the reminder, that "[t]the modern proverb "life is not a spectator

sport" from 1958 holds absolutely true to her [Hillary Clinton], but so does the antiproverb "politics is not a spectator sport" from 1963 that encourages citizens everywhere to play an active and responsible role in supporting democracies as Hillary Rodham Clinton has done through her lifetime" (p. 226).

Again, this chapter can be of great help for scholars of American history and political science, especially with its detailed and realistic account of the typical communicative strategies employed by modern politicians.

Chapter 8 has a title that immediately strikes the reader with its blunt and shocking message, namely, that capitalist, democratic America is undergoing a very dangerous change towards becoming an oligarchy, which, as it appears, can be reverted only by means of a sociopolitical revolution: *"The Rich Get Richer, and the Poor Get Poorer": Bernie Sander's Proverbial Rhetoric for an American Sociopolitical Revolution* (pp. 230–262). This is the second new chapter in the book, which has not been published before. Being a survivor of the socialist-communist regime in my country, Bulgaria, I must confess that the word "revolution" in the title and throughout the chapter immediately brought to me a host of associations that have to do with the French Bourgeois Revolution, its ideals of brotherhood and equality and the terrible massacres that followed it, the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the pogroms, concentration camps, massive famine and utter destruction of Russia's economy in its aftermath, and the Stalinist coup d'état in September of 1944 in my country, which was followed by a massive expropriation of the means of production, all of which became state-owned, opening a long period of ideological brainwashing and economic tyranny (called equality) from which many of us haven't yet recovered. I of course have witnessed only some of these dramatic events, but many of the contemporaries that have managed to survive them and to write about them have left us their memories which tell us exactly how they took place. But let us go back to this fascinating chapter. It describes another very influential progressive politician, whom Wolfgang Mieder admires greatly and who is presently, at the time of my writing this review (in 2020) again running for president notwithstanding his rather advanced age (79 years). The chapter deals with the highly specific and very powerful rhetoric of Bernie

Sanders, who is known to write his own speeches, sometimes extremely long (which reminds us of Fidel Castro, another charismatic leader, who could also speak for hours on end before an enthralled audience). A whole book can be written on the peculiar socioeconomic conditions in the USA, including the cynical and short-sighted policy of the financial institutions and their supporters, which has brought about the near disappearance of that most valuable American phenomenon, the free, self-reliant, resourceful, proud and independent middle class and the subsequent emergence of the first ever politician in the history of the individualistic and competitive entrepreneurial culture of the USA to be an ardent proponent of democratic socialism who openly disagrees with the U.S. Constitution (p. 243), which together with the Bible and the Declaration of Independence have been the very soul of America as we know it, but I will leave that to other researchers and focus entirely on the linguistic aspect. The proverbs Sanders makes ample use of are not many. Here are the most characteristic ones: "Enough is enough" (p. 233–234), "The rich get richer and the poor get poorer" (pp. 235–239), "One man, one vote" (pp. 240–241), "A rising tide lifts all boats" (p. 248), "Equal pay for equal work" (p. 249, "Every vote counts" (p. 251), "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth" (p. 253), "Politics makes strange bedfellows" (p. 256), "Think big" (p. 259), and several others, each discussed in a variety of very specific contexts. The final sentence of the chapter sums up in a characteristically metaphorical and idiomatic way the unique personality of Sanders and his exceptional political role: "Above all, he touched a nerve that reawakened Americans to the fact that democracy is a work in progress and that it works best by way of active participation on a fair and square playing field" (p. 260).

This chapter, apart from drawing the proverbial portrait of another unique political figure, sends a very powerful and timely warning to the wealthy elite, whose demise, as history has repeatedly shown, is imminent if they refuse to assume their responsibilities.

Chapter 9, *"M(R)ight Makes R(M)ight": The Sociopolitical History of a Contradictory Proverb Pair* (pp. 263–286), deals with a typical case illustrating a phenomenon that has long been researched by Wolfgang Mieder – the contradiction of proverbs.

Professor Mieder has long been among the very few paremiologists to discover that contrary to universal belief, proverbs do not always tell the truth, but, like the life they represent, are often contradictory. This chapter deals with just one pair of such proverbs, "Right makes might" and "Might makes right," which are discussed historically. I find the whole chapter and especially the long list of examples on pp. 269–270 exceptionally useful, as it shows the dynamics of this process in the English language, starting with a proverb recorded in 1311 ("For miht is riht […]") and finishing with the last example recorded in 1992 ("Might is right"). Professor Mieder never tires of supplying practically heaps of relevant linguistic information to prove his point, an example which to my mind ought to be followed by all present and future researchers into proverbs. In this chapter, he proves that the proverb "Might is right" is historically older than its antipode, "Right is might", which fact can be further interpreted by linguoculturologists with regard to the dynamics of some prevailing values and principles in the Anglophone culture. And, what is of extreme importance, he never tires of supplying his comments with a lot of context, where the true meanings of the proverbs immediately come out. Again, we see how they were used by some of the same prominent figures mentioned earlier (William Shakespeare, Abraham Lincoln, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., and some others). Towards the end of the chapter Mieder draws an analogy between this proverb pair and the old sentence "Big fish eat little fish" and some other similar proverbs, proving without any doubt that such contradictory proverb pairs "mirror the dialectics of life, making them if not absolute, then most certainly apparent truths" (p. 283).

Chapter 10, *"All Men are Created Equal": From Democratic Claim to Proverbial Game* (pp. 286–316), deals with one of the uniquely American proverb. Like the previous chapter, this one has already been published before (in 2015) and is now included in this volume on account of the American origin of the proverb under study. This master study of one of the greatest paremiographers in the world demonstrates very emphatically the need for the right paremiological resources when scholars determine the emergence and historical evolution of any given proverb text. In it, Wolfgang Mieder presents several extremely exhaustive lists of

paremiological resources (standard proverb collections and dictionaries of quotations and idioms) including texts from British English, American English, or both, that every responsible proverb scholar should have access to in order to come up with an informed decision about the origin of certain proverb texts. Some of the lists are almost five pages long (!) while others are almost as long, another proof of the great advance achieved today in the theory and practice of paremigraphy. A number of contextual examples with this proverb and its diverse variants is also supplied where its meaning is played out in various contexts. This chapter will be of exceptional help to all paremiographers and paremiologists that are particularly interested in the birth and evolution of proverbs. It is also invaluable for students of American culture.

Chapter 11, *"Laissez Faire À Georges" and "Let George Do It": A of Case Paremiological Polygenesis* (pp. 317–333) is a superbly constructed and conducted comparative study, dealing with a very rare case of polygenesis of two proverbs, an old French one, and a more recent American one, which translates almost literary from French. By discussing and comparing various opinions of authoritative French, American and English scholars and by analyzing a large number of contextual references of the two proverbs, quoted in English and French respectively, Wolfgang Mieder concludes, that although they look very much alike they are in fact two completely different texts.

This chapter can be used by advanced students of English and French as well as by those who want to learn more about American history and culture, and, more specifically, about the history of the train service and the present-day bureaucratic machine in the United States.

Chapter 12, *"To Be (All) Greek to Someone": Origin, History, and Meaning of an English Proverbial Expression* (pp. 334–351) is the third and last new chapter in this book. It is one of those in-depth case studies, which show at a glance the excellence and virtuosity of a great master. As I noted in the beginning, this study somehow does not belong thematically to the corpus and has very little in common with American culture or history, apart from the fact that the phrase it discusses, "It's all Greek to me", is current in America too. It abounds with fascinating detail related to a truly vast number of languages and cultures – English, American,

French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chinese, etc. and is sprinkled with a solid doze of humor. This study is dedicated to Professor Minas Al. Alexiadis of the University of Athens, where Professor Mieder was awarded the "doctor honoris causa" prestigious title in December 16, 2014 (I remember this moment with great fondness and pity, as I did my best to organize a visit of professor Mieder and his wife Barbara Mieder to my own University of Rousse, which is just a couple of days' drive to the north of Athens, but my university leaders sadly failed to cooperate).

The book as a whole gives an idea of the multifaceted American worldview and culture from a progressive point of view. With this book, Professor Mieder warns openly and with great courage and determination the people and the rulers of America that the American ideals of freedom and equality to the law are very seriously threatened. It demonstrates the power of a great master, who has dedicated all his professional life to the study of the proverbs, these generational gems of wisdom, as Professor Mieder is wont to call them. I together with many other international proverb scholars like me from several continents am personally deeply indebted to my great friend and mentor Wolfgang Mieder whom I have admired ever since I became interested in proverbs some twenty years ago and wish him and his wife many more happy years together and the energy to write even more books and studies like this one. This last book of his surely deserves to be read and studied by many, including American politicians and statesmen. They will certainly learn a lot from the wisdom stored in the proverbs, these best teachers of humanity.

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DENNIS F. MAHONEY

*„Man muss auf seiner Sprache spielen wie auf einem Instrument": Sprichwörter und Redensartliches bei Walter Kempowski*. By Andreas Nolte. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2019. Pp. 511.

Wenn es auch sprichwörtlich heißt, man soll ein Buch nicht nach seinem Einband beurteilen, gilt diese Regel auf keinen Fall für die imponierende Studie von Andreas Nolte. Über dem oben genannten Titel auf dem Einband stehen die Tasten eines Klaviers, und dann weiter oben 27 hell und dunkel gefärbte, aufeinandergelegte Titel und kurze Textauszüge aus Werken Walter Kempowskis wie etwa.: „‚Tadellöser & Wolff? Was soll das eigentlich bedeuten?' Na, gut dem Dinge, weiter nichts. So rede man eben in der Stadt. ‚Gutmannsdörfer', das sei auch so ein Schnack. Wenn man was gut finde, dann sage man einfach ‚Gutmannsdörfer'. Oder [...]". Im Register unter dem Stichwort TADELLÖSER (S. 448) findet man den ganzen Text und auch die genaue Seitenzahl für dieses Zitat aus dem 1971 erschienenen Roman *Tadellöser & Wolff*. Und was die Anfangsfrage im Zitat angeht: Nolte verwendet sie als Titelanfang zum abschließenden achten Kapitel seiner Studie über „Familiensprachen: Die Kempowskis und andere" (S. 105-119). Da steht als Erläuterung zum besagten Text: „Die Familiensprache gehört schließlich den Mitgliedern der Familie und Außenstehende will man da nicht unbedingt einweihen" – wenn es auch für Kempowskis Leser kein Geheimnis ist, dass der väterliche Großvater diesen Spruch „als Sprachspiel aus dem Namen der Zigarrenfirma ‚Loeser & Wolff'" abgeleitet habe (S. 110). Im Vorwort gibt Nolte die Quelle des Zitats in seinem Buchtitel an, der gleichzeitig auf Kempowskis pianistische Fähigkeiten anspielt: „Es steht außer Frage, dass der sprachgewaltige Autor der Aufforderung einer Deutschlehrerin in *Uns geht´s ja noch gold* beim Unterrichtsgespräch über Redensarten gefolgt ist, die zum jungen Walter und seinen Klassenkameraden sagt, dass man ‚auf seiner Sprache spielen [muss] wie auf einem Instrument'" (S. 7). Im ähnlichen Sinn kann man sagen, dass mit „*Man muss auf seiner*

*Sprache spielen wie auf einem Instrument*": *Sprichwörter und Redensartliches bei Walter Kempowski* der Verfasser eine überzeugend durchkomponierte wissenschaftliche Untersuchung geliefert hat.

LeserInnen von *Proverbium* 36 (2019) werden in Noltes Beitrag „,...So heisst ein Sprichwort, das gehört hierher': Die Sprichwörter im Werk von Walter Kempowski" (S. 217-276) die gediegene Vorarbeit zu seinem Buchprojekt erkennen, das nun durch die Berücksichtigung von Redensarten erweitert und vertieft wird. Im ersten Kapitel über „Die Sprache Kempowskis im Spiegel der Kritik" weist Nolte darauf hin, dass das Hauptinteresse der Kritiker und später der Literaturwissenschaft vor allem den eigenartigen Familiensprüchen innerhalb der „Deutschen Chronik" gegolten habe, während Kempowskis Verwendung von traditionellen Sprichwörtern und Redensarten weitgehend übersehen worden sei. Deshalb untersucht er in Kapitel 2, wie die Eltern Karl und Grete und auch der Bruder Robert dadurch sprachlich charakterisiert werden. Er verweist zum Beispiel auf die Funktion der mehrfachen Verwendung des sprichwörtlichen Glückrades durch Grete – die einzige Figur, die in allen sechs Romanen der „Deutschen Chronik" zur Sprache kommt: „die immer abgedroschener erscheinende Sprachfloskel soll das tatsächliche Geschehen, das eben *nicht* zu irgendeiner Hoffnung Anlass gibt, umso deutlicher herausstellen" (S. 35).[1] Kapitel 3 analysiert den Gebrauch von Sprichwörtern und Redensarten durch andere Protagonisten in den darauf folgenden Romanen. Und während Kapitel 4 die Funktion, Themen, Herkunft und Form der Sprichwörter im Gesamtwerk behandelt, werden im nächsten Kapitel die Themenbereiche, Herkunft, Form und Häufigkeit von Redensarten unter die Lupe genommen. Ebenfalls besprechen Kapitel 6 und 7 jeweils, wie Kempowski Sprichwörter und Redensarten sammelt, einsetzt, verändert und als Leitmotive verwendet.

Bereits in Kapitel 2 zeigt Nolte, wie Robert nach dem Tod des Vaters am Ende des 2. Weltkriegs mit Hilfe einer gehäuften Reihe von Redensarten und eines angedeuteten Sprichworts die Rolle des belehrenden Familienoberhaupts übernimmt, wenn sein jüngerer Bruder Walter eine Übersiedlung in den Westen erwägt:

> „Täusche dich nicht!" sagte er und spuckte Tabak weg,
> „drüben weht ein anderer Wind! Da wird ohne Bandagen

> gekämpft, das liegt dort auf der Hand. Du denkst, da fliegen dir die gebratenen Tauben ins Maul. Nimm doch Vernunft an! Wenn wir hierbleiben, sind wir die crème de la crème unter lauter Proleten. Und wenn's wieder andersrum kommt, die ersten am Baß." Diese Chance (er sprach das sehr französisch aus) verschenke ich.
>
> „Wer zuletzt lacht, Walter!" (S. 43)

Im umfangreichen Register (S. 121-511) steht auf S. 316 unter dem Stichwort LACHEN diese Textstelle zusammen mit der Kurzformel „(Gold, 314, R)", damit LeserInnen wissen, dass sie aus dem Roman *Uns geht´s ja noch gold* kommt und dass Robert der Sprecher ist. Sie wird aber auch unter WIND (S. 489), BANDAGEN (S. 141), TAUBEN (S. 451), CRÈME (S. 166) und BASS (S.142) mindestens teilweise aufgelistet, und zwar jeweils mit einem Hinweis darauf, ob, bzw. wo die sprichwörtliche oder redensartliche Formulierung in wissenschaftlichen Lexika zu finden sei, wofür Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wanders fünfbändiges *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon* und Lutz Röhrichs dreibändiges *Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten* als Quellen bevorzugt werden.

Wie ist es aber mit der Redewendung „das liegt dort auf der Hand"? Sie gehört zu den ca. 1.700 Formeln und somatischen Redensarten, die Nolte nicht ins Register aufgenommen hat, weil sie nach seiner Meinung „relativ alltäglich sind und kein besonders auffälliges Bild hergeben" (S. 122). Wenn man sie allerdings zu den vom Verfasser verzeichneten „4.776 Textstellen mit 547 verschiedenen Sprichwörtern und 1.693 verschiedenen Redensarten und anderen bildlichen Phrasen" (S. 7) hinzuzählt, gibt es für die 8.809 Seiten im Gesamtwerk Kempowskis einen Beleg alle 0.74 Seiten (S. 123f.). Nolte liefert auch eine Tabelle, wo die Verteilung von Sprichwörtern und Redensarten nach Einzelwerken aufgelistet ist (S. 124). Dazu bemerkt er: „Gut zu erkennen ist die relativ häufigere Verwendung der Sprachformeln in der ‚Deutschen Chronik', die dann in den Folgeromanen, und noch deutlicher in den Tagebüchern zurückgeht" (S. 123). Mit diesem Register hat der Verfasser späteren Forschern die Untersuchung von bestimmten sprachlichen Formulierungen in der deutschen Gegenwartsprosa wesentlich erleichtert.

***Anmerkungen***

[1] Siehe auch Nolte, Andreas: „‚Das Rad dreht sich, kommt Zeit – kommt Rat': Zur sprichwörtlichen Sprache der Mutter in Walter Kempowskis ‚Deutscher Chronik'". In: Nolte Andreas/Mahoney, Dennis F. (eds.): *Living by the Golden Rule: Mentor – Scholar – World Citizen. A Festschrift for Wolfgang Mieder's 75th Birthday*. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2019, S. 93-108.

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*Global Soil Proverbs: Cultural Language of the Soil*. Edited by Jae E. Yang, M. B. Kirkham, Rattan Lal, and Sigbert Huber. Stuttgart: Schweizerbart Science Publishers, 2018. Pp. xv and 275.

The book under review is a collection of over 600 proverbs on soil, compiled by soil scientists. This review is written by a proverb scholar who makes compost for his garden, so I have some appreciation for both the soil and proverb aspects of this book. It is wonderful to see practical people recognize the value and beauty of proverbs, as well as their application to real world problems. We know that proverbs usually mention the most common animals and objects. This book is about proverbs that touch on something that is universal and basic: soil. The collection consists of proverbs from 30 countries, with each national chapter compiled by soil scientists from that country (though the Irish team included the noted paremiologist Fionnuala Carson Williams). For some of the articles, proverbs from plural languages are included, e.g. India. All of the proverbs are given in their own script, with most transliterated, enabling readers to see rhyme, assonance, alliteration, feature rhyme, meter, etc.

The contributions reflect a wide concept of what is a "proverb". Some of the proverbs seem to be simple reminders of how to farm various soils, e.g. "Do not plow upland in the fall" (Korea, p. 74) and "No one thrives by tilling sandy soil, and no one is ruined by ploughing clay" (India, p. 42). Other proverbs refer to soil, but do not primarily give agricultural advice about soil. Rather, they are metaphorical, such as "There is no field without hillside" (Spain, p. 179), which reminds people that life has both positive and negative events.

Some Egyptian entries are long, one 10 lines long, but the translation and explanation are not clear, possibly intermingled (p. 14). Some of the Indian examples are prayers related to soil (p. 41). Alan Dundes argued that similar weather proverbs were merely mnemonics being classified as proverbs (at least by a

Western European definition of "proverb"). However, it seems wise to pay attention to the native speakers' concepts of "proverb" from various languages; if they classify such sayings as "proverbs", then outsiders should ponder what these writers' definition of "proverb" encompasses. However, many of the contributions from North America are the least proverbial, many simply quotations about soil, with sources noted, e.g. "Land, then, is not merely soil; it is a fountain of energy flowing through circuit of soils, plants, and animals" (p. 220).

Most of the proverbs are accompanied by helpful explanations, e.g. "A farmer becomes rich if a *shō* (1.8 liters) of soil accumulates in his bed," is explained as "This proverb implies that farmers who work hard on their farms and fall asleep in bed wearing dirty clothes and muddy shoes become rich" (Japan, p. 64).

Not surprisingly, some proverbs are found in more than one country, e.g. "Soil without dung is like a cow without her calf" (India p. 43, Pakistan p. 87). The book concludes with an index, enabling searches, such as finding out that four countries have proverbs valuing soil as equal to, or above, gold.

As with any collection of proverbs, there are examples to be found of many grammatical constructions: rhetorical questions, imperatives, adynaton, counter proverbs, dialogue proverbs, wellerism proverbs (not surprisingly, one with soil speaking, Turkey, p. 56), etc. It is interesting to compare proverbs from many languages all in one book, comparing the artistic features of their proverbs. For example, rhyme was observed commonly in proverbs from Europe, but not from East Asia.

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WOLFGANG MIEDER

# INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEW AND REPRINTED PROVERB COLLECTIONS

For W. Georg Olms

Before presenting the list of 62 new and reprinted proverb collections that have been added to my International Proverb Archives at the University of Vermont during this past year, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to Dr. W. Georg Olms, owner of the renowned German publishing house Georg Olms Verlag (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York), for having supported my paremiographical work for over three decades. As the following list of 25 reprints of proverb collections (some in multiple volumes) shows, he gave me the welcome opportunity to edit a valuable reprint on an almost annual schedule, making these historical collections available to scholars and students throughout the world. They have become known as beautiful red hard-cover books, and they have made their way into many libraries in Germany and far beyond. For every volume I was permitted to write a lengthy introduction without any restrictions. In fact, my working relationship with Dr. W. Georg Olms, his son Georg Olms, and numerous employees at Hildesheim has been remarkably positive. There never was a disagreement, all work was always done in a professional manner, and I shall forever treasure my correspondence with Dr. Olms and other dear friends at his publishing house. Every volume listed below was in fact a labor of scholarly love, and they adorn my bookshelves as proverbial treasures.

Of course, we all know the proverb that "All good things come to an end". Dr. Olms had written to me two years ago that the time for publishing important reprints was coming to an end. More and more books are made available electronically, and they can even be bought in cheap printed copies. In other words, the market for relatively expensive reprints of older books is no longer sustainable. As expected, I received a letter from my friend Dr. W. Georg

Olms – I think I can call him that – not too long ago that the Josua Eiselein's voluminous collection *Die Sprichwörter und Sinnreden des deutschen Volkes in alter und neuer Zeit* (1838) would have to be the last reprint that we would produce together. When this beautiful volume with its seven hundred pages reached me this year, it brought tears to my eyes. I realized that a scholarly era had come to an end. I always believed in scholarly reprints, that is with informed and critical introductions, instead of just cheap offset printings without any information for scholars and students. My pain was lessened by Dr. Olm's remarks that it was making him very sad as well that we could not continue our work together. I understand that this decision had to be made, but I owe it to Dr. Olms and all his employees to thank them once again on behalf of all proverb scholars now and in the future for having made these invaluable reprints possible. We had the most congenial working relationship, and I shall treasure my dark red "Georg Olms" proverb collections to the end of my life.

Here then are the twenty-five alphabetically arranged books that I was able to make available to the scholarly world because of the kindness, commitment, and generosity of Dr. W. Georg Olms and the Georg Olms Verlag at Hildesheim, Germany (my old but distant homeland):

Bernstein, Ignace. *Catalogue des livres parémiologiques composant la bibliothèque de Ignace Bernstein*. 2 vols. Varsovie: W. Drugulin, 1900; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2003. I,560 pp.; II,650 pp. (introduction, pp. 1*-11*). With illustrations.

Blum, Joachim Christian. *Deutsches Sprichwörterbuch*. 2 vols in one. Leipzig: Weygand, 1780 and 1782; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1990. I, 223 pp; II, 248 pp. (introduction, pp. 1*-32*).

Burckhardt, Johann Ludwig. *Arabische Sprüchwörter oder die Sitten und Gebräuche der neueren Aegptier erklärt aus den zu Kairo umlaufenden Sprüchwörtern*. Weimar: Landes-Industrie-Comptoir, 1834; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2012. 455 pp. (introduction, pp. 7*-66*).

Düringsfeld, Otto von. *Die Frau im Sprichwort*. Leipzig: Hermann Fries, 1862; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2009. 208 pp. (introduction, pp. 5*-39*).

Düringsfeld, Ida von. *Das Sprichwort als Kosmopolit*. 3 vols. in one volume. Vol. 1: *Das Sprichwort als Philosoph*. Vol. 2: *Das Sprichwort als Praktikus*. Vol. 3: *Das Sprichwort als Humorist*. Leipzig: Hermann Fries, 1866; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2002. I, 160 pp.; II, 148 pp.; III, 173 pp. (introduction, pp. 5*-20*).

Eiselein, Joseph. *Die Sprichwörter und Sinnreden des deutschen Volkes in alter und neuer Zeit. Zum erstenmal aus den Quellen geschöpft, erläutert und mit Einleitung versehen*. Donaueschingen: im literarischen Verlag, 1838; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2019. 718 pp. (introduction, pp. 5*-43*).

Eyering, Eucharius. *Proverbiorum Copia: Etlich viel Hundert / Lateinischer vnd Teutscher schöner vnd lieblicher Sprichwörter*. 3 vols. Eisleben: Henning Groß, 1601-1603; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1999. I, 817 pp.; II, 721 pp.; III, 615 pp. (introduction, pp. 1*-26*).

Franck, Sebastian. *Sprichwörter / Schöne / Weise / Herrliche Clugreden / vnnd Hoffsprüch*. 2 parts. Franckenfurt am Meyn: Christian Egenolff, 1541; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1987. I, 163 leaves; II, 211 leaves (introduction, pp. 5*-13*).

Hoefer, Edmund. *Wie das Volk spricht. Sprichwörtliche Redensarten*. Stuttgart: Adolph Krabbe, 1855. 48 pp. 9th ed. Stuttgart: Gebrüder Kröner, 1885; rpt. as *Wie das Volk spricht. Deutsche Sagwörter*; ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1995. 227 pp. (introduction, pp. V*-XLII*). (wellerisms).

Kirchhofer, Melchior. *Wahrheit und Dichtung: Sammlung schweizerischer Sprichwörter*. Zürich: Orell, Füßli und Compagnie, 1824; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1997. 366 pp. (introduction, pp. V*-XXX*).

Leineweber, Heinrich. *Die Weisheit auf der Gasse. Zusammenstellung und Erklärung von Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1922; rpt. ed.

Wolfgang Mieder. Hildsheim: Georg Olms, 2018. 255 pp. (introduction, pp. 5*-58*).

Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, Otto von. *Internationale Titulaturen*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Hermann Fries, 1863; rpt. in one volume ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1992. I, 166 pp.; II, 150 pp. (introduction, pp. 5*-35*).

Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, Otto von. *Das Kind im Sprichwort*. Leipzig: Hermann Fries, 1864; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2011. 150 pp. (introduction, pp. 5*-47*).

Richter, Albert. *Deutsche Redensarten. Sprachlich und kulturgeschichtlich erläutert*. Leipzig: Friedrich Brandtstetter, 1930; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2016. 327 pp. (introduction, pp. 7*-80*).

Schellhorn, Andreas. *Teutsche Sprichwörter, sprichwörtliche Redensarten und Denksprüche gesammelt, in Ordnung gebracht, und mit den nöthigsten Erklärungen begleitet. Nebst einem Anhange von Sprichwörtern und Denksprüchen in lateinischen Versen für Studierte und Studierende*. Nürnberg: Steinische Buchhandlung, 1797; rpt. pt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2008. 160 pp. and 56 pp. (introduction, pp. 5*-36*).

Schrader, Herman. *Der Bilderschmuck der deutschen Sprache in Tausenden volkstümlicher Redensarten. Nach Ursprung und Bedeutung erklärt*. Berlin: H. Dolfuβ, 1886. 379 pp. 7th ed. Berlin: Emil Felber, 1912; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2005. 543 pp. (introduction, pp. I*-XXVI*).

Seiler, Friedrich. *Die Entwicklung der deutschen Kultur im Spiegel des deutschen Lehnworts*. 8 vols. Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1921-1924; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2007. (= F. Seiler, *Das deutsche Lehnsprichwort*, vols. 5-8). I, 214 pp.; II, 314 pp.; III, 362 pp.; IV, 423 pp.; V, 305 pp.; VI, 202 pp.; VII, 65 pp.; VIII, 176 pp. (introduction, pp. 1*-21*).

Siebenkees, Johann Christian. *Deutsche Sprichwörter mit Erläuterungen*. Nürnberg: Bauer und Mann, 1790; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2011. 135 pp. (introduction, pp. 5*- 69*).

Sutermeister, Otto. *Die Schweizerischen Sprichwörter der Gegenwart in ausgewählter Sammlung*. Aarau: J.J. Christen, 1869; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2014. 204 pp. (introduction, pp. 7*-59*).

Wagener, Samuel Christoph. *Sprichwörter-Lexikon mit kurzen Erläuterungen. Ein Hausbuch fürs gemeine Leben auch zum Gebrauch in Volksschulen*. Quedlinburg: Gottfried Basse, 1813; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2005. 212 pp. (introduction, pp. 1*-23*).

Wille, Wilhelm. *Die Sittenlehre, in Denksprüchen der Deutschen*. Cassel: Hahn, 1781; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2013. 251 pp. (introduction, pp. 5*-43*).

Wunderlich, Gottlob. *Deutsche Redensarten. Zur Pflege vaterländischer Sprachkenntnis in der Volksschule*. Langensalza: Greßler, 1886; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2017. 229 pp. (introduction, pp. 1*-53*).

Wurzbach, Constant von. *Historische Wörter, Sprichwörter und Redensarten*. Hamburg: Jean Paul Friedrich Eugen Richter, 1866; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2015. 428 pp. (introduction, pp. 7*-86“).

Yermoloff, Alexis. *Der Landwirtschaftliche Volkskalender*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1905; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2010. 567 pp. (introduction, pp. 5*-30*). (weather proverbs).

Zincgref, Julius Wilhelm. *Teutsche Apophthegmata das ist Der Teutschen Scharfsinnige kluge Sprüche*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Ludwig Elzevier, 1653; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Weidmann-Olms, 2006. I, 456 pp.; II, 480 pp. (introduction, pp. V*-XXXIX*).

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What follows is this year’s bibliography of 62 new and reprinted proverb collections in numerous languages. Some of the older ones, for example Edwin Davies’ massive collection *Other Men’s Minds. Seven Thousand Choice Extracts on History, Science, Philosophy, Religion* (1874), were new to me, and I am surprised that I had not acquired them earlier. That is certainly also

true for Richard Spears' valuable *American Idioms Dictionary* (2000). I was also pleased to obtain D.I. Kveselevikh's important *Russko-angliiskii frazeologicheskii slovar'. Russian-English Phraseological Dictionary* (2000) and Danuta and Włodzimierz Masłowscy's *Przysłowia polskie i obce* (2003). Of note are also once again several collections of 100 proverbs each from endangered African languages that are collected by way of the African Proverbs Project located in Nairobi, Kenya, and directed by Father Joseph Healey. These small collections are true paremiographical treasures that register proverbs before they disappear.

Allow me once again to ask you to inform me of newly published proverb collections. I am more than happy to pay for them and the postage so that I can add these significant compilations to "The Wolfgang Mieder International Proverb Library" at the University of Vermont. It is important to keep the paremiological and paremiographical scholarship housed in this research center as complete as possible so that scholars and students can push the fascinating study of proverbs forward.

1. Abdullayeva, Nargiza. *Dictionary of English and Uzbek National Proverbs Containing Graduonyms*. Toshkent: Nurafshon business, 2019. 439 pp.

2. Aigbe, Emmanuel Ikponmwosa. *Iyeva van ariasen vbe itan Edo, na zedu ere ye Ebo. 1040 Edo Proverbs, with Their English Translations*. Lagos: Ribway Printers, 1960. 57 pp.

3. Arnott, Stephen. *Peculiar Proverbs. Weird Words of Wisdom from Around the World*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2007. 271 pp.

4. Baba, Ahmed-Salem Ould Mohamed. "A Collection of Hassani Proverbs and Sayings about Animals." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 104 (2014). 137-150.

5. Bodinga-Bwa-Bodinga, Sébastian, and Lolke J. Van der Veen. *Les proverbes Evia et le monde animal (Gabon)*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995. 95 pp.

6. Bonsack, Wilfried M. *Das Kamel auf der Pilgerfahrt. 1111 Arabische Sprichwörter*. Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1982. 195 pp. With illustrations.

7. Borota, Natascha. *Da steppt der Bär. Bildhaft sprechen mit 222 deutschen Redewendungen*. Wien: Langenscheidt, 2018. 127 pp. With illustrations.

8. Brennan, Brian, and Rosa Plana. *Don't Get Me Wrong. 1000 Redewendungen und Sprüche, die aus dir einen Engländer machen*. Stuttgart: Pons, 2018. 286 pp.

9. Chelo, Angela Katabarwa. *A Collection of 100 Rufumbira [Uganda] Proverbs and Wise Sayings*. Nairobi, Kenya: African Proverbs Project, 2019. 36 pp. With 4 illustrations and 1 map.

10. Chelo, Benon Benjamin. *A Collection of 100 Lopit [South Sudan] Proverbs and Wise Sayings*. Nairobi, Kenya: African Proverbs Project, 2018. 45 pp. With 2 illustrations and 2 maps.

11. Clark, John O.E. *The Reader's Digest Pocket Treasury of Wit & Wisdom*. London: Reader's Digest Association, 1974. 64 pp.

12. Davies, Edwin. *Other Men's Minds. Seven Thousand Choice Extracts on History, Science, Philosophy, Religion, etc., Selected from the Standard Authorship of Ancient and Modern Times, and Classified in Alphabetical Order*. London: Frederick Warne, 1874. 640 pp.

13. Demoze, Fisseha G., and William H. Armstrong. *Ethiopian Amharic Proverbs*. Washington, D.C.: Tigray Development Association in North America, 2019. 115 pp. With 4 illustrations.

14. Devotha, Cikuru Bishangi. *A Collection of 100 Proverbs and Wise Sayings of the Medumba [Cameroon]*. Nairobi, Kenya: African Proverbs Project, 2019. 28 pp. With 1 map.

15. Dotterweich, Peter. *Kumm isch haid nidd, kumm isch meuje. Redensarten und Sprichwörter aus Südhessen in Mundart und Hochdeutsch*. Reinheim: Forstberg, 2018. 131 pp. With illustrations by Nicole Fabert.

16. Eiselein, Joseph. *Die Sprichwörter und Sinnreden des deutschen Volkes in alter und neuer Zeit. Zum erstenmal aus den Quellen geschöpft, erläutert und mit Einleitung versehen.*

Donaueschingen: im literarischen Verlag, 1838; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2019. 718 pp. (introduction, pp. 5*-43*).

17. Elie, Elias Bushiri. *A Collection of 100 Manyika [Zimbabwe] Proverbs and Wise Sayings*. Nairobi, Kenya: African Proverbs Project, 2019. 38 pp. With 8 illustrations and 1 map.

18. Elliott, Harold M. *The Thinking Person's New Book of Quotes, Aphorisms, Quips, Phrases, and Infamous One-Linersf from the Distant Past to the Present and Into the Beyond*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Midascat Press, 2019. 278 pp.

19. Essig, Rolf-Bernhard. *"Alter Schwede!" Die unglaublichen Geschichten hinter unseren Redensarten*. Cadolzburg: ars vivendi Verlag, 2020. With illustrations by Eva Künzel (53 calendar pages).

20. Exley, Helen (ed.). *The Wicked Little Book of Quotes*. New York: Exley Publications, 1996. 60 pp. With illustrations.

21. Foggitt, Bill. *Weatherwise. Facts, Fictions, and Predictions*. Illustrations by Walter van Lotringen. Philadelphia: Running Press, 1992. 88 pp.

22. Fujimura, Miori. *Minimum de manabu doitsugo no kotowaza (German Proverbs – Leaarning the Minimum)*. Tokyo: KRESS, 2019. 117 pp. (Cooperator: Beate Wonde).

23. Gjevori, Mehmet. *Frazeologjizma të gjuhës shqipe*. Prishtine, Kosovo: Rilindja, 1972. 432 pp.

24. Gray, James. *Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources; or, the Nîti Literature of Burma*. London: Trubner & Co., 1886; rpt. London: Forgotten Books, 2018. 175 pp.

25. Green, Jonathon. *The Slang Thesaurus*. London: Penguin Books, 1988. 280 pp.

26. Hassan, Irene, and T. Iklali Jainal. "A Selection of Tausug [Philippines] Riddles and Proverbs." *Sulu Studies*, 2 (1973), 210-224.

27. Heine, Matthias. *Mit Affenzahn über die Eselsbrücke. Die Tiere in unserer Sprache*. Hamburg: Atlantik, 2019. 254 pp.

28. Ireri, Margaret Wambere. *A Collection of 100 Nuer [South Sudan] Proverbs and Wise Sayings*. Nairobi, Kenya: African Proverbs Project, 2019. 49 pp. With 4 illustrations and 3 maps.

29. Ishiabwe, Atemu. *A Collection of 100 Kooki (Uganda) Proverbs and Wise Sayings*. Nairobi, Kenya: African Proverbs Project, 2019. 35 pp. With 2 maps.

30. Jolly, Rick and Tugg. *Jackspeak. A Guide to British Naval Slang and Usage*. With cartoons by Tugg. 3rd ed. London: Conway, 2011. 526 pp.

31. Kaminski, John P. (ed.). *Citizen Jefferson. The Wit and Wisdom of an American Sage*. Madison, Wisconsin: Madison House, 1994. 132 pp.

32. Kitamura, Yoshikatsu. *Minimum de manabu eigo no kotowaza (English Proverbs – Learning the Minimum)*. Tokyo: KRESS, 2017. 117 pp. (Coordinator: Kristin Newton).

33. Kveselevikh, D.I. *Russko-angliiskii frazeologicheskii slovar'. Russian-English Phraseological Dictionary*. Moskva: Russkii Iazyk, 2000. 705 pp.

34. Linus, Paul. *Unverhofft kommt oft: Die schönsten Sprichwort-Geschichten zum Lachen und Schmunzeln*. With illustrations by Nikolai Renger. Karlsruhe: Singliesl Verlag, 2018. 80 pp.

35. Macadam, J.H. *A Collection of Proverbs of All Nations on Bread and Baking*. London: MacLaren, 1924. Rpt. Belgrade: Balkankult Foundation, 2006. 161 pp.

36. Mandel, Carolin, and Stefanie Pfennig (eds.). *"Eine kluge Frau weiß, dass es keine Grenzen für sie gibt". Starke Sprüche für großartige Frauen*. Germering: Groh Verlag, 2017. 190 pp. With illustrations.

37. Mansaly, Jules. *Dictionnaire des proverbes balant. Une langue du groupe atlantique-ouest de la famille niger-congo au Sénegal*. Koln: Rüdiger Köppe, 2018. 111 pp.

38. Masłowscy, Danuta, and Włodzimierz Masłowscy. *Przysłowia polskie i obce*. Waszawa: Swiat Ksiazki, 2003. 511 pp.

39. Mieder, Wolfgang. "Little Minds Run in the Same Ditch. Vermont Proverbs." Bill Mares and Jeff Danziger. *The Full Vermonty. Vermont in the Age of Trump*. Brattleboro, Vermont: Green Writers Press, 2017. 81-82.

40. Negri, Paul (ed.). *Oscar Wilde's Wit & Wisdom. A Book of Quotations*. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 1998. 60 pp.

41. Oisebe, Annastasi. *A Collection of 100 Pare [Tanzania] Proverbs and Wise Sayings*. Nairobi, Kenya: African Proverbs Project, 2019. 34 pp. With 1 illustration and 2 maps.

42. Okubo, Kevin Namatsi. *A Collection of 100 Toro [Uganda] Proverbs and Wise Sayings*. Nairobi, Kenya: African Proverbs Project, 2019. 31 pp. With 2 illustrations and 1 map.

43. O'Neill, Alice. *Proverbs. The Wisdom of the World*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2016. 58 pp. With 29 illustrations from art history.

44. Paczolay, Gyula. *Kőzmondások, szólások Zrínyi i Miklós írásaiban. Proverbs, Sayings in the Writings of Miklos Zrinyi*. Budapest: Tinta Kőnyvkiadó, 2019. 145 pp.

45. Peter, Etoka Malisuse. *A Collection of 100 Gweno [Tanzania] Proverbs and Wise Sayings*. Nairobi, Kenya: African Proverbs Project, 2019. 34 pp. With 3 illustrations and 1 map.

46. Petras, Kathryn, and Ross Petras (eds.). *The Whole World Book of Quotations. Wisdom from Women and Men Around the Globe Throughout the Centuries*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1994. 476 pp.

47. Pulu, Jimi. *Idu Mishmi Proverbs and Sayings*. Itanagar, India: Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, 2002. 52 pp. With illustrations.

48. Scarry, Richard. *The Early Bird*. New York: Random House, 1968. Republished as: *Lowly Worm Meets the Early Bird*. New York: Random House, 1996. 30 pp. (illustrated children's book).

49. Schüppen, Tobias. *Sprichwörter & Redewendungen*. St. Gallen: Autismusverlag, 2018. 24 pp. With illustrations.

50. Shipman, John. *The Endless Proverb Model of the Universe*. Toronto: The Department of Household Sciences and Advanced Proverbs, 2015. 291 pp. (a lengthy poetic collage made up of Anglo-American proverbs).

51. Soares, Marinela C.R., and Rui J.B. Soares. *Os saberes proverbiais nas falas de outras linguas*. Tavira: Tipografia Tavirense, 2019. 62 pp.

52. Socrates, Alimas Kaluta Adrien. *A Collection of 100 Soga [Uganda] Proverbs and Wise Sayings*. Nairobi, Kenya: African Proverbs Project, 2019. 37 pp. With 1 illustration and 2 maps.

53. Spears, Richard A. *NTC's American Idioms Dictionary*. 3rd ed. Lincolnwood, Illinois: NTC Publishing Group, 2000. 625 pp.

54. Spears, Richard A., Betty Birner, and Steven Kleinedler. *NTC's Dictionary of Everyday American English Expressions. Presented According to Topic and Situation*. Lincolnwood, Illinois: NTC Publishing Group, 1994. 415 pp.

55. Stănciulescu-Bârda, Alexandru. *Dicţionarul proverbelor religioase româneşti*. Bârda: Cuget Românesc, 2019. III, 609 pp. (P-Z).

56. Stein, Melissa (ed.). *The Wit and Wisdom of Women*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Running Press, 1993. 192 pp.

57. Taylor, Kenneth N. *Living Proverbs. Selections. [Bible]*. Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House, 1967. 60 pp.

58. Weidinger, Birgit (ed.). *Warum ist die Leberwurst beleidigt? Sprichwörter und Redensarten – und was dahintersteckt*. München: Bassermann, 2018. 203 pp.

59. Weinberg, Meyer (ed.). *The World of W.E.B. Du Bois. A Quotation Sourcebook*. Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012 (1st ed. 1992). 282 pp.

60. Werbelow, Wulf. *Pfälzer Sprichwörter*. Neustadt an der Weinstraße: Agiro Verlag, 2018. 135 pp. With illustrations by Steffen Boiselle.

61. Wilder, Laura Ingalls. *The Little House Book of Wisdom*. New York: HarperCollins, 2017. 55 pp.

62. Zellem, Edward. *Seanfhocail na hAfganastáine le Pictiúir*. Translated from the original English into Irish by Gordon McCoy. Irish equivalents by Fionnuala Carson Williams. Illustrated by the students of Marefat High School. Tampa, Florida: Cultures Direct Press, 2019. 98 pp.

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WOLFGANG MIEDER

# INTERNATIONAL PROVERB SCHOLARSHIP: AN UPDATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

For Carmen Mellado Blanco

This is the thirty-seventh time that I have put together an annual updated bibliography of the paremiological and phraseological scholarship that I have been able to add to my International Proverb Archives at the University of Vermont. This year I can list the truly impressive number of 476 publications in the form of books, essay volumes, dissertations, and articles in numerous languages from scholars throughout the world. I realize that there is even more work going on, but obviously I can only do my best to be as complete as humanly possible. This leads me to plead once again with paremiologists and phraseologists everywhere to inform me of their newest publications. Please do send me copies of your papers with complete bibliographical information. While I prefer hard copies, it is perfectly fine to send them as e-mail attachments. I can print them out here and integrate them into my holdings. Please also send me your books, essay volumes, and dissertations. I shall be glad to purchase them and pay for the expensive postage.

As I prepared this list with the help of our departmental administrative assistant Brian Minier, I could not help but be amazed at the multifaceted research that sees the light of day within just one year! There are many old and new treasures to be found in this list. For example, I was glad to purchase an original copy of Edwin Paxton Hood's massive *The World of Proverb and Parable. With Illustrations from History, Biography, and the Anecdotal Table-Talk of All Ages* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1885). Special note should also be taken of František Čermák, *Lexical and Semantic Aspects of Proverbs* (Prague: Charles University Press, 2019); Anna Sulikowska, *Kognitive Aspekte der Phraseologie. Konstituierung der Bedeutung von Phraseologismen aus der Perspektive der Kognitiven Linguistik* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2019); Georgios Tserpes, *The Proverbial Discourse of the Balkan Peoples. Themes,*

*Uses, Interpretations, Communication. A Contribution to Comparative Folkloristics* (Diss. University of Athens, 2019); and many other invaluable publications, among them numerous indispensable essay volumes. In addition to the annual volumes of *Paremia* (the 2019 volume has not yet arrived), *Proverbium*, and the *Yearbook of Phraseology*, there are now also the first two volumes of *Phrasis. Rivista di studi fraseologici e paremiologici* (2017 and 2018), edited by Trinis A. Messina Fajaro and Cosimo De Giovanni at Rome.

As has been my custom for quite some years now, I would like to dedicate this year's bibliography as well to a special friend. This time it is Prof. Carmen Mellado Blanco from the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela in Spain. She is instrumental in keeping me abreast of paremiological and phraseological scholarship in Spain by sending me her own publications but also various essay volumes. As German professors, we have much in common, and we are always overjoyed when we meet up at international conferences. As we do our work for our students and our projects, it is good to know that paremiologists and phraseologists are an international family connected through admiration, respect, and friendship. There is no doubt that my scholarly and personal life has been enriched by my friend Carmen Mellado Blanco, and I thank her for her steady help and valuable support.

1. Abdulrahman, Abdulhamid. *Tiermetaphorik in unterschiedlichen Diskurstraditionen*. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2018. 248 pp.

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