

PROVERBIUM

Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship



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This volume of

*Proverbium: Yearbook of
International Scholarship*

is dedicated

to the memory of

ARVO KRIKMANN
(1939-2017)



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PROVERBIOS Y SENTENCIAS EN *HISTORIA APOLLONII
REGIS TYRI*¹

Abstract: *The Story of Apollonius King of Tyre* is an anonymous account from the 5th or 6th century A.D., often considered as pertaining to the adventure genre. It is not a work of high literary quality: on the contrary, the Latin used is rather poor and full of repetitions and inconsistencies. However, this novella greatly influenced subsequent literature, perhaps owing to its popular nature which gives it a certain degree of timelessness. The proverbs included in the book are further evidence of such popularity. We believe their study provides interesting information and sheds some light on some of the questions surrounding this literary work.

Keywords: Apollonius, *Story of Apollonius*, proverb, maxim.

1. Introducción

La *Historia de Apolonio* está rodeada de muchos interrogantes que, lejos de mermarle interés, hacen de ella un excelente objeto de estudio, sin menospreciar su valor literario que, como veremos más adelante, no reside tanto en la calidad de su latín como en el atractivo de su argumento. Enumeramos a continuación estos interrogantes:

- Se desconoce el autor, así como su procedencia.
- Según unos, puede tratarse de una traducción, adaptación libre o epítome del siglo V o VI d.C. de un original griego hoy perdido del s. III d.C., entre otras cosas porque los nombres de los personajes son griegos, los lugares son griegos y la novela de aventuras de este tipo es un género que nació y se desarrolló principalmente en Grecia. Otros, en cambio, opinan que su primera redacción fue en latín.
- El género literario es la novela y se asemeja sobre todo a la griega que floreció entre los siglos I a.C. y III d.C. con obras como *Quéreas* y *Calíroo* de Caritón de Afrodísia, *Efesíacas* de Jenofonte de Éfeso, *Babilónicas* de Jámblico o *Dafnis* y *Cloe* de Longo². Sin embargo, se diferencia de

todas ellas en que el hilo conductor no es el amor, prácticamente ausente en toda la obra.

- Hay una combinación de elementos paganos y cristianos, siendo estos últimos, según algunos autores, interpolaciones posteriores.
- Se conservan más de cien manuscritos de esta obra y se basan en dos versiones que difieren sustancialmente la una de la otra, la denominada *Recensio A (RA)* y *Recensio B (RB)*, siendo la primera más prosaica y breve que la segunda³.

La *Historia* es producto de una época en la que importan más las aventuras y su desenlace que la forma. Ya no sucede como en los poemas épicos y las tragedias, en los que el argumento ya es conocido por los lectores y espectadores y se priorizaba el modo de contar los hechos. Su fama, enorme a tenor de las versiones conservadas en varias lenguas europeas, entre las que destacan el *Libro de Apolonio* del siglo XIII en España y *Pericles, King of Tyre* (1607) de Shakespeare en Inglaterra, se debe a esa capacidad por atraer al lector a la trama del relato y no a su calidad literaria. No es que la *Historia de Apolonio* contenga elementos populares, sino que es popular en sí misma, es su rasgo definitorio (cf. Puche López 1999): los lugares donde transcurre la acción son reales, los personajes no están dotados de virtudes fantásticas, hasta el punto de que un simple y pobre pescador — con el que cualquier lector podría identificarse — es capaz de dar lecciones de moral a un príncipe, y el elemento divino se reduce a meras referencias y no influye en el desarrollo de la narración.

No es extraño que aparezcan, pues, elementos populares como los proverbios o sentencias, cuyo estudio, además de su utilidad para la paremiología, acaso arroje algo de luz a alguno de los interrogantes que envuelven todavía este libro. Lo difícil, como sucede en muchas obras de la antigüedad grecorromana, es saber cuándo un proverbio es realmente un proverbio y cuando es una frase gnómica o ingeniosa o un tópico literario. Para identificar una expresión como proverbio se podrían dar varios casos:

- Que apareciera repetida dos veces como mínimo y, a ser posible, por distintos autores, lo cual probaría *sine dubio* que estaría consolidado como tal.

- Que se usaran expresiones del tipo: *prouerbialiter, ut dicunt, ut aiunt...* que identificaban una expresión como proverbio (cf. Seru. *Aen.* IX 274: *cum enim dicit 'ut dicitur' ostendit prouerbiale*). Estas expresiones, por cierto, no aparecen en la obra que nos ocupa.
- Que los paremiólogos antiguos o Erasmo, el primer paremiólogo moderno, lo reconocieran como tal.
- Que hubiese pasado a las lenguas modernas, aunque fuera con alguna leve variación.

En la *Historia de Apolonio* estudiaremos primero aquellos proverbios cuya entidad como tales no está puesta en duda y, después, analizaremos las expresiones que bien podrían clasificarse como proverbios pero de las que tan sólo poseemos el testimonio del anónimo autor de la *Historia*.

2. Proverbios en la *Historia de Apolonio*

A) *Rex longam manum habet*⁴

Este proverbio aparece en la versión RB, en una conversación inexistente en RA entre Apolonio y el timonel del barco, que no sabe el motivo por el cual deben navegar en medio del mar (*medium umbilicum pelagi*), en vez de utilizar el sistema — más seguro— de cabotaje, es decir, siempre con la costa a la vista. Apolonio le explica que lo persigue el rey Antíoco, el cual “tiene la mano muy larga” y, en consecuencia, puede darles alcance, porque cuenta con sirvientes o delatores esparcidos por todas partes que le informen⁵:

Sed moras facientibus qui classes nauium insistebant, iuuenis ille Tyrius Apollonius iam ut medium umbilicum pelagi tenebat, respiciens ad eum gubernator sic ait: 'domine Apolloni, numquid de arte mea aliquid queres?'. Apollonius ait: 'Ego quidem de arte tua nihil queror, sed a rege Antiocho quaeror. Interiorem itaque partem pelagi teneamus; rex enim longam habet manum; quod uoluerit facere, perficiet. Sed uerendum est, ne nos persequatur'.

“Pero mientras aquellos se demoraban preparando la flota, aquel joven de Tiro, Apolonio, ya se encontraba en alta mar. El timonel se dio la vuelta hacia él y le preguntó:
 — Señor Apolonio, ¿tienes alguna queja de mi trabajo?
 — En absoluto —contestó Apolonio—, pero me busca el rey Antíoco. Mantengamos, por tanto, el rumbo hacia el interior del mar, ya que la mano del rey es larga y si algo quiere, lo conseguirá. Hemos de temer que nos persiga”
(hist. Apoll. 8 RB)

Este proverbio está atestiguado en las fuentes antiguas, tanto griegas como latinas. Pero es quizá en las *Cartas de Heroínas* de Ovidio donde mejor se muestra este paralelo, pues en los dos textos se emplea en un contexto parecido al referirse a un gobernante ausente y a una persona que ha hecho o va a hacer algo contra él. Así en la epístola que Helena le escribe a Paris, ella le narra al príncipe troyano la despedida de Menelao, quien antes de marcharse hacia Creta le ordenó (*her.* 17,161-2): *resque domusque/ et tibi sit curae Troicus hospes* (“ocúpate de nuestros asuntos, de la casa y de nuestro huésped troyano”). Pero la sensación que tiene Helena es precisamente la de ser siempre vigilada por su marido, aun estando este ausente:

*Sed tu non ideo cuncta licere puta!
 Sic meus hinc uir abest ut me custodiat absens.
 An nescis longas regibus esse manus?*

¡Pero tú no pienses que por eso todo está permitido! Mi esposo está lejos de aquí, pero, aunque esté ausente, me vigila. ¿No sabes que los reyes tienen las manos largas?
(Ou. her. 17,166-8)

Erasmus, Otto (1890: 240) y Tosi (2013: 474) en sus repertorios paremiológicos y Schraeder en su edición del libro VIII de Heródoto (1989: 230) dan buena cuenta de los textos en los que aparece este proverbio, con alguna que otra variación, aunque no refieren la cita de la *Historia de Apolonio* (cf. Arsenio 11,7a; Mal Lara 2013: 519-20):

LONGAE REGVM MANVS: Quod ab Ouidio scriptum est: ‘An nescis longas regibus esse manus?’ Etiam uulgo in ore est: ‘A regibus cauendum, quod eis praelonga sint bra-

chia'. Nimirum, quod per suos, quibus brachiorum uice utuntur, possint etiam procul dissitos affligere. Potest et ad tempus referri, quod reges etiam si diutius dissimulent, soleant tamen aliquando poenam sumere de iis, quibus infensi fuerint uel Homero teste, apud quem Iliados A (I 80-2) Calchas ad hunc loquitur modum:

*Κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεύς, ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ
χέρηϊ.*

*Εἶπερ γὰρ τε χόλον γε καὶ ἀτῆμαρ καταπέψη,
Ἄλλά γε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὄφρα
τελέσση, id est*

Rex deus est, quoties succensuit inferiori.

*Quanquam etenim in praesens feruentem concoquit
iram,*

Post odit tamen, usque odium dum expleuerit ultus.

LAS LARGAS MANOS DE LOS REYES: Ovidio escribió lo siguiente: ‘¿No sabes que los reyes tienen las manos largas?’. También el pueblo suele decir: ‘Cuidado con los reyes, que tiene unos brazos muy largos’. En efecto, gracias a sus súbditos, de cuyos brazos se sirve en vez de los suyos, pueden incluso acabar desde lejos con los que se le oponen. Puede también ser informado al momento, porque los reyes, aunque disimulen durante un tiempo, no obstante suelen de vez en cuando vengarse de aquellos que pueden llegar a ser sus enemigos o, como afirma Homero, en el primer libro de la *Ilíada* (I 80,2), en boca de Calcante: ‘El rey es como un dios cuando se enoja con alguien inferior./ Pues aunque parezca que apacigua su ira./ sin embargo mantiene su odio hasta que consigue saciar su venganza’ (Erasm. *adag.* I 2,3)

Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίης τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας ἐξ ἐμέο ἐούσης οὐδὲν λέξω (οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε), προσσχηίζω δὲ ὑμέων πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ. Ἐνορέω γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἴοισί τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμέειν Ξέρξῃ (εἰ γὰρ ἐνῶρων τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἂν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας ἦλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε)· καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἢ βασιλέος ἐστὶ καὶ χεῖρ ὑπερμήρης

Por lo que a mí se refiere no voy a hablaros de la simpatía que siento por vosotros; de hecho no sería ahora la primera prueba que tendríais de ella, pero os ruego encarecidamente que prestéis oídos a Mardonio, ya que no os veo en condiciones de luchar permanentemente contra Jerjes; realmente, si os viera capaces de ello, jamás me hubiera presentado ante vosotros con semejantes proposiciones, pues el poderío del rey es sobrehumano y, además, su brazo llega a todos los rincones [trad. C. Schrader] (Herodot. VIII 140)

Es este proverbio el causante seguramente del sobrenombre con que se conoció a Artajerjes I, hijo de Jerjes I y rey de Persia en el s. V a.C.: Μακρόχειρ, *Macrochira*, ‘Mano larga’, aludiendo al hecho de que su poder llegaba a todos los rincones de su enorme imperio (Schrader 1989: 230). Curiosamente Plutarco y Amiano Marcelino interpretan este epíteto como si se refiriera a una deformación física, es decir, que “tenía la mano derecha más grande que la otra” (Plut. *Artax.* 1: τὴν δεξιὰν μείζονα τῆς ἐτέρας ἔχων; cf. Nep. *reg.* I 3,4; Strab. XV 3,21; Amm. XXX 8,4).

Asimismo Tosi (2013: 473-4) pone en relación este proverbio con el documentado en Luciano (*ind.* 23; *merc. cond.* 29): ὅσα καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ πολλοὶ βασιλέως “El rey tiene muchas orejas y ojos”, aplicado a la capacidad que tienen los gobernantes de enterarse de todo lo acaecido en sus dominios gracias a la cantidad de sirvientes que tienen a lo ancho y largo de su imperio. Y bien podría asemejarse al poder que tiene Dios de llegar a todas partes (*Isaias* 59,1): *Ecce non est abbreviata manus Domini ut saluare nequeat neque aggrauata est auris eius ut non exaudiat* (“Mirad que la mano del Señor no es demasiado corta para salvar ni su oído tan duro como para no oír”).

Séneca transmite el proverbio un poco modificado, pues ya no es el rey el que tiene la mano muy larga, sino la Fortuna que es la que hace lo que quiere a su antojo, aunque, insiste el Cordobés, se le puede contrarrestar con la Filosofía, seguramente refiriéndose al estoicismo que te permite soportar cualquier desgracia que la Fortuna o el destino te pueda deparar. *Sapiens ipsus* —dice Plauto (*trin.* 363) — *fingit fortunam sibi* (“El sabio modela él mismo su destino”)⁶:

Philosophia circumdanda est, inexpugnabilis murus, quem fortuna multis machinis lacessitum non transit. In insuperabili loco stat animus qui externa deseruit et arce se sua uindicat; infra illum omne telum cadit. Non habet, ut putamus, fortuna longas manus: neminem occupat nisi haerentem sibi.

La Filosofía ha de estar rodeada como un muro inexpugnable, que la Fortuna no puede atravesar aunque la acose con muchos artefactos. El alma que ha renunciado a los bienes externos está en un lugar inalcanzable y se defiende desde su ciudadela; debajo de ella cualquier arma queda abatida. La Fortuna no tiene, tal como creemos, las manos largas; a nadie atrapa, si no está pegado a ella (Sen. *epist.* 82,5-6)

A tenor del poder de la Fortuna en las vidas de las personas se podrían aludir dos referencias similares extraídas de la *Historia de Apolonio*. En ellas el príncipe Atenágoras y un conciudadano suyo se dirigen a Tarsia para consolarla, después de que esta, condenada a prostituirse, les haya narrado sus infortunios y se haya postrado a sus pies rogándoles que le permitan conservar su virginidad:

Cui cum uniuersos casus suos exposuisset, princeps confusus est et pietate ductus uehementer obstupuit et ait ad eam: 'Erige te. Scimus fortunae casus: homines sumus. Habeo et ego filiam uirginem, ex qua similem possum casum metuere'.

[...] Puella autem prostrauit se ad eius pedes et similiter casus suos exposuit; confudit hominem et auertit a libidine. Et ait iuuenis ad eam: 'Alleua te, domina! **Et nos homines sumus, casibus subiacentes**'.

Tras haberle expuesto [Tarsia] todas sus desdichas, el príncipe se quedó confundido y estupefacto y, llevado por la compasión, le dijo:

—Levántate. Sé cómo puede torcerse el destino, pues somos humanos. También yo tengo una hija virgen, de la que bien puedo temer que le pase la misma desgracia.

[...] Entonces la muchacha se postró a sus pies [del conciudadano] y le expuso sus desgracias del mismo modo

que había hecho antes. Confundió al hombre e hizo desaparecer su apetito sexual.

—Levántate, señora, también nosotros somos personas que hemos padecido desgracias (*hist. Apoll.* 34)

Estas dos referencias habría que entenderlas, en nuestra opinión, como frases gnómicas o sentencias y no como proverbios, aunque la franja que separa estos conceptos es muy fina. El anónimo autor de la *Retórica a Herenio* (IV 17,24) define la *sententia* como: *oratio sumpta de uita, quae aut quid sit aut quid esse oporteat in uita, breuiter ostendit* (“una frase tomada de la experiencia de la vida, que muestra de forma breve qué sucede o qué debe suceder en ella”) y pone precisamente un ejemplo que tiene que ver con la Fortuna: [*Non solet is potissimum*] *uirtutes reuereri, qui semper secunda fortuna sit usus* (“No suele reverenciar las virtudes aquel que siempre ha disfrutado de una fortuna favorable”)⁷.

La Fortuna —la *Tyche* griega —, que dicta el destino de los hombres y causa alegrías e infortunios por igual, ha sido muy recurrente en la literatura —tiene especial relevancia precisamente en el género de la novela (Miralles 1968: 100-1; García Gual 1991: 159-61) — y paremiología romanas (cf. Otto 1890: 141-5; Tosi: 2013: 388-401). Válgannos como ejemplo dos testimonios muy cercanos en sentido al mentado por Séneca y que la tradición sí ha recogido como proverbios (cf. Jiménez Gazapo *et al.* 2012: 248-50):

...fortuna humana fingit artatque ut lubet

La Fortuna de las personas hace y deshace como le place (Plaut. *capt.* 304)

...“heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos te deus? Vt semper gaudes in ludere rebus humanis!” ...

“¡Ay, Fortuna, ¿qué dios hay más cruel con nosotros que tú? ¡Cómo disfrutas siempre jugando con las cosas humanas!” (Hor. *sat.* II 8,61-3)

En conclusión, la aparición del proverbio *Rex longam manum habet* en el manuscrito RB y la ausencia en RA puede significar que el autor de RB, con una formación más literaria, pretendiera dar pulcritud al relato con referencias de autores de renombre,

como Ovidio, quien fue el que seguramente literaturizó el proverbio⁸ y a quien ya recurre en otras ocasiones el anónimo autor para, por ejemplo, en la descripción de la tormenta (*met.* I 263-5; 283 y 330) y quizá como inspiración para la historia del incesto al comienzo de la obra entre el rey Antíoco y su hija, con los relatos mitológicos de Mirra y Cíniras (*met.* X 298-502) o de Fedra e Hipólito (*her.* 4).

B) *Per certam litteram mandauī, quae pudorem non habet*⁹

La hija de Arquístrates, rey de Cirene, queda embelesada por la belleza y sabiduría de Apolonio y se enamora de él, hasta el punto de verse por este amor postrada en la cama. Su padre, preocupado, pasea por el foro junto a Apolonio y tres jóvenes se les acercan con la exigencia de que elija a uno de ellos para que se case con su hija. El rey les ruega que pongan en unas tablillas la cantidad de dinero que están dispuestos a darle y le pide a Apolonio que se las entregue a su hija para que escoja a uno. Ella escribe una carta donde, de forma descarada, indica que su voluntad es casarse con el que perdió todo en un naufragio, es decir, Apolonio:

*“Bone rex et pater optime, quoniam clementiae tuae indulgentia permittis mihi, dicam: illum uolo coniugem naufragio patrimonio deceptum. Et si miraris, pater, quod tam pudica uirgo tam impudenter scripserim: per ceram mandauī, quae pudorem non habet”*¹⁰

“Buen rey y excelente padre, dado que tu cariño me lo permite, te lo diré: aquel a quien quiero como esposo es el que perdió sus riquezas en un naufragio. Si te sorprende, padre, que yo siendo una doncella tan honesta te haya escrito de forma tan directa y sin vergüenza, no te preocupes, pues te lo he enviado por carta y una carta no puede avergonzarse de nada” (*hist. Apoll.* 20)

El término latino empleado es *pudor*, que, como define bien Librán Moreno (2007: 3), “es el temor a recibir una censura merecida de tipo moral” (cf. Cic. *resp.* V 6; Gell. XIX 6,3) y cuando va referida a una mujer suele aludir a la *sexual respectability* (Kaster 1997: 9-10). Tarsia es consciente de que su actitud puede ser reprobable por tres motivos: primero porque es una doncella y en teoría debe ser el padre el que le elija marido; segundo, porque en las relaciones amorosas es en principio el hombre el que debe cor-

tejar a la mujer y dar el primer paso, no al revés (cf. *Ou. ars I* 278); y, por último, porque no estaba bien visto —hasta el punto de considerarse casi incestuoso— que una discípula se casara con su maestro¹¹. El rubor que ese atrevimiento le produce no se manifiesta en su rostro, que es lo habitual, sino en la epístola, anunciadora de sus deseos. El sonrojo debido a un acto censurable está ampliamente atestiguado en la poesía romana (Librán Moreno 2011: 348; cf. *Catull. 65,15-24*). Pero de nuevo es Ovidio el que mejor viene a cuento para comparar la *Historia de Apolonio*, pues los testimonios de ambos escritores son parecidos al mostrar relaciones incestuosas. En un primer ejemplo Fedra, enamorada de su hijastro Hipólito, le manda una carta porque la vergüenza le impidió decirle en persona lo que sentía:

*Ter tecum conata loqui ter inutilis haesit
lingua, ter in primo restitit ore sonus.
Qua licet et sequitur, pudor est miscendus amori;
dicere quae puduit, scribere iussit amor*

Tres veces intenté hablarte, tres veces mi lengua, impotente, enmudeció, tres veces se detuvo el sonido en los labios. Mientras esté permitido y se pueda lograr, el pudor ha de mezclarse con el amor. El amor me ha ordenado escribir, lo que me dio vergüenza decir (*Ou. her. 4,7-10*)

En otro relato ovidiano Biblis se enamora perdidamente de su hermano Cauno y, después de un sueño en el que yacían juntos los dos —*testis abest somno (met. IX 480)*—, se debate entre declararle o no su amor y habla consigo misma en los siguientes términos:

*...Obscenaeprocul hinc discedite flammae
nec, nisi qua fas est germanae, frater ametur!
Si tamen ipse mei captus prior esset amore,
forsitan illius possem indulgere furori.
Ergo ego, quae fueram non reiectura petentem,
ipsa petam? Poterisne loqui? Poterisne fateri?
Coget amor, potero! Vel, si pudor ora tenebit,
littera celatos arcana fatebitur ignes.'*

¡Alejaos de aquí desvergonzadas llamas y que deje de amar a mi hermano, a menos que sea como le está permitido a una hermana! Pero si él fuera el que se rindiera

primero al amor, quizá podría yo ceder a su pasión. ¿Debería ir entonces yo misma... yo, que no le rechazaría si él me lo pidiese? ¿Podrás hablar? ¿Podrás pronunciar alguna palabra? El amor me obligará: podré. O si la vergüenza consigue frenar mi lengua, una carta secreta declarará mi oculta pasión (Ou. *met.* IX 509-16)

Es este un proverbio empleado para referirse a la posibilidad que da la carta de decir aquello que en persona uno no se atreve y está de sobra documentado (Otto 1890: 125; Tosi 2013: 38-9; Kortekaas 2007: 282). Cicerón, el primero que sepamos que lo menciona —pese a que Swoboda no lo cite en su estudio sobre los proverbios en el Arpinate—, dice en una carta dirigida a su amigo Lucio Luceyo (*fam.* 5,12,1):

Coram me tecum eadem haec agere saepe conantem deterruit pudor quidam paene subrusticus quae nunc expromam absens audacius; epistula enim non erubescit.

Delante de ti a menudo una vergüenza casi absurda me ha producido un miedo terrible al intentar tratar contigo aquellos mismos temas que ahora, no estando contigo delante, trataré más audazmente, pues una carta no se sonroja (Cic. *fam.* 5,12,1).

Por su parte, Plinio al hablar de las proscripciones posteriores a la guerra civil, menciona la vergüenza que deberían sentir los libros de los pontífices, denominados *Anales*:

Erubescant annales, qui bellum ciuile illud talibus uitii inputauere; nostra aetas fortior fuit

Que se avergüencen los anales que atribuyeron aquella guerra civil a tales vicios; nuestra época fue más sólida (Plin. *nat.* 33,145)

San Ambrosio asimismo al comienzo de su obra *Sobre las vírgenes* (I 1,1), hace una *captatio benouolentiae*, disculpando que si algo hay que al escucharlo pueda parecer indecoroso, mejor es leerlo, *liber enim non erubescit* “pues un libro no se sonroja”. Hay una referencia más de Eneas Silvio Piccolomini¹², conocido como Pío II después de ser elegido Papa (1458), quien le escribe una carta al príncipe Segismundo Duque de Austria respondiendo a su

petición de que le envíe un modelo de carta de amor con la que conseguir que la persona que ama le corresponda —un Cyrano de Bergerac *avant la lettre*—. Piccolomini le envía una ficticia carta de Aníbal, rey de Numidia, a Lucrecia, hija del rey de los Epirotas, en la que precisamente menciona este proverbio y lo hace más extenso, pues la epístola no solo no se pone roja, sino que tampoco suspira ni teme a nadie:

*Volui te sepius alloqui amoremque meum tibi natum efficere, sed etas mea nimis adhuc uerecunda est que non patitur, quod intra me sentio foras exire. Quam primum incipio loqui, mox rubor adest, timor impedit et mediis uox in faucibus heret, nec cogitata possum effari. Timeo modestiam tuam ne me arguat; ueeor astantes ne me derideant; horresco me ipsum ne balbutiens fiam. Hac de re, quod statueram dicere, decreui litteris committere **quia epistola non erubescit, non suspirat, non timet quemquam.***

He querido a menudo hablarte y mostrarte el amor que me ha nacido por ti, pero mi edad todavía demasiado vergonzosa no me deja sacar lo que siento dentro. Tan pronto como empiezo a hablar, de repente me invade la vergüenza, el miedo me paraliza y la voz no me sale de la garganta y me siento incapaz de decirte lo que pienso. Temo que tu discreción me rechace; me aterroriza que las personas de alrededor se burlen de mí; y tengo miedo de que me ponga a tartamudear. Por este motivo he decidido enviarte por escrito todo aquello que había pensado decirte, puesto que una carta no se ruboriza, no suspira ni teme a nadie (Picc. *epist.* 122)

Este proverbio, que sepamos, no está atestiguado en griego, por lo que cabe pensar que fuera invención latina. Si así fuera, sería un argumento más para apoyar la teoría de que la versión original de la *Historia de Apolonio* fuera latina y no griega. También podría suponer que toda la historia de los tres pretendientes que se presentan ante el rey para pedir la mano de su hija (párrafos 19-21) se hubiera tomado de otra fuente, acaso de una comedia latina, tal como sugiere Perry (1967: 305-7; cf. Puche 1997: 110).

3. *Expresiones que bien podrían ser proverbios*

A) *Apud bonos enim homines amicitiam praemium non comparatur*

Helénico, un súbdito de Apolonio, se encuentra con el rey en la playa y le advierte de que Antíoco ha puesto precio a su cabeza. Apolonio en agradecimiento por avisarlo le ofrece doscientos talentos de oro, la misma cantidad que Antíoco ofrecía por su cabeza. Pero Helénico le responde:

*“Absit, domine, ut huius rei causa praemium accipiam.
Apud bonos enim homines amicitia praemio non comparatur”*

“Señor, lejos de mí recibir un premio por esto, pues entre hombres buenos la amistad no se compra con dinero”
(*hist. Apoll.* 8)

Esto no es tanto un proverbio como una frase hecha o sentencia gnómica (Panayotakis 2012: 149), pero se parece a otras expresiones que sí son un proverbio del tipo *Nemo beneficia in calendario scribit* “Nadie escribe los beneficios en el calendario”, que aparece en Séneca (cf. Tosi 2013: 614)¹³:

Ego illud dedi, ut darem. Nemo beneficia in calendario scribit nec avarus exactor ad horam et diem appellat. Numquam illa uir bonus cogitat nisi admonitus a reddente; alioqui in formam crediti transeunt. Turpis feneratio est beneficium expensum ferre

Cuando he dado algo, ha sido por el mero hecho de darlo. Nadie escribe en el calendario las cosas buenas que hace, ni el acreedor avaro reclama el pago en el día y hora fijados. El hombre bueno nunca piensa en aquellas cosas, excepto si se lo recuerda el que se benefició de ello, pues de otra manera pasarían de ser beneficios a préstamos. Torpe usura es anotar un beneficio como cuenta (*Sen. ben.* I 2,3)

Estas expresiones se opondrían a otras que se emplean cuando alguien hace un favor esperando algo a cambio, como *Quisquis magna dedit, uoluit sibi magna remitti* “Quien hace grandes regalos, espera él mismo recibir grandes regalos también” (*Mart.* V 59,3; Tosi 2013: 612) o latinismos como *do ut des* o *quid pro quo*.

B) *De sene iuuenem reddere*

Cuando Apolonio quiere tomar contacto con el rey Arquístrates se le acerca en el gimnasio, juega con él a la pelota y luego le da un masaje “que lo transforma de viejo en joven”¹⁴:

*Deinde docta manu ceromate fricuit regem tanta lenitate,
ut de sene iuuenem redderet*

Luego con mano experta lo untó de aceite con tal delicadeza que lo dejó como nuevo (*hist. Apoll.* 13)

Partiendo de la extendida idea entre los antiguos de que la juventud se asocia a la fortaleza y al cuerpo y la vejez a la sabiduría y la mente —“La juventud tiene la fuerza y la vejez la prudencia”, dice un proverbio castellano—, estas expresiones juegan a llamar la atención por la *contradictio in terminis* y la hipérbole. Carmignani, que califica esta expresión de proverbial, señala ecos homéricos en este pasaje, y en concreto al momento en que Atenea rejuvenece a Odiseo (*Hom. Od.* VI 229-31), y afirma (2014: 58): “El rejuvenecimiento del rey es una forma hiperbólica del narrador para contarnos la excelencia del masaje y, a la vez, para que el lector no olvide el hipotexto odiseico”.

Esta expresión es curiosamente contraria a otra, también documentada en la *Historia de Apolonio*, según la cual, cuando un joven es muy inteligente, es como un anciano, que se da por hecho que es sabio. Cuando el ataúd con el cuerpo de la esposa de Apolonio arriba a las costas de Éfeso, un médico que por casualidad lo encuentra decide rendirle los honores fúnebres pertinentes y le pide que prepare el cadáver a uno de sus discípulos, quien se da cuenta de que la mujer en realidad no estaba muerta. Gracias a sus conocimientos, muy superiores a los de un joven de su edad, consigue reanimarla. Cuando este discípulo aparece en escena, se dice de él:

*Superuenit discipulus medici, aspectu adulescens sed
quanto ingenio senex*

“Llegó un discípulo del médico, un jovencito de aspecto, pero como un anciano debido a sus grandes conocimientos” (*hist. Apoll.* 26)

Aquí se daría el tópico del *puer senilis* o *puer senex* —de nuevo una suerte de *oxymoron* o *contradictio in terminis*— ya aparecido en Cicerón (*Cat. maior* II 38), Virgilio (*Aen.* IX 311), Ovidio (*ars* I 185-6) y Silio Itálico (VIII 464) entre otros (Curtius 1998: 149-53)¹⁵. De nuevo hay una fina franja entre los tópicos literarios y los proverbios: “I proverbi — afirma Tosi (2013: IX)— non sono che redazioni stereotipe dei *topoi* letterari e che i rapporti fra la tradizione letteraria e la pretesa ‘sapienza dei popoli’ si rivelano profondi e complessi”.

C) *Apud lenonem et tortorem nec preces nec lacrimae ualent*

Tarsia, la hija de Apolonio, es vendida a un proxeneta, sin ella saber a qué se dedica este. Cuando llegan al lupanar ve una estatua de Príapo e, ingenua, le pregunta si es de Lámpsaco, región de Grecia donde nació el dios. Él le explica dónde se encuentra realmente y ella, aterrorizada ante la idea de perder su virginidad de ese modo, se arroja a sus pies llorando y suplicando, a lo que el proxeneta le contesta:

“*Alleua te, misera: tu autem nescis, quia apud lenonem et tortorem nec preces nec lacrimae ualent*”

“Levántate, desgraciada, ¿no sabes que con un proxeneta y un verdugo ni los ruegos ni las lágrimas valen para nada?” (*hist. Apoll.* 33)

De todas las frases que bien podrían ser un proverbio, esta es acaso la que más se acerca, pues hace referencia a un elemento ajeno a la trama, el verdugo (*tortor*) —explicable solo de tratarse de una expresión frecuente— y al empezar la pregunta con *nescis* da a entender la sorpresa del proxeneta ante algo que todo el mundo sabe. De hecho en el proverbio antes mentado de Ovidio se inicia de la misma forma (*her.* 17,168): *An nescis longas regibus esse manus?* (“¿No sabes que los reyes tienen las manos largas?”; cf. *Sen. epist.* 77,19; *dial.* VI 26,2).

El hecho de asociarse el verdugo con el proxeneta se debe seguramente a la mala reputación de la que ambos gozaban en el mundo romano. En cuanto a la mala idea que se tenía del proxene-

ta (*leno*), quizá el testimonio más evidente sea el de la comedia, donde aparece como un personaje recurrente en la trama de muchas comedias y que está caracterizado en todas ellas con rasgos semejantes: “la avaricia y el ansia de dinero —dice González Vázquez (2004: 118)— son sus prioridades, razón por la que no dudan en mentir, engañar, estafar, ser impíos, inhumanos, imprudentes, aunque con grandes dosis de cobardía”. Como ejemplo de la mala reputación del verdugo, sírvanos el testimonio de Séneca el Joven, quien al hablar del lugar idóneo para retirarse, afirma lo siguiente:

Non tantum corpori sed etiam moribus salubrem locum eligere debemus; quemadmodum inter tortores habitare nolim, sic ne inter popinas quidem. Videre ebrios per litora errantes et comessationes nauigantium et symphioniarum cantibus strepentes lacus et alia quae uelut soluta legibus luxuria non tantum peccat sed publicat, quid necesse est? Id agere debemus ut inritamenta uitiorum quam longissime profugiamus; indurandus est animus et a blandimentis uoluptatum procul abstrahendus

No solo debemos saber elegir un lugar favorable para nuestro cuerpo, sino también para nuestras costumbres. Por este motivo no querría vivir entre verdugos, ni siquiera cerca de bares. ¿Qué necesidad hay de ver gente borracha caminando sin rumbo por la playa, fiestas de marineros, lagos que retumban con las canciones de los músicos y otras cosas que la lujuria, como si estuviera al margen de la ley, no solo comete sino que también promulga? Debemos actuar para poder huir lo más lejos posible de lo que incita al vicio. Hemos de endurecer nuestra alma y mantenerla alejada de la seducción de los placeres (Sen. *epist.* 51,4)

No hemos encontrado paralelo alguno, salvo acaso el tópico amoroso según el cual los amantes se quejan de que ni las lágrimas ni los ruegos conmueven a la persona amada (cf. *paraclausithyron*):

*non te Penelopen difficilem procis
Tyrrhenus genuit parens.
O quamuis neque te munera nec preces*

*nec tinctus uiola pallor amantium nec uir Pieria paelice
 saucius
 curuat, supplicibus tuis
 parcas...*

No te engendró a ti un padre tirreno como a Penélope, inalcanzable para los pretendientes. ¡Ay, aunque ni los regalos, ni los ruegos, ni la palidez de tus amantes, teñida de violeta, ni un marido herido por una cortesana de Pieria, te dobleguen, ten en consideración a los que te suplican (Hor. *od.* III 10,11-7)

4. Conclusiones

- Si bien es cierto que muchos de los proverbios latinos — acaso la mayoría— están tomados del griego, algunos son esencialmente del ámbito romano, como el aquí tratado *Epistula non erubescit*. Del mismo modo esta obra está salpicada de sentencias y de breves reflexiones morales con claros paralelos con autores latinos, lo que nos induce a pensar en un original latino del siglo III d.C. y no en uno griego¹⁶.
- Los proverbios son característicos del lenguaje coloquial y suelen aparecer en estilo directo. Buena prueba de esto son precisamente los proverbios de la *Historia de Apolonio*, hallados casi todos ellos en las partes dialogadas. Esto apoya por otro lado la teoría de que seguramente fuera una obra que se dio a conocer por medio de lecturas públicas o dramatizadas y la aparición de proverbios y frases gnómicas, dado su carácter popular, buscaba empatizar con un público amplio.
- La *Historia de Apolonio*, tal y como hemos visto, contiene proverbios que deberían tenerse en cuenta en los repertorios paremiológicos.
- En RB, escrito en un latín más depurado, encontramos un proverbio más que en RA, extraído de referentes literarios, como Ovidio o Séneca.

Notes

¹ Este trabajo se inscribe dentro de los proyectos financiados por el Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad: *Las paremias grecolatinas y su continuidad en las lenguas europeas* (FFI2015-63738-P), dirigido por Fernando García Romero, y *Scriptores Latini Minores* (FFI2013-41056-P), dirigido por José Luis Vidal Pérez.

² Entre los estudios sobre la relación de la *Historia de Apolonio* con las novelas griegas citamos como botón de muestra dos muy distanciados en el tiempo el uno del otro: Garin (1914) y Ruiz-Montero (1983).

³ Las diferencias entre una versión y otra han sido tratadas en profundidad por Puche López (1997). Todos los textos que aparecen a lo largo del trabajo están tomados de RA, salvo que se especifique lo contrario.

⁴ Está atestiguado en las lenguas modernas, como da buena cuenta de ello Tosi (2013: 474). En italiano: *I principi hanno le mani lunghe; Un gran principe sempre have lunghe mani ed ira grave*; en alemán: *Grosser Herren Hand reicht ins weite Land*; en francés: *Les princes ont les bras et les oreilles longues*.

⁵ Justo antes de este diálogo entre el timonel y Apolonio se dice que el rey Antíoco había puesto precio a la cabeza de Apolonio y, en consecuencia, “no sólo sus enemigos, sino también sus amigos se dejaron llevar por la codicia y se dieron prisa en seguirle la pista. Buscaron a Apolonio por tierras, por montañas, por bosques, siguiendo todo tipo de rastros, pero no lo encontraron” (7 RA: *non tantum eius inimici, sed etiam amici cupiditate ducebantur et ad indagandum properabant. Quaeritur Apollonius per terras, per montes, per silvas, per uniuersas indagines, et non inueniebatur*). Todas estas personas constituirían los ejecutores de las órdenes del rey, es decir, la extensión de su brazo.

⁶ Llama la atención que Tosi no vincule este proverbio de Séneca con el aparecido en Q. Curcio Rufo (VII 8,25), sobre lo fluctuante que es la Fortuna, que él mismo recoge en su libro (2013: 390): *Sine pedibus dicunt esse Fortunam, quae manus et pinnae tantum habet* (“Se dice que la Fortuna no tiene pies, que tan solo posee manos y plumas”).

⁷ La dificultad de clasificar estas expresiones se refleja, por ejemplo, en trabajos como el de Swoboda (1963), que, al hablar de los proverbios en Cicerón, hace los siguientes apartados: “*Sententiae populares*”, “*Prouerbia uera*” y “*Prouerbiales locutiones*”.

⁸ Alvar (1976: 36-8) sostiene que el *Libro de Apolonio* del siglo XIII, una traducción libre —o *aemulatio*— de la *Historia de Apolonio*, se basa en una combinación de las dos versiones principales (RA y RB), aunque quizá haya un mayor peso de RA, entre otras cosas porque en la obra medieval no hay alusión alguna al diálogo entre el timonel y Apolonio.

⁹ Está atestiguado en las lenguas modernas: en italiano *La carta non diventa rossa* y en francés *Le papier souffre tout* (Tosi 2013: 38-9).

¹⁰ Dependiendo del manuscrito aparece *ceram* en vez de *certam* y en la versión RB aparece *ruborem* en vez de *pudorem*. En todo caso, el significado del proverbio no varía. Nótese el políptoton *pudica, impudenter, pudorem* que enfatiza el sentimiento de Luciana, la hija del rey (Panayotakis 2012: 279-80).

¹¹ Se consideraban incesto no sólo las relaciones entre familiares, sino también de una mujer con un hijo adoptivo, de un hombre con una vestal o de un tutor con su pupila, por el simple hecho de que “causarían fricciones en un ambiente que debe ser armonioso” (Margadant 1998: 510-1).

¹² Agradecemos este dato al Profesor José Manuel Ruiz Vila, traductor de las obras *Cintia e Historia de dos amantes* de Piccolomini (Akal, Madrid 2006).

¹³ Sobre el hecho de no pedir nada a cambio de un gesto amistoso existen algunos proverbios en castellano: *El amor/ la amistad/ la felicidad no se compra con dinero; El que da lo que tiene no está obligado a más*. En el *Libro de Apolonio* se traduce esta expresión por: “Quien bondad da por precio, malamente se muestra” (estr. 76).

¹⁴ En castellano existe la expresión *Dejar como nuevo*, que es por la que hemos optado en nuestra traducción.

¹⁵ En algunas zonas de España, en Castellón por ejemplo, a los niños que hablan muy bien y tienen mucho desparpajo se les llama “abuelos”.

¹⁶ Acertado nos parece el juicio de Puche López sobre este aspecto (1999: 245): “El carácter popular del relato ha propiciado la despreocupación literaria de su prosa y el resultado es una pobreza estilística caracterizada por la utilización mecánica, monótona y reiterativa de ciertos recursos. No obstante, una cierta conciencia de manipulación rudimentaria que se descubre en su prosa nos lleva a pensar que ese latín no puede ser el resultado de una traducción directa e inmediata de un original griego sino, más bien, el fruto de una cierta elaboración formal adecuada a la interpretación de la historia que hicieron sus redactores”.

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Esteban Bérchez Castaño
 IES La Morería de Mislata (Valencia), Dto. de Latín
 Plaza del País Valenciano 1
 46006 Mislata (Valencia)
 Spain
 E-mail: estebanberchez@yahoo.es

AJOKE MIMKO BESTMAN

“A WOMAN IS A CHESTNUT, A MAN IS A BREADFRUIT”:
PROVERBS AND FEMALE RESILIENCE IN SIMONE
SCHWARZ-BART’S *THE BRIDGE OF BEYOND*

Abstract: *The Bridge of Beyond* (1982, French original 1972) by Guadeloupian female writer, Simone Schwarz-Bart, depicts Caribbean women at the intersection of gender, race and class. Drawing inspiration from Caribbean oral tradition, itself a legacy of the African patrimony, the author makes copious use of proverbs in the novel. This study analyses some of the proverbs used by female characters from the womanist perspective. It focuses on the internalisation of the messages they encode and how these messages translate into effective means of resistance to various forms of adversity in the hostile post-emancipation Caribbean society. The study reveals that women in the novel and in tandem with the sociology of the Caribbean islands are the stabilising force of the family within a social structure that emasculates black men. The paper concludes that the tenacity and resilience of the women emanate from a positive world view gleaned from proverbs as a result of which they emerge as solid anchors of their families and, by extension, agents of the survival of their entire race.

Keywords: Adversity, Caribbean women, feminism, literature, proverbs, resilience, resistance, Simone Schwarz-Bart, womanism

Introduction

“Fem-n cé chataign, n’hom -n cé fouyapin” which translated into English means “A woman is a chestnut tree, a man is a breadfruit tree” is a popular Guadeloupian proverb. According to Maryse Condé (1993), the chestnut tree and the breadfruit tree look identical in foliage and in fruits. However, when their fruits ripen and fall, the fruit of the chestnut tree releases a large number of seeds with hard covering whereas the breadfruit, which does not contain such seeds, breaks into a white paste which readily rots under the sun and produces a foul smell. In other words, when

a woman falls, she rises again but when a man falls he is crushed. This proverb pays homage to the resilience of Caribbean women.

Proverbs are common to all cultures. They constitute a genre that demonstrates the power of the spoken word. Mieder (1993:14) defines a proverb as “a concise statement of an apparent truth that has (had, or will have) some currency among the people”. Trench (2003:9) sees proverbs as “condensed quintessential wisdom”; while for Finnegan (1981:11), proverbs are “a rich source of imagery and succinct expression encapsulating ideal and allusive wording, usually in metaphorical form”. According to Lau, Tokofsky and Winick (2004:8), proverbs are “short traditional utterances that encapsulate cultural truths and sum up recurrent social situations”. Holmann (1976:421), defines the proverb as “a sentence or phrase which briefly and strikingly expresses some recognized truth or shrewd observation about practical life and which has been preserved by oral tradition. Proverbs owe their appeal to metaphors, simile, rhyme and parallelisms etc.” Focusing on the form of the proverb, Akporobaro and Emovon (1994:3) state that “the proverb is ... a short popular saying that expresses a truth of experience or an observation in a strikingly figurative language. It is marked by epigrammatic terseness and by the ready acceptance of its truth”.

In other words, proverbs encapsulate the wisdom of a people; reflect their world view, their philosophy of life and the way they relate to one another, to others, and to nature around them. They are timeless, born out of many years of observation and experience, passed from one generation to another and generally accepted as truths. They appear in condensed figurative language and are effective as a means of transmitting beliefs and culture (see Ihan Basgöz 1990). Apart from their application for such purposes in real life situations, proverbs are used in literary contexts for the witty representation of the human condition and for motivational purposes (Maja Gwóźdź 2016; Mahoney and Mieder 2016). Furthermore, Bhuvaneshwar (2013:244) argues that:

Proverbs as a genre of language are not only wide-ranging but also multidimensional, and inter-disciplinary and hence ubiquitous in their proverbial linguistic application. It ranges from the spoken medium (conversation, public speaking, media broadcasting and advertisement, and oral

literature) to the written medium (poetry, drama and novel, and non-literary forms such as letters, social and cultural transmission, law, psychology, psychotherapy and anthropology ...

Proverbs can be apprehended at three semantic levels – literal, contextual and philosophical. They are used to teach morals, to commend or condemn people's behaviour and to warn against danger. In the specific case of the Caribbean islands, they reflect the collective violent experience of the people dating back to the plantation era characterised by a brutal suppression of the voice of slaves. In that atmosphere of "voicelessness", slaves used proverbs as coded language to transmit messages among themselves (see Gyssels 2016) while in the post-slavery context, black Caribbeans have been using proverbs to reflect generally on life, particularly on their harsh daily existence

This probably explains the abundance of fatalistic proverbs in their repertoire. However, in spite of the preponderance of proverbs of resignation, the female protagonists of Simone Schwarz-Bart's *Pluie et vent sur Télumée Miracle* (1972) translated as *The Bridge of Beyond* (1982) tend to focus more on those that commend resilience and resistance to adversity.

This is significant because proverbs generally tend to play a sexist role in many societies (see Yusuf 1998; Schipper 2003; Bestman 2013). For example, a Yoruba (Nigeria) proverb says "Whoever rides the horse of a woman is bound to fall" (Bestman 2013:232) while an English proverb states that "Women are necessary evils" (Whiting 1977:494). Feminists have attempted to counter such sexist proverbs. For instance the English proverb "A woman's place is in the home" (Simpson 1982:249) has been countered as "A woman's place is in the House... and Senate" (Mieder 1985:277). This counter proverb challenges the female-limiting original proverb and points to the unlimited possibilities open to women in politics and social life. In consonance with this, Yusuf (1997) has studied the countering of misogyny in English proverbs. However, it is proverbs and proverbial statements about female resistance to adversity in *The Bridge of the Beyond* that are the object of my focus in this work. For the purposes of this study, proverbial statements would include sentences which contain

phrases or related items which derive from known proverbs or which mirror proverbs in their content, style or unit.

Theoretical Framework

Womanism which would provide the theoretical framework for the study is a variant of global feminism postulated and expanded by Black women - Alice Walker (1984), Chikwenye Okonjo Ogunyemi (1985, 1996), Clenora Hudson-Weems (1993) and Mary Kolawole (1997), among others. It underscores the incorporation of racial and national considerations into sexual issues. It insists on historical references such as slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism in analysing Black women's condition and their fictional production. By definition, a womanist is a Black woman who is subjected to trials, exploitation and adversity but who refuses to be crushed by such experiences.

Social Context and the Language Question

Generally, the West Indian family is matrifocal, a legacy of the slave plantation culture which did not encourage family ties among slaves. Children fathered by slaves belonged to their masters and could be sold at the whims of their owners which imply that male slaves procreated but hardly nurtured their children. Moreover, after the abolition, many emancipated slaves wandered far from the plantations in a bid to put the horrible experience of slavery behind them. This phenomenon of wandering seems to have persisted long after the immediate post-slavery period especially in the lives of the men. A logical explanation of this is that men, unlike women, are not tied down by maternity or the care of children. They therefore tend to be constantly on the move, unable to develop roots such that the women are obliged to be pillars of their families as well as the mainstay of the economy. It is usually the women who have to contend with adverse economic conditions as they combine their burdens as mothers with the duties of the absent fathers.

The Bridge of Beyond has been hailed as a masterpiece not only from the thematic point of view but also and especially from the language perspective. Indeed the novelist, in spite of her privileged status as an educated half caste, identifies with the suffering illiterate black masses of the rural communities. Her choice of a protagonist in the person of a poor old village woman is therefore deliberate. It is an eloquent demonstration of her commitment

to the cause of the common people. *Télumée* the protagonist is actually a fictional representation of a real life woman named Fanotte from Schwarz-Bart's native village. This is quite revealing because in the complex, racist and class-conscious Caribbean society, such a woman would under normal circumstances not only go unsung but would not even be seen by reason of the triple jeopardy of being black, woman and poor. Schwarz-Bart's commitment notwithstanding, the novel would not have enjoyed the huge success accorded it if it had been written in classical French, that is, "*français français*", French of Paris – to talk like Léon Gontran Damas (1972:37) – which at that period in the history of the literature of the islands was the hallmark of many a Caribbean author. On the contrary, the Lougandor women and other characters in the book come across as flesh and blood, as people with whom the reader can empathise and identify mainly because of the author's peculiar use of language.

Indeed, the question of language has, over the years, been a challenge to Afro-Caribbean writers. On the one hand is French, the official language considered as the language of culture but spoken only by a minority of the populace. On the other hand, is Creole, the language of the uneducated masses, denigrated by the literate "civilised" minority. Like Jacques Roumain before her, who in *Gouverneurs de la rosée* (1944) translated as *Masters of the Dew* (1947) succeeded by a special use of language in restituting the inner landscape of his Creole-speaking characters into French, Simone Schwarz-Bart was faced with the need to transcend linguistic barriers in order to transpose the thoughts and spirit of her native Creole speakers into French. The result of her effort is the unique literary language of *The Bridge of Beyond* which is a beautiful blend of French and Creole, a mixture of the French written tradition and the Creole oral tradition (see Gyssels 2016).

Roumain and Schwarz-Bart have blazed the trail in what has since become the development of a literary language that transposes authentic Creole thoughts and world view into French especially since Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau and Raphaël Confiant (1989) came out radically in praise of Creoleness. According to them, "our aesthetics cannot exist (cannot be authentic) without Creoleness" (89). They further reiterate that:

Creole... is the initial means of communication of our deep self, or our collective unconscious, of our common genius, and it remains the river of our alluvial Creoleness. We dream in it. In it we resist and accept ourselves. It is our cries, our screams, our excitements. It irrigates each of our gestures... the tragedy lived by many of our writers comes from the castration which, linguistically, they were victims of during their childhood. (104-105).

The particular genius of Schwarz-Bart lies in her ability to evolve a poetics which is an amalgamation of Creole and French without resorting to bilingualism. In doing this, she draws inspiration from the Caribbean oral tradition, itself a legacy of the African patrimony. She makes copious use of tales, songs, riddles, proverbs and proverbial statements couched in metaphors borrowed from the Guadeloupian landscape; climate, fauna and flora (see Ojoade 2004). She focuses in particular on the experiences of women in the rural setting for, indeed, the inhabitants of the Caribbean rural communities and especially women, are the custodians of the Creole oral tradition.

Nathalie Buchet Rogers (1992) in “Oralité et écriture dans *Pluie et vent sur Téliumée Miracle*” notes that the period depicted in Schwarz-Bart’s novel witnessed some form of tension due to the introduction of Western education into the life of the Blacks. This new phenomenon, symbolised by writing, posed some threat to the oral tradition of the black people who responded by a more tenacious adherence to their oral culture. According to Rogers, Schwarz-Bart captures this tension in her novel. Even though she employs the French language – a symbol of the written tradition – to communicate the oral tradition of her people, she nevertheless successfully restitutes the authenticity of her characters, their life and oral culture through the use of proverbs. I agree with Rogers that it is in the use of proverbs that the novel is connected to the oral tradition of the black Caribbean people and that the originality of the novel derives from the vital force of the oral tradition and its repercussions on the thoughts of the characters.

Proverbs and Female Resilience

Petermann (2015) in his article “Attitudes as Equipment for Living” notes that Kenneth Burke “proposed that literature can be used as what he calls ‘equipment for living,’ as tools for dealing

with encountered situation... he used proverbs as models for equipment for living and described them as ‘strategies for dealing with situations’”. In line with Burke’s proposition, this study analyses the proverbs in *The Bridge of Beyond* as “models for equipment for living and as strategies for dealing with” the challenges encountered by the female protagonists of the novel. My discourse, as earlier indicated, is located within the womanist theoretical framework. In postulating this theory, Walker in *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens* delves into the socio-historic reality of African-American women where the traditional expression of mothers to their precocious daughters is “you acting womanish”. “Womanish” girls exhibit exceptional qualities of strength, courage and intelligence. They are resolute and have the capacity to take charge under difficult conditions. This mental and physical strength is acquired by dint of having to survive in a hostile racist environment. The society portrayed in Schwarz-Bart's *The Bridge of Beyond* has a lot in common with Alice Walker's background. The novel depicts the vicissitudes of four generations of strong Guadeloupien women and their resistance to adversity in the post-emancipation society and I argue that their ability to withstand travails and triumph over various challenges stems from the fortitude and the wisdom transmitted through proverbs and proverbial statements.

In the Guadeloupien society depicted in *The Bridge of Beyond*, slavery has been abolished in theory but the people are still contending with the aftermath of that odious experience. The life of the descendants of slaves is still defined by slavery, albeit a new form of slavery - slavery minus the physical iron branding, the chains and the whips, but slavery all the same. They are still subjected to extreme poverty and various forms of dehumanisation while burning out their lives on the white man’s plantation in order to eke out a meagre living. It is against this background of near hopelessness that Schwarz-Bart situates her *sheroes*. She insists in particular on two of these female characters – Télumée the protagonist and Toussine her grandmother. I will therefore underscore the experiences of Toussine and Télumée in line with the emphasis placed on them by the author.

Télumée is brought up by her grandmother and it is pertinent to note that the scenario where children are raised by their grandmothers is not uncommon in the Caribbean as can be attested to in

Joseph Zobel's *La Rue Cases-Nègres* (1950). Toussine takes custody of her granddaughter in order to allow Victory, the girl's young mother, to be free to search for love and stability in a society which, alas, is fundamentally and systemically designed to promote emotional and familial instability among black people. Toussine is a very strong woman, an exemplar of womanist resilience, a role model to the young Télumée. An astute teacher, she makes proverbs and proverbial statements the bedrock of her granddaughter's education and given their metaphorical form and esoteric nature, these proverbs serve as graphic vehicles of conveying the ethos of their community to the young girl. Télumée grows up a "womanish" girl and it is not surprising that, later in life, she is able to overcome her challenges through the lessons learnt from her grandmother's proverbs.

Even though the novel is generally rich in proverbs, the focus of this study is on those used by or in connection with the four major female characters - the Lougandors. In analysing the proverbs, I follow the chronological age of the women starting with Minerva who belongs to the first generation down to Télumée, the narrator and the last of the dynasty. Minerva, the first of the Lougandor women is described as a woman who "had an unshakable faith in life. When things went wrong she would say that nothing, no one, would ever wear out the soul God had chosen out for her and put in her body" (Schwarz-Bart 1982:3). This is remarkable for a woman who has been through the crucible of slavery under a legendary cruel master and who has been made an object of public ridicule by an unfaithful lover. Only a few pages are devoted to the story of Minerva; yet she emerges as a strong woman, conversant with the use of the metaphorical language. During the preparation for her daughter's wedding, she faces the pettiness of frustrated jealous neighbours:

L'Abandonnée remained full of the same surliness... The breeze blowing over Minerva's cottage embittered the women, made them more unaccountable than ever ...'What I say is, Toussine's more for ornament than use...The main thing is not getting married, but sticking together year in year out', said one. 'They're laughing now, but after laughter come tears, and three months from

now Minerva's happy band will find itself with six eyes to cry with', said another (7).

Minerva fights these women back with the Bible proverb: "*All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword*" (8). It should be noted here that the proverbs in *The Bridge of Beyond* reflect the diversity of the Caribbean population. While some share close affinity with the proverbs of African societies, others are influenced by the white colonialists' culture and religion (see Rogers 1992). The proverb cited above originates from the Bible. It is a word-for-word citation of Jesus' rebuke of Peter when the latter cut off the ear of the servant of the high priest the night of his master's arrest as narrated in Matt. 6:52. Elisabeth Piirainen (2013) looking "at the widespread biblical idioms from the viewpoint of intertextuality", that is, "the relationship between conventional figurative units and existing texts that can be identified as their cultural and historical sources" (129) notes that

A close relation between the text and the conventional units derived from it is found in direct quotations: These are more or less word-for-word references to a particular text. They gradually develop into figurative units as the speakers' awareness of their initial use as a citation is lost. Only a small group of Biblicisms belong to this category (129-130).

This is the case with the proverb used by Minerva. Her people had had contact with the Christian religion of the white populace through slavery and colonisation, yet it is unlikely that they would remember the initial biblical use of the proverb: "*All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword*". Whereas it was a question of tangible swords in Matt. 6:52, the conventional figurative unit derived from the proverb has come to signify retributive justice and this meaning is not lost to Minerva's envious neighbours. She simply wishes their daughters what they wish her Toussine and that puts a stop to their invectives. Minerva is a fighter but in addition she demonstrates an ability to savour every joyful moment chance bestows on her in an otherwise hostile environment, and this quality is also identified in her descendants.

Next to Minerva's story is that of Toussine, her daughter who is introduced as "a woman who helped you hold your head up"

(2). Unlike her mother, Toussine starts life on a positive note. She personifies all that is positive in the adolescents of her community. She radiates an unusual loveliness and displays a zest for life and later marries a man who cherishes her. This period of her life is elaborately described but suddenly the narrator introduces a proverbial statement as a prelude to the next episode in the life of this character: “*Woe to him who laughs once and gets into the habit, for the wickedness of life is limitless: if it gives you your heart’s desire with one hand, it is only to trample on you with both feet*” (11). This proverbial statement, which warns people not to rule out misfortune in their affairs, immediately generates a sense of foreboding. However, it also conveys a realistic conception of life. It is a warning that there are two sides to the coin of human existence and Toussine is about to experience the unpleasant side. Indeed, calamity strikes one night as Toussine’s home is gutted by fire in which one of her ten year old twin daughters sustains fatal injuries. She experiences the agony of a mother watching her child die a slow painful death. After this ordeal, Toussine goes into deep depression and temporarily loses her mind. Her mental decline is captured by another proverb which says “*The leaf that falls into the pond does not rot the same day*” (1). This proverb, like several others, borrows its metaphor from the plant life and underscores the close affinity of the rural population with the nature around them.

Toussine conducts herself like a zombie for the space of three years. This shows that she is not super human. On the contrary, as indicated below, she experiences the natural emotions of a mother who has suffered such bereavement:

Meranée’s suffering was terrible. Her body was one great wound attracting more and more flies as it decayed. Toussine, her eyes empty of all expression, fanned them away, put on soothing oil, and grew hoarse calling on death, which, being no doubt occupied elsewhere, refused to come. If anyone offered to replace Toussine at the bedside for a while, she would say, smiling gently: ‘Don’t worry about me. *However heavy a woman’s breasts, her chest is always strong enough to carry them*’ (12).

Toussine regains her sanity and it is apparent that the message encoded in the proverb cited above plays a major role in her re-

covery. This message, which may have been registered and stored in her subconscious over the years, only required a catalyst like the tragic loss of her daughter to activate it. It is also revealing that Toussine repeats this proverb over and over again during her daughter's agony. The imagery used in this proverb is pertinent and arresting. Breasts are an essential part of a woman's anatomy which she is obliged to carry. In this context, they symbolise challenges as if to imply that women are particularly prone to facing hardships. In a way, this is true in T elum ee's society because as we later discover, the women do bear heavy responsibilities not only as keepers of the home, but also as bread winners in sites outside the home. They stand as the solid anchors of their families and by extension, their race.

A woman's breasts also signify life for it is through them that children are nourished. In other words, no matter what happens, a woman carries the sacred duty to keep life going. Figuratively, Toussine "dies" with her little daughter but like Phoenix rising out of his own ashes, she springs back to life bringing her family alive with her. "Toussine had taken her family into prison with her, and now she brought them back to life again" (14). This renaissance is mediated by the birth of a baby girl symbolically named Victory. With her renewed energy and vigour, Toussine demonstrates that indeed "however heavy a woman's breasts, her chest is always strong enough to carry them." This proverb is complemented by another: "*However tall trouble is, man must make himself taller still, even if it means making stilts*" (50).

These proverbs convey the underlying principle guiding Toussine's life and inform her unbreakable spirit. They do not advocate an escapist philosophy; neither do they deny the reality of pain and sorrow but prescribe a realistic and courageous response to life's problems. Trouble, an abstract concept in the last proverb is personified thereby moving it to the realm of the concrete in order to convey its message more graphically. Rogers (1992) posits that proverbs with African affinity are generally located within the realm of dynamic ideas as opposed to those with Western background which tend towards fixed ideas. Toussine's distress is succinctly expressed through the proverbs above. She grieves and the grief has a cathartic effect on her. Her strength of character and ability to resist adversity earn her the respect of her people who in

appreciation of her resilience honour her by giving her a new name:

In the days of your silks and jewels we called you Queen Toussine. We were not far wrong for you are truly a queen. But now, with your Victory, you may boast that you have put us in a quandary. We have tried and tried to think of a name for you, but in vain, for there isn't one that will do. And so from now on we shall call you "Queen Without a Name!" (14-15).

They may be at a loss as to what to call her but one thing is certain, in her strength they find new hope. To those outside their community, she may be an unknown woman in the countryside but in terms of capacity for life and willpower, she towers above many and her compatriots see her as a role model. She exhibits unusual strength, that womanist trait identified by Alice Walker which has characterised several women of African descent in the Diaspora for many centuries.

Victory, the child of Queen Without a Name's symbol of resilience and mother of Télumée the protagonist, like Minerva and Toussine before her, faces her own life challenges. But she also inherits her forebears' undaunted spirit because her character has been built on the moral values and codes of behaviour transmitted through proverbs that reflect the collective experience of her people. She is a hardworking single parent, a laundress "wearing out her wrists on the flat stones in the rivers, and her linen emerged like new from under the heavy waxed irons" (16). She has a habit of "singing like a happy magpie" (16) while working and when chided for working too hard, "heaving those heavy irons" (6), Victory would reply with a proverb that encapsulates her attitude to life: "*A small axe cuts down a big tree*" (16). This proverb speaks of courage, determination, diligence and industry which are Victory's response to deprivation. Imbued with the energy and strength conveyed by this proverb and others like it, she courageously faces the responsibility of fending for herself and her children without depending on anyone.

Apart from poverty, Victory experiences some heartaches as she journeys through life. Like Minerva, she is deserted by the author of her first pregnancy, Regina's father. Another lover, a certain Hubert from Desirade abandons her and she takes to drink-

ing almost losing her mind. She is rehabilitated by Angebert, Télumée's father, the only man who really cares for her. She experiences miscarriage but perhaps one of the most tragic events of her life is to watch Angebert murdered in cold blood. In spite of all this, Victory "was a woman who carried her head high on a slender neck" (17) because she is fortified by several doses of Queen Without a Name's proverbs and proverbial statements and understands that "*behind one pain there is another. Sorrow is a wave without end. But the horse mustn't ride you, you must ride it*" (51). Fully prepared for eventualities, Victory is determined to ride the horse of life's adversity and that is the secret of her survival.

Télumée her daughter's story forms the main plot of the novel. It begins with Télumée as an old woman standing in the middle of her garden looking back on her life and those of her foremothers. Their life histories are recounted in a flash-back beginning with that of Minerva, her great grandmother. The didactic effect of proverbs is particularly pungent in Télumée's life. It is striking that in the opening sentences of her narration, she unequivocally identifies with her problematic island and expresses an unusual optimism about life in spite of the many upheavals she has been through:

A man's country may be cramped or vast according to the size of his heart. I've never found my country too small...And if I could choose it's here in Guadeloupe that I'd be born again, suffer and die. Yet not long back my ancestors were slaves on this volcanic, hurricane-swept, mosquito-ridden, nasty-minded island. But I didn't come to this world to weigh the world's woe. I prefer to dream, on and on, standing in my garden, just like any other old woman of my age, till death comes and takes me as I dream, me and all my joy (2).

This set of proverbial statements hints at the various dimensions of the challenges Télumée has had to contend with. Her catalogue of woes include racial abuse and sexual harassment as a young domestic worker in a white family; betrayal by Letitia her childhood friend who seduces Elie her husband; battering and humiliation by her beloved Elie turned sour due to economic deprivation; the violent death of Amboise her second husband at the hands of white

plantation owners during a sugarcane cutters' strike; the horror of cutting sugarcane for a living; the loss of her grandmother Queen Without a Name closely followed by that of Man Cia her spiritual mother; and finally the disappearance of Sonore her adopted daughter at the instigation of Angel Medard, a man she had rescued from the depths of despair. In spite of all this, Télumée accepts and identifies with her island because she has learned from her grandmother that "*the way a man's heart is set in his chest is the way he looks at life. If your heart is put in well, you see life as one ought to see it, in the same spirit as a man balancing on a ball – he's certain to fall, but he'll stick it out as long as possible*" (49). Télumée's attitude to her island derives from the philosophy embedded in this proverbial statement.

Indeed, her education reposes mainly on two pivots - courage and warning about the dual nature of life that life consists of both good and evil. The first engenders resilience the second insulates her against disappointments. She is trained early in life both by her grandmother and Man Cia to "*be a fine little Negress, a real drum with two sides. Let life bang and thump, but keep the underside always intact*" (39). The warning encoded in this saying is of primary importance in a society where the average black woman is confronted with economic exploitation, a hostile geographical environment, racial oppression, sexual abuse and domestic violence. Télumée experiences such challenges later in life without being broken. She has learnt to keep one side of the drum of her life intact. In the same vein, another proverb prepares her for the vicissitudes of life: "*No matter how heavy your breasts you'll always be strong enough to support them*" (42) which first comes to her as an admonition at the advent of her breasts. The implication of this proverb has been discussed with respect to her grandmother. Suffice it to say here that it is part of the mechanism that helps Télumée survive the disappointment of her life with Elie.

In fact, ever before marrying Elie, she has been taught by her grandmother that "*all rivers, even the most dazzling, those that catch the sun in their streams, all rivers go down and are drowned in the sea*" (52). This proverb is not only a warning about the inevitability of the natural course of life but it also indicates that every experience of life, even the most beautiful, such as falling in love, must certainly come to an end. Télumée in her moments of distress resulting from her failed marriage, can't help asking herself:

“how often has Queen Without a Name told me that all rivers go down and are drowned in the sea, how often had she told me?” (52). This constant reminder testifies to the powerful effect of this proverb on her psyche. It not only helps her to withstand the shock of Elie's cruelty but also prepares her to face the death of her second husband.

It is important to note here that Elie too was, to some extent, tutored by Queen Without a Name. She spent time teaching him and Télumée about life through stories, riddles, proverbs and proverbial statements during their courtship. One of them says: “*There are three paths that are bad for a man to take: to see the beauty of the world and call it ugly, to get up early to do what is impossible, and to let oneself get carried away by dreams – for whoever dreams becomes the victim of his own dream*”. However, Elie unlike Télumée, does not seem to have learnt his lessons. In spite of Queen Without a Name's warning, he allows himself to “get carried away by dreams...and becomes the victim of his own dream”. He dreams of a prosperous future with Télumée leaving no room for eventualities:

‘You'll see'...'you'll see, later on, what a fine convertible we'll have, and we'll be dressed to match, I in a suit with a ruffle, you in a brocade dress with a cross over collar. No one will recognise us. They'll say as we go by, “What beautiful young couple is this?” And we'll say, “One of us belongs to Queen Without a Name and the other to Old Abel... And I'll give a toot on the horn and we'll whizz away laughing.’ (47)

But reality is different from dreams. When faced later with the prospect of cutting sugarcane for survival, he succumbs to despair. While Télumée survives the wind of adversity, Elie is completely crushed giving credence to another Creole proverb: “*Fem-ne tom-bé pas janmi désespéré*” (Condé 1993:4) meaning “*a fallen woman will always rise again*”.

Another obstacle confronted by Télumée is racial abuse. Racism is a common concern of all womanist theorists because it is a hydra-headed monster to the emancipation of black women the world over and it goes hand in hand with economic deprivation. Racial abuse and economic exploitation are recurrent themes in the Caribbean literary imagination and rightly so because they

constitute existential issues in the islands. While the white population lives in affluence, the Blacks grapple with abject poverty and are often forced to work for the former in order to earn their living. Télumée is hired as a domestic worker in her teens by Madame Desaragne, but the descendant of the “White of the Whites” (38) is still imbued with a mindset reminiscent of the time of slavery. She exploits the young girl and treats her to verbal abuse and sometimes outright provocation but again Télumée’s response is anchored on one of her grandmother’s wise sayings:

On those days, I would sing as I went about my work, and my heart would grow lighter, for *behind one pain there is another* - that was what Grandmother said. And through the darkness I would see Queen Without a Name’s smile – ‘*The horse mustn’t ride you, my girl, you must ride it*’ - and that smile would put heart into me, I would sing as I worked, and when I sang I diluted my pain, chopped it in pieces, and it flowed into the song, and I rode my horse (60).

Riding one’s horse is symbolic of being in total control of one’s feelings and actions and one important womanist quality is the ability to take charge in a difficult situation. Even though Télumée cannot help being financially inferior to Madame Desaragne, she is able to avoid being crushed by this prejudiced white adversary. Again we cannot but compare Télumée’s attitude here to that of Elie. It is interesting that Elie at the peak of his frustration buys a horse and rides aimlessly about. This is reminiscent of Wvabor, a character in one of the tales Queen without a Name used to narrate to Elie and Télumée. Wvabor was so sensitive to the wickedness of mankind that he found pleasure only in his mare which he named My Two Eyes and treated as such. He mounted it one day and rode away to the clouds moving from hill to hill, from mountain to mountain. But by the time he desired to touch ground again, he was no longer in control. His mare continued galloping away in a frenzy until they both disappeared. Elie, like Wvabor loses control of his destiny and is carried about like a vagabond on his horse. In sharp contrast, Télumée as an initiate into the power of Queen Without a Name’s spoken word does not allow the horse of her life to ride her but succeeds in holding its reins firmly in her

hands all the time (see Rogers1992) and especially while working for the Desarangne.

But Télumée's challenges at the home of the Desarangne are far from over. She also faces sexual harassment from Monsieur Desarangne. It is important to state at this point that the question of interracial sexual relations in the West Indies is complex. During the period of slavery, female slaves were subjected to sexual abuse by their white masters. After the abolition, interracial marriages were forbidden but it was common for white men to use black women as sexual objects. Paradoxically, Frantz Fanon avers in *Peau noire, masques blancs* (1952) translated as *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967) that due to inferiority complex, black women seek amorous relationships with white men in order to “whiten” the race through the children resulting from such affairs.

In *The Bridge of Beyond*, there is a social barrier between the white and black populace. The only reference made to interracial relationship is that of a “Creole... who in the old days just after the abolition of slavery had fallen in love with a strange and fascinating young Negress. Cast out by his own people, he had sought refuge in a desolate and inaccessible wasteland far from the eyes that looked askance at his love” (12). Obviously it is an uphill task to violate interracial sexual taboos. Yet Monsieur Desarangne conducts himself like erstwhile slave masters with Télumée: “Monsieur Desarangne walked calmly in, shut the door behind him, and leaned against the wall. Then he came over to me and put his hands up my skirt...” (72). He holds out a silk dress to Télumée and takes it for granted that a poor black servant cannot resist such a “reward”.

Télumée reacts to this attempt to commoditise her body and objectify her person by threatening to castrate him: “I’ve got a little knife here and even if I hadn’t, my nails would be enough... I swear to God you won’t be able to go into any other maid’s room because you won’t have the wherewithal” (72) and she punctuates this with a proverb: “*Ducks and chickens are alike, but the two species don’t go on water together*” (73). This is a warning to the white man not to overstep the boundaries his people have imposed and Monsieur Desarangne gets the message and beats a fast retreat (see Gyssels 2016). What is particularly striking is that Télumée dismisses this encounter as “just one of the little currents that would ripple my waters before I was drowned in the sea” (73).

Proverbs have prepared her to dispense quickly with unpleasant experiences. Like a true womanist, she takes charge of her life. In her old age Télumée, like her grandmother, is honoured with a new name by her people, Miracle Télumée, as a form of tribute to her spirit of resilience.

Conclusion

This study, located within the womanist framework reveals that racial, economic and gender issues mediate the day to day reality of the Caribbean woman represented in Simone Schwarz-Bart's novel, *The Bridge of Beyond*. It notes that whereas the men tend to be constantly on the move, the women bear the responsibility of providing for their children and sustaining the family. Through the family saga of the Lougandor women, the novelist underscores the role of women as custodians of the oral tradition and highlights the use of proverbs in educating their daughters thereby inculcating into them a philosophy of life that enables women to withstand adversity. Consequently, women emerge as the stabilising elements of their communities in spite of being beaten and blown by the rains and winds of adversity.

As a result of the wisdom gleaned through the age-long proverbs, they acquire the qualities of strength and nurturing identified as essential characteristics of African womanists by Hudson-Weems (1993); they mother their communities in line with Ogunyemi's postulation of African womanism as a "mother-centered ideology with its focus on caring - familiar, communal, national..." (Ogunyemi 1996:114) and their lives reflect Alice Walker's concept that a womanist is "committed to survival and wholeness of entire (black) people, male and female." (1984: xi). I therefore posit in conclusion, that the process of struggling for the survival and wholeness of the entire black Caribbean people involves the use of proverbs in building a spirit of resilience into the lives of the women making them bulwarks against racism, economic deprivation and gender oppression as delineated in Simone Schwarz-Bart's *The Bridge of Beyond*.

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Ajoke Mimko Bestman
 Department of Foreign Languages
 Obafemi Awolowo University
 Ile-Ife,
 Nigeria
 E-mail: folajokey@yahoo.com, fbestman@oauife.edu.ng

MARIE DEWAEGENAERE

“BIJ WIJZE VAN SPREKEN”: SPREEKWOORDEN IN HET
IDIOLECT VAN VLADIMIR PUTIN ALS SPIEGEL VAN
ZIJN BELEID

Abstract: Russian President Vladimir Putin’s sharp-witted lapses into crass statements, juicy expressions, and vulgar references set the tone for his, to put it mildly, much-discussed and contentious leadership. His effective use of proverbs and folksy phrases shows us that proverbial language is part of his otherwise highly technocratic and bureaucratic style. This article discusses Putin’s use of proverbs, including the question how Putin demonstrated insight into the possibilities of proverbs to persuade the audience. In order to study the use and function of proverbs in Putin’s speech acts, a representative corpus with Putin’s proverbial statements was analyzed. By citing folksy bits of wisdom in his statements, Putin awakens *pathos* (emotion) in his audience to rouse them for his political agenda. His strategical use of accessible language adds a tinge of emotional *pizzazz* and reinforces the public perception of his *ethos* (authority). One could say that Putin, deploying a bountiful arsenal of proverbs, not unlike martial arts, exercises a kind of off-court verbal judo.

Keywords: Idiolect, politics, proverb, proverbial rhetoric, proverbial speech, rhetoric, Vladimir Putin, Wolfgang Mieder

Nota bene: Please see the English summary of this Dutch contribution at the very end.

Putins taaleigen is doorgaans technocratisch van aard en doorspekt met een bureaucratisch jargon (Gorham 2014: 131, 136). Als staatshoofd is hij echter genoodzaakt een zo breed mogelijk publiek aan te spreken. Putin zou daarin een meester zijn door af en toe een *volks allure* aan zijn beweringen te geven, onder andere door spreekwoorden en gezegden. Hij haalt zijn inspiratie hiervoor in de eerste plaats uit de rijke Russische folklore.

In zijn exhaustief onderzoek naar spreekwoordelijk taalgebruik in politieke toespraken toont de Amerikaanse taalkundige

Wolfgang Mieder aan dat de taal van Amerikaanse presidenten maar al te vaak een panoplie van figuurlijk taalgebruik is (Mieder 2000, 2005, 2009). En hoe geeft de Russische president Putin nu blijk van inzicht in de mogelijkheden van spreekwoorden om een publiek te overtuigen?

Een analyse van de spreekwoordelijke taal in de politieke retoriek van Putin ontbrak vooralsnog. Met mijn onderzoek probeerde ik deze lacune te vullen. Ik bestudeerde hoe Putin spreekwoorden, gezegden, uitdrukkingen, aforismen, gevleugelde uitdrukkingen en spreuken inzet om zijn boodschap te communiceren naar de toehoorders. Bijkomend werd ook Putins drijfveer achter het gebruik van de spreekwoorden bekeken. Met andere woorden, ik ging op zoek naar de rol die spreekwoordelijke taal speelt in zijn idiolect, zijn persoonlijk taalgebruik.

Alvorens van start te gaan met het theoretisch kader en de corpusanalyse, besteed ik het eerste onderdeel van dit artikel aan de figuur en diens idiolect waar het in dit onderzoek grotendeels om draait: Vladimir Putin. Het tweede onderdeel is gewijd aan een inleidende beschouwing van de theorie over spreekwoorden. Veel van volgende theoretische benaderingen zijn ontleend aan Wolfgang Mieder (1996; 2008). In het derde en laatste onderdeel ga ik over tot de drieledige eigenlijke analyse van het corpus.

Het corpus in mijn onderzoek is een verzameling van fragmenten uit beschikbare transcripties (стенограммы) van Putins publieke optredens als president van Rusland. De collectie van verzamelde spreekwoorden is integraal afkomstig van het internet en terug te vinden op de officiële presidentiële website <http://kremlin.ru/>. Om een analyse mogelijk te maken van de gevonden tekstfragmenten met spreekwoorden, liet ik me inspireren door de theoretische inzichten van František Čermak in *Proverbs: Their Lexical and Semantic Features* (2014). In dit onderzoek werden *introducers* of inleidingsformules (zie paragraaf ‘Inbedding van spreekwoorden’) gebruikt als zoektermen om spreekwoorden in de online database van transcripties op te sporen. Het onderzoek analyseert dus enkel verzamelde spreekwoorden die voorkomen met specifieke *introducers*. De onderzoeksmethode in dit artikel is een drieledige corpusanalyse van de digitale verzameling spreekwoorden van Putin. Per analyseniveau worden de verzamelde spreekwoorden ontleed. In het syntactische deel worden de inbedding van en de taalbewerkingen in

de verzamelde spreekwoorden beschreven. In de semantische analyse wordt het spreekwoordelijk lexicon van Putin in de drie ambtstermijnen thematisch gerangschikt en besproken. Maar om een analyse mogelijk te maken van de gevonden tekstfragmenten met spreekwoorden in de beknopte omvang van dit artikel moest hun aantal worden beperkt. Daarom worden in dit artikel enkel de spreekwoorden geanalyseerd die Putin gebruikt in zijn eerste ambtstermijn, die loopt van 2000-2004. Analoog deed ik in mijn thesis onderzoek naar spreekwoorden die Putin gebruikte tijdens zijn andere twee ambtstermijnen.

Om een correcte en nauwkeurige analyse te maken, wordt de betekenis van de verzamelde spreekwoorden geïllustreerd binnen de Russische en/of internationale politieke en sociale situatie. Deze sociaal-politieke *context* omvat de gebeurtenissen waar Putin via de spreekwoorden op inspeelt. In de pragmatische analyse wordt ten slotte de werking van Putins spreekwoordelijk taalgebruik bepaald en schematisch weergegeven in een matrix.

1. President Putin en zijn idiolect

Als product van de inlichtingendienst is Putin een hoogopgeleid man. Zijn spraak is helder, correct en consistent (Levanova 2002: 5). Hij lardeert zijn toespraken met statistische gegevens en gespecialiseerde vakterminologie die *politiek correct* en gepast klinken. Maar tegelijk is hij berucht om zijn onomwonden uitspraken en soms bruto taalgebruik (Gorham 2014: 131). Putin maakte daarmee definitief komaf met de afgezaagde, vastgeroeste en clichématige taal van de communistische leiders.¹ Hij zag het als zijn taak om de dagelijkse complexiteit te interpreteren en betekenis te geven in een duidelijke en toegankelijke taal. Om het met zijn woorden te zeggen: “Je mag niet vervreemden van het collectief, zoals men bij ons zegt. Dus vind ik dat je je manier van denken zo uit moet drukken, zodat mensen je begrijpen. Er moet een bepaalde grens zijn, en ik hoop dat het me lukt om die niet te overschrijden.”² Putins lange regeerperiode kan mede verklaard worden door de overtuigingskracht die Putin als persoon bezit. Die overredingskracht zit in zijn manier van spreken die tot uiting komt in zijn opmerkelijk taalgebruik. Dankzij zijn eigengereid idioom is Putin erin geslaagd het machtsvacuüm in de latere Sovjetperiode op te vullen (Yurchak 2014: 53). Sindsdien is hij de eerste Russische leider die door zijn ongepolijst en

ongepast taalgebruik een persoonlijke graad van retorische autoriteit krijgt toegekend (Gorham 2014: 131). Hij speelt met lage stijlregisters om beter te kunnen inspelen op de gevoelens van zijn publiek (Goscilo 2013: 82). Langs die weg gaat, door de ‘gewone’ indruk die hij nalaat door zijn spontaan (lees: onomwonden) taalgebruik, een schijn van waarheid uit. Putin ontpopte zich tot een *no-nonsensespreker* die opkomt voor de mensen en uitdrukking geeft aan hun behoeftes en angsten (Gorham 2014: 164). Putins idioom leidt soms tot grappige uitdrukkingen en werkt aanstekelijk tot verder taalspel, waaronder de Putin-antispreekwoorden.³

2. *Theorie van het Spreekwoord*

Op ieder potje past een dekseltje. Voor bijna elke denkbare situatie in ons leven bestaat er een spreekwoord dat past. Iedereen gebruikt wel eens metaforen en deze vertrouwdheid met figuurlijk taalgebruik maakt dat wij spreekwoorden gemakkelijk herkennen en kunnen identificeren (Briggs 1985: 793). Maar de eenvoud en helderheid van spreekwoorden staan in fel contrast met de oneindige discussie over de definitie van dit genre in de folklore. Daarom worden de verschillende benamingen, zoals spreekwoorden (пословицы), gezegden (поговорки), uitdrukkingen (выражения), aforismen (афоризмы), gevleugelde uitdrukkingen (крылатые фразы) en spreuken (изречения) in dit onderzoek als evenwaardige begrippen behandeld. Laatstgenoemde varianten worden in het verdere verloop aangeduid met de overkoepelende term: ‘spreekwoorden’. De keuze voor de terminologie in dit onderzoek is geïnspireerd op Mieders keuze voor het woord ‘proverbs’ (spreekwoorden) als algemene benaming voor spreekwoordelijk taalgebruik bij politici (Mieder 2000; 2001; 2005; 2008; 2009; 2010). En in dit onderzoek werk ik met de meest gangbare *definitie* van Wolfgang Mieder: ‘Proverbs are 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 memorable form and that are handed down from generation to generation’ (Mieder 1996: 597).

3. *Corpusanalyse*

3.1 *Syntactische analyse*

3.1.1 Lexicale taalbewerkingen

De verzamelde spreekwoorden in mijn corpus, dat het eerste abtstermijn van Putin beslaat, tonen aan dat de reeks taalbewerkingen beperkt blijven tot lexicale mechanismen, met name contextuele synonymie. Putin vervangt en voegt naamwoorden toe op basis van een contextuele overeenkomst in het canonieke spreekwoord, zonder daarbij de traditionele betekenis drastisch te veranderen. In fragment [13] doet Putin aan additie (toevoeging) en breidt de figuurlijke betekenis uit door twee spreekwoorden *пришла беда – отворяй ворота* en *беда никогда не приходит одна* te herleiden tot één spreekwoord: *пришла беда – открывай ворота, то есть беда одна не приходит* (vrije vertaling: *Een ongeluk komt zelden alleen*) op basis van een gelijke betekenis. In de fragmenten [11, 14] transformeert Putin de spreekwoorden tot antispreekwoorden. Het antispreekwoord in fragment [14]: *быть большими мусульманами, чем пророк Магомет* (vrije vertaling: *Mohammedaanser dan de profeet Mohammed*) is een duidelijke illustratie van dit principe. Putins associatie in dit antispreekwoord met zijn traditionele voorganger *быть большим католиком, чем Папа римский* (Nederlands equivalent: *Roomser dan de paus zijn*) is gebaseerd op de parallelle morfologische en syntactische structuur. Qua betekenis komen deze twee spreekwoorden ook overeen. Katholieken (католики) en de paus (папа римский) worden respectievelijk vervangen door moslims (мусульмани) en de profeet Mohammed (пророк Магомет). Herkenning van de oorspronkelijke en traditionele vorm is dé voorwaarde voor geslaagde communicatie. Dan pas worden dergelijke verdraaiingen en manipulaties ervaren als grappig, satirisch en ironisch. Het Russisch publiek kan een goed antispreekwoord wel smaken. Deze taalbewerkingen zijn, zoals naar voor komt uit de analyse, afwezig in de andere spreekwoorden uit dit corpus. De vaste structuur van de canonieke spreekwoorden wordt door Putin doorgaans behouden, of slechts subtiel aangepast. Putin gebruikt bijna altijd de canonieke vorm van het spreekwoord. Dat is grotendeels toe te schrijven aan de manier waarop hij ze aankondigt of inbedt in zijn betoog.

3.1.2 Inbedding van de spreekwoorden (introducers)

Wanneer Putin de spreekwoorden die in dit corpus opgenomen zijn gebruikt, markeert hij ze met behulp van *introducers*. In meer dan de helft van de gevallen kondigt Putin spreekwoorden aan met introducers die terug te brengen zijn tot één formule: *bij ons* (у нас) – *in Rusland/bij het (Russische) volk* (в России/на Руси/у русского народа/в народе) – *bestaat/zegt men/luidt het* (есть/говорят/звучит/гласит) – *volkse/bekende* (народная/известная) – *spreekwoord* (поговорка/пословица/выражение/изречение/афоризм). Door het woord *spreekwoord* in de introducers te vermelden legt Putin nadruk op de ‘wijsheid’ die hij uit. Daarmee verwijst hij naar de didactische en soms sacrale natuur van de canonieke verwoordingen. Zijn introducers versterken dan ook de emotionele geladenheid van de spreekwoorden. Putin verkiest in de introducers de adjectieven *bekend* (известный) en *volks* (народный) om de populariteit en algemeenheid van het spreekwoord in kwestie te onderlijnen. En omdat hij de wijsheid nadrukkelijk linkt met *ons* (у нас) en *het* (Russisch, Chinese...) *volk*, geeft dat een gevoel van nederigheid ten opzichte van de toehoorders. Via deze weg draagt Putin ook de legitimiteit van zijn uitspraken over van zijn persoonlijke verantwoordelijkheid tot die van het volk. Dat verhoogt het vertrouwen in de taaluiting, en daarmee het ethos van Putin. Uitheemse spreekwoorden worden door Putin verduidelijkt met een verwijzing naar het land van herkomst. Op die manier benadrukt hij de nationaliteit van wie met het spreekwoord verbonden is. De introducer wordt door Putin soms op een geraffineerde manier gebruikt om zijn houding ten opzichte van het spreekwoord duidelijk te maken. Zo kan hij aanbrengen dat hij de waarheid in het spreekwoord accepteert of bijstuurt. Verder rechtvaardigt hij zijn spreekwoorden met een interessante contextualisatie in de tekst die volgt. Putin is zich maar al te goed bewust van de dubbelzinnige aard van spreekwoorden en verklaart elk van de spreekwoorden zorgvuldig. Angstig voor verkeerde interpretaties laat hij niets aan het toeval over en bevestigt opnieuw de boodschap die in een spreekwoord besloten ligt door de tekst die volgt. Putin permitteert zich een expliciete introducer als teken van zijn dominantie. Tijdens interviews zie je bijvoorbeeld duidelijk dat Putin een lange aanloop neemt en dat hij voldoende

tijd neemt om zijn gedachten op een rij te zetten en een zin te vormen. In de formele en geritualiseerde omgeving rond de president kan men niet anders dan Putin te laten uitspreken. Hij kan zijn spreektijd verlengen en misbruiken. De inleidende woorden krijgen een aplomb die de spanning bij de luisteraars opdrijft.

3.2 *Semantische analyse*

In de semantische analyse die op zoek gaat naar de boodschap en betekenis van de spreekwoorden, wordt het spreekwoordelijk lexicon van Putin per thema chronologisch gerangschikt en besproken. In elk van zijn drie ambtstermijnen komen enkele duidelijke tendensen naar voor, die per thema worden besproken. Maar het aantal voorbeelden met spreekwoorden moest in de beknopte omvang van dit artikel worden beperkt. Vandaar dat de analyse concentreert op Putins eerste ambtstermijn, dat representatief is voor de bevindingen in zijn andere twee ambtstermijnen.

Het spreekwoordelijk materiaal in de analyse is ingedeeld volgens de sociaal-politieke thema's waarin de verzamelde spreekwoorden ingebed zijn: internationaal beleid, nationaal beleid en bestuur van Putin. De spreekwoorden zijn chronologisch genummerd. In de verdere analyse wordt er met nummers naar verwezen. Het nummer tussen vierkante haakjes bij elk voorbeeld verwijst naar hun datum van verschijning. De volgorde van de thema's per ambtstermijn wordt bepaald volgens het dalend aantal spreekwoorden. De spreekwoorden met betrekking tot internationale beleidskwesties vinden hun oorsprong in de sfeer van toenaderingspogingen tot andere landen en worden ook gebruikt naar aanleiding van internationale conflicten. Onder nationale beleidskwesties staan de spreekwoorden die Putin hanteert om het te hebben over justitie, binnenlandse zaken, sport, cultuur en economie. En tot slot worden de spreekwoorden bij het bestuur door Putin aangewend als repliek op vragen over en bekommernissen om zijn persoonlijke stijl van beleid. Sommige spreekwoorden kunnen bij verscheidene thema's tegelijk ondergebracht worden. Ieder van de spreekwoorden wordt uitgebreid toegelicht. Omdat de spreekwoorden uit de transcripties van Putin op de actualiteit alluderen, zal ik verder ingaan op de Russische en/of internationale politiek en sociale *context*. Na elk on-

derdeel van de semantische analyse volgt een kort, voorlopig besluit.

3.2.1 Putins spreekwoordelijk taalgebruik in zijn eerste ambts-termijn

Tijdens zijn periode als waarnemend president in 1999 (en daarna) Putin hard aan de consolidatie van Ruslands relaties met de BRICS-landen, Europese lidstaten, Aziatische landen en zelfs met de Verenigde Staten. Nadat hij op 26 maart officieel verkozen werd, was de wereld erg benieuwd naar de onbekende veiligheidsagent die het plotsklaps tot Russisch president schopte. De belangstelling bekoelde al snel toen de nieuwbakken president meerdere malen in opspraak kwam vanwege zijn autoritaire manier van bestuur (Detrez 2008: 410-415). Tijdens zijn hervormingen boekte Putin economische successen dankzij de olie- en gasopbrengsten. En dankzij zijn veelbelovende liberale economische hervormingen kon Rusland een beroep doen op westerse financiële steun (Detrez 2008: 420). In dit tijdsgewricht plaatste Putin belangrijke economische sectoren (zoals de energiesector) onder staatscontrole (Detrez 2008: 411-412). Genationaliseerde bedrijven als Gazprom kregen op hun beurt controle over tv-kanalen en kranten. Tot slot, Putins gewelddadige optreden tegen de Tsjetsjeense rebellen lanceerde hem uiteindelijk als mede-actor op het wereldtoneel. Zijn autoritaire tendensen werden echter met veel argwaan opgepikt door waarnemers in het binnen- maar vooral het buitenland.

(a) Spreekwoordelijke retoriek inzake internationaal beleid:

* *Pogingen tot toenadering:*

– **Canoniek Spreekwoord**_[5, 10] (verder ‘CS’): **Ближкий (ближний) сосед лучше, чем дальний родственник**. Een exact Nederlands equivalent is: *Beter een goede buur dan een verre vriend* (hier: *verre verwant*). Mensen in de directe omgeving kunnen soms meer betekenen dan verre familie.

Context: Met het oog op de ontwikkelingen van de Sino-Russische relaties was Putins bezoek in Peking in juli 2000 de eerste van vele ontmoetingen tussen hem en zijn Chinese collega Jiang Zemin, de secretaris-generaal van de Communistische Partij. In zijn toespraak voor de pers citeerde Putin de Russische versie van een Chinees spreekwoord dat Jiang al eerder had gebruikt.

[5]. **Putins Spreekwoord** (verder ‘PS’): “Vandaag herinnerde de secretaris-generaal van de Communistische Partij van China ons aan het bekend Chinese gezegde: Beter een goede buur dan een verre verwant.” (Сегодня Председатель КНР упоминал известную китайскую поговорку, согласно которой **близкий сосед лучше, чем дальний родственник**). Met het spreekwoord klinkt Putin erg bereid om de verstoorde relaties met China te verbeteren. Putin benadrukt hiermee dat de twee naties als gevolg van hun direct geografische omgeving beter elkaar kunnen helpen dan zich te richten naar andere bondgenoten. Hoogstwaarschijnlijk bedoelt hij met ‘verre verwanten’ (дальний родственник) de Verenigde Staten, met wie beide landen nochtans altijd nauwe contacten onderhielden.

– **CS: В гостях хорошо, а дома лучше** (letterlijke vertaling: *Te gast zijn is leuk, maar thuis is het beter*). Een Nederlandse variant is: *Oost west, thuis best* of *Zoals het klokje thuis tikt, tikt het nergens* (Honselaar 2002: 242). Waar je ook bent, je voelt je nergens beter dan thuis.

Context: In het eerste jaar van zijn presidentschap bezochten president Putin en diens vrouw Ljudmila meer dan twintig verschillende landen (Myers 2015: 236). Tegen het eind van hun rondgang in juli 2000 hielden ze halt in Japan. Op een persconferentie in Okinawa verwoordde Putin zijn appreciatie voor de gastvrijheid van de gastlanden.

[6]. **PS:** “Weet u, we hebben een spreekwoord: Te gast zijn is leuk, maar thuis is het beter.” (Вы знаете, у нас есть такая пословица: «**В гостях хорошо, а дома лучше**»). Hij maakt duidelijk dat hij graag op bezoek gaat in het buitenland, maar liefst van al is hij thuis in Rusland. Zo slaagt hij erin zowel de Japanse aanwezigen, als de Russische delegatie te charmeren.

– **CS: Старый друг лучше новых двух** (letterlijke vertaling: *Een oude vriend is beter dan twee nieuwe*). Een canonic Nederlands equivalent voor dit Russische spreekwoord bestaat niet. De figuurlijke betekenis houdt in dat oude, hechte vriendschapsbanden dikwijls te prefereren zijn boven nieuwe en meer vrijblijvende relaties.

Context: In oktober 2000 zocht Rusland opnieuw toenadering tot India. Het was acht jaar geleden dat een Russische president nog eens voet op Indiase bodem had gezet. Een journalist wees Putin op het feit dat het voorbije decennium de Indiaas-

Russische contacten verwaterden omdat Rusland zijn blik op het Westen had gericht.

[7]. **PS:** “Bij ons is er een gezegde: Een oude vriend is beter dan twee nieuwe.” (У нас есть такая поговорка: **старый друг лучше новых двух**). Putins spreekwoord weerlegt de beweringen dat Rusland niet bereid was tot samenwerking met India. In een poging tot verzoening beweert Putin dat India altijd een *oude vriend* is geweest. “Rusland was India niet vergeten”, voegde hij eraan toe, “maar we hadden het druk met binnenlandse problemen.”

– **CS:** **За морем телушка — полушка, да рубль перевоз** (letterlijke vertaling: *Overzees betaal je voor een kalpje van een halve cent, maar voor de overdracht een roebel*). Voor dit spreekwoord bestaat geen Nederlands equivalent. Het spreekwoord waarschuwt dat het niet rendabel is om goedkope producten overzees te bestellen.

Context: Na de val van de Sovjet-Unie kwam er een diplomatieke stilte van tien jaar tussen Rusland en de Latijns-Amerikaanse landen. In het interview in december 2000 met een Cubaanse nieuwsdienst vroeg men zich af waarom Rusland geen aandacht meer had voor Latijns-Amerika, en wel voor Europa.

[96]. **PS:** “Opnieuw schiet me een bekend gezegde te binnen: Overzees betaal je voor een kalpje van een cent, een roebel.” (Опять вспоминается известная поговорка: «**За морем и телушка – полушка, да дорог перевоз**»). Putin betreurt de verwaarloosde contacten tussen Rusland en Latijns-Amerika. Bij wijze van verontschuldiging onderkent Putin dat de aandacht eerder gegaan is naar binnenlandse sociale problemen en minder naar internationale handelsbetrekkingen.

– **CS**_[5, 10]: **Бликий (ближний) сосед лучше, чем двоюродные братья**. Een exact Nederlands equivalent is: *Beter een goede buur dan een verre vriend* (hier: *neven*). Mensen in de directe omgeving kunnen soms meer betekenen dan verre familie.

Context: Tijdens een bezoek in februari 2001 bracht Putin de Zuid-Koreaanse president Kim Dae-jung in een lastig parket. George W. Bush had verkondigd om unilateraal een anti-raketschild op te trekken, onder meer tegen Noord-Korea. Instemmen met deze strategie zou stuiten op zwaar verzet bij het buurland Noord Korea dat in het defensief zou gaan. Maar de

Amerikaanse doctrine niet volgen zou de goede relaties met de Verenigde Staten op het spel zetten. Putin, die een nieuw anti-raketschild zag als het scheeftrekken van de verhoudingen vastgelegd in het ABM-verdrag (Anti-Ballistic Missile) uit 1972, kantte zich tegen het voorstel van Bush. Tijdens zijn bezoek probeerde hij Zuid-Korea te overtuigen om samen met hem een hard standpunt in te nemen tegen het anti-raketschild. Voor Putin stond er veel op het spel. Zijn bezoek was niet enkel een diplomatiek uitje, maar vooral een belangrijke politieke onderneming uit angst voor een nieuwe nucleaire wapenwedloop.

[10]. PS: “Hier is toepasselijk om terug te denken aan jullie [Zuid-Koreaans] oud gezegde: Beter een goede buur dan verre verwanten” (Здесь уместно вспомнить вашу старую поговорку: **соседи – все равно что двоюродные братья**). Putin drukt zijn vriendschappelijke gevoelens uit met een oorspronkelijk Zuid-Koreaans spreekwoord om het publiek mee te krijgen. In zijn toespraak voor de Nationale Vergadering van de Zuid-Koreaanse republiek biedt Putin ook zijn hulp bij de inter-Koreaanse relaties omdat hij een groot voorstander was van vrede tussen Noord- en Zuid-Korea. Net als in fragment [5] verwijzen de ‘verre verwanten (hier: neven)’ (двоюродные братья) uit het spreekwoord mogelijk naar de Verenigde Staten.

– CS: **Согласие строит, несогласие разрушает** (letterlijke vertaling: *Eensgezinden bouwen, verdeelden slopen*). Voor dezelfde boodschap zou men in het Nederlands zeggen: *Eendracht maakt macht*. De wijsheid luidt: als mensen samenwerken kan men meer bereiken dan wanneer mensen elkaar tegenwerken.

Context: Toen Polen na de val van de Sovjet-Unie toetrad tot de NAVO, bereikten de Pools-Russische betrekkingen een dieptepunt. In januari 2002 bezocht Putin, als eerste Russische president in acht jaar, Warschau in een poging om samen met zijn Poolse collega Aleksander Kwasniewski de relaties nieuw leven in te blazen. Putins bezoek aan Warschau was een belangrijke stap in het beslechten van de diplomatieke strubbelingen van de twee landen. Beide staatshoofden hoopten om de handelsbetrekkingen te hervatten.

[16]. PS: “Er is volgens mij een gepast Pools spreekwoord: Eensgezinden bouwen, verdeelden slopen.” (Есть, по-моему, хорошая польская пословица: **согласие строит, несогласие**

разрушает). In dit spreekwoord geeft Putin een aanzet tot samenwerking tussen de twee naties. Hij toont zich erg toeschietelijk om de handelsafspraken in de praktijk om te zetten.

– **CS: Предки сажают деревья, потомки наслаждаются прохладой** (letterlijke vertaling: *De voorouders planten bomen, de nakomelingen genieten van de schaduw*). Deze Russische vertaling van een Chinese spreuk herinnert ons eraan dat we de inspanningen van de vorige generaties en de daardoor verkregen voordelen nooit als vanzelfsprekend mogen beschouwen.⁴

Context: In december 2002 werd Putin op een bijeenkomst in Peking enthousiast onthaald door Chinese studenten. Putin sprak over China en Rusland als “twee unieke beschavingen met een verantwoordelijkheid om de wereldvrede te bevorderen”.⁵

[20]. **PS:** “Één daarvan [Chinese spreuk] luidt: De voorouders planten bomen, de nakomelingen genieten van de schaduw.” (Одно из них гласит: «**Пусть потомки наслаждаются прохладой в тени деревьев, посаженных их предками**»). Volgens Putin hebben het Chinese en Russische volk hun vriendschappelijke verhoudingen te danken aan de inspanning van de vorige generaties. Hij moedigt zijn publiek aan om in het belang van de beide naties de relaties nog te verbeteren.

– **CS: Где есть воля, там есть и путь.** Een exact Nederlands equivalent is: *Waar een wil is, is een weg*. Wie werkelijk iets voor elkaar wil krijgen, zal er ook een oplossing voor weten te vinden.

Context: In juni 2003 kwamen de Britse premier Tony Blair en Putin tot een overeenkomst op een Londense energieconferentie in de marge van Putins staatsbezoek aan Groot-Brittannië. Putin zag het energieakkoord als een positieve evaluatie van zijn binnenlandse economische hervormingen die zorgden voor een hersteld vertrouwen in Rusland als betrouwbaar investeringsklimaat.⁶

[22]. **PS:** “En zoals het Engelse spreekwoord luidt: Waar een wil is, is een weg.” (А как гласит английская пословица, **где есть воля, там есть и путь**). Door de Russische variant van het Engels spreekwoord *Where there’s a will, there’s a way* aan te halen, onderstreept Putin zijn inzet om samen te werken met de Engelsen. Hij spreekt in de wijsheid van het Engelse publiek en hoopt op bijval van de toehoorders te kunnen rekenen.

* *Conflicten:*

– **CS: Котлеты отдельно, мухи отдельно** (letterlijke vertaling: *Vlees apart, vliegen apart*). De canonieke vorm van spreekwoord raakte in onbruik. Het is gebaseerd op een Bijbelse uitdrukking van Mattheüs (13, 24-30: 29): “Maar hij zeide: Neen, opdat gij, het onkruid vergaderende, ook mogelijk met hetzelfde de tarwe niet uittrekt”. In het Russisch zegt men: **Отделить зерно от плевел**. In het Nederlands klinkt het *Het kaf van het koren scheiden*. Het betekent het goede van het kwade scheiden. Putin gebruikt in het fragment echter het dubbele antispreekwoord: **отделить котлеты от мухов** (letterlijke vertaling: *De vliegen van de gehaktballen scheiden*) (Nikiforova & Kuryljova 2011: 72). De vorm van het canoniek spreekwoord dient hier hoogstwaarschijnlijk als sjabloon voor de getransformeerde variant.

Context: Na de aanslagen op 11 september 2001 in New York reageerde het Westen achterdochtig op de nucleaire handel tussen Rusland en Iran (Detrez 2008: 420). Nochtans was Putin het allereerste staatshoofd die zijn militaire diensten ter beschikking van Bush stelde in diens vergeldingsacties tegen het terrorisme. In het interview met een Duitse krant in september 2001 werden Putins steunbetuigingen aan de *Global War on Terrorism* (GWOT) van Bush in diskrediet gebracht door de vraag naar Putins relaties met Iran.

[11]. **Putins Antispreekwoord** (verder: ‘PAS’): “Weet u, bij ons is er een gezegde, het kan zijn dat het niet goed klinkt, maar het is hier zeker op zijn plaats: wij vinden dat de vliegen van de gehaktballen moeten worden gescheiden.” (Вы знаете, у нас есть такая поговорка, может быть, она не очень хорошо звучит, но, наверное, будет к месту: мы считаем, что **котлеты и мухи должны находиться друг от друга в разных местах**). Putin laat over zijn relaties met Iran liever geen misverstanden bestaan. Met het spreekwoord maakt hij duidelijk onderscheid tussen de zogenaamde schurkenstaten en zijn Iraanse partner. Putin zag zijn partners in het Midden-Oosten liever niet op de zwarte lijst (*Axis of Evil*) van Bush verschijnen. Daarom benadrukt Putin hier in heldere en simplistische taal dat *zijn* Iraanse onderhandelingspartner aan de ‘goede’ kant staat.

– **CS: Пришла беда – отворяй ворота** (letterlijk vertaling: *Als er ongeluk aankomt, zet de deur maar open*) + **Беда никогда не приходит одна** (letterlijke vertaling: *Een ongeluk komt nooit alleen*). Deze twee spreekwoorden hebben dezelfde betekenis. Hun Nederlands equivalent luidt: *Een ongeluk komt zelden alleen* (Honselaar 2002: 47). Als er één iets misgaat, escaleert dat in veel dingen die misgaan. Putin herleidt twee spreekwoorden tot één spreekwoord door ze samen te voegen op basis van een gelijke betekenis.

Context: Uren na de aanslagen op 11 september 2001 in New York zette Putin zijn vijandige gevoelens tegenover de Verenigde Staten even opzij en belde als eerste staatshoofd naar Bush (Myers 2014: 233). Putin betuigde zijn steun aan de Amerikaanse bevolking en beloofde Bush bij te staan in diens GWOT. Bush kon rekenen op de Russische militair-strategische expertise in het Midden-Oosten.

[13]. **PS:** “Weet u, in Rusland is er een gezegde: Als er ongeluk aankomt, zet de deur maar open, want het komt zelden alleen.” (Знаете, в России есть такая поговорка: **пришла беда – открывай ворота, то есть беда одна не приходит**). Zowel Bush als Putin slaan vanaf dat moment een opmerkelijk andere toon aan. Putin uit hier zijn medeleven met het Amerikaanse volk en biedt zijn hulp aan om samen ten strijde te trekken tegen het terrorisme. Putin kon via deze weg de nodige legitimiteit voor zijn eigen strijd tegen de Tsjetsjeense rebellen garanderen.

– **CS: Яблоко от яблони недалеко падает.** In het Nederlands zegt men *De appel valt niet ver van de boom*, als kinderen qua karakter op hun ouders lijken (Honselaar 2002: 1560).

Context: In de roes van de gezamenlijk strijd tegen terreur konden Putin en Bush het steeds beter met elkaar vinden. Tijdens een gemoedelijk staatsbezoek van het Russische staatshoofd aan Texas in november 2001 drukte Putin zijn waardering uit voor George W. Bush. Eerder wees voormalig Amerikaans minister van Buitenlandse Zaken onder George H.W. Bush, James Baker, op het Amerikaans spreekwoord: *The acorn doesn’t fall far from the tree* om de gelijkenis tussen George H.W. Bush en diens zoon, George W. Bush te benadrukken.

[14]. **PS:** “Maar wij hebben ook een gezegde dat er erg goed op lijkt, en dat exact hetzelfde betekent: De appel valt niet ver van de boom. (Но у нас тоже есть поговорка очень похожая,

по смыслу абсолютно идентичная, – «яблоко от яблони недалеко падает»). Putin pikt in op Bakers woorden en herinnert het publiek aan een identieke Russische variant. Hij flatteert Bush junior en hoopt dat hij dezelfde toenaderingspolitiek met Rusland voert als zijn vader.

– CS_[8, 15]: **Пока гром не грянет – мужик не перекрестится** (letterlijke vertaling: *Zolang het niet dondert, zal de boer geen kruisteken maken*). Een Nederlandse variant luidt: *Als het kalf verdronken is, dempt men de put* (Honselaar 2002: 249). Pas nadat er dingen zijn fout gegaan, neemt men maatregelen.

Context: Tijdens een interview in december 2001 met een Griekse krant vroeg een journalist aan Putin of de terroristische aanslagen van 9/11 en de gebeurtenissen in Tsjetsjenië de relaties tussen Europa, de Verenigde Staten en Rusland verder hadden vertroebeld.

[15]. **PS:** “Weet u, wij hebben een volks gezegde: Zolang het niet dondert, zal de man geen kruisteken maken.” (У нас, знаете, есть такая народная поговорка: «пока гром не грянет, мужик не перекрестится»). Putin benadrukt dat de terroristische dreigingen het Westen en Rusland hebben verenigd. Volgens hem heeft zorgen de ongelukkige voorvallen voor een nieuwe constructieve samenwerking. Putins figuurlijk taalgebruik inspireert de Griekse journalist om te antwoorden in een Griekse variant van het Russische spreekwoord (lees: in de Russische transcriptie is de tekst van de Griekse journalist vertaald): “In het Grieks bestaat bijna hetzelfde [gezegde]: Zolang de donder niet is ingeslagen, zal de man niet wakker worden.” (Приблизительно то же самое есть и в греческом языке: «пока не ударит гром, мужик не проснется»). Putin gaat verder met de metafoer en sluit het interview af op empathische wijze: “Jammer genoeg hebben we het moment waarop de donder insloeg gemist, maar hij is ingeslagen en hij heeft ons allemaal geraakt.” (К сожалению, мы пропустили тот момент, когда гром ударил, но он действительно ударил, он всех разбудил). Opnieuw benadrukt hij dat iedereen een slachtoffer is van terrorisme. Hij roept dan ook op tot gezamenlijke actie met de westerse partners.

Kort besluit

In bovenstaande fragmenten [5, 7, 96, 20] is er van Putin een opmerkelijke inschikkelijkheid merkbaar ten opzichte van de opkomende BRICS-landen. In zijn streven naar een nieuwe multipolaire wereldorde hanteert Putin spreekwoorden die eensgezindheid, lotsverbondenheid en samenwerking promoten. De subtiele arrogantie die Putin aan de dag legt wanneer hij met veel branie spreekwoorden aanhaalt over oude vriendschappen in de fragmenten [5, 7, 10, 16, 20] maakt deel uit van zijn tactiek om Rusland opnieuw als grootmacht te vestigen. Zijn spreekwoordelijk taalgebruik wordt gekenmerkt door een overwegende hoopvolle en vriendschappelijke ondertoon. Putin probeert ook de cirkel van vijandigheid tussen Rusland en de Verenigde Staten te doorbreken door zijn steun aan Bush [13, 14, 15]. Om tegenaanvallen op zijn internationaal beleid te weren dekt de Russische president zich angstig in. In het spreekwoord uit fragment [11] wordt duidelijk dat Putin misverstanden over zijn nucleair partnerschap met Iran probeert weg te werken. Hij wil niet dat het Russisch engagement in de GWOT en daarmee zijn eigen bron van persoonlijke legitimiteit voor de strijd tegen de Tsjetsjeense rebellen ondermijnd worden. Putins toon is eerder verwijtend.

(b) Spreekwoordelijke repliek op vragen over zijn bestuur:

– CS_[1]: **He говори гоп, пока не перепрыгнешь** (letterlijke vertaling: *Zeg geen hopsasa zolang je er niet over bent gesprongen*). Een Nederlandse variant luidt: *Men moet de dag niet voor de avond prijzen* of *Je moet niet te vroeg juichen* (Honseelaar 2002: 237). Het is een verwittiging dat men pas met lof over een prestatie kan spreken als de afloop gekend is.

Context: In de aanloop van de verkiezingen in maart 2000 waren alle mogelijke rivalen voor het presidentschap verdwenen en bleef alleen Putin nog over (Myers 2015: 204). Tijdens een persconferentie in januari 2000 waar Putin sprak als waarnemend president voor Boris Jel'tsin polste een journalist naar Putins ideeën voor zijn beleid wanneer hij officieel tot president van Rusland verkozen zou worden.

[1]. **PS:** “In verband [met deze vraag] heeft het Russische volk veel precieze en passende gezegdes: *Zeg geen hopsasa zolang je er niet over bent gesprongen.*” (Есть у русского народа очень много поговорок на этот счет, очень точных и метких:

«**Не говори гоп, пока не перепрыгнешь**»). Putin weert de vraag door middel van het spreekwoord en tempert zo de insinuaties over zijn benoeming. Hij corrigeert de journalisten door erop te wijzen dat hij tot dan toe nog *niet* tot president verkozen is. Het is weinig waarschijnlijk, gezien de uitgebleven competitie, dat Putin echt twijfelde aan zijn toekomst als Russische president.

– **CS_[4]: (He) Создать/сотворить себе кумира.** Een exact Nederlands equivalent is: *Iemand tot een afgod maken* of *Iemand op een voetstuk plaatsen* (Honselaar 2002: 550-551). Dit oorspronkelijk Bijbelse spreekwoord is gebaseerd op een van de geboden uit het Oude Testament in *Leviticus* (26:1): “Gij zult u geen afgoden maken”. Iemand *verafgoden* betekent, zoals bekend, iemand buitensporig bewonderen en adoreren.

Context: Toen Putin in 1991 voor de burgemeester van Sint-Petersburg, Antolij Sobčak ging werken, kreeg hij een nieuw kantoor en verving hij het portret van Lenin door een ets van Peter de Grote (Myers 2015: 86). Dat portret zou naar verluidt nog steeds in zijn bureau hangen. In een interview uit juli 2000 met een Chinese krant (die op de hoogte was van Putins schildering) vroeg een journalist aan Putin welke Russische figuren, zoals Katerina en Peter de Grote, hem kunnen impressioneren.

[4]. **PS:** “In principe ga ik uit van het bekende axioma, het bekende gezegde: Maak geen afgodsbeelden.” (Я, в принципе, исхожу из известного постулата, известной поговорки: «**Не сотвори себе кумира**»). Putins spreekwoord geeft zijn publiek de raad om invloedrijke individuen niet tot het heldendom te verheffen. Maar meteen spreekt Putin zichzelf tegen door een uitzondering op zijn eigen regel te maken voor Peter de Grote. Deze historische figuur kan op veel respect van Putin rekenen.

– **CS_[9a]: Хоть горшком назови, только в печку не ставь** (letterlijke vertaling: *Je mag me een pot noemen, zolang je me niet in de oven steekt*).⁷ Zolang iets hangende is, zolang er over iets gepraat of gediscussieerd wordt, liggen de zaken niet definitief vast. Eens in de oven kan er niets meer gewijzigd worden.

Context: In december 2000 vroeg een Cubaans persagentschap aan Putin in een interview of zijn politieke opvattingen eerder links of rechts waren. De journalist wilde ook weten welke koers Rusland onder Putin zou varen.

[9a]. PS: “Wat betreft het feit, hoe men over mij denkt en hoe men mij noemt, daarover hebben wij in Rusland een goed spreekwoord: Je mag me een pot noemen, zolang je me niet in de oven steekt.” (Что касается того, как и кто меня «считает», как и кто называет, то у нас в России есть хорошая поговорка на этот случай: «**Хоть горшком назовите, только в печку не ставьте**»). Met het spreekwoord geeft Putin geen duidelijk antwoord op de vraag en laat alle mogelijkheden open over welk kamp hij kiest. In het spreekwoord laat Putin verstaan dat het hem niet uitmaakt hoe men over hem denkt.

– CS: Putin gebruikt hier niet echt een spreekwoord maar eerder een figuurlijke verwoording van het Russische spreekwoord: **Не на словах, а на деле**. Het is gebaseerd op een Bijbelse spreuk uit *Johannes* (3:18): “Kinderkens, laten wij liefhebben niet met het woord of met de tong, maar met de daad en in waarheid.” Een Nederlands equivalent luidt: *Niet met woorden, maar met daden* (Honselaar 2000: 1199). Men moet een mens niet op zijn woorden maar op zijn daden beoordelen.

Context: In november 2001 vroeg een journalist van de Amerikaanse televisiezender ABC hoe Putin tegenover de geruchten stond dat hij een autoritair leider zou zijn. En of zijn verleden bij de KGB hem in zijn taakuitvoering als president beïnvloedde.

[12]. PS: “Bij ons is er een gezegde, bij ons zeggen ze, dat men een mens niet op zijn woorden maar op zijn daden moet beoordelen.” (И у нас есть такая поговорка, у нас говорят, что о человеке судят не по тому, **что он говорит сам о себе, а по тому, что он делает**). Putin bijt van zich af en verwijt de pers dat ze een verkeerd beeld van hem ophangen. Hij besluit zijn repliek met deze figuurlijke verwoording dat enkel concrete acties een mens bepalen. Putin profileert zich hier als een man van grote daden, en niet van *schone* woorden.

– CS: **Не дай вам Бог жить в эпоху перемен** (letterlijke vertaling: *God verhoede dat je in tijden van veranderingen leeft*).⁸ Dit is een Russisch pseudo-spreekwoord, gebaseerd op een oude Chinese vloek. Een Nederlands equivalent is niet voorhanden. Een betere variant komt in het Engels voor: *May you live in interesting times*,⁹ of nog: *It's better to be a dog in a peaceful time than to be a man in a chaotic period* (letterlijke vertaling: *Het is beter om een hond in rustige tijden te zijn dan*

een mens in turbulente tijden).¹⁰ Met “interessante tijden” bedoelt men ironisch genoeg tijden van oorlog en onzekerheid. De teneur is: we snakken naar “niet interessante” en standvastige tijden van stabiliteit en welvaart. De inhoud zegt het ene, maar bedoelt eigenlijk het andere. De spreuk werd al eerder gebruikt door John F. Kennedy en Hillary Clinton (2003: 307).¹¹

Context: In een interview in november 2002 vraagt een Chinees nieuwsagentschap naar Putins *recept* van zijn populariteit. Putin antwoordde dat hij zijn populariteit onder de Russen te danken heeft aan de stabiliteit die hij hen bracht na het moeilijke leven onder de precaire omstandigheden in het late Sovjettijdperk.

[19]. **PS:** “Weet u, ik kan mij vergissen, maar volgens mij bestaat er een Chinees gezegde: God verhoede dat je in tijden van veranderingen leeft.” (Вы знаете, я могу ошибиться, но, по-моему, есть такая китайская поговорка: «**Не дай вам бог жить во времена перемен**»). Putin staaft zijn repliek met deze Chinese vloek. Zijn reactie is dubbelzinnig bedoeld om aan te tonen dat het beter is om in tijden van stabiliteit te leven dan in de turbulente tijden van en net na de Sovjet-Unie. Tegelijk verwoordt Putin in duidelijke taal de behoefte van de Russen naar de welgekomen stabiliteit. Door het gebruik van een vertaald *Chinees* spreekwoord om de angst van de *Russen* uit te drukken, wekt Putin sympathie op bij zowel de Chinese als de Russische toehoorders.

– **CS: Суров закон, но это закон.** Dit is een Russische vertaling van de Latijnse rechtsspreuk: *Dura lex, sed lex* (Berkov & Mokienko & Šuležkova 2008: 390). Een exact Nederlands equivalent is: *De wet is streng, maar het is de wet*. De boodschap luidt: de wetsregels gelden voor iedereen.

Context: Op een ontmoeting van de leden van de Russische mensenrechtencommissie in december 2002 sprak de Russische mensenrechtenactivist Aleksej Simonov zich kritisch uit over de angst in de Russische samenleving om vrijuit te spreken. Enkele jaren voordien werd zijn collega-journalist, Grigorij Pas'ko gearresteerd op grond van landverraad (Pas'ko had een rapport samengesteld over milieuproblematiek in de Japanse zee) en veroordeeld tot twee jaar gevangenis.¹² Simonov maakte zich ook zorgen over de nieuwe mediawetten en aan banden leggen van de journalistiek.

[21]. PS: “Maar er zijn nog andere uitdrukkingen, die de geschiedenis zijn ingegaan en met welke niet valt de discussiëren: De wet is streng, maar het is de wet.” (Но есть и другие выражения, которые вошли в историю, и никто с ними не спорит: «суров закон, но это закон»). Putin maant aan dat de media niet altijd vrijuit gaan. En hij wil dat iedereen zich strikt aan de letter van de wet houdt, zonder uitzonderingen.

– CS_[23]: **Нечего на зеркало пенять, коли рожа кривая** (letterlijke vertaling: *Het is niet de schuld van de spiegel dat je een scheef gezicht hebt*). Voor dit spreekwoord bestaat geen Nederlands equivalent. *De pot verwijt de ketel dat hij zwart ziet* komt nog het dichtst in de buurt. De figuurlijke betekenis is: een persoon de schuld geven voor iets waar je zelf schuldig aan bent.

Context: De Russische presidentsverkiezingen in maart 2000 hadden volgens sommigen meer weg van een referendum dan van een eerlijke democratische stembusgang (Myers 2015: 204, 205). In een interview met de *New York Times* in oktober 2003 wierp de journalist op dat zowel in Rusland als in de Verenigde Staten stemmen oprezen dat de democratie in Rusland gebrekkig was.

[23]. PS: “Er is hier voor ons ook niet veel goeds aan, maar ik wil jullie herinneren aan een Russisch gezegde: Het is niet de schuld van de spiegel dat je een scheef gezicht hebt.” (Ничего здесь хорошего для нас тоже нет, но я хочу напомнить российскую поговорку: **нечего на зеркало пенять, коли рожа кривая**). Putin pareert de vraag en wijst op het feit dat tijdens de oorlog in Irak ook veel Amerikaanse journalisten onder druk stonden. Volgens Putin is dit spreekwoord daarom van toepassing op de Amerikaanse beleidsmakers. Hij vindt dat ze beter eerst in eigen boezem kijken, alvorens ze hem beschuldigen van machtsmisbruik.

– CS: **В чужом глазу соринку видит, а в своем бревно не замечает** (letterlijke vertaling: *Een vuiltje in andermans oog zien, maar niet de balk in eigen oog*). Je moet niet moeilijk doen over kleine fouten van een ander, zonder dat je eerst je eigen grove fouten inziet. Wie dat wel doet geeft invulling aan het in oorsprong Bijbelse spreekwoord: *De splinter in andermans oog zien, maar niet de balk in eigen oog* (Honselaar 2002: 227).

Context: In de aanloop naar de presidentsverkiezingen in maart 2004 waren de Amerikaanse (ex-)ministers van Buiten-

landse Zaken Colin Powell en Condoleezza Rice, president Bush en premier Blair het erover eens dat het despotisch gedrag van Putin niet langer getolereerd kon worden, ondanks de Amerikaanse en Britse handelsbelangen in Moskou.¹³ Op een persconferentie in maart 2004 aan de vooravond van de Russische presidentsverkiezingen vroeg een journalist hoe Putin zich voelde bij de uitspraken van Powell en Rice.

[24]. PS: “Bij ons zeggen we: Sommige mensen zien de kleine splinter in andermans oog, maar niet de balk in eigen oog.” (У нас говорят так: **некоторые люди у других в глазу соринку маленькую замечают, а у себя, в собственном глазу, бревна не видят**). Putin is misnoegd en verweert zich met dit spreekwoord. Hij neemt de Amerikaanse politici kwalijk dat ze eerst anderen bekritisieren vooraleer ze over hun eigen binnenlandse problemen reflecteren.

Kort besluit

In de beginjaren van Putins ambtstermijn bleef de vraag ‘Wie is Putin?’ lang nazinderen bij journalisten en beleidsmakers. In zijn spreekwoordelijke reacties op persoonlijke vragen zien we een voorzichtige Putin [1, 4, 9a]. Hij mildert de vooroordelen van journalisten en reageert op een terughoudende manier. Vervolgens maakt zijn ingetogen spreekwoordelijke retoriek plaats voor een energiek spreekwoord [12] over woorden en daden. Putin profileert zich hier als een man van de actie, en niet van mooie praatjes. In de aanloop naar de tweede presidentsverkiezingen wordt zijn spreekwoordelijk taalgebruik grimmig en verwijtend. Steeds meer stemmen laten zich kritisch uit over de ondemocratische tendensen in Rusland. Putins was verbolgen over de betuttelende en moraliserende aanpak van de Verenigde Staten. Hij houdt zich doof voor de beschuldigingen over zijn sterk gecentraliseerd beleid. Putin, die in fragmenten [23, 24] tot verantwoording was geroepen, kruipt liever in de slachtofferrol als favoriete *boksbal* van de Verenigde Staten. Zijn spreekwoordelijk taalgebruik is terughoudend en defensief. Het wordt gekenmerkt door een overwegende negatieve en verwijtende ondertoon.

(c) Spreekwoordelijke retoriek inzake nationaal beleid:* *Economie:*

– **CS: Дают – бери, бьют – беги** (letterlijke vertaling: *Als ze iets geven – neem het aan, maar als ze slaan, loop hard weg*).¹⁴ Voor dit spreekwoord bestaat geen canonieke Nederlandse versie. Een persoonlijke Nederlandse variant: *Accepteer de steun, maar vermijd de dreun* gaat goed samen met de wijsheid in de Russische versie. Het spreekwoord adviseert om geen kritiek te uiten op wat je krijgt, maar men moet geen *vergiftigd geschenk* aanvaarden.

Context: In februari 2000 verklaarde Putin in een interview dat hij financiële hulp van het Internationaal Monetair Fonds (IMF) en de Wereldbank zou aannemen als en slechts als er goede voorwaarden aan voorafgaan.

[2]. **PS:** “Weet u, er is een bekend Russisch gezegde: Als ze iets geven – neem het aan, maar als ze slaan, loop hard weg.” (Знаете, вот известная русская поговорка: **дают – бери, бьют – беги**). Putin formuleert met dit spreekwoord zijn terughoudendheid om een beroep te doen op de voorwaardelijke westerse financiële steun. Hij wenst de controle te behouden op het proces van de financiële hulp. Het leek Putin niet opportuun om zomaar geld vanuit het Westen te aanvaarden.

– **CS: В мутной воде рыбу ловить.** De exact Nederlandse versie luidt: *In troebel water vissen* (Honselaar 2002: 1181). Het is niet moeilijk om voordeel te halen uit de problemen van anderen.

Context: Putin voerde diepgaande economische liberale hervormingen door om de overgang naar een vorm van kapitalisme te realiseren. Hij ging bedachtzaam te werk om de bevolking een periode van stabiliteit te kunnen garanderen (Myers 2015: 222). Tijdens een interview met Russische en buitenlandse kranten in juli 2000 vroeg men zich af welke resultaten hij in de politieke en economische domeinen wil verwezenlijken.

[3]. **PS:** “Weet u, bij ons is er een gezegde – In troebel water vissen. (Знаете, у нас есть такая поговорка – «**ловить рыбу в мутной воде**»»). Putin zegt dat het land onherkenbaar is veranderd. Maar hij merkt wrang op dat zolang de economische hervormingen niet voltooid zijn corruptie en fraude nog steeds kunnen gedijen. Hij waarschuwt voor eventuele profiteurs.

– **CS: Своя рубашка ближе к телу** (letterlijke vertaling: *Het eigen hemd zit dicht bij het eigen lichaam*). In het Nederlands klinkt het: *Het hemd is nader dan de rok* of *Ieder is zichzelf het naast* (Honselaar 2002: 1176). Dit wil zeggen: eigen belang heeft altijd voorrang.

Context: Op een persconferentie in juni 2002 vroeg een lokale nieuwsdienst uit Belgorod hoe Putin stond tegenover een nieuw project in de plaatselijke pluimveesector.

[17]. **PS:** “Maar dat wil zeggen, dat ze in veel andere landen zich vaak laten leiden door het Russische gezegde: Het eigen hemd zit dicht bij het eigen lichaam.” (Но это значит, что во многих других странах часто руководствуются русской поговоркой «своя рубашка ближе к телу»). Dit spreekwoord verwijt de Europese Unie haar overmatige subsidiëring van de landbouwsector. Putin voelt zich concurrentieel benadeeld aangezien de Russische landbouwsector het moeilijk kreeg om een afzetmarkt voor hun producten te vinden. Hij rechtvaardigt zijn protectionistische maatregelen aangezien andere landen hetzelfde doen (Goscilo 2013: 90).

* *Sport en Cultuur:*

– **CS_[8, 15]: Пока гром не грянет – мужик не перекрестится** (supra [15]).

Context: In oktober 2000 ontving Putin na afloop van de Olympische zomerspelen in Sydney de Russische atleten in het hoofdkwartier van Gazprom. Door de manke organisatie van het Australisch Olympisch comité waren de Russische resultaten niet zoals verwacht, zeker niet voor de Russische turnsters. De absolute topfavoriete Svetlana Chorkina kwam ongelukkig ten val omdat haar turntoestel vijf centimeter te hoog stond. En Alina Kabaeva, dé gedoodverfde winnares in de grondoefeningen, liet haar hoepel per ongeluk vallen en moest zich buiten de ringen begeven, wat haar een gouden medaille kostte.

[8]. **SP:** “Maar weet u, bij ons in Rusland is er een gezegde: Zolang het niet dondert, maakt de man geen kruisteken!” (Но знаете, у нас в России поговорка есть: «Пока гром не грянет – мужик не перекрестится!»). Met het spreekwoord steekt Putin zijn atleten een hart onder de riem. Hij betreurt de tegenslagen die ze te verduren kregen maar benadrukt dat ondanks de onvoorziene omstandigheden, de atleten het er erg goed van af-

brachten. Met een knipoog naar de atletes zegt hij dat het spreekwoord natuurlijk ook geldt voor vrouwen vermits de meeste aanwezige sporters van de vrouwelijke delegatie waren.

* *Justitie en Binnenlandse Zaken:*

– CS_[18]: **Рыба ищет, где глубже, (а) человек — где лучше** (letterlijke vertaling: *De vis zoekt het diepste oord, maar de mens het beste*).¹⁵ Dit betekent iets als: Zijn leven veranderen in de hoop dat er betere tijden in het verschiet liggen.

Context: Tijdens een interview met een lokale nieuwsdienst uit Kuban' in september 2002 maakte een journalist zich zorgen om het stijgend aantal illegale migranten in de streek, als gevolg van de economische heropleving in Rusland.

[18]. PS: “Volgens het Russische spreekwoord of gezegde zoekt de vis het diepste oord, maar de mens het beste.” (Согласно русской пословице, ну или поговорке: «**Рыба ищет там, где глубже, человек – где лучше**»). Putin attendeert de luisteraars dat het vanzelfsprekend is dat migranten zoals het spreekwoord zegt, naar gebieden trekken waar er een goed klimaat heerst, of geld te verdienen valt.

Kort besluit

Putins spreekwoordelijke retoriek met betrekking tot zijn nationaal beleid in fragmenten [2, 17], dat op afkeer tegenover Europese hulp drijft, geeft de raad mee om op zijn hoede te zijn. Zijn spreekwoorden in fragmenten [3, 18] reageren op de onzekerheid omtrent de mogelijke (negatieve) gevolgen van de economische heropleving in Rusland, zoals corruptie en migratie.

3.3 Pragmatische analyse

In het derde deel van de analyse worden de strekking en functie van de spreekwoorden aan de hand van hun sociaal-politieke *context* en talige *co-text* besproken. Het corpus van zesentwintig spreekwoorden uit Putins eerste ambtstermijn bestaat uit zeven spreekwoorden die in een monologische *co-text* voorkomen [5, 8, 10, 13, 14, 20, 22]. In voorbereide toespraken en redevoeringen, waar het protocol voorschrijft dat Putin zich aan een script hoort te houden geldt vaak een lage graad aan spontaniteit. In een *dialogische co-text* haalt Putin spreekwoorden op een meer ad rem wijze aan. Persconferenties, interviews en offi-

ciële ontmoetingen zijn meestal onvoorbereid en veronderstellen minder formalisme. Putin moet terstond antwoorden.

Spreekwoorden hebben verschillende functies. Ze hebben ten eerste de bedoeling om te argumenteren en te overtuigen. De spreekwoorden die evenwel in het idiolect van Putin gehanteerd worden, betrachten meer dan alleen argumentatie. Als we de sociaal-politieke context bij de analyse betrekken, stellen we vast dat Putins spreekwoorden fungeren als zijn uitlaatklep voor zowel positieve als negatieve gevoelens tegenover internationale en nationale beleidskwesties. In de monologische co-text zien we dat spreekwoorden vaker een eerder inschikkelijke houding bevatten. Niet zelden verwoordt Putin via die spreekwoorden felicitaties en drukt zijn affiniteit en empathie met het publiek uit. In de *dialogische* co-text vervalt Putin al sneller in defensief spreekwoordelijk taalgebruik met een overwegend negatieve ondertoon. De spreekwoorden functioneren dan eerder als terechtwijzingen tot zelfs beledigingen. Naast die verwijtende rol worden de spreekwoorden ook neutraal aangewend als waarschuwing of rechtvaardiging voor Putins acties. Putin kan zijn persoonlijke standpunten indekken door een beroep te doen op de onpartijdigheid van spreekwoorden. Vervolgens is het ook belangrijk om in deze analyse mee te nemen of Putin een Russisch dan wel uitheems spreekwoord prefereert. Hij kondigt zes spreekwoorden [5, 10, 16, 19, 20, 22] aan (met behulp van de introducers) als buitenlandse spreekwoorden. Vier [5, 10, 20, 22] daarvan komen in een monologische co-text voor. Dit geeft aan dat Putin de niet-Russische spreekwoorden speciaal voor de gelegenheid opzoekt en niet per se spontaan aanhaalt. Het is weinig waarschijnlijk dat de zogenaamde Chinese [5, 19, 20], Koreaanse [10], Poolse [16] en Engelse [22], die geen deel uitmaken van het Russisch gemeengoed, bij Putin automatisch in zijn hoofd opkomen.

Ten slotte is het ook belangrijk om weten of Putin een internationaal publiek aanspreekt of uitsluitend Russen. Aangezien familiariteit bij de toehoorders pas gecreëerd wordt als ze een bepaalde band met het spreekwoord hebben, spreekt Putin de Russen altijd aan met Russische spreekwoorden. Als hij voor een internationaal publiek spreekt, hanteert Putin afwisselend spreekwoorden die bekend zijn bij de plaatselijke bevolking en Russische spreekwoorden. De spreekwoorden als retorische

techniek hebben nog een tweede, stilistische functie. Putin zoekt op die manier de grenzen van de politieke fatsoensnormen geregeld op.

3.4 Matrix

THEM A'S	Nationaal beleid			Internationaal beleid		Bestuur
	Economie	Justitie & binnenlandse zaken	Sport & cultuur	Pogingen tot toenadering	Conflicten	
Affiniteit				[5 ¹⁶ , 6, 7, 96, 10, 16, 20, 22]	[13, 14, 15]	[19]
Advies/Waarschuwing	[2, 3, 17]					[4]
Verwijt						[12, 23, 24]
Terechtwijzing					[11]	[1, 25]
Ontwijken						[9a]
Felicitering			[8]			
Rechtvaardiging		[18]				[21]

Conclusie

Het doel van mijn oorspronkelijk onderzoek was om te achterhalen hoe en waarom Putin, tijdens zijn drie ambtstermijnen als president, spreekwoorden gebruikt en dus in welke mate spreekwoorden bijdragen tot zijn idiolect. Vanwege de beknopte omvang van dit artikel werd hier geconcentreerd op de eerste spreekwoorden in Putins eerste ambtstermijn. Aangezien mijn

corpus teksten bevat van politiek retorische aard (toespraken, interviews, ...), was het aangewezen om het eerst op algemene wijze te kaderen binnen de klassieke retoriek. Zo kon ik stellen dat Putin pathos opwekt (zijn publiek overtuigt) door een specifiek ethos: het beeld van een radde, spontane spreker dat hem door het publiek wordt toegekend op grond van zijn spreekwoordelijk taalgebruik. Vervolgens heb ik een syntactische, semantische en pragmatische analyse op dat corpus uitgevoerd, waarbij ik op zoek ging naar de betekenis en de functie van de spreekwoorden. In wat volgt vat ik mijn conclusies samen.

Uit de syntactische analyse werd duidelijk hoe Putin spreekwoorden op een bewuste manier in zijn tekst inbedt. Hij presenteert en contextualiseert de spreekwoorden zorgvuldig met behulp van introducers. Zijn introducers versterken de semantische expressiviteit van de spreekwoorden en drijven de spanning bij zijn luisteraars op.

De semantische analyse van Putins spreekwoordelijk lexicon liet zien hoe belangrijke nationale en internationale gebeurtenissen en bestuurskwesties extra weerklank krijgen. Het vaakst gebruikt Putin spreekwoorden met betrekking tot het internationaal beleid. Het aanzienlijk aantal uitheemse spreekwoorden geven zijn spreekwoordelijke retoriek een internationaal allure. In de nationale beleidskwesties focust Putin vooral op het grootste zorgenkind: de Russische economie. Naast justitie en binnenlandse zaken nemen de lichamelijke opvoeding van de Russen en hun prestaties op sportmanifestaties in zijn spreekwoordelijke retoriek ook een belangrijke plaats in. Op de laatste plaats staat een groep spreekwoorden die Putin hanteert als repliek op vragen over zijn bestuur. Zij komen vooral tijdens de presidentiële verkiezingscampagnes in 2000 en 2004, op momenten dus wanneer Putin in binnen- en buitenland controverser veroorzaakte.

Uit de pragmatische analyse werd duidelijk dat de spreekwoorden die Putin gebruikt in verband met internationale betrekkingen, nationaal beleid en bestuurskwesties (schematisch voorgesteld in de bovenstaande matrix) verbonden zijn met verschillende functies. Uit de co-texten en contexten van de geanalyseerde spreekwoorden blijkt dat de strekking van de spreekwoorden uiteenlopend is. Zoals reeds vermoed werd, zijn de spreekwoorden een ventilatie van soms goede en slechte ervaringen van Putin.

In de spreekwoorden uit het internationaal discours is er ten eerste een opmerkelijke inschikkelijkheid van Putin merkbaar. De spreekwoorden in fragmenten [5, 6, 7, 96, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 22] hebben een overwegend positieve ondertoon. Met een uitgekiend gevoel voor taal zet hij de spreekwoorden slim in om zijn affiniteit met diverse nationaliteiten over te brengen. In een internationaal gezelschap neemt Putin de luisteraars mee door hen te confronteren met gemeenschappelijke waarden en normen, die reeds vereeuwigd zijn in spreekwoorden binnen hun eigen taal. Spreekwoorden komen Putin ten tweede goed van pas in conflictueuze situaties. Hij kan ermee zijn politieke tegenstanders beschaafd van antwoord dienen, waardoor hij dus niet uit zijn rol van president valt (zie fragment [11]). Zulke spreekwoorden met een eerder negatieve connotatie hebben de bedoeling om een direct vijandige houding te verzachten en te vermanen. In zijn nationale (politieke) communicatie gebruikt hij de spreekwoorden om gevoelens van angst en onzekerheid te erkennen die de Russen hebben in verband met de economische situatie. Hij bedient zich van spreekwoorden enerzijds als *wake up call* en om de Russen te waarschuwen voor de (negatieve) gevolgen van deze precaire tijden [2, 3, 17] en anderzijds om de gemaakte keuzes in zijn economische hervormingen te rechtvaardigen. Het spreekwoord in fragment [8] geeft mooi weer hoe Putin sport en media aanwendt als middelen om in te zetten in zijn nationaal beleid.

Zijn reactie op insinuaties over de persoonlijke intenties van zijn bestuur zijn overwegend negatief geladen. Op aantijgingen van zijn autoritaire stijl riposteert hij met een defensieve spreekwoordelijke repliek [1, 12, 23, 24, 25] om zo kritiek op zijn bestuur te doen verstommen. Bovendien werken de spreekwoorden bevrijdend in vastgelopen of ongemakkelijke situaties door humor en relativering [9a, 19].

Mijn onderzoek wees uit dat er tussen de drie ambtstermijnen er geen significante verschillen zijn te merken in de manier waarop Putin spreekwoorden inbedt of in de constellaties waarin hij ze aanwendt. Het is zelfs zo dat Putin door de jaren heen een verzameling van spreekwoorden heeft aangelegd, die hij geregeld inzet in specifieke terugkerende situaties en die dus als een soort leidmotieven (hoofdthema's) gaan werken. Deze spreekwoorden waarvan de boodschap gelijksoortig is, vormen een ro-

de draad in het idiolect van Putin en overstijgen de verschillende periodes. De spreekwoorden over vriendschappen en samenwerking komen telkens weer terug tijdens zijn diplomatieke pogingen om Rusland te herbevestigen als mede-hoofdactor in een nieuwe multipolaire wereldorde. Via de spreekwoorden voert hij een heus charmeoffensief in de richting van de BRICS-landen [5, 7, 96, 20]. Volgens hem onterechte opmerkingen over zijn autoritaire trekjes stoten op weerstand bij Putin, die een broertje dood heeft aan terechtwijzingen uit het Westen. Hij geeft de critici telkens lik op stuk met een defensief spreekwoord dat de vorm aanneemt van morele chantage: de westerse beleidsmakers handelen volgens hem zelf niet altijd even correct. Putin laat hier uitschijnen dat hij, ondanks de ongunstige commentaren in de pers, alleen maar goed wil doen en in het belang van het Russische volk handelt.

Inzake economische kwesties fungeren de spreekwoorden als instructies om te leven naar de vernieuwde omstandigheden tijdens de economische veranderingen in Rusland. Ze dienen als leidraad voor een economisch beleid op *mensenmaat* en versterken zijn imago als “een man van daden”. Ten slotte zijn er ook een aanzienlijk aantal spreekwoorden in verband met het thema sport. Putin haalde dit oude paradepaardje van de Sovjet-Unie weer van stal en zette het in om de internationale successen van Rusland te beklemtonen.

Appendix: chronological list of proverbs

This appendix includes the sixty-nine proverbs that were originally examined. Because of the brief nature of this article, only Putin's first twenty-six proverbs he used during his first term in office were analyzed. Putin has effectively exploited the use of proverbs as a communication tool in speeches, during press conferences, and in interviews. The proverbs used by Putin were collected mainly from official transcripts of his speeches, press conferences and interviews. The transcripts containing the proverbs can be found on the presidential website <http://kremlin.ru/>.

- [1]. Не говори гоп, пока не перепрыгнешь.
- [2]. Дают – бери, бьют – беги.
- [3]. В мутной воде рыбу ловить.
- [4]. Создать себе кумира.

- [5, 10]. Близки сосед лучше, чем дальний
родственник/двоюродные братья.
- [6]. В гостях хорошо, а дома лучше.
- [7]. Старый друг лучше новых двух.
- [8, 15]. Пока гром не грянет – мужик не перекрестится.
- [9a]. Хоть горшком назови, только в печку не ставь.
- [9б]. За морем телушка — полушка, да рубль перевоз.
- [11]. Отделить котлеты от мухов.
- [12]. Не на словах, а на деле.
- [13]. Пришла беда – отвори ворота.
- [14]. Яблоко от яблони недалеко падает.
- [16]. Согласие строит, несогласие разрушает.
- [17]. Своя рубашка ближе к телу.
- [18]. Рыба ищет, где глубже, (а) человек — где лучше.
- [19]. Не дай вам Бог жить в эпоху перемен.
- [20]. Предки сажают деревья, потомки наслаждаются
прохладой.
- [21]. Суров закон, но это закон.
- [22]. Где есть воля, там есть и путь.
- [23]. Нечего на зеркало пенять, коли рожа кривая.
- [24]. В чужом глазу соринку видит, а в своем бревно не
замечает.
- [25]. Обжѣгшись на молоке, будешь дуть и на воду.
- [26, 31]. Снявши голову, по волосам не плачут.
- [27]. Быть большим католиком, чем Папа римский.
- [28]. Хоть горшком назови, только в печку не ставь.
- [29]. Там, где два юриста, – три мнения.
- [30]. Где согласие, там и богатство прибавляется.
- [32]. Все хорошо, что хорошо кончается.
- [33, 57]. Если бы у бабушки был хуй, то она была бы
дедушкой.
- [34]. Заставь дурака Богу молиться, он и лоб расшибет.
- [35]. Я с ним бы в разведку не пошёл.
- [36a]. На воре шапка горит.
- [36б, 50]. По одежке протягивай ножки.
- [37a]. Наговорить сорок бочек арестантов.
- [37б]. Нечего на зеркало пенять, коли рожа кривая.
- [38]. В чужой монастырь со своим уставом не ходят.
- [39]. Гладко было на бумаге, да забыли про овраги.

- [40]. Победа не за теми у кого сила, а за теми у кого правда.
- [41, 60]. Сила есть – ума не надо.
- [42]. Мир тесен.
- [43]. Не говори гоп, пока не перепрыгнешь.
- [44]. Создать себе кумира.
- [45]. Кто не смотрит вперёд – тот позади остаётся.
- [46]. Патриотизм — последнее прибежище негодяя.
- [47]. Всё течёт – всё меняется.
- [48]. В здоровом теле здоровый дух.
- [49]. Сколько ни говори халва во рту слаще не станет.
- [51]. Я знаю, что ничего не знаю.
- [52a]. Паньы дерутся, а у холопов чубы трещат.
- [52б]. У семи нянек дитя без глазу.
- [53]. Кто не рискует, тот не пьёт шампанского.
- [54a]. Тяжела ты, шапка Мономаха.
- [54б]. На миру и смерть красна.
- [55]. Юпитер, ты сердисься, – значит, ты не прав.
- [56]. В юрте опора – шест, в жизни опора – друг.
- [58]. На то и щука в море, чтобы карась не дремал.
- [59]. Всосать/впитать с молоком матери.
- [61]. Рыба ищет, где глубже, (а) человек — где лучше.
- [62]. Дай Бог нашему теляти да волка поймати.
- [63]. Не бывать бы счастью, да несчастье помогло.
- [64]. Кто владеет информацией, тот владеет миром.

Notes

¹Tijdens de late Sovjet-periode werden de ideologisch opvattingen in de vorm van toespraken, rituele praktijken, slogans, posters, monumenten, en propaganda gestandaardiseerd (Jurčak 2006: 14). Dit vastgeroeste waardesysteem als nalatenschap van de Sovjet periode was verbonden met wat Bachtin ‘het gezaghebbend discours’ (авторитетное слово) noemde (Bachtin 1981).

²“Нельзя отрываться от коллектива, как у нас говорят. Вот и я считаю, что и в образе мыслей, и по способу выражения своих мыслей нужно быть таким, чтобы люди тебя понимали. Но все-таки должна быть определенная грань, и я надеюсь, что мне удастся быть на уровне этой грани и не переходить.” Beschikbaar via URL: <<http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/22129>>. Laast geraadpleegd 16 juli 2016.

³De parodieën op Putins taalgebruik worden uitgebreid beschreven in het artikel *Jokes about Putin and the Elections Ten Years On, or, Is There a Folk-*

lore of 'the Snow Revolution'? (2012) van de Russische folkloriste Alexandra Archipova. Zo deed ik in mijn bachelorproef (Dewaegenaere 2015) onderzoek naar antispreekwoorden over Putin, die vaak geïnspireerd waren op de spreekwoorden die Putin zelf hanteerde. Een antispreekwoord is een parodie op een traditioneel spreekwoord.

⁴Akademik'. 2000-2014. Beschikbaar via URL: <<http://translate.academic.ru/предки/zh/ru/9/>>. Laatst geraadpleegd 12 juli 2016.

⁵Kremlin.ru'. 2015. Beschikbaar via URL: <<http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/21798>>. Laatst geraadpleegd 15 juli 2016.

⁶CNN'. 2003. Beschikbaar via URL: <<http://edition.cnn.com/2003/BUSINESS/06/26/russia.oil/>>. Laatst geraadpleegd 12 juli 2016.

⁷Akademik'. 2000-2014. Beschikbaar via URL: <http://phraseology_ru_en.academic.ru/18084/>. Laatst geraadpleegd 21 juli 2016.

⁸2009. Beschikbaar via URL: <<http://sozidanie-duhownosti.ru/publ/63-1-0-162>>. Laatst geraadpleegd 11 juli 2016.

⁹Wikipedia'. 2016. Beschikbaar via URL: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/May_you_live_in_interesting_times>. Laatst geraadpleegd 15 juli 2016.

¹⁰Grammarphobia'. 2012. Beschikbaar via URL: <<http://www.grammarphobia.com/blog/2012/07/interesting-times.html>>. Laatst geraadpleegd 22 juli 2016.

¹¹JFKLibrary'. 1966. Beschikbaar via URL: <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Research-Aids/Ready-Reference/RFK-Speeches/Day-of-Affirmation-Address-as-delivered.aspx>>. Laatst geraadpleegd 15 juli 2016.

¹²RadioFreeEurope/Radio Liberty'. 2002. Beschikbaar via URL: <<http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1098487.html>>. Laatst geraadpleegd 15 juli 2016.

¹³TheMoscowTimes'. 2004. Beschikbaar via URL: <<http://www.themoscowtimes.com/sitemap/free/2004/2/article/the-truth-about-putin/233188.html>>. Laatst geraadpleegd 22 juli 2016.

¹⁴Akademik'. 2000-2014. Beschikbaar via URL: <http://phraseology_ru_en.academic.ru/18427/дают_-_бери,_бьют_-_беги>. Laatst geraadpleegd 7 juli 2016.

¹⁵Slovarik'. Beschikbaar via URL: <<http://slovarick.ru/896/>>. Laatst geraadpleegd 11 juli 2016.

¹⁶[onderlijnt]: monologische co-text.

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English Summary

Proverbs inject a dose of experientially based wisdom, common sense and practical knowledge into the (political) rhetoric. They make an appeal to generally accepted experiences and observations. Proverbs demonstrate craftsmanship, offer familiar themes and are rooted in traditional folk wisdom. Moreover, they color our language and contribute to the overall pathos and expressiveness of communication. Their broad use makes proverbs well suited for communication with people from diverse backgrounds.

The pioneering paremiologist Wolfgang Mieder has already shown us that the language of American politicians and social reformers is a panoply of proverbs and proverbial phrases. But how has President Vladimir Putin demonstrated insight into the possibilities of proverbs to persuade the audience? Much like the movie character Viktor Bagrov in the Russian cult classic *Брат* (Brother) (1997) "Главный у них такой, с круглой мордой... Всё поговорками говорил" (The main guy's got a round mug and speaks in proverbs...), Putin's rhetoric often centers around proverbs and proverbial expressions. The American author Michael Gorham writes that Putin cites proverbs as a means of incorporating some common sense into his political messages (Goscilo 2013: 90, 92). Putin's use of proverbs deeply rooted in the Russian lexicon gives his actions a kind of moral justice, even drawing on Russian national myths (Goscilo 2013: 90). The wisdom drawn from generations, creates an illusion of veracity, that make Putin's arguments seem less contestable (Goscilo 2013: 90). The commonplace wordings also spice up Putin's speeches and make his language understandable to the ordinary Russian (Levanova 2002: 5). Moreover, proverbs delivered in the audience's mother tongue

reinforce identity and sense of solidarity within the community (Lauhakangas 2007: 83).

In the footsteps of linguists like Kevin McKenna (2001) and Andrey Reznikov (2009), this study aims to reveal unique peculiarities of Putin's proverbial idiolect. It examines how and why, during Putin's three terms in office, Putin has effectively exploited the use of proverbs as a communication tool in speeches, during press conferences, and in interviews. This study also traces how he did so in a way that seeks to enhance his reputation among the (Russian) people. In sum, I explore the role proverbial language played in Putin's idiolect (personal language). To that end, I analyze numerous examples of proverbs and proverbial expressions for their rhetorical *co-text* as well as their socio-political *context*. Syntactical, semantic and pragmatic features are discussed, describing the appearance of certain proverbial leitmotifs in Putin's idiolect.

Methodology

In order to study the use and function of proverbs in Putin's speech acts, a representative and relevant corpus with examples was needed. The corpus outlined here is a compilation of Putin's proverbial statements, found in official transcripts of Putin's public statements during his first term in office. Originally, I examined the Putin's use of proverbs in his three terms of office, but due to the relatively brief nature of this article, I included the twenty-six proverbs Putin used during his first term in office (2000-2004). My research has shown that between Putin's three terms of office there are no significant differences; neither in the way Putin embeds proverbs; nor in the constellations in which he employs proverbs. This article is thus representative for the other two terms in office.

The transcripts containing the proverbs can be found on the presidential website <http://kremlin.ru/>. It was important first to limit the number of excerpts analyzed. Inspired by the theoretical insights of František Čermak in *Proverbs: Their Lexical and Semantic Features* (2014), I use introducers, or initiation formulas, as search terms to identify proverbs in the online database of transcripts. These oral interventions act as verbal quotation marks when the speaker introduces a proverb (e.g., the phrase *so to speak*). When citing a proverb, Putin sometimes uses fixed phrases

to announce his proverb, such as: “You know, here in Russia, there is a well-known proverb” (Знаете, у нас в России есть известная поговорка). Based on Putin’s introducers containing the words proverb (пословица), saying (поговорка), expression (выражение), aphorism (афоризм), and spell (изречение) the proverbs were collected. Therefore, the selection of transcripts containing proverbs became more coherent. In my study, I thus analyzed sixty-nine proverbs and proverbial expressions that occur with specific introducers. The corpus outlined here examines the first twenty-six proverbs Putin exploited when he became president for the first time in 2000. Please note that my corpus of proverbs does not cover all of *Putin’s* uses of proverbs in official statements. On the one hand it is representative in the sense that the recorded proverbs and proverbial expressions were made explicitly identifiable by Putin himself; on the other hand it is arbitrary, since the demarcation of introducers is artificial, because Putin also uses proverbs without introducers.

The overall corpus-based analysis itself is threefold, including syntactic, semantic and pragmatic elements. The first section consists of a syntactic analysis that explores how Putin alters the syntactic form of proverbs. It is followed by a semantic analysis or a search for meaning based on the proverbial lexicon of Putin. The meaning of the collected proverbs is examined in their Russian and/or international political and social context to ascertain its correct and accurate interpretation. This socio-political context includes events that illustrate the proverbs used by Putin. The proverbs are arranged thematically by their chronological order. The term *theme* refers to the specific socio-political events where Putin refers to with proverbs. All proverbial citations are accompanied by a canonical (or standard) version as well as a Dutch translation.

Finally, in the third section I turn to the pragmatic potential of proverbs, a two-fold process where function and effect are explored. First, the function of Putin’s proverbs as speech acts is clarified on the basis of the transcripts by situating them in the speeches where they occur. Because each proverb has “as context a co-text”, or a larger linguistic context (Van Poecke 1991: 19), it was important to investigate the co-text (otherwise known as a micro context or hypercontext) in order to determine the intention and function of the proverbs. Second, the findings from the semantic and pragmatic analysis are presented schematically in a

matrix. In this scheme, the twenty-six different semantic micro-analyses of the proverbs are systematically ordered. Each proverb in the matrix is linked to its respective function and effect. Accordingly, it is possible to form a generalized picture of the meaning and function (e.g., intention) of the proverbs individually and collectively, and draw some overall conclusions.

Conclusion

This paper has focused on how proverbs have been and continue to be helpful to Putin in delivering his message, convincing his audience, and generating loyalty. Through the use of proverbs, Putin leads to popular philosophical insights that prompt his audience more easily connect with his socio-political themes. His preference for simple folk wisdom is also based on his need to express socio-political concerns in a way intelligible to his audience. Through his play with proverbs, Putin not only radiates a folksy allure, he also comes across as wise, trustworthy, and “one with the people”. With a proverb’s a priori claim to validity and truth, Putin strengthens both his arguments and his rhetorical authority. By adding proverbs to his speech, Putin effectively convinces people that his actions and plans are rooted in, and hence supported by, traditional folk wisdom. Moreover, proverbs have the capacity to rise above cultural and social differences. Intuitively and strategically, the President must have understood that they create a connection between him and his (international and national) audience. Again, in this way, Putin presents himself as a “man of the people” even extending this image beyond Russian borders. This reputation is part of his ethos, the image that his audience has of him. And through ethos he achieves pathos, ensuring that his people know he is able to empathize with any given situation while simultaneously bringing his audience along on the emotional ride. The foreign proverbs Putin integrates into his international discourse has a primarily social function; he addresses an international audience in their own wisdom in order to engage and persuade them. Putin gains pathos (sympathy) from the audience by surprising them with his diverse knowledge of their cultures and traditions. Because proverbs and the wisdom they contain are highly regarded, Putin’s use of them enables him to sound more sincere. And the off-handed manner in which he cites proverbs adds to the perception of Putin as a spontaneous and natural speaker. Yet

some would contest that in reality, this is a well-rehearsed gimmick crafted to increase his ethos (authority).

It is clear that as a politician Putin has created his own idiolect, just like an artist searches for his own visual language. The proverbs in his idiolect give us a nice impression of the Putin-era, which began in 2000. Proverbs serve Putin as a “ready-to-wear” language tool for dealing with political and economic situations. We witness a proverbial leitmotif in Putin’s idiolect when he talks about recurring socio-political situations. Deploying a bountiful arsenal of proverbs, not unlike martial arts, Putin exercises off-court verbal judo: one well-aimed proverb suffices to verbally disarm any target of Putin’s. His proverbial rhetoric is a shrewd form of communication, where he cleverly attends to similarities between events and situations and relies on the collective memory of his audience. Using only a handful of words, Putin is able to outline aspects of the past as well as current events and imbue them with funny, resentful, or evocative commentary.

It is important to remind the reader that the conclusions drawn at this point of the study are based on a relatively small sample of proverbs and will require additional analyses to reliably validate themes outlined here. The intent of this brief paper was to introduce the concept of Putin’s unique use of proverbs, and to set the groundwork for a more in-depth exploration. This paper should be seen as a step towards further analysis of Putin’s proverbial language. For example, more research could demonstrate that Putin uses proverbs without introducers. In light of Putin’s ability to alter and adapt traditional proverbs to suit any situation (e.g., he often parodies and manipulates proverbs, transforming them into creative anti-proverbs), a more robust means of comparative analysis must also be utilized.

Although it is impossible to predict the future, chances are that Putin will carry on with his knowledgeable and eloquent proverbial rhetoric until the end of his career. After all, you can dispute opinions and challenge facts, but there's no arguing with proverbs!

Marie Dewaegnaere
Duifhuisstraat 69
9000 Ghent
Belgium
E-mail: marie.dewaegnaere@hotmail.com

CHARLES CLAY DOYLE

“KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE PRIZE”: THE BACKGROUND
AND EVOLUTION OF THE PROVERB

Abstract: The proverb “Keep your eyes on the prize” achieved popularity as a motto or hortatory slogan in the American civil rights movement of the 1960s. The saying had become common as a refrain in an old spiritual—a favorite “freedom song”—replacing the traditional refrain, “Keep your hand on the plow.” Prior to its widespread use by participants in the civil rights movement, interesting analogs occurred. In the seventeenth century and throughout the nineteenth centuries, it appeared with some frequency as a Christian exhortation. In recent times “Keep your eyes on the prize” has been used more broadly to urge focused effort toward a variety of goals.

Keywords: historical study of proverbs, American proverbs, civil rights movement, religious proverbs, American spirituals, freedom songs

During the 1960s the proverb “Keep your eyes on the prize” became a sort of motto for African Americans on the long and arduous journey toward the recognition of full citizenship and human rights. It has occurred in the writings and oratory of prominent figures in the civil rights movement, for example John Lewis (Mieder 2014, 231-34).¹ Barack Obama himself has uttered the saying (Mieder 2009, 210).² Especially from the allusive title of the famous PBS documentary series, *Eyes on the Prize*, which occupied fourteen hours in two television seasons, 1987 and 1990, and its spinoff books, widely used in high school and college classes, the proverb gained familiarity well beyond the actual participants, black and white, in the civil rights movement itself.³

The full sentence “Keep your eyes on the prize” was featured in a “freedom song” commonly heard during protest marches, sit-ins, freedom rides, and other demonstrations throughout the deep South in the 1960s. The line had been inserted as a refrain in versions of the old spiritual “Gospel Plow,” replacing the tra-

ditional line “Keep your hand on the plow.”⁴ Here are two of the many, varied stanzas:

Paul and Silas bound in jail,
Had no money for to go their bail.—
Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on.
Hold on, hold on. Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on.

Paul and Silas began to shout,
The jail door opened and they walked on out.
Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on.

(Carawan and Carawan 1963, 111)

As for the prior version of the refrain, “Keep your hand on the plow”: That line itself embodies a proverb. For instance, in 1912, a letter-to-the editor of *Everybody’s Magazine*, commending the magazine’s exposé of the influence of big business on the U.S. judiciary, said: “The field which you have undertaken to plow is a very fertile one, and I hope you will keep your hand on the plow” (26:576). In 1920 an article in the magazine *United States Investor* asserted, “Real men are certainly wanted under the existing complex conditions, when it is so necessary to keep your hand on the plow and both feet on the ground” (Lonsdale 1920, 1243). Also in 1920, a book titled *The Gospel of World Brotherhood* counseled, “Keep your hand on the plow, and your eye towards the end of the furrow. Be true, alive, whole-souled” (Clifford 1920, 125). In a 1963 version of Langston Hughes’s play *Tambourines to Glory* the character Birdie, responding to the singing of a hymn, exclaims, “Keep your hand on the plow, Sister Essie. Hold your holt on God!” (Hughes 2004, 314). In the year 2000, according to a Florida newspaper, a Methodist bishop told his congregation, “...[T]he real task is in front of us. Do not allow the devil to rob you of your joy...Keep your hands on the plow, and do not give up” (*Ledger [Lakeland FL]*, 31 May). In 2004 a California newspaper reported, “In their year of walking and talking, she [Joan Erikson] encouraged [Joan] Anderson to ‘welcome each day like a good meal’ and to ‘keep your hands on the plow’—and don’t ever stop pushing . . .” (*Orange County [CA] Register*, 4 Jul.). In 2012 an African newspaper quoted a prominent businessman/clergy-man, “So her [Wilma Munyeza’s] role was always to, ‘keep your head to the ground, and keep your

hands on the plough, don't lose focus. There are things that you need to do, they must be done” (*Financial Gazette [Harare, Zimbabwe]*, 13 Dec.). In 2015 a Canadian newspaper reported a Baptist pastor's advice: “...[A] good farmer will tell you that worrying about things of tomorrow...is useless because there's not a thing you or I can do about it. You just keep your hand on the plow” (*Times & Transcript [Moncton NB]*, 24 Jan.). Wolfgang Mieder has commented on Abigail Adams's use of a version of the related proverb “Put (or Set) your hand to the plow” (Mieder 2005, 83). B. J. Whiting cited a dozen or so instances of that proverb from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and some from earlier times, going back to the tenth century (1977, 196-97; 1968, 263).

We might wonder what motivated the prevalent replacement of the line “Keep your hand on the plow” with the now-famous “Keep your eyes on the prize.” Perhaps it was a sense that the image of the plow symbolically bespoke an olden time when the life and aspirations of African Americans were largely rural and agrarian. Furthermore, “Keep your hand on the plow” implies attention to details of one's present existence—possibly with the eyes bent downward—whereas “Keep your eyes on the prize” turned the vision upward, toward the future.

The late Guy Carawan, a white activist and singer, played a prominent role in disseminating and standardizing several of the freedom songs popular during the late 1950s and the 1960s (including the famous “We Shall Overcome”). The first record of the existence of the “eyes on the prize” innovation appeared in 1960, in an article about Carawan in *Sing Out* magazine: “Other songs which have been utilized by the protest movement have been the old spiritual ‘I Shall Not Be Moved,’ ‘This Little Light of Mine,’ and ‘Keep Your Eyes on the Prize,’ a variant of ‘Keep Your Hand on the Plow’” (Silber 1960, 6).

Carawan told of learning the new refrain line from Alice Wine, an African American whom he met in 1956 during a voter-education outreach on Johns Island, South Carolina. Subsequently Mrs. Wine has sometimes been recklessly referred to as the *author* of the spiritual itself, even designated as its copyright owner.⁵ However, an account by Guy Carawan and his collaborator Candie Carawan makes clear that Mrs. Wine, in her insertion of the line, was simply repeating a variant that she had gar-

nered from oral tradition or from other sources. The Carawans reported,

This song has an interesting history. When Guy first spent time on Johns Island and sang a version of “Keep Your Hand on the Plow,” which he had learned from Pete Seeger in the 1950s, Mrs. Wine said, “Oh, I know a different echo to that,” and sang, “Keep your eyes on the prize.” Guy later passed these words on to the young people then involved in the civil rights movement. Those words became the ones sung all across the South...

(Carawan and Carawan 1989, 195)

Later Candie Carawan would recollect of Alice Wine, “When she heard Guy [Carawan] sing ‘Keep Your Hands on the Plow,’ she told him, ‘Young man, I know a different echo to that song. We sing “keep your eyes on the prize”” (Cobb 2008, 325). Clearly Mrs. Wine’s role in the evolution of the song was pivotal, but nowhere, it seems, did she ever claim individual credit for creating, for “authoring” the line “Keep your eyes on the prize.”⁶ She was just doing what singers who belong to an oral tradition do!

In any case, whether deriving specifically from Alice Wine’s performances or from multiple sources, by the mid-1960s the refrain line “Keep your eyes on the prize” had become standard, as the spiritual was sung by civil rights protestors in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and elsewhere. One activist in 1963, Carver Neblett, after a confrontation in Greenwood, Mississippi, poignantly remarked, “I was brought up—all Negroes in the South are—with a fear of jail. But I don’t care about jail now. Sometimes I get lonely there, or frustrated, but I think of our freedom song, ‘Paul and Silas were bound in jail, had no money to go on bail, keep your eyes on the prize, hold on—’” (*New York Herald Tribune*, 3 May 1963).⁷

There were, in fact, proverbial occurrences of the expression “Keep your eyes on the prize” earlier than the widespread use of the line in the freedom song of the 1960s. For instance, on Saturday, 11 October 1958, the *Atlanta Journal*, in its announcement of upcoming religious services for the weekend, listed ten Sunday sermons to be delivered by ten different Jehovah’s Witnesses ministers, no fewer than *seven* of which bore the title “Keep

Your Eyes on the Prize.” We might wonder whether the sermon topics or texts had been prescribed by a central authority of the Jehovah’s Witnesses, except that three of the ten sermons announced in the newspaper had other titles. In 1966 a new official Jehovah’s Witnesses hymnal, revised to feature only hymns authored by members of the Jehovah’s Witnesses, included a hymn titled “Keep Your Eyes on the Prize,” with the refrain “If you keep your eyes on the prize!” (*Singing and Accompanying Yourself* 1966, 126). In light of the troubled history of relations between the Jehovah’s Witnesses and African Americans, it seems doubtful that the hymn was alluding to the freedom song.

The saying had been used proverbially in earlier contexts: In 1922, a poem titled “On the Square,” by one Charles Van Housen, printed in several different newspapers that year, included this quatrain:

Old sport! In this battle called “living,”
 What matter the praise or the blame?
 Keep your eye on the prize that’s awarded the guys
 Who are true to the rules of the game.
 (*Grand Rapids [MI] Progress* 11, no. 4 [Apr.] 6)

It may be noticed that the use of the singular *eye* in the saying forfeits the attractive rhyme of the plural *eyes* with *prize* (and *guys*).

In 1893, a column in a Christian periodical urged, “Covet earnestly, strive for the mastery, keep your eye on the prize.” (Montagu Butler, “The More Excellent Way,” *The Sunday Magazine* [London: Strahan & Co.] 159)

1884: “Keep your eye on the prize and run fast! Let nothing tempt you to loiter by the way...” (Eliza Fletcher, *A Woman’s Work: Being Memorials of Eliza Fletcher* [Glasgow: MacKinlay] 115)

1875: “*Keep your eyes fixed on the prize*, looking unto Jesus. There He stands at the end of the course.” (A. F. Barfield, “Circumspection,” in *The Study: Helps for Preachers*, 3rd series [London: Dickinson] 604; italics as shown)

1869: “Fix your eyes ever on the prize of your high calling. There are mansions of glory, diadems of beauty, palms of victory, golden harps, and white robes.” (James Large, *Sunday Readings for a Year* [London: William MacIntosh] 81)

1861: “I want you to have correct ideas of the principles of the Gospel, to believe correctly, and keep your eye steadily on the prize.” (President Amasa Lyman, quoted in “Minutes of a General Conference,” *Latter Day Saints Millennial Star* 23 [22 Jun.] 388)

1858: “It is possible to start well and yet fail in obtaining the prize. Do not let it be so with *you*. Look well to your guide-book. Keep your eye on the prize, and you will be sure to obtain it.” (Tressillian P. Shipp, *Sunday School Addresses* [London: Wertheim, MacIntosh, and Hunt] 23-24; italics as shown)

1851: “Let us then look onward. Let us not spend our time either in pondering the gloomy past, and our own unfaithfulness . . . ; but let us keep the eye steadily on the prize, and run the race as if we had just commenced it.” (Albert Barnes, *Notes on the New Testament: Explanatory and Practical*, vol. 7 [London: Blackie & Son] 233)

1850: “Fix your eye steadily on the prize of your high calling in Jesus Christ...Be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might...” (Edward Bather, *Sermons on Old Testament Histories* [London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge] 37)

1849: “He who would so run in the heavenly race to obtain [it?], must keep his eye steadily on the prize set before him.” (“A Single Eye,” *Christian Treasury* [Glasgow: Johnstone and Hunter] 23; crediting *New York Evangelist*)

1838: “Live above the world. ‘Set your affections on things above.’...Keep your eye on the prize—time will soon be over—eternity is near at hand.” (*Concise Memoir of the Rev. T. Sharp, A.M.*, edited by T. V. Curtis [London: T. Allman?, 1838] 37)

1818: “Do not seek it [your reward] in the admiration and applause of men, but solely in the approbation of God. Keep your eye on the prize that is set before you, even all the glory and the felicity of heaven.” (Charles Simeon, “Address to Missionaries Proceeding to West Africa, the Mediterranean, Madras, and Ceylon,” *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, Eighteenth Year, 1817-1818* [London] 185)

Every single one of those nineteenth-century instances of our proverb—and others that I have on file—whether with the plural *eyes* or the less euphonious singular *eye*, occur in the context of Christian devotion or instruction. We might ask, therefore, whether the proverb could be paraphrasing or alluding to a pas-

sage of Scripture. The answer is *yes*, perhaps. We turn to Paul’s letter to the Philippians, written while Paul was in prison—though not in the company of Silas. In chapter 3, verses 13-14, Paul wrote, “. . . This one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before. / I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus” (KJV). Hovering in the background are probably other Pauline references to life as a *race*: “. . . [L]et us run with patience the race that is set before us” (Hebrews 12:1); “Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain” (1 Corinthians 9:24). Obviously, the identity of the “prize” for St. Paul was less secular than the prize of gaining civil rights and human respect for all people on earth.

In the seventeenth century, as in the nineteenth, the proverb occurred in specifically religious contexts. In 1698 John Bunyan, the famous allegorist and itinerant Baptist preacher, in his treatise *The Heavenly Foot-Man*, exhorted, “*Keep thine Eye upon the Prize*, be sure that thy Eyes be continually upon the profit thou art like to get. The reason why Men are so apt to faint in their Race for Heaven, it lyeth chiefly in either of these two things. *First*, they do not seriously consider the worth of the *Prize*...” (Bunyan 1986, 167; italics as shown). In a sermon published in 1687, an English preacher declared of the faithful man, “Heaven is a place of his Citizenship and Privaledges...That is the Mark his Eye is fixed on, the Prize he aims at in his Christian Course” (Faldo 1687, sig. D5^v). In 1633 another divine reflected, “All that wee can doe, is to serve God whiles wee live: and all that wee can wish, is to raigne with God when we die. O then let us fixe our eyes on the prize, and gather up our feete to the race” (Adams 1633, sig. 6N5^r).

It seems, then, that the proverb “Keep your eyes on the prize” is actually *older* than “Keep your hand on the plow,” the saying that it replaced in the American spiritual when it became a freedom song in the 1960s.

Curiously, there appears a dearth of instances of the proverb in the eighteenth century and again in the first half of the twentieth century.

Since the wide dissemination of the saying as a slogan or motto during the 1960s and 1970s, it has sometimes broken free

of its specific reference to winning the prize of human rights or, for that matter, the prize of spiritual salvation. In 1989 the Canadian boxer Egerton Marcus opined, “Money is a good thing to have, yes. But first of all, you have to keep your eyes on the prize. And the prize is to win the championship” (*Toronto Star*, 11 Apr.). In 1996, at the end of his rousing victory speech after winning the Republican primary election in New Hampshire, Pat Buchanan urged his supporters, “Keep your eyes on the prize!”—the prize being his own election as president of the U.S. (Gaither 1996, 13). In 2002, a London newspaper reported, “Politicians on both sides of the sectarian divide in Northern Ireland were given a blunt warning by Bill Clinton yesterday to ‘keep your eyes on the prize’ and stand by the Good Friday agreement” (*The Guardian*, 2 Oct.). Clinton spoke in Scotland four years later: “I hope to say to everybody, in the friendliest terms, keep your eyes on the prize. I think devolution has been great for Scotland...” (*The [Glasgow] Herald*, 22 May 2006). Ex-president Clinton would certainly have been aware of the importance of the proverb in the American civil rights movement, but would the citizens of Great Britain whom he addressed? In 2011, an essayist in the journal *American Libraries* wrote, “Everybody wonders how best to advocate for libraries amid dwindling resources and Tea Party politics. How about looking like you give a darn! Keep your eyes on the prize—the patrons!” (Manley 2011, 64). Just recently a basketball player in the state of North Carolina mused, on the eve of the NCAA tournament, “Nobody’s satisfied yet...Basically, it’s just trying to keep your eyes on the prize” (*Star-News [Wilmington NC]*, 5 Mar. 2016).

So: the saying “Keep your eyes on the prize” is a proverb. From earlier uses, nearly all religious ones, it was revived by its insertion into an old spiritual when the spiritual became a freedom song near the beginning of the 1960s. Today the proverb sometimes still carries its association with the civil rights movement, though most of my own students in the early twenty-first century report that for them it has no such specific resonance. Now, it is just a proverb.

Notes

¹ Mieder (380) cites Lewis’s book (with Michael D’Orso) *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998) 274; and Lewis’s book (with Brenda Jones) *Across That Bridge: Life Lessons and a Vision for Change* (New York: Hyperion, 2012) 106.

² The ultimate source, traceable from the collection of quotations that Mieder cites, is a speech that Obama gave in early 2004, when he was an Illinois state legislator; it was printed, under the title “Obama on Marriage,” in the online *Windy City Times*, which is styled “the voice of Chicago’s Gay, Lesbian, Bi, Trans, and Queer Community” (www.windycitymediagroup.com/windy-citytimes.php; accessed 28 Oct. 2016): “We must be careful to keep our eyes on the prize—equal rights for every American. We must continue to fight for the Employment Non-Discrimination Act.”

³ There were three spinoff books: Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America’s Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965* (New York: Viking, 1987); Clayborne Carson, et al., editors, *Eyes on the Prize: America’s Civil Rights Years: A Reader and Guide* (New York: Penguin, 1987); Clayborne Carson, et al., editors, *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader* (New York: Penguin, 1991).

⁴ Texts of the spiritual “Gospel Plow” appear in these early collections: Carl Sandburg, *The American Songbag* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1927) 474; Newman L. White, *American Negro Folk-Songs* (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1928) 115; Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* (London: Oxford UP, 1932), 2:292; John Lomax and Alan Lomax, *Our Singing Country* (New York: Macmillan, 1941) 44-45. Versions of the spiritual that retain the line “Keep Your Hand(s) on the Plow” have continued to be sung and recorded.

⁵ For instance, Pete Seeger and Bob Reiser’s compilation *Everybody Says Freedom* (New York: Norton, 1989) marks its version of the song “Copyright © 1965 by Alice Wine,” and the compilers comment, “[I]n the mid-fifties Alice Wine of South Carolina *thought of* the new last line” (110, italics added). Bilal R. Muhammad, in *The African American Odyssey* (Bloomington IN: AuthorHouse, 2011) baldly declared, “. . . [T]he lyrics to this version were written by civil rights activists [sic] Alice Wine in 1956” (24). Likewise Dorian Lynskey, in *33 Revolutions per Minute: A History of Protest Songs* (New York: HarperCollins, 2011): “Alice Wine . . . rewrote the old gospel hymn ‘Keep Your Hand on the Plow’ as ‘Keep Your Eyes on the Prize’” (41). Certainly, *writing* did not play any role in the creation or early evolution of the song! I can discover no evidence of the song’s having been copyrighted by (or in the name of) Alice Wine.

⁶ Most explicitly, the Wikipedia article “Keep Your Eyes on the Prize” (anonymous, of course) quotes “email from Candie Carawan to Johns Island Schoolhouse Museum, February 15, 2013, re. Tree of Life Exhibit”:

There is one thing we would like to correct on the panel of Alice Wine at the Progressive Club. It is not accurate to say that she is credited with writing the lyrics to “Keep Your Eyes on the Prize.” She is credited with passing the phrase “eyes on the prize” to Guy

who then incorporated it into the song. When Guy worked with Mrs. Clark in the Citizenship program on Johns Island, he used songs in the classes. One of the songs was “Keep Your Hand on the Plow, Hold On” which he knew from the Labor Movement. Mrs. Wine took him aside and said “We know a different echo to that song—keep your eyes on the prize, hold on.” Guy loved that and began to use it as he traveled around the South and met with groups at Highlander. Later on Mrs. Wine found it hard to believe that she had made such an impact on the song. (accessed 5 Oct. 2016)

My attempts to get confirmation from the Johns Island Schoolhouse Museum have not availed. In curious contrast to information in the Carawans’ accounts, Pete Seeger—Guy Carawan’s close friend—speaking on the 1965 phonograph album *WNEW: Story of Selma* (Smithsonian/Folkways 05595, track 1: “Hold On [Keep Your Eyes on the Prize: Freedom Voices with Pete Seeger]”), credited the new line to “a woman in Georgia”!

⁷ The same quotation appeared two weeks later in an (unsigned) article that probably addressed a mainly different readership: “Police Halt ‘Memorial’ Walk for Slain Postman,” *Jet* 24, no. 4 (16 May 1963) 4-5.

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Charles Clay Doyle
Department of English
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30602
USA
E-mail: cdoyle@uga.edu

GIBT ES PSYCHOPHRASEME?

Abstract: Der Beitrag geht der Frage nach, ob es in der psychoanalytischen und psychotherapeutischen Gesprächsanalyse Einheiten gibt, die die Merkmale von Phrasemen erfüllen. Bereits von den Begründern der Psychoanalyse sind immer wieder auch Phraseme behandelt worden. Sie dienten einerseits als Schlüssel der individuellen Analyse, andererseits gab es aber auch Bemühungen, in gängigen Phrasemen Symbole zu sehen, die Auskunft über allgemeinhensliche psychische Grundkonstellationen gaben, die jenseits von nationalen Ausprägungen oder sogenannten sprachspezifischen "Weltbildern" lagen. Das phraseologische Material, das in den kulturwissenschaftlichen Analysen der Väter der Psychoanalyse dazu angeführt und teilweise analysiert wurde, ist bislang nur unvollständig aufgearbeitet (vgl. Eismann 2001). Im vorliegenden Beitrag soll diskutiert werden, ob es spezifische Phraseme gibt, die von psychisch belasteten oder kranken Menschen verwendet werden, ob diese personenspezifisch sind (womit sie den sog. "Autorphrasemen" gleichzustellen wären) oder ob es Formen von Phrasemen gibt, die Gemeinsamkeiten aufweisen, die für mehrere Personen oder bestimmte Symptome charakteristisch sind.

Keywords: Psychoanalyse, Phraseologie, Psychophraseme, Autorphraseme, Idioms of distress

1. Psychologie, Psychoanalyse und Phraseologie

Mehrfach wurde von mir darauf hingewiesen, dass die Phraseologieforschung die klassischen Arbeiten des ausgehenden 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhunderts zur Psychologie und zur Psychoanalyse nicht beachtet hat. Dabei gab es in der Psychoanalyse und in deren Umfeld bis hin zu den größtenteils mit sprachwissenschaftlichen Fragen beschäftigten Untersuchungen der Völkerpsychologie ein großes Interesse an phraseologischen Einheiten, das sich im Rahmen des allgemeinen kulturwissenschaftlichen und kulturpsychologischen Interesses dieser Disziplinen bewegte. Es ging nicht nur um die symbolische

Bedeutung vieler phraseologischer Wendungen und deren mögliche Wurzeln (erinnern wir uns daran, dass im Gefolge der Freudschen Auffassung von der Wichtigkeit der Sexualenergie für das menschliche Verhalten, Hans Sperber 1912 seine Theorie vom sexuellen Ursprung der Sprache entwickelte), sondern auch um deren konkretes Vorkommen im Traum und bei bestimmten Psychosen. Dabei sah Freud (wie in einer anderen Weise auch die Vertreter der Völkerpsychologie) in den Phrasemen und in der Symbolsprache des Traumes, die für ihn größtenteils aus Phrasemen bestand, nicht so sehr das Individuelle, Nationalsprachliche, sondern ihn interessierte das Übereinzelsprachliche, ja er ging teilweise sogar von einer "Grundsprache" aus, aus der diese Wendungen stammten. An anderer Stelle habe ich ausführlich über die Auffassungen Freuds berichtet und vor allem darauf hingewiesen, dass er die Traumsymbolik aus dem unbewussten Vorstellen des Volkes gespeist sah, die u.a. auch in dessen Redensarten und der Spruchweisheit zu finden sei (Eismann 2000: 253) und dass es hier Übereinstimmungen trotz Sprachverschiedenheit gab (ebd. 255). Freud war also im Gegensatz zur heutigen "Weltbildlinguistik" mehr auf eine gemeinsame psychische und geistige humane Grundausstattung der Menschen aus. Das zeichnete übrigens auch die Begründer der Völkerpsychologie, M. Lazarus, H. Steinthal und auch W. Wundt aus, die anders als spätere Vertreter einer differentiellen Völkerpsychologie eine eher universalistische Perspektive verfolgten. Über deren Verdienste im Bereich der Phraseologie habe ich vor kurzem berichtet (Eismann 2016).

Freud hatte nicht nur die Redensarten als unbewusste Bestandteile der Traumsymbolik analysiert, sondern auch Bemerkungen über deren Verständnis bei seinen Patienten gemacht. So hat er bereits in seinen frühen Studien zur Hysterie (die heutige Kritik daran ist in unserem Zusammenhang unerheblich) auf eine Reihe von Schutzformeln hingewiesen, die seine Patienten gebrauchten. (Freud 1895: 108). Im Zusammenhang mit der Konversion (ein von ihm entwickelter Begriff, der die Übertragung von Affekten auf Organe bezeichnet) hat er vor allem bei der Untersuchung der Patientin Elisabeth von R. über die Patientin Cecilie M. berichtet und über das Phänomen der "Entstellung hysterischer Symptome durch Symbolisierung ver-

mittelst des sprachlichen Ausdrucks“, darunter verstand er Konversion durch phraseologische Wendungen, wie zB. *einen Stich ins Herz geben, einen Schlag ins Gesicht, das rechte Auftreten* in der Gesellschaft usw. Laut eigener Auskunft hat er eine ganze Sammlung davon angelegt. Sie gehören für ihn alle zu den Gemütsbewegungen und bestehen nach Darwin aus ursprünglichen zweckmäßigen Leistungen. Obwohl ihr Ausdruck “uns als bildliche Übertragung erscheint“, waren sie sicher einmal wörtlich gemeint. Freud ist sogar der Auffassung, dass die Hysterie, wie er sich ausdrückt, sich den Sprachgebrauch gar nicht einmal zum Vorbild genommen habe, sondern mit ihm aus gemeinsamer Quelle schöpfe. Freuds Vermutung geht dahin, dass es sich vielleicht gar nicht um Symbolisierung handelt, sondern die Wendungen - zumindestens von den Patienten - wörtlich genommen würden.

Freud ist immer wieder in seinen Analysen und bei seiner Untersuchung der Traumsymbole auf phraseologisches Material eingegangen und vermutete, dass vieles davon zum phylogenetischen Erbe des Menschen gehörte. Hier soll es jedoch nicht so sehr um die Verwendung gängiger Phraseme und deren Analyse in der Psychologie gehen, sondern im Vordergrund soll die Frage stehen, ob es spezifische Phraseme gibt, die psychisch Kranken zugeordnet werden können.

Natürlich ist das große Inventar der Phraseme, die Gemütsbewegungen bezeichnen, in besonderer Weise, wie wir eben bei Freud gesehen haben, für die Psychologie und Psychiatrie relevant. Dazu gibt es auch zahlreiche entsprechende Untersuchungen (Eismann 2016). Auch darüber habe ich berichtet, wie z.B. von Medizinern “Redewendungen,[...] die psychosomatische Aspekte erkennen lassen” (Bühler, Beyer-Buschmann 1988: 42) gesammelt und ausgewertet wurden, wie der Wert von Sprichwörtern für die Psychoanalyse, Traumanalyse (Boesky 1976) und selbst für psychologische Theoriebildung (Müller 1998) nutzbar gemacht werden sollte. Der von Freud und dann von vielen anderen mehrfach analysierte Wolfsmann ist ein gutes Beispiel dafür, wie auch im Unterbewusstsein und besonders im Traum Phraseme eine Rolle spielen können, deren Entschlüsselung die psychischen Probleme aufzeigt. Im Falle des Wolfsmannes ist das die Kastrationsangst, wie A. Ét-kind (1993: 110-112) überzeugend aufgezeigt hat. Hier sei nur

nachgetragen, dass das russische Idiom *polučiš' na orechi* nicht nur die Bedeutung hat, "du erhältst Geld, um dir Nüsse zu kaufen", sondern bei Dal' (1905:1794) auch in der Bedeutung aufgeführt ist "Drohung, Strafe, Schläge". Zudem hat auch im Russischen *orechi* die Bedeutung "mošonka", "Hoden". Im Traum des Wolfsmannes geht es um einen Angsttraum, bei dem ein Wolf im Nussbaum sitzt. Zudem zeigt dieses Beispiel, wie bei allem Bemühen um übereinzelsprachliche Gemeinsamkeiten gerade das Verständnis der einzelsprachlichen Ausprägung entscheidend sein kann.

2. Phraseologische Termini der Psychoanalyse

Ohne Zweifel gibt es eine ganze Reihe psychologischer und psychoanalytischer phraseologischer Termini, die sich seit Freud eingebürgert haben (vgl. Eismann 2000: 264). Dazu gehören z.B. Wendungen wie *gleichschwebende Aufmerksamkeit*, (XI, 172), *sekundärer Krankheitsgewinn* (XI, 192), *Bändigung des Triebes* (X, 365) *freie Assoziation* u.v.a. (Die Angaben beziehen sich auf Freud (1969-1975). Doch gibt es auch Termini jüngerer Ursprungs, die weite Verbreitung gefunden haben, wenn man z.B. an die große Anhängerschar der Theorien von Jacques Lacan denkt. Dazu gehören z.B. *objet (petit) a* ("unerreichbares Objekt des Begehrens") *nom(s)- du- père* ("Herrensignifikant"), *stade du miroir* ("Entwicklungsstadium des Kindes vom 6.-18. Monat"), *point de capiton* ("Verknüpfung zwischen Signifikant und Signifikat"). Der letzte Terminus wird sogar bereits (vornehmlich von Schülern Lacans) in einem Phrasem statt des allgemein üblichen *il a pété les plombs* ("er ist explodiert, hat die Nerven verloren") verwendet: *il a rompu ses points de capiton* (Saint-Drôme 1994: 48). Hier reicht ein Blick in die weitverbreiteten Schriften des populären Philosophen Slavoj Žižek, um sich davon zu überzeugen, wie diese Termini auch außerhalb der Psychologie Anwendung gefunden haben.

3. Individuelle Psychophraseme

Wenn man sich die Arbeiten der frühen Psychoanalytiker und die Äußerungen ihrer Patienten anschaut, dann wird deutlich, dass wir hier individuelle Phraseme finden, die den Autorphrasemen gleichzustellen sind. Man vgl. die vielzitierten Autorphraseme eines Thomas Mann *auf den Steinen sitzen* und

eines Michail Šolochov *prodat' na občin*, und vielleicht sollte man auch Fedor Dostoevskijs *čužie grechi* aus den “Dämonen” dazu rechnen. Vladimir Vysockijs phraseologische Vergleiche vom Typ *moj jazyk, kak šnurok, razvjazalsja* und *vyški, kak bambuk, rosli* gehören sicher hierher. Wie die Autorphraseme zur Charakterisierung der Rede einer Person eingesetzt werden können, so trifft man entsprechende Phraseme auch in der Rede eines Patienten an. Hier mögen einige Beispiele aus der frühen Geschichte der Psychoanalyse genügen. Zunächst aus den Analysen von Sabina Spielrein: *durch Basel hindurchschlagen* (“Assoziationsexperiment durchhecheln”) (Spielrein 2002: 22, 72), *gesegnete Gelder* (“Vermehrung der Gelder”) (ebd. 23), *die Erde durchbohren* (“befruchtet werden”) (ebd. 103), *auf dem Leibe liegen* (“leichenblass sein, wie ein Leinentuch mit Fruchtwasser”) (ebd. 68).

Noch deutlicher sind die individuellen Psychophraseme, wie ich sie nennen möchte, jedoch bei einem ganz berühmten Patienten, von dem detaillierte Aufzeichnungen existieren, die von Freud bis Lacan immer wieder analysiert wurden. Es handelt sich um die Aufzeichnungen des Senatspräsidenten Paul Schreber (Schreber 1903), die Freud in “Psychoanalytische Bemerkungen über einen autobiographisch beschriebenen Fall von Paranoia (Dementia paranoides)” 1911 analysiert hat (Freud 1968-1975, Bd. VII, 133-203). Schreber hatte eine “Grundsprache” imaginiert, von der Freud annahm, dass sie Überreste ursprünglicher Symbolbeziehungen enthielt (Freud I, 175). Über diese Grund- und Ursprache, in der viele Wörter noch eine Art Gegensinn aufwiesen (Abel 1884), gibt es eine reiche Literatur (vgl. z.B. Arrivé 1994: 236). Doch hier mögen einige Beispiele für feste Wendungen aus den Aufzeichnungen Schrebers, (z.T. mit eigenen Bedeutungsangaben) genügen: *geprüfte Seelen* (“Seelen, die das Läuterungsverfahren noch nicht mitgemacht haben, unreine Seelen”), *Anbinden an Erden* (“weltordnungswidrige Maßnahme Gottes, um sich zu schützen, an andere Gestirne”), *Vorhöfe des Himmels* (“Raum vor Gott”), *flüchtig hingemachte Männer* (“Teufel, waren für die Erhaltung des ewigen Juden zuständig”), *Die Stiefel ausziehen* (“Entmannung”), *gewunderte Vögel* (“in diesen stecken Nerven einst selig gewesener Menschenseelen”), *fand Aufnahme* (“Form des Examinierens”) *mich liegen zu lassen* (“Strategie

Gottes, um seinen Verstand zu zerstören“). Die Zahl dieser Beispiele ließe sich vermehren.

All diese individuellen Psychophraseme, von denen es sicher mehr als Autorphraseme gibt, sind sehr spezifisch, und es stellt sich die Frage, ob es darüber hinaus Psychophraseme gibt, die nicht individuell, sondern mehreren Patienten bzw. Krankheitsformen, Formen von psychischen Störungen gemeinsam sind. Es gibt eine lange Tradition der Auseinandersetzung der Psychiatrie und vor allem der Psychoanalyse mit der Sprache. Für Lacan war ja das Unbewusste wie eine Sprache strukturiert. Bereits Laffal (1960) hatte z.B. Schrebers Sprache analysiert und eine Reihe von Arbeiten dazu geschrieben. Ihm ging es um die Entwicklung eines Wörterbuchs von semantischen Konzepten. Er erstellte ein Inventar von 116 Konzepten (Lafall 1987) und konnte in einer Konzeptanalyse nachweisen, dass in Schrebers Autobiographie zwar die Konzepte *Gott* und *Flechtsig* (behandelnder Arzt Schrebers) männlich waren, das Konzept *Sonne* aber anders als Freud behauptet hatte (Vaterbezug) einen eher femininen Bezug hatte. Seine Konzeptanalyse unterscheidet aber nicht zwischen Phrasemen und Lexemen und ist daher für die Phraseologie wenig hilfreich.

4. Phraseme in den “Idioms of distress”

Auffällig ist, dass in den zahlreichen Untersuchungen zur Gesprächsanalyse und zur Sprache der Patienten und Therapeuten in der Psychotherapie Phraseme selten im Vordergrund standen. Sie wurden in Programmen für Gesprächstherapien unter das Lexikon eingereiht oder allenfalls im Zusammenhang mit dem Metapherngebrauch untersucht. Untersuchungen zu Ausprägungen einzelsprachlicher spezieller Bezeichnungen psychischer Probleme sind seit der Untersuchung von Mark Nichter (1981) unter der Bezeichnung “Idioms of distress” in die psychologische Literatur eingegangen. In seiner Untersuchung behandelte Nichter die Ausdrücke südindischer Frauen, die ihre psychischen Probleme artikulierten. Einige davon waren allgemein üblich, aber viele waren auch spezifisch. “Idioms” hat in diesem weitverbreiteten Gebrauch natürlich nicht die Bedeutung von Idiom oder Phrasem im Sinne der Phraseologie, doch sollte sich auch hier eine Reihe von Bezeichnungen finden, die man getrost zu den Phrasemen im lin-

guistischen Sinne rechnen kann. Inzwischen gibt es Untersuchungen zu “Idioms of distress” an zahlreichen Populationen. Eine ganze Nummer der Zeitschrift “Culture Medicine and Psychiatry” (Juni 2010) war unter dem Titel “Trauma and Idioms of Distress” (special issue) diesem Phänomen gewidmet. Darin hat Nichter (2010) selbst eine “revidierte” Version seines Artikels gegeben, in dem er einen großen Teil dieser Literatur anführt. In dem einflussreichen “Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV”, herausgegeben von der American Psychiatric Association, Washington DC 1994, gab es ein “Glossary of Culture-Bound Syndromes”, das ursprünglich als “culture-bound syndromes and idioms of distress” geführt werden sollte. Es ist in diesem Handbuch auch von beiden die Rede, ohne dass ein signifikanter Unterschied gemacht wird. In der überarbeiteten Auflage, DSM IV-TR, die 2000 erschien, gab es im Appendix 25 “culture-bound syndromes”, deren Aufnahme und Charakteristik später einer heftigen Kritik unterzogen wurde. Erst in der Neuauflage des Handbuchs 2013 (DSM V) wird die z.T. umstrittene Kennzeichnung ersetzt durch:

- (1) *cultural syndromes*: “clusters of symptoms and attributions that tend to co-occur among individuals in specific cultural groups, communities, or contexts . . . that are recognized locally as coherent patterns of experience”;
- (2) *cultural idioms of distress*: “ways of expressing distress that may not involve specific symptoms or syndromes, but that provide collective, shared ways of experiencing and talking about personal or social concerns”;
- (3) *cultural explanations of distress or perceived causes*: “labels, attributions, or features of an explanatory model that indicate culturally recognized meaning or etiology for symptoms, illness, or distress” (DSM V 2013: 758).

In einem Glossary of Cultural Concepts of Distress werden 9 der bekanntesten idioms of distress angeführt, unter ihnen echte Phraseme: *ataque de nervios* (A term used among Caribbean Latinos for a culture-bound syndrome characterised by uncontrollable shouting, crying, trembling, ...); *dhat* syndrome (se-

men-loss syndrome, India) *Khyâl cap* (wind attacks = panic attacks, Cambodia), *kufungisisa* (thinking too much, Shona, Zimbabwe), *maladi moun* (human caused illness, Haiti), nervios (nerves, South- and Central America), *shenjing shuairuo* (nerve weakness, neurasthenie, depression, China), *susto* (fright, panic attack, Latin America), *taijin kyofusho* (social phobia, Japan, Korea).

Diese Bezeichnungen der “kulturspezifischen” mentalen Krankheiten finden wir auch in dem von Russel F. Lim herausgegebenen Handbuch “Clinical Manual of Cultural Psychology”, die darin ein ganzes Glossar mit “some of the best-studied culture-bound syndromes and idioms of distress that may be encountered in clinical practice in North-America” anführt (S. 292-298), darunter solche offensichtlichen Idiome wie *bouffée delirante* (sic! W.E.) (puff of madness, West Africa, Haiti), *brain fag* (difficulties in concentrating, remembering, West Africa), *mal de ojo* (early childhood diarrhea, vomiting and colic, in Mediterranean countries), *sangue dormido* (pain, numbness, tremor, paralysis, Cap Verde). In der zweiten Auflage dieses Werks (Lim 2015: 519-533) wurde allerdings das Glossary durch ein “Glossary of Cultural Concepts” aus DSM - V ersetzt. Zu den idioms of distress gibt es zahlreiche Artikel, die z.B. auch den Umgang mit den idioms of distress und deren Bedeutungswandel charakterisieren. Dabei kommt es mitunter zu bemerkenswerten Veränderungen. Das hat am besten Sharon Alane Abramovitz (2010) mit ihrem Artikel über die Veränderungen des liberianischen “idioms of distress” *open mole* aufgezeigt, die hier zu Recht von einer “Pidgin Psychiatrie” spricht. Ursprünglich wurde mit *open mole* eine Vertiefung der Fontanelle, nicht nur bei Kleinkindern, sondern bei Erwachsenen, bezeichnet, die mit Kopf-, Nacken- Rückenschmerzen und anderen psychischen Begleiterscheinungen einherging. Dafür gab es lokale Heilmethoden. Die psychologischen Berater von Gesundheitsdiensten behandelten Patienten nach dem Krieg in Liberia und definierten das, was sie als lokales “idiom of distress” ansahen, eher als eine posttraumatische Belastungsstörung, also als vornehmlich psychisches Leiden, das sie mit Psychopharmaka behandelten. Mehr und mehr fassten auch die liberianischen Patienten ihre Krankheit *open mole* als eine psychische Störung auf, als Depression oder Angstzustände, die

nur mit Psychopharmaka behandelt werden können. Somit fand eine Wandlung von einer kulturbedingten Krankheit zu einem psychiatrischen Traumaidiom durch westliche "Kultur" Vermittlung statt.

5. Überindividuelle Psychophraseme?

Sicher kann man einige Phraseme, die allgemeinsprachlich sind, nicht als Psychophraseme bezeichnen, auch wenn ihr Gebrauch bei bestimmten psychischen Symptomen/Syndromen relativ häufig ist. So gibt es z.B. Untersuchungen über das Tourette-Syndrom und im Zusammenhang damit auch über die Koprolalie, in denen festgestellt wurde, dass von den Patienten besonders häufig die folgenden Phraseme gebraucht wurden (in Spanien: *hijo de puta*; in Brasilien *filho da puta, vai tomar no cu*; port. *vai apanhar no cú*) (Cardoso, Veado, de Oliveira 1996). In der Psychotherapie hat man sich vornehmlich mit dem Metapherngebrauch auseinandergesetzt und nicht speziell Phraseme und Phrasemgebrauch untersucht. Dabei kam man gegenüber früheren Theorien zu der Einsicht, dass Metapherngebrauch und figurative Sprache im Gespräch zwischen Therapeuten und Patienten sehr fruchtbar sein und vor allem zu einem Erfolg im Bereich der Einsicht ("insight") des Patienten führen kann. Bemerkenswert ist aber, dass es sich dabei ausschließlich um "neue" Metaphern und Figuren handelt und nicht um sog. usuell feste Wendungen, also Phraseme. Man vgl. die Schlussfolgerungen von Pollio, Barlow, Fine und Pollio (1977: 150) nach einer längeren quantitativen und thematischen Untersuchung:

insightful experiences are related to figurative activity in a number of different ways. Regions judged as insightful occur either as coincident with high rates of novel figurative expression or in coincidence with strictly literally discourse. In none of the interviews examined is there any coincidence at all of frozen figurative activity and statements judged as insightful. What emerges here is a conclusion that insight can occur within the context of creative metaphor as well as within the context of explicit literary expression.

Andere Forscher kamen nach Sichtung der Literatur zum Gebrauch der figurativen Sprache in der Psychotherapie zu der Feststellung, dass diese oft dazu dient Unaussprechliches zu formulieren, dass sie sehr oft wörtlich verstanden wird (Needham-Disbury 2012: 92).

Es gibt auch Empfehlungen für bestimmten Gebrauch von formelhafter Sprache für Psychotherapeuten, z.B. von Pawelczyk und Erskine (Internet), die für einen entsprechenden Gebrauch der Diskursmarker *you know* oder *I don't know* plädieren, wobei *you know* dazu dient "to check the correspondence between intended speaker meaning and hearer information state" (*you know* as an intimacy-building strategy, oder nicht als Diskursmarker, sondern als ein "verbalization trigger". *I don't know*, as "part of the patient's involvement in the reflexive task of selfinvestigation." Zudem plädieren sie auch für stereotype Fragen in Form eines Phraseoschemas wie *what's it like for you + Infinitiv*.

In ihrer Review für die kommende V. Ausgabe von DSM zu PTSD (Posttraumatic Stress Disorder) haben Hinton und Lewis-Fernández (2010: 13) darauf hingewiesen, dass ein vorgesehene Kriterium wie "irritability or outburst of anger" erweitert werden sollte, um einzuschließen

other damaging effects of traumatic exposure, including physical, cognitive, and spiritual consequences. The following text is suggested for evaluation: "Exaggerated negative expectations about one's self, others, or the world (e.g., 'I am bad,' 'no one can be trusted,' 'I've lost my soul forever,' 'my whole nervous system is permanently ruined,' 'the world is completely dangerous')." If this construct is not added to the diagnostic criteria, it should be emphasized in the PTSD text and in the chapter on cultural features in DSM-5.

Die hier genannten Beispiele, scheinen, wenn auch keine Phraseme in engerem Sinn, doch feste Wendungen zu sein, die überindividuell sind.

In einem weiten Sinne fasst der Frankokanadier Raymond Massé (2008a: 13) die "idioms of distress" folgendermaßen auf:

Nous pouvons définir les idiomes de détresse comme des moyens ou des canaux culturellement reconnus de communication, par lesquels les membres d'un groupe ethnoculturel expérimentent, interprètent et communiquent leur expérience de la souffrance. Ces idiomes culturellement appropriés d'expression de la détresse peuvent être somatiques, affectifs, cognitifs ou comportementaux. Dans le contexte québécois francophone, nous avons pu identifier comme fondement d'un langage de la détresse, la démoralisation, l'angoisse, le stress, l'autodévalorisation et la somatisation comme des idiomes de détresse évoluant autour de deux idiomes centraux que sont la propension au "retrait social" et la tendance au "repli sur soi".

Er hat vor allem die "idoms of distress" in Québec, aber auch die kreolisierten "idoms of distress" in Martinique untersucht. Aus seinen Untersuchungen wird auch deutlich, dass es neben der Einteilung in 6 "idioms of distress" (Massé 2000: 10 Demoralization and pessimism toward the future; Anguish and stress; Self-depreciation; Social withdrawal and social isolation; Somatization; Withdrawal into oneself) in Québec nicht nur allgemeine Erzählweisen über bestimmte mentale Zustände gibt, sondern auch ganz konkrete feste Wendungen wie *I lack selfconfidence; I had the impression no one loved me; I felt depressed or down in the dumps* (Massé 2000: 12). Das wird auch aus seinen Untersuchungen in Martinique deutlich, wo diese Wendungen oft konkret mit dem quimbois (Voodoo) verbunden sind, wie *moun maré* "eine durch Zauber, Verhexung gebundene Person" oder *i ba main an pon* ("Er hat mir eine Brücke, einen quimbois hingeworfen", für einen Zauber auf der Hauschwelle, der, wenn einmal überschritten, Unglück bringt) (Massé 2001: 28). Weitere Erläuterungen dazu finden sich in Massés Buch zur Détresse créole (Massé 2008b).

In dem Züricher Projekt zur Erzählanalyse "Jakob", das von 1989-2013 von Brigitte Boothe durchgeführt wurde, wurden zahlreiche Alltags- und Psychotherapiegespräche analysiert. Dafür wurde ein spezielles Programm (Boothe, Grimmer et al. 2002) und ein eigenes Jakob-Lexikon entwickelt, das 2007 im OLIF-Format gestaltet wurde und zu dem man noch

heute Zugang über das Internet hat. Die umfangreiche Literaturliste zu den in diesem Programm entstandenen Arbeiten umfasst über 200 Titel (Jakob 2014). Im “Manual der Erzählanalyse Jakob” wird erläutert, dass die Erzählanalyse sich mit mündlichen Alltagserzählungen, die schriftlich fixiert werden, beschäftigt. Außer einer Einteilung und Kodierung in Segmente der Erzählung erfolgt eine Kodierung auf der Wortebene. Dabei werden Verben, Nomen und Partikeln unterschieden. Wichtiger Teil ist die Kodierung der Verben, die in fünf Dimensionen aufgeteilt werden (Geschehen, Fühlen, Wollen, Handeln, Schaffen). So werden in der Dimension des Geschehens auch Verbausdrücke des seelischen Bewegens eingeordnet, wie z.B.: *“Das Schauspiel bewegte mich sehr. Mich ergriffen seine Worte. Es hat mich sehr gerührt. Es ging mir sehr nahe.* Die Sprache, in der solche Gemütsbewegungen formuliert werden – siehe bereits die Ausdrücke „Gemütsbewegung“, „seelische Bewegung“ – ist deutlich körperlichen Vorgängen und Handlungen nachgebildet. Das ist der Grund, die seelische Bewegung in die Nähe der körperlichen Bewegung zu rücken.“ (Bothe, Grimmer et al. 2002: 30)

Das über das Internet zugängliche JAKOB-Lexikon folgt in seinem Aufbau weitgehend der von Patrick Hanks entwickelten Corpus Pattern Analysis (Hanks 2013) und führt vor allem konventionelle Kollokationsmuster an, dazu auch in den Gesprächen gebräuchliche Idiome (Luder, Clemenide 2008). Während Hanks “unüblichen” Kollokationen den Status der Kreativität verleiht, eine Auffassung, der auch die Verfasser des JAKOB-Lexikons zu folgen scheinen, wäre es sicher sinnvoll zu untersuchen, inwieweit die über die usuelle Verwendung hinausgehenden “kreativen” Kollokationen psychisch belasteter oder kranker Menschen innerhalb mehrerer Erzählungen eines Probanden mehrfach aufscheinen (individuelle Psychophraseme) und inwieweit es innerhalb von Textsammlungen unterschiedlicher Probanden Gemeinsamkeiten im Gebrauch “kreativer” Kollokationen (überindividuelle Psychophraseme) gibt. In dem von Luder, Clemenide et al. (2008: 733) verfassten Bericht über die Gestaltung des JAKOB-Lexikons im OLIF-Format wird auch erwähnt, dass sich die Analyse auf Konstruktionen im Sinne der Konstruktionsgrammatik stützt und dass zu derlei Konstruktionen “z.B. Phraseologismen (Idiome, Meta-

phern und Kollokationen)“ zählen, “die teilweise lexikalisiert werden können, teilweise aber auch sprecherspezifisch sind.” Es wird erwogen, nun auch “idiomatische Wendungen wie *typisch Frau*, *solches Zeug ausbeinen*, Verbgefüge wie *ein Zeug machen*, aber auch konventionalisierte Redewendungen wie *Ich bin der Typ...*“ aufzunehmen. Prüft man das im Lexikon nach, so fehlt darin die sicher nicht usuelle Wendung *solches Zeug ausbeinen*. Hier wird bereits deutlich, dass es bestimmte Ausdrücke zu geben scheint, die sprecherspezifisch sind, aber vielleicht auch andere, die unter bestimmten Probanden verbreitet zu sein scheinen. Eine Sichtung der zahlreichen Arbeiten, die innerhalb dieses Projektes durchgeführt wurden, im Hinblick auf Probandenspezifische, aber auch auf gemeinsame mögliche “Psychophraseme” wäre sicher sinnvoll. Im Projekt Jakob standen derlei Fragen nicht im Vordergrund, doch wäre eine derartige Untersuchung sicher eine lohnende Aufgabe.

6. Schlussfolgerungen

Die im Titel dieses Beitrags aufgeworfene Frage muss eindeutig mit Ja beantwortet werden. Es gibt Psychophraseme. Dabei handelt es sich um eine Gruppe von Phrasemen, die unterschiedlichen Status haben. Dazu gehören sowohl phraseologische Termini aus dem Gebiet der Psychologie und Psychoanalyse, als auch individuelle Phraseme, die in ihrem Vorkommen und ihrem Status den Autorphrasemen gleichzusetzen sind. Darüber hinaus gibt es feste Wendungen, die sich in der Psychotherapie auf Seiten der Therapeuten eingebürgert haben und oft nicht idiomatisch sind, aber einen anderen semantischen und pragmatischen Status als im normalen Sprachgebrauch haben. Einen weiten Bereich stellen die Psychophraseme dar, die allgemeinsprachlich sind und z.B. psychische Krankheiten, Zustände usw. bezeichnen. Hierfür gibt es viele Beispiele aus dem Forschungsbereich der “idioms of distress”. Psychophraseme, die überindividuell und typisch für bestimmte Krankheitsbilder und psychische Probleme sind, scheint es auch zu geben. Hier steht die phraseologische Forschung aber noch am Anfang und eine Untersuchung der zahlreichen Gesprächsprotokolle und Datenbanken mit therapeutischen Gesprächen, wäre sicher eine lohnende Aufgabe.

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Wolfgang Eismann
Institut für Slawistik
Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz
Merangasse 70
8010 Graz
Austria
E-mail: wolfgang.eismann@uni-graz.at

HRISZTALINA HRISZTOVA-GOTTHARDT AND
ZOLTÁN GOTTHARDT

GIBT ES TATSÄCHLICH ANTONYME SPRICHWÖRTER?
ZU DEN ERGEBNISSEN EINER KORPUSBASIERTEN
UNTERSUCHUNG UNGARISCHER SPRICHWÖRTER

Abstract: In diversen parömiologisch ausgerichteten Arbeiten wurden bereits mehrere gewichtige Argumente sowohl für als auch gegen die Antonymie von Sprichwörtern angeführt. Auch zum heutigen Zeitpunkt besteht unter den Forschern keine einheitliche Meinung darüber, ob es so etwas wie Gegensatzproverbien gibt oder nicht. Daher hat sich die im Rahmen dieses Beitrages präsentierte Untersuchung zum Ziel gesetzt, die zwei (mehr oder weniger) theoretischen Gegenthesen bezüglich der Antonymie von Sprichwörtern auf empirischem Wege zu überprüfen. Zu diesem Zweck wurden drei ungarische Sprichwörterpaare bzw. -gruppen, die von Anna T. Litovkina in ihrem 2005 erschienen Wörterbuch als antonym markiert wurden, mit ihrem Vorkommen im Ungarischen Nationalen Textkorpus abgeglichen. Die Kontextbelege aus dem Korpus wurden in einem weiteren Schritt einer qualitativen Analyse unterzogen. Dabei sollte(n) zum einen die Bedeutung(en) jedes einzelnen Sprichwortes erschlossen werden. Zum anderen sollte der Frage nachgegangen werden, ob aufgrund der ermittelten semantischen Kerne behauptet werden kann, dass bestimmte Proverbien tatsächlich in einer antonymen Relation zueinander stehen. Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung haben gezeigt, dass sowohl die „Befürworter“ als auch die „Gegner“ der These von der Antonymie der Sprichwörter in gewissem Sinne Recht behalten haben. In einem der drei Fälle konnte nämlich eine antonyme semantische Relation zwischen den beiden Sprüchen eindeutig nachgewiesen werden. Jedoch hat sich in den anderen zwei Fällen die Annahme, dass die zwei bzw. die drei Sprichwörter über eine entgegengesetzte Bedeutung verfügen, nicht bestätigt.

Keywords: ungarische Sprichwörter, antonyme Sprichwörter, semantische Analyse, korpusbasierte Untersuchung, Kontextbelege, Ungarisches Nationales Textkorpus

1. Einführung und Zielsetzung

Die theoretische Beschäftigung mit antonymen¹ Sprichwörtern blickt auf eine relativ lange Geschichte zurück. Bereits im Jahr 1616 hat Nicholas Brenton ein zweibändiges Werk verfasst, das diesem Thema gewidmet war. Dem Ansatz von Brenton folgend sind zahlreiche weitere Arbeiten entstanden, in denen die Frage, ob es antonyme Sprichwörterpaare gibt und inwieweit sich ihre Botschaften tatsächlich widersprechen, immer wieder aufgerollt wurde (dazu mehr in Yankah 1984: 2-3). Ein detaillierter Überblick über die Thesen, die in diesen Studien vertreten, überprüft und entweder bestätigt oder widerlegt wurden, würde den Rahmen dieses Beitrags sprengen. Aus diesem Grund wurde die Entscheidung getroffen, in diesem einführenden Abschnitt lediglich auf einige ausgewählte parömiologische Arbeiten neuerer Zeit einzugehen, deren Autoren wissenschaftlich fundierte Pro- oder Contra-Argumente bezüglich der Anonymie von Sprichwörtern angeführt haben.

Ein prominenter Vertreter der Pro-Antonymie-Gruppe ist der sowjetische Volkskundler und Parömiologe Grigorij L. Permjakov, der in seinen Schriften davon ausgeht, dass „es nicht nur zwischen den verschiedenen Kulturen, sondern durchaus auch innerhalb einer Kultur einander widersprechende sprichwörtliche Aussagen geben kann“ (vgl. dazu Grzybek 2000: 4). Unter dieser Prämisse äußert er die Annahme, dass eine gesonderte parömiische Ebene der Sprache existiert. Diese setzt er zur lexikalischen Ebene der Sprache in Beziehung und spricht in diesem Zusammenhang von parömischer Antonymie, Synonymie und Homonymie. Dementsprechend bezeichnet Permjakov die Sprichwörter mit einander widersprechenden Aussagen als sprichwörtliche Antonyme. Allerdings bezieht sich Permjakov in erster Linie auf die von ihm postulierte „Universalgrammatik“ der Sprichwörter, d.h. auf das logische Schema, nach dem die Proverbien aufgebaut sind. Diese Universalgrammatik geht zwar auf die Beziehungen der Realitätsobjekte untereinander sowie auf ihre Eigenschaften ein, jedoch bleibt dabei das konkrete Urteil über diese Objekte und ihre Eigenschaften bzw. die konkrete Aussage des Sprichwortes unbeachtet. Mit anderen Worten berücksichtigt Permjakov beim Bilden von synonymen und antonymen Sprichwörterpaaren in keinsten Weise die konkreten Gebrauchssituationen, in denen die Proverbien verwendet werden.

Neal R. Norrick vertritt ebenfalls die Meinung, dass zwischen den Bedeutungen von Sprichwörtern semantische Beziehungen bestehen (können), u.a. eine synonyme oder eine antonyme Relation. Laut Norrick stellen Proverbien, die gegensätzliche Ideen und Auffassungen aussprechen und sich dabei entweder ähnlicher (*A big fish in a small pond*² vs. *A small fish in big pond*³) oder ganz unterschiedlicher (*He who hesitates is lost*⁴ vs. *Fools rush in*⁵) Bilder bedienen, semantische Gegenparte dar. Inhaltliche Gegensätze können aber auch durch zwei Sprichwörter ausgedrückt werden, von denen das eine wörtlich zu verstehen ist (*Out of sight, out of mind*)⁶ und das andere eine Metapher enthält (*Absence makes the heart go fonder*)⁷ (s. Norrick 2007: 391). Es sei jedoch an dieser Stelle hingewiesen, dass Norrick die Proverbien als Minitexte betrachtet, die über eine bestimmte (verallgemeinbare) Bedeutung verfügen. Diese Bedeutung kann – so Norrick – auch ohne Kontext entschlüsselt werden. Demgemäß untersucht er die Sprichwörter auf der Ebene des Sprachsystems und nicht auf der Ebene der Sprachverwendung, obwohl er gleichzeitig darauf verweist, dass die eigentliche Bedeutung von Proverbien sich erst in der konkreten Situation entfaltet (vgl. Norrick 2007: 390).

In ihrem Band *A közmondást nem hiába mondják* (Ein Sprichwort sagt man nicht umsonst) legen Anna T. Litovkina und Wolfgang Mieder dar, dass Sprichwörter und ihre Aussagen genauso vielfältig und widersprüchlich sein können wie das Leben selbst. Daher sind laut der Autoren auch antonyme Sprichwörterpaare wie *Szemet szemért, fogat fogért* (*Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn*)⁸ und *Ha megdobnak kővel, dobd vissza kenyérrel* (Wenn dich jemand mit Steinen bewirft, musst du mit Brot zurückwerfen) keine Seltenheit (T. Litovkina / Mieder 2005: 113). Jedoch werden auch in dieser Studie lediglich bei einigen der aufgeführten Sprichwörter mit entgegengesetzter Bedeutung auch die dazugehörigen konkreten Sinn- und Situationszusammenhänge zitiert.

In seinem Artikel *Do Proverbs Contradict?* (Widersprechen Sprichwörter einander?) stellt der Ghanaer Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaftler Kwesi Yankah eine Gegenthese auf, die besagt, dass die Antonymie von Sprichwörtern eine Illusion ist, die durch das oberflächliche Verständnis von der Dynamik des Sprichwortgebrauchs erzeugt wird (Yankah 1984: 2). Er meint,

dass „frühere Wissenschaftler“ nur das sogenannte „Sprichwortkonzept“ berücksichtigt haben, wenn sie die Bedeutung eines Spruches zu erschließen versucht haben und dabei die konkreten Textzusammenhänge, in denen dieser vorkommt, völlig außer Acht gelassen haben (ebenda S.5). Ferner erläutert er, dass man nur aus theoretischer Sicht über eine eventuelle Antonymie sprechen könnte, denn in der Sprachverwendung lassen sich für fast jedes einzelne Proverb mehrere semantische Kerne erfassen⁹, was seinerseits die Bildung von antonymen Sprichwörterpaaren nahezu unmöglich macht (ebenda S. 5, 10). Yankah geht sogar einen Schritt weiter und behauptet, dass die Idee von Sprichwörtern mit entgegengesetzter Bedeutung bloß ein theoretisches Konstrukt darstellt, das keine empirische Bestätigung findet: Die von ihm befragten Probanden waren sich nämlich überhaupt nicht bewusst, dass manche Proverbien einander widersprechen (können) (ebenda S. 16).

Anknüpfend an die obigen Ausführungen setzt sich der vorliegende Beitrag zum Ziel, die zwei (mehr oder weniger) theoretischen Gegenthesen bezüglich der Antonymie von Sprichwörtern auf empirischem Wege zu überprüfen. Zu diesem Zweck sollen mehrere konkrete Kontextbelege, in denen von Anna T. Litovkina in ihrem ungarischen Sprichwörterbuch¹⁰ (T. Litovkina 2005) als antonym markierte ungarische Sprichwörterpaare bzw. -gruppen vorkommen, einer semantischen Analyse unterzogen werden. Dabei sollte folgenden Fragen nachgegangen werden:

- Welcher semantische Kern bzw. welche semantischen Kerne lassen sich für jedes einzelne Sprichwort anhand der Kontextbelege erfassen?
- Kann aufgrund der erschlossenen semantischen Kerne behauptet werden, dass bestimmte Sprichwörter in einer antonymen Relation zueinander stehen?

2. Korpus und Methoden der Untersuchung

Im Rahmen der aktuellen Untersuchung wurden drei antonyme Sprichwörterpaare bzw. Sprichwörtergruppen mit ihrem Vorkommen im *Ungarischen Nationalen Textkorpus* abgeglichen. Es wurden solche Proverbien gewählt, die im Sprichwörterbuch von Anna T. Litovkina (T. Litovkina 2005) als antonym markiert wurden.

Das erste Paar setzt sich aus zwei Sprüchen zusammen, die in Anlehnung an Charles Doyle als *counter-proverbs* (gegensätzliche, sich widersprechende Sprichwörter) bezeichnet werden können, da das eine Proverb das andere quasi verneint (s. Doyle 2012: 33), und zwar: *Ruha teszi az embert* (Kleider machen Leute) und *Nem a ruha teszi az embert* (Nicht die Kleider machen die Leute).

Die Botschaft des zweiten Paares bzw. der zweiten Gruppe bezieht sich auf denselben semantischen Bereich, nämlich „Das Verhalten der Zugehörigen einer Gruppe zueinander“: *Ember embernek farkasa* (Der Mensch ist dem Menschen ein Wolf) vs. *Kéz kezét mos* (Eine Hand wäscht die andere) und *Holló a hollónak nem vájja ki a szemét* (Eine Krähe hackt der anderen kein Auge aus.).

Das dritte und somit letzte Paar hat seine Wurzeln in der *Heiligen Schrift* und bringt zum Ausdruck, wie man zu Zeiten des *Alten* bzw. im *Neuen Testaments* seinen Nächsten zu behandelt hatte.

Wie bereits weiter oben erwähnt wurden die sieben Sprichwörter mit ihrem Vorkommen im *Ungarischen Nationalen Textkorpus* abgeglichen. Mit seinen ca. 1,04 Milliarden Token (Korpuswörtern) zählt das Korpus zu den relativ großen elektronischen Textsammlungen (vgl. Scherer 2006: 7 und Lemnitzer / Zinsmeister 2010: 110). Es kann frei für wissenschaftliche Zwecke benutzt werden. Den Nutzern werden mehrere Suchoptionen zur Verfügung gestellt (s. dazu Oravecz / Váradi / Sass 2014); die Autoren haben sich für die CQL-basierte¹¹ Suche entschieden und das aus folgenden Gründen:

- Die CQL-Abfragesprache macht es möglich, zwischen Klein- und Großschreibung zu unterscheiden bzw. die Großschreibung absichtlich außer Acht zu lassen;
- ferner können mithilfe von CQL sämtliche Flexionsformen eines Lexems abgefragt werden;
- mithilfe der CQL-Ausdrücke kann nach Phrasen gesucht werden, zwischen deren „festen“ Komponenten auch andere „beliebige“ Wörter vorkommen dürfen.

Da es nicht zu den Zielen dieser Untersuchung gehörte, den genauen Wortlaut der einzelnen Sprichwörter oder die Vorkommenshäufigkeit ihrer möglichen Varianten zu ermitteln, enthiel-

ten die von den Autoren formulierten Korpusabfragen in der Regel lediglich zwei bis drei Wörter aus dem jeweiligen Sprichwort. Die Wörter wurden in ihrer gebeugten Form angegeben, zumal davon ausgegangen wurde, dass die Sprichwörter mehrheitlich in ihrer ursprünglichen „festgeprägten“ Version verwendet werden. In diesem Sinne wurde unter der Prämisse gehandelt, dass die Suche nach zwei bzw. drei Wörtern in ihrer gebeugten Form genügend zuverlässige Ergebnisse (Kontextbelege) erbringen wird, um daraus die Bedeutung(en) der jeweiligen Proverbien zu erschließen.

Die Korpusabfragen wurden mithilfe folgender CQL-Ausdrücke konstruiert:

```
[word="[Rr]uha" ] [word="teszi" ]
[word="[Ss]zemet" ] [word="szemért" ]
[word="megdobnak" ] [word="kövel" ]
[word="dobd" ] [word="vissza" ]
[word="kenyérrel" ]

[word="[Ee]mber" ] [word="embernek" ]
[word="[Kk]éz" ] [word="kezet" ]
[word="nem" ] [word="vájja" ] [word="ki" ]
```

Alle Suchergebnisse wurden zuerst manuell durchsucht, um die Treffer mit Sprichwörtern, Varianten bzw. modifizierten Proverbien von den irrelevanten Hits zu trennen. In einem zweiten Schritt wurden jene Korpusbelege, die ein Sprichwort oder seine Verfremdung beinhaltet haben, qualitativ ausgewertet. Es sollte dabei festgestellt werden, ob aufgrund des vorhandenen Kontextes Schlüsse über die Bedeutung des jeweiligen Proverbs gezogen werden können. Die Texte, die diese Voraussetzung erfüllt haben, wurden in separaten Dateien gespeichert und in einer späteren Phase einer vertieften semantischen Analyse unterzogen. Die Autoren waren dabei bemüht, die Bedeutungen, die sich in den einzelnen Kontexten haben erschließen lassen, zu verallgemeinbaren semantischen Kernen zu vereinen.

3. Ergebnisse der Untersuchung

Im Folgenden werden die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung kurz zusammengefasst. Da die semantische Analyse der Korpusbelege in den drei einzelnen Fällen zum Teil stark abweichende Er-

gebnisse erbracht hat, wird jedem Sprichwörterpaar ein separater Abschnitt gewidmet.

3.1. *Antonyme Sprichwörter*

Das ungarische Sprichwörterpaar *Szemet szemért, fogat fogért* (*Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn*) und *Ha megdobnak kővel, dobd vissza kenyérrrel* (*Wenn dich jemand mit Steinen bewirft, musst du mit Brot zurückwerfen*) wird von Anna T. Litovkina in ihrem Sprichwörterbuch als antonym markiert (vgl. T. Litovkina 2005: 558-559 und 360-361). Die Autorin gibt für die zwei Proverbien folgende Bedeutungserläuterungen an:

Szemet szemért, fogat fogért.

<bántalomért hasonló bántalommal fizetnek>¹²

(Den ihnen zugefügten Harm zahlen die Menschen mit gleichen Mitteln zurück.)

Ha megdobnak kővel, dobd vissza kenyérrrel.

<ne törekedj a bosszúra; a sérelmet is jótettel, szeretettel viszonozd>

(Trachte nicht nach Rache; Begegne auch der Ungerechtigkeit mit guten Taten und mit Liebe.)

Laut T. Litovkina sind beide Sprichwörter auf Passagen aus der *Heiligen Schrift* zurückzuführen. Tatsächlich stammt *Szemet szemért, fogat fogért* wörtlich aus dem 3. *Buch Mose*, Kapitel 24, Vers 19-20¹³, wo Folgendes steht:

Ha valaki testi sertést követ el honfitársán, azzal hogy bánjanak, ahogyan ő cselekedett: törést törésért, szemet szemért, fogat fogért.

(Bringt aber einer seinem Nächsten eine Verletzung bei, so soll man ihm tun, wie er getan hat: Bruch um Bruch, Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn.)

Was allerdings das Sprichwort *Ha megdobnak kővel, dobd vissza kenyérrrel* anbetrifft, sei an dieser Stelle angemerkt, dass es in dieser Form in der Bibel nicht vorkommt. Dennoch wird seine Botschaft in mehreren Versen aus dem *Neuen Testament* – wenn auch in etwas anderem Wortlaut – geäußert, u.a. in:

Hallottátok, hogy megmondattok: Szemet szemért, fogat fogért. En pedig azt mondom nektek, hogy ne szálljátok szembe a gonossal, hanem annak, aki arcul üt jobb felől, tartsd oda másik arcodat is.

(Ihr habt gehört, daß gesagt ist: Auge um Auge und Zahn um Zahn! Ich aber sage euch: Ihr sollt dem Bösen nicht widerstehen; sondern wenn dich jemand auf deinen rechten Backen schlägt, so biete ihm auch den anderen dar [...])

(Matthäus Kapitel 5, Vers 38-39)

und

Ugyan ki az közöttetek, aki ha kenyeret kér a fia, követ ad neki.

(Oder ist unter euch ein Mensch, der, wenn sein Sohn ihn um Brot bittet, ihm einen Stein gäbe [...])

(Matthäus Kapitel 7, Vers 9)

Betrachtet man die Aussagen und die Quellen der beiden Sprichwörter etwas näher, kann man feststellen, dass dahinter ein grundlegender religiöser und moralischer Sinneswandel steckt, welcher durch den Übergang vom *Alten* zum *Neuen Testament* bedingt wird. Im Gegensatz zu den Propheten und Gelehrten aus dem *Alten Testament* predigt Jesus Demut und Nächstenliebe und verkündet das Ende der Ära der Rache und der Bestrafung im Namen Gottes.

In diesem Zusammenhang stellt sich die Frage, ob die zwei Sprichwörter ihre ursprünglichen Botschaften beibehalten haben und auch in der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache als antonyme Proverbien fungieren. Zur Beantwortung dieser Frage wurden mehrere Kontextbelege aus dem *Ungarischen Nationalen Textkorpus* einer qualitativen Analyse unterzogen. Das Ziel der Analyse war es, für jedes der beiden Proverbien, ihre Bedeutung(en) im Kontext zu ermitteln und zu überprüfen, inwieweit sich ihre Aussagen widersprechen.

Im Falle von *Szemet szemért, fogat fogért* konnten zwei semantische Kerne ermittelt werden, die sich zum größten Teil miteinander decken, und zwar:

<Den ihnen zugefügten Harm zahlen die Menschen ebenfalls mit Harm zurück.>

A magyarok, úgy mutatják, örülnek nekünk, a szerbekkel bajunk van. Ránk lőnek, igazságtalannak tartják jöttünket, itt most már

folyik a vér, úgy megy, hogy szemet szemért, [fogat fogért.] bosszúra bosszút. Nem is szégyellem előttem, de a félelem fog el, ha lövöldözni kezdenek, ilyenkor rejtem magam, elbújok és meglapulok.

(doc.file: it_hu_dia_Dobos_Laszlo___Egy_szal_ingben___1976.clean)

(Es scheint, als ob sich die Ungarn über uns freuen würden, aber mit den Serben haben wir unsere schwere Not. Sie schießen auf uns, halten unser Kommen für ungerecht, so fließt hier schon Blut, und es läuft wie folgt: Auge um Auge, [Zahn um Zahn], Racheakt um Racheakt. Ich schäme mich nicht dafür, dass ich Angst kriege, wenn man zu schießen beginnt, und dass ich mich dann verstecke und mich ducke.)

und

<Das zugefügte Böse sollst du ebenfalls mit bösen Taten heimzahlen.>

Többek között a Bibliának köszönhető (no meg annak, hogy a primitív gondolkodás is sugallja), hogy a szemet szemért [fogat fogért] szabály továbbra is él a társadalomban annak ellenére, hogy ütközik az erkölcsi alapszabállyal. Azoknál, akiknek nincs szilárd erkölcsi alapjuk nem okoz gondot egymásnak ellentmondó szabályok alkalmazása: Mindig azt használják, amely számukra éppen a legelőnyösebb.

(doc.file: pers_hu_ind_019)

(Unter anderem ist es der Bibel zu verdanken (und natürlich auch der primitiven Denkweise), dass der Rechtsatz Auge um Auge [Zahn um Zahn] immer noch in unserer Gesellschaft gilt, auch wenn er unserem moralischen Grundsatz widerspricht. Für diejenigen, die über keine feste Grundmoral verfügen, ist es überhaupt nicht schwer, nach gegensätzlichen Regeln und Gesetzen zu handeln. Sie richten sich danach, was für sie gerade am günstigsten ist.)

Anhand der untersuchten Kontextbelege aus dem *Ungarischen Nationalen Textkorpus* lassen sich für das Sprichwort *Ha megdobnak kővel, dobd vissza kenyérrel* folgende zwei semantische Kerne erfassen, die ebenfalls viele gemeinsame inhaltliche Züge aufzeigen:

<Auch wenn dir Böses und Ungerechtigkeit begegnen, sollst du nicht nach Rache trachten>

A NEM kommunista visszahúzódó szégyenlős, méltósággal tűri a megaláztatást, „ha megdobnak kővel, dobd vissza kenyérrrel” - elvet vallja és a saját vallási lelkülete szerint gyakorló látogatója az Isten Házának, ahol is buzgó vallásosságáról rendszeresen bizonyosságot tesz. A NEM kommunista egy követendő mintakép, példalélek!

(doc.file: pers_hu_kozmed_171_fixed.cleaned)

(Der NICHT-Kommunist ist eine zurückhaltende, schüchterne Person, die der Demütigung mit Würde begegnet, die den Grundsatz „Wenn dich jemand mit Steinen bewirft, musst du mit Brot zurückwerfen“ befolgt und aus religiöser Überzeugung des Öfteren im Haus Gottes verweilt, wo sie ihre eifrige Religiosität regelmäßig unter Beweis stellt. Der NICHT-Kommunist ist ein Vorbild, dem man folgen sollte, er ist eine vorbildliche Seele!)

und

<Begegne auch der Ungerechtigkeit mit guten Taten und mit Liebe.>

VÁRKATONA: *És Nagelschmidt?*

MÁRIA: *Kérlek, hagyj engem békében. Mindjárt hazaérkezik Kolhaas úr, és amilyen galamblelkületű, még egy pohár borral is megkínál - a pimaszságodért. Aki megdob téged kővel, dobd vissza kenyérrrel, ez az én jó uram: ha meg akarod ismerni, a Bibliát olvasd.*

(doc.file: lit_hu_dia_Suto_Andras_Szinmuvek_I_1989.clean)

(BURGSOLDAT: Und was ist mit Nagelschmidt?)

MARIA: Lass mich bitte in Ruhe. Herr Kolhaas kommt gleich nach Hause, und so sanftmütig wie er ist, wird er dir sogar ein Glas Wein anbieten, um quasi deine Dreistigkeit zu „belohnen“. Wenn dich jemand mit Steinen bewirft, musst du mit Brot zurückwerfen, so ist auch mein Herr: Wenn du ihn besser kennenlernen willst, lies die Bibel.)

Wie den weiter oben angeführten Beispielen zu entnehmen ist, übermitteln die zwei Proverbien auch im modernen Sprachgebrauch völlig gegensätzliche Botschaften, was den Umgang mit Ungerechtigkeit und Harm angeht. Das eine besagt, dass man dem Bösen ebenfalls mit Bösem begegnet bzw. begegnet

soll, das andere dagegen belehrt, dass man auf eine böse Tat entweder gar nicht oder aber mit einer guten Handlung reagieren soll.

In diesem Sinne findet die Annahme von Anna T. Litovkina, dass die beiden Sprichwörter antonym sind, ihre Bestätigung. Als ein weiterer Beweis für diese These dient die Tatsache, dass das Proverb *Ha megdobnak kővel, dobd vissza kenyérrel* mehrmals abgeändert wird, wobei die Bedeutung der so entstandenen Abwandlungen aus semantischer Sicht eine noch ausdrucksstärkere, „gesteigerte“ Variante des Sprichworts *Szemet szemért, fogat fogért* darstellen wie z.B. in:

A libanoni terrorbombázásokban ismét Izrael államának fasiszta voltára találhatunk bizonyítékot. Egy tábornok halála (Libanonban!) kisgyermek, öregek, nők életébe kerül. Ez a részükéről az önmérséklet, de azért mélyen megsértődtek, amikor a náci állítólag minden egyes szökött lágerlakóért tíz másikat végeztek ki. Hát nem ugyanolyanok? Ismered a mondást kifordítva? Ha megdobnak kővel, dobj vissza kéziгранáttal...

(doc.file: pers_hu_ind_011)

(Die Bombardierungen in Libanon haben uns einen weiteren Beweis für die faschistische Natur des israelischen Staates geliefert. Der Tod eines Generals (in Libanon!) hat viele Kleinkinder, ältere Menschen und Frauen das Leben gekostet. Aus ihrer Sicht ist das Selbstbeherrschung, dennoch fühlten sie sich beleidigt, als die Nazis für jeden entflohenen KZ-Häftling angeblich zehn weitere hingerichtet hätten. Sind sie nicht genau dieselben [wie die Nazis]? Kennst du den Spruch auch in seiner abgewandelten Form? Wenn man dich mit Steinen bewirft, musst du mit Handgranaten zurückwerden...)

Mit anderen Worten rächt man sich für das zugefügte Übel manchmal mit noch größerem Übel. So kehrt man in die Zeiten des *Alten Testaments* und in gewissem Sinne auch zum alten Sprichwort zurück.

3.2. Keine Antonymie trotz „irreführender“ Oberflächenstruktur

Im Mittelpunkt dieses Abschnittes stehen zwei ungarische Sprichwörter, deren Oberflächenstruktur auf eine eventuelle Antonymie hindeutet. Gemeint sind zum einen *Ruha teszi az embert* (*Kleider machen Leute*) und zum anderen *Nem a ruha teszi az*

embert (Nicht die Kleider machen die Leute). Bis auf das Vorhandensein bzw. das Fehlen des Negationswortes *nem* (nicht) weisen sie genau denselben Wortlaut auf. In diesem Sinne wäre die logische Schlussfolgerung, dass das eine Sprichwort die Aussage des anderen verneint und somit als sein Antonym fungiert, gar nicht verkehrt. Offensichtlich vertritt auch Anna T. Litovkina diese Ansicht, zumal sie in ihrem Sprichwörterbuch die zwei Proverbien für antonym erklärt und ihnen folgende Bedeutungserläuterungen zuordnet (T. Litovkina 2005: 519-520):

Ruha teszi az embert.

<sokan öltözetük alapján ítélik meg az embereket; mindenki jobban mutat csinos ruhában>

(*Kleider machen Leute.*)

Viele urteilen über die Menschen aufgrund ihrer Kleidung; Alle sehen besser aus, wenn sie schön gekleidet sind.)

Nem a ruha teszi az embert.

<az ember értékét nem az öltözete adja>

(Nicht die Kleider machen die Leute.)

<Nicht die Kleider bestimmen über den Wert eines Menschen.>

Die weiter oben zitierten Bedeutungserläuterungen lassen vermuten, dass die Sprichwörter zwar gegensätzliche (Teil)Bedeutungen haben (können), jedoch nicht in allen möglichen Kontextsituationen als absolute inhaltliche Gegenparte einzusetzen sind. Diese These wurde auch durch die Ergebnisse der qualitativen Untersuchung bestätigt. Die semantische Analyse der Belege aus dem *Ungarischen Nationalen Textkorpus* hat ergeben, dass das Sprichwort *Ruha teszi az embert* zur Äußerung folgender drei Botschaften verwendet wird:

<Das Innere bzw. der Charakter sowie die finanzielle Situation und die gesellschaftliche Stellung einer Person spiegeln sich in ihrem Äußeren und in ihrer Kleidung wider.>

Akárcsak a hétköznapi embert a szuperhőst is a ruha teszi. Öltöztékük gyakran színes, figyelemfelkeltő, jellegzetes a karakterre, képességeire vagy adottságaira. Gyakran visel raja jelvényt, szimbólumot.

Általánosságban elmondható, hogy: Azon szuperhősök, kiknek titkos a személyazonossága, gyakran viselnek álarcot vagy maszkot mely vagy csak részben, vagy egészben eltakarja arcukat.

(doc.file: sci_hu_wiki_015)

(Die Kleider machen den Superhelden genauso wie sie auch den Alltagsmenschen machen. Die Bekleidung der Superhelden ist häufig bunt, auffallend, passend zu ihrem Charakter, zu ihren Fähigkeiten und Talenten. Oft tragen sie dazu auch ein Abzeichen oder ein Symbol.

Für gewöhnlich tragen jene Superhelden, deren Identität geheim ist, oft eine Maske, die das Gesicht ganz oder teilweise bedeckt.)

<Viele urteilen über die Anderen nach ihrem Äußeren bzw. ihrer Kleidung.>

Én is szoktam külső alapján ítélni, szerintem igenis lehet. Pl. az tuti, hogy ruha teszi az embert, pontosabban kölcsönösen teszik egymást: egy bizonyos anyagi helyzet fölött igencsak jellemzi az illetőt, hogy milyen cuccokra ad ki pénzt. Egy bizonyos anyagi helyzet alatt pedig rögtön az állapítható meg, hogy valaki egy bizonyos anyagi helyzet alatt van.

(doc.file: pers_hu_ind_007)

(Auch ich urteile über die Anderen nach ihrem Äußeren und bin der Meinung, dass dies auch gut funktioniert. Z.B. steht es außer Frage, dass Kleider Leute machen, genauer gesagt, dass beide sich gegenseitig gestalten: Wenn jemand einen gewissen finanziellen Stand erreicht hat, sagen die Klamotten, für die er dann sein Geld ausgibt, auch Einiges über ihn aus. Und wenn eine Person in keiner so guten finanziellen Situation ist, kann man auch [aufgrund der Kleidung] gleich feststellen, dass diese Person in keiner so guten finanziellen Situation ist.)

<Die Art und Weise, wie man sich kleidet, beeinflusst das Verhalten der Anderen dieser Person gegenüber bzw. ihre Einstellung zu dieser Person>

A mesterek utcájában megyek az utcán. Egy öreg cipész épp műhelyének ajtajában áll s egész lényemből, mint egy műtész csak a cipőmet nézi: mosolyog . A két orcámon enyhe pír remeg: igaz, cipőm nem éppen műremek. Továbbmegyek. A ruhák mestere azt vallja, hogy az embert a ruha teszi s vizsgálgat válltól lefele civilruhámat nézi: mosolyog. A két orcámon enyhe pír remeg: igaz, ruhám nem éppen műremek.

(doc.file: pers_hu_kozmed_151_fixed.cleaned)

(Ich gehe durch die Straße der Handwerker. Ein alter Schuhmacher steht gerade in der Tür seiner Werkstatt und sieht sich – wie

ein Kunstkritiker – lediglich meine Schuhe an: er grinst. Meine Wangen werden leicht rot: Es stimmt, meine Schuhe sind halt kein Meisterwerk. Ich gehe weiter. Der Kleidermeister glaubt fest daran, dass Kleider Leute machen und schaut sich ganz genau meine Zivilkleidung an, von den Schultern abwärts: er grinst. Meine Wangen werden leicht rot: Es stimmt, meine Kleider sind halt kein Meisterwerk.)

Unter Berücksichtigung der angeführten Beispiele lässt sich zusammenfassend sagen, dass das ungarische Sprichwort *Ruha teszi az embert* in solchen Kontextsituationen verwendet wird, in denen man zum Ausdruck bringen möchte, dass:

- a) sich der Charakter und der Tätigkeitsbereich eines Menschen auch in seinem Äußeren wiederfinden: Die meisten Superhelden tragen farbige Kleidung mit einem Abzeichen und einer Gesichtsmaske dazu;
- b) über eine Person oft nach ihrer Kleidung bzw. nach ihrem Äußeren geurteilt wird: Aufgrund der Kleidung kann der finanzielle Stand einer Person eingeschätzt werden;
- c) der Kleidungsstil einer Person die Einstellung und das Verhalten der Anderen ihr gegenüber wesentlich beeinflusst: Es kommt vor, dass man wegen seiner Kleider und Schuhe Geringschätzung erfährt.

Um zu überprüfen, ob das Sprichwort *Nem a ruha teszi az embert* im konkreten Sprachgebrauch als Antonym zum Proverb *Ruha teszi az embert* fungiert, wurden wiederum Kontextbelege aus dem *Ungarischen Nationalen Textkorpus* semantisch ausgewertet. Die Analyse hat ergeben, dass *Nem a ruha teszi az embert* im Kontext ausschließlich mit folgender Bedeutung benutzt wird:

<Nicht die Kleidung bzw. das Äußere bestimmt über den Wert eines Menschen, sondern sein Inneres, seine Fähigkeiten und das, was er im Leben geleistet hat.>

Én azt hiszem, hogy ahogy a magyar közmondás van, hogy nem a ruha teszi az embert, [...], annak idején Egerszegi Krisztina se nem kenette magát, se nem úszott ilyen különleges dresszbe, mégis világcsúcsokat tudott úszni, tehát azért mindenképpen elsődleges azt hiszem, az a fontosabb, ami benne van!

(doc.file: spok_hu_radio_019)

(Ich glaube – wie auch das ungarische Sprichwort besagt –, dass nicht die Kleider die Leute machen, [...]; damals hat sich Krisztina Egerszegi auch nicht eincremen lassen, und ist auch nicht in einem besonderen Schwimmanzug geschwommen, dennoch hat sie Weltrekorde aufstellen können, daher glaube ich, dass das, was in einem drin steckt, das Wichtigste ist.)

In Anbetracht dessen, dass – bis auf das Vorhandensein bzw. das Fehlen des Negationswortes *nem* – beide Sprichwörter eine identische Oberflächenstruktur aufweisen, wurde im Vorfeld der Untersuchung davon ausgegangen, dass das eine Proverb höchstwahrscheinlich der Botschaft des anderen widerspricht, diese verneint, und dass beide Texte dementsprechend antonym sind. Wie den obigen Beispielen und Ausführungen zu entnehmen ist, konnten im Falle von *Ruha teszi az ember* drei semantische Kerne erfasst werden, bei *Nem a ruha teszi az ember* dagegen wurde lediglich eine verallgemeinbare Kernbedeutung ermittelt. Obwohl beide Sprichwörter Aussagen über die Rolle des äußeren Erscheinungsbildes bzw. der Bekleidung eines Menschen machen, entpuppten sie sich in keiner ihrer Bedeutungen als komplett gegensätzlich. So zum Beispiel streitet *Ruha teszi az ember* in keiner seiner drei Bedeutungen die Aussage von *Nem a ruha teszi az ember* ab, dass es die inneren Werte sind, die wirklich zählen, und nicht das Äußere bzw. die Bekleidung eines Menschen. In diesem Sinne kann an dieser Stelle geschlussfolgert werden, dass beide Proverbien nicht antonym sind.

Überraschenderweise wird diese Schlussfolgerung auch durch die von Anna T. Litovkina formulierten Bedeutungserläuterungen bekräftigt. Bei einer näheren Betrachtung der Bedeutungsbeschreibungen kann eine mögliche (semantische) Antonymie der beiden Sprichwörter ebenfalls ausgeschlossen werden. Daher bleibt die Frage offen, warum T. Litovkina die zwei Proverbien als antonym markiert hat.

3.3. Keine Antonymie trotz des gleichen semantischen Bereiches

In ihrem Sprichwörterbuch hat Anna T. Litovkina dem ungarischen Sprichwort lateinischer Herkunft *Ember embernek farkasa* (*Der Mensch ist dem Menschen ein Wolf*) folgende Bedeutungserläuterung zugeordnet:

Ember embernek farkasa.

<az ember ott árt a másiknak, ahol csak tud>

(Der eine Mensch schadet dem anderen, wo er nur kann.)

(T. Litovkina 2005: 140)

Als antonyme Proverbien hat sie unter anderem folgende zwei Texte aufgeführt: *Kéz kezét mos* (Eine Hand wäscht die andere) und *Holló a hollónak nem vájja ki a szemét* (Eine Krähe hackt der anderen kein Auge aus) (s. ebenda).

Laut T. Litovkina hat *Kéz kezét mos* zwei Bedeutungen. Die erste dieser Bedeutungen soll den semantischen Gegenpart von *Ember embernek farkasa* darstellen:

<akik tisztességtelen ügyekbe keveredtek, kölcsönösen támogatják, mentik egymást>

(Diejenigen, die sich in unanständige Machenschaften verwickelt haben, unterstützen sich gegenseitig und helfen einander in der Not.)

(T. Litovkina 2005: 339)

Unter *Holló a hollónak nem vájja ki szemét* wird dagegen eine einzige Bedeutung verzeichnet, in der das Sprichwort als der semantische Gegenpart von *Ember embernek farkasa* fungieren soll – so jedenfalls T. Litovkina:

<a cinkostársak, a hasonló fajtájú és érdekű emberek nem bánják egymást>

(Die Komplizen, die Menschen von der gleichen Sorte und mit den gleichen Interessen schaden einander nicht.)

(T. Litovkina 2005: 261)

Im Rahmen der semantischen Analyse der Belege aus dem *Ungarischen Nationalen Textkorpus* konnten für das Sprichwort *Ember embernek farkasa* zwei semantische Kerne deutlich voneinander abgegrenzt werden:

<In ihrem Verhalten zueinander sind die Menschen des Öfteren unmoralisch, egoistisch, ausbeuterisch und erfüllt mit Hass.>

A szülők, ha egyáltalán van rá idejük, és az iskola, bár komoly negatív hatások érték, hiába próbál valódi értékeket közvetíteni a gyermekeknek, ha a fiatalok azzal szembesülnek a médiumok segítségével, hogy milyen a „való világ”, hogy ne a becsület és az erkölcs útját járjuk, mert akkor (anyagilag) szegények mara-

dunk, és lemaradunk a fogyasztásért vívott kíméletlen harcban, ahol az ember embernek farkasa.

(doc.file: press_vj_csk)

(Die Eltern, wenn sie überhaupt die Zeit dafür haben, und die Schule, obwohl sie unter starken negativen Einflüssen gelitten hat, versuchen vergeblich, den Kindern die richtigen Werte zu vermitteln. Die Jugendlichen sehen sich dann sowieso durch die Medien damit konfrontiert, wie „die reale Welt da draußen“ ist, in der man lieber nicht nach den Prinzipien der Ehre und der Moral handeln sollte, denn sonst bleibt man (materiell gesehen) arm und man befindet sich im Nachteil gegenüber den anderen im schonungslosen Verbraucherkampf, wo der Mensch dem Menschen ein Wolf ist.)

und

<Der Mensch verhält sich oft unmenschlich und grausam den Anderen gegenüber: er schlägt sie, tötet sie, macht sie zunichte.>

Másként nem lehet. Amíg ember embernek farkasa, sok lesz a bárány. Áldozat a gyerek, akit megvernek, és aki ver, családok, melyeket kiirtanak, és akik irtanak.

(doc.file: press_vj_hetnap)

(Es geht nicht anders. Solange der Mensch dem Menschen Wolf ist, wird es viele Schafe geben. Die Opfer sind die Kinder, die geschlagen werden, und diejenigen, die schlagen, die Familien, die ausgerottet werden und diejenigen, die ausrotten.)

Das Sprichwort äußert also die schmerzliche Erkenntnis bzw. Annahme, dass der Mensch in seinem Grundwesen böse, unmoralisch und gewalttätig ist und dass sich dies auch in seinem Verhalten zu seinen Mitmenschen zeigt.

In allen untersuchten Korpusbelegen wurde das Proverb *Kéz kezét mos* in folgender Bedeutung verwendet:

<Diejenigen, die sich in unanständige Geschäfte verwickelt haben, unterstützen sich gegenseitig; Die Schuldigen / Übeltäter verraten einander bzw. die Sünden des jeweils Anderen nicht.>

Mert mi van most: kéz kezét mos, én nem adok számlát, te nem adsz számlát, mindenki jól jár, de bevételkiesés történik.

(doc.file: pers_hu_ind_010)

(Und so läuft es jetzt: Eine Hand wäscht die andere, ich stelle keine Rechnung aus, du stellst keine Rechnung aus, alle profitieren davon, allerdings gibt es weniger Einnahmen.)

Demzufolge wird das Proverb hauptsächlich in Bezug auf Menschen benutzt, die irgendwelche dunkle Machenschaften verüben und sich dabei gegenseitig den Rücken decken.

Im Fall von *Holló a hollónak nem vájja ki a szemét* wurde ebenfalls ein semantischer Kern ermittelt, und zwar:

<Die Komplizen / die Schuldigen / Übeltäter / die Menschen von der gleichen Sorte und mit den gleichen Interessen schaden einander nicht.>

Berlin – A CDU-nak büntetést kell fizetnie szabálytalan pénzügyei miatt. Az illetékes, a parlament elnöke, a szociáldemokrata Wolfgang Thierse délben jelentette be, hogy a CDU-nak 41 millió márkát kell visszafizetnie. Ez nem kevés: egyes szakértők szerint egy komplett országos parlamenti választási kampány ára. Kérdés, hogy a büntetés mennyiben befolyásolja a következő hónapok két fontos tartományi választási kampányát. Thierse parlamenti elnök hangsúlyozta, hogy törekedett az arányosság elvének betartására, a CDU pénzügyileg nem mehet tönkre. Thierse azt is kijelentette, hogy a demokráciának kárt okozott volna, ha „Holló a hollónak nem vájja ki a szemét” alapon elnézően viselkedik a kereszténydemokratákkal szemben.

(div.type: article)

(Berlin: Die CDU muss Strafe zahlen wegen ihrer vorschriftswidrigen finanziellen Geschäfte. Die zuständige Person, der Bundestagspräsident, der Sozialdemokrat Wolfgang Thierse hat heute um die Mittagszeit verkündet, dass die CDU 41 Millionen Mark zurückzahlen muss. Das ist gar nicht wenig: Nach Schätzungen von Experten ist das der Preis einer kompletten Kampagne zur Parlamentswahl. Die Frage ist nur, inwieweit sich diese Strafe auf die für die nächsten Monate geplante Kampagne zu den Landtagswahlen in zwei Bundesländern auswirken wird? Der Bundestagspräsident Thierse hat nachdrücklich darauf hingewiesen, dass er um die Festlegung eines gerechten Maßes bemüht war, denn die CDU dürfte nicht finanziell ruiniert werden. Thierse hat ebenfalls erklärt, dass es der Demokratie nur geschadet hätte, wenn man nach dem Prinzip „Eine Krähe hackt der

anderen kein Auge aus“ gehandelt hätte und den Demokraten ihr Fehlverhalten einfach verziehen hätte.)

Wie dem weiter oben angeführten Beispiel zu entnehmen ist, wird das Sprichwort dann eingesetzt, wenn der Sprecher auf die Tatsache aufmerksam machen möchte, dass Menschen, die in ähnliche, nicht ganz legale Geschäfte verwickelt sind, sich gegenseitig nicht schaden und einander nicht verraten. Diese Bedeutung wird auch in den zahlreichen Abwandlungen des Proverbs realisiert, wie dies der nachfolgende Korpusbeleg zeigt:

A százados szerint lenne még mit sorolni: például a mínusz 22 fokos afgán tél közepén lejárt szavatosságú naptejeket küldtek nekik, a rádiók pedig antenna nélkül érkeztek meg. Küldtek ugyanakkor két darab, egyenként másfél tonnás elektromos kapcsolószekrényt, amit tudomása szerint senki nem kért.

Szerinte a honvédség jelenlegi válságos állapota összefügg azzal, hogy a magasabb rendfokozatú katonákat sosem marasztalja el senki, nincsenek számonkérések, mert „cimbora a cimborának nem vájja ki a szemét”.

(doc.file: press_hu_origo_itthon_003)

(Der Hauptmann meint, man könnte die Aufzählung noch fortführen: Z.B. hätte man ihnen inmitten des minus 22 Grad Celsius kalten afghanischen Winters Sonnenmilch mit einem abgelaufenen Mindesthaltbarkeitsdatum geschickt, die Radiogeräte seien wiederum ohne ihre Antennen eigetroffen. Zugleich hätte man zwei elektronische Schaltschränke geschickt, jeder einzelne davon anderthalb Tonnen schwer, die seines Wissens niemand gefordert hätte.

Er glaubt, dass die momentane Krise in der Armee damit zusammenhänge, dass die Soldaten mit einem höheren Dienstgrad nie verurteilt werden oder zu Rechenschaft gezogen werden, denn „ein Kamerad hackt dem anderen kein Auge aus.“)

In Anbetracht der weiter oben zitierten Korpusbelege lässt sich als Fazit festhalten, dass *Ember embernek farkasa* und *Kéz kezét mos* bzw. *Holló a holló ne vájja ki a szemét* keineswegs antonym sind.

In diesem Zusammenhang bleibt aber zu hinterfragen, warum Anna T. Litovkina die Sprichwörter und ihre Bedeutung im Kontext anders als die Autoren dieses Beitrages interpretiert hat.

Es liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass T. Litovkina beim Verfassen der Wörterbuchartikel von der Tatsache verleitet wurde, dass die drei Proverbien derselben semantischen Domäne angehören, und zwar: „Das Verhalten der Zugehörigen einer Gruppe zueinander“. Auf den ersten Blick besagt *Ember embernek farkasa* nämlich, dass die Menschen sich gegenseitig bekämpfen, *Kéz kezét mos* und *Holló a hollónak nem vájja ki a szemét* äußert genau das Gegenteil: Die Menschen unterstützen einander und schaden einander nicht. Allerdings hat die vertiefte semantische Analyse der Kontextbelege aus dem *Ungarischen Nationalen Textkorpus* aufgezeigt, dass – wie so oft im Leben – auch in diesem Fall „der Schein trügt“ und dass die Sprichwörter eigentlich keine gegensätzlichen Meinungen bezüglich eines und desselben Sachverhalts zum Ausdruck bringen.

4. Fazit

Zusammenfassend kann man feststellen, dass sowohl die „Befürworter“ als auch die „Gegner“ der These von der Antonymie der Sprichwörter mit ihren Ausführungen und Behauptungen in gewissem Sinne Recht haben. Im Rahmen der Untersuchung wurden nämlich die Vertreter dreier Sprichwörterpaare resp. -gruppen mit ihrem Vorkommen im *Ungarischen Nationalen Textkorpus* abgeglichen. Die semantische Analyse der zahlreichen Korpusbelege hat deutlich gezeigt, dass es in einem der drei Fälle tatsächlich eine antonyme semantische Relation zwischen den Proverbien besteht. Jedoch hat sich in den anderen zwei Fällen die Annahme, dass die Sprichwörter über eine entgegengesetzte Bedeutung verfügen, nicht bestätigt.

Aus diesen Ergebnissen ist zu schlussfolgern, dass die Parömiologen und Parömiographen in Zukunft sich nicht einzeln und allein auf ihre sprachliche Intuition verlassen dürfen und die Sprichwörter nicht lediglich als Teile des Sprachsystems betrachten und vergleichend nebeneinanderstellen dürfen, sondern dass sie auch den konkreten Gebrauchssituationen und dem Kontext noch mehr Beachtung schenken sollen, wenn es darum geht, die Bedeutung(en) von Sprichwörtern zu erschließen und die zwischen den einzelnen Proverbien bestehenden semantischen Beziehungen (sei es Symonymie oder Antonymie) in einem System festzuhalten. In diesem Sinne teilen die Autoren die Auffas-

sung von Wolfgang Mieder, der in seinem Handbuch *Proverbs* Folgendes festhält:

If one deals with proverbs only as a concept of a cultural fact or truism, contradictions are easily found in any proverb repertoire. In contextual usage, however, proverbs function effectively as social strategies. In fact, the meaning of any proverb is actually evident only after it has been contextualized.

(Mieder 2004: 134)

(Betrachtet man die Sprichwörter nur als Inbegriff einer kulturellen Gegebenheit oder einer Binsenweisheit, dann lassen sich in jedem Sprichwort-Repertoire leicht Widersprüche finden. Im kontextuellen Gebrauch funktionieren die Sprichwörter jedoch als effektive soziale Strategien. In der Tat ist die Bedeutung jedes Sprichwortes erst dann sichtbar, nachdem dieses kontextualisiert worden ist.)

Mit anderen Worten kann eine hypothetische semantische Gegensatz-Relation zwischen zwei Sprichwörtern erst nach einer sorgfältigen Analyse zahlreicher Kontextbelege nachgewiesen resp. ausgeschlossen werden.

Anmerkungen

¹ Als „antonym“ werden im Rahmen dieser Studie Sprichwörter mit entgegengesetzter Bedeutung bezeichnet.

² Zu Deutsch (Übers.): Ein großer Fisch in einem kleinen Teich.

³ Zu Deutsch (Übers.): Ein kleiner Fisch in einem großen Teich.

⁴ Zu Deutsch (Übers.): Wer zögert, hat schon verloren.

⁵ Zu Deutsch: *Blinder Eifer schadet nur*.

⁶ Zu Deutsch: *Aus den Augen, aus dem Sinn*.

⁷ Zu Deutsch (Übers.): Abwesenheit lässt das Herz Vernarrter wachsen.

⁸ Sollte das zitierte ungarische Sprichwort ein totales oder partielles Äquivalent im Deutschen haben, wird dieses in runden Klammern und in Kursivschrift angegeben. Wenn es jedoch für ein bestimmtes Proverb kein deutsches Pendant gibt, wird in den Klammern eine wörtliche Übersetzung in Normal-schrift angeführt.

⁹ Mieder weist ebenfalls darauf hin, dass „die Bedeutung von Sprichwörtern immer von der Gebrauchssituation abhängt“ und dass ein und dasselbe Sprichwort nicht nur verschiedene Bedeutungen ausdrücken kann, sondern auch „verschiedene Funktionen übernehmen kann“. Dementsprechend „gilt es“ – so Mieder – „für jedes Sprichwort im Kontext drei Aspekte zu beachten: seine Heterosituativität, seine Polyfunktionalität und seine Polysemantizität“ (Mieder 2006: 18).

¹⁰ Zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte der ungarischsprachigen Parömiographie hat Anna T. Litovkina in ihrem Wörterbuch antonyme Sprichwörterpaare verzeichnet und als solche markiert.

¹¹ Die Abkürzung CQL steht für „Contextual Query Language“. CQL ist eine formale Sprache, mit deren Hilfe Anfragen an Datenbanken und elektronische Informationssysteme konstruiert werden können.

¹² Im Rahmen dieses Beitrags werden alle Bedeutungserläuterungen in spitzen Klammern angegeben.

¹³ Für die Zwecke dieser Studie wurden die ungarische Version der *Heiligen Schrift* aus dem Jahr 1995 sowie die 1981 in Bern erschienene deutschsprachige, von Franz Eugen Schlachter übersetzte Fassung der *Bibel* konsultiert.

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Hrisztalina Hrisztova-Gotthardt
Olga utca 1.X.32.
H-7632 Pécs
Hungary
xpucuhu@gmail.com

Zoltán Gotthardt
Olga utca 1.X.32.
H-7632 Pécs
Hungary
gotty@freemail.hu

BOŻENA KOCHMAN-HAŁADYJ

CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOSITY IN AMERICAN AND POLISH PROVERBS FROM A LINGUOCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Abstract: The purpose ascribed to this paper is to compare and contrast the corpus of selected American and Polish religion-related paremias – featuring God as a constitutive element – with a view to revealing certain distinctive features in the attitude towards religiosity in two respective linguo-cultures. Hence, principally, the God-related proverbs from both languages are analysed by the use of the semantic approach and grouped in terms of the general messages they put across in order to search for common ground and specific differences. A secondary objective to be reached is an attempt at explanation of the most apparent peculiarities bearing in mind different places of proverb origin and their specific geographical, historical, social and cultural environments.

In case of religion—but not exclusively—a paremiographical collection of the proverbs of a given nation constitutes an ethnography of the people, which if systematized can provide a profound insight into people's, among others, philosophy and beliefs, moral truths and social values. Such a universally acknowledged axiom is underscored by an English philosopher Francis Bacon who said that *The genius, wit, and spirit of a nation are discovered in its proverbs* (Trench 2003, 46). The relation between language and culture is the most prominent postulate behind a contemporary scholarly discipline integrating linguistics and the study of culture called *Linguistic Culturology*.

The pilot empirical section of the paper is based on two unparalleled and invaluable paremiographical collections. The American religion-related proverbial texts including the component of 'God' are selected from *A Dictionary of American Proverbs* (1992) edited by Wolfgang Mieder, Stewart A. Kingsbury, and Kelsie B. Harder. In turn, the analytical research on Polish God-related proverbs is conducted on the basis of a fairly recent and detailed paremiographical reference compiled by Danuta and Włodzimierz Masłowski in their *Wielka Księga Przystów Polskich* 'A big book of proverbs' (2008).

Keywords: American/Polish God-related proverbs, religiosity, contrastive paremiology, Linguistic Culturology

Introduction

The paper aims at comparing and contrasting a corpus of selected American and Polish religion-related proverbs with a view to revealing certain characteristic features in the attitude towards religiosity in the two respective linguo-cultures. Hence, primarily, its pilot analysis will provide an insight into these two nations' foremost tendencies pertaining to religion (defined briefly as a set of beliefs and rituals that claim to get a person in a proper relationship with God) and spirituality (which focuses on spiritual things and the spiritual world instead of physical/earthly things), and which are reflected in the proverb corpora of the languages in question. More precisely, an attempt will be made to select the religion-oriented proverbial texts – featuring God as a constitutive element – from both languages and group them in terms of the general messages they put across in order to search for common ground and specific differences. A secondary objective to be reached will be an attempt at explanation of these peculiarities bearing in mind the different places of origin of proverbs and their distinctive geographical, historical, social and cultural environments.

At the outset it seems necessary to explain the term *religiosity* (less frequently referred to as *religiousness*) which in its general, sociological sense applies to the numerous aspects of religious activity, dedication and belief, namely religious doctrine. However, in its narrower sense, religiosity merely means how religious people are in terms of, for example accepting certain doctrines about deities and the afterlife or behaving according to established ethical standards and norms.

Furthermore, it is also important to underscore at this point that the subject of religion is one of the main factors included in the studies of paremiologists, together with other fields such as anthropology, art, communication, culture, folklore, history, literature, philology, psychology, and sociology (see Mieder 2004: XIII). In the case of religion – but not exclusively – a paremiographical collection of the proverbs of a given community or nation constitutes an ethnography of the people, which if systematized can provide profound insights into, among other things, people's philosophy and beliefs, moral truths and social values. Such a universally acknowledged axiom is accentuated by the English philosopher Francis Bacon who said that *The ge-*

nus, wit, and spirit of a nation are discovered in its proverbs (Trench 2003: 46). The apparent but complex relation between language and culture is, in turn, the foremost postulate behind a new discipline called *Linguistic Culturology*, the main assumptions and achievements of which will be briefly outlined in the later section of the paper.

The tradition of Anglo-American and Polish paremiography and paremiology

Before discussing the general contrastive aspects of the proverb semantics it seems necessary to allude to the tradition of paremiographical achievements and paremiological studies in the languages subject to the pilot empirical research.

As emphasized by Mieder (2004: 23), the impressive Anglo-American historical proverb collections may serve as the basis for scholarly English-language research on proverbs in other countries. The substantial list of paremiographical dictionaries may be opened with *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases: A Historical Dictionary* (1929 [1969, 1993]) by George Latimer Apperson and *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (1935 [1970, 3rd edition by F.P. Wilson]) by William George Smith. The works were soon followed by other invaluable and monumental works, such as Morris Palmer Tilley's *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1950) and Bartlett Jere Whiting's *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500* (1968). Then, in the 1950s Whiting's historical survey was equipped with an American component assembled by the two friends Archer Taylor and Bartlett Jere Whiting which bears the title *A Dictionary of American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases, 1820–1880* (1958). Whiting continued his research on proverbs and soon published his important volume of *Early American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (1977) and a large collection of *Modern Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings* (1989). Soon after this there appeared *A Dictionary of American Proverbs* (1992), edited by Wolfgang Mieder, Stewart A. Kingsbury, and Kelsie B. Harder, which is the first major collection of proverbs in the English language based on oral sources rather than written ones. The impressive list of paremiographical publications may be closed with Gregory Titelman's *Dictionary of Popular Proverbs*

& *Sayings* (1996) containing various historical references from the mass media of the 20th century.

Out of the quantum of English paremiological studies it seems appropriate to begin with the Archbishop of Canterbury Richard Chenevix Trench and his slim 19th century volume, *On the Lessons in Proverbs* (1861) and its later edition *Proverbs and Their Lessons* (1905). Trench is regarded as a precursor whose work on proverbs in the English-speaking world is still invaluable and most readable. The scholar's popular volume was followed by Hulme's outstanding inclusive study of the proverbs from the early part of the 20th century, titled *Proverb Lore: Being a Historical Study of the Similarities, Contrasts, Topics, Meanings, and Other Facets of Proverbs, Truisms, and Pithy Sayings, as Explained by the Peoples of Many Lands and Times* (1902). The third seminal study dedicated to international paremiology, *The Proverb* (1931), was written by an internationally-acclaimed American paremiologist of the 20th century, namely Archer Taylor. His complete overview of the rich field of paremiology in this unsurpassed treatise flourished in the United States to a remarkable degree and initiated a wide interest in the subject among such renowned linguists as Alan Dundes, Wolfram Eberhard, Stuart A. Gallacher, Richard Jente, Wayland D. Hand, John G. Kunstmann, Charles Speroni, and Bartlett Jere Whiting. Taylor's classic study on the proverb genre was, in turn, reprinted fifty years later by a contemporary prominent proverb scholar Wolfgang Mieder in his work *The Proverb and An Index to 'The Proverb'* (1985). Another excellent recent study on proverbs by Mieder, titled *Proverbs: A Handbook* (2004), emphasises the Anglo-American stock of proverbs in English-language contexts, laying out this rich field to general readers of English anywhere in the world. Mieder is also the author or editor of over fifty publications on the subject, edits the journal *Proverbium, A Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship*, has written innumerable articles on proverbs, and is exceptionally widely cited by other proverb scholars.

The history of Polish paremiography and paremiology may be seemingly not as rich as the Anglo-American one but it is justifiable to say that meticulous research and wide-ranging collections may assuredly serve as an abundant source of knowledge for contemporary Polish proverb studies. At the beginning it is

worth enumerating two names of linguists who were the first in the history of Polish literature to collect and publish proverbs, namely, the first researcher of paremias Samuel Ryciński and his *Proverbiorum polonicorum... centuriae decem et octo (Przypowieści polskie)* 'Polish proverbs' (1618) – the first collection of Polish proverbs, and the 16th century paremiologist Grzegorz Knapski who published *Thesaurus Polono-Latino-Graecus* (1632) – a valuable publication of Polish paremiology. The next scholars worth remembering are three 19th century researchers, Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki (*Przysłowia narodowe: z wyjaśnieniem źródła początku, oraz sposobu ich użycia, okazujące charakter, zwyczaje, i obyczaje, przesady, starożytności i wspomnienia ojczyste* 'National proverbs: with explanations of the source of the start, and the ways of use, demonstrating character, habits, and customs, superstitions, ancient and native memories') (1830), Oskar Kolberg (and his monumental work *Lud* 'People' (1867)) and Samuel Adalberg (*Księga przysłów, przypowieści i wyrażeń przysłowiowych*, 'The book of proverbs, parables and proverbial expressions' (1889-1894)). Polish literature of the subject can also boast of such precious paremiological and paremiographical collections of proverbs as *Przysłowia. Kartki z dziejów literatury i kultury polskiej* 'Proverbs. Postcards from the history of Polish literature and culture' (1895) by Aleksander Brückner, *Przysłowia polskie* 'Polish proverbs' (1933) by Jan Stanisław Bystron, along with *Mądrej głowie dość dwie słowie* 'A word is enough to the wise' (1958-1960) and *Nowa Księga przysłów polskich* 'The new book of Polish proverbs' (1969) by Julian Krzyżanowski. Other paremiographic collections are offered by Stanisław Świrko – *Na wszystko jest przysłowie* 'A proverb for everything' (1975) (later supplemented by Dobrosława Świerczyńska in *Przysłowia są ... na wszystko* 'Proverbs are ... for everything' (2001)), Danuta Masłowska and Włodzimierz Masłowski – *Przysłowia polskie i obce* 'Polish and foreign proverbs' (2003), Czesław Pająk and Jan Pająk – *Przysłowia wschodu oraz z innych stron świata* 'Proverbs of the East and from other corners of the world' (2003), Katarzyna Kłosińska – *Słownik przysłów, czyli przysłownik* 'Dictionary of proverbs' (2004), Dobrosława and Andrzej Świerczyński – *Słownik przysłów w ośmiu językach* 'Dictionary of proverbs in eight languages' (2004) and Czesław

Pająk – *Dictionary of Proverbs and Sayings. English-Polish. Polish-English* (2007).

Also, a number of valuable works on paremiology have been published by the renowned Polish linguist Jerzy Bralczyk, e.g. *Polak potrafi. Przysłowia, hasła i inne polskie zdania* ‘Poles can do it. Proverbs, slogans and other Polish sentences’ (2006), *Porzekadła na każdy dzień* ‘Sayings for each day’ (2008), *444 zdania polskie. Znane wypowiedzi, cytaty, powiedzenia* ‘444 Polish sentences. Famous speeches, quotes, sayings’ (2011), and by the most outstanding Polish lexicographer Władysław Kopaliński, e.g. *Koty w worku, czyli z dziejów pojęć i rzeczy* ‘Cats in the bag, or the history of notions and things’ (2006) and *Przygody słów i przysłów. Leksykon* ‘Adventures of words and proverbs. Lexicon’ (2007). A fairly recent and detailed paremiographical study is compiled by Danuta Masłowska and Włodzimierz Masłowski in their *Wielka księga przysłów polskich* ‘The big book of proverbs’ (2008) where one can find more than 5000 Polish proverbs of various philosophical schools, moral doctrines or life maxims dating from different historical periods.

Last, but not least, the contemporary proverb scholars who cannot escape our due attention are, among others, Grzegorz Szpila (*Krótko o przysłowiu* ‘Briefly about proverb’ (2003)), Sylwia Skuza (*Kobieta: matka, córka, panna, żona, teściowa, synowa i wdowa w przysłowiaach polskich i włoskich* ‘Woman: mother, daughter, bride, wife, mother-in-law and widow in Polish and Italian proverbs’ (2010); *Stereotypowy obraz kobiety w paremiach oraz frazeologii polskiej i włoskiej* ‘The stereotypical image of woman in Polish and Italian paremias and phraseology’ (2012)), Franciszek Czekierda (*Kobieta w aforyzmach, przysłowiaach i powiedzeniach* ‘Woman in aphorisms, proverbs and sayings’ (2011)), Agata Rozumko (2009, 2011) and Ewa Jędrzejko (2010).¹

Contrastive paremiology

To start with, in paremiography and paremiology the term *contrastive* is frequently applied synonymously with the *comparative* notion (see e.g. Mieder & Dundes, 1994: viii; Voigt, 2013: 363, 365, 366, 368). Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the comparative approach is concerned with comparing the proverb

corpora of, for instance, two languages to establish their historical relatedness through diachronic research with the aim of illustrating the evolution or chronological change of a proverb text or class of proverbs. In turn, the contrastive approach intends to show in what ways the two respective languages differ on a synchronic plane.

Significantly, the beginnings of the contrastive approach are inseparably related to the rise of paremiography, which refers to the millennial scholarly practice of the collection and classification of proverbs. As a consequence, it is impossible to differentiate or separate contrastive paremiology from both contrastive paremiography or contrastive lexicography, as well as contrastive phraseology, which in turn applies to the craft of bilingual or multilingual dictionary compilation in which, besides words and phrases, proverbs and sayings were also frequently embodied.

It is important to note that contrastive paremiology is a relatively recent branch of proverb study. As noticed by Petrova (2015: 247), it arises from, *the practical need and desire for developing a more reliable, scholarly, rigorous methodology that can show the areas of similarity and difference in proverb sentences in different languages.*² Here such linguistic concepts as *proverb meaning (sense), proverb synonyms, semantic equivalence, semantic variation, semantic analogy*, etc. are frequently examined among proverb scholars because adequate understanding of the meaning is crucial in their contrastive analysis. In consequence arranging, grouping and classifying proverbs into a meaningful order is of primary importance. The first to have introduced the *International Type System of Proverbs* was Matti Kuusi, where the author distinguished 13 main semantic themes under which there were 52 main classes. This gigantic cross-cultural database was later developed by his daughter Outi Lauhakangas and soon restarted as *Proverbium: International Yearbook of Proverb Scholarship* edited by Wolfgang Mieder. Regarding the single-language paremiographical collections, their texts of proverbs follow two basic classification systems and thus are arranged according to either key words or themes. Such a classification provides for dictionary users, firstly, fast and easy searching, and secondly, the possibility to conduct convenient theme-oriented analysis.

And so, in order to compare and contrast the semantics of proverbs of different languages paremiologists need to have a solid basis in the form of contrastive paremiography.³ The list of major scholarly bilingual/multilingual and Anglo-American paremiographical collections is provided by Wolfgang Mieder in his *Proverbs: A Handbook* (2004: 266-275). His more recent publication, *International Bibliography of Paremiography: Collections of Proverbs, Proverbial Expressions and Comparisons, Quotations, Graffiti, Slang, and Wellerisms* (2011), contains a special chapter entitled 'International Proverb Collections', which offers as many as 215 entries of multilingual proverb dictionaries. It is also impossible to overlook Mieder's forty-year tradition of editing *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship*, each volume of which includes articles on proverbs from around the world, reviews of books, a bibliography of recent proverb scholarship, and a list of recently (re)published proverb collections.

The register of substantial English language comparative collections is exceptionally long. Let us mention but a few, such as *The Prentice-Hall Encyclopaedia of World Proverbs* (1986) by Wolfgang Mieder, *Comparative Studies in Folklore. Asia-Europe-America* (1972) by Archer Taylor, *Racial Proverbs – A Selection of the World's Proverbs Arranged Linguistically* (1938) by Selwyn Gurney Champion and *Proverbs: A Comparative Book of English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Russian Proverbs with a Latin Appendix* (1971) by Jerzy Gluski. A more recent, innovative and extensive cross-cultural work is *Punning in Anglo-American, German, French, Russian and Hungarian Anti-proverbs* by Anna T. Litovkina, Katalin Vargha, Péter Barta and Hrisztalina Hrisztova-Gotthardt (2008).⁴

The first Polish multilingual paremiographic lexicon is offered by Dobrosława Świerczyńska and Andrzej Świerczyński – *Przysłowia w sześciu językach* 'Proverbs in six languages' (1996), later expanded with a Spanish and Italian version – *Słownik przysłów w ośmiu językach* 'Dictionary of proverbs in eight languages' (2004). Other paremiographic works from a comparative perspective that deserve to be mentioned are edited by Alina Wójcik and Ziebart Horst – *Słownik przysłów niemiecko-polski, polsko-niemiecki* 'Dictionary of proverbs: German-Polish, Polish-German' (2001), Danuta Masłowska and

Włodzimierz Masłowski – *Przysłowia polskie i obce* ‘Proverbs: Polish and foreign’ (2003), Czesław Pająk and Jan Pająk – *Przysłowia wschodu oraz z innych stron świata* ‘Proverbs from the East and other parts of the world’ (2003) and Czesław Pająk – *Dictionary of Proverbs and Sayings. English-Polish. Polish-English* (2007).

In turn, the present-day Polish paremiologists who undertake cross-cultural and contrastive multilingual and bilingual analysis of proverbs are, among others, Dobrosława Świerczyńska (*Kobieta, miłość, małżeństwo. Przysłowia różnych narodów* ‘Woman, love, marriage. Proverbs of different nations’ (1994)) and Sylwia Skuza (*Kobieta: matka, córka, panna, żona, teściowa, synowa i wdowa w przysłowiaach polskich i włoskich* ‘Woman: mother, daughter, bride, wife, mother-in-law and widow in Polish and Italian proverbs’ (2010); *Stereotypowy obraz kobiety w paremiach oraz frazeologii polskiej i włoskiej* ‘The stereotypical image of women in Polish and Italian paremias and phraseology’ (2012)). Other Polish proverb scholars who deserve our notice are, among others, Agata Rozumko (‘Cross-cultural Pragmatics as a Resource for the Paremiological Study of “National Character”: A Contrastive Study of Polish and Anglo-American proverbs’ (2009)) and Ewa Jędrzejko (‘Językowo-kulturowe obrazy płci: kobieta w literaturze i przysłowiaach polskich i angielskich’ ‘Linguistic and cultural images of gender: woman in Polish and English literature and proverbs’ (2010)).

Linguistic Culturology

The term that needs to be enhanced at this point is *Linguistic Culturology* (otherwise called *Linguoculturology*)⁵ which is a contemporary scholarly discipline integrating linguistics and the study of culture. It appeared in the first half of the 19th century with the works of German linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt and continued with its consequent appearance and development in Europe, the USA and other parts of the world. As a fully-grown interdisciplinary science it attracts the attention of many researchers from such fields as, among others, linguistic anthropology, semiotics, cultural studies, axiological linguistics and cognitive linguistics. The complex relationship between language and culture has been particularly extensively analysed in the last two decades by Russian researchers (see e.g. Vorobyov

(1997), Maslova (2001), Karasik & Slyshkin (2003), Alefirenko (2011)) and Bulgarian scholars (see e.g. Petrova (2003, 2010, 2014), Panchev (2005)) who successfully apply the Linguocultural approach for studying such linguistic units as, among others, paremias.

Importantly, in Linguistic Culturology proverbs are perceived as signs of specific ethnic and national cultures (see Petrova 2014: 144). Thus, it is maintained that the proverb system of a language reflects a certain way of life of a given culture and represents a set of values of the people speaking the language (see e.g. Kelly (2002), Trench (2003)). Nonetheless, there is no doubt that due to the higher degree of connectivity between people internationally, there is considerable exchange among the linguo-cultures which, in turn, facilitates the migration of proverbs and results in proverbs having a wide significance, and hence appearing in the proverb corpora of various languages. In other words, proverbs tend to transcend the ethnic and national boundaries so they become international proverbs with a universal meaning in many languages. Accordingly, such a *status quo* makes it possible to study proverbs for the purposes of cross-cultural comparison and contrast.

Religion in proverb collection and study

It is a truism to say that proverbs about religion, its manifestation and influence on people's faith and spirituality as well as piety and morality have naturally attracted scholarly attention. They are regarded as both international expressions of wisdom and widely recognised teachings of religious faith and proper human conduct.

The English-language collection of proverbs reflecting religious beliefs of the eleven surviving major religions of the world is gathered in the broadest comparative study, by Selwyn Gurney Champion, entitled *The Eleven Religions and their Proverbial Lore* (1945). Another work that deserves due attention is Albert Kirby Griffin's *Religious Proverbs: Over 1600 Adages from 18 Faiths Worldwide* (1991), which demonstrates that the essence of religious wisdom is widely approved. Of paramount importance is also the book *Not by Bread Alone: Proverbs of the Bible* (1990) by Wolfgang Mieder, which includes 425 biblical proverbs current in the Anglo-American language.

Turning our attention to the Polish literature of the subject, it can boast of such precious collections of proverbs as, for instance, *Panu Bogu świeczka a diabłu ogarek* 'A candle for God and a candle-stub for the Devil' (2004) by Jach and Podgórski, which relates to the issue of God, religion, faith, the devil and any derivative concepts and consequences of these terms. The Polish paremiologist that is most concerned with the topic is Sylwia Skuza, who deals with various contrastive aspects of religious proverbs in her works, such as, for instance, 'Świat wiary i zabobonu przechowywany i utrwalony w jednostkach paremiologicznych włoskich i polskich' 'The world of faith and superstition stored and fixed in Italian and Polish phraseological units' (2010) or 'Elementy magii i okultyzmu utrwalone i zachowane w języku na przykładzie przysłów i związków frazeologicznych polskich i włoskich' 'Elements of magic and occultism captured and preserved on the example of Polish and Italian proverbs and phraseological units' (2013).

Comparison and contrast of American and Polish religious proverbs

In this pilot cross-cultural analysis, the contrastive approach is applied in a broader meaning, namely there is an attempt to specify both the main similarities and differences between two sets of religion-related paremias coming from American and Polish linguo-cultures. It is to be hoped that Mieder's general plea for more *articles dealing on a crosscultural level with misogyny, stereotypes, religion, animals, etc. in proverbs* (Mieder, 2004: 81-82) will be at least partly fulfilled. Another appeal that was made by Mieder is one concerning the need for contrastive analysis of proverbs in a specific life domain, that is to say religion. In this respect let us see the author's quote (Mieder 1997: 413; 2004:145) where it is stated that *much more comparative work is needed to point out the similarities and dissimilarities of the proverbial wisdom of the various religions* and it is to be hoped that the following analysis will meet the aforementioned expectations.

Notably, in this study religious proverbs are going to be compared and contrasted with one of several new approaches to contrastive paremiology that proverb scholars have at their disposal, viz., the semantic approach.⁶ By religion-related proverbs

are understood the proverbial texts that pertain to religion both in form/vocabulary and content/meaning. In other words, the proverbs are analysed and classified on the grounds of both their explicit relation to religion, i.e. through their wording, and implicit reference to religion, namely through their semantics, i.e. by their basic thought, explanations and messages.⁷ Note that in cross-cultural studies the semantics of a proverb is also referred to as *cultureme* which, quoting after Petrova (2015:145), in linguistic culturology stands for the axiologically marked notion 'beyond' the proverb text. Another term for describing proverb semantics, i.e. *logeme*, was offered by, among others, Polinichenko (2004: 83-84) who uses it to designate the meaning not only of a single proverb text, but rather of the summarized, or generalized, basic meaning of a group of similar, thematically close proverbs.⁸

Predominantly, the starting point for the selection of religious proverbs may be the inclusion of lexical items belonging to the semantic cluster of religion, such as 'God', 'religion', 'heaven', 'hell', 'angel', 'devil', 'church', 'conscience', 'redemption', 'cross', 'sin', 'virtue', 'charity', 'love', 'repentance', etc. In this article all the American and Polish religion-related proverbs given to analysis include the component of 'God'. The motive for such a selection is merely the fact that proverbs with the element of 'God' in their wording constitute the largest group of those referring to religion in both reference sources.

The following analytical section is based on two unparalleled and invaluable paremiographical collections. The American proverbs belonging to the thematic field of religion are excerpted from *A Dictionary of American Proverbs* (1992) edited by Wolfgang Mieder, Stewart A. Kingsbury, and Kelsie B. Harder. It is the first major proverb compilation in the English language which includes more than 15,000 sayings, adages, and maxims commonly used in popular speech in the United States and Canada. Some of them are uniquely American proverbs that have never before been recorded, others are traditional sayings that have found their way into American speech from classical, biblical, British, continental European, and American literature. Moreover, it is also important to mention that the dictionary offers proverbs of universal wisdom on all aspects of American life, such as weather, agriculture, geography, travel, money,

business, food, neighbours, friends, manners, government, politics, law, health, education, religion, music, song, and dance. They are listed alphabetically according to their most significant key word. In turn, the analytical discussion of Polish religion-related proverbs is conducted on the basis of a fairly recent and detailed paremiographical reference compiled by Danuta Maślowska and Włodzimierz Maślowski in their *Wielka księga przysłów polskich* 'The big book of proverbs' (2008). In this collection one can find more than 5000 Polish proverbs of various philosophical schools, moral doctrines or life maxims dating from different historical periods. Proverbs can be searched for either by alphabetical order according to the first letter of the proverbial units or by the most significant keyword provided in an index list.

Out of more than 15,000 citation slips of proverbial texts⁹ included in *A Dictionary of American Proverbs* (1992), forty-eight (48) American proverbs including the lexeme 'God' have been chosen. *Wielka księga przysłów polskich* 'The big book of proverbs' (2008), in turn, contains thirty-five (35) proverbs (out of 5000) – derived from the wisdom of literature in the Christian tradition – in which 'God' constitutes a constituent part. Nevertheless, it needs to be emphasised that not every single God-related proverb that appears in the dictionaries is provided in the analytical part, as the primary aim of the paper is to reveal only the set of dominant logemes of proverbs pertaining to God. By way of explanation, the principal proverbial logemes are selected in such cases when at least two proverbs, that is one from the American and one from the Polish language or two proverbs from either of two languages connote the same general message, whereas proverbs that are not included in the paper are regarded as residue cases.

A general assumption is that the body of the selected and studied God-centred proverbs in both languages may be thematically – but not restrictively – grouped into two semantic categories. The first part comprises the proverbs whose summarised and generalised basic meaning centres on conveying the importance of God and faith in people's lives and all other aspects pertaining to religion and spirituality. The other thematically close God-related proverbs are the ones that serve didactic and moralising purposes, beginning from general truths or advice,

through warnings and comments on human experience, to encouragements to act and behave in certain ways.

It also needs to be added at the start that some of the analysed proverbial texts in both languages carry an obvious sense and thus do not require any explanation; in such cases only the general main proverbial concept is highlighted. Meanwhile the cases of proverbs with ambiguous or unclear semantics, and also the ones accentuating specific differences between certain American and Polish proverbs, are provided with adequate clarification of meaning. Their basic messages are inferred from information provided on the Internet and verified with the interpretations offered by native speakers of both languages. Moreover, all the Polish proverbs are equipped, by the author of the article, with a literal translation in English provided in single quotation marks in the hope that this will help the reader to come closer to their definitions.

And so, the proverbial lore of the first thematic classification of God-related proverbs – undoubtedly created to teach the religion's beliefs – is subsumed under the single logeme pertaining to **the need for trust and faith in the Creator**, as exemplified by three American proverbs: *Trust in God and do something*; *One with God is a majority*; *He who leaves God out of his reckoning does not know how to count* and two Polish proverbs: *Uczynki dobre bywają, które do Boga zmierzają* 'These deeds are good which lead to God'; *Dobra to noga, co szuka Boga* 'This leg is good which seeks God'. Importantly, the first American proverb suggests combining faith with action/being active, the second one implies the need of belonging to God in order to feel a part of the privileged majority, the third connotes an idea of staying with God for one's own benefits, whereas both discussed Polish proverbs relate faith in God with goodness/doing good.

Next, in both languages it is stressed that those who trust God will lead – on the whole – **a better and more prosperous life**, as shown in such American proverbs as *Who trusts in God builds well*; *He is poor that God hates*; *God never sends mouths, but He sends meat*. The first two proverbs seem obvious in their semantics, yet the last one requires clarification – in its literal origin it implies that God does not create children, people do, but he does send food to feed them, and its proverbial meaning sug-

gests that God creates enough food for everyone. In turn, Polish proverbs which apparently refer to the same idea, are as follows: *Wielbić Boga trzeba, to nabędziesz chleba* 'You have to worship God, then you will gain bread'; *Kto Boga w sercu nosi, ten chleba nie prosi* 'The one who's got God in their heart, does not ask for bread'; *Bóg daleko, nędza blisko* 'When God is far away, poverty is close'; *Bogu służąc nikt nie umarł z głodu* 'If you serve God, you will not die of hunger'.

Additionally, faith in God enables us to experience **eternal Godly features** such as, among others, **goodness and love** (e.g. American *All good comes to an end except the goodness of God; God is always opening his hand*; Polish *Człęk poczciwy, choć ubogi, zawsze w oczach Boga drogi* 'An honest man, though poor, is always dear to God'; *Lepszy gorzki listek od Boga niż słodki od ludzi* 'Better bitter leaf from God than sweet from people'); **care and solicitude** (e.g. American *God builds a nest for the blind bird/God makes a nest for the blind bird; God fits the back to its burden; God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb*; Polish *Bóg łaskami człowieka obdarza, ale i ofiary żąda do ołtarza* 'God is graceful to a man, but desires payment to the altar'); **impartiality** (e.g. American *God is no respecter of persons*; Polish *Bóg daje dla wilka. Bóg daje i dla Pana* 'God gives to the wolf. God gives to the man'); **justice and forgiveness** (e.g. American *God's mill grinds slowly, but it grinds exceedingly well; God aids him who changes; God grips but does not choke*; Polish *Bóg kres życia zapisuje, dobrym sporzy, złym ujmuje* 'God decides about the end of life, gives to the good, takes from the bad'; *Bóg dla grzechów zagniewany prośbą bywa ubłagany* 'God angry at sins might be appeased by requests').

Furthermore, within the framework of the first group of God-centred proverbs there are the ones which urge us to remember about **God's superhuman power and abilities**, as demonstrated by the semantics of American proverbial texts, for example, *Man proposes, God disposes; Nothing with God is accidental; The writer makes the Almanac, but God makes the weather; God heals and the doctor takes the fee; God restores health, and the physician gets the thanks* and the Polish proverbs *Bóg zasmuci, Bóg pocieszy, bo jest panem wszystkich rzeczy* 'God grieves, God comforts, because He is the master of all things'; *Bóg zaczyna i Bóg kończy, kochających serca łączy*

'God begins and God ends, loving hearts links'; *Bóg kres życia zapisuje, dobrym sporzy, złym ujmuje* 'God decides about the end of life, gives to the good, takes from the bad'.

The specific difference concerning the first analysed thematic set of proverbs that needs to be accentuated is the fact that only within the body of Polish God-directed proverbs are there ones which urge us to remember about the **constant omnipresence of God in the physical world**, as illustrated by *Bóg jest jeden, choć wiar wiele* 'There is one God but there are many faiths'; *Kto w Boga wierzy, z tym Bóg rano i przy wieczerzy* 'If you believe in God, then God is with you in the morning and at supper'.

Turning our attention to the category of didactic and moralising God-related proverbs, a number of character traits seems to be exceptionally desirable and expected in terms of religious wisdom in both linguo-cultures. The logemes which are particularly worth mentioning because of their obvious axiological qualities and pragmatical connotations can be grouped under the following headings:

1. diligence and dedication, because success comes to those who make a real effort to achieve it, as in the American proverbs: *For a web begun, God sends thread; God sends every bird its food, but he does not throw it into the nest; Pray to god but keep hammering; God helps those who help themselves; God promises a safe landing, but not a calm passage* and the Polish ones: *Bóg bez pracy nic nie daje* 'God gives nothing to those who do not work'; *Bóg na to dał ręce, aby na chleb robić, a na to dał serce, aby drugich lubić* 'God gave hands to earn one's bread, and gave heart to like others';

2. honesty, e.g. American *An honest man is the noblest work of God*; Polish *Człtek poczciwy, choć ubogi, zawsze w oczach Boga drogi* 'An honest man, though poor, is always dear to God';

3. respect and fondness towards parents, e.g. American *Parents are God's most gifted ministers*; Polish *Bóg się takim brzydzi, kto się ojca wstydzi* 'God abhors the one who is ashamed of their father';

4. goodness, for instance by helping/sharing with others, e.g. American *The most acceptable service of God is doing good to man; Look out for others and God will look out for you*; Polish

Bóg ci dał, żebyś dla drugiego miał ‘God has given you so that you have for others’; *Co ubogim damy, to u Boga mamy* ‘What we give to the poor, we give to God’;

5. non-attachment to material things, as in the Polish proverb *Bogu i mamonie służyć razem nie można* ‘You cannot serve both God and money’, but on the other hand, **God requires gratitude in the form of payment**, as in the American proverb *God loves a cheerful giver*; and Polish *Bóg łaskami człowieka obdarza, ale i ofiary żąda do ołtarza* ‘God is graceful to a man, but desires payment to the altar’. Interestingly enough, there is one American proverb which refers to money in a rather opposite meaning, and that is *Spend and God will send* which suggests that some people make money and never want to spend it – they deprive themselves and those close to them of basic needs and some necessary pleasures;

6. piety and obedience to God, e.g. American *Work as if everything depended on you; pray as if everything depended on God*; Polish *Błogostawiony człowiek, który sie Pana Boga boi* ‘Blessed is the man who fears the Lord’.

It is also worth noting that within the thematic group of proverbs carrying an instructive function – but simultaneously acting as a reminder of God’s presence – there are also ones in which **the element of God is arranged by contrast with the component of the Devil**. Some of the paremias serve as a piece of advice or warning, for example the American *God sends meat, and the devil sends cooks*; and Polish *Bogu służ, a diabła nie gniewaj* ‘Serve God but do not make the Devil angry’; *Boga chwalc, diabłu sie nie kłaniaj* ‘Praise God, do not bow to the Devil’; *Bogu świeczka, a diabłu ogarek* ‘Candle to God and candle-end to the Devil’ (used in the sense that a cautious person should be insured from all sides). Others, found in both language systems, merely provide an evident comment on the opposing concepts of God and Devil, for instance, American *Where God has a church, the devil has a chapel; God made the cities, but the devil himself made the small towns* (used to mean that divine nature gave us the fields, human art built the cities); *God sends meat, and the devil sends cooks* (applied in the sense that good food may be ruined by bad cooks, as faith may be ruined by devil’s tricks) and Polish *Bóg daje szczodremu, a diabeł skąpemu* ‘God gives to the generous and the Devil to the tight-fisted’;

Pierwsza żona od Boga, druga od ludzi, trzecia od diabła ‘The first wife from God, the second from the people, the third from the Devil’. The moralising power of proverbs which relate to the God-Devil concept may also be visualised by the semantics of, for example, the Polish proverb *Kto się w starej babie kocha, ten dwa razy grzeszy: Pana Boga obraża i diabła cieszy* ‘The one who falls in love with an old woman, sins twice: offends God and pleases the Devil’, which aims to provide a critical remark towards somebody’s inappropriate actions.

Finally, but certainly not of lesser importance, there are proverbs which may serve as both comments on improper human behaviour and pieces of advice suggested for consideration, as in, for example, the American proverb *God puts food into clean hands*, suggesting that moral and decent life brings benefits and the Polish proverb *Boga na języku, diabła w sercu mają* ‘They often talk about God but have the Devil in their hearts’, used to apply to people who are insincere and mendacious. In turn, the implication of, for instance, the American proverb *The nearer the church, the farther from God* and its Polish analogical proverb *Im bliżej kościoła, tym dalej od Boga* may either refer to those who are most engaged in any religious system, that is its organizers and high priests, who are in danger of separating themselves from God, or might be regarded as a warning about placing too much significance on material buildings, and a reminder that God is everywhere.

Conclusion

In the view of many folklorists, linguists and proverb scholars, proverbs are a literary genre which best preserves and depicts the characteristic features of a given nation. Accordingly, the purpose ascribed to the present study was to provide some initial findings – concerning the aforementioned relation between proverbs and culture – which would contribute to a better understanding of some of the characteristics of American and Polish religiosity. And a general conclusion that may be drawn from the analysed religion-related proverb corpora in the two language systems is that both nations are characterized by a strong relation between man and God, which in turn manifests a high attachment to religion, along with its philosophical and educational wisdom. Interestingly, religious feelings and the world

of faith reflected in paremiology show that in spite of the different places of origin of the individual proverbs, and also specific differences in terms of historical, social and cultural environments, both Americans and Poles tend to be comparatively deeply religious. To a great degree, such a *status quo* in the languages in question appears to act as a mirror of the past and present tendencies pertaining to religion in both countries.

As far as the United States is concerned, from the early colonial days, when some English and German settlers came in search of religious freedom, America has been profoundly influenced by religion. This influence continues in American culture, social life, and politics, which is why nowadays the majority of Americans report that religion plays a very important role in their lives, to a degree that is unique among developed countries. As reported by the *Pew Research Center* in 2014, 70.6% of the American population identify themselves as Christians, with 46.5% professing attendance at a variety of churches that could be considered Protestant, and 20.8% professing Roman Catholic beliefs.¹⁰

In Poland in past centuries, when the country was still a kingdom, the Polish gentry had the motto: “God, honour, fatherland”, where God always had the leading position as religion is said to have been a significant element of Polish consciousness and identity. At present the percentage of the population adhering to Christianity is even higher than in the US. The largest grouping is the Roman Catholic Church – with 87.5% of Poles in 2011 identifying as Roman Catholic (census conducted by the *Central Statistics Office (GUS)*).¹¹

Even a cursory glance at a structured set of American and Polish paremiographical collections pertaining to religion leads us to discover that the category of proverbs with the lexeme ‘God’ in their wording is the most numerous in both languages. Also, a peculiar observation that may be suggested is the fact that in both linguo-cultures there are proverbs which may be subsumed under a single logeme of a profound trust in God, who is the source of true happiness, prosperity and sense of life (e.g. American *Who trusts in God builds well*; Polish *Kto Boga w sercu nosi, ten chleba nie prosi* ‘The one who’s got God in their heart, does not ask for bread’). The opposing force to God is the image of the devil, that in many proverbs is presented as the one

who uses every means and trick to seduce a poor Christian (e.g. American *God sends meat, and the devil sends cooks*; Polish *Kto się w starej babie kocha, ten dwa razy grzeszy: Pana Boga obraża i diabła cieszy* 'The one who falls in love with an old woman, sins twice: offends God and pleases the Devil').

Furthermore, a contrastive linguo-cultural approach towards God-related proverbs shows other large areas of similarity between the two proverb corpora. Specifically, many of the proverbial texts in both languages address the same generalized themes in an identical or closely related meaning. For instance, the function of both American and Polish God-related proverbs is, firstly, to preserve traditional aspects of religion and, secondly, to enforce desirable human conduct. Thus, some of them highlight the logeme of the importance of faith in God (e.g. American *One with God is a majority*; Polish *Dobra to noga, co szuka Boga* 'This leg is good which seeks God') and others remind about basic desirable human values in life (e.g. respect and fondness towards parents, as in the American *Parents are God's most gifted ministers*; Polish *Bóg się takim brzydzi, kto się ojca wstydzi* 'God abhors the one who is ashamed of their father').

Needless to say there are also certain specific differences in the messages of the individual God-related American and Polish proverbs, highlighting peculiar features of the peoples they represent and thus making each linguo-culture unique. For instance, in American God-related proverbs the special emphasis is put on combining faith with being active (e.g. *Trust in God and do something*) whereas in Polish paremias the stress is put on relating faith in God with goodness (e.g. *Uczynki dobre bywają, które do Boga zmierzają* 'These deeds are good which seek God'). The explanation that may be suggested for such a discrepancy could be the fact that the United States can clearly be seen as an individualistic country where people, regardless of their status can 'pull themselves up by their boot straps' and raise themselves from poverty – through the aforementioned action. In Poland, in turn, Christianity is, to a great extent, measured by living one's life in accordance with the divine law, i.e. the Ten Commandments, and thus much weight is put on one of the most significant human life values, namely the quality of being good. Another observation that may be formulated to differentiate both paremiological linguo-cultures concerns the fact that only the

Polish dictionary includes proverbs applied with reference to God and women (*Pierwsza żona od Boga, druga od ludzi, trzecia od diabła* 'The first wife from God, the second from the people, the third from the Devil'; *Kto się w starej babie kocha, ten dwa razy grzeszy: Pana Boga obraża i diabła cieszy* 'The one who falls in love with an old woman, sins twice: offends God and pleases the Devil'; *Dobra żona perła droga, dana od samego Boga* 'A good wife is a precious pearl, given from God'). As the given proverbial messages may imply a stereotypically unfavourable perception of women, some would venture to say that such proverbial injustice prevails in Poland, confirming that the proverbs were mostly coined by men/or male dominated societies and experiences. The United States, in turn, is undoubtedly one of the countries in which significant advancements towards gender equality have been made much earlier, which is immediately reflected and stored in the paremiographical sources.

A final remark that stems from the foregoing discussion concerns the fact that some of the proverbs in both languages allow for different interpretations depending on the situation, people and context, and thus could fit more than one proverbial logeme. In order to illustrate the point, let us take a look at the American proverb *God sends meat, and the devil sends cooks* which might be classified under the group of proverbs with a general comment on the opposing concepts of God and Devil or serve as a warning applied in the sense that good food may be ruined by bad cooks in the same way that faith may be spoiled by Devil's tricks.

All in all, the compared American and Polish proverbial units are sound evidence of the various popular trends concerning religion that have existed in the mentality of both linguo-cultures. Nevertheless, in order to provide a more comprehensive cross-cultural picture of religiosity encoded in both proverb corpora a more thorough and detailed analysis of all lexical items belonging to the semantic cluster of religion would be necessary. This is yet the subject for another, more ambitious project in the form of an extensive book-length monograph.

Notes

¹ A more detailed history of Polish paremiographical and paremiological research is provided in, among others, Skuza (2012) and Jarząbek (2012).

² The theoretical foundations of comparative and contrastive proverb studies have been discussed by Grzybek (1998) in his article *Komparative und interkulturelle Parömiologie: Methodologische Bemerkungen und empirische Befunde* 'Comparative and intercultural paremiology: methodological remarks and empirical findings'.

³ The pioneering work in the field of contrastive paremiography was done by a world-famous Russian paremiologist Grigorii L. Permyakov in the study *Proverbs and sayings of the peoples in the East: a systematic collection of proverbial sentences of 200 peoples* (1978).

⁴ A substantial list of studies which deal with contrastive aspects of proverbs in different languages is provided by Petrova (2015: 251-254).

⁵ Note that the notion *Linguistic Culturology* (or *Linguoculturology*) came to be regarded as a working alternative to such other collocations as 'linguistic anthropology', 'cultural studies' and 'cultural linguistics'.

⁶ Another research method of contrastive paremiology that could be adopted within the linguocultural approach is the culturematic method. For a description of the analysis, its research tools and application of the method within Anglo-American proverbs that belong to the thematic field "happiness", see Petrova (in press).

⁷ A painstakingly rigorous and logically consistent analysis of modern American religion-related proverbs is offered by Petrova (2014) where the author studies the structure of the proverb meaning proper in terms of linguistic culturology: an indivisible unity of the proverb definition, cultureme, and message.

⁸ As one can read in Petrova (2015: 254-255) there are many other terms that may be used for a common thought or idea contained in a single proverb, a group of proverb synonyms in the same language or in proverb equivalents in different languages and they are: *concept, thought, basic idea, denotational (direct, literal) meaning, figurative meaning*, and the *sense* of a proverb.

⁹ Note that by proverbial texts included in *A Dictionary of American Proverbs* (1992) are understood not only proverbs (the number of them equals 15,000) but also proverbial expressions, proverbial comparisons, superstitions, weather signs and wellerisms.

¹⁰ See <http://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/>

¹¹ See <http://downloads.hindawi.com/journals/joph/2015/605814.pdf>

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Bożena Kochman-Haładaj
The University of Rzeszów
The Institute of English Studies
Al. mjr. W. Kopisto 2
35-315 Rzeszów
Poland
E-mail: bhaladyj@op.pl

ANNA KONSTANTINOVA

COGNITIVE-DISCURSIVE FUNCTIONS OF ANGLO-AMERICAN PROVERBS

Abstract: This article explores the role Anglo-American paremias (or proverbs), both standard and modified, play in the processes of cognition and communication. I argue that their cognitive nature as precedent utterances accounts for their ubiquity and their significant conceptual power. Indisputably, paremias possess certain rhetorical value but this “artful” dimension of the use of proverbs is not going to be my main concern here. In addition to being efficient rhetorical means, they serve to structure discourse and convey information. I propose a list of cognitive-discursive functions these formulaic phrases fulfil in discourse, and exemplify each with one or more instances of their use. The primary data include the discourse of public speaking – excerpts from Nobel Prize acceptance speeches, commencement addresses, and presidential political rhetoric (Clinton and Obama) – as well as media discourse (excerpts from an American TV series and print interviews).

Keywords: paremia (proverb), cognition, discourse, cognitive-discursive function, cognitive base, precedent utterance

Cognitive characteristics of proverbs

Proverbs are unique formulae which seek to represent reality by capturing a certain situation, while serving as ready-made tools for representing analogical situations. They describe and interpret the surrounding world, and at the same time help convey attitudes and evaluations. Their appearance in discourse indicates the speaker’s goals and intentions. They are consequently endowed with considerable conceptual power.

Cognitive psychologists and discourse scholars stress the importance of background knowledge, or ‘cognitive base’, as it is called in Russian linguistics, in the perception and processing of information (Bartlett 1932; Neisser 1976; van Dijk & Kintsch 1978). Paremias are indispensable elements of this complex of knowledge, ideas, conceptions and beliefs shared

by the members of a given lingua-cultural community. They belong in the realm of precedent phenomena¹, i.e. texts, utterances, proper names, or situations that an average representative of a culture and language will easily recognize. They are also characterized by recurrent use in discourse and considerable cognitive and emotional value for the speakers. The cognitive base dictates the choice of linguistic means that are employed to structure and fill discourse. Thus the use of proverbs is cognitively predetermined. Like any other language unit, the paremia is a sign existing within a given semiotic system (the paremic system of a language). Proverbs represent in the human mind some generalized situation that is of value to the speakers of a language for certain cognitive and psychological reasons. In discourse one and the same paremia can be applied to a myriad of situations by analogy.

My previous research into the use of Anglo-American proverbs and proverbial expressions in various types of discourse within the broader fields of media discourse and public speaking attests to their ubiquity² (Konstantinova 2007; 2012; 2014). They can be called a universal linguistic means as they are applied in different types of English language discourse, albeit with varying frequency. Thus, the hypothesis behind the study is the suggestion that paremias are ready-made means for storing, processing, retrieving, and structuring information in discourse.

Cognitive-discursive functions of proverbs: general remarks

The aforementioned research has allowed me to distinguish the cognitive functions these language units fulfil in written and spoken communication. As I will show, on the one hand, they serve as its constructive elements; on the other, they help its interpretation. I should, however, make the caveat that the suggested division is not absolute, and the functions are not mutually impenetrable. As my analysis reveals, it is often the case that one of these functions is not fulfilled in discourse *per se*, i.e. in isolation from some other functions. But for the purposes of interpretation a certain function is distinguished as the leading one in any particular instance of discursive use. In this regard, of special interest are contexts marked by the convergence of cognitive-discursive functions fulfilled by one and the

same paremia, and such examples will be discussed further below.

Cognitive-discursive functions of Anglo-American proverbs

Discourse interpretation. In order to extract knowledge from a text and interpret its contents one needs to apply cognitive mechanisms of processing the linguistic data. These mechanisms are based on the knowledge of a certain language, the world, and also on the conventions of correlating linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge. As precedent utterances that most members of a lingua-cultural community are familiar with, proverbs serve as cues for discourse explication/ interpretation, and, thus facilitate its processing, understanding, remembering, and recalling. From this arise more specific functions.

The function of semantic highlighting. Considerable research has shown that precedent phenomena (Gudkov 2003; Krasnykh 2003; Zakharenko et al. 1997) bear authority in them. Being precedent utterances, proverbs serve as well-remembered and easily reproduced cues for generating information, and can be efficiently used to foreground the most important pieces of information in discourse. We can see this, for example, in the excerpt from the commencement address by the American actor Alan Alda, whose daughter was one of the Connecticut College graduates in 1980. His speech is composed in a peculiar way: the actor addresses the audience under the fiction of an address to his child. As Alda points out, he feels the urge to pass on the most fundamental things to his treasured girl:

I want to tell you things that will see you through. I have this helpless urge to pass on maxims to you. But we live in new times. Strange times. Even the Golden Rule doesn't seem adequate to pass on to a daughter. There should be something added to it. You know how I love amendments. You knew I wanted to amend the Constitution, but you probably didn't know I wanted to amend the Golden Rule as well. Here's my Golden Rule for a tarnished age: Be fair with others but then keep after them until they're fair with you (Alda 1980).

In this excerpt, the speaker creates the anti-proverb 'Be fair with others but then keep after them until they're fair with you' on the basis of the traditional Bible proverb 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you' (Matthew 7:12). As W. Mieder and A. Litovkina show, the proverb known as the Golden Rule often undergoes modifications (1999: 66-68). This fact can be accounted for by the changes in moral principles and values dominating in the contemporary society. Alda explains the necessity of the addition he makes to the proverbial wisdom by the dictates of the times: 'But we live in new times. Strange times. Even the Golden Rule doesn't seem adequate to pass on to a daughter. There should be something added to it.' Thus, this important lesson for his daughter, representing the whole audience of young people who are just starting grown-up life in this 'tarnished age', is expressed through the anti-proverb that fulfils in this case the function of semantic highlighting.

The function of emotional highlighting. Some acts of interpretation of incoming information are accompanied by the process of emotional assessment, i.e. its evaluation in terms of 'bad' and 'good'. As precedent utterances, paremias have emotional value for the people who share the same culture and language. They express an attitude towards some (or rather, an infinite number of) analogical situations and, thus they help accentuate emotional spots in discourse. Let us look at the way the proverb 'Blood is thicker than water' performs this function in the Nobel acceptance speech by the South African social rights activist Desmond Tutu for his outstanding role in the struggle against apartheid. Whilst dwelling upon the issue of the discrimination existing in his country at that time, Tutu bitterly condemns the fact that the ruling whites treat the blacks as 'expedient material':

In parenthesis, can somebody please explain to me something that has puzzled me. When a priest goes missing and is subsequently found dead, the media in the West carry his story in very extensive coverage. ... But in the self-same week when this priest is found dead, the South African Police kill 24 blacks who had been participating in the protest, and 6,000 blacks are sacked for being similarly involved, and you are lucky

to get that much coverage. Are we being told something I do not want to believe, that we blacks are expendable and that blood is thicker than water, that when it comes to the crunch, you cannot trust whites, that they will club together against us? I don't want to believe that is the message being conveyed to us (Tutu 1984).

The aforementioned proverb 'Blood is thicker than water' helps Tutu to figuratively depict and at the same time condemn the behavior of the white population in his native South Africa. This behavior, and the evident facts of racism, are deemed by the speaker to be an attempt by the ruling white minority to prove their superiority over the native people for, as the proverb suggests, tight bonds exist between relatives, and in this speech the whole race is presented as a family. Thus, applying the well-known family proverb to the racist context enables the Nobel Prize winner to articulate with strongly felt emotion his negative stand on the dreadful events. Tutu's Nobel lecture is without doubt already emotional due to the theme he discusses and the terrifying examples he gives. He employs several more proverbs further in his speech, and, as my analysis shows, they mark its most emotional moments. They serve as a means of condemnation and express his negative attitude to both the racial segregation policy in South Africa and war and violence in the whole world.

Sometimes paremias are used along with other formulaic expressions or phraseological units that add to their cognitive-discursive value and help create phraseologically saturated contexts³. In such cases paremias and/or other phraseologisms typically serve to enhance emotionality. Here is one such example of clustering several proverbs and metaphorical expressions in a short piece of text – Oprah Winfrey's interview with Bill Clinton, in which, among other things, they discuss the scandal which emerged from his sexual involvement with Monica Lewinsky and which resulted in his undergoing impeachment by the US House of Representatives in 1998. Of special interest is the way proverbs function in the following extract:

Oprah: What was the major lesson you took from the crisis?

Clinton: You know what the Greeks said: 'Those whom the gods would destroy they first make angry.' In November 1995, I was mad. Workaholics like me get so involved in their work. But there is a point beyond which – and I don't care how good you are or how much stamina you have – no one can go without losing his or her fundamental sense of what ought to be done. It was a very difficult period for me. At the time, I was engaged in a great public war with the Republican Congress over the future of the country, and a private war with my old demons. I won the public fight and lost the private one.

You just have to deal with that stuff and go on. It's not the end of the world. ... I'm no different from anybody else. An old Irish proverb says that even if the best man's faults were written on his forehead, he would put his cap over his face in shame. Once I got that, it was liberating. Some people think, 'Gosh, if I got humiliated like that in front of billions, I'd want to stick my head in an oven.' I didn't feel that way. I felt, This is great – I have nothing more to hide. ... I don't have to pretend anymore (Winfrey 2004).

As we see, the former US president employs two ancient proverbs in his reply 'Those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad' and 'If the best man's faults were written on his forehead, he would put his cap over his face in shame', both of which fulfil the function of semantic highlighting in discourse. They are used to designate the two crucial phases of the scandalous situation which occurred. The first encapsulates Clinton's psychological state which, according to what the proverb conveys, had been a signal before the crisis broke out. The second marks its critical point and the break-through moment. It is worth noting, that in both cases the interviewee resorts to introductory formulae 'you know what the Greeks said,-' and 'an old Irish proverb says,-', which point out to the origin of the paremias and manifest the speaker's erudition. In their own turn, these introductory phrases contribute to the semantic foregrounding of the proverbially expressed ideas that follow. In Clinton's answer we also observe a phraseologically saturated

context, for he uses several metaphorical expressions along with the proverbs. The figurativeness of his speech makes explicit his deep psychological involvement during these two phases of the crisis. The phrase ‘war with my old demons’ (cf. ‘to fight one’s demons’) conveys his depression and emotional tension before the scandal. The phrases ‘it’s not the end of the world’ and ‘stick my head in the oven. I didn’t feel that way’ signify psychological freedom, admitting his faux pas, and the realization of the belief that the truth does set you free.

Summarizing function. Research on story comprehension has revealed ‘that processing load is the greatest at the beginning and the end of a story episode’ (Honeck, 1997: 118). Beginnings are typically ambiguous because the reader lacks information, and endings require summarizing. As Honeck points out, ‘proverbs can be beneficial for both’ (ibid). Proverbs express a general observation. They, therefore, can be an excellent means of presenting the epitome of the whole text or its constituent parts. In his study, W. Kintsch shows that ‘summaries can be as valuable and sometimes more valuable than the material they summarize by reducing information load, making important pieces of information salient, allowing easier connections between these pieces ‘...’ (Kintsch 1988, quoted in Honeck 1997: 119). My research reveals that paremias can be effectively used to summarize the whole text as well as its parts.

In his remarks at the commencement ceremony for a local high school in 2010, for instance, President Barack Obama uses the modified popular proverb ‘Hitch your wagon to a star’ as the summary of his thoughts:

Don’t just hang out with people who look like you, or go to the same church you do, or share your political views. Broaden your circle to include people with different backgrounds and life experiences. Because that’s how you’ll end up learning what it’s like to walk in somebody else’s shoes. That’s how you’ll come to understand the challenges other people face.

And this is not just an academic exercise. It’s a way to broaden your ambit of concern and learn to see yourselves in each other.

Which brings me to my final piece of advice for today, and that's to give back, to be part of something bigger than yourselves. Hitch your wagon to something that is bigger than yourselves (Obama 2010).

In the speech, the 44th US president dwells on the problem of tolerance and mutual understanding, which he deems to be the guarantee of the successful co-existence of people. According to Obama, empathy and the ability to see the world through other people's eyes are the character traits necessary to a young person entering grown-up life. Obama modifies the traditional proverb: by changing the lexeme 'star' for the word combination 'something that is bigger than yourselves', he points to the 'height' his young audience should aim for. The use of the proverb in the final position of a part in the commencement address enables the speaker to sum up his thoughts and succinctly express his message.

The function of structural organization. My research suggests that the position of a paremia in discourse is significant. Proverbs build schemes for organizing, remembering, and comprehending information in discourse. Therefore, they are elements of its structural organization. Other studies also stress the significance of proverbs as 'conceptual pegs' that structure existing information and integrate new information (Matlin 1994, quoted in Honeck, 1997: 119).

To illustrate this point let us consider the role proverbs play in an episode of the medical drama *Grey's Anatomy*, 'If Tomorrow Never Comes' (season 1, episode 6), wherein proverbs feature in all important elements of the discourse structure: the title, the opening and closing voice-over narration. The given episode sets a record in the number of proverbs used (six in total). The popular dictum 'Tomorrow never comes' introduces its theme. Without knowing the plot, one may guess it is devoted to the problem of the habit of procrastinating or indecisiveness standing in the way of making decisions and well-timed actions. Moreover, the proverb being used in the conditional clause makes the viewers consider whether it is right to postpone things, for tomorrow may never come.

In the opening voice-over narration the main female character Dr. Meredith Grey shares with the audience a somewhat different view of the problem already stated in the episode title:

A couple hundred years ago Benjamin Franklin shared with the world the secret of his success. Never leave that 'til tomorrow, which you can do today. This is the man who discovered electricity; you'd think we'd pay more attention to what he had to say. I don't know why we put things off, but if I had to guess it has a lot to do with fear. Fear of failure, fear of pain, fear of rejection. Sometimes the fear of just making a decision ...

By applying a synonymous proverb 'Never leave that 'til tomorrow, which you can do today' in the voice-over narration, Meredith Grey links human indecisiveness to the fear of taking a wrong step and making mistakes. The plot of the episode centers on a unique medical case. A female patient, who was afraid to consult doctors for a long time, is admitted to Seattle Grace hospital. As a result, she has a giant growth on her body, and her chances of survival are slim to none.

Another relevant plot line is the continuing love relationship between the two main characters Meredith Grey and Derek Shepherd. Their careers seem to be in jeopardy when Seattle Grace resident Miranda Bailey learns about their romance. Grey is Dr. Bailey's surgical intern, and the mentor watches the couple closely as she looks down on romantic links between a high-ranking doctor and an intern who has just started her medical career. Meredith, in her turn, is doubtful about the new relationship and the special treatment she gets from Dr. Shepherd.

In the same episode Meredith's co-interns face situations requiring prompt decisions and quick actions. The lessons to be deduced from the events are formulated in the closing voice-over narration with the help of a chain of popular proverbs:

'The early bird catches the worm.' 'A stitch in time saves nine.' 'He who hesitates is lost.' We can't pretend we haven't been told. We've all heard the proverbs, heard the philosophers, heard our grandparents warning us about wasted time; heard the damn poets

urging us to seize the day. Still, sometimes we have to see for ourselves. We have to make our own mistakes. We have to learn our own lessons. We have to sweep today's possibility under tomorrow's rug until we can't anymore. Until we finally understand for ourselves what Benjamin Franklin meant. That knowing is better than wondering. That waking is better than sleeping. And that even the biggest failure, even the worst most intractable mistake, beats the hell out of not trying ('If Tomorrow Never Comes,' *Grey's Anatomy*, 2005).

The proverb 'The early bird catches the worm' refers to intern Alex Karev, who is doing his best to deliver blood for the female patient with the tumor, but eventually fails. For her tomorrow will not come, as she dies in the operating room. The proverbs 'A stitch in time saves nine' and 'He who hesitates is lost' sum up the events that happen to Izzie Stevens. The inexperienced intern remains alone with a post-op patient who suddenly collapses, and she has to perform a series of complex manipulations on the open heart. Izzie's boldness and timely actions help her save the patient's life. The phrase 'wasted time' singled out from the proverb 'Time wasted is time lost' and the Latin proverb 'Seize the day' complete this proverb chain. The modified idiomatic expression 'to sweep today's possibility under tomorrow's rug' (cf. 'to sweep something under rug'), that in its turn deals with the habit of putting things off till tomorrow, adds to the phraseologically saturated context effect.

It appears logical that the writers used multiple synonymous proverbs in the context cited. They are introduced as widely known authoritative sources of prudent behavior. All the expressions stress the importance of time by warning that if you don't hasten, you can fail as you will inevitably run out of time. In the closing voice-over narration, Meredith Grey offers a different interpretation of the folk wisdom that focuses on the significance of personal experience. The realization that she shouldn't be afraid to act, because one learns through action, compels Meredith to continue her romance with Derek against all odds. Thus, when used in strong positions, like the title, the beginning, and the end of the narration, these numerous prov-

erbs organize the structure of the episode, and also contribute to interpreting the plot and deducing its moral.

Of special interest is the following example of functional convergence in which a proverb fulfils the function of structural organization along with two other functions. Russell Baker, an American author and newspaper columnist, opens the commencement address he gave at Connecticut College in 1995 with an element of the popular modern proverb 'There is no /such thing as a/ free lunch' which helps him to immediately establish contact with the young audience and create an informal atmosphere for communication:

The authorities of Connecticut College have suggested that for me to speak longer than 20 minutes would be regarded as cruel and inhuman punishment and that if I go as long as 30 minutes several strong men will mount this platform and forcibly remove me. But if I can finish in 15 minutes – 15 minutes! – they will let me stay for lunch. They know their man, ladies and gentleman. When I smell a free lunch, I go for it.

The length of the commencement address is a crucial problem on this remarkable day, so most speakers routinely promise to be short. Best known for his satirical and humorous works, Baker chooses to deal jokingly with the speech-length issue by applying the paremic image 'a free lunch' ('When I smell a free lunch, I go for it'). According to the guest speaker, only such an extremely rare stroke of luck as a free meal can make him squeeze all the wisdom he plans to pass on to the young generation into a quarter of an hour. Thus the element 'There is no such thing as' is withheld from the listeners at the beginning of the address. Baker, however, resorts to the paremia under discussion at the very end of his address. The writer manages to keep his speech brief mainly due to its special structuring. He offers a list of ten succinctly formulated recommendations, adding in his humorous manner lesson № 9.5. Another important lesson he leaves unnumbered:

Now it seems I have run past the 15-minute limit and will have to buy my own lunch. That's life Class of 1995. No free lunch.

My sermon is done (Baker 1995).

When closing his speech, Baker returns to the topic of the ‘free lunch’ he raised at the very beginning. Regardless of the fact that the truncated proverb ‘No free lunch’ is again humorously presented in the context, it still embodies one of the main social laws: you have to pay for everything, *c’est la vie*. Thus, being applied both at the beginning and the end of the commencement address, the proverb fulfils the function of structural organization of discourse, as it frames the speech making its composition complete. It also fulfils the phatic function⁶ as it helps to establish contact with the young listeners, and the function of semantic highlighting as it encapsulates significant information.

Euphemistic function. The approach employed in my study calls for the analysis of the role language phenomena play both in **cognition and discourse**. These phenomena are tightly connected with knowledge, opinions, attitudes, assessment, and stereotypes. Therefore, to fully understand cognitive and discursive processes one has to take into account socio-cultural and psychological (and, consequently, emotional) factors. The figurativeness of proverbs (semantic ambiguity) helps the speaker to avoid improper, offensive, or indecent words and phrases. I have called this function the ‘euphemistic function’. The term is somewhat restricted, since proverbs are not neutral language, which euphemisms normally require. What, then, I mean by ‘euphemistic’ in this context is the capacity of these linguistic units, as demonstrated by my analysis, to help prevent communicative conflicts, and dissimulate or encode true meaning. Let us look at one such example.

During his 2008 presidential campaign, Barack Obama used proverbs—both traditional and modified—on numerous occasions to characterize the philosophy of the White House. It was his strong belief that years of selfishness, greed, and irresponsibility by the current administration had led the country to the economic crisis:

If the financial markets collapse, and loans are not available, businesses, large and small, will follow. It’s your jobs, your savings, your ability to pursue your

dreams for your children that are at risk. That's why we have to act. That's why we have to set aside the politics of the moment and exercise something we haven't seen in Washington lately – responsibility.

Now, let me be perfectly clear. The fact that we are in this mess is an outrage. It's an outrage because we did not get here by accident. This was not a normal part of the business cycle. This did not happen because of a few bad apples.

This financial crisis is a direct result of the greed and irresponsibility that has dominated Washington and Wall Street for years (Obama 2008).

In the speech cited, Barack Obama employs the now popular idiom 'a few bad apples' originating from the traditional proverb 'One bad apple spoils the lot.' Along with the phrase there exists a pseudo-proverb⁶ 'There are always going to be a few bad apples' offering a certain excuse for the corruption, failure, or misconduct one can encounter in an organization or institution. The use of the metaphorical expression, pertaining to the well-known proverbial image, enables the politician aspiring to the presidency to sound maximally correct while adding expressivity to his speech. In the given context the phrase fulfils the euphemistic function.

The function of cognitive economy. In his study of the language-mind-proverbs triad Honeck referred to the last as 'miniature theories,' while stressing their ability to 'summarize, integrate, and economically code a large number of superficially distinct events' (1997: 103). Being succinct linguistic forms, paremias serve as compact markers of a situation that possess considerable cognitive power, and thus facilitate the processing of the transmitted information. For instance, in the feature interview with the well-known American TV host Phil Donahue made by Oprah Winfrey for *O, The Oprah Magazine* one finds an anti-proverb derived from the traditional dictum 'A man's home is his castle':

Oprah: The bottom line is that we need you, Phil, because we need to be challenged by the voice of dissent. What do your children think of your return?

Phil: They're surprised. But they've also said, 'Go get 'em, Pop'. I'm not 29 anymore, my wife isn't pregnant, I'm not trying to raise kids, I don't have a mortgage – so it takes less courage for me to speak up. Maybe I'll get to talk about things like why this administration is so secretive. Whatever the framers meant, this wasn't it. I'm an American, just like you, and I am impressed with the Bill of Rights. I believe a woman's home should be her castle ... People can yell at me, they can criticize me, they can call me names. But there's one thing they can't do: They can't take away my flag (Winfrey 2002).

When discussing his upcoming return to TV with a new talk show, Phil Donahue mentions the topics he is planning to devote his program to. He formulates each in a separate sentence, but for the topic of women's rights he chooses to use a proverb, which makes it stand out from the rest. The standard proverb 'A(n) (English)man's home is his castle'⁴ has been for a long time a legal maxim of the Common Law established by the English lawyer Sir Edward Coke in the 17th century. The substitution of the lexeme 'man' by the lexeme 'woman' and the addition of the modal verb 'should' enables the interviewee to speak out his belief in the necessity of equal rights for women and men. This folklore 'miniature theory' fulfils the function of cognitive economy, helping Donahue to succinctly formulate his vision of the complex problem.

Another relevant example of this function is the group of proverbs encapsulating universal truths and the principles shared by the major religions (All people are created equal; Do unto others as you would have them do unto you; Love thy neighbor as thyself). While studying the performance of proverbs in Nobel Acceptance Speeches (specifically by the Peace Prize Laureates), I distinguished a number of speeches featuring these maxims, in which they fulfil the function of cognitive economy. In their heartfelt speeches, the orators dwell on the common topic of tolerance for other lifestyles, cultures, and

beliefs that is supported by the three dictums cited above. Being popular and widely used phrases as they are, these proverbs still preserve their meaningfulness and relevance. So when used in discourse, these ‘miniature theories’ do not require additional linguistic means for their substantiation, as they already have a broad socio-cultural background behind them:

And most dangerously, we see it in the way that religion is used to justify the murder of innocents by those who have distorted and defiled the great religion of Islam, and who attacked my country from Afghanistan. ... Such a warped view of religion is not just incompatible with the concept of peace, but I believe it’s incompatible with the very purpose of faith – for the one rule that lies at the heart of every major religion is that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us (Obama 2009).

Phatic function. My analysis shows that proverbs can be an effective marker of the speaker’s attention being fully directed to his interlocutor/listener in order to establish or maintain contact. Using proverbs can also indicate a certain reaction to the information obtained from discourse. At the same time, these elements of the cognitive base serve as markers of sociality or belonging to a particular culture. This specific function is typical of discourses where communicators are engaged in direct interaction. With this in mind, I shall offer the following illustrative example.

In 1998, the First Minister of Northern Ireland David Trimble received the Nobel Peace Prize. At the beginning of his Lecture, in which Nobel Laureates typically extend gratitude for the high honor, David Trimble created a joke with the help of a proverb:

Having said that, I am at the same time, anxious to allay any fears on your part that I might fail to pick up the medal or the cheque. The people of Northern Ireland are not a people to look a gift horse in the mouth. It is imperative that I take the medal home to Northern Ireland – if only to prove that I have been to Oslo (Trimble 1998).

Thus while accepting the Nobel Prize, the politician uses the proverbial phrase ‘to look a gift horse in the mouth’ existing alongside with the proverb ‘Don’t look a gift horse in the mouth’, that advises one not to act fastidiously when given a present. The comic effect is achieved through the comparison of the greatness of the real Prize and the gift mentioned in the proverb. It is noteworthy that the joke created by playing with the well-known proverbial image indicates that the speaker feels at ease with the audience and helps endear him to the public. I should also stress, that by referring to the people of Northern Ireland as unpretentious (‘The people of Northern Ireland are not a people to look a gift horse in the mouth’), Trimble makes it clear that he is speaking on behalf of the whole province, and that he doesn’t consider the Prize to be his personal achievement.

An interesting case of functional convergence is observed in the commencement address by the African-American screenwriter and playwright Suzan-Lori Parks:

It is commencement and you all are commencing – you are beginning. Today is your birthday. ... It is the beginning of things, it’s also the end of things and I’ve brought along 16 SUGGESTIONS which may be of use – as you walk through the rest of your lives. ...

SUGGESTION № 5: DEVELOP THE ART OF MAKING A SILK PURSE FROM A SOW’S EAR. Cause, you know, it ain’t whatcha got, it’s how you work it (Parks 2001).

The fifth suggestion put forward by the speaker comprises only two sentences – a recommendation and a comment. To formulate her advice Parks applies a part of the proverb ‘You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow’s ear’. To support her idea she resorts to the transformed paremia ‘It’s not what you have but how you use it’. In contrast to what is stated in the popular proverb, the commencement speaker insists that her young audience should learn to create something worthy out of seemingly worthless things. The orator strengthens her idea with the modified paremia in which she changes the standard grammatical forms for vernacular ones (‘is not → ain’t’, ‘what you have

(got) → ‘whatcha got’), and also substitutes the verb ‘use’ by the better suited verb ‘work.’ On the one hand, using nonstandard forms in the address makes the speaker sound less formal, and this brings her and the young people closer together. On the other hand, it enables Parks to attract, and then focus the attention of the intended audience on the ideas being communicated. Thus these two proverbs fulfil two functions – the phatic function and the function of semantic highlighting. It should be pointed out that along with the ironic suggestion № 14 ‘Say “Thank you” at least once a week’, the recommendation under consideration is the shortest one. The author masterfully and effectively exploits the expressive and cognitive features of these two popular proverbs that, in this case, also fulfil the function of cognitive economy.

Conclusion

The research undertaken on the discursive performance of Anglo-American proverbs testifies to the fact that these linguistic units should be defined as precedent utterances, belonging to the cognitive base shared by the members of a given lingua-cultural community. Their cognitive nature predetermines their universality and frequent application in discourse. Proverbs are able to play the role of cultural touchstones, and act as ‘miniature theories’, or be used as symbols of certain situations. The study revealed that they function as contextual cues in discourse, and are capable of affecting the perception and meaning of incoming information. Thus, the reported findings support the hypothesis that the study set out to test.

It should be stressed that employing proverbs in one of the functions singled out in the essay (emotional highlighting, semantic highlighting, summary, structural organization of discourse, cognitive economy, euphemistic and phatic function) serves to substantiate their main purpose in discourse – its *interpretation/explication* – and is predetermined by their salient features as precedent utterances.

Sources of the examples

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- Suzan-Lori Parks, *Commencement Address at Mount Holyoke*, 2001 <<http://www.graduationwisdom.com/speeches/0005-parks.htm>>

Notes

¹ The terms 'cognitive base' and 'precedent phenomena' were introduced by Russian linguists V. Gudkov, V. Krasnykh et al. in the 1990ies.

² Feature recurrently stressed by Mieder (see e.g. Mieder 2004:1).

³ Phraseological saturation of context is distinguished and analyzed as one of modification devices of phraseologisms in Russian linguistics, and consists in the simultaneous use of two or more phraseological units (including proverbs and proverbial sayings which belong in the field of phraseology).

⁴ The variation of the proverb 'A man's home is his castle' is common in American English.

⁵ The phatic function is discussed further on.

⁶ I came across the term 'pseudo-proverb' when I attended Prof. W. Mieder's "The Nature and Politics of Proverbs" course during my Fulbright stay at the University of Vermont in the fall of 2009. What I mean by it is a new utterance/formation built according to traditional paremic semantic and structural models, possessing typical stylistic markers/features, and express-

ing some generalized view occasionally echoing some well-known proverbial ideas. The statement 'There are always going to be a few apples' is not listed in the "Dictionary of Modern Proverbs" published in 2012 (Doyle et al. 2012).

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Anna Konstantinova
4/3 Krasnykh Partizan Str., 120
350012 Krasnodar
Russian Federation
E-mail: constanna@mail.ru, constanna@gmail.com

EWA KOZIOL-CHRZANOWSKA

WELL-KNOWN POLISH PROVERBS IN INTERNET MEMES

Abstract: The article analyzes the ways of using well-known Polish proverbs in the Internet memes. The research has been based on the lists of the Polish paremiological minima (gathered in 1998 and 2013). Proverbs taken from these lists were searched by the Google Images and, as a result, a corpus of 750 paremiological Internet memes was gathered.

The paper takes into consideration quantitative as well as qualitative aspects of paremic memes. The former shows that there is no correlation between the big number of occurrences of the given proverbs on the paremiological minimum lists and their popularity among meme creators. The latter focuses on the relations between verbal (proverbs) and graphic (drawings, photos) units joined together in memes, e.g.: combinations of a proverb and a picture, which confirms the sense of the proverb, collations in which the picture is linked to one of the lexical ingredients of the proverb and graphic forms connected with particular kinds of transformations in proverbs (e.g. the image of master Yoda from “Star Wars” changing the word order).

The results of the analysis indicate that meme creators know well the most popular of these units judging by the fact that the gathered corpus is quite big (750 examples) and covers most of the proverbs from the minimum list (62 out of 78). It can also be stated that proverbs have become a part of the new linguistic environment on the Internet, which is proved e.g. by the proverbs’ behavior according to the rules established by the Internet meme series). Some conclusions referring to the issue of the paremiological minimum have also been presented.

Keywords: Illustrations, memes, paremic Internet memes, paremiological minimum, Polish, proverbs

Introduction

Internet meme is a genre which very often refers to such aspects of culture as paintings, movies, commercials, popular quotations and many more. The presented paper focuses on one type

of them, i.e. a meme¹ which makes use of proverbs being one of the sources exploited by meme creators.

The phenomenon of using proverbs in Internet memes is significant for the following scientific perspectives:

1. in attempts to establish paremiological minima,
2. in the analysis of proverbs in the mass media,
3. in the challenge of collecting contextual proverbial data.

A paremiological minimum is understood as “a set of proverbs that all members of society know or an average adult is expected to know” (Đurčo, 2015: 183). Such minima have been gathered in the case of many languages. However, the methodological discussion is still revolving around issues such as ways of collecting data or the content of the minimum lists; the question arises if they should comprise only proper proverbs or proverbial expressions, comparisons, superstitions, etc. as well. Some scholars are even skeptical about the possibility of establishing a paremiological minimum:

A skeptical position to establish an *ideal* common paremiological minimum is held by Mokijenko. He states that the concept of a common paremiological minimum is not realistic. There exists a certain zone of familiar proverbs only, which comprise a core of national paremiology. But this core is very variable and differentiated among people. It depends on the particular social factors like age, education, origin, but also on the individual preferences of speakers, which discourages the determination of a generally valid common paremiological core (Mokijenko, 2012: 83f cited in Đurčo, 2015: 183).

Should it be assumed that the above-mentioned skeptical attitude is correct, the analysis of proverbs used in the Internet memes can be treated as one of the elements for establishing a general view on the knowledge of proverbs in the society.

A lot of attention has been devoted to the occurrence of proverbs in the mass media. This increasing interest concerns traditional proverbs as well as anti-proverbs and covers such areas as graffiti, cartoons, comic strips, films and music (Mieder, 2004: 150, 152). Some examples of such studies can be indicated in the Polish literature as well, e.g. those devoted to graffiti

(Szpila 2009, 2012), short text messages (Szpila 2006), the Internet (Ozga 2014, Piekot 2012, Szpila 2016). Internet memes – similarly to many other linguistic aspects of the mass media – can and should be investigated as well. On the one hand, the Internet provides a space for creating modern proverbs and for transformations of the traditional ones. On the other hand, it makes it possible for proverbs to spread freely: “In Europe and North America the genre of transformed proverbs is becoming more and more popular, especially due to the mass media and the Internet” (Litovkina and Mieder, 2006: 7)

One of the challenges, which scholars have to face while working on many different aspects of paremiography and paremiology, such as categorization (Lauhakangas, 2015: 65), is collecting the contextual data. As gathering speech corpora is much more difficult, time-consuming and expensive than preparing them basing on printed resources, investigating the Internet seems to be a more promising perspective. The language used on the Internet is in many respects similar to its oral representation, so the Internet can be treated as a huge spoken or semi-spoken corpus where proverbs can be observed along with their contexts. Semiotic combinations, like the Internet memes, are one of such contexts.

Research on proverbs used in the Internet memes sheds a new light on aforementioned issues. The novelty lies in the fact that proverbs can be observed in the environment that is authentic, lively and dynamic as well as original. The Internet is considered to be the only medium of communication (there is an interaction between the addressee and the addresser) in comparison with other media which only provide addressees with information (Skowronek, 2013: 239). From this perspective, observing proverbs on the Internet is similar to their analysis in the spoken corpus where the behavior of the ordinary language users and their interactions can be investigated.

The aim of this article is to check if the well-known proverbs appear in the Internet memes and to analyze the ways in which they are used. The study outlines that proverbs are copied into the memes in their canonical and transformed versions. Therefore, these transformations are not the main area of interest, since relations between the proverbs and the pictures joined together in

semiotic combinations are the most interesting phenomenon, characteristic for memes.

The research has comprised the Polish proverbs and Polish Internet memes. In order to optimize the results of the survey it seemed to be quite obvious that well-known proverbs should undergo the research. Investigating such examples lets the researcher gather a lot of memes because it can be assumed that Internet users create them mainly by using well-known proverbs. This is the reason why I decided to prepare a corpus of Internet memes containing proverbs stemming from the paremiological minima of the Polish language.

The collection of proverbs composed of the active and passive paremiological lexicon of the Polish users constitutes the paremiological minimum of the Polish language. Preparing the lists of the best-known proverbs contributes to the extension of the knowledge about how these units are used. In addition, systematic research on minimum lists provides answers to the questions regarding the disappearance of proverbs and it helps to create the collections of basic proverbs used for example in foreign language teaching (Szpila, 2002: 36).

The Polish paremiological minimum was prepared by Grzegorz Szpila who in 1998 carried out research whose results were published in 2002. He analyzed the information collected from 96 informants who were students of English Language and Literature at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow (Szpila, 2002: 37). Szpila asked his informants to list all the proverbs which they could think of in 20 minutes. It is also important to mention that the task was not clearly specified: the informants were not told what structures were treated as proverbs. The whole process of isolating the proverbs from elicited linguistic data was described by the author (Szpila, 2002: 39). The aim here is to focus on the most important issues for the given paper, i.e. the way of establishing versions of the proverbs included in the minimum list because it affects the result of research carried out on the Internet. Szpila grouped the collected proverbs in nests. The next step was to assign nests to the proverbs which are indicated as superordinate to the other variants in the *Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich*² (Szpila, 2002: 39). Finally, the paremiological minimum consisted of 72 proverbs (each of

them was mentioned in the questionnaires at least eight times) (Szpila, 2002: 41, 42).

The research was repeated in 2013 (published in 2014) using the same methodological basis, but it was carried out in various cities, not only in Cracow and on a more numerous group of informants (545) (Szpila 2014: 91). As a result, the list of 254 proverbs was collected, whereas using the quantitative criteria from the previous (1998) research led to a different number of examples. In 1998 the minimum list consisted only of these proverbs which were indicated by at least 8% of informants. The research from 2013 did not have this limitation; however, the author separated in the article the examples assessing the same condition to be able to compare the results of both surveys. The result of this comparison shows that translating the results into percentages shows a big decrease in the proverbs on the minimum list – after 15 years the informants indicated 39 proverbs (72 in 1998) (Szpila 2014: 91-93).

The lists of both minima are given below.³ The first column shows the position of the given example on the minimum list gathered in 1998, the second one – in 2013. It can be noticed that 33 proverbs have no number in the column representing the results of the 2013 research, which means that they were not indicated by at least 8% of informants in 2013. At the end of the table six examples present in 2013 survey but absent in 1998 have been included.

1998	2013	Polish proverb	English equivalent	Translation /Meaning
1	15	Jak sobie pościelesz, tak się wyśpisz.	As a man makes his bed so must he lie in it.	
2	5	Lepszy wróbel w garści niż gołąb na dachu.	A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.	
3	3	Kto pod kim dołki kopie, sam w nie wpada.	He who digs a pit for others, falls in himself.	
4	8	Kto rano wstaje, temu Pan Bóg daje.	An early bird catches the worm. Early to bed and early to rise	

			makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise.	
5	1	Gdzie kucharek sześć, tam nie ma co jeść.	Too many cooks spoil the broth.	
6	7	Baba z wozu, koniom lżej.		The horses have it easier when the woman leaves the carriage. /Getting rid of somebody is desirable.
7	2	Jak Kuba Bogu, tak Bóg Kubie.	No longer pipe, no longer dance.	As Jacob is for God, so God is for Jacob. /What you do to other people, they do the same to you.
8	10	W marcu jak w garncu.		March is like a pot. /The weather in March is varied.
9	19	Bez pracy nie ma kołaczy.	Diligence is the mother of success.	
10	11	Kwiecień-plecień, bo przeplata trochę zimy, trochę lata.		April is volatile: once it's winter, once it's summer.
11	16	Nosił wilk razy kilka, poniosą i wilka.	At length is the fox brought to the furrier.	
12	4	Żeby kózka nie skakała, toby nóżki nie złamała.	Better be safe than sorry.	
13	9	Prawdziwych przyjaciół poznajemy w biedzie.	A friend in need is a friend indeed.	
14	13	Czego się Jaś nie nauczy, Jan nie będzie umiał.		What little John doesn't learn, he won't know as an adult. /What you don't learn as a child you can't learn as an adult.

15	35	Kiedy luty, obuj buty.		When February comes, put on your shoes.
16	14	Nie czyń drugiemu, co tobie niemiłe.	Do as you would be done by.	
17		Dopóty dzban wodę nosi, dopóki się ucho nie urwie.	The pitcher goes often to the well but is broken last.	
18	32	Mądry Polak po szkodzie.		The Pole is wise after the accident has happened.
19	18	Darowanemu koniowi nie patrz w zęby.	Never look a gift horse in the mouth.	
20	12	Gdzie się dwóch pobije, tam trzeci korzysta.	Where two are fighting the third wins.	
21		Czego się skorupka za młodu napije, tym na starość trąci.	Just as the twig is bent, the tree is inclined.	
22		Mądrej głowie dość dwie słowie.	A word is enough to the wise.	
23	37	Nie ma tego złego, co by na dobre nie wyszło.	It is an ill wind that blows nobody good.	
24	6	Niedaleko pada jabłko od jabłoni.	Like father, like son. Like mother, like daughter. Like parents, like children. Like begets like.	
25		Nie mów hop, aż przeskoczysz.	Do not halloo till you are out of the wood.	
26	22	Nie wszystko złoto, co się świeci.	All that glitters is not gold.	
27	24	Raz na wozie, raz pod wozem.	Feast today and fast tomorrow.	

28	25	Gość w dom, Bóg w dom.		Guest at home, God at home. /Hosts should welcome and receive guests as if they were the most important people in the world.
29		Komu w drogę, temu czas.	Time to hit the road.	
30	17	Jedna jaskółka nie czyni wiosny.	One swallow does not make a summer.	
31	26	Kto wlezie między wrony, musi krakać jak i ony.	When in Rome, do as the Romans do.	
32		Mowa jest srebrem, a milczenie złotem.	Speech is silver, silence is gold-en.	
33		Nie chwal dnia przed zachodem słońca.	In the evening one may praise the evening.	
34		Cicha woda brzegi rwie.	Still waters run deep.	
35		Ten się śmieje, kto się śmieje ostatni.	He laughs best who laughs last.	
36		Kuj żelazo, póki gorące.	Strike while the iron is hot.	
37	34	Z próżnego i Salomon nie naleje.	You cannot get water out of a stone.	
38	27	Co dwie głowy to nie jedna.	Two heads are better than one.	
39		Lepiej późno niż wcale.	Better late than never.	
40	20	Gdzie diabeł nie może, tam babę pośle.	Where the devil cannot go himself, he sends a woman.	
41		Na pochyłe drzewo i kozy skaczą.		Goats jump on a leaning tree. /Weaknesses encourage people to take advantage of the situation.

42		Kruk krukowi oka nie wykole.	Crows do not pick crow's eyes.	
43		Spiesz się powoli.	More haste less speed. Make haste slowly.	
44		Panu Bogu świeczkę, a diabłu ogarek.		Light a candle for God and a candle-stub for the devil. /The situation when someone wants to satisfy two opposing sides.
45		Złej tanecznicy zawadzi i rąbek u spódnicy.	A bad workman always blames his tools.	
46		Jaki pan, taki kram.	Such carpenters, such chips.	
47		Na złodzieju czapka gore.	He that commits a fault thinks everyone speaks of it. He that has a great nose thinks everybody is speaking of it.	
48		Ziarnko do ziarnka, zrobi się miarka.	Many a little makes a mickle. Take care of the pence and the pounds will take care of themselves.	
49		Z wielkiej chmury mały deszcz.		Out of a big cloud comes heavy rain. /Expected enormous problems turn out to be less serious.
50		Co nagle, to po diable.	Haste makes waste	
51		Pokorne cielę dwie matki ssie.	Humility gets you everywhere.	
52		Kto się lubi, ten się czubi.		People who squabble like each other.
53	36	Lepszy rydz niż nic.	A little is better than none.	

			Half a loaf is better than no bread.	
54		Na dwoje babka wróżyła.	It could go one way or the other.	
55		Nie taki diabeł straszny, jak go malują.	The devil is not so black as he is painted.	
56		Przyjdzie koza do woza.		One day the goat will come to the carriage. /One day you will need my help!
57		Dzieci i ryby głosu nie mają.	Children should be seen but not heard.	
58	39	Indyk myślał i głowę mu ucięli.		The turkey was thinking and its head was cut. /There's no point in planning ahead as everything may change.
59		Każda pliszka swój ogonek chwali.	Every cook praises his own broth.	
60	31	Kłamstwo ma krótkie nogi.	Lies have short legs.	
61	29	Kocioł garnkowi przyganiał, a oba smołą.	The pot calls the kettle black.	
62		Praca ludzi wzbogaca.		Work enriches people.
63		Stara miłość nie rdzewieje.	Old love never dies.	
64		Co ma wisieć, nie utonie.	He that is born to be hanged shall never be drowned.	
65		Co się odwlecze, to nie uciecze.	What goes around, comes around.	
66		I wilk syty, i owca cała.		The wolf is no longer hungry and the sheep is still alive. /Everybody wins.

67		Jaka praca, taka płaca.	A good servant must have good wages.	
68		Kij ma dwa końce.	It is a mixed blessing.	
69		Kto późno przychodzi, sam sobie szkodzi.		Who comes late hurts himself.
70		Kto pyta, nie błądzi.		If you don't ask, you won't find out.
71		Strach ma wielkie oczy.		Fear has big eyes. /Fear makes things look twice as bad as they are.
72		Wszystkie drogi prowadzą do Rzymu	All roads lead to Rome.	
	21	Uderz w stół, a nożyce się odezwą.		When somebody knows they have done something wrong, they overreact thinking that other people know the truth and in this way it becomes apparent what they have done
	23	Wszędzie dobrze, ale w domu najlepiej.	Home sweet home.	
	28	Jak się człowiek spieszy, to się diabeł cieszy.	Haste makes waste.	
	30	Kto mieczem wojuje, od miecza ginie.	Live by the sword, die by the sword.	
	33	Czego oczy nie widzą, tego sercu nie żal.	What the eye doesn't see, the heart doesn't grieve over.	
	38	Nie wchodzi się dwa razy do tej samej rzeki.	No man ever steps in the same river twice.	

Since the aim of this paper is to investigate the usage of the well-known proverbs in the Internet memes, the first step of the research was to prepare the corpus of memes referring in their verbal form to the proverbs from the minimum list. It is important to stress the fact that this corpus consists only of the memes which included both the text and the picture (all purely textual or graphical memes were excluded). The memes were found on the Internet by the Google Images search engine. The procedure consisted of putting every single proverb from the Polish proverbial minimum in the search engine. In order to standardize the results, the quotation marks were used every time.⁴ The amount of the given results was limited; only the results from the first page were taken into consideration (the results were scrolled down till the end of the list, but the “show more results” button was not used). It should be added that two proverbs from the minimum list were searched in slightly different forms. The search of the two forms found on the minimum list gave no results and it seemed clear that the other forms are much more popular.⁵ 78 proverbs underwent the procedure, as the analyzed group consisted of the 72 proverbs gathered on the paremiological minimum list in 1998 and additional 6 proverbs which were newly indicated by the informants during the survey in 2013. The research was conducted from the end of 2015 to the beginning of 2017. As a result, a corpus of 750 memes has been gathered.

I assumed that this procedure is the most objective, as using search engines on the Internet websites containing memes restricts the results to the memes available on the particular websites. The Google Images works differently: this tool shows a lot of results which are useless for the given analysis (they do not represent memes), but on the other hand, it takes into account only those results which are “strong” enough to be presented on the list of the results. Gathering a bigger corpus of proverbial memes would probably require searching the meme websites or using the key words instead of putting the whole proverbs into the search engine.

As the functioning of the Google Images has a great impact on the results, it seems necessary to present at least the most important information about it. The search engine assigns the words to the images on the basis of some criteria. During this process

the name of the file, the alternative text,⁶ the anchor text⁷ and the textual elements adjacent to the image⁸ are taken into consideration. Google Search uses algorithms to order search engine results in a way that returns only the most relevant results at the top of the page and the less relevant results below. The more links from other websites there are, the higher the position of the searching result is. However, this is only one of many other criteria of search engine optimization used by Google. Most of them are kept secret (Bańko, 2013: 75). According to Mirosław Bańko who investigated the usefulness of the Google Images as a source of the linguistic knowledge, we should not undermine their diagnostic value. However, we should not trust them absolutely either as the factors affecting their choices are partly unknown and the results may be disturbed by programmers (Bańko, 2013: 75).

Quantitative analysis

While conducting the research on the usage of the proverbial minimum in the Internet memes quantitative as well as qualitative aspects have been taken into consideration. Quantitative research has covered the comparison of the amount of occurrences of a particular proverb in the paremiological minimum and in the corpora of memes. It should be stressed that the results are not fully representative as in the paremiological minimum the given amount of occurrences is always related to the amount of questionnaires filled in by informants (there were 96 of them in 1998 and 545 in 2013), whereas in the meme corpora there is no minimum and the meme corpora) from the quantitative perspective leads to interesting conclusions.

Both figures present the comparison of the amount of occurrences of particular proverbs in the paremiological minimum (light color) and in the Internet memes (dark color). Figure 1 shows the comparison of the amount of memes with the minimum list gathered in 1998 and figure 2 collected in 2013. The numbers on the horizontal axis represent the particular proverbs according to the above-presented list, but it should be noticed that the numbers assigned to the proverbs are different in both figures, as they represent occurrences in the research questionnaires. The smaller the ordinal number is, the more of-

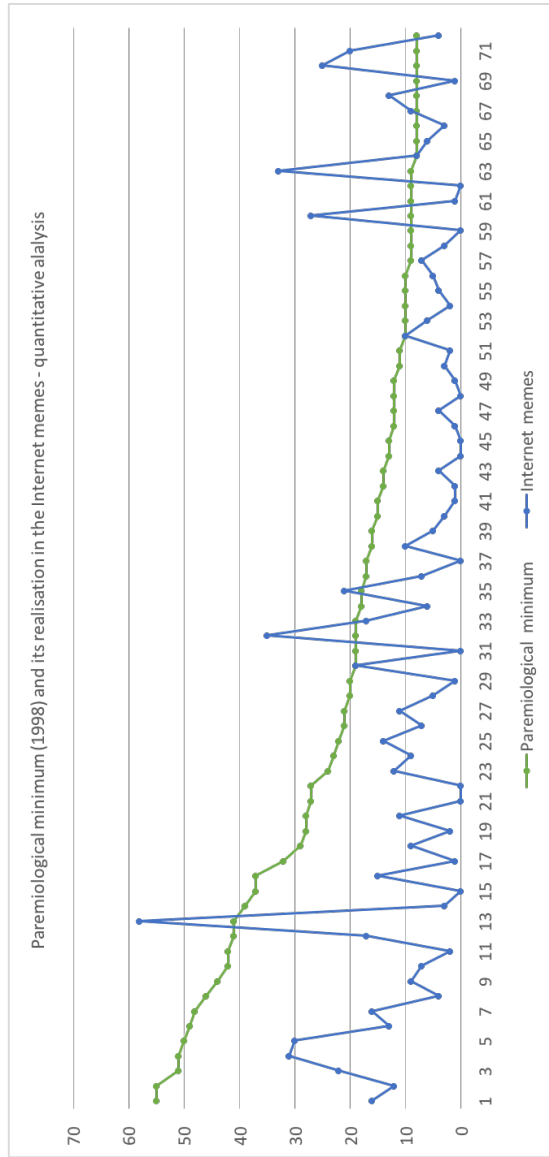


Figure 1

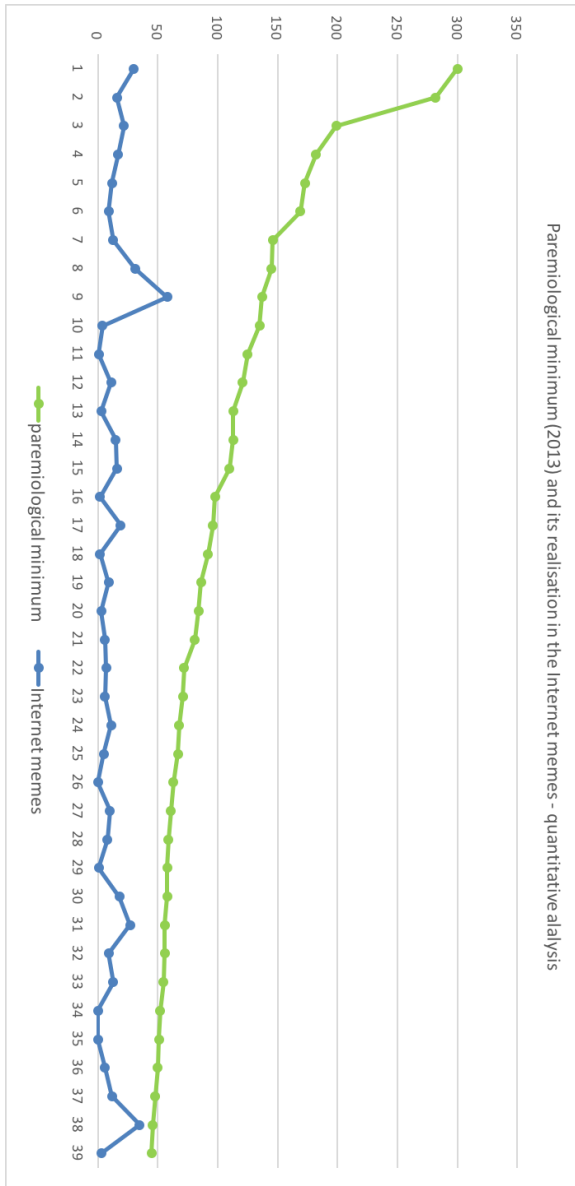


Figure 2

ten the proverb occurred in the questionnaire (proverb number one was the most popular among the informants whereas proverb number seventy-two was the least popular), e.g. *As a man makes his bed so must he lie in it* which was number 1 in 1998 and became number 15 in 2013. The vertical axis represents the amount of occurrences (from 0 to 300) of the proverbs in the questionnaires used in the paremiological minimum research (light print) and of the Internet memes containing particular proverbs (bold print).

The figures clearly show that there is no correlation between the big number of occurrences of the proverb in the paremiological minima lists and its popularity among meme creators. The popularity of proverb 1 in Figure 1 is average in the memes (16 examples containing this proverb), whereas proverb 13 is the most popular in memes (58 examples containing this proverb). Furthermore, some proverbs with quite high position in the minimum ranking have no representation in the Internet memes (e.g. numbers 15, 21, 22, 31 in Figure 1). To sum up, the results of the quantitative research show that the frequent usage of proverbs (expressed by their position on the minimum list) does not influence their usefulness for the memes creators.

Qualitative analysis

When considering the studied material from the qualitative point of view, the first conclusion is that the proverbs are used in the Internet memes in two main ways: in their canonical and transformed forms. The latter group consists of contaminations, proverbs with changed or added elements, proverbs being parts of the newly formed dialogs (where a well-known proverb became a question or an answer) and others.¹⁰ A canonical form is understood as a form identical to given one from the minimum list as well as slightly changed in a way that does not influence significantly the meaning (e.g. the inflectional change or substitution of the lexical element with its synonym). Truncated proverbs are joined to this group as well. According to Mieder (2004: 7) “[...] proverbs are often shortened to mere allusions owing to their general recognizability”. This statement lets us assume that from the

meme creator's point of view a shortened proverb is equal to the complete one. Both canonical and transformed groups are comparatively similar in the number of their elements, yet the transformed forms of proverbs are a little more popular. It confirms the statement pertaining to the presence of traditional proverbs in mass-media: "Standard proverbs in their dictionary form do appear in modern media texts, though not as frequently as their transformed variations" (Konstantinova, 2015: 278). The possible explanation of this phenomenon can be seen in the fact that transformed versions of proverbs give more possibilities of playing with their meaning by adding the pictures.

Let's start with the analysis of the **(1.0) proverbs in their canonical forms**. These memes are divided into six subcategories (from 1.1 to 1.6).

(1.1) Memes containing a **picture confirming the sense** of the proverb. The discussed group consists of the memes containing pictures illustrating a chosen interpretation of the sense of the proverb, e.g. the meme with the proverb *Too many cooks spoil the broth* (Fig. 3) joined with the photo of the lower house of the Polish Parliament. It is worth mentioning that the lower house in Poland is quite numerous and consists of 460 members. This fact is often criticized by the Polish society which raises a problem of high expenses and is generally not satisfied with the members' work.¹¹ According to the meaning of the proverb which is 'if too many people are involved in one task, the result is poor', the photo of the members of the lower house depicts the situation confirming this meaning.

An analogical mechanism of joining the picture and the proverb is illustrated in the meme *At length is the fox brought to the furrier* (Fig.4), which means 'somebody was able to harm the others for some time, but in the end he/she was punished for that'. In this example, the photo shows a police car placed on a tow car. The sense of this connection can be interpreted as follows: the police who are considered to do "bad things" to people like punishing them for breaking the traffic regulations, were treated in the same way and punished for their inappropriate behavior.

Figure 5 is another example. The picture showing two men sleeping in a very unusual and uncomfortable position is joined with the proverb *As a man makes his bed so must he lie in it*.

(1.2) Memes containing a **picture contradicting the sense** of the proverb. This group consists of few memes where the pictures very rarely contradict the meaning of the proverbs. In the following memes we can see two situations. In Figure 6 two men see an alien and consider if he is a Pole and a Catholic. If he is not, it is clear in the picture that they are not going to treat him well; yet the proverb says that hosts should welcome and receive guests as if they were the most important people in the world. The meme in Figure 7 contains the proverb which can be translated literally as *From the big cloud there is a small rain*, which means that expected enormous problems turn out to be less serious in the end. The photo refers to the non-metaphoric meaning and contradicts it by showing a huge cloud and heavy rain.

(1.3) Memes containing a **picture illustrating a lexical element** of the proverb. In some memes the pictures are not referred to the meanings of the proverbs but to their lexical elements, e.g. *In the evening one may praise the day* which is connected in some memes with the pictures of beautiful sunsets (in the Polish version the *sunset* is used instead of *evening*); *He laughs best who laughs last* – with the pictures of laughing people and animals; *He who digs a pit for others, falls in himself* – with the pictures of pits.



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7

(1.4) Memes containing a **picture without reference to the proverb**. The following meme (Fig. 8) presents a woman admiring a nice view. The proverb says: *A friend in need is a friend indeed*. It seems possible that in such cases the pictures are a kind of decoration and their role is to make the whole message more attractive and eye-catching.



Figure 8

(1.5) **False quotations.** Proverbs in their canonical versions consist of memes joining them with the portraits. It is obvious that well-known and constantly repeated proverbs were not coined by Paulo Coelho or Albert Einstein. These surprising junctions are probably made to achieve a comic result or to make the impression that the quoted words are more important. However, the last assumption should be confirmed by investigating more similar memes (there were not enough of them in the gathered corpus).

The more absurd the junction is, the funnier the result seems to be, e.g. the following memes suggest that the author of the Polish proverb which compares the variety of weather in March to a content of a pot (Fig. 9) was invented by a Brazilian author, Paulo Coelho and that a Chinese teacher or philosopher advises to *Do*

as you would be done by (Fig. 10). This group of memes can also be illustrated by the specific Polish example (Fig. 11) which shows a famous Polish actor who is the host of a TV quiz show. The show has been broadcast for over 20 years and it is associated, among others, with the jokes told by the host. The host from the meme says *At length is the fox brought to the furrier*.

(1.6) Memes containing a picture provoking the ambiguous meaning of the proverb. The example presented in Figure 12 makes use of the proverb *Two heads are better than one*. In the given meme the proverb was slightly modified, as the Polish equivalent of *are not (to nie)* is spelled as one word which is identical to the 3rd person singular form (*tonie*) of the verb *to drown (tonąć)*. The pronunciation in both situations is the same. The picture shows some heads and two of them are under water, which makes the connection between the verbal and visual parts of the meme.

Having considered the example with a modified form of the proverb, it is time to move on to the other main group of memes, consisting of **(2.0) transformed forms of proverbs** (contaminations, proverbs with changed or added elements and others). These memes are divided into two subcategories (from 2.1 to 2.2).



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11

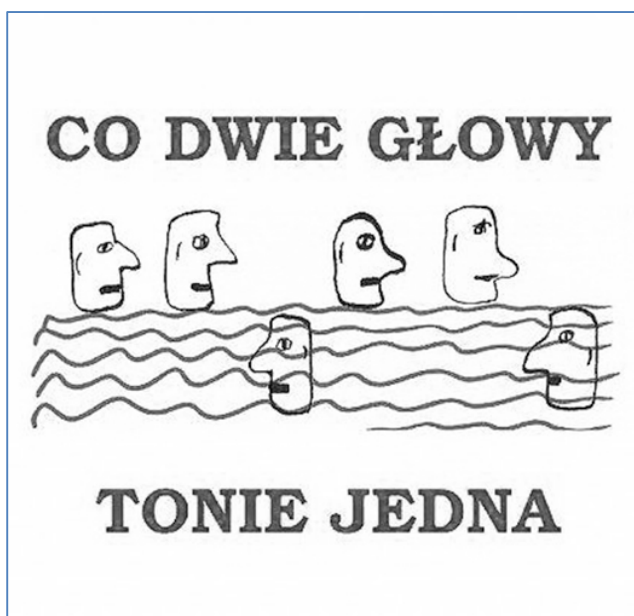


Figure 12

When the proverb is transformed, the picture in the Internet meme may illustrate the proverb, clarify or interpret it. **(2.1)** Memes containing a **picture being an illustration** of the proverb are exemplified by Figure 13. It uses the proverb *Early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise* which is changed into *Early to bed and early to rise makes a man sleepy*. The picture reflects the meaning of the newly-made proverb and illustrates it.

(2.2) Memes containing a **picture being a clarification or interpretation** of the proverb are exemplified by Figure 14. *Where two are fighting the third wins* was changed into *Where two are fighting the third loses*. The photo demonstrates this kind of loss.



Figure 13



Figure 14

The proverb *Too many cooks spoil the broth* used in Figure 15 requires a more specific and detailed explanation. The literal translation of the Polish equivalent *There is nothing to eat where there are six cooks* is transformed in the meme into *Where there are six cooks five of them go to a camp*. By joining this transformation with the photo of Kim Jong-un, the supreme leader of North Korea, which is considered to be a totalitarian country, does the idea of the meme become clear and it lets addressees recognize the right meaning of the *camp*.

Figure 16 says: *We play fast pieces because the haste makes waste*. In the Polish version of this proverb *The haste makes the devil happy*, the equivalent of *waste* is *the devil is happy*. The transformed proverb sounds a little incomprehensible without the picture; the given photo of the band playing death metal, which is a kind of music associated by many people with the devil, conveys the whole message of the meme.

The last category (3.0) consists of memes containing **pictures and proverbs with specific transformations made by characters**. It can be observed that some of them, e.g. Yoda from “Star Wars”, permanently change proverbs. One of Yoda’s characteristic features is the way of speaking – he favors unusual word order (Pullum 2005), which is transferred into memes. Whenever Yoda uses a proverb, the standard word order is changed. Two proverbs get sometimes merged in one meme – the order of separate words remains natural, but the proverbs are divided into parts which are mixed together, e.g. *He who digs a pit for others, makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise, but early to bed and early to rise falls in himself* (Fig. 17).

Another character who changes the proverbs in a particular way is presented in Figure 18. In the given example *One swallow does not make a summer* is used, but the word order is changed in a way that makes no sense: *One summer does not make a swallow*. It clearly illustrates the model of this kind of memes. By using the above-shown photo, meme creators change proverbs into aseman-tic clauses.



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18

Another group of memes containing pictures causing particular kinds of transformations consists of those with a philoraptor. *Philoraptor* is a blend word of *philosopher* and *velociraptor* (a genus of dinosaur). It is “paired with captions depicting the dinosaur as being deeply immersed in metaphysical inquiries or unraveling quirky paradoxes” (Knowyourmeme, 2009). When a philoraptor is joined with a proverb, it behaves as usual and considers the proverb as a part of its philosophical questions or hypotheses. The philoraptor in Figure 19 asks *If it is an ill wind that blows nobody good, so is there anything really ill?*; the one in Figure 20 *If you don't ask, you won't find out so why speech is silver, silence is golden.*

The next group of Internet memes also involves a character who considers the sense of proverbs, but in a different way than in the memes with the philoraptor. They put together the photo of a man wearing glasses and the proverb treated as correct or wrong. The characteristic feature of these judgements is that they take into account “scientific” criteria in verifying their correctness. The structure order of the verbal part of the meme looks always the same: a proverb, *Correct* or *Wrong /BS* and the explanation. The proverbs and the considerations are presented in different colors. In Figure 21 we can see: *Still waters run deep. Bullshit! The sound doesn't influence the depth*; in Figure 22: *Better be safe than sorry. Correct. Eliminating the sources of tragedy prevents it.*

All the above-analyzed Internet memes containing canonical and transformed versions of proverbs are divided into groups in such a way that they allow for ordering them and drawing some conclusions. In fact, they could have been grouped differently, yet the groups would be less numerous and more difficult to analyze. However, atypical examples should not be utterly excluded from the analysis. That is the reason why it should be emphasized that the gathered corpus contains mixed examples. There is a group (1.5) named false quotations which was put in the typology among other groups starting with no. 1 (memes with proverbs in their canonical forms). However, it does not mean that there are no examples of false quotations consisting of transformed proverbs as e.g. Figure 23 is one of them: it shows a character of a judge appearing

kinds of memes, as these examples (canonical forms) were more numerous in the corpus. However, there are separate memes using this mechanism of combining the picture and the proverb, but also providing the transformation in the proverb.

To sum up, it is important to emphasize that the division of the studied material is focused on the most characteristic groups. Obviously, it would be possible to create smaller subcategories, which would be a mix of the analyzed groups, but their analysis was not the aim of this paper. Nonetheless, the specificity of this area shows that there is a need for future thorough analysis carried out on the basis of a bigger corpus of memes.



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22



Figure 23

Conclusions

To recapitulate the main findings of the analysis it is important to recall the facts focused on the quantitative as well as qualitative points of view. The former showed that the popularity of proverbs (expressed by their position on the proverbial minimum list) does not influence their usefulness for the meme creators. Some of the proverbs from the minimum list are very popular in memes, whereas there are ten of them which have not been used in the Internet memes at all (no 15, 21, 22, 31, 37, 44, 45, 48, 59, 62 – according to the 1998 numeration). However, a corpus of 750 memes has been gathered. The quantitative perspective leads to the conclusion that well-known Polish proverbs are used in their canonical and altered forms in the Internet memes relatively often. In both cases, a few subcategories considering the relations between the pictures and the proverbs can be distinguished. Some of them exist according to the rules of popular memes series, e.g. *philosoraptor* or *Yoda*.

First of all, the results indicate that people who create the Internet memes consisting of proverbs know well the most popular of these units judging by the fact that the gathered corpus is quite big (750 examples) and covers most of the proverbs from the minimum list (62 out of 78). Meme creators use proverbs willingly as well as appropriately. The pictures and the proverbs have many various relations in memes, but in the corpora there are hardly any examples of memes proving that their creators do not understand correctly the meaning of the used proverbs.

Secondly, it can be stated that proverbs became a part of the new linguistic environment on the Internet which forms a platform of communication, creates new social communities and – to some extent – a new language. Proverbs behave in accordance with the rules established by the Internet meme series, e.g. *Yoda* changes syntax regardless of the kind of a text in the meme. It can be assumed that proverbs became an attractive material for meme creators; for the same reasons they are popular in newspaper headlines. They are short and can be even shortened into mere allusions understood by most readers. Journalists seem to enjoy playing with proverbs as they draw readers' attention (Mieder, 2004: 250) and so do meme creators.

The last conclusion refers to the issue of the paremiological minimum. As has already been mentioned, most of the examples

from the minimum list were used in the Internet memes. However, ten of them were not. What accounts for that? No congruity seems to be noticed in the omitted group of proverbs, their analysis does not lead to any generalized conclusions and they seem to be random. Nevertheless, two probable explanations can be considered. The first one regards the time distance. The paremiological minimum was established on the basis of the research carried out in 1998 and 2013, whereas the meme corpus was gathered between 2015 and 2017. In 19 years (starting from 1998) the minimum might have become less numerous or modified. This statement is also confirmed by the facts that the minimum list from 1998 consists of 72 proverbs, whereas the one from 2013 consists of 39 examples and all of the ten proverbs which have not been used in the Internet memes were the ones gathered in 1998. The other possible explanation is that proposed by Mokijenko who is skeptical about the possibility of preparing an ideal common paremiological minimum (Mokijenko, 2012: 83f cited in Āurčo, 2015: 183). The given analysis can be interpreted as the confirmation of his statement.

The aim of this paper was to find out if and how the paremiological minimum is used in the Internet memes. The answer to the first question is positive with the objection that not all the proverbs from the minimum list were used by meme creators. On the other hand, the analysis shows that meme creators use well-known Polish proverbs skillfully, showing a great variety of usage, creativity and imagination, which leads to the conclusion that the world of the Internet memes is another area of the mass media where memes have a room for development. The given analysis constitutes evidence against the statement that proverbs have little significance in modern societies.

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Notes

¹ The term *meme* is understood here as a “semiotic complex transmitted via ICT, usually in a function of the so-called Internet joke” (Kamińska 2011: 61).

² *Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich* edited by Julian Krzyżanowski consists of four volumes printed from 1969 to 1978 and is the biggest collection of Polish proverbs. The book comprises proverbs and proverbial expressions coming from the previous collections of proverbs as well as the ones elicited from the Polish literature (from the late 15th century to the early 20th century) and the data collected from sampling speakers (often in local dialects). The book is organized in an alphabetical order according to the main words of the proverbs; synonymous proverbs as well as those which are similar from the verbal perspective are joined together in variant groups. Each variant group has its main proverb (Świrko, 1978: 6–8) which was chosen to represent its group in the paremiological minimum (Szpila, 2002: 39).

³ The Polish proverbs are followed by their English equivalents. In case of no equivalent, the meaning of the proverb is provided.

⁴ The quotation marks are used in order to return only those pages that match the search terms exactly, which means that Google excludes the inflected or derivative forms as well as the results with the changed order of the words.

⁵ This change regards proverbs no. 20 (the aspect of the verb was changed) and no. 58 (the names of the days of the week were added – this change makes the proverb rhyme).

⁶ The alternative text is a word or phrase that can be inserted as an attribute in an HTML document to inform Web site viewers of the nature or contents of an image. The alt text appears in a blank box that would normally contain the image. Alt text is useful when an image link is not available because of a broken or changed URL or some other difficulties (Multimedia and graphics glossary, 2012).

⁷ The anchor text, link label, link text, or link title is the visible, clickable text in a hyperlink. The words contained in an anchor text can determine the ranking that the page will receive by search engines (Wikipedia, 2016).

⁸ E.g. titles and descriptions.

⁹ *basic amount* is understood as a starting set of results provided by the search engine (before excluding all purely textual or graphic memes).

¹⁰ Classifying the dialogs as transformations might be controversial, as some proverbs become a part of such dialogs, but are not changed, e.g. *What do you think would be the gravedigger’s reaction to the statement “He who digs a pit for others, falls in himself”?* On the other hand, there are examples of such connections in which the proverbs undergo some transformations, e.g. *How many cooks are there in Kenya? Too many because too many cooks spoil the broth.*

¹¹ In the moment of preparing the paper the latest research (Oct. 2016) showed that 60 per cent of informants were dissatisfied with the work of the lower house of the Parliament according to the Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS) (Public Opinion Research Center Communicate No 143/2016: 1).

Memes:

Figure 3:

http://img7.demotyATORYfb.pl/uploads/201210/1351714555_zfbmod_600.jpg
[Accessed 7 September 2015].

Figure 4:

http://img5.dmtY.pl/uploads/1255179449_by_Bazylox_600.jpg [Accessed 9 September 2015].

Figure 5:

http://img4.dmtY.pl/uploads/201003/1268306571_by_bonzay_600.jpg [Accessed 5 September 2015].

Figure 6:

http://demotyATORY.pl/uploads/201212/1355319786_8jvr5v_600.jpg [Accessed 21 September 2015].

Figure 7:

<http://images4.bibsy.pl/98NgsthE/z-duzej-chmury-maly-deszcz.jpeg> [Accessed 1 October 2015].

Figure 8:

http://www.temysli.pl/upload/images/large/2014/11/0_0_0_1746484060.jpg
[Accessed 10 September 2015].

Figure 9:

http://fabrykamemow.pl/uimages/services/fabrykamemow/i18n/pl_PL/201203/1332513228_by_ivica83_500.jpg [Accessed 8 September 2015].

Figure 10:

<http://pl.memgenerator.pl/mem-image/nie-czyn-drugiemu-co-tobie-nie-mile-pl-ffffff> [Accessed 11 September 2015].

Figure 11:

<http://pl.memgenerator.pl/mem-image/nosil-wilk-razy-kilka-poniesli-i-wilka-pl-ffffff-2> [Accessed 9 September 2015].

Figure 12:

http://th.interia.pl/51_be3858da84850186/codwie.jpeg [Accessed 1 September 2015].

Figure 13:

<http://images03.bebzol.com/data/201410/162018-d014e34fd1a187caeb5a10594ff940e7.jpg> [Accessed 5 September 2015].

Figure 14:

<http://z1.demoty.pl/793fed04ad430a1986925ffafcb95a83712c819c/gdzie-dwoch-sie-bije> [Accessed 11 September 2015].

Figure 15:

http://pobierak.jeja.pl/images/8/d/c/145145_gdzie-kucharek-szesc.jpg [Accessed 7 September 2015].

Figure 16:

http://img3.demotywatoryfb.pl/uploads/201003/1267548086_by_banzer0_600.jpg [Accessed 9 January 2017].

Figure 17:

http://i1.memy.pl/obrazki/753a332420_kto_pod_kim_dolki_kopie_temu_pan_bog_daje.jpg [Accessed 5 September 2015].

Figure 18:

http://fabrykamemow.pl/uimages/services/fabrykamemow/i18n/pl_PL/201210/1350402422_by_mre3_500.jpg [Accessed 24 September 2015].

Figure 19:

http://i1.memy.pl/obrazki/05c9617728_jesli_nie_ma_tego_zlego_co_by_na_dobre_nie_wyszlo.jpg [Accessed 11 September 2015].

Figure 20:

http://fabrykamemow.pl/uimages/services/fabrykamemow/i18n/pl_PL/201305/1370001411_by_gucio5i6_500.jpg [Accessed 24 September 2015].

Figure 21:

http://fabrykamemow.pl/uimages/services/fabrykamemow/i18n/pl_PL/201207/1343579370_by_Chocholcia_500.jpg [Accessed 28 September 2015].

Figure 22:

http://fabrykamemow.pl/uimages/services/fabrykamemow/i18n/pl_PL/201207/1343767490_by_jowisz108_500.jpg [Accessed 9 September 2015].

Figure 23:

http://fabrykamemow.pl/uimages/services/fabrykamemow/i18n/pl_PL/201212/1355518340_by_igrek_o_500.jpg [Accessed 5 September 2015].

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Ewa Koziół-Chrzanowska
Institute of the Polish Language, Polish Academy of Sciences
al. Mickiewicza 31
31-120 Kraków
Poland
E-mail: ewa.koziol06@gmail.com; ewa.koziol-
chrzanowska@ijp-pan.krakow.pl

WOLFGANG MIEDER

„NULLA DIES SINE LINEA“ DIE *PROVERBIUM*-
KORRESPONDENZ ZWISCHEN DEN PARÖMIOLOGI-
SCHEN FREUNDEN MATTI KUUSI UND WOLFGANG
MIEDER

Abstract: This contribution contains the correspondence between the two paremiological friends Matti Kuusi (1914-1998) in Helsinki, Finland, and Wolfgang Mieder (born 1944) in Burlington, Vermont (USA). It contains all of the letters found in the International Proverb Archives at the University of Vermont. They are presented without any changes, with explanatory comments and bibliographical references being added in square brackets. The 50 letters are of particular interest for Matti Kuusi's work as editor of the 25 issues of *Proverbium* that was published in Helsinki between 1965 and 1975. Vilmos Voigt in Budapest edited 4 issues of *Proverbium Paratum* between 1981 and 1989. Wolfgang Mieder began his work as editor of *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* in 1984 in Burlington where it continues to be published. While the letters from 1972 until 1994 are of historical interest for the study of proverbs, they are also a testimony of the friendship between Matti Kuusi and Wolfgang Mieder that was based on respect and admiration for each other's paremiological and paremiographical work.

Keywords: Correspondence, friendship, Galit Hasan-Rokem, Matti Kuusi, Outi Lauhakangas, letter, Wolfgang Mieder, paremiography, paremiology, *Proverbium*, Vilmos Voigt

Es ist mit großer Freude, daß ich hier 50 Briefe vorlege, die die parömiologische Korrespondenz zwischen Matti Kuusi und mir in dem Zeitraum von 1972 bis 1994 aufzeichnen. Obwohl ich alles versucht habe, unsere sämtlichen Briefe aufzufinden, fehlen wohl doch einige wenige Botschaften, was daran liegen mag, daß ich manchmal kürzere Nachrichten auf Sonderdrucke geschrieben habe, die ich an Matti Kuusi geschickt habe und wovon ich damals keine Kopien gemacht habe. Alle überlieferten Briefe werden wortgetreu zitiert, und lediglich störende Tippfehler sind berichtet

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worden. Wo nötig oder angebracht, habe ich in eckigen Klammern zusätzliche Information hinzugefügt.

Die Briefe lassen erkennen, wie sich zwischen Matti Kuusi, der ja immerhin dreißig Jahre älter war als ich, und mir eine zuerst recht formelle und später aber eine tiefe Freundschaft entwickelt hat. Es dreht sich in den Briefen eigentlich vor allem um die Zeitschrift *Proverbium*, die Matti Kuusi in 25 Heften zwischen 1965 und 1975 in Helsinki herausgegeben hat. Sie zeigen dann auch, wie Vilmos Voigt es in Budapest versucht hat, die Zeitschrift mit dem Titel *Proverbium Paratum* fortzusetzen, was ihm mit den vier zwischen 1981 und 1989 erschienenen Heften auch gelungen ist. Nachdem diese Publikation jedoch nicht weiterhin möglich war, gab es 1984 mit der Gründung von *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* einen neuen Beginn, indem Matti Kuusi durch Verhandlungen mit Galit Hasan-Rokem aus Jerusalem sich dazu entschloß, daß dieses Jahrbuch in den Vereinigten Staaten erscheinen könnte. Ich hatte dann die große Ehre, als Herausgeber des parömiologischen Jahrbuchs aufzutreten, wobei Galit-Hasan Rokem mir von Anfang an als Associate Editor zur Seite steht.

Die späteren Briefe behandeln dann den zweibändigen Nachdruck des „alten“ *Proverbiums*, der durch den Peter Lang Verlag in Bern (Schweiz) ermöglicht wurde. Für mich war es eine besondere Anerkennung, diese 25 Hefte für den Nachdruck vorzubereiten, indem ich für alle Beiträge englischsprachige Abstracts verfaßte. Als der Nachdruck dann 1987 erschien, war die Freude groß, denn nun war diese wertvolle Zeitschrift vielen Parömiologen, Institutionen und Bibliotheken in aller Welt zugänglich. Weitere Briefe beziehen sich auf verschiedene parömiologische Publikationen von Matti Kuusi und mir, wobei zu bemerken ist, daß wir uns stets unterstützten und großes Interesse an unseren jeweiligen Projekten zeigten.

Für mich persönlich waren unsere letzten Briefe von besonderer Bedeutung, worin Matti Kuusi auf die Bände des *Proverbium*-Jahrbuchs reagierte. Die Anerkennung dieses weltbekannten Folkloristen und Parömiologen hat mich über Jahre hinweg immer ermutigt, den erheblichen Arbeitsaufwand im Dienste der internationalen Parömiologie auf mich zu nehmen. Ich weiß, daß mein Freund am Anfang gar nicht unbedingt überzeugt war, daß *Proverbium* bei mir an der University of Vermont in Burlington,

Vermont, überleben könnte. Aber mit jedem neuen Band, und er hat noch fünfzehn davon erlebt, wurde seine Reaktion in den Briefen positiver. Und ich kann ganz ehrlich sagen, daß mein großer Freund Matti Kuusi auch heute noch wohlwollend über meine Schulter schaut, wenn ich an dem neuen Jahresband arbeite. Er schreibt in zwei Briefen, daß Archer Taylor über die Fortsetzung von *Proverbium* in seinem Grab lächeln könnte, und ich hoffe, daß Matti Kuusi das ebenfalls hin und wieder tut.

So bilden diese 50 Briefe einen kleinen Beitrag zur parömiologischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte, und sie zeigen gleichfalls, daß zur erfolgreichen und bedeutungsvollen Forschungsarbeit auch die wohlthuende Freundschaft gehört. Heutzutage könnten Matti Kuusi und ich uns natürlich über das Internet verständigen, aber ich möchte die Tage, an denen Briefe mit finnischen Briefmarken von dem Freund aus Helsinki in Vermont eintrafen, nicht vermissen. Es waren doch immer bedeutungsvolle Nachrichten und Schätze, die mit Tausenden von anderen Briefen aus aller Welt in meinem International Proverb Archives lagern.

Burlington, den 11. Februar 1972

Sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Kuusi!

Heute bekam ich endlich die 17. Schrift der *Proverbium* Zeitschrift, nachdem sie lange unterwegs war. Ich möchte Sie auch gleich hier von meiner neuen Lehrstelle informieren. Ich wohne nicht mehr in Kentucky, sondern bin jetzt an der University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont, tätig. Ich möchte Sie bitten, meine neue Adresse zur Kenntnis zu nehmen.

Als junger Sprichwörterforscher möchte ich Ihnen heute meine ersten drei Aufsätze zuschicken. Ich promovierte 1970 [an der Michigan State University] unter Stuart A. Gallacher, den Sie ja sicherlich kennen, über *Das Sprichwort im Werke Jeremias Gott-helfs*. Meine Disseration wird zur Zeit in der Schweiz gedruckt [Bern: Herbert Lang, 1972], und ich werde Ihnen bald eine Kopie des fertiggestellten Buches zuschicken können.

In Kürze werden folgende weitere Arbeiten von mir erscheinen:

1. Das Sprichwort und die deutsche Literatur, Forschungsbericht [*Fabula*, 13 (1972), 135-149].

2. Das Sprichwort in den Prosawerken der Annette von Droste-Hülshoff [*Rheinisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 21 (1973), 329-346].
3. Die Funktion des Sprichwortes in Johann Beter Hebels *Schatzkästlein* [*Forschungen und Berichte zur Volkskunde in Baden-Württemberg*. Hrsg. Irmgard Hampp und Peter Assion. Stuttgart: Müller & Graff, 1973, I, S. 153-163].
4. Streitgespräch und Sprichwort-Antithetik. Ein Beitrag zur *Ackermann aus Böhmen*- und Sprichwortforschung [*Daphnis*, 2 (1973), 1-32].
5. Verwendungsmöglichkeiten und Funktionswerte des Sprichwortes in der Wochenzeitung. Untersuchung der ZEIT für das Jahr 1971 [*Muttersprache*, 83 (1973), 89-119].
6. Das Sprichwort als volkstümlich-künstlerisches Stilelement in den Prosawerken Otto Ludwigs [*Das Sprichwort in der deutschen Prosaliteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1976, S. 107-128].
7. Das Sprichwort im Werke Theodor Storms [*Schriften der Theodor-Storm-Gesellschaft*, 22 (1973), 95-114].

Ich hoffe, daß die von mir heute übersandten Beiträge Ihre Zustimmung erhalten werden. Sie kritisieren diese Art von Untersuchungen ja etwas auf S. 63 ihrer *Parömiologischen Betrachtungen* [Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1957], und ich stimme auch mit Ihnen überein. Viele Arbeiten vom Typus „Die Verwendung von Spr. bei Herrn X“ lassen vieles an Wissenschaftlichkeit zu wünschen übrig. Ich habe versucht, in meinen Arbeiten jeweils der Sprichwörterforschung sowie der Forschung des betreffenden Dichters gerecht zu werden.

Selbstverständlich schicke ich Ihnen weiterhin meine Arbeiten und freue mich, Mitarbeiter von *Proverbium* sein zu dürfen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,

Ihr

Wolfgang Mieder

Montag, den 3. April 1972

Sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Kuusi!

Ich sende Ihnen mit diesem Brief einen kurzen Beitrag über „Günter Grass und das Sprichwort“ und hoffe, daß er sich für die von Ihnen herausgegebene Zeitschrift *Proverbium* eignet [erschieden in *Muttersprache*, 83 (1973), 64-67].

Die Sekundärliteratur hat bisher von dem Sprichwörtergebrauch bei Günter Grass keine Kenntnis genommen. Meine Untersuchung stellt daher zum ersten Mal ein Verzeichnis der in *Blechtrommel*, *Hundejahre* und *Örtlich betäubt* vorkommenden Sprichwörter zusammen und bespricht gleichzeitig die wichtigsten Funktionswerte dieser volkstümlichen Kleinform im literarischen Text.

Als persönliche Anmerkung möchte ich noch hinzufügen, daß mein besonderes Forschungsinteresse dem Sprichwort in der deutschen Literatur gilt. Nicht nur promovierte ich über *Das Sprichwort im Werke Jeremias Gotthelfs*, sondern habe in den beiden letzten Jahren längere Arbeiten über das Sprichwort bei Karl Immermann, Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, Johann Peter Hebel, Berthold Auerbach, Theodor Storm u.a. veröffentlicht [als Buch dann mit dem Titel *Das Sprichwort in der deutschen Prosaliteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1976], wovon ich einige Separatdrucke bereits an Sie geschickt habe. Ein Forschungsbericht über „Das Sprichwort und die deutsche Literatur“ erscheint in Kürze in der *Fabula* [13 (1972), 135-149], sowie eine Sprichwörteranalyse zum *Ackermann aus Böhmen* in der neuen Zeitschrift *Daphnis* [2 (1973), 1-32].

Mit meinem kurzen Beitrag zum Sprichwörtergebrauch bei Günter Grass möchte ich nun auch einige Autoren des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts nach Sprichwörtern untersuchen und feststellen, welche Rolle sie in der modernen Literatur spielen. Bisher hat sich, wie Sie ja wissen, nur Barbara Woods mit Bertolt Brecht beschäftigt. Ich hoffe, daß Sie meine Arbeit über Günter Grass für Ihre Zeitschrift verwenden können und würde mich über eine positive Nachricht von Ihnen sehr freuen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,
Ihr
Wolfgang Mieder

Helsinki 10.3.1973

Sehr geehrter Dr. Wolfgang Mieder.

Ich bitte um Entschuldigung, daß Ihr Günter Grass so lange gewartet hat. Jetzt habe ich die Sicherheit bekommen, daß *Proverbium* doch weiterleben kann, und ich möchte gern Ihren Artikel in *Proverbium* 21 publizieren, falls Sie ihn noch nicht anderswo publiziert haben oder publizieren werden. In derselben Nummer wird ein Artikel von A. Zhigulev über Nakrasov's Sprichwortge-

brauch veröffentlicht. In dieser Richtung der Parömiologie wird Ihre Replik vielleicht ein neues Model zu schaffen helfen.

Darf ich bitten, dass Sie in dem Fall, dass Sie Ihren Artikel *nicht* in *Proverbium* 21 zu publizieren hoffen, mir nun unmittelbar darüber zu schreiben. Sonst (nach zwei Wochen) werde ich ihn drucken lassen und sende Ihnen extra Exemplare für Separatgebrauch. (Uebrigens Material [für Heft 21] wird jetzt reingeschrieben.)

Besten Erfolg zu Ihrer fortdauernden Arbeit am Sprichwortgebrauch der deutschen Schriftsteller.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen,

Ihr

Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 16. März 1973

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor Kuusi!

Haben Sie herzlichen Dank für Ihren Brief vom 10. März 1973. Leider muß ich nun meinen Günter Grass Aufsatz zurückziehen, da er inzwischen in einer anderen Zeitschrift [*Muttersprache* 83 (1973), 64-67] erscheint. Ich hatte inzwischen die Hoffnung aufgegeben. Trotzdem möchte ich mich natürlich in der Zukunft als Parömiologe an *Proverbium* beteiligen.

Inzwischen habe ich für die Zeitschrift *Fabula* [14 (1973), 166-168] eine Rezension Ihres Buches über die *Ovambo Proverbs* [Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1970] geschrieben. Die Besprechung wird sicherlich bald erscheinen. Sie haben mit Ihrem Buch ein bedeutendes Werk für die internationale Parömiologie geschaffen!

Inzwischen habe ich ein Exemplar meiner nun gedruckten Dissertation an Sie abgeschickt, und zwar mit dem Schiff, so daß es noch ein Weilchen dauern wird. Ich würde mich sehr freuen, wenn Sie eine Besprechung meiner Arbeit in *Proverbium* übernehmen würden.

Im Moment bin ich gerade dabei, ein Buch (etwa 320 Manuskriptseiten) über *Das Sprichwort in der deutschen Prosaliteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* [München: Wilhelm Fink, 1976] fertigzustellen. Neun Autoren werden darin behandelt, und jedes Kapitel besteht aus zwei Teilen: eine tiefgreifende Analyse der Funktion der Sprichwörter und selbstverständlich ein Sprichwörter-Verzeichnis mit Quellenangaben und Verifikationen. In dieser

Beziehung hätte ich eine Frage an Sie: Käme meine Arbeit eventuell für die FFC [Folklore Fellows Communications] in Frage? Falls ja, würde ich Ihnen gerne das Manuskript zur Einsicht zuschicken.

Es tut mir leid, meinen Grass Aufsatz zurückziehen zu müssen, doch hoffe ich auf eine engere Zusammenarbeit in der Zukunft.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,

Ihr

Dr. Wolfgang Mieder

Assistant Professor

Helsinki, den 29. Januar 1974

Geehrter Kollege im Dienst der Parömiologie.

Besten Dank für den Brief / 8.1.1974. Ich habe gestern mit Lauri Honko, editor of FFC gesprochen, und er hat Ihren Vorschlag [der Herausgabe von neunzehn Aufsätzen von Archer Taylor mit dem Titel *Selected Writings on Proverbs by Archer Taylor*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1975] realisierbar bewertet. Wenn wir das Manuskript vor Herbst 1974 erhalten, so kann das Buch vielleicht Anfang 1975 publiziert werden. Ihr Inhaltsplan sieht gut aus: man sollte besonders die wesentlichen Ergänzungen zu *The Proverb* [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931] versammeln. Wenn Sie die Möglichkeit hätten die Lehrgeschichte der Parömiologie bis AT [Archer Taylor] gründlicher zu beleuchten, so könnte man für Introduction mehr Raum reservieren und etwas anderes weglassen. Was für neue Forschungsaspekte hat AT hineingebracht? Wie hat die Forschungsmethode sich entwickelt? Ich vermute, dass Sie Belesenheit und Kompetenz genug besitzen, um einen lehrgeschichtlich-methodologischen Entwurf zu skizzieren. Damit kriegen die *Selected Writings* beträchtlich größere Bedeutung.

Ihre Schriften haben der „Sprichwort als Zitat“-Forschung neue Perspektiven eröffnet. Siegfried Neumann hat über das Gotthelf-Buch einen zusätzlichen suum quique-Artikel gesandt. Es kann sein, dass das *Proverbium* 23 hauptsächlich die Papiere der Mitglieder des Symposiums im Juni 1974 enthalten wird. Ihre Ankunft wäre höchst wünschenswert. [Das „Symposium on Paremiology“ fand zusammen mit dem Sixth International Congress for Folk Narrative Research vom 19. bis 21. Juni 1974 in Helsinki statt; vgl. *Proverbium*, Heft 22 (1973), 862-864; Heft 24 [1974], 929-934].

Als Germanist und Internationalist könnten Sie die Tradition von AT am besten vertreten. Wenn Sie doch vor März ein genreanalytisches Papier senden könnten (z.B.: durch welche Kriterien kann man ein Sprichwort von einem Nicht-Spruchwort bei einem Schriftsteller unterscheiden?), so können Sie ohne weiteres an dem Symposium teilnehmen, entweder als freier Tourist oder als Teilnehmer des Kongresses. Irgendeine Integration der Parömiologen sollte man verwirklichen und auch über die Zukunft des *Proverbium* ratschlagen – ich bin bald 60, [Démétrios] Loukatos und [Ia.I.] Kalontarov haben wenig Interesse am internationalen Forschungsgebiet, man sollte einen jüngeren Mann zum Stellvertreter des AT finden, einen Mann mit internationalen Kontakten und mit vielen Weltsprachen. (Meine Schwäche ist, dass ich Finnisch, Schwedisch, Estnisch und Lateinisch als die besten Sprache verwalte!) Sat sapienti! Eine Zeitschrift wie *Proverbium* könnte man ziemlich leicht aus einem Land zu einem anderen hinüberführen.

Wenn Sie, wie ich vermute, ein dauerhaftes Interesse an der Parömiologie haben, so möchte ich sehr gern eine Korrespondenz mit Ihnen eröffnen. Die Briefe von AT bedeuteten ihrerzeit für mich sehr viel – Briefe bekommt *Proverbium* viel mehr als ich beantworten kann, aber die meisten betrachten das Feld von einer lokalen Forschungsperspektive.

Ich hoffe, dass Ihre Idee zu *Selected Writings* einen Anlass zu gegenseitlich nützlichen Kontakten gibt.

Auf Wiedersehen!

Ihr

Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 11. Februar 1974

Lieber Herr Kollege Kuusi!

Haben Sie herzlichen Dank für Ihren ausführlichen Brief vom 29. Januar 1974, worüber ich mich wirklich *sehr* gefreut habe. Ihr Brief enthielt so viele wunderbare Neuigkeiten, die mich die ganze letzte Woche tüchtig beschäftigt haben. Deshalb möchte ich nun zuerst gleich auf die drei Hauptpunkte Ihres Briefes eingehen. Aus meinen Ausführungen werden Sie erkennen, wie sehr ich mich über eine Korrespondenz mit Ihnen freue. Ich hoffe, daß wir uns in der Zukunft oft und regelmäßig schreiben werden, denn so können wir das Unserige zur internationalen Parömiologie beisteuern, Ich nehme also Ihren Vorschlag zum ständigen Gedankenaustausch gerne

an, und werde Ihnen heute einen besonders langen Brief schreiben, damit wir uns gleich ein bißchen besser kennenlernen.

1. Zuest einmal möchte ich mich bei Ihnen bedanken, daß Sie sich betreffs meines Vorschlages über eine FFC Publikation *Selected Writings on Proverbs by Archer Taylor* mit Prof. Lauri Honko in Verbindung gesetzt haben. Großartig, daß er meinen Vorschlag für realisierbar bewertet hat! Selbstverständlich kann Prof. Honko mit dem Manuskript vor dem Herbst rechnen, damit der Band dann Anfang 1975 erscheinen kann. Ich werde mich bald diesem Projekt widmen können, und ich hoffe, das Manuskript noch vor dem Sommer fertig zu haben.

Die Einleitung (Introduction) möchte ich aber doch lieber nicht allzu sehr ausbauen, da ich über die Lehrgeschichte der Parömiologie lieber ein selbständiges Werk schreiben möchte. Das werden Sie und Prof. Honko sicherlich verstehen können, in der Einleitung zu *Selected Writings* möchte ich daher hauptsächlich auf Archer Taylors Arbeiten eingehen und wie diese die Parömiologie als internationale Wissenschaft aufgebaut haben. Nun, wir werden sehen, wie lang die Einleitung wird, nur möchte ich diese nicht bis zu einer Monographie verlängern. Diese Art der Untersuchung möchte ich dann lieber selbständig veröffentlichen. Doch wie gesagt, ich mache mich jetzt bald an die Arbeit,

Bitte schreiben Sie mir doch in Ihrem nächsten Brief die Adresse von Prof. Honko. Soll ich ihm auf deutsch oder auf englisch schreiben? Mir ist es egal, da ich beide Sprachen beherrsche.

2. Vielen herzlichen Dank für die Einladung, um am Symposium teilzunehmen. Ich nehme diese Einladung gerne an, und ich komme also im Juni nach Helsinki, um all die Kollegen der Parömiologie kennenzulernen. Lutz Röhrich kenne ich persönlich, Siegfried Neumann immerhin brieflich. Doch nun werde ich all die anderen Parömiologen kennenlernen, die ich bisher nur aus ihren Schriften in *Proverbium* kenne. Am meisten aber freue ich mich, daß ich Sie kennenlernen werde. Ich habe mich auch über Ihre freundlichen Worte betreffs meiner Sprichwörterarbeiten gefreut. Es ist doch schön, wenn ein älterer Kollege die Arbeiten eines jüngeren Kollegen anerkennt.

Selbstverständlich möchte ich an dem Kongreß sowie an dem Symposium teilnehmen. Ich schicke heute mit diesem Brief die 25 Dollar (participation fee) und möchte Sie bitten, diese an das Or-

ganization Committee weiterzuleiten. Vielleicht könnte man mir überhaupt Information betreffs des Kongresses, Hotels etc., zukommen lassen. Bisher hatte ich noch nichts bekommen. Es wäre sehr nett, wenn Sie mir damit behilflich sein könnten.

Natürlich möchte ich gerne an dem Symposium teilnehmen. Dafür wollen Sie nun ein genreanalytisches Papier, und zwar vor März. Ich schicke nun heute ein Papier über „The Essence of Literary Proverb Studies“ [erschieden in *Proverbium*, 23 (1974), 888-894], worin ich versucht habe, in englischer Sprache über den Aufbau und den Wert literarisch ausgerichteter Sprichwörterarbeiten zu referieren. Es handelt sich also über das Sprichwort in der Literatur und welchen Wert solche Untersuchungen haben. Ich habe darüber auf dem letzten Treffen der American Folklore Society in Nashville/Tennessee gesprochen. Hier habe ich nun auch noch bibliographisch weiter ausgeführt, bes. Anmerkung 22, die auf das Verhältnis von Sprichwort zu Märchen, Sagwort, Legende, Ballade, etc. verweist. Ich hoffe, daß meine Arbeit für das Symposium paßt, auch wenn es nicht unbedingt genreanalytisch ausgerichtet ist. Alles ist halt ein bißchen spät, um noch eine andere Arbeit vorzubereiten, denn ich habe ja auch mit meiner Lehrtätigkeit viel zu tun. Ich schicke Ihnen zwei Kopien meines Papiers, ein Original und eine Kopie. Ich habe es nach *Proverbium* Vorschriften getippt. Ich hoffe, daß sie es zusammen mit den Symposium Papieren in *Proverbium* 23 drucken können. Für die internationalen Kollegen ist es bestimmt von Interesse.

In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich auch erwähnen,, daß ich von der Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache (Wiesbaden) eingeladen worden bin, im Sommer in mehreren deutschen Städten Vorträge über „Das Sprichwort im modernen Sprachgebrauch“ [erschieden in *Muttersprache*, 85 (1975), 65-88] zu halten. Das Manuskript ist natürlich noch nicht fertig, es wird aber als Rede (auf deutsch) etwa eine Stunde dauern. Nun wäre ich gerne dazu bereit, diesen Vortrag vor meinen parömiologischen Kollegen in Helsinki zu halten, wenn dafür Interesse besteht. Vielleicht an einem Nachmittag oder Abend, aber wie gesagt, auf deutsch. Was halten Sie davon? Es wäre doch vielleicht ganz interessant. Bitte schreiben Sie mir, ob Sie Gelegenheit sehen, daß ich diesen Vortrag in Helsinki vor den Parömiologen halte.

3. Nun aber zu der Frage über die Zukunft von *Proverbium*. Selbstverständlich habe ich *riesengroßes* Interesse an dieser Publikation, besonders, da mich gerade die internationale Parömiologie interessiert. Gerne möchte ich mit Ihnen über die Zukunft dieser wichtigen Publikation sprechen. Wie Sie wissen, bin ich wohl einer der jüngsten Parömiologen. Nächste Woche, am 17. Februar, werde ich ganze 30 Jahre alt. Sprachen beherrsche ich Englisch, Deutsch, Französisch, weniger gut Holländisch, Italienisch und einige romanische Sprachen. Russisch will ich jetzt noch lernen.

Ich möchte Ihnen nun folgenden Vorschlag machen. Wie Sie wissen, beginnt der Kongreß am 16. Juni. Wie wäre es, wenn ich schon am 10. Juni nach Helsinki käme? Dann könnten wir uns gut kennenlernen, könnten vieles in aller Ruhe besprechen, vor allem eben die Zukunft von *Proverbium*. Außerdem könnte ich Ihnen vielleicht bei der Vorbereitung des Symposiums behilflich sein. Natürlich möchte ich auch ein bißchen durch die vielen eingesandten Arbeiten blättern, die sie sicherlich über die Jahre gesammelt haben. Also was halten Sie davon, wenn ich schon am 10. Juni nach Helsinki käme? Bitte schreiben Sie mir auch über diesen Punkt recht bald, damit ich meine Pläne machen kann.

So, das wären also drei ausführliche Antworten auf Ihren liebenswürdigen Brief. Jetzt möchte ich noch kurz einige biographische Einzelheiten über mich hinzufügen. Ich wurde am 17. Februar 1944 in Nossen in der Nähe von Leipzig/Deutschland geboren, nach dem Kriege zogen meine Eltern mit meiner Schwester und mir nach Lübeck an die Ostsee. Dort besuchte ich bis 1960 das Gymnasium, bis mich die Wanderlust packte. Als sechzehnjähriger Junge fuhr ich auf einem Schiff hinüber nach Amerika, nachdem ich vorher in einer Detroiter Zeitung eine Annonce aufgegeben hatte, worin ich nach einer Familie suchte. Alles klappte wunderbar, und ich verbrachte mein erstes Jahr auf einer amerikanischen High School, nach diesem Jahr erlaubten mir meine Eltern nach vielem Betteln, ein weiteres Jahr in den USA zu bleiben. Aus diesem Jahr wurden Jahre des Mathematik, Chemie, Romanistik und Germanistik Studiums an den folgenden Universitäten: Olivet College/Michigan, University of Michigan, Michigan State University, University of Caen (France) und University of Heidelberg. 1970 erhielt ich meinen Dokortitel mit der Arbeit *Das Sprichwort im Werke Jeremias Gotthelfs*, die Sie ja kennen. Mein Doktorvater

war übrigens der Parömiologe, Germanist und Archer Taylor Schüler Stuart A. Gallacher, den Sie ebenfalls kennen. Heute bin ich als Prof. der Germanistik an der University of Vermont tätig, lehre außer der Literatur und Sprachgeschichte aber auch vor allem Seminare über „Volksdichtung“. Seitdem ich einmal mit Sprichwörtern gearbeitet habe, lassen mich diese altüberlieferten Weisheiten einfach nicht mehr los. Das haben Sie an meinen Veröffentlichungen gesehen, die ich in meiner bisher dreijährigen Laufbahn ausgearbeitet habe. Inzwischen weiß ich, daß ich meine ganze Forschungstätigkeit der Parömiologie widmen möchte, wie eben Archer Taylor und Sie auch. Mein größter Wunsch ist es, auf diesen hervorragenden Arbeiten ein Leben der Forschung aufzubauen. Ich erinnere mich noch ganz genau daran, wie ich Taylors *The Proverb* und Ihre *Parömiologischen Betrachtungen* zum ersten Mal in die Hände bekam, Das waren Erlebnisse! Doch darüber mehr in Helsinki, denn mündlich kann man doch so etwas viel besser erzählen.

Zeigen möchte ich Ihnen mit meinen Ausführungen, wie sehr viel mir an der Parömiologie gelegen ist, und welchen großen Wert ich in unserem nun beginnenden Briefwechsel sehe. Wie ich bereits oben erwähnte, möchte ich mich gerne für die gesicherte Zukunft von *Proverbium* einsetzen. Darüber wollen wir uns dann noch ausführlich in Helsinki unterhalten. Ich bin zu allem bereit, und helfe Ihnen ganz wie Sie es wünschen, um diese Zeitschrift weiter aufrecht zu erhalten.

Nun soll ich aber für heute Schluß machen. Haben Sie nochmals herzlichen Dank für Ihren Brief. Ich bin überzeugt, daß wir recht schnell einen regen Briefwechsel aufbauen werden, besonders nachdem wir uns im Juni kennengelernt haben werden.

Abschließend möchte ich Sie bitten, mir möglichst bald auf meine in diesem Brief enthaltenen Fragen zu antworten, denn ich möchte ja gerne meine Pläne für den Sommer machen.

Für heute nun endgültig Schluß. Ich hoffe auf eine baldige Antwort von Ihnen, wenn auch nur kurz auf meine Fragen.

Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen verbleibe ich

Ihr

Wolfgang Mieder

Burlington, den 3. März 1974

Lieber Herr Kollege Kuusi!

Heute nur kurz ein paar Zeilen, um Ihnen zwei Rezensionen Ihrer Arbeiten zuzuschicken, die ich für die *Fabula* geschrieben habe [*Ovambo Proverbs with African Parallels*. Helsinki 1970, in *Fabula*, 14 (1973), 166-168; *Towards an International Type-System of Proverbs*, Helsinki 1972, in *Fabula*, 14 (1973), 164-166]. Über das *International Type-System of Proverbs* können wir uns im Juni noch eingehender unterhalten.

Ich hoffe, daß Sie meinen langen Brief vom 11.2.1974 erhalten haben, worin ich Ihnen ja auch mitteilte, daß ich auf jeden Fall an dem Symposium teilnehmen werde. Ich hatte meinem Brief ja auch ein Manuskript über „The Essence of Literary Proverb Studies“ sowie einen Scheck über 25 Dollar für den Kongreß beigelegt. Ich freue mich wirklich schon sehr auf die Tage in Helsinki und ganz besonders darauf, Sie sowie die anderen parömiologischen Kollegen endlich persönlich kennenzulernen.

Inzwischen habe ich schon sehr fleißig an dem Archer Taylor Band für die FF Communications gearbeitet [*Selected Writings on Proverbs by Archer Taylor*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia. 1975]. Es besteht gar kein Zweifel daran, daß ich das fertige Manuskript im Sommer mit nach Helsinki bringen werde. Vergessen Sie aber trotzdem bitte nicht, mir die Adresse von Herrn Professor Honko umgehend mitzuteilen. Soll ich ihm auf englisch oder auf deutsch schreiben?

Sonst geht alles seinen gewöhnlichen Gang. Es gibt immer viel Arbeit und oft fehlen die notwendigen Stunden, um alles bewältigen zu können. Meine Lehrtätigkeit nimmt sehr viel Zeit in Anspruch, so daß ich meine Forschungsarbeiten bis spät in die Nacht hinein verlegen muß. Aber Sie wissen ja selbst, wie es mit uns betreffs der Sprichwörter steht. Wenn man erst einmal mit Sprichwörtern gearbeitet hat, so kommt man davon nicht wieder los. Gleichzeitig entwickelt sich ein kleines parömiologisches Problem eben sehr schnell in ein umfangreiches Projekt. Ich denke nur an Ihr Werk über die *Ovambo Proverbs*, was ja in der Tat eine umfangreiche Materialsammlung geworden ist.

Ganz besonders freue ich mich auf die Besprechungen betreffs der Zukunft von *Proverbium*. Wie ich Ihnen ja schon in meinem längeren Brief mitteilte, werde ich vom 11. bis zum 22.

Juni in Helsinki verweilen, so daß wir genug Zeit haben, um über viele Dinge zu diskutieren.

Für heute möchte ich nun schließen und würde mich über ein paar Zeilen von Ihnen sehr freuen.

Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen,

Ihr

Wolfgang Mieder

Helisinki, den 12. März 1974

Dem entfernten Freund Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Mieder in Burlington-Vermont.

Ihr Brief vom 11.2.1974 war bei seiner Ankunft eine Freude für mich und ich dachte eine lange baldige Antwort zu schreiben. Die 125-jährige *Kalevala* (28.2.1974) hat mir doch eine unerwartet intensive Arbeitsaison verursacht: die beiden Vizepräsidenten der Kalevala-Gesellschaften mussten nach Petrozavodsk fahren, während die einheimischen Zeremonien mir blieben. Die letzte Festrede hielt ich vorgestern: über das Sterben des Spieles in Finnland und Europa, im Geist des Jan Huizinga. Der liebenswürdige Professor Arthur Asa Berger hat einige Tage bei uns über Popularkultur Vorlesungen und Seminarübungen gehalten – auch jetzt sollte ich eigentlich mit ihm bei einer von meinen Assistenten auf Besuch sein. Leider spricht der San Fransisco Professor so eilig Englisch, dass ich immer 2 Sekunden später zu lachen beginne als die jüngeren Leute und gar keine Ahnung habe, warum welche jedesmal lachen. So habe ich also den Besuch versäumt und bin nach vielen Wochen wieder in meinem Institut, um mich etwas mit Sprichwörtern zu beschäftigen. Das interessanteste neue Büchlein, das ich auf meinem Tisch fand, ist *Russkije poslovitsy kak malyj zanr folklora* von N.K. Mitropolskaja (Vilnius). Aber auch Ihren Brief (und sehr viele andere) habe ich unbeantwortet gefunden und einen kurzen Brief begonnen – es ist 23 Uhr, und Berger soll morgen früh zum Flug; die nächsten Tage sind sehr voll. Eine tragische Wahrheit ist, dass ich noch in diesem Monat 60 Jahre jubiliere soll, keine Möglichkeit zur Flucht, und keine Möglichkeit zur Arbeitsruhe für *Proverbium*.

Das soll das Ende der Elegie sein. Jetzt zu Ihren Fragen. 1) Prof. Dr. Lauri Honko, Satakielentie 8, 20600 Turku 60, Finnland. (Er ist der Professor der Folkloristik und Religionswissenschaft an der Universität Turku.) Er kann gut Englisch. 2) Ich habe vor zwei

Wochen Ihre 25 Dollars zu Lic. Pirkko-Liisa Rausmaa, Hauptsekretärin des Kongresses, gegeben und alle mögliche Information an Sie zu senden gebeten. Hoffentlich haben Sie auch *Proverbium* 19 und 20 bekommen – einer von meinen Assistenten sollte dafür sorgen. 3) „The Essence of Literary Proverb Studies“ ist sehr gut und wird in *Proverbium* 23 gedruckt. Meine Schwierigkeit liegt jetzt darin, dass ich bisher sehr wenig nutzbare Texte insbetreff parömiologischer Genre-Analyse bekommen habe. Ich habe die Terminologie von Seiler und Taylor zu sammeln begonnen, aber weiss nicht, ob man damit weiterkommt. Unsere finnische Terminologie ist sehr detailliert, aber kaum in die Weltsprachen überführbar. 4) Wir haben für das parömiologische Symposium nur den 19. Juni von 11 Uhr und am Morgen des 21. Juni eine Möglichkeit zur kurzen Schlusssitzung. Natürlich können wir während der Exkursionen extra Diskussionen improvisieren. Nach meiner Auffassung sind die Vorlesungen eine ziemlich uneffektive Form der Kongressarbeit. Von den Teilnehmern verstehen die meisten keine deutsche Vorlesung. Besser also die Information als Hekto-gramm bieten. Ein Problem an sich sind die Teilnehmer, die wegen des Reisegeldes Vorträge halten sollten. 5) Ihre Ankunft am 10. Juni in Helsinki wäre in mancher Hinsicht willkommen. Doch habe ich eine Ahnung, dass die letzte Woche vor dem Kongress sehr ruhelos sein wird. Leider habe ich nach dem internationalen Kongress einen Poplore-Kongress in der Stadt Jyväskylä in der letzten Woche vom Juni und soll da einen Eröffnungsvortrag halten. Es ist möglich, dass ich in der Woche 10.6.- mich anderswo verstecken muss, um diesen schwierigen Auftrag zu verfertigen. Natürlich gibt es in Helsinki Leute, die mit Ihnen gern parömiologische Fragen schon 10.6.- behandeln können. Aber ich möchte den Vorschlag machen, dass Sie um etwa 14.6. ankommen sollten – dann bin ich bestimmt in Helsinki und wir können das Symposium zusammen in 5 Tagen programmieren. Wenn Sie die Möglichkeit haben, mit mir nach dem Kongress nach See-Finnland zu fahren (Jyväskylä ist ungefähr im Mittelpunkt des Landes) so können wir unsere Diskussion fortsetzen.

Mein lieber Freund, es ist nun schon spät und ich habe nach einem harten Arbeitstag einen schlechten Brief geschrieben, der vielleicht am liebsten ungesandt bleiben möchte. Vielleicht gibt es eine klare Auffassung von den allzu dürftigen Energiereserven des *Proverbiums*. Ihr Brief erregt eine Hoffnung, dass die Bulletine

neue Lebensmöglichkeiten finden könnte. Bitte schreiben Sie aufrichtig, ob Sie Interesse an dieser schwerfälligen Vermittlerarbeit haben.

Auf Wiedersehen.

Ihr

Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 18. März 1974

Mein lieber Professor Kuusi!

Gestern kam Ihr lieber Brief hier an, und ich habe mich so sehr über Ihre freundlichen Zeilen gefreut. Vielen Dank zuerst einmal für die ausführlichen Antworten auf die Fragen meines letzten Briefes. Mit meiner Teilnahme am Kongreß ist nun alles geregelt. Selbstverständlich bedeutet mir das parömiologische Symposium am meisten, und ich freue mich, daß Sie mit meiner kleinen Arbeit über „The Essence of Literary Proverb Studies“ zufrieden sind, und daß die Arbeit im *Proverbium* 23 [(1974), 888-894] gedruckt wird. Ich nehme an, daß *Proverbium* 23 noch vor dem Kongreß erscheinen wird.

Es war sehr nett von Ihnen, mir auch die Adresse von Prof. Honko mitzuteilen. Ich habe ihm soeben betreffs meiner Herausgabe der *Selected Writings on Proverbs by Archer Taylor* geschrieben. Dieses Projekt macht sehr gute Fortschritte. Alles ist fertig, außer der Einleitung. Ich habe aber den ganzen Aufbau des Buches nochmals überarbeitet und lege Ihnen eine Kopie des nun geplanten Inhalts bei. Sie werden mir gewiß beistimmen, daß die fünfzehn Studien einen guten Überblick über das parömiologische Werk Taylors geben. Wie Sie sehen, habe ich die Artikel in Gruppen eingeteilt. Zuerst gibt es die fünf äußerst wichtigen Arbeiten über die allgemeine Sprichwörterkunde, dann folgen weitere fünf Beiträge über spezielle parömiologische Probleme. Dann die vier Untersuchungen zu einzelnen Sprichwörtern, die Taylors Interesse an internationalen Zusammenhängen verdeutlichen und schließlich dann noch seine einführende, bibliographische Studie. In den einzelnen Abteilungen sind die Artikel zeitlich nach dem Erscheinungsjahr eingeteilt, so daß sich der Werdegang von Taylors Sprichwortarbeiten deutlich herausstellt. Ich bin völlig davon überzeugt, daß diese Sammlung ein wichtiges Buch für die Parömiologie werden wird, ein herrliches Addendum zu Taylors *The Proverb* [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press,

1931]. Ich hoffe, daß Prof. Honko mit allem einverstanden ist. Ich freue mich so sehr, daß es zu einer Veröffentlichung dieser Aufsatzsammlung in den FFC kommen wird. Es ist ein schönes Denkmal für Archer Taylor und gleichzeitig ein unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel für Parömiologen im besonderen und Volkskundler im allgemeinen, Wie bereits oben gesagt, lege ich Ihnen erneut eine Kopie des Inhalts dieses Buches bei und hoffe, daß alles Ihre Zustimmung gewinnt. Ich habe alle Artikel mehrmals durchgelesen, und glaube, daß ich das Wichtigste erfaßt habe.

Nun aber zu unserem geliebten *Proverbium* und dessen Zukunft. Lieber Freund, bereits in Ihrem ersten Brief schrieben Sie: „ich bin bald 60, Loukatos und Kalontarov haben wenig Interesse am internationalen Forschungsgebiet, man sollte einen jüngeren Mann zum Stellvertreter des AT finden ... Eine Zeitschrift wie *Proverbium* könnte man ziemlich leicht aus einem Land zu einem anderen hinüberführen.“ Und Ihr letzter Brief enthielt nun folgende Aussage: „Ihr Brief erregt eine Hoffnung, dass die Bulletin neue Lebensmöglichkeiten finden könnte. Bitte schreiben Sie aufrichtig, ob Sie Interesse an dieser schwerfälligen Vermittlerarbeit haben.“ Ich habe Ihre Briefe nochmals ganz genau durchstudiert und verstehe daraus nun Folgendes, daß Sie wegen Ihrer vielen Forschungsarbeit und auch wegen Ihres Alters gerne die Herausgeberschaft von *Proverbium* an einen jüngeren Kollegen übergeben würden. Sie schreiben ja auch, daß man die Zeitschrift leicht von einem Lande in ein anderes überführen könnte.

Wenn ich das alles richtig verstehe, so habe ich das Gefühl, daß Sie mich fragen, ob ich bereit wäre, die Herausgeberschaft von *Proverbium* zu übernehmen. Dazu nun meine Antwort: Lieber Freund, daß Sie überhaupt an mich gedacht haben, hat mich zutiefst gerührt. Mit all meiner jugendlichen Begeisterung würde ich mich auf diese Aufgabe stürzen! Ich würde es als große Ehre ansehen, wenn ich die Herausgeberschaft von *Proverbium* übernehmen könnte. Ich habe sowieso beschlossen, daß ich meine Forschungstätigkeit dem Sprichwort widmen möchte. Sie sehen das ja an meinen Arbeiten, die ich Ihnen zugeschickt habe. Wenn Sie mir also in der Tat die Herausgeberschaft von *Proverbium* übergeben wollen, dann ist meine Antwort darauf ein glückliches und dankbares Ja! Selbstverständlich müssen wir dann im Juni über die Einzelheiten verhandeln. Wie wird die Zeitschrift und was dazugehört nach Burlington geschickt? Wie sieht es auch mit dem

finanziellen Aspekt der Herausgabe der Zeitschrift aus, etc.? Doch übernehmen würde ich *Proverbium* von Herzen gern. Ich hoffe nur, daß ich Sie auch richtig verstanden habe. Ich möchte nochmals mit aller Dankbarkeit wiederholen, wie gerne ich diese Arbeit übernehmen möchte! Ich sehe es als Anerkennung meiner jungen Forschertätigkeit an, und natürlich auch als Auszeichnung und Ehre, das Werk von Ihnen und Taylor gewissenhaft fortzusetzen. Wenn ich wirklich *Proverbium* übernehmen soll, so bin ich der glücklichste Parömiologe auf der ganzen Welt!!!

Zwar weiß ich nicht, wann Ihr Geburtstag in diesem Monat ist, möchte Ihnen aber trotzdem von ganzem Herzen zu Ihrem 60. Geburtstag gratulieren. Wenn man jetzt schon Ihre umfangreichen Forschungsarbeiten betrachtet, so kann man Ihnen nur wünschen, daß Ihnen noch sehr, sehr viele Jahre fortlaufender Forschungstätigkeit beschieden sind, Also nochmals alles Gute zu Ihrem Ehrentage.

Damit möchte ich nun den heutigen Brief abschließen. Ich freue mich schon sehr auf unser gegenseitiges Kennenlernen und auf unsere Besprechungen betreffs *Proverbium*, Ich würde mich sehr freuen, wenn Sie mir trotz all Ihrer Arbeit bald schreiben könnten, ob ich obige Angelegenheit richtig verstanden habe.

Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen

Ihr

Wolfgang Mieder

Burlington, den 17. April 1974

Mein lieber Professor Kuusi!

Heute nur kurz ein paar Zeilen, um Ihnen einen kurzen Beitrag für das nächste *Proverbium* zuzuschicken.

Sicherlich haben Sie meinen Brief vom 18. März 1974 erhalten, und ich warte nun auf eine Antwort. Selbstverständlich weiß ich natürlich, wie sehr beschäftigt Sie momentan sind. Ich hatte mich auch persönlich an Herrn Prof. Honko betreffs des Archer Taylor Bandes gewandt, habe aber bisher noch nichts von ihm gehört. Inzwischen habe ich aber fleißig an diesem Buch gearbeitet, und ich könnte das Manuskript vielleicht sogar schon mit nach Helsinki bringen, wenn ich demnächst von Prof. Honko höre.

Auch ich habe momentan sehr viel zu tun, denn das Semester geht in drei Wochen zu Ende, und ich habe einige Studenten, die noch ihre These beenden wollen.

Auf meine Reise nach Helsinki und auf unser baldiges Kennenlernen freue ich mich immer mehr, besonders da es nun nicht mehr lange dauert. Übrigens werde ich am Spätnachmittag von Hamburg aus am 13. Juni in Helsinki eintreffen.

Vielleicht höre ich ja doch noch von Ihnen bevor meiner Abreise nach Deutschland am 25. Mai 1974. Vom 25. Mai bis zum 13. Juni bin ich unter der Adresse meiner lieben Eltern erreichbar: 24 Lübeck, Angelnweg 5, Westdeutschland.

Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen,

Ihr

Wolfgang Mieder

Burlington, den 25. Mai 1974

Lieber Herr Kollege Kuusi!

Sicherlich haben Sie inzwischen die Sonderdrucke erhalten, die ich Ihnen vor einigen Tagen zugeschickt habe. Heute möchte ich Ihnen nun eine Rezension über Nopitschs *Literatur der Sprichwörter* für das nächste *Proverbium* zusenden. Ein fotomechanischer Nachdruck dieser ersten deutschsprachigen Sprichwörterbibliographie ist soeben erschienen [Christian Conrad Nopitsch, *Literatur der Sprichwörter. Ein Handbuch für Literaturhistoriker, Bibliographen und Bibliothekare*. Nürnberg: Ferdinand von Ebner, 1833. Nachdruck Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1974; meine Rezension in *Fabula*, 16 (1975), 173-174].

Inzwischen rückt die Zeit des Kongresses immer näher. Bereits am Montag, den 27. Mai, trete ich meine Reise nach Lübeck an, wo meine Eltern wohnen. In der ersten Juniwoche fahre ich dann nach Leipzig, um meine Verwandten dort zu besuchen. Falls möglich, werde ich aber auch nach Rostock reisen, um Herrn Siegfried Neumann, den Sie ja sehr gut kennen, aufzusuchen. Am 13. Juni komme ich dann um 17.30 Uhr von Hamburg aus in Helsinki an und bleibe bis zum 22. Juni. Schon jetzt freue ich mich auf all die Bekanntschaften, die sich durch diesen Kongreß ergeben werden. Selbstverständlich wird das parömiologische Symposium für mich der Höhepunkt meines Aufenthaltes in Helsinki bedeuten. Übrigens habe ich bereits mein Zimmer im Hotel *Academica* reserviert.

Alles andere können wir bald in Helsinki besprechen. Ich bringe übrigens das fertige Manuskript für Herrn Honko mit. So-

mit könnte der Sammelband *Selected Writings on Proverbs by Archer Taylor* schon bald in den FFC erscheinen.

Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen,
Ihr
Wolfgang Mieder

Mai/Juni 1974

Herrn Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Mieder
24 Lübeck, Angelnweg 5, Deutschland

Proverbium 23 wurde vor etwa 10 Tagen zu den Lesern gesandt. Da es möglich ist, dass Sie Ihre 8 Exemplare erst später in USA finden werden, sende ich hiermit ein Exemplar nach Lübeck. Ich freue mich sehr, dass wir bald in Helsinki einander treffen können. Selbst habe ich eine Festrede spät am 12.6. in Nord-Finnland und bin nicht sicher, ob ich schon am 13.6. in Helsinki ankommen kann, sicherlich aber schon 14.6.

Ich war vor einigen Tagen in Tallinn und hatte mit Arvo Krikmann und Ingrid Sarv eine gute Diskussion. Es ist leider ganz unsicher, ob die Parömiologen aus der UdSSR nach Helsinki reisen dürfen. Die estnischen Forscher hatten natürliche Reservationen gegen den Gedanken, dass *Proverbium* z.B. in USA publiziert werde. Tatsächlich gibt es eine Menge von Ländern, die bis jetzt ausserhalb des aktiven *Proverbium*-Kreises geblieben sind und die vielleicht besser von USA als von Finnland zu erreichen sind. Aber die UdSSR gehört wohl zu den parömiologischen Grossmächten. Man muss alle Vor- und Nachteile der verschiedenen Möglichkeiten abwägen.

Im Symposium müssen wir uns insofern auf eine Selbstbedienung verlassen, als wir kaum Dolmetscher genug von dem grossen Kongress bekommen. Sie sind wahrscheinlich der einzige, der sowohl Englisch als Deutsch vollkommen beherrscht. Wie Sie sich erinnern, hat jeder eine 3-5 Minuten lange Replik am Anfang der Diskussion – ich sollte eine Zusammenfassung oder allgemeine Problemstellung versuchen, die vielleicht in drei westlichen Sprachen gelesen werden sollte. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass zwischen dem 14. und 19. Juni [das Sprichwort gilt] „den Freund erkennt man in der Not“. *Proverbium* 23 gibt wohl einige gute Impulse zur parömiologischen Genre-Analyse, aber es gilt nicht nur die Schwierigkeiten der verschiedenen Sprachen sondern auch die ungleichmässigen Forschungsaspekte zu beseitigen.

Meine Telephonnummer in Helsinki ist 492614 (zu Hause) oder 626256 (im Institut).

Herzliche Grüsse an Ihre Eltern und auf Wiedersehen.
Ihr finnischer Kollege
Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 17. August 1974

Lieber guter parömiologischer Freund Kuusi!

Vor drei Tagen bin ich nun endlich aus Europa kommend wieder in Amerika gelandet. Heute möchte ich Ihnen nun gleich schreiben, um Ihnen mitzuteilen, wie sehr ich mich gefreut habe, Sie endlich auch persönlich kennengelernt zu haben. Es war mir eine Freude und Ehre mit Ihnen an unserem parömiologischen Symposium mitzuarbeiten, und ich bin auch fest davon überzeugt, daß das Symposium ein großer Erfolg war.

Wie Sie sich vorstellen können, habe ich momentan sehr viel zu tun. Es gibt viel Post zu beantworten, und auch die Vorlesungen fangen in zwei Wochen wieder an, und da müssen noch viele Sachen vorbereitet werden.

Heute will ich aber gleich an Sie schreiben, denn ich hatte Ihnen einige Dinge versprochen:

1. Ich habe die zehn Beschlüsse des Symposiums getippt, so daß sie also im nächsten *Proverbium* erscheinen können [24 (1974), 929-930].
2. Anbei ein suum quique über Werner Herzenstiels Buch *Erziehungserfahrung im deutschen Sprichwort*. Sie hatten mich in Helsinki darum gebeten [24 (1974), 957].
3. Ein weiteres suum quique für *Proverbium* habe ich Ihnen schon am 25. Mai 1974 zugeschickt. Es handelt sich um den Nachdruck von Nopitschs *Literatur der Sprichwörter* [erschieden in *Fabula*, 16 (1975), 173-174].
4. Mein kurzer Beitrag über „Kredit ist tot“ ist auch schon in Ihren Händen. Ich hatte ihn am 17. April 1974 an Sie abgeschickt [erschieden in *Proverbium*, 1 (1984), 187-189].

Haben Sie inzwischen schon mehr über die Drucksetzung meines Bandes über *Selected Writings on Proverbs by Archer Taylor* erfahren? Prof. Honko meinte ja, daß die Drucksetzung recht schnell vor sich gehen sollte. Vielleicht bekomme ich ja so-

gar dieses Jahr noch die Korrekturfahnen. Es ist wirklich schön, daß FFC diesen Sammelband übernimmt.

Entschuldigen Sie bitte für heute diesen kurzen Bericht, aber ich wollte Ihnen doch gleich besonders die zehn Beschlüsse des Symposiums zuschicken. Doch viel andere Arbeit wartet auf mich, so daß ich für heute schließen werde. Wenn Sie etwas über meinen Taylor-Band erfahren, würde ich mich über ein paar Zeilen sehr freuen.

Abschließend möchte ich Ihnen nochmals sagen, wie sehr ich mich über unser Kennenlernen gefreut habe. Vielen Dank für die schönen und vor allem fruchtbaren Tage in Helsinki. Das Symposium war ein herrliches Erlebnis.

Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen,

Ihr

Wolfgang Mieder

Burlington, den 24. November 1974

Lieber parömiologischer Freund Matti Kuusi!

Schon sehr lange habe ich nichts mehr von Ihnen gehört, und jeden Tag warte ich auf Post von Ihnen. Hoffentlich sind Sie nicht krank. Vielleicht haben Sie auch einfach zu viel Arbeit, wofür ich selbstverständlich volles Verständnis habe.

Wie sieht es nun mit der Veröffentlichung meines Buches *Selected Writings on Proverbs by Archer Taylor* aus? Es wurde doch in Helsinki gesagt, daß der Druck recht bald vorgenommen werden sollte. Vielleicht hat die Arbeit am Manuskript auch schon begonnen.

Inzwischen habe ich von allen Zeitschriften die Erlaubnis zum Wiederabdruck bekommen, so daß alles in Ordnung ist. Heute schicke ich nun noch eine Seite mit „Acknowledgments“ (Bestätigungen der Abdruckserlaubnis), die entweder vorne nach dem Inhaltsverzeichnis oder vielleicht ganz hinten ins Manuskript eingebaut werden muß. Das ist von den meisten Personen, die ich um Erlaubnis für den Wiederabdruck angeschrieben habe, gefordert worden. Außerdem fordern fünf dieser Personen ein Exemplar des fertigen Buches an, und natürlich möchte ich dann auch ein Exemplar an Frau Taylor schicken. Ich brauche also mindestens sechs Exemplare, möchte aber selbst gerne etwa 25 Exemplare für mich. Vielleicht bekomme ich ja sowieso einige Freixemplare als Herausgeber.

Auch habe ich noch drei weitere Veröffentlichungen von Archer Taylor gefunden, die noch in meine Bibliographie am Ende des Buches aufgenommen werden müssen.

Und wie geht es *Proverbium*? Ich erwarte schon sehnsüchtig das nächste Heft, denn es werden wieder viele interessante Arbeiten darin stehen.

Ich würde mich freuen, recht bald wieder einmal von Ihnen zu hören. Besonders möchte ich eben wissen, wie es mit dem Taylor-Buch aussieht. Man hat mich schon einige Male gefragt, wann das Buch erscheinen wird? Man hat wirklich Interesse an dieser Publikation.

Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen
Ihr
Wolfgang Mieder

Helsinki 7.12.1974

Geehrter Freund Wolfgang Mieder.

Dank für den Brief. Er kam in richtiger Zeit: Lauri Honko hatte an demselben Tag eine Zusammenkunft, wo er zur Frage, ob Taylors Essaysammlung urheberrechtlich klargelegt ist, antworten sollte. Ein anderes amerikanisches Buch wird nun in FFC gedruckt, aber nach Honko sollte Ihr Manuskript das folgende sein. Er hatte das Druckangebot der Buchdruckerei. Ich sende Ihnen *Ovambo Riddles*, FFC 215 – die Druckarbeit dauerte 14 Monate! Man hat den Korpustext zuerst mit Petit und den Petittext mit Korpus gesetzt. Wenig Geld, billige und schlechte Druckereien, viel Ärger. Mein Buch sieht nicht schön aus, aber ich bin glücklich, dass der afrikanische Kampf nun vorbei ist.

Das dünne Heft *Proverbium* 24 haben Sie vielleicht schon bekommen. Das folgende Heft wird das letzte sein, das von mir redigiert wird. 1000 Seiten + 8 Seiten indices. Wenn ich Deutsch und Englisch könnte wie Sie, so wäre das Fortsetzen denkbar. Nun nimmt die Zeitschrift so viel Zeit und Energie, dass ich entweder die Zeitschrift oder das Typenverzeichnis wählen soll [vgl. dazu seinen Beitrag „Towards an International Type-System of Proverbs“, *Proverbium*, 19 (1972), 699-736], und das letzte gefällt mir unbedingt mehr. Ich habe einige Briefe zu den Parömiologen in verschiedenen Ländern geschrieben, halte es aber unwahrscheinlich, dass jemand die Redaktion an sich nehmen wollte.

Vielleicht sind Sie nach 10 oder 20 Jahren in der Situation, dass Sie die Idee von Taylor weiterbringen können.

Ich vermute, dass unsere 10 resolutions doch nicht völlig umsonst waren – einige Ideen werden verwirklicht. Mir gehört zum Glück nur Nr. 4 – Sie haben als junger Mann sogar drei (1, 7 und 9) schwierige Aufgaben angenommen. Die Sturm- und Drang-Periode der Parömiologie verursacht, dass Ihre beharrliche Eigenart die Wissenschaftler nicht imponiert [diese Aussage bezieht sich auf den Umstand, daß es zu der Zeit Stimmen gegen die Verlegung von *Proverbium* nach Amerika gab; einmal weil ich zu jung war, und zweitens, weil man befürchtete, daß Parömiologen aus den Ostblockstaaten dann nicht in *Proverbium* publizieren dürften], aber wenn ich mich nicht irre, mag man im Jahre 2000 einsehen, dass Sie einer von den wenigen treuen Schülern Archer Taylors gewesen sind? Das können Sie als eine Entschuldigung auffassen. Als Demokrat konnte ich aber die Entscheidung nicht allein machen. Das Profil eines Philatelisten ist offensichtlich mehr eindrucksvoll in den Augen der Mitarbeiter geblieben als das Profil eines Humanisten. Die besten Parömiologen haben wohl als Philatelisten begonnen. Das Wachstum kommt nachher, oder kommt nicht. Hauptsache, dass man sich nicht mit den Scheinmeriten begnügt.

Mein Weihnachtsbrief wurde zerstreut und melankolisch. Verzeihen Sie! Wie AT geschrieben hat: amore more ore re firmantur amicitiae! Juni 1974 in Helsinki war doch nicht umsonst – eine Kontinuität der taylorschen Forschertradition wurde belebt. Dank für Ihren Anteil, und gutes neues Jahr!

Ihr
Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 2. April 1975

Lieber, guter Freund Matti Kuusi!

Endlich will ich nun heute Ihren letzten Brief beantworten, wofür ich Ihnen ganz herzlich danke. Ganz besonderen Dank aber natürlich auch für Ihr Buch über die *Ovambo Riddles* [Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1974]. Es war sehr nett von Ihnen, mir ein Exemplar zu widmen und zuzuschicken.

Inzwischen habe ich natürlich auch Heft 24 von *Proverbium* empfangen. Auf dem Umschlag konnte ich feststellen, daß die Freunde Vilmos Voigt und Alan Dundes die neuen Mitherausge-

ber der Zeitschrift geworden sind. Das war eine *sehr* gute Wahl! Vilmos Voigt konnte ich in Helsinki kennenlernen, und ich war natürlich sehr beeindruckt von ihm. Auch kenne ich seine parömiologischen Arbeiten und weiß, daß er die Ostblockstaaten in der internationalen Parömiologie ausgezeichnet vertreten wird. Er kann ja auch eine große Menge von Sprachen sprechen, so daß er wirklich bestens geeignet als Mitherausgeber ist. Aber auch mein Freund Alan Dundes ist ein erstklassiger Wissenschaftler, der es wirklich verdient, ein Mitherausgeber des *Proverbiums* zu sein. Er hat sehr viel Erfahrung, auch auf parömiologischem Gebiet. Ich habe ihm inzwischen auch geschrieben und ihn beglückwünscht. Sie sehen also, daß ich voll und ganz der Wahl von Voigt und Dundes zustimme. Was mich betrifft, so bin ich noch sehr jung (gerade erst 30 Jahre alt), so daß ich ruhig warten kann. Es besteht doch kein Zweifel, daß momentan Voigt und Dundes die bekannteren und wohl auch besseren Leute für *Proverbium* sind.

Leider geht die Zeit allzu schnell dahin, und nun ist es schon bald ein Jahr her, daß wir uns in Helsinki kennenlernten. Inzwischen habe ich fleißig gearbeitet, und noch dieses Jahr wird ein Büchlein von mir über *Das Sprichwort in unserer Zeit* [Frauenfeld: Huber, 1975] in der Schweiz erscheinen. Selbstverständlich bekommen Sie sofort ein Exemplar. Heute kann ich Ihnen wieder zwei meiner gedruckten Arbeiten schicken, eine über „Deutsche Volkskunde und amerikanische Germanistik“ [*Unterrichtspraxis*, 6 (1973), 34-40] und die andere ein Forschungsbericht (mit Bibliographie!) über „The Proverb and Romance Literature“ [*Romance Notes*, 15 (1974), 610-621].

Oft denke ich diese Tage an meinen Sammelband der fünfzehn wichtigsten Sprichwortarbeiten von Archer Taylor, der doch nun bald in FFC erscheinen soll. Haben Sie eine Vorstellung, wann dieser Band erscheinen wird? Ich habe an Herrn Honko geschrieben, aber er antwortet nicht. Vielleicht wissen Sie etwas Neues. Es wäre ja schön, wenn der Band bald erscheinen würde.

Ich würde mich sehr freuen, bald wieder einmal ein paar Zeilen von Ihnen zu erhalten.

Viele liebe Grüße

Ihr

Wolfgang Mieder

Helsinki 3.5.1975

Lieber Freund Wolfgang Mieder in Burlington.

Besten Dank für Ihren Brief / 2.4.1975. Ich habe gestern mit Lauri Honko in Turku gesprochen. Er bestätigt, dass das Werk mit Taylors Sprichwortaufsätzen im Sommer in Druck geht. Honko ist im Krankenhaus gewesen, die Publikationsmittel sind vermindert, aber ich glaube, dass es dieses Mal gelingt, den FFC-Band zustande zu bringen.

Proverbium 25 ist druckfertig. Nigel Barley war heute in unserem Institut und half uns mit seiner englischen Sprache wie Sie im Juni 1974. Er ist ein sehr begabter junger Parömiologe und wird bald seine Dissertation publizieren. Die Nummer 25 enthält vor allem den langen Artikel von Alan Dundes [„On the Structure of the Proverb,“ *Proverbium*, Heft 25 (1975), 961-773], viele kürzere (u.a. von Permjakov), Personen- und Themenregister des *Proverbium* (1-25), mehr als 1500 Namen. C'est fini! Die Fortsetzung [der *Proverbium*-Zeitschrift] unbekannt.

Ich fahre 5.5. nach Estland, wo ich zwei Wochen mit den estnischen Parömiologen ein Typenverzeichnis der nordeuropäischen Lehnssprichwörter verfertige.

Hoffentlich bleiben unsere Beziehungen gut und freundlich auch nach dem Ende des *Proverbium*. Die Zusammenarbeit der Parömiologen sucht neue Formen.

Mit besten Grüßen

Ihr

Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 22. Juli 1975

Lieber parömiologischer Freund Matti Kuusi!

Sicherlich erinnern Sie sich noch an Herrn Earl Lane, mit dem Sie sich vor einiger Zeit über die Sprichwörterkunde in Helsinki unterhalten haben. Herr Lane hat auch mich telefonisch interviewt, und vor etwa drei Wochen erschien ein netter Bericht in der Zeitung *Newsday* [„A Proverbial Quest that Intrigues Scholars“, 27. Juni 1975, Teil II, S. 4A-5A]. Am 6. Juli auch in der Zeitung *Boston Globe* [„In the Proverbial Stew“, 6. Juli 1975, S. 1B] Herr Lane hat mir geschrieben, daß der Artikel wahrscheinlich noch in vielen anderen amerikanischen Zeitungen erscheinen wird. Auf Bitte von Herrn Lane schicke ich Ihnen heute ein Exemplar des Aufsatzes.

Vor einigen Tagen habe ich auch *Proverbium* 25 erhalten, wieder ein ausgezeichnetes Heft! Besonders der Beitrag von Alan Dundes ist sehr gut, was ich ihm auch geschrieben habe. Und wie sieht die Zukunft für unsere geliebte Zeitschrift aus? Sie sind ja nun fertig damit, und ich hoffe, daß *Proverbium* nicht eingeht.

Wie sieht es mit meinem FFC Buch aus? Man hat mich schon verschiedentlich gefragt, wann die fünfzehn gesammelten Aufsätze von Archer Taylor erscheinen werden. Meinen Sie, daß es noch dieses Jahr sein wird, oder erst im nächsten Jahr?

Gespannt bin ich natürlich, was Sie von meinem Buch *Das Sprichwort in unserer Zeit* halten. Ich habe fleißig daran gearbeitet und viel Belegmaterial verarbeitet. Ich hoffe, daß Sie mit meinem Buch zufrieden sind. Sicherlich haben Sie es inzwischen erhalten, denn ich schickte es mit Luftpost nach Helsinki.

Viele liebe Grüße,

Ihr

Wolfgang Mieder

Burlington, den 2. Februar 1976

Lieber, guter Freund Matti Kuusi!

Vielen herzlichen Dank für Ihren freundlichen Brief und auch für die anerkennenden Worte betreffs meines Buches [*Das Sprichwort in unserer Zeit*. Frauenfeld: Huber, 1975]. Ich habe mich sehr darüber gefreut, und möchte mich auch gleich dafür bedanken, daß ich Ihren Aufsatz [„Ein Vorschlag für die Terminologie der parömiologischen Strukturanalyse“] in den Sammelband *Ergebnisse der Sprichwörterforschung* [Bern: Peter Lang, 1978, S. 171-176] aufnehmen darf. Es wird ein guter Band! Da ich über Weihnachten in Deutschland war, habe ich auch mit unseren Freunden [Lutz] Röhrich, [Gerda] Grober-Glück, usw. gesprochen, und alle sind über den Sammelband begeistert.

Gute Nachricht über unser *Proverbium*!!! Ich freue mich, daß Vilmos Voigt die folgende Nummer von *Proverbium* im Herbst in Budapest publizieren wird [es kam zwischen 1981-1989 zu vier Heften von *Proverbium Paratum*]. So wird *Proverbium* nicht sterben!

Heute habe ich eine wichtige Frage an Sie: Wie Sie wissen, möchte ich auch den Aufsatz „Aspekte der Wellerismen-Forschung“ von Siegfried Neumann in meinen Sammelband aufnehmen. Der Aufsatz war ja in *Proverbium* [Heft 6 (1966), 131-

137] erschienen. Ich habe schon zweimal an Herrn Neumann geschrieben, um die Wiederabdruckserlaubnis zu bekommen. Aber ich erhalte keine Antwort. Wiederum möchte ich den Aufsatz unbedingt aufnehmen. Können Sie mir, als Herausgeber der Zeitschrift *Proverbium*, die Erlaubnis zum Abdruck geben? Ich wäre Ihnen sehr dankbar dafür. Sonst habe ich von allen Kollegen gehört und die Erlaubnis bekommen. Nun möchte ich das Manuskript zusammenstellen, aber eben mit dem Aufsatz von Neumann. Können Sie mir die Erlaubnis geben? [Ich bekam schließlich von Sigefried Neumann die Erlaubnis, seinen kurzen Beitrag „Zur Terminologie der parömiologischen Strukturanalyse,“ *Proverbium*, Heft 6 (1966), S. 130 als Ergänzung zu Matti Kuusi Aufsatz aufzunehmen; im Sammelband dann S. 177].

Bitte schreiben Sie mir sofort ganz kurz, ob Sie mir helfen können. Vielen Dank.

Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen,
Ihr
Wolfgang Mieder

Burlington, den 21. April 1976

Lieber Freund Matti Kuusi!

Heute kann ich berichten, daß der von mir herausgegebene Sammelband *Ergebnisse der Sprichwörterforschung* [Bern: Peter Lang, 1978] fertig ist. Vor einigen Tagen habe ich das Manuskript an den Peter Lang Verlag abgeschickt, und ich nehme an, daß das Buch noch dieses Jahr erscheinen wird. Es war eine Menge Arbeit, aber ich bin der Meinung, es wird ein gutes Buch für die Parömiologie werden.

Doch nun habe ich eine andere große Sorge. Wissen Sie, was mit meinem FFC 216 passiert ist? Schon vor Weihnachten bekam ich die Korrekturfahnen für das ganze Buch. Ich habe alles sorgfältig korrigiert und wieder zurückgeschickt. Dann kamen etwa 50 Seiten des Umbruchs und jetzt schon seit einem Viertel Jahr nichts mehr. Ich habe schon viele Male an Herrn Kollegen Honko geschrieben, aber er antwortet mir nie. Können Sie erfahren, was los ist? Schon viele Kollegen und Herausgeber haben mich gefragt, wann der Taylor-Band *Selected Writings of Proverbs by Archer Taylor* erscheinen wird. Ich hoffe alles ist in Ordnung.

Aber bitte helfen Sie mir und lassen Sie mich wissen, wie es mit dem Buch weitergeht. Auch dieses Buch wird von den Parö-

miologen viel benutzt werden. Sie kennen Herrn Honko besser als ich und sehen ihn sicherlich auch öfter. Mir antwortet er einfach nicht auf meine Post, auch wenn ich ihm eingeschriebene Briefe schicke.

Lieber Freund, ich wäre Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie mir eine Neuigkeit mitteilen könnten. Über ein paar Zeilen wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar.

Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen,
Ihr
Wolfgang Mieder

Helsinki 9.5.1976

Lieber Freund Wolfgang Mieder.

Ich habe mit Honko über den Taylor-Band gesprochen. Er erzählt, dass das Buch fertig ist und dass ein Exemplar zu Ihnen par avion schon vor einiger Zeit gesandt sein soll, wenn die Buchdruckerei seinen Auftrag richtig verstanden hat. Früher hat die Druckerei Ihre Korrektur nach Arizona gesandt (a Miss Granger?), und um die Sache zu eiligen, hat Honko selbst die letzte Korrektur gelesen und die Druckerlaubnis gegeben. Hoffentlich finden Sie nicht allzu grobe Fehler in dem Buch – ich habe es noch nicht gesehen.

Ich vermute, dass Archer Taylor Ihnen in seinem Grab ein dankbares und FFC ein verzeihendes Lächeln widmet.

Betreffs *Proverbium* nichts Neues. Vilmos Voigt wird hoffentlich im Herbst das Material von Budapest als *Proverbium 26* publizieren [erst 1981 kam dann das erste von vier Heften mit dem neuen Titel *Proverbium Paratum* heraus].

Ich gratuliere wegen des Erfolges mit den *Ergebnissen der Sprichwörterforschung*. Jemand sollte nun die Ergebnisse gründlich kritisieren, um den parömiologischen Stillstand zu erschüttern.

Mit besten Grüßen
Ihr finnischer Kollege
Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 28. August 1976

Lieber Freund Matti Kuusi!

Heute möchte ich Ihnen mit separater Luftpost ein Exemplar meines neuen Buches zuschicken, das soeben erschienen ist:

W. Mieder, *Das Sprichwort in der deutschen Prosaliteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1976 (= *Motive, Freiburger Folkloristische Forschungen*, Bd. 7), 197 S.

Vielleicht kann man das Buch in *Proverbium* anzeigen. Natürlich wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie vielleicht die Zeit zu einer kurzen Rezension hätten.

Inzwischen habe ich ein Exemplar des Taylor Buches (FFC 216) erhalten [*Selected Writings on Proverbs by Archer Taylor*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1975]. Es sieht wunderbar aus, und ich freue mich, daß es damals von Prof. Honko in die FFC aufgenommen wurde. Wenn ich im Herbst zum amerikanischen Volkskundekongreß fahre, werde ich es den vielen amerikanischen Kollegen zeigen. Sicherlich wird FFC eine Menge Exemplare verkaufen können, denn Archer Taylor ist ja der große Meister!

Trotzdem gibt es ein Problem: Als ich die Erlaubnis zum Wiederabdruck der Aufsätze einholte, mußte ich verschiedentlich zustimmen, ein Exemplar des Buches an den Herausgeber abzugeben. Besonders die amerikanischen Zeitschriften wie *Journal of American Folklore* und *Western Folklore* waren diesbezüglich sehr streng. Auch möchte ich natürlich Frau Taylor ein Exemplar schicken. Selbst möchte ich auch noch einige Exemplare haben. Im ganzen brauche ich etwa 15 Exemplare des Buches. Ein Exemplar habe ich bekommen. Gibt es keine anderen Freixemplare?

Wie immer habe ich an Prof. Honko und an den Verlag geschrieben (am 25. Mai 1976), aber wie immer habe ich keine Antwort bekommen. Deshalb wende ich mich heute wieder an Sie und hoffe, daß Sie mir helfen können. Wenn es keine Freixemplare gibt, dann muß ich die notwendigen Exemplare kaufen. Sind sie für mich als Herausgeber dann etwas billiger als 58 Fmk? Sie haben ja schon oft bei FFC veröffentlicht, und so hoffe ich, daß Sie mir helfen können, 15 Exemplare zu bekommen. Ich habe alles versucht, aber ohne Resultat.

Ich hoffe, daß *Proverbium* 26 bald erscheinen wird. Vilmos Voigt wird bestimmt ein gutes Heft herausgeben. Ich habe immer noch Angst, daß unsere Zeitschrift womöglich einschlafen wird. Hoffen wir das Beste.

Über ein paar Zeilen betreffs der FFC 216 Angelegenheit wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar.

Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen und Dank

Ihr

Wolfgang Mieder

Helsinki 21.9.1976

Fleissiger Freund Wolfgang Mieder in Vermont.

Ich habe endlich Lauri Honko gesehen und gehört, dass die 50 Exemplare von FFC 216, die Ihnen gehören, wahrscheinlich noch nicht gesandt wurden. Gestern sprach ich mit Phil. Mag. Anneli Heikinheimo in der Wissenschaftsakademie: sie konstatierte, dass die Akademie noch nicht Exemplare des Bandes FFC 216 besitzt! Auch der Faktor der Buchdruckerei wusste nichts über die Bücher, die im Sommer gefertigt wurden. Ich persönlich habe das Buch nicht gesehen, aber in einer Liste der Buchneuheiten in der Bibliothek der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft nennt man Ihr Buch. Mag. Heikinheimo versprach, dass man die verlorene Bücherpartie nun energisch zu suchen beginnt. Sie vermutete, dass die Bücher zu irgendeinem anderen Institut gesandt wurden – unter Sommerzeit sind die Beamten im Urlaub und ihre Stellvertreter können wunderbare Sachen machen!

Mag. Heikinheimo versprach, dass die Verfasserexemplare sofort zu Ihnen gesandt werden – das geschieht wahrscheinlich unter dieser Woche. Wenn nicht, so schreibe ich Ihnen.

Ungarn und Vilmos Voigt haben bisher nicht zu meinen Fragen insbetreff *Proverbium* 26 reagiert. Sie könnten vielleicht selbst zu ihm schreiben – Adresse in *Proverbium* S. 934.

Selbst bearbeite ich das Typenverzeichnis der internationalen Sprichwörter und bin wohl vorwärtsgegangen. Ihre neuen Bücher sind wohl eine wichtige Ergänzung unserer parömiologischen Literatur. Ihr Themenregister wird wahrscheinlich in Zukunft immer reicher.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen und bestem Dank für das Buch

Ihr

Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 15. November 1976

Lieber guter Freund Matti Kuusi!

Haben Sie herzlichen Dank für Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 21. September 1976 und für all Ihre Hilfe. Inzwischen sind die 50

Exemplare von FFC hier angekommen, und jetzt ist alles in Ordnung. Ich war gerade auf der diesjährigen Tagung der amerikanischen Volkskundegesellschaft und habe mit vielen Kollegen gesprochen (z.B. Alan Dundes, Wayland Hand, etc.), und alle sind mit dem Archer Taylor Buch sehr zufrieden.

Ich habe ein Exemplar an Frau Taylor geschickt, und Sie hat sich sehr darüber gefreut und mir einen sehr netten Brief geschrieben. Jetzt möchte Sie (9) neun Exemplare zusätzlich haben, und Sie hat mich gebeten, diese Exemplare für sie durch Sie zu bestellen. Sie ist bereit, für die neun Exemplare zu bezahlen, wenn die Akademie sie ihr nicht schenken kann.

Adresse: Mrs, Archer Taylor
6000 Redwood Road
Napa, California 94558

Sonst geht hier alles seinen gewöhnlichen Gang. Man hat immer viel Arbeit. Lutz Röhrich und ich haben unser *Sprichwort* [Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977] Buch fertig geschrieben und hoffen, daß es im Frühjahr erscheinen wird. Wir hoffen, daß Sie mit unserer Arbeit zufrieden sein werden.

Nochmals herzlichen Dank für all die Hilfe.
Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen,
Ihr
Wolfgang Mieder

Sommer (kein exaktes Datum) 1977

Lieber Freund Wolfgang Mieder in Vermont

Ich habe mit grossem Interesse das Buch *Sprichwort* gelesen. Es ist ein nützliches Kompendium von dem parömiologischen Wissen, das nun in unseren Bibliotheken vorhanden ist oder von Dir und Lutz Röhrich mit eigenen Beobachtungen entdeckt ist. Beste Gratulationen, herzlichen Dank!

Ich werde am 1.9.1977 pensioniert und kann nachher Verzeichnisse der Sprichworttypen fortsetzen. Es gibt einige Zeichen, die die Auferstehung von *Proverbium* bedeuten können – doch, wenn Deine Situation so verändert ist, dass Du die Aufgabe [der Herausgeberschaft] schon ergreifen willst, so werde ich Dir gern die liebe Tote mit allen Adressen usw. überliefern.

Es freut mich sehr, dass die Idee von einer internationalen Sprichwörterbibliographie irgendwie in Deinem *Sprichwort* verwirklicht wird, wenigstens in dem Sinne, dass die wichtigen Wer-

ke zum Vorschein kommen und aus der Masse der unwichtigen hervorragen. Vielleicht findest Du eine Möglichkeit, eine spezielle wählerische Bibliographie aufzubauen.

Mit besten Grüßen
Dein finnischer Kollege
Matti Kuusi

Frühjahr (kein exaktes Datum) 1980

Geehrter Freund Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Mieder in Burlington.

Besten Dank für die zahlreichen Separata und Kopien, die Sie 9.3. [1980] mir gesandt haben. Offensichtlich haben Sie die Maxime von Archer Taylor aufgenommen: *nulla dies sine linea*. „Die drei weisen Affen“ [Die drei weisen Affen und das Sprichwort ‚Nichts sehen, nichts hören, nichts sagen‘,“ *Muttersprache*, 90 (1980), 167-178], die ich gestern las, zeigt, dass Sie sich schon die bewunderliche Fähigkeit von Archer Taylor angeschafft haben, schwerfindliche Quellen zu finden und zu kulturgeschichtlichen Exkursionen zu gestalten. Auf dem Gebiet der modernen Ikonographie sind Sie überlegen. Die populäre Lebensphilosophie darf bei Ihnen die letzten Probleme der Parömiologie ersetzen, was wahrscheinlich von den Erwartungen der Zeitschriftenleser herührt. Jedenfalls ist die Entwicklung Ihrer wissenschaftlichen Aktivität unter den letzten 10 Jahren überraschend schnell und positiv gewesen.

Alan Dundes hat Sie wahrscheinlich über unsere Diskussionen informiert. Ich bin nicht sicher, ob Vilmos Voigt imstande ist, *Proverbium Paratum* [1. Heft 1981] fortdauernd zu publizieren und effektiv zu verbreiten. Als Rendezvous der heutigen parömiologischen Welt hat Budapest wohl einige Vorteile im Vergleich mit USA. Die Idee, dass man die Zeitschrift in Budapest redigiert und in Helsinki druckt und verkauft wirkt etwas bedenklich. Ich hoffe, dass Sie mit Vilmos Voigt in Kontakt sind und eine optimale Entscheidung finden: entweder Zusammenarbeit oder zwei Zeitschriften mit klarer Arbeitseinteilung. Die Kleinfolklore könnte sich als Thema einer neuen Zeitschrift auf breiteres Publikum berufen als die blosse Parömiologie.

Selbst arbeite ich jetzt für eine nordeuropäische Sprichwortpublikation, die die 900 allgemeinsten Sprichworttypen der sechs ostseefinnischen Sprachen mit russischen, baltischen, deutschen und skandinavischen Parallelen hervorbringt. Daneben sollte ich

etwas über Permjakovs System für *Proverbium Paratum* Nr. 2 [„Zur Frequenzanalyse,“ *Proverbium Paratum*, Heft 2 (1981), 119-120] schreiben. Eine finnischsprachige Anthologie des Volkshumors ist schon fertig: der zweite Band wird im Herbst publiziert. Jeder Tag hat sein Werk.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen
Ihr finnischer Kollege
Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 30. November 1982

Lieber Freund Matti Kuusi!

Nun ist es geschafft, und ich hoffe, das Sprichwort hat recht: „Was lange währt, wird endlich gut“. Ich spreche von der großen internationalen Bibliographie zur Sprichwörterforschung, woran ich seit fast drei Jahren sehr fleißig gearbeitet habe. Vor einigen Tagen ist nun das folgende Buch erschienen:

Wolfgang Mieder, *International Proverb Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1982. 613 Seiten.

Es war ja viel Arbeit, aber jetzt haben wir eine Bibliographie über die wichtigste internationale Sprichwörterforschung der letzten zweihundert Jahre. 1974 auf dem Helsinki Sprichwortsymposium haben Sie und andere Parömiologen zu mir gesagt, ich solle eine Bibliographie machen, und nun kann ich mein Versprechen einlösen.

All die Kollegen, die in schwierigen Sprachen schreiben, sind verzeichnet, so z.B. die wichtigen Arbeiten von Permiakov, Krikmann, Voigt, Grigas. Auch viele finnische Bücher und Aufsätze sind kommentiert worden, so z.B. von dem Freund Matti Kuusi Nr. 954-989 (S. 223-232).

Ich hoffe, daß alle Kollegen zufrieden sein werden mit dieser kommentierten Bibliographie. Ich habe mein Bestes getan, und vor allem auch die guten und oft nicht beachteten Kollegen aus den östlichen Ländern aufgenommen. Nun, Sie werden das Buch sicherlich bald sehen, und ich hoffe, daß Sie die Zeit haben, das Buch in einer wichtigen Zeitschrift in Finnland zu besprechen. Dafür wäre ich Ihnen natürlich sehr dankbar.

Heute schicke ich Ihnen einen Prospekt für die Bibliographie, auch einige Exemplare für andere finnische Kollegen, Honko,

Leino, etc. Sie haben ja gewiß auch Interesse an diesem Buch. Außerdem steht auf dem Prospekt auch das Buch mit Aufsätzen, das ich zusammen mit Alan Dundes herausgegeben habe [*The Wisdom of Many. Essays on the Proverb*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1981]. Da gibt es ja auch einen Aufsatz von Ihnen [„Fatalistic Traits in Finnish Proverbs,“ S. 275-283]. Vielleicht können Sie beide Bücher für die Universitätsbibliothek bestellen und auch für das Seminar. Leider habe ich keine freien Exemplare.

Mit separater Schiffspost schicke ich auch wieder einige meiner neuen Schriften. Ich hoffe, daß Sie als Lehrmeister mit meinen Arbeiten einverstanden sind.

Hoffentlich geht es Ihnen gesundheitlich gut, so daß Sie weiter an den Sprichwörtern arbeiten können. Bitte schicken Sie mir auch Nachdrucke Ihrer Arbeiten, denn es war sehr schwer für mich, all die Aufsätze von Matti Kuusi zu bekommen.

Viele liebe Grüße und alles Gute,
Ihr parömiologischer Freund,
Wolfgang Mieder

Burlington, den 14. April 1983

Lieber Freund Matti Kuusi!

Unser geliebtes *Proverbium* lebt wieder! Ich freue mich, Ihnen heute berichten zu können, daß diese wichtige Zeitschrift nun wieder erscheinen wird, und zwar als Jahrbuch von etwa 200 Seiten jährlich [inzwischen sind es längst 544 Seiten jedes Jahr]. Das erste Jahrbuch soll bis zum Kongreß in Bergen abgeschlossen sein, so daß wir es im Juni 1984 in Norwegen verteilen können.

Wir wollen hoffen, daß alles gut laufen wird, und daß Sie mit unserer Arbeit zufrieden sein werden. Natürlich aber brauchen wir auch Ihre Hilfe, und deshalb wende ich mich gleich heute mit zwei Fragen an Sie:

1. Außer den drei oben [auf dem Briefkopf des neuen Jahrbuches] genannten Kollegen [Wolfgang Mieder, Editor; Galit Hasan-Rokem, Associate Editor; und Daniel R. Barnes, Managing Editor], die die Hauptarbeit an dem Jahrbuch leisten werden, möchten wir natürlich Sie und Parömiologen wie Lutz Röhrich, G.L. Permiakov, Démétrios Loukatos, Alan Dundes usw. als Mitarbeiter nennen. Dürfen wir also Ihren Namen als Mitherausgeber nennen. Es bedeutet keine Arbeit für Sie, aber Ihr Name als internationaler Parömiologe muß unbedingt dazugehören.

2. Selbstverständlich soll das erste Jahrbuch ganz besonders gut gelingen, und so möchte ich Sie heute bitten, uns einen Beitrag von Ihnen so bald wie möglich zu schicken. Das Manuskript sollte 20 Seiten wohl nicht überschreiten, und darf selbstverständlich auf Deutsch sein. Wir werden Aufsätze auf Deutsch, Englisch, Französisch, Russisch oder Spanisch akzeptieren. Sollten Sie keine Zeit für einen Beitrag haben, dann bitte einen Bericht über die Zukunft des *Type-Index*. Ich hoffe aber, daß Sie zusagen werden und uns helfen, ein gutes Jahrbuch herauszubringen.

Soweit mein heutiger kurzer Bericht. Ich muß an so viele Leute betreffs *Proverbium* schreiben, daß ich mich kurz fassen muß. Bitte helfen Sie uns, lieber Freund Matti Kuusi, und schicken Sie uns einen Beitrag möglichst bis zum Oktober dieses Jahres.

Bitte schreiben Sie auch ganz kurz, ob wir Sie als Mitherausgeber nennen dürfen – diese Antwort brauchen wir ganz schnell.

Vielen Dank auch für die Hilfe, daß *Proverbium* nun wieder erscheinen wird. Es geht leider nicht kostenlos (\$10), aber Kollegen aus Ostblockländern bekommen *Proverbium* frei.

Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen,
Prof. Wolfgang Mieder

Helsinki 6.5.1983

Lieber Freund Wolfgang Mieder.

Besten Dank für den Brief / 14.4.1983. Sehr viele Briefe haben seit 1975 betont, dass ein internationales Forum für Parömiologie nötig ist. Ein Jahrbuch ist wahrscheinlich eine realistische Alternative, Die östlich-westlichen Barrikaden sind nicht leicht überschreitbar via Ohio [die ersten vier Bände von 1984-1987 erschienen an der Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio], aber ich hoffe, dass Helsinki irgendwie Kontakte z.B. zu Estland vermitteln kann. Das Klima in Ungarn war ungünstiger als ich ahnte.

Natürlich werde ich gern als Mitarbeiter des neuen *Proverbium* mein Bestes tun, obwohl kaum so aktiv wie Archer Taylor unter den ersten Jahren des alten *Proverbium*. Zur Zeit gebe ich den letzten Schliff einer Edition *Proverbia septentrionalia. 900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1985], die ich mit estnischen Kollegen etwa 20 Jahre bearbeitet habe. Die statistisch-analytischen Tabellen, die ich mit Arvo Krikmann über das 10-sprachige Material verfertige, werden hof-

fentlich irgendeine Idee hervorspriessen, die sich zum Artikel vor Oktober 1983 gestaltet.

Ich habe mit grossem Interesse Deine neuesten Bücher gelesen. Höchst erfreulich, dass unter den jungen Parömiologen, die im Juni 1974 hier [in Helsinki] kühne Pläne verfassten, wenigstens ein „ille faciet“-Typus war. Besten Erfolg Dir und zum neuen *Proverbium*!

Tuus
Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 7. August 1984

Lieber Freund Matti Kuusi!

Mit großer Freude und auch mit etwas Stolz kann ich Ihnen heute ein Exemplar von dem neuen *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* zuschicken. Wie Sie sehen werden, ist dieser erste Band Ihnen zum 70. Geburtstag als Festschrift gewidmet. Wir hoffen, daß wir Ihnen damit eine kleine Freude machen können.

Ich glaube doch, daß der erste Band recht ordentlich geworden ist. Wir haben versucht, so international zu arbeiten wie Sie das auch immer gemacht haben. Es war ein bißchen schwierig, für den ersten Band Aufsätze zu bekommen, doch das wird sich bestimmt ändern, wenn die parömiologischen Freunde und Kollegen diesen Band sehen. Ich war natürlich ganz glücklich, daß erstklassige Wissenschaftler wie Arvo Krikraann, Alan Dundes, Lutz Röhrich, Vilmos Voigt, Démétrios Loukatos, Shirley Arora usw. mir mit dem ersten Band geholfen haben. Auf dem Erzählforscherkongreß in Bergen gab es eine sehr positive Reaktion auf *Proverbium*, und natürlich waren wir sehr glücklich darüber. Am wichtigsten aber ist es, daß auch Sie mit unserer Arbeit zufrieden sind.

Selbstverständlich wäre es sehr schön, wenn Sie uns recht bald einen eigenen Aufsatz zuschicken könnten. Wir würden gerne einen Beitrag von Ihnen im zweiten Band veröffentlichen. Es wäre sehr nett, wenn Sie Ihren Aufsatz oder auch eine Besprechung bis etwa Endes des Jahres schicken könnten.

Das neue *Proverbium* schicke ich Ihnen mit separater Luftpost zu. Ich lege auch einige meiner neuen Arbeiten bei, die Sie interessieren könnten.

Es war sehr schade, daß Sie nicht nach Bergen gekommen sind. Ich hätte so gerne mit Ihnen persönlich gesprochen und Ihnen Ihre Festschrift persönlich übergeben. Selbstverständlich hoffe ich, daß Sie sich weiterhin guter Gesundheit erfreuen, und daß Sie vor allem Freude an der parömiologischen Arbeit haben,

Mit den freundlichsten Grüßen,

Ihr

Prof. Wolfgang Mieder

Varkaus 30.8.1984

Lieber Freund.

Sie haben es getan! *Proverbium Yearbook* 1984 ist geboren. Es ist eine Verwirklichung unserer höchsten Erwartungen.

Ich fand das Buch hier erst vor einigen Tagen, da ich von einer Reise heimkehrte. Sowohl technisch als inhaltlich bedeutet das Jahrbuch einen langen Fortschritt unserer internationalen Parömiologie. Hoffentlich auch wirtschaftlich.

Besonders erfreut mich die Kontinuität der west-östlichen Linie. Die drei Nekrologen zu Grigori Permjakov und Ihre schöne Ehrenbeziehung zu Mathilde Hain sind schon als Symbol warme Omina in kalter Welt.

Persönlich habe ich den unmittelbarsten Nutzen durch den Research Report von Stewart A. Kingsbury. Ich suche eben jetzt das beste System, wie ich meine internationale Typenkartothek in die Datamaschine einschreiben sollte. (In der Kartothek enthält die Karte „Kredit ist tot“ leider nur 10 Quellenhinweise. Auch ich habe, wie Dundes, eine Hinneigung zu Gunsten der „eigentlichen“ Sprichwörter!) Zur Zeit ergänze ich die Kartothek mit Komi-Hinweisen (Plesovskij, Wichmann). Ich sende die Kredit-ist-tot-Zitate so bald ich wieder in meinem Arbeitszimmer an der Universität zu Helsinki sitze [vgl. meinen kurzen Beitrag „Kredit ist tot“, *Proverbium*, 1 (1984), 187-189].

Sonst habe ich hauptsächlich mit der alten *Kalevala*-Epik die letzten Jahre gelebt. 150-Jahresfest des *Kalevala* fordert allerlei. Aber auch unser magnum opus *Proverbia septentrionalia* ist im Druck und wird nach einigen Monaten in der Serie FFC publiziert. Wenn Sie meiner früheren FFC-Bände bedürfen (*Sonnenregen* [*Regen bei Sonnenschein. Zur Weltgeschichte einer Redensart*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1957], *Parömiologische*

Betrachtungen, Ovambo Proverbs, Ovambo Riddles), so will ich Ihren Wünschen sofort entgegenkommen.

Selbst danke ich zehnmals für die zehn Separata sowie für den freundlichen Brief und Preface. Ich versuche das neue *Proverbium* in den Rahmen meiner abnehmenden Möglichkeiten zu unterstützen. Ihre höchst bewundernswerten Bibliographien haben natürlich auch Lücken. Die taylorische Tradition einer scharfen kritisch betonten Grenzsetzung zwischen den grundlegenden und methodisch musterhaften Leistungen und zwischen den Nichtigkeiten sollte man fortsetzen. Aber ich werde dem geschenkten Gaul nicht ins Maul sehen. Selbst bekam ich gewöhnlich insbetrreff der *Proverbium*-Hefte einen panegyrischen Brief aus Athen und einen kritischen Brief aus Berkeley. Der letztgenannte war viel interessanter!

Meine Frau wartet auf den Brief, um in die Stadt zu fahren. Nochmals einen herzlichen Dank, und gute Fortsetzung! *Amore more ore re firmantur amicitiae*, schrieb Archer Taylor zur Dedikationsschrift in *The Proverb*, die er mir einmal sandte.

Ihr
Matti Kuusi

Helsinki 28.12.1984

Lieber Freund.

Hiermit sende ich einen Artikel, für den Sie hoffentlich einen Platz im neuen *Proverbium* finden.

Unter den Weihnachtsferien habe ich Dr. Ingrid Schellbach nicht zu belästigen gewagt. Ich vermute, dass Sie in Ihrem Institut jemanden finden, der die größten Sprachfehler in meinem Artikel korrigieren will.

Mein magnum opus *Proverbia septentrionalia* ist nun vorhanden als Korrektur, aber der Prozess nimmt noch viel Zeit und Arbeit in Anspruch, bevor ich Ihnen das Werk senden kann.

Glückliches Neues Jahr für Sie und *Proverbium*!

Ihr
Matti Kuusi

7. Januar 1985

Lieber Freund Matti Kuusi!

Vielen herzlichen Dank für Ihren ausgezeichneten Aufsatz „Zur Einstellungsanalyse der Sprichwörter. Ein finnisch-südwestafrikanisches Experiment“ [*Proverbium*, 2 (1985), 87-95], der hier

vor zwei Tagen eintraf. Es war ein wunderbares Weihnachtsgeschenk (!), und natürlich werden wir Ihren Aufsatz im zweiten Band von *Proverbium* drucken. Es ist eine große Ehre, einen Beitrag von dem finnischen Altmeister der Parömiologie zu veröffentlichen.

Ich habe das Manuskript mit großem Interesse gelesen, und nur an ganz wenigen Stellen habe ich einige Korrekturen gemacht. Eigentlich war der Aufsatz in großartigem Deutsch verfaßt, und ich bewundere es, wie sehr gut Sie die deutsche Sprache beherrschen. Ich selbst lerne jetzt die russische Sprache, damit ich die wichtigen parömiologischen Arbeiten der Kollegen aus der Sowjetunion lesen kann. Die Parömiologie ist eine internationale (!) Wissenschaft, und ich muß unbedingt Russisch können. Es ist eine schwere Sprache, aber ich mache gute Fortschritte.

Proverbium Band 2 wird etwa Mai/Juni 1985 erscheinen, und es wird ein guter Band werden, denn es gibt einen Aufsatz von Matti Kuusi! Herzlichen Dank.

Anbei Reklame für meine neuesten Arbeiten zum Sprichwort – drei neue Bücher sind gerade erschienen. Vielleicht können Sie sie für die Universitätsbibliothek in Helsinki bestellen. Vielen Dank.

Ich freue mich auf Ihr magnum opus *Proverbia septentrionalia*, das nun bald erscheinen wird. Großartig!

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,

Ihr

Wolfgang Mieder

Helsinki 13.11.1985

Geehrter Freund Wolfgang Mieder in Vermont

Ich sende hiermit ein Exemplar von *Proverbia septentrionalia*, FFC 236. Die ersten Seiten sind in falscher Ordnung, und die Auflage wurde nach dem Druck zurückgesandt, aber ich vermute, dass ein fehlerhaftes Buch schon informativ genug ist für *Proverbium* – es kann einige Wochen dauern, bis die korrigierten Bücher aus der Druckerei zurückkommen.

Reprint von Arvo Krikmann [*Some Statistics on Baltic-Finnic Proverbs*. Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Division of Social Sciences, 1985] ist eine erweiterte Version von seinem Aufsatz in *Proverbia septentrionalia*. Der junge Estländer

gehört zu den schärfsten Köpfen unter den osteuropäischen Parömiologen.

Ich bin besonders dankbar, dass Du mir Deine Publikationen gesandt hast und dass das Jahrbuch *Proverbium* die Idee [einer regelmäßig erscheinenden internationalen Publikation] von Archer Taylor bewundernswert weiterentwickelt.

Ich selbst setze die Arbeit mit der internationalen Sprichwortkartothek fort, die nun in Computer-Behandlung brauchbar werden soll.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen
Dein finnischer Kollege
Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 20. Januar 1986

Lieber Freund Matti Kuusi!

Meinen herzlichsten Glückwunsch zu Deinem neuen „magnum opus“, das ich inzwischen mit größtem Interesse und allergrößter Bewunderung gelesen und studiert habe. Die *Proverbia septentrionalia* sind ein absolutes Meisterwerk! Ich habe sofort eine Besprechung geschrieben, und ich schicke sie Dir heute. Du wirst sofort sehen, daß ich voller Begeisterung für diese vergleichende Sprichwörterammlung bin. Ich hoffe, daß Du mit meiner Besprechung zufrieden sein wirst. Sie wird im dritten Band von *Proverbium* [3 (1986), 325-334] erscheinen, der im Herbst 1986 herauskommen wird.

Der zweite Band von *Proverbium* wird in etwa zwei Wochen erscheinen. Es ist ein guter Band geworden, und ich werde ihn Dir sofort schicken. Hoffentlich wirst Du zufrieden sein mit meiner Arbeit an diesem wichtigen Jahrbuch. Ich mache es so gut ich kann, und Du weißt ja, daß es sehr viel Arbeit ist. Aber es macht auch Spaß, denn so haben wir richtige Kommunikation unter den Parömiologen der Welt. Ich lege meinem Brief noch einige andere Kleinigkeiten bei, auch meine Besprechung von dem von G.L. Permiakov herausgegebenen Sammelband [*Paremiologicheskie issledovaniia*. Moskva; Nauka, 1984; Rezension in *Slavic and East European Journal*, 29 (1985), 356-358]. Meine russischen Sprachstudien machen langsame aber gute Fortschritte.

Soweit also mein heutiger Bericht. Nochmals herzlichen Glückwunsch zu Deiner prächtigen Sprichwörterammlung der nordeuropäischen Sprichwörter. Eine großartige Leistung!

Mit den besten Grüßen und Dank von Deinem deutsch-amerikanischen Kollegen,
Wolfgang Mieder

Burlington, den 30. März 1986

Mein lieber Freund Matti Kuusi!

Inzwischen wirst Du den zweiten Band von *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* erhalten haben, und ich hoffe, daß Du mit meiner Arbeit zufrieden bist. Es war wieder viel Arbeit, diesen Band auszuarbeiten, und es ist auch nicht alles perfekt. Zum Beispiel fehlt meine Rezension über die finnisch-deutsche Sprichwörterammlung von Ingrid-Schellbach-Kopra [*Finnisch-Deutsches Sprichwörterbuch. Suomalais-saksalainen sananlaskukirja*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1980], obwohl sie im Inhaltsverzeichnis erwähnt wird. Etwas hat nicht geklappt, und so wird meine Rezension dann im nächsten Band stehen [3 (1986), 395-399]. Trotzdem aber denke ich, daß auch der zweite Band mehr oder weniger in Ordnung ist.

Du wirst sicherlich gesehen haben, daß wir den zweiten Band als Festschrift für unseren griechischen Freund Démétrios Loukatos herausgegeben haben. Ich hoffe, daß wir ihm damit eine kleine Freude haben machen können. Übrigens bereiten wir jetzt den dritten Band vor. Er wird schon gesetzt, und wenn alles klappt, soll der dritte Band im Herbst dieses Jahres erscheinen. Hoffen wir das Beste. Ich versuche wenigstens mein Bestes, es allen Parömiologen in der Welt recht zu machen. Das ist nicht immer einfach, aber im großen und ganzen denke ich schon, daß *Proverbium* nun wieder richtig lebt und ein gutes Jahrbuch ist.

Heute habe ich noch eine wichtige Frage an Dich: Es gibt immer noch viele jüngere Kolleg(inn)en und auch Bibliotheken, die die ehemalige von Dir herausgegebene Zeitschrift *Proverbium* (Nr. 1-25, 1965-1975) nicht besitzen. Diese 25 Hefte sind aber für die internationale Sprichwörterforschung absolut unentbehrlich, und ich bin der Meinung, daß wir diese Zeitschrift unbedingt nachdrucken sollten. Ich möchte nun anfragen, ob Du mir die Erlaubnis erteilen möchtest, die ganze Zeitschrift in zwei Bänden nachzudrucken? Selbstverständlich könntest Du ein Vorwort schreiben, wo Du den Ursprung und die Geschichte dieser wichtigen Zeitschrift erläuterst – vielleicht sogar mit Briefzitate aus dem Briefwechsel mit Archer Taylor. Das wäre für die Forschung

von größtem Interesse. Ich selbst wäre bereit, ein sehr detailliertes Register (Namen, Sachen, Sprichwörter) für die ganze Zeitschrift auszuarbeiten. Der Nachdruck selbst könnte in meiner Reihe zur „Sprichwörterforschung“ beim Peter Lang Verlag in Bern (Schweiz) erscheinen.

Schreibe mir also bitte recht bald, ob Du und die Finnische Akademie mir die Erlaubnis geben möchten, *Proverbium* 1-25 nachzudrucken. Es müßte unbedingt gemacht werden, aber vielleicht wollt Ihr es selbst in Finnland machen. Das ist dann auch in Ordnung. Aber falls nicht, möchte ich die Zeitschrift so bald wie möglich nachdrucken.

Ich freue mich schon auf Deine Antwort und verbleibe für heute mit den besten Grüßen,

Dein
Wolfgang Mieder

Helsinki 16.4.1986

Lieber Freund Wolfgang Mieder

Herzlichen Dank für das ergiebige Jahrbuch *Proverbium* 2: 1985. Dein Yearbook ist nicht nur quantitativ vorwärtsgegangen. Im alten *Proverbium* hätte ich kaum Möglichkeit gehabt so lange Aufsätze mitzunehmen wie z.B. derjenige von [Dumitru] Stanciu [„Points de vue sur la parémiologie structurale,“ *Proverbium*, 2 (1985), 185-232]. Besonders erfreuend, dass Du Texte auch aus dem Osten publizieren darfst. Die Idee einer parämiologischen Brücke ist nicht gestorben.

Dein Anteil an dem *Proverbium* 2 ist bewundernswert. Besonders was Du über die „demoskopische Sprichwörterkunde“ [307-328] schreibst interessiert mich sehr. Meine erste Statistik über die Frequenzveränderungen in der Sprichworttradition wurde 1953 in der Zeitschrift *Virittäjä* [57 (1953), 337-345] gedruckt – schade dass ich es nur in finnischer Sprache publizierte [doch jetzt auch auf Englisch als „Variations in the Popularity of Finnish Proverbs, in Matti Kuusi, *Mind and Form in Folklore. Selected Articles*. Ed. Henni Ilomäki. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1994, 114-122]. Im J. 1985 haben wir etwa 30000 neue finnische Sprichwortvarianten gesammelt, und ich verfertigte eine Ergänzung der früheren Analyse, um die neuesten Entwicklungstendenzen hervorzubringen.

Die sehr freundliche Besprechung [von Dir] des FFC 236 [Matti Kuusi (ed.), *Proverbia septentrionalia: 900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels*. Helsinki 1985; meine Rezension in *Proverbium*, 3 (1986), 325-334] habe ich als Kopie nach Estland gesandt. Obwohl das Werk die Meister lobt, ist ein Lob aus dem Mund der Sachverständigen keineswegs unangenehm. Wenn Du auch noch einen Zusammenhang erwähnen kannst, dass *Proverbia septentrionalia* durch Academic Bookstore, Postbox 128, 00101 Helsinki, Finnland, zum Preis von 40 Dollars (nach heutigen Valutakursen) zu bestellen ist (Postgebühr nicht mitgerechnet), so machst Du einen Dienst sowohl den Lesern als unserer Wissenschaftsakademie.

Ueber den Nachdruck des alten *Proverbiums* habe ich gestern mit dem Hauptsekretär der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft ratgeschlagen [beratschlagt], und auch er ist nur zu zufrieden, wenn unsere ehemaligen Bemühungen der Weiterentwicklung der internationalen Parömiologie zugute kommen. Ich weiss nicht, ob es notwendig ist, die Ausstellung verschiedener Schreibmaschinestile unberührt [zu] bewahren – besonders die langen Artikel von [S.D.] Mastepanov sind uns nicht zur Ehre. Es war die grosse Idee von Taylor, dass nichts umgeschrieben werden sollte ... The Ohio State University [die ersten vier Bände des *Proverbium* Jahrbuchs sind dort erschienen] hat zum Glück höhere Ansprüche.

Dein Vorschlag, Zitate aus den Briefen von Archer Taylor in einem Vorwort des Neudrucks [Nachdrucks] zu publizieren, ist unbedingt zutreffend. Höchst erfreuend ist, wenn Du ein neues Register verfertigen willst. Das Namenregister auf S. 997-1007 habe ich im J. 1975 ziemlich eingehend gebaut – Du kannst mit Stichproben konstatieren, ob es Lücken gibt.

Ich vermute, dass unser Arbeitsanteil mit Freixemplaren des neuen Werkes bezahlt werden kann.

Ich hoffe in naher Zukunft näher von dem Zeitplan der Arbeit zu hören.

Beste Grüsse an meinen alten Freund Démétrios Loukatos, wenn Du mit ihm Korrespondenz hast.

Dir wünsche ich fortwährende Aktivität und immer erfolgreichere Leistungen im Dienst der internationalen Parömiologie.

Mit herzlichen Grüssen

Matti Kuusi

Varkaus 17.8.1986

Energischer Freund Wolfgang Mieder in Vermont!

Besten Dank für Deinen Brief und für die gute Nachricht ins-betreff *Proverbium*.

Meine Situation: ich sitze am See und lese bis September die wissenschaftlichen Produkte von drei jüngeren Damen, die einen Professordienst in Joensuu suchen – etwa 20 Kilo Papier! Hier gibt es Arbeitsruhe, die mir in der Hauptstadt fehlt.

Die Briefe von Archer Taylor sind in dem ungeordneten Briefarchiv der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft, meine Briefe vielleicht in Berkeley. Ob die ersten Briefe auf Englisch, Deutsch oder Schwedisch geschrieben sind, wird klar, wenn ich sie auffinde. Mündlich konversierten wir auf Schwedisch – Taylor wollte praktizieren in einer Sprache, die er nicht mehr völlig beherrschte.

Saubere ungebundene Hefte des *Proverbiums* [als Vorlage für den geplanten Nachdruck] habe ich in Helsinki einige, nicht alle Nummern. Photokopien der Sammelbände könnte man in USA oder Schweiz ebenso leicht wie hier verfertigen. Vielleicht könnte jemand von meinen ehemaligen Assistenten die fehlenden Hefte abgeben, wenn ich ihm die zweite Auflage [den Nachdruck] versprechen kann.

Vermutlich hofft die Finnische Literaturgesellschaft als Verlag, der die Hefte von *Proverbium* in den Jahren 1965-1975 finanzierte, einige freie Exemplare. Auch die aktivsten Mitarbeiter sollte man nicht vergessen. Hier ist es nicht schwierig 50 extra Freiemplare von einem dankbaren Verlag zu erhalten. Aber schon mit zehn Bändepaaren [die zwei Bände des Nachdrucks] könnte ich die offensichtlichsten Schuldner befriedigen.

Eine kompetente englische Übersetzung [von dem von Matti Kuusi auf Deutsch geschriebenen Vorwort für den Nachdruck] ist hier eine teure und langsame Angelegenheit. Ist es nicht besser ein deutsches Manuskript zu Dir zu senden, um Deine Schüler mit einem interessanten Übungstext zu beschäftigen?

Es tut mir Leid, dass Dein „so bald wie möglich“ nicht sehr schnell sich verwirklicht. Ich hatte das Vorwort irgendwann vor Weihnachten geplant ... Im Monat September bin ich mit vielen Seminaren, Vorträgen usw. belastet. Schon vom 3.-5.9. ein Felsenkunstsymposium, wo ich als Präsident sitzen soll. Aber ich tue mein Bestes, wie unsere Politiker ...

Das dritte Jahrbuch von Deinem *Proverbium* beweist, dass Du ein wirklicher Leistungsmensch bist. Das Werk lobt den Meister, hoffentlich auch die zukünftigen Parömiologen.

Wenn es FFC-Bände gibt, die Du erhoffst, so werde ich solche gern zu Dir schicken.

Meine Adresse ist am sichersten: Runeberginkatu 29 B, 00100 Helsinki 10, Finnland.

Mit dankbaren Grüßen

tuus

Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 22. August 1986

Lieber guter Freund Matti Kuusi!

Gerade habe ich Deinen Brief erhalten und gelesen, und ich schreibe sofort eine kurze Antwort an Dich.

Alles ist in Ordnung! Auch ich habe momentan sehr viel zu tun mit anderen Projekten und mit dem neuen Semester. Wenn Du mir Dein Vorwort bis etwa Weihnachten schicken könntest, dann wäre das in Ordnung. Sagen wir also einmal Weihnachten. Ich wollte auch gar nicht so sehr in meinem letzten Brief drängeln, aber ich war so begeistert von diesem Projekt, und deshalb hatte ich zu schnell „so bald wie möglich“ geschrieben. Nun freue ich mich selbst, daß Du als Termin Weihnachten vorschlägst. Ich freue mich dann zu dieser Zeit über Dein Manuskript.

Was das Manuskript angeht, so möchte ich Dich doch bitten, daß Du mir Dein Manuskript auf Englisch schickst. Wir haben leider auch kein Geld, um diese Arbeit Studenten zu überlassen. Ich persönlich wäre aber dann gerne dazu bereit, Dein ins Englische übersetztes Manuskript noch einmal zu überarbeiten, falls dies notwendig sein sollte.

Ich würde auch sagen, daß Dein Manuskript nicht sehr lang zu sein braucht. Vielleicht etwa zehn getippte Manuskriptseiten, wo Du kurz die Geschichte über *Proverbium* schilderst. Das sollte eigentlich genügen.

Die 25 Hefte werden in der Schweiz verfilmt und zum Druck vorbereitet. Wie Du weißt, habe ich fast für alle Hefte ganz saubere Exemplare. Wenn Du wieder in Helsinki bist, kannst Du sehen, ob Du mir die fehlenden, die ich in meinem letzten Brief erwähnt habe [dieser Brief liegt leider nicht mehr vor], besorgen kannst.

Falls nicht, ist das keine große Tragödie – Kollegen hier in Amerika können mir notfalls auch helfen.

Was die Freixemplare angeht, so ist das schwierig. Ich werde alles versuchen, daß der Verlag 10 Exemplare nach Finnland schicken wird. Gewöhnlich gibt es 3 bis 5 – aber ich werde um 10 bitten bzw. fordern. Ich denke, daß mir das gelingen wird.

Ich freue mich, daß wir dieses Projekt machen können. Die 25 Hefte werden dann in zwei Bänden herauskommen – hoffentlich werden viele Forscher, Institute und Bibliotheken die beiden Bände dann kaufen. Bitte vergiß auch nicht, daß Archer Taylors berühmtes Buch *The Proverb* als [von mir herausgegebener] neuer Nachdruck vorliegt [*The Proverb and an Index to „The Proverb“*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1985]. Es gibt gewiß Kolleg(inn)en und Student(inn)en in Finnland, die dieses Buch gerne besitzen möchten.

Der dritte Band von *Proverbium* erscheint bald, Mitte Oktober. Es wird wieder ein guter Band, dieses Mal eine Festgabe für Wayland Hand, den Du ja auch sehr gut kennst und schätztst.

Viele herzliche Grüße an Dich und die anderen parömiologischen Freunde,

Wolfgang Mieder

Burlington, den 23. September 1986

Lieber Freund Matti Kuusi!

Heute nur ganz kurz ein paar Worte, um Dir für die *Proverbium*-Hefte zu danken [Matti Kuusi schickte mir alle 25 Hefte (1965-1975) von *Proverbium*, die ich dann als saubere Druckvorlage für den zweibändigen von mir herausgegebenen Nachdruck dieser Zeitschrift verwenden konnte: *Proverbium*, 1 (1965) – 25 (1975), 2 Bde. Bern: Peter Lang, 1987]. Sie sind alle gut hier angekommen, und ich kann nun alles in die Schweiz schicken, wo man mit der Verfilmung beginnen kann.

Du bekommst heute auch eine sehr positive Rezension von dem ersten Band von *Proverbium*, die der rumänische Kollege Constantin Negreanu geschrieben hat. Er hat sie mir gerade geschickt, und er war so nett, auch gleich eine englische Übersetzung hinzuzufügen. Natürlich habe ich mich über diese positive Reaktion auf das neue *Proverbium* sehr gefreut. Der zweite Band ist noch besser gelungen, wie Du weißt, und auch der dritte Band wird wieder gut werden. Er erscheint in etwa drei Wochen. Inzwischen arbeite ich schon fleißig an dem vierten Band.

So gibt es immer Arbeit, aber wenn die internationalen Kolleg(inn)en mit meiner Arbeit zufrieden sind, dann mache ich natürlich auch diese Arbeit gern. Ich glaube schon, daß auch Archer Taylor mit den ersten drei Bänden von *Proverbium* zufrieden gewesen wäre.

Inzwischen ist der Sommer vorbei, und Du wirst wieder in Helsinki sein. So vergeht die Zeit doch immer viel zu schnell. Alles Gute bei Deiner vielen Arbeit, und sage allen finnischen Freunden, daß sie schreiben sollen, falls sie *Proverbium* haben wollen. Wir haben genug Exemplare.

Mit den besten Grüßen,

Dein

Wolfgang Mieder

Helsinki 28.12.1986

Dear Wolfgang Mieder in Burlington

Hiermit sende ich Material für die Einleitung des *Proverbium*-Neudrucks [Nachdrucks]. Hoffentlich hast Du Zeit, die drei Seiten sorgfältig durchzulesen und die schlimmsten Sprachfehler zu korrigieren. Die Biographie von Taylor wäre eine fesselnde Aufgabe. Er war einer von den fleissigsten Briefschreibern, den ich gekannt habe. Mir waren die zahlreichen Korrespondenzpflichten eine Bürde, da ich immer auf fremden Sprachen schreiben musste. Du bist in jener Hinsicht glücklicher.

Proverbium 3 ist noch nicht gekommen, aber die Kopie Deiner Rezension hat sowohl hier als in Estland grosse Wirkung gemacht [Matti Kuusi (ed.), *Proverbia septentrionalia: 900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels*. Helsinki 1985; meine Rezension in *Proverbium*, 3 (1986), 325-334]. Ich sandte einem Journalisten die Kopie, und die nächst-grösste Zeitung in Helsinki machte eine Fünf-Spalten-Rubrik: „Die Amerikaner loben eine finnisch-sovjetische Sprichwortedition“. So macht man Grossmachtspolitik! Doch, unsere Folkloristen sind wirklich in Dankbarkeitsschuld zu Dir.

Wenn das Text-Puzzle meines Manuskripts nicht gut aussieht, verkürze es oder ordne die Elemente aufs Neue. An sich ist der *Proverbium*-Enthusiasmus bei uns ein ideengeschichtlich interessantes Phänomen, eine Parallele zu dem europäisch-amerikanischen Sicherheitskongress in Helsinki 1975 mit Ford und

Brežnev und drei Körben. Dieselbe Brückenbau-Ideologie war fühlbar auch unter den *Proverbium*-Arbeitern.

Ich war 13.12. als Opponent in der Disputation, wo eine Dissertation *Vlijanie russkih poslovits na karelskie i finskie poslovitsy* ((312 Seiten) besichtigt wurde. Der junge Pekka Hakamies wird wahrscheinlich einer von unseren besten Parömiologen sein.

Glückliches Neues Jahr für Dich und Deine Familie!

Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 17. Januar 1987

Lieber Freund Matti Kuusi!

Vielen Dank für Deinen freundlichen Brief vom 22.12.86 und Deinen sehr guten Beitrag über „Genesis of *Proverbium*“. Ich war sehr glücklich, als ich dieses Material von Dir bekam, und ich habe nur einige wenige sprachliche Änderungen machen müssen. Du hast alles sehr interessant und klar geschrieben, und ich finde es gut, daß Du aus der interessanten Korrespondenz zwischen Dir und A. Taylor zitierst.

Ich bin gerade aus Deutschland zurückgekehrt, wo ich zehn Tage als Gastprofessor bei unserem guten Freund Lutz Röhrich in Freiburg mehrere Vorträge über Sprichwörter gehalten habe. Es war sehr schön, und ich soll auch Grüße an Dich von Lutz bestellen.

Ich fuhr auch nach Bern in die Schweiz, um den Nachdruck von *Proverbium* mit dem Verleger Peter Lang zu besprechen. Alles ist jetzt in Ordnung, und wir werden die 25 Hefte in zwei dicken Bänden veröffentlichen. Du und die Finnische Literaturgesellschaft bekommen 15 Exemplare kostenlos! Ich hoffe, daß Du damit zufrieden bist. Zusätzlich zu Deinem Beitrag schreibe ich noch ein Vorwort, und außerdem habe ich am Ende für jeden der Beiträge eine kritische, englischsprachige Zusammenfassung geschrieben. Das hilft doch sehr, vor allem für die russischen Beiträge von unserem leider verstorbenen russischen Freund G.L. Permiakov. Die beiden Bände des Nachdrucks werden dieses Jahr erscheinen, sicherlich im Herbst, aber bestimmt vor Weihnachten 1987.

Schön, daß man so positiv auf meine Besprechung Deiner großen Sprichwörtersammlung reagiert hat [*Proverbia septentrionalia: 900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels*. Helsinki 1985]. Könntest Du

mir eine Kopie des Zeitungsbeitrags schicken, wo man meine Besprechung erwähnt? Das wäre sehr nett.

Heute schicke ich Dir noch eine Besprechung Deines Buches aus *Asian Folklore Studies* [45 (1986), 303-306]. Ich mußte sie hier etwas kürzen, weil es nicht so viel Platz gab. Aber ich denke schon, daß die Leser sehr begeistert sein werden von Deiner großen Sammlung.

Nochmals vielen Dank für Deinen Beitrag für den von mir herausgegebenen Nachdruck von *Proverbium* [Bd.1, S. XIX-XXVIII]. Es werden zwei schöne Bände werden, die hoffentlich von vielen Bibliotheken, Instituten und Forschern gekauft werden.

Alles Gute und herzliche Grüße an all die finnischen Kolleg(inn)en,

Dein
Wolfgang Mieder

Burlington, den 28. Januar 1987

Mein lieber Freund Matti Kuusi!

Heute bekommst Du schon wieder einen Brief von mir, aber nur ganz kurz, um Dir zu beweisen, daß das folgende Sprichwort stimmt: „Aller guten Dinge sind drei!“

Gerade erhielt ich meine dritte Rezension von Deinem großartigen Werk *Proverbia septentrionalia*, die soeben in der äußerst wichtigen Zeitschrift *Journal of American Folklore* erschienen ist [100 (1987), 121-122]. Sie ist etwas kürzer als meine Besprechung in *Proverbium* [3 (1986), 325-334], und auch noch kürzer als meine Besprechung in *Asian Folklore Studies* [45 (1986), 303-306]. Die Herausgeber dieser Zeitschriften wissen, daß ich die Besprechung zuerst in *Proverbium* veröffentlicht habe. Aber Sie fanden die Besprechung so gut, daß sie sie übernehmen wollten. Jede Zeitschrift hat viele andere Leser, und jetzt kennt man fast überall Dein großartiges Werk. Nochmals herzlichen Glückwunsch zu diesem schönen Erfolg.

Mit dem Nachdruck der 25 ursprünglichen *Proverbium*-Hefte geht es gut voran. Ich habe nun alles an den Verlag geschickt, und das hinzugekommene Material kann gesetzt werden. Ich hoffe, daß der zweibändige Nachdruck bis Sommer/Herbst 1987 erscheinen kann.

So, das wäre mein kurzer Bericht, lieber Matti Kuusi. Alles Gute und freundliche Grüße an. Dich, Deine Familie und die finnischen Kolleg(iim)en,

Dein
Wolfgang Mieder

Helsinki 2.10.1987

Lieber Freund Wolfgang Mieder!

Vor einigen Tagen bekam ich einen grossen Sack aus der Schweiz: 10 x 2 dicke grüne Bände [der von mir herausgegebene Nachdruck *Proverbium*, 1 (1965) - 25 (1975). 2 Bde. Bern: Peter Lang, 1987]. Ueberraschend klare und leserliche 1054 Seiten. Vielleicht die wertvollste Neuheit sind die englischen Abstracts of Papers. Soweit ich sie durchgeblättert habe, haben Sie [hast Du] die schwere Arbeit sehr informativ und sorgfältig geleistet. Mein Subject Index ist wahrscheinlich zu knapp. Doch glaube ich, dass die Leser ohne unmässigen Zeitverlust das finden, was sie suchen.

Table of Contents und Preface rahmen die Ganzheit nett ein. Archer Taylor mag in seinem Grab zufrieden lächeln! Yearbook *Proverbium* [seit 1984] und *Proverbium Paratum* (vier Hefte zwischen 1981-1989) setzen seine Idee fort.

Ich habe zwei Bücherpakete nach Estland gesandt, die übrigen gehen zu den Instituten und Genossen, die die Zeitschrift ihrerzeit aufbauten. Wenn [Démétrios] Loukatos [1908-2003] noch lebt, wäre es natürlich angenehm, ihm ein Exemplar zu senden. Hoffentlich verzeihen [Vilmos] Voigt, [Alan] Dundes und [Ia.I.] Kalontarov das Ausbleiben ihrer Namen in den Titelblättern der späteren Zeitschriftennummern.

Die Finnische Literaturgesellschaft hat gestern abend in einer Informationsgelegenheit für die Presse zwei grüne Bücher auf den Ehrenplatz hingelegt. Ich habe meine Sprichwortbibliothek der Gesellschaft geschenkt, und es gibt ein paar junge Leute, die die parömiologische Forschungsarbeit hier fortsetzen, obwohl kaum in weiterem internationalem Rahmen.

Ich hoffe, dass the Reprint Ihnen [Dir] und Peter Lang die Mühen und Kosten irgendwie vergütet und dass das Yearbook *Proverbium* seinerzeit einen ebenso kompetenten Fortsetzer findet wie Taylors *Proverbium*. Habe ich schon früher die Widmung und das Lieblingszitat von AT [Archer Taylor] zitiert?

Amore more ore re

firmantur amicitiae.
Glückliche Arbeitsjahre zu Ihnen!
Matti Kuusi

Helsinki 15.2.1989

Lieber Freund Wolfgang Mieder in Vermont.

Besten Dank für Deinen Brief. Gratulation für *Yearbook 5*. Ich sende hiermit 62 Dollars und meine Bestellung für Jahrbuch 4 und 6. Hoffentlich finden sie [die Dollars] die Möglichkeit, die wertvolle Publikation fortzusetzen.

Nach einigen Tagen sende ich Dir eine 4-seitige Besprechung insbetreff *Eesti vanasõnad* = Estnische Sprichwörter I-V von Arvo Krikmann et alii. Meine Tochter [Outi Lauhakangas], die meine internationale Sprichwortkartothek in die Datamaschine einarbeitet, versucht die Besprechung in Englisch zu schreiben. Ich vermute, dass jemand in Vermont die Fehler korrigieren kann.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen
Dein
Matti Kuusi

Helsinki 20.2.1989

Lieber Wolfgang Mieder in Vermont, U.S.A.

Hiermit sende ich die Besprechung des grossen estnischen Sprichwortwerks. Die Edition ist dankenswert, die Uebersetzung meines Artikels laienhaft, aber Du findest wahrscheinlich einen Assistenten, der die merkwürdigsten Stellen korrigieren kann [gedruckt in *Proverbium*, 7 (1990), 269-272].

Wenn Du schon eine entsprechende Besprechung bekommen hast oder wenn *Proverbium Yearbook 6* in Gefahr ist, bitte sende meine Besprechung zu irgendeiner anderen folkloristischen oder estophilen Zeitschrift. Estland braucht jetzt, wie Du wohl verstehst, so viel internationale Aufmerksamkeit wie möglich.

Vor einigen Tagen sandte ich einen Brief und Scheck zu R. [Richard] Sweterlitsch. *Proverbium Yearbook* ist kostbar für alle Parömiologen, die Ungarn haben nicht so gute Möglichkeiten [das von Vilmos Voigt herausgegebene ungarische *Proverbium Paratum* mußte nach dem 4. Heft (1989) eingestellt werden], wie Du gehört haben wirst. „Kes kannatab, see kaua elab“ (Who endures and suffers lives a long time), behaupten die Esten.

Dein finnischer Freund
Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 21. März 1989

Mein lieber, guter Freund Matti Kuusi!

Hab' vielen Dank für Deine freundlichen Briefe vom 15. und 20. Februar 1989, worüber ich mich sehr gefreut habe. Es ist wirklich sehr nett von Dir, daß Du uns mit der Finanzierung von *Proverbium* hilfst. Ich bin Dir auch sehr dankbar dafür, daß Du mit unserem Jahrbuch zufrieden bist. Ich versuche immer, unser *Proverbium* so weiterzuführen, daß Du mit meiner Arbeit zufrieden und einverstanden bist. Wenn mir das glückt, dann lohnt sich die ganze Arbeit auf jeden Fall.

Ganz ehrlich kann ich Dir schreiben, daß die internationale Reaktion auf die ersten fünf Bände bisher sehr positiv ausgefallen ist. Inzwischen gibt es auch schon eine Menge Rezensionen, und sie sind alle äußerst gut. Da können wir vielleicht sogar ein bißchen stolz sein. Für mich bedeutet *Proverbium* sehr viel Arbeit, aber es ist doch sehr wichtige Arbeit. Es freut mich sehr, auf diese Weise allen internationalen Parömiologen einen Dienst zu erweisen.

Über Deine schöne Besprechung der großen Sprichwörter-sammlung von Arvo Krikmann und Ingrid Sarv habe ich mich riesig gefreut. Ihre [Deine] Tochter [Outi Lauhakangas] hat alles ganz wunderbar übersetzt!!! Ich habe nur ganz kleine „Fehlerchen“ berichtigen müssen. Es ist doch schön, wenn eine Tochter einem Wissenschaftler helfen kann. Ich wünschte, ich hätte auch eine Tochter oder einen Sohn, die mir mit der Datenverarbeitung meiner Sprichwörter helfen könnten. Leider sind meine liebe Frau und ich kinderlos, und so muß ich alles selbst machen. Bitte richte Sie [richte] aber Ihrer [Deiner] Tochter aus, daß sie wirklich stolz auf ihre Englischkenntnisse sein kann. Die Besprechung erscheint in Bd. 7 (Oktober 1990) von *Proverbium* [S. 269-272]. Der 6. Bd., der im Oktober 1989 erscheinen wird, ist bereits voll und in der Druckerei.

Ich selbst arbeite momentan an einem Ergänzungsband zu meiner großen internationalen Bibliographie *International Proverb Scholarship* [An Annotated Bibliography. Supplement I (1800-1981)]. New York: Garland Publishing, 1990]. Ich habe weitere 900 Forschungsarbeiten von 1800 bis 1981 kommentiert, und momentan schreibe ich das Manuskript fertig. Wenn alles gut geht, erscheint der Band Ende des Jahres. Dann mache ich den

zweiten Ergänzungsband für die internationale Forschung von 1982 bis 1992, ungefähr 1300 neue Titel! Jetzt nehme ich auch immer mehr phraseologische Arbeiten auf, vor allem auch aus den Ländern des Ostblocks. Auch alles viel Arbeit, aber doch auch ein Dienst für die internationalen Freunde des Sprichworts.

Hoffentlich sehen wir uns im Juni in Budapest wieder. Das wäre wirklich sehr schön. Für heute danke ich Dir nochmals für Deine finanzielle Hilfe und für die großartige und wichtige Rezension.

Viele herzliche Grüße an Dich, Deine Tochter und Familie sowie alle finnischen Freunde,
Wolfgang Mieder

Helsinki 4.12.1991

Geehrter Freund Wolfgang Mieder in Vermont, USA.

Beste Gratulation für *Proverbium* 8. Das Jahrbuch hat offensichtlich seinen Platz stabilisiert. Schade, dass die armen osteuropäischen, afrikanischen usw. Universitäten die 24 Dollars per Buch kaum aufopfern mögen [125 Exemplare werden nach wie vor kostenlos verschickt!]. Nun sieht man, dass das *Yearbook* in USA und Deutschland als parömiologisches Forum weitbekannt ist, während die Niederlande, Rumänien und Nord-Irland die Aktivität der übrigen Länder vertreten [all dies beschreibt nur den 8. Band; in anderen Bänden sieht diese Verteilung ganz anders aus, wo vor allem auch zahlreiche Beiträge aus Afrika erscheinen]. Doch die wertvolle Bibliographie beweist, dass man Leser auch anderswo erreicht hat [das bezieht sich auf meine in jedem *Proverbium*-Band erscheinende umfangreiche Zusammenstellung „International Proverb Scholarship: An Updated Bibliography“].

Eine Unterscheidung zwischen bahnbrechenden, primitiven und wissenschaftlich belanglosen Büchern gehört zu den schwierigsten Aufgaben eines Schriftleiters. Irgendwie sollte man die Leser vor den nutzlosen Humbug-Editionen warnen [das bezieht sich auf meine in jedem *Proverbium*-Band erscheinende „International Bibliography of New and Reprinted Proverb Collections“, wo der Vollständigkeit halber eben auch unwissenschaftliche, populäre Sammlungen registriert werden, weil sie das allgemeine Interesse an Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten in der Bevölkerung aufzeigen]. Bonser-Stephens ist immer noch ein unersetzliches Hilfsmittel der Bibliothekare und Sammler [vgl.

Wilfrid Bonser, *Proverb Literature. A Bibliography of Works Relating to Proverbs. Compiled from Materials Left by the Late T.A. Stephens*. London: William Glaiser, 1930. Nachdruck Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1967]. Aber schon ein Verzeichnis der in *Proverbium* erwähnten oder behandelten parömiologischen Werke (in Jahrbuch 10?) könnte einen wichtigen Dienst für die unschlüssigen Wähler bedeuten.

Archer Taylor stellte an uns Forderungen, dass *Proverbium* auch ein Lehrer und strenger Schulmeister sein sollte. Man hat auch öffentliche Hinrichtungen [im Sinne von kritischen Urteilen] angeordnet. Soweit ich sehe, hast Du ziemlich barmherzig alle Blumen zu blühen erlaubt. Insofern es den ersten Keimen neugeborener Kulturen gilt, ist das Verfahren zweifellos das richtige. Doch wäre eine Laudatur irgendeines westeuropäischen Buches nachdrucksvoller, wenn bisweilen auch eine Improbatur zum Vorschein komme. Die methodologischen Innovationen und Schiffbrüche sind vielleicht das Nützlichste, was man den Neubeginnern analytisch beleuchten sollte.

Deine *Encyclopedia of World Proverbs* [Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1986. Nachdruck New York: MJF Books, 1996] gehört zu den Laudatur-Werken. Ich habe unter vorigem Sommer etwa 5000 Zitate Deines Buches semantisch-funktionell analysiert, und meine Tochter ([Outi Lauhakangas] Sozialpsychologin, aber heute Mutter zweier kleiner Kinder) gliedert besonders die uneuropäischen Varianten im Rahmen eines interkontinentalen Systems, das sie mit Hilfe der neuesten Data-Maschinen-Technik weiterentwickelt. Wenn Du Dein Buch als erneute Ausgabe veröffentlichen willst, so möchte ich nähere Information über die Quellen erhoffen. (Z.B. die finnischen Varianten sind zum Teil klar und gut, aber uns oft völlig unbekannt – gibt es vielleicht einen unkompetenten Uebersetzer oder ein uns unbekanntes Buch der amerikanischen Finnen?). Zum Glück ist die Auswahl der exotischen Texte sehr zuverlässig. Die Anordnungsprinzipien sind besser als bei Champion, obwohl die [einführenden] Anhänge Champions den Wert seines Werkes vermehren [vgl. Selwyn Gurney Champion, *Racial Proverbs. A Selection of the World's Proverbs Arranged Linguistically with Authoritative Introductions to the Proverbs of 27 Countries and Races*. London: George Routledge, 1938. Nachdruck London: Routledge

& Kegan, 1963]. Allenfalls, Dein Werk ist grossartig, aber nicht so gut, dass es nicht noch besser sein könnte!

Als Reinkarnation von Archer Taylor bist Du wahrscheinlich schon eine Sagenpersönlichkeit unter den Amerikanern geworden. Selbst habe ich unter dem letzten Jahr eine Biographiesammlung redigiert, die verschiedene Reinkarnationen meiner Generation in Finnland beleuchtet. Professores emeriti haben das Vorrecht, allerlei Themen zu untersuchen und zu Publikationen zu führen, die gar nichts mit unserem Lehrstuhl zu tun haben. Doch die problematische Einigkeit und Uneinigkeit der internationalen Sprichwörter bleibt als Nr. 1 unter meinen Hobbies und Utopien.

Ich hoffe, dass „The Proverb“ auch Dir ein dauerhaftes Lebenselixier wird. Eine Quelle persönlich angewandter Lebensphilosophie.

Nulla dies sine linea. Scripsit tuus
Matti Kuusi

Burlington, den 19. Dezember 1991

Mein lieber Freund Matti Kuusi!

Dein lieber Brief vom 4. Dezember 1991, der gestern hier eintraf, hat mich sehr gefreut! Nun weiß ich, daß es Dir weiterhin gut geht, daß Du Freude an der Arbeit hast, und daß Du im großen und ganzen mit *Proverbium* zufrieden bist. Das ist von größter Wichtigkeit für mich, denn wie Du weißt, ist *Proverbium* eine riesengroße Arbeit und manchmal auch Belastung. Wenn aber ein Brief von einem verehrten Freund wie Du kommt, dann fühle ich mich gleich besser.

Was Du über *Proverbium* sagst, ist alles richtig, auch Deine kritischen Bemerkungen. Ich werde versuchen, alles noch besser zu machen. Es ist immer schwer, Manuskripte abzulehnen, aber ich tue es schon, wenn Sie allzu unwissenschaftlich sind.

Die Kosten unseres Jahrbuchs sind enorm, aber wir schicken ungefähr 125 Exemplare kostenlos (!) an Parömiologen, die es sich nicht kaufen können (z.B. Afrika, China, Sowjetunion usw.), und auch an einige Universitätsbibliotheken. Ich selbst stifte jedes Jahr \$3000 für *Proverbium* aus meiner Tasche, damit diese wichtige Publikation nicht stirbt. Du siehst also, daß wir *Proverbium* schon an alle interessierten Leute schicken, die sich an uns wenden. Selbstverständlich hilft es uns ungemein, wenn auch einige Kollegen und Bibliotheken bezahlen. Aber Du brauchst keine

Angst zu haben, *Proverbium* wird nicht sterben. Es ist ein Lebenswerk für mich, und ich werde immer alles tun, damit *Proverbium* die parömiologische und parömiographische Arbeit aller Wissenschaftler in der ganzen Welt unterstützt.

Heute schicke ich Dir noch einen Prospekt meines neuen *A Dictionary of American Proverbs*, das bei der Oxford University Press [in New York 1992; zusammen mit Stewart A. Kingsbury und Kelsie B. Harder] erschienen ist. Es ist ein großes Werk geworden, und es ist ein viel wissenschaftlicheres Werk als mein *Encyclopedia of World Proverbs*. Du wirst viel zufriedener sein mit diesem neuen Buch.

Vielen Dank nochmals für Deinen mir so wichtigen Brief. Ich wünsche Dir und Deiner Familie ein frohes Weihnachtsfest und ein gesundes Neues Jahr. Ja, Sprichwörter sind und bleiben für mich, wie Du schreibst, „ein dauerhaftes Lebenselixier“ und „eine Quelle persönlich angewandter Lebensphilosophie“.

Dein Freund

Wolfgang Mieder

[ich erinnere mich nicht mehr, warum ich den folgenden letzten Brief an Matti Kuusi auf Englisch geschrieben habe. Wahrscheinlich, weil ich mich auf seine ins Englische übertragenen Aufsätze und meinem ihm gewidmeten englischsprachigen Sammelband beziehe.]

August 20, 1994

Dear friend Matti Kuusi,

This book [*Wise Words: Essays on the Proverb*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1994. Nachdruck London: Routledge, 2015] represents a belated gift on your eightieth birthday. As you will see, the book contains a special page dedicating it to you on your birthday. I hope that you will enjoy the essays in this book.

Let me also personally wish you all the very best for many more years in good health and spirit. I know that you continue to work on proverbial matters, and I wish you the very best for your work. It is good to know that your daughter [Outi Lauhakangas] is of so much help to you and that she is also interested in proverbs.

I received a copy of your *Mind and Form in Folklore* [*Select-ed Articles*. Ed. Henni Ilomäki. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1994] which contains many of your seminal essays in English translation. This is an extremely important pub-

lication, and I wish to congratulate you on it. Now many people around the world will be able to read your significant folklore and proverb essays.

My own work is also going well. I hope that I may be blessed with your health and strength to carry on my proverb research. I continue to enjoy editing *Proverbium* – volume 11 (1994) will appear very soon.

Again, dear friend Matti Kuusi, all best wishes on your 80th birthday – somewhat late, but I hope that you will like the book which is dedicated to you. This should show you how much I admire and treasure you and your paremiological work.

All the very best to you, and please be assured that proverb scholars everywhere have the highest respect for what you have done for international proverb scholarship.

With kind regards,
Wolfgang Mieder

Wolfgang Mieder
Department of German and Russian
422 Waterman Building
University of Vermont
85 South Prospect Street
Burlington, Vermont 05405
USA
E-mail: Wolfgang.Mieder@uvm.edu

ANDRÉ ALMEIDA PANZO

SIX SITUATIONS PROVERBIAL METAPHOR THEORY

Abstract: Peter Seitel formulated the three situations theory. On doing it, he misconceived proverbial metametaphor by proverbial metaphor, therefore misconceiving where to locate proverbial metaphor, locating it after the proverb situation, while it has got to be located before the proverb situation. Furthermore, the theory contains a gap on missing to draw basis on the proverb's precedent as said Alan Dundes or the proverb's philosophy as said Aristotle. Fixing these gaps, we propose a new theory, we label as the Six Situations Proverbial Metaphor Theory.

Keywords: Metametaphor, metaproverbs, proverbial metaphor, semi-metaphor, six situations.

1. Introduction

The elders say *e ndongo zakupholo zatuka kudima* (tomorrow's advice comes from the past). As we introduce our "Six Situations Proverbial Metaphor Theory," let us have a look at the past. In particular, let us look at Stephen Winick's article "Insight From the Middle of Nowhere: Proverbial Language and Intertextuality in Gary Larson's *The Far Side*," which inspired us to write this theory. At one point Winick writes: *One of the most complete theories of metaphor that has been elaborated in the context of proverbial studies is Seitel's formulation, whose distilled essence is that "metaphor in the most general sense is the relationship which obtains between entities of separated domain by virtue of the relationship each has within entities in its own domain."*¹

Within this quotation, we believe that, on the one hand, the assertion of metaphors working in the dimension of relationship is right. But on the other hand, the theory's completeness is challenged because it misses what we call the precedent situation as well as the situation between the precedent and the proverb. For that reason, we propose a six situations theory to replace Seitel's three situations.

Winick elaborates Seitel's three situations: *Seitel argues that proverb utterances manifest a complex semiotic structure and entail the co-presence of three different "situations."* The "proverb situation" is the situation verbally described in the proverb – someone counting chickens before they are hatched or looking before leaping. The "context situation" is the situation to which the proverb refers, i.e., James hiring a contractor before his home improvement loan comes through or Martha deciding on a business venture without first examining her finances. The "interaction situation" is the concrete situation of human interaction in which the proverb is used, i.e. Stan warning James about the potential danger of his actions, or Mike telling Alan about Martha's foolishness.²

Here we have got a picture of Seitel's theory with the three situations: "proverb situation," "context situation" and "interaction situation." The point is that we haven't got the notion of the proverb's precedent. Based on the three situations, the theory does not refer to the "precedent situation" or if talks about it, then, it does not state it at the theory level where it should be. In a sense, Alan Dundes challenges this theory in the following words: *one of the functions of proverbs is to establish a secular precedent for present action.*³ Here we have got three stages on the same level: "precedent," "proverb" and "present action." In other words, we have got, past, proverb and present. The proverb stage is a bridge between the past and the present. If we start analyzing from the proverb situation, then, we leave behind the precedent situation. In a sense, Seitel's theory fails to enlighten the function of proverbs being a link between the *secular precedent* we are calling "precedent situation" and the *present action* or what Seitel call as "context situation."

Furthermore, Alan Dundes says that proverbs come from stories.⁴ If proverbs come from stories, then analyzing a proverb theoretically without taking into account the story that gave birth to the proverb leaves a gap in our understanding.

Aristotle says that a proverb is a remnant of an ancient philosophy.⁵ If we deal with proverbs and do not highlight the philosophy where the proverb is from, then we open a gap on the proverb's clear understanding. It is sufficient to sustain that the fact of not having a proper reference to the "precedent situation" turns Seitel's theory to be incomplete.

Finally, Winick states that “*the way proverbs work, in Seitel’s theory, is by drawing an analogy between the proverb situation and the context situation; this is the proverb’s metaphor.*”⁶ Here we see that the proverb’s metaphor is to be located between the *proverb situation* and the *context situation*. We believe there is a contradiction here. But, let us start on the nature of proverbs and then deal with the contradiction.

1.1. All proverbs are metaphorical.

Winick states that *Seitel believes that all proverbs are metaphorical.*⁷ But many authorities disagree with Seitel on this point; Mieder’s example, “Honesty is the best policy,” is but one proverb that argues to the contrary.

Let us also have a look at what the Bible says: 1 Samuel 10: 12 *And one of the same place answered and said, But who [is] their father? Therefore it became a proverb, [Is] Saul also among the prophets?* If we look at the expression “*Is Saul also among the prophets?*” it seems to be a literal expression. Yet the Bible explicitly states that it is a proverb. Although it is not explicitly stated in the Bible WHY this expression is a proverb, it seems likely that the Bible means it became a proverb not because it changed from literal to metaphorical, but because people started using the expression. So, currency and not metaphor seems to be the core issue in turning this expression into a proverb. If a literal expression, due to its currency, becomes a proverb, then we must allow that there are literal proverbs. In the very same way as metaphors are proverbs but not all metaphors are proverbs, there are also literal proverbs, although not all literal expressions are proverbs.

As social scientists we don’t create proverbs. More precisely, as paremiologists, we don’t create proverbs, but seek to understand the nature of proverbs. But if we work as paremiographers, then we do create proverbs, in the sense that we decide which expressions should be considered proverbs through a combination of observing what items are traditionally called “proverbs,” and abstracting from that the principles or features that we think make an expression a proverb. Observing that the Bible calls “*Is Saul among the prophets?*” a proverb, we have shown that it is a literal proverb. If we apply it, it might attain a metaphorical status. From its origin, if in verse 11 it is a literal

proverb, in verse 12 it attains metaphor status. As people started using the expression, applying it in new contexts, it became a metaphorical expression.

Let us look at an example. For instance Tadi enters a classroom and finds a strange individual, Londe, among the students and he asks: *Is Saul among the prophets?* In this context, this proverb is uttered in a metaphorical sense. Instead of Tadi asking it plainly: *Is Londe among the students?*, he says it proverbially: *Is Saul among the prophets?*, whereby “Saul” is a metaphor for “Londe” and “prophets” is a metaphor for “students.”

Elsewhere, we have formulated rules which we have called the laws of proverbial sense.⁸ The second law states: *All proverbs created in literal sense and they do attain metaphorical status as they are used, they do represent the Second Law of the Proverbial Sense.*⁹ Let us highlight from this law two facts: one, there are proverbs whose meaning is to be understood literally. Second, some of these literal proverbs attain metaphorical status. This proverb *Is Saul among the prophets?* is a good example of proverbs created literally, which then attain a metaphorical sense as they are used.

Metaproverbs. Let us now introduce the concept of the metaproverb. We take a metaproverb as a proverb about proverbs, a proverb of proverbs. It is a proverb produced with proverbial content. In my book *Provérbios Panzianos*¹⁰ we have got a couple of metaproverbs. Let us have a look at some of these metaproverbs as they deal with the issues of literal and metaphorical proverbs. Let us start with proverb number 1023: *Da realidade concreta à realidade abstracta o provérbio é metáfora.* It means, from concrete reality to abstract reality, the proverb is a metaphor. Above all here we have got that “proverb is a metaphor.”

If on the one hand, we have got metaphorical proverbs, on the other hand, let us now take proverb number 20: *O provérbio é máxima, o provérbio é literal.* It says: the proverb is a maxim, the proverb is literal. Here we have got that “the proverb is literal.” In proverb 1023 we have got that *the proverb is a metaphor* and in proverb 20 we have got that *the proverb is literal*. On the one hand we have got “literal proverbs” and on the other

hand we have got “metaphorical proverbs.” These are the two proverbial limits, proverbial borders.

Proverb number 18 talks about the literal proverbial limit: *A máxima é a dimensão literal do provérbio*. The maxim is the literal dimension of a proverb. It says that maxims are literal sense proverbs. If, on the one hand, we have got literal sense proverbs, on the other hand, proverb 17 talks about the metaphorical dimension: *O adágio é a dimensão metafórica do provérbio*. The adage is the metaphorical dimension of proverbs. If maxims are literal sense proverbs, adages are metaphorical sense proverbs.

Finally, proverb 33 states: *Para além do adágio e a máxima, do provérbio é apenas elaboração*. Beyond adages and maxims, proverbs are elaborations. In other words, although a proverb may be either a maxim or a metaphor, these borders of proverbs, maxim and metaphor, might be elaborated. In this way, adages and maxims, as proverbs, might be elaborated from aphorisms, apothegms, sayings and so forth. Above all, proverbs are literal, proverbs are metaphors.

1.2. Contradiction

First of all Winick says that *Seitel believes that all proverbs are metaphorical*. If this is the case, then when we utter a proverb, we are uttering a metaphor. When we are dealing with a proverb, we are already dealing with a metaphor. If we start from the premise that a proverb is a metaphor, this very same view is contradicted because Winick says: *The way proverbs work, in Seitel's theory, is by drawing an analogy between the proverb situation and the context situation; this is the proverb's metaphor*. If proverb is a metaphor already, how are we going to locate the proverb's metaphor in the context situation—the moment of use? The contradiction is that on the one hand, it is already a metaphor, but on the other hand, that it becomes a metaphor when applied in the context situation. Here we have got a gap that Seitel's theory seems not to address. In particular, it fails to address vital metaphorical elements as metametaphors and semimetaphors.

Based on these explanations, this paper argues that Seitel's theory is not a complete theory. It fails to address the “precedent situation,” it fails to locate proverbial metaphor before the prov-

erb, it fails to draw the line between a metaphor and a metametaphor, as well as the line between a metaphor and a semimetaphor. For this reason, we propose the Six Situations Proverbial Metaphor Theory.

2. The Six Situations Proverbial Metaphor Theory

This theory proposes that proverbial metaphor, from its creation up to its utility, it goes through six stages or six situations. We need to understand that proverbs are ready-made sentences. As they are ready-made, beyond their situation, they have got the birth situation or precedent situation as well as the precedent – proverb interaction situation. When we meet a proverb, it has already got three situations:

- (1) the precedent situation,
- (2) the precedent – proverb interaction situation, and
- (3) the proverb situation.

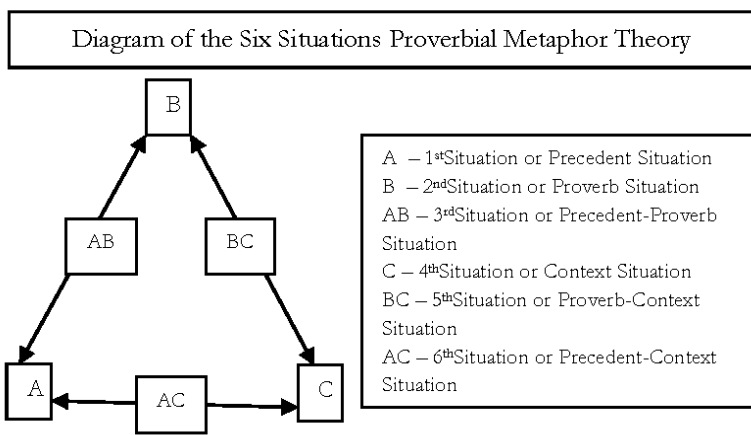
When we apply a proverb in the context situation, we add to these three situations, three more situations:

- (4) the context situation
- (5) the proverb – context interaction situation and
- (6) the precedent – context interaction situation.

The full perspective of a proverb's metaphor has got six and not three situations.

Proverbial sense. In a general perspective, there are four kinds of proverbs: 1 – Proverbs created in a literal sense which remain literal as they are used, 2 – Proverbs created in a literal sense which attain metaphorical status as they are used, 3 – Proverbs created in a metaphorical sense which remain metaphorical as they are used, and 4 – Proverbs created in a metaphorical sense which attain meta-metaphorical sense, as they are used.

As the theory is about proverbial metaphor, then, the first kind of proverbs, created in a literal sense and remaining literal as they are used, are not included in the theory. The scope of the theory covers the other three forms of proverbs.



2.1. First situation: Precedent Situation.

The first situation is labeled “A” in the diagram. It is the proverb’s creation situation. Proverbs are created by individuals. The creation of a particular proverb has got its own situation. Alan Dundes recognizes, as we have already seen, that proverbs often come from stories. In that case, the story is the precedent situation of the proverb. Indeed, a proverb not only has got its story, but a proverb has got its own history. It is possible to understand how a particular proverb has been used by different authors of different times. From its creation, across the time, we may understand how different generations used a particular proverb, as proverbs go from generation to generation. Correctly understanding the story, as a source of a proverb, gives us a better understanding of the proverb as a whole. A better way to start analyzing a proverb is by getting in touch with its past, its roots.

Proverbs’ transformations. Like everything, proverbs go through transformations; some transformations erode the proverbs. In other words, some proverbs, through changes in the course of time, lose their past or their precedent. There are some proverbs that we use now, for which we can’t recover the circumstances of their birth, because we have lost their precedents.¹¹ The Greek Philosopher Synesius (c.370-c.413 CE) recalled a description of proverbs from Aristotle, perhaps from a

lost work, or perhaps an elaboration from Aristotle's *Metaphysics*: "proverbs have been saved, owing to their conciseness and clearness, as remnants by which to recall the old philosophy that perished in the great destructive revolutions of humanity." (<http://www.livius.org/sources/content/synesius/synesius-eulogy-of-baldness/synesius-eulogy-of-baldness-22/>)

This description includes the notion of proverbs losing parts of their constituency. They are *remnants by which to recall the old philosophy*, and specifically philosophy that is lost or perished. A proverb is what remains of a lost philosophy; it is the ashes of an ancient philosophy. The point is that many proverbs, due to human ruin (*destructive revolutions of humanity*), have lost their etymologies, and have remained only in their text form.

Aristotle's description implies the recognition that proverbs come from or are a byproduct of an ancient philosophy. Along the way, many proverbs lose their birth situation, their precedent situation. The fact of some proverbs losing their precedent situation gives us two perspectives on proverbs: proverbs with a precedent situation and proverbs whose precedent situation has been lost. As a matter of theory, we should not start proverbial issues in the middle; we should not standardize the middle as the starting point of understanding proverbial issues. For this reason, if we want to better understand proverbial issues, we shouldn't take as our main example a proverb without its birth situation. Instead, we should take a proverb with its birth, or precedent, situation. A proverb with precedent situation would give us a better understanding, a wider picture, of the proverb dynamics from its root up to how we use it.

The existence of proverbs for which we have lost the precedent situation should not lead us to believe that all proverbs are without root or precedent. We should understand that proverbs have got a particular origin. Proverbs, like poems or songs, have a moment of creation.

Let us start with the proverb *E mbua ndombi e mkila ndombi* the dog is black and the dog's tail is black.

It once happened in the Kiaji Dembado, Kiaji Kingdom, that there was a dispute between the former Dembo, King, Makiaji kia Mususu and his son Tito Maria de

Almeida about the lands on the other side of the river Lufua.

Before the stalemate, they called upon the King in charge, at the time, Dembo Mengoma, in order to solve out this problem. When Mengoma arrived, after realizing that it was a problem between a father and his son, he just said: *E mbua ndombi e mkila ndombi* the dog is black and the dog's tail is black. It means that the father and the son are the very same thing.

That is how this proverb *the dog is black and the dog's tail is black* was created. Here we have the precedent situation of this proverb.

2.2. *Second Situation: Proverb situation.*

The second situation is labeled “B” in the diagram. In the second situation, we move from the precedent situation to the proverb situation. Let us keep in mind the proverb *E mbua ndombi e mkila ndombi* the dog is black and the dog's tail is black. We have already seen its precedent. In its precedent situation, we have got a father and a son that are alike. As etymological elements, we have got a father “Makiaji kia Mususu,” we have got the son “Tito” and we have got their “Likeness.” These are the concrete etymological elements. The etymological elements of this reality are shifted into a metaphorical reality: The father ceases to be a father in order to be a dog; the son ceases to be a son in order to be a tail; and the likeness between the father and the son ceases to be the likeness in order to be the “black color.” The father is the *dog*, the son is the *tail* and their likeness is the *black color*.

At this stage, we have moved from the concrete reality to the abstract reality. In other words, the concrete concepts have been shifted into the abstract dimension. If the concrete is to take a father as father, in the abstract, in this case, we take the father as a “dog.” In the same way, if in the concrete reality, we take the son as a son, in the abstract dimension, we take the son as a “tail.”

Now we have got a metaphorical proverb. But all proverbs are not metaphorical; as we have seen, some are literal. At this stage, we also locate the literal proverbs.

Semimetaphors. There is a particular kind of transformation that we need to locate here. As we have seen from Aristotle's description, some proverbs lose their precedent, lose their philosophy. Human history sometimes destroys the precedents of some proverbs. Therefore, we encounter proverbs and can't figure out how they were created; these are proverbs without the precedent situation. As we haven't got their precedent situation, we also can't talk of the second situation, the relationship between the precedent situation and the proverb situation.

If proverbs lose their precedent situation, the symbolic elements in these proverbs can't have the same status as those proverbial elements that didn't lose their precedent situation. If a symbolic element in a proverb that retains its precedent situation is a metaphor, the symbolic element in a proverb that does not retain its precedent situation is not a metaphor, it is a semimetaphor. Therefore, figurative proverbs without their precedent situation are not metaphors, they are semimetaphors.

Let us have a proverb like *leave not the mark of the pot upon the ashes*. We don't know how this proverb was created. We have just received it, as part of human heritage, but we don't know how the proverb was created. We know how the proverb *the dog is black and the dog's tail is black* was created, but this one we don't know.

If we don't know how they were created, symbolic proverbs, are not full metaphors, they are half metaphors. In order to establish a proverb's metaphor, we need to know the precedent situation, because it is in the relationship between the precedent and the proverb situation, where we can best locate the proverb's metaphor. If we ask what precedent elements are symbolized in "mark," "pot" and "ashes" in the proverb *leave not the mark of the pot upon the ashes*, no one can answer, because no one has got the data, the information, about the creation of this proverb. Because of this, the symbolic elements in this proverb are not metaphors, they are half metaphors, metaphors-to-be in a new context. That's why they are called semimetaphors.

In short, at this stage, the proverb situation, we have got literal and metaphorical proverbs. We know how some literal proverbs were created and don't know how others were created. Among figurative proverbs, those whose origin we know are

metaphorical proverbs and those whose origin we don't know are semi-metaphorical proverbs.

2.3. Third situation: The precedent - proverb interaction situation.

The third situation is labeled "AB" in the diagram. In the third situation, we analyze the relationship between the first and the second situation. We have moved from the concrete reality to the abstract one. From the concrete reality, father, son and likeness, to the abstract reality "dog," "tail" and "black color." Thus, we have got the proverb: *E mbua ndombi e mkila ndombi* the dog is black and the dog's tail is black. At this level, the proverb is already a metaphor. The proverbial elements "dog," "tail" and "black" are already metaphors.

It is at this level that we should locate the metaphor of a metaphorical proverbial expression and not where Seitel locates it (*between the proverb situation and the context situation*). As long as we move from the concrete reality to the abstract reality, we attain proverbial metaphor. The proverb's metaphor is not between the proverb and the context situation. At the proverb level, proverb situation or the third stage, the proverb is already a metaphor. In our case, with the proverb, *E mbua ndombi e mkila ndombi* the dog is black and the dog's tail is black, we are already using metaphors: "dog" is already a metaphor, not a metaphor-to-be; "tail" is already a metaphor, not a metaphor-to-be, and "black color" is already a metaphor and not a metaphor-to-be. The dog is the metaphor for the father, Makiaji kia Mususu; the tail is the metaphor for the son, Tito Maria de Almeida, and the "black color" is the metaphor for the likeness between the father and the son.

2.4. Fourth situation: Context situation.

The fourth situation is labeled "C" in the diagram. The context situation is the application situation. It is the environment in which we apply the proverb. In a sense, it is a duplication of the first situation, the etymological situation, which we are calling the "precedent situation." The proverb is a kind of bridge between the precedent situation and the context situation. At this stage we apply proverbs in the context situation.

Let us take the case of the proverb *the dog is black and the dog's tail is black*. We have got a metaphorical proverb and we

are going to apply it metaphorically. For instance, an uncle and his nephew are drinking beer together. After a couple of moments, they start quarreling. Someone sees them quarreling and proverbially says: *the dog is black and the dog's tail is black*. Here we have got the proverb. It is already a metaphor and we are using it metaphorically. The product of two metaphors is a metametaphor. From the precedent situation to the proverb situation, we have got a metaphor; and from the proverb situation to the context situation, we have got another metaphor. As byproduct we have got a metametaphor.

Now, let us look at the case of semimetaphorical proverbs, figurative proverbs whose exact origin we do not know. Let us use as an example the proverb *leave not the mark of the pot upon the ashes*. It is a figurative proverb, but we don't know how it was created; therefore, it is a semimetaphorical proverb. As we apply a semimetaphorical proverb in a new context, we create metaphors.

For instance, Ndianda ate oranges on the table. To express the need to leave the table clean, the mother told him proverbially *leave not the mark of the pot upon the ashes*. In this context, the figurative elements "mark," "pot" and "ashes" that, in the third stage, the proverb situation, were semimetaphors, now turn into full metaphors. Instead of the mother saying plainly "do not leave the orange peels on the table," she said it proverbially *leave not the mark of the pot upon the ashes*. In this context, "marks" is a metaphor for peels, "pot" is a metaphor for orange and "ashes" is a metaphor for the table.

From a semimetaphorical proverb, we have got a metaphorical proverb. In short, if a metaphorical proverb, in the context situation, attains a metametaphorical status, a semimetaphorical proverb attains a metaphorical status.

2.5. Fifth situation: Proverb – context interaction situation.

The fifth situation is labeled "BC" in the diagram. In the fifth situation we have got the interaction of the proverb and the context situations. We are analyzing the proverb *E mbua ndombi e mkila ndombi* the dog is black and the dog's tail is black. In the proverb, as metaphorical elements, we have got the "dog," the "tail" and the "black color." In the context situation, we have got an uncle, a nephew and their likeness. The proverbial element

dog, metaphor for the father, is now being applied as metaphor for the uncle. The proverbial element tail, metaphor for the son, it is now being applied to metaphorize the nephew, and finally the proverbial element “black color,” metaphor for the likeness between the father and the son, is now being used as metaphor for the likeness between the uncle and the nephew. The product of two metaphors is a metametaphor.

In the proverb – context interaction situation we don’t locate the proverb’s metaphor, because we start from the premise that we are already dealing with a metaphorical proverb. When the proverb arrives at that stage, it is already a metaphor. Its metaphor takes place between the precedent situation and the proverb situation. In the fifth situation, we locate the formation of the metametaphors. The proverb is already a metaphor and as we apply it metaphorically, as byproduct of two metaphors, we have got a metametaphor.

Seitel was mistaken by locating the proverbial metaphor here. We need to understand that the proverb’s metaphor does not always originate *between the proverb situation and the context situation*. If the proverb was in origin metaphorical, then this situation gives rise to its metametaphor.

However, if we don’t know the exact origin of a proverb, so that we consider it to be semimetaphorical in origin, then its metaphor does arise in this situation. This is the case for the proverb *leave not the mark of the pot upon the ashes*. At the Proverb situation, the figurative elements “mark,” “pot” and “ashes” are not metaphors, they are semimetaphors. As such they turn into metaphor in the context situation and it is at the relationship of proverb situation versus context situation that we locate their metaphors.

So, the metaphors of a semimetaphorical proverb originate at this level. But for a metaphorical proverb, it is its metametaphors which originate here.

2.6. Sixth situation: *Precedent – context interaction situation.*

Let us recall the following words by Alan Dundes: *one of the functions of proverbs is to establish a secular precedent for present action*. We have got the precedent, proverb, and present action. If on the one hand, from the precedent we get to the proverb, and on the other hand, from the proverb we get to the pre-

sent action, then it is theoretically possible to get from the precedent to the present action without going through the proverb. When we do this, we have got the sixth situation.

We need to understand that in a sense, the present action or the context situation is a shadow, it is an image, a duplication of the precedent situation. Because it is a duplication, then, we can establish the relation between the two situations. In doing so we are working in the sixth situation.

With the proverb *the dog is black and the dog's tail is black*, we know that at the precedent, we have got a father and a son. In the present action, we have got an uncle and his nephew. Out of this proposition, we can match the two events. The uncle in the context situation stands for the father in the precedent situation, while the nephew in the context situation stands for the son in the precedent situation. On understanding this proverb's dynamics, precedent versus context situation, we deal with the last situation, the sixth one.

We can only deal with the sixth situation, if we are dealing with proverbs whose precedent we know, those proverbs for which we know the exact origin. If we don't know how a proverb was created, we cannot work with it in the sixth situation.

3. Conclusion

In summary, Seitel's theory does not address the precedent situation, and therefore, misconstrues the location of the proverb's metaphor. It does not draw the line between a metaphor, a semimetaphor and a metametaphor. Therefore, we have conceived the Six Situations Proverbial Metaphor Theory to clarify that a figurative proverb from its creation to its utilization it goes through six situations: the precedent situation, the proverb situation, the precedent-proverb interaction situation, the context situation, the proverb-context interaction situation and the precedent-context interaction situation.

Figurative proverbs whose exact origin we know are metaphorical proverbs at the precedent-proverb interaction situation, and they turn into metametaphorical proverbs at the proverb-context interaction situation. Figurative proverbs whose origin we don't know are semimetaphorical proverbs at the precedent-proverb interaction situation, and turn into metaphorical proverbs at the proverb-context interaction situation. Some literal proverbs

turn into metaphorical proverbs at the proverb-context interaction situation. Above all, metaphorical proverbs from their creation to their final context of use, go through six situations.

Notes

¹ Winick, Stephen D. 2014. "Insight From the Middle of Nowhere: Proverbial Language and Intertextuality in Gary Larson's *The Far Side*" *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* 31: 416

² *Loc Cit.*

³ Thompson, Tok. 2009. "Getting Ahead in Ethiopia: Amharic Proverbs About Wealth" *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* 26:374

⁴ Mieder, Wolfgang "The Proof of the Proverb is in the Probing! Alan Dundes as Pioneering Paremiologist." *Western Folklore*, 65, n. 3 (2006) 217- 262

⁵ Romero, Fernando Garcia. 2010. "La Paremiologia Griega Antigua." *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* 27: 82

⁶ Winick, Stephen D. *Op Cit.* 417

⁷ *Ibid.* 416

⁸ Panzo, André Almeida. *Proverbial Sense: Four Laws*. A Monograph written in October 2016.

⁹ *Ibid.* 3

¹⁰ Panzo, Almeida. 2015. *Provérbios Panzianos*. Edições Apa.

¹¹ Romero, Fernando Garcia. *Op Cit.* 82

André Almeida Panzo
 Centro de Estudos Proverbiais
 Cacuaco, Luanda
 Angola
 Email: centropro1@hotmail.com

ROUMYANA PETROVA AND DIANA STEFANOVA

EVALUATION IN BIBLICAL PROVERBS: A LINGUOCULTURAL STUDY FROM A SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Abstract: The aim of this study is to examine more closely the realizations of evaluation in Biblical proverbs and to explain the role of evaluation in the construction of communities of shared values. The research method used in analyzing the corpus of 425 Biblical proverbs identified by Wolfgang Mieder is the appraisal analysis of J.R. Martin and P.R.R.White in combination with the culturematic analysis of R. Petrova. On the basis of the results obtained conclusions are drawn concerning the indexical and evaluative characteristics of the proverb cultureme. It is argued that the axiological charge proverbs get in actual use as a result of the inherent act of evaluation is an indispensable part of their meaning.

Keywords: appraisal analysis, Biblical proverbs, cultureme, evaluation, linguocultural, sign, value

No utterance can be put together without value judgement. Every utterance is above all an *evaluative orientation*. Therefore, each element in a living utterance not only has a meaning but also has a value. Only the abstract element, perceived within the system of language and not within the structure of an utterance, appears devoid of value judgement. (Vološinov, 1973, p. 105)

1. Introduction

1.1 Proverb meaning, evaluation and shared values

Paremiologists have always been concerned with proverb meaning from the viewpoint of their specific theoretical affiliation thus illuminating different aspects of this meaning in their analyses. The problem of explaining how proverbs mean seems as difficult as the problem of identifying the defining characteris-

tics of the proverb as such. In fact, the two problems are very closely related, because the features that characterize proverbs (the proverbial markers), no doubt play a substantial role in the construal of proverb meaning. Evaluation has not always been assigned the status of a proverbial marker, but the fact that proverbs employ evaluative language and that their use involves acts of evaluation has caught the attention of researchers, especially among whom are those concerned with linguoculturology. So far, evaluation in proverbs has been studied in relation to various issues such as the structure of the proverb, the use of figurative language and the cultural matrix of values. As Krikmann points out, the evaluative aspect of proverb meaning has not been ignored in proverb studies but it has not been studied as a separate and universal semantic marker (2001, p. 68). The present study aims to examine evaluation in more detail by addressing the question of the role evaluation plays in the construal of meaning in Biblical proverbs. It seeks to find out how appraisal is realized in Biblical proverbs and what part it plays in the construction of communities of shared values. The study was motivated by Krikmann's comment mentioned above corroborated by Grzybek's assertion that "semantically relevant information be that of functional, pragmatic, situational, deontic, modal or of other kind – at least to date cannot adequately be mapped onto the paremiological model" (2014, p. 106).

The corpus of this study comprises 425 Biblical proverbs identified as such by Wolfgang Mieder (1990). They were examined as self-contained texts, i.e. the way they appear in proverb collections and dictionaries, bearing in mind the fact that their evaluative potential is realized in actual use. The analytical tool applied is a combination of two approaches – the appraisal model as presented by Martin and White (2005) and the culturematic analysis developed by Petrova (2006; 2010; 2012; 2016). The starting point of the enquiry is the assumption that proverbs have a recognizable meaning for the speakers of a language, a fact reflected in Norrick's (1985) term 'standard proverbial interpretation' and in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's term 'base meaning' ([1981] 1994). The outcomes of the study are expected to contribute to the development of a theory of proverb meaning. By choosing to investigate the realizations of appraisal resources in Biblical proverbs we hope to shed light on the interpersonal

meaning of proverbs thus contributing to the overall understanding of proverb meaning. This is no doubt a rather complex task as it involves the examination of the intricate interplay of “figurative, logical, modal and syntactic” aspects as Krikmann (2009, p. 12) points out. In addition to contributing to the theoretical explanation of proverb meaning, the study is expected to make a contribution to the second analytical tool – the culturematic analysis, by adding new models to its analytical approach.

1.2 The study of evaluation and its relation to paremiology

In paremiology “[proverbs] have been collected and studied for centuries as informative and useful linguistic signs of cultural values and thoughts” (Mieder, 2004, p. xii). This fact shows that proverb scholars have been aware of the presence of evaluation in proverbs for a long time (see for example Milner ([1971] 2004); and Petrova (2012) among many others; for an overview of the treatment of evaluation in proverb studies see Krikmann (2001, pp. 62- 68). And while the interest in evaluation has never ceased in paremiology, in the broader field of linguistics the attitude towards evaluation has been ambiguous. As Martin and White have claimed, influential formalist linguistic schools have left it out of the scope of their interest because they viewed language as an ideal system and were not interested in its relationship with the social context. It was the schools that took interest in rhetoric, language in use and communicative effect that have explored it, as their proponents considered social interaction to be part of language (Martin & White, 2005). Systemic functional linguistics being one of the latter schools sees evaluation as part of the interpersonal meaning which alongside the ideational and the textual meaning contributes to the multi-layered content plane of utterances. Evaluation has been described as a complex phenomenon with many faces and phases by Alba-Juez and Thompson (2014). They define it as

a dynamical subsystem of language, permeating all linguistic levels and involving the expression of the speaker’s or the writer’s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feeling about the entities or propositions that s/he is talking about, which entails relational work including the (possible and prototypically expected and subse-

quent) response of the hearer or (potential) audience. This relational work is generally related to the speaker or hearer's personal, group, or cultural set of values. (Alba-Juez & Thompson, 2014, p. 13)

This definition clearly demonstrates some of the latest developments in the treatment of evaluation. Most importantly, it reflects the shift of perspective in viewing the act of evaluation from self-expression to interaction. Furthermore, the concept of evaluation in language has been enlarged to the extent that it encompasses not only the traditional view that the act of evaluation is an act of expressing the feelings and beliefs of speakers or writers but it also includes the act of negotiating a possible alignment of stances between sender and addressee. Another important development in the perception of evaluation is the insight that it is carried out by relating the content of a whole proposition or separate entities to a matrix of cultural values. And finally individual, group or community variation in sets of values is also acknowledged in line with some developments in the social sciences stressing variation and fluctuation in cultural values over a unified notion of a cultural matrix. In the complex phenomenon of evaluation, a set of notions can be distinguished – taking a stance, the evaluative act and the language resources for evaluation. Alba-Juez and Thompson describe stance as a broader concept that includes not only the ‘textualized phase’ or the evaluative act proper, but the preliminary cognitive phase of deciding whether to perform the evaluative act at all, what stance to take and which language resources to employ (2014, p. 7)¹. As regards evaluative language Hunston (2011) perceives its role as “index[ing] the act of evaluation or the act of stance-taking...[and] express[ing] an attitude towards a person, situation or other entity...[that] is both subjective and located within a societal value-system” (p. 1). The multifaceted phenomenon of evaluation has been studied from various perspectives including rhetoric, axiological semantics and discourse ethics to name but a few. For the purposes of the present study, the appraisal model offered by the Sydney branch of systemic functional linguistics was chosen as one of the analytic tools because of its interest in the way judgement relates to human behavior and its attention to

the intersubjective nature of evaluation, which we find relevant to studying evaluation in proverbs.

In the paragraph below we will outline the theoretical framework of appraisal analysis as presented in Martin and White's monograph *The Language of Evaluation* (2005). Appraisal analysis revolves round the three axes of attitude, engagement and graduation. Attitude refers to feelings and emotional reactions, judgements of human behavior and assessments of the aesthetic value of objects. Engagement is concerned with how speakers or writers position themselves with respect to the attitudes expressed. And graduation shows how strong or weak a feeling is or whether a thing is at the core or in the periphery of its category (Martin & White, 2005). The following constructed example illustrates the interplay of attitude, engagement and graduation in an exchange that contains a Biblical proverb:

John: There is yet another corruption scandal in the news. That's disgusting.

Tom: It is, indeed, but I am not surprised. There is nothing new under the sun.

In this example the second speaker, Tom, employs the Biblical proverb *There is nothing new under the sun* to express his attitude toward corruption in politics. Corruption practices are thus presented as something undesirable that tends to occur over and over again. The proverb itself implicitly states that negative behavior is often repeated, so it could be perceived as a realization of the category of attitude since it contains judgement of behavior. The speaker uses the proverb in a way which shows that he sides with its message, in other words, he aligns himself with the underlying evaluative proposition in the proverb and he also implicitly indicates that he expects his interlocutor to take the same stance. Thus as far as the category of engagement is concerned, by presenting the underlying evaluative proposition of the proverb as plausible and positioning himself in alignment with it, the speaker also positions himself in alignment with the expected attitude of his interlocutor. And finally as regards graduation, the hyperbole contained in the proverb intensifies both the judgement position and the author's investment in it. Compare the use of the proverb with an ordinary statement of the sort – *That hap-*

pens quite often. This statement does not imply any attitude, judgement or emotion; it is axiologically neutral.

As can be seen from this example, the treatment of judgement of behavior which is not matched in earlier approaches to evaluation and the interest in the linguistic means of constructing communities of shared values make the appraisal theory a suitable tool for analyzing evaluation in proverbs. As a broad integrative theory designed to study evaluation in language, appraisal theory provides the background for a more fine-grained analysis of proverb meaning using the other tool – culturematic analysis. This second tool comes from a tradition in paremiology where the explanation of proverb meaning, the outlining of the distinctive features of proverbs and the study of axiologically charged elements in the meaning of proverbs has a long history. The brief overview of some of the ideas concerning proverbial meaning and their relation to the phenomenon of evaluation in paremiological studies, which will be given in the next section, will shed some light on the study of proverbs from an axiological perspective.

1.3 The proverb as a sign of a situation

In paremiology, two important insights concerning the nature of the proverb and its characteristics come from the fields of semiotics and folklore and literature studies. The semiotic perspective provides us with the view that proverbs are signs of situations (Permyakov, 1970, 1988; Grzybek, 1984, 1994, 2014). And the folkloristic perspective stresses the traditional character of proverbs both in terms of age and currency among the people (Trench, [1853] 2003; Taylor, 1965; Whiting, [1931/32/39] 1994; Mieder, 1985; 1993; 1998; 2004; 2005; 2007). Traditionality has long been considered by Wolfgang Mieder and others to be one of the most important defining characteristics of proverbs, the other characteristics being structural patterns, shortness, fixity, figurative language, intertextuality and stylistic features such as alliteration, parallelism, rhyme and ellipsis (Mieder, 2004, pp. 4-9). The strands of all these characteristic and meaning-making features (studied more recently by scholars such as Silverman-Weinreich [1978]² (1994), Arora (1984) and Mac Coinnigh, (2013) to name but a few) are interwoven to form the fabric of proverb meaning. Proverb meaning combines two aspects which

at first sight seem mutually exclusive. On the one hand, due to their traditional character, to use the term from folklore studies, or due to their relative fixedness, to use the term from the field of phraseology³, proverbs have a “stable” meaning with which most users of a language are familiar. On the other hand, various studies have shown that there exists great variation in proverb meaning which led some authors to speak of proverb performance meaning (see for example Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994) and Fontaine (2015)⁴ whose studies follow Arewa and Dundes’s appeal to include the context in the study of proverbs (1964)⁵. While acknowledging both the stability and the variability of proverb meaning, for the purposes of this study, we accept Krikmann’s assertion that to the researcher the meaning of a proverb outside context is a “mere semantic potential” (1984, p. 51) and in adopting Norrick’s term “standard proverb interpretation” (1985) as the starting point of our enquiry we remain aware of the fact that there is variation in this “standard” interpretation in language use which is determined by the social context. In this study we do not take into consideration all the aspects of the interrelationship between the Biblical proverb text and the social context because we chose to work with proverbs “as texts not in text” (to borrow Neal Norrick’s apt phrase, 1985). We focus on just one aspect of this interrelationship, namely the relation of the proverb text to the larger context of culture⁶ (Malinowsky, [1923] 1936). We will therefore be examining the linguistic means via which axiologically charged concepts reflecting human behavior interact with cultural norms in the construal of proverb meaning.

Because part of the present investigation is based on Permyakov’s idea that a proverb is a sign of a situation, this idea will be discussed in some detail. It was Permyakov’s observation that people would choose a proverb which corresponds to the situation they want to name that led him to the conclusion that proverbs are signs of situations. He further elaborated on the nature of the correspondence between proverbs and situations – the proverb reflects the same kind of relationship that exists between entities in the real-life situation (1970, p. 19; 1988, p. 21). If we follow Permyakov’s argument, the Biblical proverb *That which is crooked cannot be made straight* can be used with reference to a number of real-life situations in which a man’s path, figurative-

ly speaking, deviates from the straight road. In other words, the two entities in the proverb – something crooked and something straight and the relationship between them, i.e., the impossibility of the first entity to become the second, are analogous to similar entities and the relationship between them in a variety of real-life situations. In Permyakov's view, the proverb is not a sign of a single real-life situation, it is a sign and a model of a typical situation or the relationship between the entities in it. A model of a situation is thus a generalization of a great number of similar, common, concrete situations (1988, p. 84). In the example above the model of the situation will be the impossibility to make straight, or get right, what man has let get crooked, or wrong. And all the real-life situations, in which the proverb can be applied, share the common characteristics contained in the model of the situation.

About thirty years earlier than Permyakov, Kenneth Burke made a similar observation about proverbs and situations: "Proverbs are *strategies* for dealing with *situations*. In so far as situations are typical and recurrent in a given social structure, people develop names for them and strategies for handling them. Another name for strategies might be *attitudes*" (1941, p. 296 original emphasis). There is much in common between the views of Burke and Permyakov. Both Burke and Permyakov stress the fact that proverbs are associated with typical situations and both authors point out that proverbs identify and name such situations. A typical situation will have generic characteristics which are recurrent and specific characteristics which are peculiar to each separate case. The generic versus specific relationship in the characteristics of situations is commented on by Lakoff and Turner as well. In their book *More Than Cool Reason*, Chapter 4 is devoted to the Great Chain Metaphor – a model of proverb meaning where the generic-specific relationship between schemata associated with proverbs plays a major role (1989). In the framework of cognitive linguistics, Lakoff and Turner assert that for proverbs to achieve their meaning a cognitive process of mapping information from a schema associated with the literal meaning of the proverb to a schema associated with a reference situation from real life takes place provided that the two specific level schemata share information contained in a generic level schema (1989, pp. 162-168). The convergence of these three

views from different theoretical perspectives throws light on the referential aspects of proverb meaning.

An addition to the explanation of the relationship between the social situation to which a proverb refers and the proverb situation itself is found in several works by Peter Grzybek (1984, 1994, 2014) who dwells on the semiotic aspects of proverb meaning. Following Seitel, Grzybek distinguishes between interaction situation, proverb situation and reference⁷ situation. The interaction situation is the discourse situation in which the proverb is used. It may coincide with the reference situation, i.e., the situation from real life that it names but more often than not it does not coincide with it. And the proverb situation is the situation represented by the proverb. Grzybek argues that successful proverb usage involves “two different abstraction processes”. The first process according to him involves extracting the “general (paremic) meaning...from the denotative text of the *proverb situation*” which gives us the *model situation*⁸, while the second process is the assigning of the *reference situation* to “a general type (or class) of situations, which might be termed *situation model*”. He further points out that the model situation and the situation model “seemingly coincide” (Grzybek, 2014, pp. 97-103, original emphasis). His conclusions about the way proverbs achieve their meaning do not contradict previous views, rather they build on them providing more details. What is relevant to our argumentation are the two mental operations that are at work in proverb semiosis and use and that are explicitly or implicitly acknowledged by all the authors mentioned so far – the process of generalization that picks generic characteristics from literal proverb meaning and reference situations and the process of perceiving the analogy between proverb situation and reference situation.

The relation of proverbs to social situations and the parallel between the relations of entities in proverb situations and reference situations have attracted a great deal of attention among proverb scholars, the above mentioned authors being but a few among many. Some of these authors comment on the fact that proverbs not only refer to situations but also evaluate them. Archer Taylor points out that people use a proverb “as a guide to life’s problems, [since] the proverb summarizes a situation, passes a judgement, or offers a course of action” (1965, p. 7). Eval-

uation and judgement in proverbs are in close connection with their function as “a guide to life’s problems”, a function that is not peculiar to them but which they share with literature in general. In his essay “Literature as Equipment for Life”, for example, Kenneth Burke states that a work of art, like a proverb, “singles out a pattern of experience...and adopt[s] an attitude towards it” (1941, p. 300). Lakoff and Turner express a view that “poetry has the power to instruct us...how to conduct our lives. Proverbs are often viewed as the simplest form of such poetry” (1989, p. 160). It could be seen that Lakoff and Turner’s view is very similar to Burke’s view about the function of literature being similar to the function of proverbs since they both equip people with strategies for coping with situations. Two important observations emerge from this discussion – that proverbs contain attitudes and that they provide strategies for living. The connection between them lies in the fact that if a certain type of behavior is positively valued, it is affirmed, praised and recommended and vice versa – if some human trait or act of behavior is negatively valued, it is denounced and rejected.

1.4 Evaluation in proverbs

Positively and negatively valued concepts in the meaning of proverbs have been explored in paremiology many times, but the views of Milner ([1971] 2004) and Petrova (2006; 2010; 2012) seem most relevant to our argumentation. Both authors point out that there are axiologically charged concepts involved in the construal of proverb meaning, which they mark with a plus or a minus sign in their analyses. But while Milner links this fact to the quadripartite structure of proverbs which he sees as universal ([1971] 2004), Petrova relates these positively or negatively marked concepts to the overall paremic meaning whose representation she perceives as a proposition in which a culturally significant entity is either approved or disapproved of (2006; 2010; 2012). Milner’s approach, although labeled as innovative at the time it was introduced, was criticized for the subjectivity involved in assigning positive and negative values to concepts in the proverb meaning. Similarly, his claim that proverbs comprising less than four parts had undergone a change and had lost some of the originally possessed four parts was not accepted by other paremiologists (see for example Norrick’s critique (2014,

p. 15)). Petrova's view, on the other hand, that at the core of proverb meaning there lies a concept, which is either positively or negatively charged and is related to a cultural entity, is in agreement with the line of thought we outlined above, viewing proverbs as signs of situations that reflect relationships between entities. Petrova proposes the term *cultureme* (2006) to mark the central entity that is affirmed or rejected by the propositional content of the proverb and points out that it is a complex sign that can include several subordinate signs related to subordinate concepts, which build up the main concept (2006; 2010; 2014; 2016). She also proposes a method of analysis to identify the *cultureme(s)* in proverbs which she calls *culturematic analysis*. Because of its relation to a long standing paremiological tradition and its connection to the phenomenon of evaluation, *culturematic analysis* was chosen as the second analytic tool in this study.

2. Methods

2.1 Data and methods of collection

In making the decision about the type of data and methods of collection we have taken into consideration two factors: relevance to the research topic and availability. The literature review showed that a number of previous paremiological studies used as data sources proverb collections (e.g. Mac Coinnigh, 2013) and special dictionaries and encyclopedias in addition to proverb collections (e.g. Tóthné-Litovkina & Csábi, 2002). In corpus studies (such as Lau, 1996) special proverb dictionaries have been used in the preliminary stage for drawing up a list of proverbs to be searched for in the database. Studies that explored the use of proverbs in folk tales, the works of a given author, or in political discourse and the mass media have also employed the use of proverb collections and dictionaries either for identifying the proverbs to be examined or for clarification of their meaning. Bearing this in mind and because this study was planned as a continuation of a previous study by Petrova (2012), which was focused on one of the books of the Bible – *Proverbs*, it was decided to direct the present study to Biblical proverbs. Wolfgang Mieder's collection *Not by Bread Alone: Proverbs of the Bible* (1990), which contains 425 annotated proverbs of Biblical origin, was singled out as the basis of our corpus. To it we added

several proverb dictionaries (Speake, 2008; Simpson & Speake, 1994; Dent, 2012; Flavell & Flavell, 1992) as well as the text of the Bible for looking up meanings and consulting the context.

Three facts about Biblical proverbs were considered of special significance. It is universally known that because of the special role the Bible played in religion, literature and culture, proverbs associated with it gained popularity not only in specific national communities but also cross-culturally in the Christian world and beyond. Not only are they spread widely through space but they cut across widely separate stretches of time. Another feature of Biblical proverbs that we felt was relevant to the research topic is their origin and diversity. They comprise true folk sayings that were current among people at the time of writing and compiling the various ancient manuscripts which were later included in the Biblical canon. In addition, they feature specially written instructions for life in the tradition of wisdom literature as is the case of many of the proverbs we associate with *The Book of Job*, *Proverbs*, or *Ecclesiastes*. And finally, they include citations that have gained proverbial status whose wealth of allusions is still recognized by the majority of users⁹. Thirdly, in addition to their popularity and diversity, the fact that they are very well documented and researched also contributed to singling them out as relevant data for the present analysis. Apart from the plethora of exegetical and hermeneutical literature that provides commentaries on practically every verse of the Bible, there are also numerous references to the sources of Biblical proverbs found in many dictionaries and in Wolfgang Mieder's collection, which also provide ample material to support research. However, choosing to work with Biblical proverbs has its drawbacks because it limits the possibility of drawing conclusions about a greater population of proverbs. With this in mind, we set off examining evaluation in the 425 proverbs of Biblical origin that belong to Wolfgang Mieder's collection. At this point we are therefore prepared to draw conclusions concerning only this group of proverbs.

2.2 Approach to analyzing: appraisal analysis combined with culturematic analysis

The research strategy adopted in the present study involves the application of the two analytical tools, mentioned above,

which complement each other. Appraisal analysis as a more general theory that studies evaluation in language use on a macro level lays the groundwork. And culturematic analysis which was developed with the proverb in mind works on a micro level. As mentioned earlier, previous research on evaluation in proverbs lacked focus and involved subjectivity in assigning values to concepts that are part of the propositional content of proverbs (see Krikmann's comment (2001, p. 68) and Norrick's critique on Milner's approach (2014, p. 15). The present study aims at maintaining a clear focus on evaluation and reducing the extent of subjectivity by making use of the detailed taxonomy of language resources provided by appraisal theory. Besides the opportunity of making use of the categories and subcategories of evaluative linguistic devices which the appraisal model offers to the researcher due to its lexically oriented development, another point that adds to its suitability is the fact that it is the only theory as far as our knowledge goes which treats judgement of behavior separately, i.e., in addition to the traditional treatment of emotion in evaluation. And thirdly, the attention to constructing communities of shared values that the appraisal model includes is perceived to be highly relevant to a study of proverb meaning. As regards the second analytical tool, the culturematic analysis, which comes from a different theoretical framework, its choice is motivated by the fact that it focuses directly on proverb meaning. This makes it suitable for the present study because the problem of identifying what entity a certain proverb affirms or denies is at the center of attention. The tradition of linguocultural studies from which it comes is not incompatible with systemic functional linguistics, which is the framework of the appraisal model, since they both share an interest in the interrelationship of language and society. This mixed approach, we believe, will equip us with even more refined tools to discover the way appraisal is realized in proverbial language.

The appraisal model suitable as it is for the purposes of this study cannot be applied directly on proverbs taken out of context. This model was designed at the discourse semantic level with the original intention to be used in analyzing larger units of discourse. However, there are studies, for instance the one conducted by Monika Bednarek (2008) or Charlotte Hommersberg's PhD dissertation (2011) in which a modified version of the ap-

praisal model is applied. In line with these previous uses, it was decided to apply only those parts of the model which are relevant to the meaning of proverbs. Out of the three basic categories, only the category of attitude and its subcategory of judgement will be fully employed in the analysis. The second basic category, engagement, will be applied only partially. The analysis will only take into consideration the stance of the proverbial voice¹⁰. And the third basic category, graduation, as well as the remaining subcategories of attitude – affect and appreciation – will play second fiddle. Having clarified how appraisal theory is modified for the purposes of this study, we will discuss briefly proverbs as miniature texts. In proverb collections and various inscriptions proverbs stand as miniature texts. But proverbs can also be found in larger pieces of discourse which they “enter” with their meaning as miniature texts. In this study we examine them ‘as little texts complete in themselves, in their relation to other proverbs...and within their cultural matrix’, choosing several among the various possibilities for proverb study outlined by Neal Norrick (2007, p. 381).

2.3 Outline of appraisal theory

Before moving to the analysis of the empirical data, we need to present a more detailed account of what appraisal theory is about. In Figure 1, the three basic categories stand out and it can be seen that the focal category of attitude embraces three further subcategories: affect, judgement and appreciation.

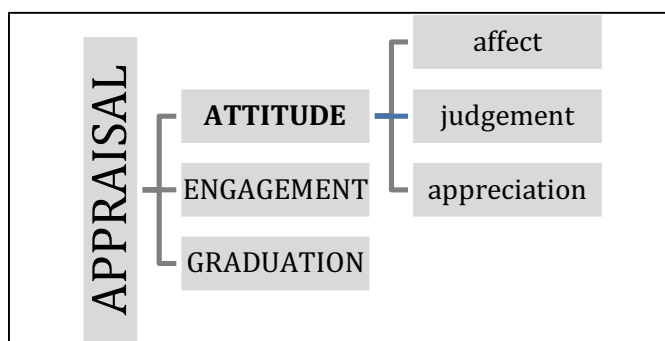


Figure 1 The place of attitude in the appraisal model (adapted from Martin & White 2005.)

The domain of attitude is highly relevant to the fundamental research problem in this study, as the prototypical proverb has generally been known to either affirm or deny certain types of human behavior. As regards the subcategories, judgement is of the greatest importance for the present investigation. According to the appraisal model, judgement is a subsystem of language involved in construing attitudes to people and their behavior. It is divided into social esteem and social sanction. Martin and White give the following explanation of the distinction between social sanction and social esteem:

Judgements of esteem have to do with ‘normality’ (how unusual someone is), ‘capacity’ (how capable they are) and ‘tenacity’ (how resolute they are); judgements of sanction have to do with ‘veracity’ (how truthful someone is) and ‘propriety’ (how ethical someone is). (2005, p. 52)

Social esteem is related to the way people’s characters are measured in social networks such as family, friends, colleagues, etc. while social sanction is related to the way people’s behavior is judged against civic or religious norms by the larger community. An instance of social sanction judgement can be found in the proverb *Don’t render evil for good* where human behavior is assessed in relation to propriety and ethics. And social esteem is associated with the proverb *The sluggard will not plough because of the cold* where the implicit judgement is related to tenacity.

The other two subcategories of attitude – affect and appreciation have less relevance to proverbs, that is why their division into further subcategories in the theory of appraisal will not be dealt with here. Nevertheless, they have their role in proverbial evaluation as can be seen from the following two examples: *The heart knows its own bitterness* contains affect, and *A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver* – appreciation. It should be noted that according to the appraisal model, the three subcategories of attitude – affect, judgement and appreciation are not separate independent entities. Affect is seen to be at the heart of judgement and appreciation, which are viewed as institutionalized feelings. For Martin and White judgement represents “feelings institutionalized as proposals” which relate to

rules and regulations from the sphere of ethics and morality, while appreciation represents “feelings institutionalized as propositions” that stipulate criteria for the assessment of the aesthetic value of semiotic and natural phenomena (see Figure 2.1 in Martin & White 2005, p. 45).

So far, the subcategory of judgement has been given more attention than the subcategories of affect and appreciation because of its high relevance to the research topic. As regards the remaining two categories alongside attitude – engagement and graduation, they will be briefly touched upon now. Engagement is described as taking a stance towards the speaker’s own value position or that of the addressee (Martin & White 2005, p. 92). This category in the appraisal model is also relevant to proverbs since utterances and written texts containing proverbs are attitudinal in most of the cases. Here is a constructed example, in which it is presumed that the speaker presents the proverbial proposition as plausible and generally agreed. Our example contains the Biblical proverb *Evil communications corrupt good manners* and illustrates engagement at play, showing how the two speakers get aligned in taking the same stance towards befriending bad people, simultaneously aligning themselves with the proverbial voice:

Paul: I hear Jack has slipped back into his bad habits now that he sees more of his old buddies again.

John: Pity, this has happened. I can only say evil communications corrupt good manners.

The proverb has a twofold function in the utterance of the second speaker. By choosing to use it, he accepts the first speaker’s invitation to share his value position, since the value position referenced by the proverb itself coincides with the value position expressed by the first speaker. And secondly, he sets their shared value position against the backdrop of the voices of previous users thus providing the support of traditional wisdom to the argument. It should be noted, though, that the present study will not cover the whole area of engagement as it is presented in the appraisal model on the discourse semantic level, it will only utilize that part of the engagement framework that concerns the positioning of the user’s voice with regard to the proverbial voice

and the addressee's voice in seeking to explain what role the stance taken by the proverbial voice plays in the construal of the proverb meaning in the standard average interpretation¹¹. That is why the taxonomy of all the heteroglossic resources of expansion and contraction and their subcategories - entertain and attribute, and disclaim and proclaim respectively, will not be dealt with here. Neither will the final major category in the appraisal model, graduation be dealt with in detail. We will note in passing that it is a sub-system of meanings related to up-scaling and down-scaling the values of affect, judgement and appreciation, and it is also related to scaling engagement values. Graduation is subdivided into force and focus. The first axis of scalability – force – is concerned with intensity or amount, and the second axis – focus – with prototypicality in categorization. A realization of the graduation subsystem can be seen in the Biblical proverb *A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver* where figurative language is employed to scale up the aesthetic valuation. This concludes the outline of the appraisal theory which was chosen as the first analytic tool for this study.

2.4 Outline of culturematic theory

The second tool that we chose for the present study, the culturematic model, was developed by Petrova (2006; 2010; 2012; 2016) in the course of the past decade to study the axiological aspect of proverb meaning within the framework of linguoculturology, the linguistic school developed mainly in Russia that deals with the interrelationship between language and culture. The central concept in the culturematic model is the cultureme which Petrova defines as “the verbalized sign for the entity that is either positively or negatively evaluated in a text which is well-known in a given linguocultural community” (2006, p. 39). From this definition with a semiotic perspective, it could be seen that the cultureme is a content sign (to use Shapiro's term¹²) which could be verbalized but otherwise does not possess a material signifier. It could also be seen that this sign possesses evaluative or axiological characteristics. Most of the research conducted by Petrova in the course of the development of culturematic theory so far concerns culturemes in proverbs and culturematic analysis initially was developed with the proverb in mind. Culturematic analysis involves three stages: identifying

the culturemes of proverbs, ranking them in a hierarchical structure based on their frequency of distribution, and making inferences about the worldview of the community in which the proverbs carrying them are current (Petrova, 2012, p. 52). In this study, we are focusing on the process of identifying the proverb culturemes only, because the research questions we need to answer relate to the role of evaluation in the construal of proverb meaning and in the construction of communities of shared values. We aim at examining the possible link between the proverb culturemes and the acts of evaluation which we presume undergird¹³ most proverbs. Viewing the phenomenon of evaluation in proverbs from the two vantage points of systemic functional linguistics and paremiology could allow us to achieve triangulation of methods¹⁴ and corroborate our findings. We also expect that combining the methods of appraisal and culturematic analysis would reveal new characteristic features of the culturemes. We hypothesize that culturemes are special content signs within the complex proverb sign and that they possess indexical characteristics. Just as an arrow does, a proverb cultureme points to cultural models related to ethical norms. This hypothesis is based on observations made by Petrova (2006; 2010; 2012; 2016) that culturemes are associated with basic concepts in the worldview of the people in a certain linguocultural community. It is also based on Geoffrey White's (1987) observations on the role of cultural models in proverb interpretation within the framework of cognitive anthropology.

Identifying the proverb cultureme or the entity which is either positively or negatively evaluated in a proverb involves determining the functional message of the proverb (to use Hasan-Rokem's term, 1990, p. 112). The latter seems to be closely related to the functions of proverbs described by Krikmann as a "set of three degrees: statement – evaluation – prescription" (2009, p. 51). From a further statement of his, namely

[i]t also appears to be obvious that a proverb cannot order, interdict, advise anything without qualifying [it] previously as good or bad (or axiologically irrelevant)...and if the proverb puts forward appraisals, these appraisals are, in turn, likely to be founded on some

cognized truths, laws, regularities...(Krikmann, 2009, p. 52)

we infer that the functional message of a proverb combines evaluation and prescription. So we perceive the functional message of a proverb to be a proposition in which a culturally significant entity is either affirmed and recommended or evaluated as negative and condemned. In this study, we intend to identify the proverb cultureme using the structural model for analysis of proverbs developed by Hasan-Rokem (Hasan-Rokem, 1982; Alexander & Hasan-Rokem, 1988; Hasan-Rokem, 1990), which incorporates Seitel's conception of the relationship between the interaction situation, the context situation and the proverb situation, Crepeau's principle of analogy in connection with these situations, Silverman-Weinreich's concept of internal proverb metaphor and Grzybek's development of Seitel and Crepeau's ideas. Until now, within culturematic analysis, the researcher has relied mainly on her linguistic intuition to determine what entity the proverb endorses or condemns. By applying Hasan-Rokem's model we hope to reduce the subjectivity in the process of culturematic analysis. We also expect that it would be possible to incorporate the appraisal model into the culturematic analysis.

3. Description and discussion of results

3.1 Applying the appraisal model: coding – stages and problem areas

The analysis was carried out in two steps. First, we applied the appraisal model. And second, we carried out the culturematic analysis incorporating our findings from the first stage in it. This section describes the sequence of coding procedures in the first step and outlines the problem areas in assigning items to categories and sub-categories. We chose a "bottom-up" perspective and started with realizations and then worked towards the overall effect of evaluation as it unfolds in the proverb text. The coding started with highlighting all occurrences of values of attitude for each of the 425 proverb texts. Next, each identified value got a tag showing its subtype – affect, judgement or appreciation. We focused our attention on attitude because our pilot study showed that instances of affect and appreciation were few. The items

assigned to the subcategory of judgement were further subdivided into social esteem and social sanction. Those that were found to belong to the social esteem subcategory were further tagged for their subtype on the next level, namely, normality, tenacity and capacity. And the ones that were found to belong to the subcategory of social sanction were further tagged for veracity and propriety. Figure 2 shows the steps taken in assigning items to categories and subcategories, starting from the highest level category and going down to the lowest level subcategories and subtypes.

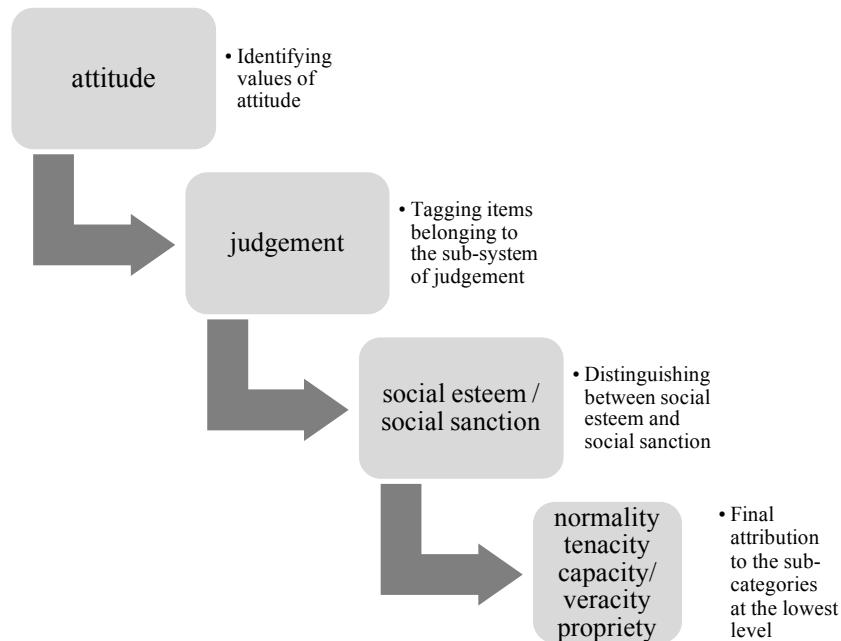


Figure 2 The step down process of tagging items for their type and sub-type.

We adopted the following notation and the table format shown in Table 1 to display the results following Martin and White (2005, p. 71):

+	‘positive attitude’
–	‘negative attitude’
hap	‘affect: happiness’
norm	‘judgement: normality’
cap	‘judgement: capacity’
ten	‘judgement: tenacity’
<i>ver</i>	‘judgement: veracity’
<i>prop</i>	‘judgement: propriety’
<u>comp</u>	‘appreciation: composition’

Table 1 Examples of notation and analysis.

Proverb text	Apprais- ing items	Af- fect	Judge- ment	Apprecia- tion	Appraised
Evil commu- nications corrupt good manners. (<i>1 Cor. 15:33</i>)	evil		– <i>prop</i>		evil commu- nications

During the coding process it was easier to deal with some of the cases and more difficult to deal with others. Appraisal theory distinguishes between two types of evaluation: directly inscribed and indirectly invoked. Tagging inscribed evaluation was more or less a straightforward process but dealing with implicit attitude proved to be more complicated. Invoked evaluation in proverbs turned out to be closely related to non-literal use of language. In other words metaphoric proverbs in almost all cases involved indirect evaluation and invoked attitude towards types of behavior, human relationships and social situations. Another area of difficulty were the borderline cases that emerged in the process of assigning appraisal items to categories and subcategories. We will begin by giving an account of how inscribed evaluation was coded. Since it is “realized through attitudinal lexis”, as Martin and White state (2005, p. 2), the examples of such lexis provided by them (p. 53) served as a frame of reference in identifying instances of its realization. However, as the examples are not meant to be an exhaustive and

definitive list, we did not expect to find matches for all the instances. In some cases there was no exact match, but we found synonyms in the examples and we also took into consideration the fact that the sub categories of normality, capacity and tenacity, and veracity and propriety are based on grammatical distinctions such as usuality, ability and inclination and probability and obligation according to the appraisal model. Table 2 summarizes the analysis of ten of the proverb texts to illustrate the process. All in all, inscribed evaluation did not pose serious problems in the coding process.

Table 2 Examples of inscribed evaluation

Proverb text	Apprais- ing items	Af- fect	Judge ment	Appre- ciation	Appraised
Evil communi- cations corrupt good manners. (1 Cor. 15:33)	evil		- <i>prop</i>		evil com- muni- cations
Overcome evil with good. (Rom. 12:21)	good		+ <i>prop</i>		good
Hell and de- struction are never full. (Prov. 27:20)	hell destruction		- <i>prop</i>		devouring power of evil
Wickedness proceeds from the wicked. (1 Sam. 24:13)	wickedness		- <i>prop</i>		wickedness
He who mocks another shall be mocked. (Job 13:9)	mock		- <i>prop</i>		mocking God or other peo- ple
Blessed are the pure at heart. (Matt. 5:8)	blessed pure		+ <i>prop</i>		purity of heart

Never be weary of well-doing. (Gal. 6:9; 2 Thess. 3-19)	well-doing	+ <i>prop</i>	well-doing
Abhor what is evil and cleave to what is good. (Rom. 12:9)	abhor evil	- <i>prop</i>	evil
Do good for evil. (Thess. 5:15)	good for evil	+ <i>prop</i>	not returning evil for evil
Sufficient into the day is the evil thereof. (Matt. 6:34)	sufficient evil	+ <i>prop</i>	taking no thought of tomorrow

Invoked evaluation, on the other hand, was much more difficult to code, because it results in “[indirect activation of] evaluative stances and [positioning of] readers/listeners to supply their own assessments” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 2). Evaluation can be invoked “through the selection of ideational meanings” (p. 62) and especially through the use of lexical metaphor (p. 64). Although the mechanism of invoking evaluation in the proverbial mini texts is not quite the same as that of larger units of discourse and has some peculiarities related to the genre characteristics of proverbs, on the whole, it works in the same way. For example, the Biblical proverb *With what measure you measure it shall be measured unto you* does not contain attitudinal lexis or an explicit evaluative proposition, nevertheless the listener or reader is positioned to adopt a stance towards the type of behavior implied in the proverb. The proverb implies that if you judge or criticize other people, you will be judged and criticized to the same extent. It could be inferred that judging and criticizing other people is perceived as bad and is not recommended. So the text of the proverb and its implications position the listener/reader to take a negative stance towards judging and criticizing other people.

In analyzing and coding invoked evaluation we have been guided by two important facts reflected in the appraisal model, namely, that as part of the interpersonal meaning evaluation has

prosodic nature, i.e. it “spills out” of its concrete realizations and “colors” the surrounding text and that the text naturalizes a certain reading and is fairly directive regarding its evaluative purport (Martin & White, 2005). Since Biblical proverbs carry the elusive and allusive aura of the Book of Books, we consulted the co-text of the respective verse and chapter for each of the proverbs as well as various exegetical commentaries and looked for instances of inscribed evaluation in the text of the Bible to support our interpretation. We also found useful Hunston and Thompson’s comment on inscribed and evoked evaluation in their introduction to Jim Martin’s chapter “Beyond Exchange: APPRAISAL Systems in English” in *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*:

Inscribed appraisal is explicitly expressed in the text (a bright kid, a vicious kid), whereas with evoked appraisal an evaluative response is projected by reference to events or states that are conventionally prized (*a kid who reads a lot*) or frowned on (*a kid who tears the wings off butterflies*). (Hunston & Thompson, [2000] 2003, p. 142)

Thus we tried to reduce subjectivity in the analysis leaning on three objective props: instances of inscribed evaluation in the co-text of the original Biblical verse, the overall purport of the text of the respective Biblical verse or chapter, and references to conventionally evaluated entities. Bearing all this in mind we set off analyzing invoked attitude in relation to the use of figurative language in the proverbs of our corpus. Tokens of invoked evaluation were coded with *t*. Table 3 illustrates the analysis of invoked evaluation in ten other proverb text from our corpus that involve indirect appraisal.

Table 3 Examples of invoked evaluation

Proverb text	Tokens of evaluation	Affect	Judgment	Appreciation	Appraised
GOOD AND EVIL					
That which is crooked cannot be made straight. (<i>Eccles. 1:15</i>)	crooked <i>t</i>		– <i>prop</i>		deviating from the straight way
Let not the sun go down upon your wrath. (<i>Eph. 4:26</i>)	let not the sun go down		+ ten		control over anger
Resist the devil and he will flee from you. (<i>James 4:7</i>)	resist the devil <i>t</i>		+ <i>prop</i>		moral fortitude
He that does ill hates the light. (<i>John 3:2</i>)	does ill hates the light <i>t</i>	– hap	– <i>prop</i>		doing evil
You can see a mote in another's eye but cannot see a beam in your own. (<i>Matt. 7:3; Luke 6:41</i>)	can see a mote <i>t</i> cannot see a beam <i>t</i>		– <i>prop</i>		applying double standards to yourself and others
PROPHECY AND PREDICTION					
Watch for the handwriting on the wall. (<i>Dan. 5:5</i>)	watch for <i>t</i>		– ten		ignoring retribution
Let him that thinks he stands take heed lest he fall. (<i>1 Cor. 10:12</i>)	take heed <i>t</i>		– ten		inordinate self-confidence
A man that flatters his neighbor spreads a net for his feet. (<i>Prov. 29:5</i>)	spreads a net for his feet <i>t</i>		– <i>ver</i>		manipulating people by flattery
Unto everyone that has shall be given, but from him that has not shall be taken away. (<i>Matt.</i>	shall be given <i>t</i>		+ <i>prop</i>		rewarding virtue

13:12, 25:29; Mark 4:
25; Luke 8:18, 19: 26)

The meek shall inherit the earth. (Ps. 37:11; Matt. 5:5) inherit the earth *t* + *prop* meekness

3.2 Ambiguous cases, proverbs with multiple acts of evaluation and borderline cases

There were eight ambiguous cases, among them e.g. *Like tree, like fruit; By their fruits you shall know them; The tree is known by its fruit*, whose negative or positive valuation could only be interpreted in terms of a concrete context. As these cases were concerned with propriety, we decided to code them just so without giving them either positive or negative valuation. This did not influence the reporting of results as we do not draw any conclusions based on the positive or negative valuation of the particular inscriptions and tokens of judgement.

In addition, it turned out that nineteen cases contain more than one act of evaluation. Among these nineteen cases were proverbs such as *Better is a little with righteousness than great revenues with injustice* or *Better a dry morsel and quietness with it, than a house full of feasting with strife* in which two opposite types of behavior or human traits are evaluated. To simplify the coding, only one of the acts of evaluation was acknowledged, since the other one was perceived as having the same effect. Thus instead of coding harmony, discord and being content with little separately in *Better a dry morsel and quietness with it, than a house full of feasting with strife* we chose only one of the acts of evaluation as the following example shows.

Table 4 Streamlining the coding of multiple acts of evaluation

Better a dry morsel and quietness with it, than a house full of feasting with strife. (Prov. 17:1)	harmony	+ <i>prop</i>	harmony
	strife	- <i>prop</i>	discord
	a dry morsel is better	+ <i>prop</i>	being content with little

Better a dry morsel and quietness with it, than a house full of feasting with strife. (<i>Prov. 17:1</i>)	better a dry morsel than a house full of feasting	+ <i>prop</i>	being content with little and living in harmony
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The realizations of affect and appreciation when emotional states and natural phenomena were evaluated turned out to be few. When they occurred on their own they were coded and reported as separate evaluation acts. And for the proverb texts containing mixed realizations of attitude and affect or appreciation, we decided to code them as both attitude and affect and attitude and appreciation respectively. Further in the analysis only attitude was taken into consideration and the mixed cases were reported under attitude only.

3.3 Results – acts of evaluation underlie most of the Biblical proverbs

After applying the appraisal model, we found that the evaluative inscriptions and tokens of invoked evaluation indexed acts of evaluation in 360 proverb texts in our corpus which comprises 425 biblical proverbs (see Table 5). The source of this evaluation is perceived to be the proverbial voice which we see as the voice of the first user and the merged voices of the subsequent users. Archer Taylor has pointed out that a proverb ‘belongs to many people...but it was invented by an individual and applied to a particular situation’ (Taylor, [1981] 1994, p. 3) . Therefore it could be argued that in the first proverb speech act, the individual who is the possible inventor of the proverb takes a stance towards some human trait or type of behavior. In the subsequent proverb speech acts, users of the proverb take a stance in relation to the stance taken in the initial proverb speech act thus establishing the stance of the proverbial voice. As regards the target of evaluation in proverbs, our analysis showed that character traits and types of behavior were the most common target of the underlying evaluative acts. So it could be argued that the cul- turemes of proverbs which are entities either commended or dis- claimed by the proverb text are in fact the targets of evaluation. Not all proverb texts in our corpus were associated with acts of evaluation. In sixty-five cases we did not find any evidence of appraisal at work. This fact coincides with observations made by

previous authors that some proverbs are axiologically neutral (see Krikmann (2009, p. 52) for example). Life is a span is an example of such a proverb. Table 5 summarizes our findings concerning the frequency of distribution of the acts of evaluation in the proverb texts we worked with.

Table 5 Frequency distribution of the acts of evaluation.

	<i>Distribution</i>					
	<i>present</i>		<i>absent</i>		<i>sum</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Acts of evaluation</i>	360	84	65	16	425	100

3.4 Frequency distribution of the types of evaluative resources

Of all evaluative resources, proverbs employ attitude most often. In 81% of the texts in our corpus the acts of evaluation concern attitude with affect accounting for 3% and appreciation for 0.4%. It should be noted that affect and appreciation did not always occur on their own in this study. As stated earlier, when affect and appreciation occurred in combination with attitude they were reported under attitude. The frequency distribution of the main categories of appraisal can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6 Frequency distribution of the main categories of appraisal.

<i>Realizations of the main appraisal categories</i>	<i>Distribution</i>					
	<i>present</i>		<i>absent</i>		<i>sum</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Attitude	345	81	80	19	425	100
Affect	13	3	412	97	425	100
Appreciation	2	0.4	423	99.6	425	100

Our analysis showed that within the category of attitude social sanction and social esteem are employed more or less to the same extent with 187 proverb texts containing social sanction and 158 proverb texts containing social esteem. As regards the sub-categories, propriety is the most often occurring sub-category with every second proverb text in our corpus that contains attitude being devoted to ethical norms. Capacity and tenacity occur twice less often and almost on a par with each other with every one in five proverb texts dealing with either of them. Veracity and normality occur considerably less often. The exact breakdown of the frequency distribution of the sub-categories of ve-

racity and propriety within social sanction and normality, capacity and tenacity within social esteem respectively is shown in Table 7.

Table 7 Breakdown of the frequency distribution of the sub-categories of social sanction and social esteem.

<i>Sub-categories of attitude</i>	<i>Distribution</i>					
	<i>present</i>		<i>absent</i>		<i>sum</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Social sanction	187	54	158	46	345	100
Propriety	173	50	172	50	345	100
<i>Positive propriety</i>	95	36	250	64	345	100
<i>Negative propriety</i>	70	20	265	80	345	100
<i>Ambiguous cases</i>	8					
Veracity	14	4	331	96	345	100
<i>Positive veracity</i>	5	1.4	340	98.6	345	100
<i>Negative veracity</i>	9	2.6	336	97.4	345	100
Social esteem	158	45	187	55	345	100
Normality	3	0.8	342	99.2	345	100
<i>Positive normality</i>	1	0.2	344	99.8	345	100
<i>Negative normality</i>	2	0.5	343	99.5	345	100
Capacity	81	23	264	77	345	100
<i>Positive capacity</i>	50	14	295	86	345	100
<i>Negative capacity</i>	31	8.9	314	91.1	345	100
Tenacity	74	21	271	79	345	100
<i>Positive tenacity</i>	45	13	300	87	345	100
<i>Negative tenacity</i>	29	8.4	316	91.6	345	100

3.5 Engagement and proverb use – the stance of the proverbial voice

The approach taken to engagement by appraisal analysts is informed by Bakhtin's and Vološinov's notions of dialogism and heteroglossia, according to Martin and White (2005). A parallel can be drawn between these notions and Winick's notion of intertextuality in proverb use. In line with what Vološinov (1973) states about dialogue characterizing verbal communication in a broad sense and Bakhtin's claim (1984) that previous utterances provide a backdrop to any utterance, Winick points out that proverbs "derive a sense of wisdom...from explicit intertextual reference to a tradition of previous wisdom utterances" (2003, p. 595). Seen from this perspective, proverb use provides an instance of the proverb user positioning themselves towards the stance taken by the proverbial voice and with regard to the expected value position of the addressee against the backdrop of a

tradition of previous proverb uses. The stance taken by the proverbial voice which is established in the tradition of previous proverb uses is at the center of our attention in this study. Our analysis showed that in the proverb texts, in which an act of evaluation is indexed either directly by inscriptions or indirectly by tokens, the stance of the proverbial voice can be perceived as the expression of positive or negative attitude towards a human trait, a type of behavior, or other culturally significant entity, in other words it could be described as the view of the “other speakers who have previously taken a stand with respect to the issue under consideration, especially when, in so speaking, they have established some socially significant community of shared belief or value” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 93)15.

3.6 Applying culturematic theory

After completing the appraisal analysis of the proverb texts in our corpus, we moved on to the culturematic analysis. As stated earlier, we adopted Hasan-Rokem’s model for proverb analysis to identify the proverb culturemes. But some modifications to this model had to be made, since we did not work with the proverbs in a context of interaction. So we analyzed only the structure of the proverb situation (leaving out the interaction and the context situation from Hasan-Rokem’s model). We adopted her notation using the following symbols: (S) subject, (P) predicate, (O) object and R+ positive result. We added another symbol: R– because some relationships between the “proverb terms” (Seitel’s term (1994 [1981])) were perceived to entail a negative result. After analyzing the relationship between the proverb terms in the proverb situation following Seitel’s procedure (Seitel, 1994 [1981], pp. 128-136), we were able to determine the valuation of the result and formulate the hidden premises which in turn enabled us to reach the functional message of the proverb. The functional message then led us to the proverb cultureme. In uncovering the hidden premises and the functional message we were also guided by the observation made by Alan Dundes that “[t]he proverb appears to be a propositional statement consisting of at least one descriptive element, a descriptive element consisting of a topic and comment” (Dundes, 1994, p. 60). We hold the view that the hidden premises and the functional message of the proverb can be inferred on the basis of decoding the comment

made about the topic in the proverb text. The comment we observed was related to the relationship between the entities or the proverb terms that comprised the proverb situation in accordance with Permyakov's observation (1970, p. 19).

By way of illustration we provide the detailed analysis of the proverb *Evil communications corrupt good manners*. First we analyzed the structure of the proverb situation applying Hasan-Rokem's model:

(S) Evil communications (P) corrupt (O) good manners. (R-)

In Seitel's terms (1994 [1981]), the analysis of the proverb situation would look like this: The proverb terms that comprise the proverb situation are *evil communications* and *good manners* and the relationship between them is *corrupt*. We found Hasan-Rokem's elaboration of Seitel's analysis clearer and more precise. By applying the dictum of Habermas: "Hermeneutics is both a form of experience and grammatical analysis at the same time" (Habermas cited in Hasan-Rokem, 1990, p. 111), Hasan-Rokem links the syntactic relationships within the proverb sentence with the relationship between the entities in the proverb situation which in turn reflect the relationship between entities in the reference situation. The relationship between the entities in the proverb situation is expressed by the predicate. This is also seen in Dundes' observation about descriptive elements in proverbs consisting of a topic and a comment, that we cited earlier. By analyzing the relationship between the subject (S) and the object (O) expressed by the predicate (P) in the example above, we arrived at the negative valuation for the result (R-). Next, we formulated the hidden premise *Associating with evil people has a bad influence over good manners* and the functional message *The company of evil people should be avoided*. The functional message lead us to the cultureme *evil communications* (-). The negative valuation of the cultureme was justified by the negative result (R-) we tagged in the proverb situation. We also incorporated appraisal analysis in culturematic analysis and analyzed the proverb in terms of the underlying act of evaluation. At the end, the target of evaluation proved to coincide with the cultureme that we identified after applying the modified version of Hasan-Rokem's model for analysis. In Table 8 we provide ex-

amples of the identification of the cultureme in ten proverb texts in our corpus.

Table 8 Examples of cultureme identification.

Structure of proverb situation	Hidden premises	Functional message	Cultureme
(S) Evil communications (P) corrupt (O) good manners. (R-) (<i>1 Cor. 15:33</i>)	Associating with evil people has a bad influence over good manners.	The company of evil people should be avoided.	evil communications (-)
(P) Overcome (O) evil with good. (R+) (<i>Rom. 12:21</i>)	Doing good helps overcome evil.	One should overcome evil with good.	good (+)
(S) Hell and destruction (P) are never full. (R-) (<i>Prov. 27:20</i>)	Evil has no end.	One should not forget the devouring power of evil.	devouring power of evil (-)
Wickedness proceeds from the wicked. (R-) (<i>1 Sam. 24:13</i>)	Wicked people tend to do wicked things.	One should not forget that wicked people tend to do wicked things.	wickedness (-)
(S) He who mocks another (P) shall be mocked. (R-) (<i>Job 13:9</i>)	Mocking others brings the reciprocal action upon oneself.	Mocking God or other people is bad.	mocking God or other people (-)
Blessed (P) are (S) the pure at heart. (R+) (<i>Matt. 5:8</i>)	Purity of heart is a precious virtue.	Purity of heart will be rewarded.	purity of heart (+)
Never (P) be weary of well-doing. (R+) (<i>Gal. 6:9; 2 Thess. 3-19</i>)	Well-doing is worthwhile	One should persevere in well-doing.	well-doing (+)
(P) Abhor (O) what is evil and (P) cleave to (O) what is good. (R+) (<i>Rom. 12:9</i>)	Doing evil is bad.	One should avoid evil and strive to do good.	evil (-) good (+)

(P) Do (O) good for evil. (R+) (<i>Thess. 5:15</i>)	good for evil	One should return good for evil.	returning good for evil (+)
(S) The wicked flee when no man pursues. (R-) (<i>Prov. 28:1</i>)	A guilty conscience torments the person.	One should not live so that he makes his conscience guilty.	guilty conscience (-)

During the culturematic analysis while uncovering the hidden premises and the functional message of the proverbs we reached more or less the same entities that we defined as the target of evaluation in the first stage of the analysis. As was already mentioned, the cultureme proved to be the target of the evaluation act inherent in every eight out of ten proverb texts in our corpus. It could be argued that the cultureme plays a role in the relational work in acts of evaluation which Alba-Juez and Thompson (2014) describe. Its role in this relational work is seen to be that of an arrow that points to cultural models related to social esteem and social sanction. But it also carries an axiological charge, something on which Petrova has already commented on extensively (2006, 2010, 2012, 2016). What can now be added in this respect is the new findings about the nature of the cultureme's axiological charge. This study showed that the culturemes of the proverb texts which we examined can be divided into two roughly equal groups associated with social esteem and social sanction respectively. We observed only a slight prevalence in the number of culturemes associated with social sanction over the number of culturemes associated with social esteem. One hundred and eighty five of the culturemes which account for 54% of all the culturemes that were identified in this study were associated with ethical norms underpinning civic duty and religious observance, which we relate to social sanction. And one hundred and fifty eight of them accounting for 45% dealt with the less rigid norms of social interaction, which we relate to shaping the reputation that people hold among such groups as family, colleagues and friends, i.e., with social esteem. These findings match Wolfgang Mieder's observation that the Biblical texts from which most of the Biblical proverbs are derived are "filled with short statements of authoritative

instruction, behavioral advice, social and ethical imperatives and other types of paradigmatic truths” (1990, p. 7).

3.7 Discussion of results - the role of the cultureme

The contribution of this study to culturematic theory comprises observations about the indexical and axiological characteristics of the proverb cultureme. It was mentioned earlier that Geoffrey White’s comments (1987) on the cognitive processes lying behind the interpretation of proverbs made us explore the indexical nature of the cultureme. We examined the three stages in proverb use and interpretation that he describes:

The interpretation of proverbs may be viewed as an interactive construction in which the speaker (1) perceives and evaluates a social situation in terms of an abstract cultural model, (2) articulates this point of view in a proverb expressing one or more interlinked propositions, which is then (3) interpreted by the listener, who expands on those propositions by locating them in the relevant cultural model and drawing appropriate inferences. (White, 1987, p. 155)

Furthermore, during the analysis of the linguistic data we noticed that the cultureme acts as a link between proverbs and cultural models. The relation of proverbs and phrasemes in general to cultural models has been widely commented on in phraseology (see for example Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen, 2005; Baranov & Dobrovol'skij, 2008; Piirainen, 2007; Piirainen, 2012) and in cognitive anthropology (White, 1987; Quinn & Holland, 1987; Strauss & Quinn, 1997). Quinn and Holland describe cultural models as “presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared...by the members of society”. They state further that cultural models “play an enormous role in...[people’s] understanding of...[the] world and their behavior in it” (Quinn & Holland, 1987, p. 4). Geoffrey White stresses the relational work in the process of proverb use and proverb interpretation that involves projecting social situations onto cultural models. Similar relational work is mentioned in Alba-Juez and Thompson’s (2014, p. 15) definition of evaluation. Our analysis showed that the cultureme plays an important role in this relational work. It serves as a link or a “semiotic arrow” (to

borrow Michael Silverstein's phrase, 1992, p. 55). pointing from the evaluative propositions associated with the hidden premises and the functional message of the proverb to cultural models, which gives us grounds to conclude that as a sign it has indexical characteristics.

As is well known, linguistic anthropology is one of the fields that has explored the notion of indexicality. From this perspective, Duranti states that "language is full of examples of linguistic expressions that are connected to or point in the direction of aspects of the sociocultural context" (1997, p. 18). We see the cultureme to be such an example with the caveat that it is not a proper linguistic expression but a special sign in the content plane of the proverb sign. The notion of indexicality has been explored in connection with proverbs by Bhuvaneshwar (2003) who distinguishes between general proverbial indexes and specific indexes. He conceives of general proverbial indexical meaning as being associated with the regional or social dialect of the user, thus pointing to or betraying his regional connections and social status. And he links specific proverbial indexical meaning to personal characteristics such as the level of education and the ability to use proverbs as well as to types of situations in terms of formal and informal and to concepts such as propriety and impropriety in language use (Bhuvaneshwar, 2003, pp. 4-12). The treatment of indexicality in proverb meaning in this study is narrower than Chilukuri Bhuvaneshwar's treatment and probably comes closest to his view in one aspect – that of proverbs indicating attitude or political opinion. But while he asserts that a proverb points to the stance a speaker takes towards a particular social issue (2003, p. 10), focussing on the indexical characteristics of the complex proverb sign as a whole, we explore the indexical features of the proverb cultureme which is a sign within the proverb sign. Our findings on the micro level of proverb meaning are in consonance with the above mentioned observations made by Bhuvaneshwar which refer to a more general level. It could be argued that the indexical features of the proverb cultureme contribute to the indexical proverb meaning in general.

As regards the axiological charge of the cultureme, which had already been researched in great detail, the contribution of this study lies in observations concerning the type of attitude we

associate with culturemes. It was shown in the previous section that by making use of the detailed taxonomy of lexical evaluative resources provided by the appraisal model, a fine-grained analysis of the types of culturemes can be achieved.

All things considered, it could be stated that from a semiotic perspective, the proverb cultureme can be described as a content sign within the complex sign of the proverb. The cultureme may not always possess a separate material signifier, but it can always be verbalized. The signified of a proverb cultureme is an entity most often related to human values and human behavior. Its most important features are indexical and axiological. In the proverb semiosis it indexes cultural models and adds an evaluative layer to the content plane (in Hjelmslev's terms) of the proverb. Its core axiological features connected to social sanction and social esteem contribute to the overall persuasive rhetorical force of the proverb text.

From a functional perspective the cultureme is the target of the proverbial act of evaluation, the source being the proverbial voice. In the proverbial act of evaluation it is involved in the relational work that links human traits, types of behavior and other entities with the speaker or hearer's personal, group or cultural set of values. The cultureme plays a major role in the linguistic mechanism of sharing normative assessments by pointing to cultural models related to ethical norms. It also takes part in establishing solidarity between interlocutors and writers and readers thus constructing communities of shared values.

4. Conclusion

4.1 Research outcomes

This study showed that acts of evaluation can be found in the majority of the Biblical proverbs in our corpus. It also showed that various evaluative language resources are employed in the proverbial texts in this corpus. By far, the greatest number of the proverbs in our study contain attitude. Social sanction and social esteem are equally employed. And as regards the subcategories at the lowest level of the classification of the language resources for evaluation, propriety prevails followed by capacity and tenacity. As regards the results of the second stage in our analysis, most of the appraised items in the first stage of the analysis matched the culturemes resulting from the second stage. This

gives us grounds to conclude that the culturemes of Biblical proverbs are the target of the proverbial act of evaluation. By virtue of their indexicality, the culturemes play a role in relating the proverb propositions to normative assessments shared in the linguocultural community. Moreover, with their axiological charge they intensify the persuasive rhetorical effect of the whole proverb. It could be added that by pointing to the shared normative assessments they reinforce them. And with every act of evaluation when they enter discourse, they create solidarity between interlocutors and writers and readers and thus contribute to shaping and reshaping communities of shared values and norms. In conclusion, the proverb texts in our corpus could be described in a way similar to the way Martin and White (2005, p. 211) describe texts in general: as both ideological and axiological in Bakhtinian terms, pointing out that “ideologically speaking...[texts] unfold as rationality – a quest for ‘truth’; [and that] axiologically speaking...[they unfold] rhetorically – an invitation to community”.

In addition to exploring the indexical nature of culturemes and explaining the nature of their axiological charge, this study also contributed to the development of culturematic theory. In this study, Hasan-Rokem’s model for proverb analysis is applied for the first time in culturematic analysis to ensure a more systematic approach to identifying the proverb cultureme. And it is also the first time the appraisal model is incorporated in culturematic analysis with the purpose of enabling the researcher to view the phenomenon of evaluation in proverbs through the prism of the broader theory of appraisal in language.

4.2 Problems and limitations of the study and questions that arise

The limitations of this study follow from the choice of the empirical data. Not only does this choice limit the scope of our conclusions but it also makes us tentative in hypothesizing about the directions of further research. Still, we feel that the findings concerning the high frequency of occurrence of evaluation in the proverbs in this study could be taken as an indication of the possibility to construct a hypothesis that evaluation is a marker of proverbiality. Such a hypothesis can be tested in another study involving a randomly chosen sample of proverbs and employing

some of the research techniques used in the studies on proverbiality markers by Mac Coinnigh (2013) and Arora (1984). A study on a randomly chosen sample of proverbs is also needed to check the observation that social sanction and social esteem are on a par as far as the distribution of the types of judgement is concerned in a greater population of proverbs. The results of the present study can be further verified by a corpus study¹⁶ involving the use of Biblical proverbs in speech and writing, where the category of engagement could be more fully explored. And last but not least, the present study poses the question about the role of the proverb cultureme in choosing the proverb in the proverbial speech act. Does it stay in memory and serve as a “handle”, which the speaker or writer “grips” before “pulling” the proverb from memory when perceiving the analogy between the reference and proverb situation? As regards the opposite process of interpretation, this study tried to show that the cultureme resembles an anchor linking the proverb to a set of norms and providing weight for the rhetorical effect.

As a final note, we would like to point out that proverb texts are not devoid of value judgement even when they are examined on their own, i.e. devoid of context, as we tried to prove. They enter discourse with a recognizable evaluative charge.

Notes:

¹ In this study we use the term ‘take a stance’ with the same meaning as ‘hold a view’.

² Silverman-Weinreich’s article was reprinted from *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, 17 (1978), 1-20.

³ We share the view that proverbs are part of the phraseological system of language expressed in (Burger, Dobrovolskij, Kuhn, & Norrick, 2007) and accept that proverbs share with other phrasemes the three most widely agreed upon constitutive characteristics (i) stability, (or fixedness), (ii) idiomaticity and (iii) polylexicality (Cowie, 1998), (Pirainen, 2012).

⁴ Kirschenblatt-Gimblett’s study first appeared in 1973 and Fontaine’s study – in 1985.

⁵ The term ‘proverb performance meaning’ makes us think of the distinction between competence and performance that transformational generative grammar makes, or if we use the terms that were adopted approximately two decades later, the distinction between I-language and E-language. If we connect this distinction with our discussion of the stability and variability in proverb meaning it seems sensible to assume that the relative stability of proverb meaning could be associated

with the internal(ized) language and the variability – with the external(zed) language.

⁶ By 'context of culture' we mean the widened interpretation of the context of situation which Malinowski advocated ([1923] 1936, p. 306).

⁷ Grzybek replaces Seitel's term 'context situation' with 'reference situation'.

⁸ In fact, Grzybek describes one more process leading to a model situation. In addition to arriving at a more general meaning of a single proverb, starting from the denotative meaning and reaching the connotative meaning, he also describes a second process – starting from different variants of proverbs or different proverbs with the same connotative meaning and reaching a proverb invariant, i.e. a situation with general characteristics. Basically the two processes are similar but they are not identical.

⁹ Wolfgang Mieder (1998) gives numerous examples of how distinguished members of American society have used the Biblical proverb *A house divided against itself cannot stand* among which Lincoln's use of the proverb in a famous speech stands out echoed by Willy Brandt's use of the same proverb during Germany's reunification. Mieder also shows that the whole proverb or a shorter "truncated" version is also widely used in titles of books, articles or plays where the awareness of the authors of the proverb's Biblical origin and subsequent notable uses varies. He also stresses the fact that this particular proverb of Biblical origin had not gained popularity in German before Willy Brandt introduced it and the respective metaphor in political discourse. For many German users its relation to the Bible is lost and its allusional aura comprises only Lincoln's famous use (Mieder, 2005, p. 117).

¹⁰ By 'proverbial voice' we mean the merged voices of the originator of the proverb and the voices of the subsequent users.

¹¹ In adopting Norrick's term 'standard proverbial interpretation' or 'standard proverb meaning' as he later uses it defining it as being 'accessible to normal adult members of the language community' (2014, p. 17) we remain aware of the fact that the "participants' understanding of the proverb base meaning" contributes to the overall "proverb performance meaning" as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994, p. 119) points out. In other words, we acknowledge the fact that ideolectal variation of the standard proverbial interpretation can lead to differences in the perception of the meaning of one and the same proverb.

¹² Shapiro notes that "content signs have, for the most part, no material signans [signifiers]" (Shapiro, 2008, p. 14).

¹³ We find Fontaine's ([1994] 2015) use of this word particularly fitting when discussing proverb meaning and its elements.

¹⁴ As regards triangulation, there seems to be analogy between our aim to clarify the evaluative characteristics of culturemes from two different perspectives and the process of determining the yet unknown position of a certain spatial point from two known points in naval navigation and land surveying as Dornyei (2011, p. 43) citing Erzberger and Keller explains in commenting on the use of the concept of triangulation in mixed methods research.

¹⁵ Martin and White describe this stand in connection with the relationship between the speaker's or writer's relationship to it. The other relationships that are of

interest to appraisal analysts are between the speaker or writer and the stance they take, and between the speaker or writer and the stance of the addressee.

¹⁶ With reference to corpus studies involving proverbs and the broader category of phrasemes two limitations have been commented on – the fact that phraseological units have a very low frequency of occurrence (see for example Norrick (1985) and Moon (1998) and the need for combining corpus approaches with manual coding and discourse analysis techniques (see Hunston and Thompson ([2000] 2003) , Hunston (2011) or Bednarek (2008) among others).

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Roumyana Petrova
Department of European Studies and International Relations
Rousse University
Bulgaria
roumyana.petrova@yahoo.com

Diana Stefanova
Department of Foreign Languages
Rousse University
Bulgaria
dstefanova@uni-ruse.bg

JULIA SEVILLA MUÑOZ

LA PAREMIOGRAFÍA DESDE UNA PERSPECTIVA MULTILINGÜE

Abstract: Análisis de la labor paremiográfica destinada a la confección de refraneros multilingües concretizado en el estudio comparado de los más representativos refraneros multilingües publicados en España desde el siglo XVI, con el objeto de averiguar sus similitudes en la forma de investigar y en los resultados, el perfil de los paremiógrafos, la metodología empleada.

Las obras seleccionadas para su estudio son las siguientes: los *Refranes o proverbios en romance* (1555), de Hernán Núñez; *27.173 atstizak, refranes, proverbes, proverbia* (1998), de Gotzon Garate; el *Refranero multilingüe* (2009, Instituto Cervantes), coordinado por M.^a I. Teresa Zurdo Ruiz-Ayúcar y Julia Sevilla Muñoz; *BADARE* (2005, en la actualidad *ParemioRom*, Universidad de Barcelona), coordinado por José Enrique Gargallo.

El trabajo muestra el paralelismo existente entre algunos paremiógrafos, así como la evolución en la investigación paremiográfica practicada a partir de finales del siglo XX.

Keywords: Paremiografía. Paremia. Refrán. Multilingüismo. TIC [ICT]. España.

Introducción

Desde muy antiguo, en España se han elaborado colecciones de todo tipo de paremias o enunciados breves y sentenciosos: máximas, aforismos, proverbios, refranes, frases proverbiales¹,... Desde el siglo XXI, miramos hacia atrás y observamos que la labor paremiográfica se ha realizado de forma continuada hasta la fecha. La categoría paremiológica que ha despertado mayor interés paremiográfico ha sido la integrada por los refranes, posiblemente porque es uno de los grupos más numerosos. Muchos y variados son los refraneros publicados en España: monolingües, bilingües, trilingües, multilingües.

En este trabajo, estudiaremos la labor paremiográfica centrada en los refranes; analizaremos una selección de refraneros pu-

blicados en España y elaborados desde una perspectiva multilingüe, entendiendo por “multilingüe” a partir de cuatro lenguas de estudio. Adoptaremos una perspectiva historicista, con el objeto de averiguar cuáles son los refraneros más representativos en España, por qué destacan, en qué se parecen y se distinguen. Con respecto a la actual labor paremiográfica, ¿hay similitudes en la forma de investigar y en los resultados? ¿Cuál es el perfil de los paremiógrafos? ¿Cuál es la metodología utilizada?

Nuestro objetivo consiste en analizar los principales repertorios multilingües confeccionados en España siguiendo un criterio cronológico desde el siglo XVI hasta las obras en curso.

Este trabajo se enmarca en el proyecto de investigación “Las paremias grecolatinas y su continuidad en las lenguas europeas” (Proyecto PAREGRELA, FFI2015-63738-P, financiado por el Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad del Gobierno de España).

1. Los Refranes o proverbios en romance (1555) de Hernán Núñez

Nuestra búsqueda del primer refranero multilingüe publicado en España nos lleva a mediados del siglo XVI, a Salamanca, ciudad en la que se publica la obra *los Refranes o proverbios en romance* de Hernán Núñez.

1.1. Perfil de Hernán Núñez

Hernán Núñez de Toledo y Guzmán nació en Valladolid, por lo que adoptó el sobrenombre *El Pinciano*. También fue conocido como *El Comendador Griego*, por ser Comendador de la Orden de Santiago y Catedrático de Griego. Poseía, por tanto, una buena formación de las lenguas clásicas, no solo griego antiguo sino también latín y hebreo; formación que completó con una estancia en Italia y el aprendizaje del árabe.

Su experiencia como docente de griego antiguo y como traductor (de las lenguas clásicas al castellano, del italiano al castellano, del griego antiguo al latín) le permitió adquirir una visión global de las distintas parcelas que configuran un sistema lingüístico y de su problemática traductológica. Sentía un claro interés por las manifestaciones de la lengua popular, como los refranes, ya que afirmaba que España destacaba por la abundancia y expresividad de sus refranes (Bataillon, 1950: 229).

Usuario de refranes, Hernán Núñez sintió la necesidad de registrar refranes, por lo que consagró gran parte de los últimos años de su vida a elaborar un refranero. Por desgracia, se quedó inconcluso, pues falleció en 1553.

1.2. *La labor paremiográfica de Hernán Núñez*

Hernán Núñez inicia su labor paremiográfica recopilando refranes castellanos dichos por él o por usuarios de su entorno, como apunta su discípulo Juan de Mal Lara (1568, prólogo). El número de refranes castellanos registrados supera los ocho mil. Se trata, por tanto, de una cantidad sumamente importante, la cual además se ve enriquecida por muchos más refranes, pero de otras lenguas y dialectos romances (portugués, gallego, asturiano, francés, italiano, catalán, aragonés) y de otras procedencias lingüísticas (vizcaíno, griego antiguo y latín).

Hernán Núñez distingue la procedencia lingüística de las paremias, precisando tras el enunciado sentencioso o la expresión la lengua que no es castellana. Sin embargo, el Comendador no señala las fuentes consultadas. La comparación con obras paremiográficas anteriores permite aventurar que seguramente consultó el *Seniloquium* (siglo XV), los *Refranes famosísimos y provechosos glosados* (1509), así como los *Refranes que dizen las viejas tras el fuego* (1508), atribuido al Marqués de Santillana Íñigo López de Mendoza. Existe una alta coincidencia entre los refranes de estas tres colecciones y la del Comendador: un 80% con el *Seniloquium*, un 75% con los *Refranes glosados* y el 85% con el repertorio de Santillana.

En lo que respecta a las fuentes consultadas para las paremias no castellanas, tampoco las menciona Hernán Núñez. Probablemente fueran escritas, pues los responsables de la edición crítica de las paremias francesas en 2001, Louis Combet y Julia Sevilla, localizaron la fuente en la que se basó el Comendador para la lengua francesa, a tenor de la gran similitud existente con la colección impresa en Francia en 1531: *Proverbiorum Vulgarium Libri Tres*, de Caroli Bovilli Samarobrini (Charles Bovelles). Este hallazgo permitió recuperar la forma original de las paremias francesas, ya que su transcripción ha dado lugar a un elevado número de errores, debidos al recopilador, al copista o al impresor.

Como explica otro de los discípulos de Hernán Núñez, el Maestro León de Castro, en el prólogo al refranero (pp. XXXII-XXXIII) parece que la idea de Hernán Núñez era glosar los refranes con esta finalidad:

[...] traer las razones dellos de autores griegos y latinos, lo qual era digno de un hombre como él leýdo en poetas, e historiadores, oradores, cosmógraphos, philótophos, de entrambas lenguas, y sobre esto tan sabio y entendido en cosas de nuestra lengua, y que avía andado tantas tierras y naciones, y estado muchos años en corte y en casa de señores.

Sin embargo, no llegó a hacerlo, porque se lo impidieron la vejez y las dolencias. Entonces, con vistas a su impresión decidió trabajar el material recopilado que tenía ya algunas glosas muy sucintas; además pidió que alguno de sus discípulos prologase la publicación. La colección se imprimió en 1555 en la ciudad de Salamanca.

Las paremias se presentan por orden alfabético, sin estar agrupadas por lenguas sino mezcladas entre sí. Hernán Núñez tampoco hace distinción entre las distintas categorías paremiológicas registradas, entre las que hallamos no solo paremias sino también algunas expresiones:

- refranes: morales («En arca abierta, el justo pecca», n.º 3115), temporales («En Enero y Hebrero, saca la vieja sus madexas al humero; en Março, al prado; en Abril, a urdir», n.º 3130), meteorológicos («En Mayo, aguas quatro, y éssas llegan hasta el barro», n.º 3163), geográficos («En Baeça, tanto valen los pies como la cabeça», n.º 3119), laborales («El queso y el barvecho, de Mayo sea hecho», n.º 2495), supersticiosos («En martes, ni tu casa mudes, ni tu hija cases, ni tu ropa tajes», n.º 2914);
- proverbios («El asno de Arcadia, lleno de oro y come paja», n.º 2504);
- frases proverbiales («El camino no ha plazo», n.º 2753);
- dialogismos («Dixo la leche al vino: ‘Bien seáys venido, amigo’», n.º 2242);
- expresiones («Comer a sorviroverde», n.º 1724).

1.3. Valores paremiológicos de la colección de Hernán Núñez

La obra paremiográfica de Hernán Núñez es tenida en gran consideración por diversos motivos:

- La colección de Hernán Núñez sobresale por su importancia numérica, al tratarse del primer repertorio con este elevado número de paremias y expresiones.
- Muchas de las paremias registradas aparecen documentadas por primera vez.
- Pese a no haber glosado el Comendador todos los refranes, existen algunas interesantes aunque muy breves, lo que aumenta el valor de esta obra.
- La variedad tipológica y temática de los enunciados sentenciosos y expresiones registradas constituye otro de los valores paremiológicos.
- El abanico lingüístico de las paremias añade un valor más, si bien dificulta la localización de las paremias no castellanas el hecho de estar todas mezcladas.
- Se trata de la primera colección de paremias gallegas y también la primera de paremias portuguesas.
- La colección del Comendador ha influido en repertorios posteriores, como la *Filosofía vulgar* (1568) de Juan de Mal Lara.

Como Hernán Núñez no aporta los datos de las fuentes consultadas, la colección pierde parte de su valor paremiológico. Asimismo, no existe un sistema de reenvío para relacionar las paremias castellanas con sus posibles correspondencias en las restantes lenguas de estudio. Puede que Hernán Núñez lo hubiera hecho, de haber dispuesto de más tiempo.

1.4. Fortuna de la obra paremiográfica de Hernán Núñez

La colección de Hernán Núñez obtuvo un gran éxito, a tenor de las cinco ediciones habidas en los siglos XVI y XVII, una en el siglo XIX y dos en el siglo XX. No obstante, la mayoría de ellas suprime refranes, algunos por considerarlos «exóticos», como sucede con los italianos o los franceses en las ediciones del siglo XX. Con el objeto de eliminar tales carencias y ofrecer una edición completa, a principios del siglo XXI se elabora una edición crítica basada en la primera edición, por ser la única fidedigna.

Dado el variado abanico lingüístico del refranero, se crea un equipo de trabajo integrado por cuatro especialistas en paremias vinculados a centros universitarios: Louis Combet (Universidad *Lumière*-Lyon II), Germán Conde Tarrío (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela), Josep Guia i Marín (Universidad de Valencia) y Julia Sevilla Muñoz (Universidad Complutense de Madrid). En 2001, vio la luz esta edición crítica cuya finalidad es «facilitar la consulta de este refranero de una gran importancia paremiológica, útil tanto para un lector simplemente curioso como para un estudioso de la fraseología diacrónica o comparada» (p. XIV).

El repertorio de Hernán Núñez ha sido reproducido de forma parcial o total, en cuanto a las paremias castellanas, entre otros, por Juan de Mal Lara (*Filosofía vulgar*, 1568), César Oudin (*Refranes o proverbios españoles traducidos en lengua francesa* (1605), Gonzalo Correas (*Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*, 1627), Lorenzo Palmireno (*Refranes de mesa, salud y buena crianza*, 1659), Luis Martínez Kleiser (*Refranero general ideológico español*, 1953). Los refranes franceses son reproducidos por G. Génin (*Récréations philologiques*, 1856); los refranes asturianos, por Luis Castañón (*Refranero asturiano*, 1962); los refranes gallegos, por Fermín Bouza (1955), S. A. López Navia (1992), Germán Conde Tarrío (1998).

2. *Gotzon Garate*

La búsqueda de otro refranero multilingüe publicado en España que pueda presentar alguna semejanza con el de Hernán Núñez, nos hace recorrer bastantes siglos. De hecho, nuestro viaje en el tiempo nos lleva del siglo XVI al siglo XX.

2.1. *Perfil de Gotzon Garate*

Nacido en 1934 en Elgóibar, el jesuita Gotzon Garate tuvo una formación humanística, ya que era doctor en Filosofía, licenciado en Teología y licenciado en Filología Románica. Este filósofo, teólogo, filólogo, lingüista y escritor, está considerado uno de los máximos exponentes de la literatura en euskera. Impartió clases en la Universidad de Deusto en Bilbao, donde fue el promotor de los estudios de Filología Vasca en 1976; impartió docencia en ella como Catedrático en Filología Vasca. Además de euskera, Garate poseía un perfecto dominio no solo de las lenguas clásicas sino también de otras lenguas (inglés, francés,

ruso, alemán e hindi), adquirido y perfeccionado en gran parte por sus estancias en diversos países, como Austria, Rusia, India, Estados Unidos, Francia.

Sus publicaciones destacan por la variedad de géneros practicados: política, narración, ensayo, crónica, novela². Este hecho motiva que sea uno de los escritores más leídos en euskera. Galardonado en 2005 con el premio «Argizaiola» por su labor en favor del euskera, Garate también se interesó por las unidades fraseológicas.

2.2. *La obra paremiográfica de Gotzon Garate*

Dedicó más de treinta años a recorrer los caseríos vascos (concretamente 23 caseríos de las siete provincias vascas) para recopilar unidades fraseológicas. Parte de su obra está publicada, otra parte sigue inédita, principalmente expresiones, porque la muerte le sobrevino en 2008.

Garate explica cómo llevó a cabo su labor de campo:

El método que he usado para recoger los refranes ha sido sencillo. Trabajo siempre en la cocina donde están los ancianos de la casa. Llevo un corpus de refranes vascos y les voy preguntado si los conocen y usan.

A veces me responden que no, pero me indican otros parecidos o totalmente diferentes a los que yo les he preguntado. De esta forma el *corpus proverbiorum* va haciéndose cada vez mayor.

Este corpus proverbiorum aumentado me sirve de cuestionario en el próximo caserío en donde voy a trabajar la próxima vez (1998: 441).

La labor de campo realizada le permitió recopilar un importante número de paremias vascas, que publicó en 1998. La colección contiene 14.458 refranes vascos, acompañados de 5.208 refranes en español, 4.045 refranes en inglés y 3.462 refranes en latín; en total, como reza el título de la obra, *27.173 atstitzak, refranes, proverbes, proverbial*.

Los refranes van numerados, lo que facilita el sistema de reenvío existente para mostrar las correspondencias entre los refranes de las cuatro lenguas de estudio. Si bien la lengua de partida es el euskera, se indica tras cada refrán las posibles correspondencias con las otras tres lenguas. Es menor el número de refra-

nes españoles, ingleses y latinos, porque solo se registran los que son correspondencia de los refranes vascos.

En la búsqueda de correspondencias, Garate observa que algunos refranes vascos «son semejantes a los de otras lenguas y están formulados casi con las mismas palabra» (1998: 441), como estos ejemplos:

Vascuence: «Nolako aita, halako seme».

Latín: «Qualis pater, talis filius».

Inglés: «Like father like son».

Francés: «Tel père, tel fils».

Alemán: «Wie der Vater, so der Sohn».

Garate señala que, en otros refranes, «la misma idea está expresada con palabras o imágenes diferentes»:

Inglés: «Birds of a feather flock together».

Hindi: «Chor kaa bhaai girah kat» [El ladrón pequeño es amigo del grande].

Vascuence: «Lapurrak lapurrari lazran» [El ladrón besa al ladrón].

Español: «Dios los cría y ellos se juntan».

Francés: «Fagot cherche bourré».

Alemán: «Gleich und Gleich gesellt sich gern».

Reconoce Garate que en muchas ocasiones no resulta fácil encontrar correspondencias, por haber refranes vinculados a hechos, costumbres o lugares determinados pese a que poseen una idea fundamental común. He aquí un botón de muestra:

«Ataunen ta Zegaman, egunez ikusi eta gauaz eramana» [En Ataun y Zegama³ roban de noche lo que han visto durante el día].

«Abenduak eta emazte ederrak ez dute etxea altxatzen» [Diciembre y una mujer hermosa no aprovechan a la casa].

«Alperraren kolpea xuxena» [El golpe del vago siempre es acertado]⁴.

Los refranes se encuentran agrupados por lenguas, las cuatro lenguas en este orden: euskera, español, inglés y latín. Cada parte va precedida de una introducción escrita en la lengua correspondiente en la que Garate presenta una serie de reflexiones de

índole paremiológica, unas indicaciones para encontrar las correspondencias y las fuentes consultadas. En el caso de los refranes en euskera, incluye tanto escritas las fuentes escritas como las orales.

Garate especifica que, dentro de cada grupo lingüístico, los refranes están ordenados conforme a la idea principal, como aparece en diccionarios como *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (1970), elaborado por William George Smith y F. P. Wilson. Garate elige este criterio clasificatorio porque lo considera «más racional y ayuda a tener un conocimiento mejor y más rápido de los diferentes aspectos de la vida y el pensamiento de los hablantes» (p. 444). Sin embargo, en muchos casos no se trata de la idea principal sino más bien de la palabra base, como él mismo explica al afirmar que por lo general tiene en cuenta el primer sustantivo.

Para facilitar localizar los refranes registrados, junto con el diccionario en papel hay un CD con el corpus de los refranes y un fácil sistema de búsqueda.

2.3. Los valores paremiológicos de la colección de Gotzon Garate

La colección de Gotzon Garate posee una serie de valores que la convierten en una obra de referencia para la paremiografía vasca:

- Se trata de la primera colección con una cantidad tan elevada de refranes vascos.
- El repertorio recoge los resultados de un trabajo de campo en el que se ha entrevistado a un importante número de informantes en un espacio amplio, 23 caseríos.
- Una de las principales novedades de este repertorio reside en el hecho de que gran parte de los refranes vascos registrados nunca habían sido recogidos, por lo que se habrían perdido de no haberlos recopilados.
- Se aportan algunas indicaciones sobre el uso de los refranes vascos, pues, como reconoce Garate, «es fácil darse cuenta de qué refranes vascos son los más usados, por la cantidad de números que aparecen detrás del refrán castellano» (p. 444).
- Este repertorio constituye una excelente vía para conocer la «visión del pensamiento, del carácter, del folklore, de la lite-

ratura oral, de las tradiciones, de los valores y de la filosofía popular del pueblo vasco» (p. 439).

- Se trata de una herramienta para ayudar a los hispanoparlantes y a los anglófonos a perfeccionar sus conocimientos de lengua vasca, tal como reconoce el propio Garate (p. 444), mediante la aportación de las correspondencias en español y en inglés a los refranes vascos registrados.
- La combinación lingüística elegida resulta original y novedosa.
- Es uno de los primeros repertorios multilingües basados en una teoría traductológica, explicada por el propio recopilador. El resultado de su aplicación lleva a unos resultados fruto de un trabajo muy concienzudo.

2.4. *Fortuna de la obra paremiográfica de Gotzon Garate*

El refranero multilingüe de Garate constituye una gran aportación no solo para la paremiología vasca sino también para la paremiología española y para la paremiología comparada. Estamos ante un referente obligado para toda investigación sobre las paremias vascas y su relación con otras lenguas (español, inglés y latín).

De esta colección se publicó una segunda edición en 2004 y se puede consultar en internet⁵.

3. *El Refranero multilingüe*

Desde el último tercio del siglo XX, en España la paremiología vive una etapa de desarrollo y consolidación que conlleva un aumento considerable de la actividad paremiográfica. Se elaboran repertorios basados en criterios de sistematización muy variados, principalmente semánticos y lingüísticos.

En el caso de los repertorios multilingües, cabe destacar los que son resultados de una investigación en equipo con financiación estatal, canalizada en la concesión de proyectos de investigación, como sucede con el *Refranero multilingüe*, publicado en 2009 y cuyos antecedentes se remontan a 1996.

3.1. *Antecedentes del Refranero multilingüe*

3.1.1. *877 refranes españoles*

En 1996, tras la celebración del *I Congreso Internacional de Paremiología* en la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, se creó un equipo de trabajo, con motivo de un contrato editorial, para

elaborar un repertorio de los refranes españoles con su correspondencia en varias lenguas. La obra, que vio la luz en 1998 con el título: *877 refranes españoles con su correspondencia catalana, gallega, vasca, francesa e inglesa*, debe su originalidad a las lenguas de estudio seleccionadas y a la información aportada, pues de cada refrán español se aporta una breve explicación del significado, las posibles variantes, los sinónimos y los contrarios.

El equipo, integrado por cinco paremiólogos, poseía una larga experiencia en la recopilación y estudio del tesoro sapiencial:

- Mercedes Burrel Arguis (profesora de E.O.I.), encargada de las paremias en lengua catalana e inglesa.
- Germán Conde Tarrío (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela), responsable de la lengua gallega.
- Javier Calzacorta Elorza (Universidad de Deusto en Bilbao y Academia de la Lengua Vasca), responsable de la lengua vasca.
- Jesús Cantera Ortiz de Urbina y Julia Sevilla Muñoz (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), encargados de confeccionar el corpus de paremias españolas con su significado, variantes, sinónimos y contrarios; buscar las correspondencias francesas y realizar la coordinación y supervisión del trabajo global.

Casi todos tienen experiencia en la búsqueda de correspondencias. Así, Jesús Cantera, de formación humanística, es autor de la⁶ *Selección de refranes y sentencias* (tomo I, francés-español, 1983 y tomo II, español-francés, 1984), una selección alfabética de casi 1500 paremias francesas en el primer tomo y casi 3000 paremias españolas en el segundo, con sus correspondencias francesas y españolas, respectivamente; cada tomo se cierra con un índice de palabras.

Julia Sevilla, de formación filológica y discípula de Jesús Cantera, trabajó en su tesis doctoral (1987) los animales en 999 paremias francesas y 999 paremias españolas, además del concepto de «paremia» y los diferentes tipos de paremias.

Sus aportaciones servirán de base a Germán Conde, de formación filológica, para realizar la tesis doctoral titulada *Estudio comparativo de las paremias en francés, castellano y gallego* (Facultad Filología (Univ. Santiago de Compostela, 1997); en 2001, Conde publicó el *Diccionario de refráns, corresponden-*

cias en castelán e francés, con 1120 paremias gallegas ordenadas en torno a ideas clave, 418 notas a pie de página generalmente de índole léxica, semántica o documental. El diccionario se cierra también con un índice léxico, al que se añade un índice de entradas temáticas y las fuentes escritas consultadas, no las orales, si bien reconoce que las ha tenido (p. 41).

Javier Calzacorta Elorza, como discípulo de Gotzon Garate concede mucha importancia a la investigación basada en la labor de campo.

En los *877 refranes*, la naturaleza de las fuentes consultadas es tanto oral como escrita. La relación de referencias bibliográficas, agrupadas en función de la lengua de estudio, se encuentra entre el índice temático y el de palabras clave. En la introducción a la obra, ya se alude a las limitaciones de espacio que han obligado a realizar una selección de la información y se anuncia que esta colección «constituye un anticipo de una obra muchísimo más amplia» (p. 12).

3.1.2. *1001 refranes españoles*

Con motivo de la concesión del Proyecto de Investigación Multidisciplinar *Fraseología multilateral* (PR 269/98-8189, 1999-2003, subvencionado por la Universidad Complutense de Madrid), un equipo de catorce especialistas toma como base el mencionado trabajo de los *877 refranes españoles* para elaborar los *1001 refranes españoles con su correspondencia en ocho lenguas (alemán, árabe, francés, inglés, italiano, polaco, provenzal y ruso)*. Publicada en 2001, esta colección contiene unas doscientas paremias más, seleccionadas de acuerdo con un criterio pragmático. Por otra parte, las variantes incluidas corresponden al español de América.

En la introducción, se explica la metodología seguida paso a paso en la confección de la obra. Para la búsqueda de las correspondencias, se tiende a aplicar una serie de técnicas paremiológicas: actancial, temática, sinonímica e hiperonímica (Sevilla y Sevilla, 2000).

El uso de la informática facilitó sin duda alguna la investigación. Sin embargo, seguía sin poder publicarse toda la información recopilada por la limitación de espacio que implicaba la versión en papel.

Ambas colecciones obtuvieron una buena aceptación, pues fueron reeditadas, los 877 *refranes españoles* en el año 2000 y los 1001 *refranes españoles* en 2008.

3.2. *Nacimiento del Refranero multilingüe*

Esta limitación espacial originó un proyecto muy ambicioso factible con ayuda de las tecnologías⁷: la creación de una base de datos accesible en internet, con el objeto de poder incluir un elevado número de datos en las fichas paremiológicas. Así, nació el proyecto de investigación el *Mínimo paremiológico* (HUM2005-03899, 2005-2008), que contaba con una financiación estatal (el Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia) y la colaboración del Instituto Cervantes, consistente en la publicación de los resultados en su página web.

3.3. *Objetivos del Refranero multilingüe*

Los objetivos que se pretende cumplir con esta base de datos son: difundir el español a través de los refranes, facilitar la enseñanza/aprendizaje del español como lengua materna y extranjera, proporcionar un instrumento de consulta a los traductores y promover las investigaciones sobre la sabiduría popular.

3.4. *Perfil de los autores y colaboradores del Refranero multilingüe*

Los autores del *Refranero multilingüe* son, en su mayoría, docentes-investigadores vinculados a centros universitarios, con sede dentro y fuera de España. Todos ellos guardan una estrecha relación con el Grupo de Investigación UCM 930235 *Fraseología y paremiología* (PAREFRAS), creado en 2004 y coordinado por María Teresa I. Zurdo Ruiz-Ayúcar y Julia Sevilla Muñoz.

Su número ha ido aumentando año tras año, de modo que de los doce que empezaron a trabajar en 2005 se ha llegado a unos cuarenta, debido sobre todo porque se creó la figura de colaborador, con la finalidad de iniciar a la investigación a estudiantes de los últimos años universitarios.

3.5. Estructura y metodología del Refranero multilingüe

Siguiendo la metodología marcada por las obras precedentes, se van alcanzando las metas fijadas para proporcionar contenidos de interés para estudiantes, docentes e investigadores de lengua, traducción, cultura y literatura. A medida que se iba avanzando en la elaboración de la base de datos y era evidente la envergadura y complejidad de esta empresa, los investigadores fueron creando equipos de trabajo por lenguas, de modo que en la actualidad apenas hay un responsable por lengua.

El *Refranero multilingüe* contiene una selección de 1600 paremias españolas de carácter popular, principalmente refranes y frases proverbiales, con su correspondencia en otras lenguas. Los refranes son morales en su mayoría, para evitar solaparse con otra base de datos que se está elaborando de forma paralela sobre los refranes meteorológicos y del calendario, de la que trataremos más adelante. En cuanto al número de lenguas, va aumentando poco a poco. En la actualidad, son las siguientes: español de España y de América, alemán, catalán, francés, gallego, griego antiguo, griego moderno, inglés, italiano, polaco, portugués, rumano, ruso y vasco.

Los contenidos también van ampliándose: además de los incluidos en los refraneros que sirven de punto de partida (significado, variantes, sinónimos, contrarios, idea clave, correspondencias), se incluyen los hiperónimos paremiológicos, el tipo de paremia, las fuentes consultadas para localizar cada paremia, contextos con la paremia en cuestión, los marcadores de uso, observaciones léxicas (aclaraciones formales o de contenido sobre algún vocablo, en desuso o un arcaísmo) culturales (los referentes culturales) o pragmáticas (el grado de vigencia de la paremia).

Muchos apartados han visto ampliarse su extensión, gracias al soporte informático. El significado tiende a abarcar el sentido directo, el irónico, los cambios que se han ido produciendo. Por ejemplo, el refrán «Quien mala cama hace, en ella yace» critica a los negligentes. Se emplea para señalar que «se debe asumir sin queja las consecuencias de sus actos, incluso si le causan algún daño. También puede aplicarse este refrán a quien se equivoca en el matrimonio».

De las ideas clave, se pueden indicar de una a tres, con lo que se facilita la comprensión de los distintos sentidos.

Las correspondencias van ahora acompañadas de la traducción literal, de modo que se comprende mejor el sentido idiomático de las paremias no españolas.

Está prevista la inclusión del elemento sonoro, con la finalidad de acercar a los usuarios a unas manifestaciones de la lengua hablada, así como una selección de actividades didácticas para explotar los refranes en clase de lengua, traducción, cultura y literatura.

3.6. *Valores del Refranero multilingüe*

Todo lo anterior muestra que el *Refranero multilingüe* es una herramienta sumamente novedosa. Su originalidad radica en la combinación lingüística, los contenidos, la utilidad para un amplio número de usuarios. La lengua de partida es el español y entre las restantes lenguas de estudio figuran lenguas clásicas y modernas. Los contenidos son muy variados y en continua actualización, por el hecho de ser una base de datos abierta e interactiva, en la que hacen aportaciones tanto los autores como los usuarios.

3.7. *Fortuna del Refranero multilingüe*

La fortuna del *Refranero multilingüe* se mide por el número de usuarios que lo consultan a diario desde su publicación en 2009⁸, la producción científica basada en esta base de datos (artículos, capítulos de libro, obras colectivas, ponencias, seminarios,...), así como el número de proyectos de investigación con financiación estatal concedidos tras el proyecto del *Mínimo paremiológico*, como: *Ampliación del mínimo paremiológico* (FFI2008-02681/FILO, 2009-2011, M^o Ciencia e Innovación), PAREMIASTIC (FI2011-24962, 2012-2014, M^o Economía y Competitividad), PAREGRELA (FFI2015-63738-P, 2016-2018, M^o Economía y Competitividad).

4. *De BADARE a ParemioRom*

4.1. *Nacimiento de BADARE*

En sus clases de Doctorado sobre la paremiología románica impartidas en la Universidad de Barcelona, el romanista José Enrique Gargallo⁹ explicaba el valor paremiológico de la obra de Hernán Núñez. Su actividad investigadora fue centrándose en los refranes metereológicos y del calendario.

Como miembro del Grupo de Investigación PAREFRAS, siguió la política del Grupo de pedir ayudas estatales y en 2005 le fue concedido un proyecto de investigación (HUM2005-01330/FILO, 2005-2008, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia) para elaborar una base de datos a partir de fuentes escritas sobre los refranes del calendario y meteorológicos en la Rumania, *BADARE*.

4.2. Perfil de los autores de *BADARE*

El equipo de trabajo de *BADARE* está integrado por romanistas y filólogos especializados en una lengua o dominio lingüístico y vinculados a centros universitarios de varios países europeos.

Dado que se trata de una base de datos en continua elaboración desde 2005, se han producido incorporaciones de nuevos miembros y sustituciones, de modo que actualmente son una docena de especialistas¹⁰.

4.3. Objetivos de *BADARE*

El objetivo de *BADARE* es la creación de una base de datos sobre un tipo de refrán: los refranes del calendario y meteorológicos de las lenguas y dialectos de una zona geográfica determinada, la Rumania: español de España y de América, catalán y ámbito iberorromance en su conjunto, gallego, portugués de Portugal y de ultramar, italiano, variedades italo-romances (sardo incluido), francés, occitano, francoprovenzal, rumano, ámbito retrorrománico.

4.4. Estructura y metodología de *BADARE*

En la base de datos *BADARE* se introdujeron datos procedentes de numerosas fuentes escritas con una intención filológica. La distribución del trabajo entre los miembros del equipo se realiza por lenguas, variedades o ámbitos romances.

A partir del material incluido en la base de datos *BADARE*, que sigue ampliándose con el vaciado selectivo de datos extraídos de atlas lingüísticos, monografías dialectales, refraneros y otras fuentes, se pretende la constitución de una nueva base que permita la geolocalización de refranes y posibilite la interpretación de *paremiotipos*, como los relativos al arco iris, a los arreboles, al cielo aborregado.

Junto a este objetivo prioritario, se persiguen otros, como la realización de prospecciones en los linderos de la Europa romance (ámbitos germánico y eslavo) y fuera del continente europeo (particularmente en Hispanoamérica), así como la de trabajos de campo selectivos a partir de fuentes orales.

Este equipo continúa con sus investigaciones desde un enfoque filológico y la ampliación de *BADARE* ha llevado a la base de datos *ParemioRom*¹¹, cuyo objetivo es explorar nuevas vías de investigación en paremiología romance mediante el estudio de los refranes meteorológicos y su dimensión territorial o geolingüística extraídos de fuentes escritas y de trabajos de campos selectivos a partir de fuentes orales. Para ello, se están incorporando nuevas fichas de refranes y se están ofreciendo nuevas posibilidades de consulta, con la finalidad de facilitar trabajos interpretativos de tipo geoparemiológico en la Romania.

Las posibilidades de búsqueda en las fichas son muy variadas: textuales, conceptuales, por lenguas, fuentes, geolocalizaciones. Dentro de la búsqueda conceptual, hay muchas posibilidades; por categoría cronológica (p.ej.: estación, días de la semana, partes de la jornada), categoría metereológica (arco iris, granizo,...), ámbito temático (animales, faenas agrícolas, elementos de la vida cotidiana,...). Estas búsquedas por categorías se ven complementadas por la búsqueda de subcategorías (fechas concretas, festividades determinadas, especie animal, topónimos,...).

Las fichas de refranes han sido enriquecidas por la parte correspondiente a Atlas (elaborado en el marco del proyecto *ParemioRom*), en la que encontramos la siguiente información de cada paremiotipo: los criterios de búsqueda, un comentario geoparemiológico, la relación de refranes en las distintas lenguas de trabajo y su localización en un mapa.

4.5. Valores de *BADARE* > *ParemioRom*

Se trata de una obra colectiva original y novedosa por los contenidos y su combinación lingüística, las lenguas y dialectos de la Romania. En cuanto a los contenidos, se ha tomado como punto de referencia los atlas lingüísticos y, en particular, el API, el *Atlas paremiológico italiano* coordinado por Temistocle Franceschi¹², para ofrecer fichas de refranes del calendario y metereológicos accesibles desde internet y de fácil consulta.

4.6. Fortuna del BADARE > ParemioRom

La base de datos *BADARE* fue creada de 2005 a 2008 gracias a un proyecto ministerial de investigación (HUM2005-01330/FILO, M° Educación y Ciencia) y a la colaboración de la Universidad de Barcelona, pues *BADARE* está alojada en su página web. La concesión de un segundo proyecto permitió ampliar la base (FFI2008-02998/FILO, 2008-2011, M° Ciencia e Innovación) y la concesión de un tercer proyecto (ParemioRom, FFI2011-24032, 2011-2015, M° Economía y Competitividad) ha hecho posible incluir datos de índole geolingüística.

Los seminarios internacionales organizados durante los tres años del primer proyecto contribuyeron a difundir la existencia de *BADARE*, así como la participación de los autores en otras reuniones científicas y la publicación de artículos y capítulos de libro.

Conclusiones

Se observa un paralelismo entre la obra paremiográfica de Hernán Núñez y Gotzon Garate, pues se trata una obra desarrollada en la madurez en la que se refleja su gran y variada formación lingüística, tanto en lenguas clásicas como modernas. Ambos muestran un afán de apertura lingüística, hacia las lenguas romances en Hernán Núñez y hacia el inglés y el español en el caso de Gotzon Garate.

El material recopilado de la principal lengua de estudio (el castellano para Hernán Núñez y el euskera para Gotzon Garate) destaca por proceder de fuentes orales, lo que contrasta con el material de las restantes lenguas extraído de fuentes escritas.

La obra de Hernán Núñez está inconclusa, por lo que no llegó a glosar profusamente las paremias, como lo tenía previsto. En cambio, Gotzon Garate no se plantea glosarlos, ya que da prioridad a la clasificación de las mismas con un criterio léxico para poder localizar las correspondencias de los refranes vascos registrados en otras lenguas (español, inglés y latín) y así difundir los refranes vascos. Para conseguirlo, Garate recurre a todo tipo de soporte, puesto que su obra se encuentra impresa en papel, en CD y, en la actualidad, se puede consultar en internet.

Hernán Núñez y Gotzon Garate están acostumbrados al trabajo individual, desarrollado durante muchos años, incluso decenios. En cambio, la concesión de proyectos para investigar en

paremiología a partir de finales del siglo XX da paso al trabajo equipo, en el que se debe presentar resultados al año y, por lo general, material publicable a los tres años.

En las bases de datos *Refranero multilingüe* y *BADARE* (en la actualidad, *ParemioRom*) se publican los resultados de proyectos de investigación financiados por diversos Ministerios, desde 2005, y desarrollados por equipos con proyección nacional e internacional.

Estos equipos tienden a ser homogéneos en su formación académica bastante específica, pero heterogéneos en cuanto a las lenguas de estudio y a la procedencia geográfica de los investigadores, pues resulta frecuente contar con especialistas de diversos países, de modo que se promueve el intercambio científico con carácter nacional e internacional. Por tal motivo, resulta indispensable la figura de un coordinador.

Su investigación se caracteriza por la aplicación de las TIC, lo que ha revolucionado la forma tanto de investigar como de presentar los resultados. Su aplicación permite facilita la sistematización de las paremias en fichas con una amplia información localizable desde todos los criterios posibles: lingüístico, traductológico, pragmático. Sin el recurso a las TIC, habría sido sumamente difícil alcanzar un elevado grado de difusión de la riqueza de la sabiduría popular a un amplio sector de la sociedad.

En definitiva, se ha producido una evolución en cuanto al objeto de estudio al perfil del paremiógrafo, su metodología, las fuentes consultadas, los contenidos de los repertorios, el soporte de difusión empleado. De la recopilación de refranes en uso se ha pasado a la recopilación de un fenómeno lingüístico en desuso o de uso reducido, de una formación generalista y humanística a una específica y filológica, de un trabajo individual al trabajo en equipo, de presentar una relación de refranes con breves glosas a una ficha con datos muy variados (lingüísticos, traductológicos, etnolingüísticos), de la consulta reducida de fuentes escritas a una exhaustiva consulta de tales fuentes, de destinatarios de una zona geográfica concreta a unos destinatarios sin limitaciones espaciales, de destinatarios con un perfil concreto a un amplio sector de la sociedad, pues en las investigaciones actuales se tiene en cuenta su aplicación, ya sea aplicación a la traducción, ya sea la enseñanza/aprendizaje de la lengua (L1 o L2), la traducción, la cultura o la literatura. Por eso, en algunos equipos halla-

mos filólogos, pedagogos y traductores aunando sus esfuerzos para ofrecer herramientas de carácter multidisciplinar.

En esta evolución ha jugado un papel importante la aplicación de las TIC, lo que supuesto la supresión de algunas barreras que limitaban la comunicación entre los investigadores, así como el alcance de la investigación. Esta evolución no ha supuesto una ruptura con la investigación paremiográfica desarrollada desde la Edad Media sino una adaptación a la época actual y una mejora en muchos aspectos, como hemos comentado.

Otro elemento importante en dicha evolución se encuentra en las enseñanzas que los maestros han transmitido a sus discípulos. Como los paremiógrafos citados en este trabajo son docentes, la transmisión de conocimientos forma parte de su actividad investigadora. De ahí, la existencia de becarios vinculados a los mencionados proyectos de investigación y a los grupos de investigación en paremiología.

La labor paremiográfica realizada actualmente trata de conjugar muchos factores y aprovechar los recursos a su alcance, con el objeto de proporcionar unos contenidos de utilidad teórica y práctica.

Notes

¹ Seguimos la clasificación de premias establecida en nuestro trabajo en colaboración con Carlos Crida (Sevilla y Crida, 2013).

² Está considerado el padre de la novela negra en euskera.

³ Son dos pequeñas poblaciones de Guipúzcoa.

⁴ Con este refrán se alude al vago que hace bien las cosas para no tener que hacerlas de nuevo.

⁵ <http://www.ametza.com/bbk/htdocs/hasiera.htm>

⁶ En colaboración con Eugenio de Vicente Aguado.

⁷ Las denominadas TIC [ICT, Information and communications technology].

⁸ Véase cvc.cervantes.es/lengua/refranero/

⁹ Véase http://www.ub.edu/filromanica/enrique_gargallo.htm.

¹⁰ Véase <http://stel.ub.edu/paremio-rom/es/p%C3%A1ginas/equipo>.

¹¹ Véase <http://stel.ub.edu/paremio-rom/es/p%C3%A1ginas/referencia>.

¹² Véase http://www.cig.unifi.it/en/home_eng.htm.

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Julia SEVILLA MUÑOZ
Dpto. Filología Francesa
Facultad de Filología (ed. D, 2-386)
Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Ciudad Universitaria
28040 Madrid
Spain
E-mail: sevilla@filol.ucm.es

LUIS J. TOSINA FERNÁNDEZ

PROVERBS IN PRESENT-DAY MEDIA: AN ANALYSIS OF
TELEVISION FICTIONS AND INTERNET MEMES AND
THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE SPREAD OF PROVERBS

Abstract: The present paper explores two media of rather recent appearance, or at least recent popularization, in the public sphere and their importance and usefulness in the diffusion of proverbs, mostly from a cross-linguistic point of view. Thus, with English being the present-day lingua franca of not only academia, but also the entertainment industry, it contributes to the spread of different types of phrasemes that may eventually gain a considerable degree of acknowledgement among different linguistic communities, with the focus in this case being on proverbs. Television fictions and Internet memes are presented here as two rather efficient vehicles for the maintenance and transmission of proverbial knowledge among different languages, therefore proving that proverbs are of as current use as they have ever been.

Keywords: folklore, internet, media, memes, paremiology, proverbs, television fictions

Introduction

The evolution undergone by means of communication during the 20th century has no precedent in history and, furthermore, it seems unlikely that such a radical evolution in such a short period of time could ever take place again. The invention of the radio, television, computer, and motion pictures has had a major impact on people's habits regarding leisure. If, for centuries, books were the only vehicle for the spread of knowledge and one of the main forms of entertainment, then the appearance and rise in popularity of the radio, television, and the Internet as some of the most important and most commonly used sources of information have contributed to reshaping people's practices, creating new forms of entertainment that were not available in previous times, and democratizing the access to information and culture.

This is a complex phenomenon that must be tackled by specialists of various disciplines, who are qualified to draw appropriately complex conclusions. Here, some of the most relevant aspects of popular means of communication will be discussed as they relate to Paremiology, taking into account that they represent only a portion of the complexities that are present. The intent of this article is to illustrate a few key examples of where paremiology research should be headed in the era of technology and for this reason, only one example from television and another from the Internet will be presented in order to illustrate the analysis: television series and internet memes respectively.

Television Series

The influence of television on present-day society is unquestionable. Whether one defends or condemns this fact is irrelevant, as a TV set will continue to be present in almost every home and play a major role in providing people with an almost infinite source of entertainment and information. Within the wide variety offered by television, there is one genre that seems particularly suitable for a paremiological analysis: television series.

It is surprising how little attention this genre has received from paremiologists, considering all the possibilities it offers. It is only recently that works on the matter are starting to appear more frequently, such as those by A. Konstantinova (2014), G. A. Rodríguez Martín (2015) or L. J. Tosina Fernández (2016a & 2016b). The reasons why TV series seem to be a particularly suitable expression to prove the richness of proverbs as communication tools, as explained by Tosina Fernández (2016a), are multiple and practically indisputable, and the value of television for a paremiological analysis is enormous.

Proverbs are constantly used on television, regardless of the kind of program being watched or the audience the program is targeted for. In this regard, proverbs may potentially be used in all television genres, and within television series they are indeed used in the most varied genera: sitcoms, dramas, soap operas, science fiction, police fictions, historical, cartoons, etc. The effect of this is that, because they deal with many different topics, they reach the most varied audiences, thus contributing to the spread of paremiological knowledge. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the nature of television fictions is that they are put on for other

people to watch and enjoy, which makes the comparison with drama unavoidable.¹

The nature of TV fictions makes them dependent on dialogical texts, which provide the perfect breeding ground for the use of proverbs, as they imitate everyday conversations - the situations in which proverbs most naturally take place. Thus, the frequent use of proverbs in TV series plays a major role in the propagation of proverbs not only among the speakers of a certain language, but also across languages, given the global viewing of some of present-day TV productions. In this regard, it is important to note that there are dozens of shows with a solid fan base across the world that accesses these shows on a regular basis through a variety of media.

A particularly interesting aspect of TV series is that the writers may consciously use proverbs to depict a character, making him or her more credible and easier to sympathize with, because he or she is speaking to the audience in their own language. Furthermore, characters in some series show different levels of paralinguistic competence depending on the intentions of the scriptwriters. They can be depicted as characteristically repeating the same proverb multiple times², not acknowledging a proverb,³ or manipulating or misusing one, as shall be discussed shortly. Another tactic that TV series often employ is to use proverbs by exploiting their comical side.

Thus, it is quite common to find characters, especially in comedies, who misuse a proverb, either by mistaking one of its components or by applying it to a situation in which the proverb would likely not be applied in real life. The occurrence of this phenomenon may be due to the fact that scriptwriters are aware of how common and well-known proverbs are among the audience, which allows them to use the comical side that might otherwise be found less frequently in everyday conversation. Therefore, the multiplicity of nuances that proverbs have and their versatility turns them into a very powerful tool to connect with the audience and to fulfill numerous purposes.

In a similar manner to the cases of other media in previous historical eras, TV shows contribute to the popularization of a stock of proverbs that is well-known across different languages, especially western languages. Thus, hit television series, mostly of American or British origin, are contributing to this phenomenon,

supporting the idea of English as the *lingua franca* of the 21st century, sustained by the new means of entertainment and the mass media.

The shows presented here to illustrate the analysis have not been watched with the sole purpose of gathering data for an analysis of their use of proverbs; very much to the contrary, all the examples come from a casual, unsystematic viewing of miscellaneous TV shows, which, at least to a certain extent, proves that they are in fact ubiquitous and do not belong in just one realm of human activity or communication.

All the samples come from well-known mainstream TV series that can be watched either on television broadcasts or through on-demand streaming services. Most of the series quoted are known to many English and non-English speakers around the world, although some may be completely obscure and unknown to others. Although there are examples provided, this cannot be taken as a systematic analysis of the phenomenon - the s is intended to be a brief introduction to an occurrence that deserves a much more detailed and extensive analysis.

The following are some instances gathered from TV fictions watched over the last couple of years, either as premieres or reruns, containing uses of, or references to, proverbs or proverbial wisdom. The samples presented have been chosen for their propitiousness to highlight different features of proverb use.

1. RAYMOND TUSK Can I ask why you do that?
FRANCIS UNDERWOOD Do what?
RAYMOND TUSK Tap your ring like that. I've seen you do it on TV. Two taps every time you get up from a table or leave a lectern.
FRANCIS UNDERWOOD Something my father taught me. It's meant to harden your knuckles so you don't break them if you get into a fight. It also has the added benefit of knocking on wood. My father believed that success is a mixture of preparation and luck. Tapping the table kills both birds with one stone.⁴

The first example, from the successful political drama *House of Cards*, refers to the proverb "To kill two birds with one stone" (ODEP: 426). This may possibly be one of the best-known prov-

erbs in the Western world. Additionally, it is interesting how the proverb has undergone different adaptations throughout history as hunting practices have developed.⁵ Thus, one may come across the slightly different “To kill two birds with one shot”.⁶

2. LORD VARYS My little birds tell me that Stannis Baratheon has taken up with a Red Priestess from Asshai.
 TYRION LANNISTER What of it?
 LORD VARYS You don't believe in the old powers, My Lord?
 TYRION LANNISTER Blood spells, curses, shape-shifting—what do you think?
 LORD VARYS I think you believe in what you see and in what those you trust have seen.⁷

In excerpt number two, taken from the unparalleled success, *Game of Thrones*, Lord Varys alludes to the proverb “Seeing is believing” (ODEP: 710; ODP: 281) to reply to Tyrion Lannister. Even though it is usually found in dictionaries and collections of proverbs in the form indicated above, this does not make this use a manipulation, because a defining feature of folklore, of which proverbs are a manifestation, is that the same item of folklore may be found with prominent differences. The way S. J. Bronner (2007: 8) puts it “[t]here is no one right interpretation of an item of folklore any more than there is but one right version of a game or song.”

3. RAGNAR LOTHBROK Thorvard,
 THORVARD My lord Ragnar.
 RAGNAR LOTHBROK I hope you bring better news than the last.
 THORVARD My lord, after you left, the Saxons treacherously attacked King Horik's camp at Wessex. There was a terrible slaughter. A great many warriors perished. The king and his son only just escaped with their lives.
 RAGNAR LOTHBROK What about Athelstan? What happened to Athelstan?
 THORVARD My lord, I don't know of whom you speak.

RAGNAR LOTHBROK Why has it taken so long for me to hear this news?
 THORVARD My lord, bad news travels a great deal slower than good news.⁸

In this example, Thorvard, Ragnar Lothbok's legate, from the historical drama *Vikings*, misuses the proverb "Bad news travels fast" (ODP: 11) in order to justify himself in front of his boss. Thorvard's choice is not coincidental as he turns to proverbs, even if that means manipulating one of them to express an idea diametrically opposed to the original one, to justify his actions. The reason why Thorvard should expect this to prove effective is the perception of proverbs as absolute truths,⁹ even if his manipulation of a proverb goes as far as conveying an idea that is the opposite of the actual proverb. Nevertheless, it may be expected that the manipulation still rings a bell that allows his message to be accepted by the addressee without questioning its validity.

4. JOFFREY LANNISTER What was your duty to this traitor as you saw it?
 MARGAERY TYRELL The duty of any wife to any husband—to provide him with children.
 JOFFREY LANNISTER You failed to do this. Why?
 MARGAERY TYRELL I...I would not speak ill of the dead, Your Grace.¹⁰

Example number 4, also from *Game of Thrones*, refers to the proverbs "Speak well of the dead" (ODEP: 761) or "Never speak ill of the dead" (ODP: 296), which Margaery Tyrell resorts to in order to justify to her husband why she could not bear any child in her previous marriage. Similarly to the previous example presented, the generalized perception of proverbs as indisputable truths allows Margaery to employ them to come through her interrogation unscathed. Such is the status that proverbs enjoy.

5. JAY PRITCHETT These are good. What's in them?
 LONGINES It's a margarita with a shot of absinthe.
 PEPPER SALTZMAN Absinthe makes the heart grow fonder.
 CRISPIN Ohh, are you making a bad pun or just lisping?¹¹

Quotation number 5 is an interesting and witty manipulation of the proverb “Absence makes the heart grow fonder” (ODP: 1), also found in different variants (ODEP: 1), by the character of Pepper Saltzman from *Modern Family*. The attainment of the humorous effect presumably pursued by Saltzman is questionable given the remark made by Crispin.

6. HOLMES Grey fondant, when properly shaped, is almost identical to several forms of plastique. Hmm? You woke up in a madman's lair with the guts of an alarm clock wired to that, you'd deliver any message he told you to.
[*Knocking at the door*]
WATSON You expecting anyone?
HOLMES No.
WATSON Sherlock!
LUCAS DIXON Hi. Lucas. I didn't catch your name earlier.
HOLMES Speak of the devil.¹²

In fragment number 6, from the series *Elementary*, a present-day portrait of Sherlock Holmes, Holmes makes another frequent use of proverbs. Quite often, proverbs are shortened for economy purposes. Even though not all proverbs allow this for different reasons (e.g. shortness or obscurity to the receiver), it is rather frequent to find that just uttering half of it suffices to convey the meaning of the whole phraseme. This is precisely what happens in the extract above, in which Holmes mentions the first half of the proverb “Talk of the Devil and he is sure/bound to appear” (ODEP: 804; ODP: 313). In the following piece this contract between the sender and the receiver can also be seen in another use of the proverb “Absence makes the heart grow fonder” (ODP: 1):

7. HANK SCHRADER Look, look.
But this situation between you and, uh-- uh-- I'm not asking, by the way.
Okay? It's none of my business. I do not want to get in the middle of you two.
I'm just saying-- Listen, listen-- Okay? You beat a little tactical retreat. Yeah? And regroup. And then-- bong. You know, absence makes the-- I'm pulling for you, you know? I'm pulling-- Whoa, whoa.¹³

In this sentence, DEA Agent Schrader puts the receiver's paremiological competence to the test by leaving the proverb unfinished. Yet, it is not made clear what effect this has on the conversation or whether the interlocutor actually acknowledges the reference.

8. GILLIAN DARMODY The whole encounter will be balanced on a razor. Take your father's lead, but be your own man as well.
 JIMMY DARMODY So I shouldn't let him cut my meat for me?
 GILLIAN DARMODY I'm glad you're so cavalier.
 JIMMY DARMODY It's just a dinner, ma.
 GILLIAN DARMODY With the governor, dear.
 Your father's worked very hard to solidify this relationship. And you know what they say about first impressions.¹⁴

Number 8, taken from *Boardwalk Empire*, shows yet another way in which proverbs may be used. As in the previous example, not the whole proverb is repeated, although, here it is not shortened and it is not manipulated to adapt it to any special necessities. In this case, an allusion is made to a rather well-known proverb: "First impressions last longest" (ODEP: 262; ODP: 116). The ability to make this allusion relies on the breadth of diffusion that a proverb has. That is, in order to produce an effective act of communication, both parties must be familiar with the proverb and the receiver must be able to recognize the allusion to a proverb as such, in order to interpret the meaning that the proverb is originally intended to have. If this premise is not fulfilled, communication will fail as the receiver cannot interpret the message.¹⁵

9. [Squidward is sleeping until SpongeBob knocks on the door causing him to wake up]
 SPONGEBOB Oh, Squidward!
 SQUIDWARD [*opens his window*] What do you want, SpongeBob?
 SPONGEBOB Time for work, Squidward. Another day, another dollar. [*Laughs*]
 SQUIDWARD More like another nickel.
 SPONGEBOB [*Laughs*] Good one, Squidward! [*scene cuts to Squidward and SpongeBob*]

walking down the street and SpongeBob is laughing] Another day, another nickel. [Laughs]
 SQUIDWARD It's not that funny.
 SPONGEBOB It's funny, because it's true!¹⁶

The preceding excerpt is a conversation taken from *SpongeBob Squarepants*. SpongeBob attempts to motivate Squidward to get ready for work by the employment of the proverb “Another day, another dollar” (ODP: 6), which is then responded to with a rather discouraging manipulation of the same proverb.

10. BLONDE HOOKER Have you ever been published?
 LUCAS GOODWIN Many times.
 BLONDE HOOKER I guess that's a stupid question.
 You don't seem like a starving artist.
 LUCAS GOODWIN Don't judge a book by its cover.¹⁷

The last example, also from *House of Cards*, shows a slight manipulation of the proverb “never judge a book by its cover” (ODP: 32) in which the negative time adverbial “never” is exchanged for the negative auxiliary to form a different negative imperative from what would be considered the canonical form in most cases. However, as has been pointed out above, the same proverb may be found in different places, even within the same linguistic context, with slight variations, which is what this may be an example of.

After close inspection of these fragments, several different uses can be observed. Accordingly, the examples of proverb use shown above can be classified as follows:

- Canonical saying: samples 4 and 10.
- Partial saying: sample 6 and 7
- Allusion: samples 2 and 8.
- Manipulation: samples 1, 4, 5, and 9.
- Misuse: sample 3.

These five uses are the main ways in which proverbs are employed both in actual conversations and in the media, including television productions, as well as other ones. As for the purposes with which proverbs are generally used, the following may be listed:

- Teaching: sample 8.
- Assessing reality: samples 2, 5, 6, and 7.
- Justification for one's behavior: samples 1, 3, and 4.
- Commanding: sample 10.
- Humorous use: sample 5 and 9.

It must be mentioned that no example shows a moral use of proverbs, as this is a rather particular use that may only be found in certain contexts, none of which correspond with the examples presented. Nevertheless, it must be taken into account that proverbs may also be used with this purpose, despite its infrequency or unsuitability for certain channels. Additionally, the same proverb may be used with different purposes; here they have been associated with the use they represent in the context within which they take place, while portraying different situations and different conversational needs.

The Internet

The importance that the Internet has gained in the last couple of decades, the status it has acquired, and the predominant position it enjoys today in many aspects of our lives are incontrovertible. From a phraseological or paremiological point of view, A. Dundes (1999), J. H. Brunwald (2004), G. Corpas Pastor and K. Morvay (2002), S. J. Bronner (2007), W. Mieder (2010), A. Pamies-Bertrán (2010), J. Szerszunotic (2010), or E. Piirainen (2012), among others, have highlighted, in different ways and from different perspectives, not only the importance that the Internet has on the spread of proverbs and other types of phraseologisms, but also its convenience and helpfulness for the study of phrasemes.

An example of this helpfulness is the existence of online dictionaries and search engines, which can be used to find out how many uses of a certain phrase are to be found on the entire World Wide Web, not just in literary corpora but in the actual use of language by common people. Being able to find a phrase in any language, as well as the lack of it, just by typing a few letters and hitting enter, is an invaluable tool. If older paremiologists and paremiographers, as well as scholars from any other fields of study, had had these resources, present-day scholars might be out of work. Maybe that is a reason why Paremiology has had such a late

and slow development when compared with other branches of linguistic or folkloristic study. As a justification for this late development, one can look at the enormous amount of data necessary, how scattered the data is, how time-consuming it is to gather it, and how hard and costly it is to access authoritative works on the subject.

The importance of the mass media in the distribution of proverbs (see Kostantinova, 2014) and the typical processes they follow to successfully achieve a remarkable level of diffusion is summarized by W. Mieder (2010: 49-50), who explains the process with one example:

Brandt (...) travelled various German cities supporting this move, he closed his speeches with references to Lincoln, quoting the proverb *A house divided against itself cannot stand* together with his German translation *Ein in sich gespaltenes Haus hat keinen Bestand*. His repeated use of this successful translation of Lincoln's Bible proverb caught on. After all, thousands of people saw and heard Brandt on television or the radio, while newspapers printed parts of his speeches. The mass media carried the message to the population, and in this wording the Bible text has now become a German proverb by way of Abraham Lincoln and Willy Brandt. Many references can be found in the mass media and the internet attesting to this fact, proving that the proverb is solidly established in the German language.

As shown by Mieder, the use of proverbs by well-known personalities seems to be one of the most plausible processes for the popularization of phraseological units of any kind, not only proverbs.

Studies such as those by Järv (1999), Guerra Salas (1997), Pedicone de Parellada (2013), Mieder and Mieder (1994), among others, support the idea that proverbs are an important tool in the media and advertising, with printed press traditionally being considered the most commonly accessed source and one of the furthest-reaching means of communication. However, with the general use of the Internet, people's habits are changing as they get easier access to information. One of the changes in today's society is the continuous consumption of audio-visual materials to which they are exposed. Whether this exposure is voluntary or not, there

are always slogans or catchphrases that become popular and “widespread”, in the words of Piirainen (2012). For this precise reason, proverbs are an instrument of incalculable value, thanks to their memorability and the multiplicity of possibilities they offer.

A pioneer in many fields, particularly in folklore studies, A. Dundes soon noted the possibilities that certain technological gadgets could have in the transmission of folklore when he (Dundes, 1999: 7) stated that “[p]erhaps the most striking example of written folklore is what has been termed photocopier or xerographic. This form of folklore is also to be found transmitted by fax, E-mail, and the Internet. There are hundreds of examples of this type of folklore”. Related to this, S. J. Bronner (2007:4), in his edition of the collection of Dundes’ essays, explains that “‘folklore continues to be alive and well in the modern world, due in part to increased transmission via e-mail and the Internet’ (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1996, 249; Dundes 2005c, 406).”

As mentioned before, numerous scholars have noted the possibilities that the Internet offers for phraseological and paremiological diffusion. One scholar who notes a relationship between Internet means of communication and Paremiology is A. Pamies-Bertrán (2010, p. 34), who claims that:

Internet forums, blogs and chats are also symptomatic samples of youth's slang tendencies. It has become become (sic) a norm, e. g. recent research by Wolfgang Mieder and Anna Litovkina (2006) on English anti-proverbs was based to a considerable extent, on the Internet.

Here, Pamies-Bertrán highlights some elements that have been gaining importance in the communication habits of the youth for some time. These new habits determine the ways in which people communicate and this influence may sometimes be noticed in everyday face-to-face communication. These new methods of communication are not that new to anyone anymore, as they have already been around for decades. However, the evolution is continuous, as the on-going fad of text-messaging, which has also been around for a long time, shows. Similarly, a relatively new phenomenon that also deserves attention is that of social networking, which enables people to share their thoughts and opinions with the world in real time.

As supported by the aforementioned scholars, the Internet provides a whole new world of research opportunities and enables the researcher to contact people or access information from the four corners of the world in real-time, enabling him or her to gather data and carry out fieldwork in a more thorough, further-reaching, and faster fashion. In order to get an idea of a minimal part of the possibilities that the Internet offers for paremiological analysis, one particular Internet phenomenon that has so far gone unnoticed by paremiologists and which has a number of aspects in common with Paremiology and folklore will be presented, that of Internet memes.

The lack of studies in this respect is remarkable when compared to other manifestations that may have indeed been analyzed. A particularly interesting subject of analysis is the one chosen by the late Alan Dundes for his study on *latrinalia* (Dundes, 1966), a term coined by himself, also referred to as “bathroom stall graffiti”. Were Dundes still alive, he would unquestionably find Internet memes a fascinating source of 21st century folklore. Furthermore, it can be stated that thanks to the Internet and with the help of memes, there is a large portion of present-day folklore that has become almost universal, which would probably require a reinterpretation of the concept from the terms that have been previously explained as something belonging to a certain culture.

Similarly, it is generally believed that folklore is transmitted orally, although this is not necessarily so, as there are manifestations of folklore that cannot be transmitted orally, such as folk dances or costumes. Nevertheless, one has to put everything in perspective, and thus, the myriad of means of communications available today may have provoked the relegation of oral, face-to-face communication to a secondary position in the transmission of folklore or popular culture. Thus, in the same way that languages, societies, means of communication, and many other aspects dealing with people’s behaviors and practices evolve, so does the way in which knowledge is transmitted. In this regard, it becomes evident that the main way in which most folklore could be transmitted up to fairly recent times was through oral communication. However, no one would hesitate to label a folktale, lullaby, dance, picture, or any other manifestation of folklore as such simply because it was found on the Internet, in a magazine, or the like.

In order to determine what folklore is, D. Ben-Amos' (1971: 5) stated that "art puts the accent on the forms and the media of transmission" whereas "knowledge and thought implies a stress on the contents of the materials and their perception." This aspect, together with A. Dundes' (1968: 1) claim that "folklore is said to be or to be *in* 'oral tradition'" makes one automatically question the correctness of defining Internet memes as folklore. However, both Ben-Amos' and Dundes' works may be a little dated in this regard (both were published over 40 years ago) due to, in part, the rapid development of new technological means of communication that allow for the relinquishment of dependence on face-to-face oral communication. For this reason, the inclusion of Internet memes within the sphere of folklore seems reasonable for the following reasons:

- Their origin is unknown.
- They circulate among individuals.
- They have reached a considerable diffusion.
- They show some of the tendencies of today's society.
- They could be used to carry out a socio-cultural analysis of a considerable segment of today's people.

These reasons, together with the vast amounts of topics and themes they deal with, make them valuable items for analysis, particularly those fairly frequent cases in which memes actually contain proverbs, represent proverbs, or make some allusion to proverbs or proverbial wisdom.

To begin with, despite their extensive reach and popularity as a rather recent practice, there are people who are not familiar with it. For this reason, a valid definition of *meme* is necessary. This becomes an arduous task, as resorting to any traditional reference work may prove useless since most of them do not include a definition of the word *meme*, let alone a definition of the current fad of Internet memes. As in the cases of the concepts of proverb and folklore, anyone who is familiar with memes and publishes them or looks at them online might have a hard time coming up with a good definition that includes all the aspects necessary for a person unfamiliar with the concept to grasp its complexity.

The concept, and the name chosen to label it, originated in R. Dawkins' 1976 book *The Selfish Gene*, although it took well over 30 years for it to be widely spread and used in the manner it is

used today. In his chapter “Memes: The New Replicators”¹⁸ Dawkins explains that

The new soup is the soup of human culture. We need a name for the new replicator, a noun that conveys the idea of a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of *imitation*. 'Mimeme' comes from a suitable Greek root, but I want a monosyllable that sounds a bit like 'gene'. I hope my classicist friends will forgive me if I abbreviate mimeme to *meme** If it is any consolation, it could alternatively be thought of as being related to 'memory', or to the French word *meme*. It should be pronounced to rhyme with 'cream'.

Examples of memes are tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches. Just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperms or eggs, so memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation. If a scientist hears, or reads about, a good idea, he passes it on to his colleagues and students. He mentions it in his articles and his lectures. If the idea catches on, it can be said to propagate itself, spreading from brain to brain. (p. 192)

As already mentioned, although forty years have passed since the publication of the book, it is only in recent times that the term *meme* has become mainstream and has found its way into a dictionary. For the composition of this paper several dictionaries of prestige have been consulted in order to find a valid, academically accepted definition of *meme*, to no avail. Save the edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* accessed, the rest are posterior to the publication of Dawkins' work, and yet, only the definitions found in the online versions of *Merriam-Webster's* dictionary and two dictionaries compiled by Oxford University Press, the online version of the *OED* and the website of *Oxford Dictionaries Online*, have been found.

The online version of *Merriam-Webster's* dictionary defines *meme* as “an idea, behavior, style, or usage that spreads from person to person within a culture”¹⁹ and confirms the first use of the word as Dawkins' 1976 publication. Then, the online version of

the *Oxford English Dictionary* provides the following definition of *meme*:

A cultural element or behavioural trait whose transmission and consequent persistence in a population, although occurring by non-genetic means (esp. imitation), is considered as analogous to the inheritance of a gene.²⁰

Similarly, the *Oxford Dictionaries Online* site states that a *meme* is

1. An element of a culture or system of behaviour passed from one individual to another by imitation or other non-genetic means.
2. An image, video, piece of text, etc., typically humorous in nature, that is copied and spread rapidly by Internet users, often with slight variations.²¹

Accordingly, a non-academic definition of *Internet meme* might define it as an image macro, often a stock image, with superimposed text. The image generally represents a feeling, idea, concept, well-known character, piece of popular culture or general knowledge, with popular culture being “the most powerful source of memes” (Heimo & Koski, 2014: 11). The text may be frozen or manipulated in order to produce a humorous effect. The success of *Internet memes* lies in the fact that they represent situations to which the receiver easily relates. Furthermore, some of the frozen formulae employed in the texts are heavily influenced by text-message writing and the way in which people communicate in writing on Internet forums and social networks. Sometimes, striking phenomena take place, as for instance when the misspelling of a word catches on and remains unmodified, being consciously used by the sender.

Attempting an academically acceptable analysis of such hard to track items turns out to be quite a challenging task. Some may even argue against the convenience of such a practice since it may not lie within the boundaries of academia. But as Dundes (1966: 92, original stress) put it, “The study of man must include all aspects of human activity”. Therefore, there should not be any kind of human production unworthy of study by Folkloristics, Paremiology, Linguistics, Sociology, or any other discipline. To support this idea, it should be taken into consideration that memes are similar to comics and as W. Mieder (2004: 236-43) explains that

the use of proverbs as satirical caricatures or humorous cartoons goes back at least to the seventeenth century, and certainly by the beginning of the nineteenth century sequences of framed images based on proverbs foreshadow the comic strips of today.

This tradition of illustrating proverbs for the purpose of humorous, ironical, or satirical commentaries on the sociopolitical life has been maintained by modern artists (see Mieder 1989: 277–292). They too delight in depicting common proverbs like “Strike while the iron is hot,” “The early bird gets the worm,” or “Too many cooks spoil the broth.” For some proverbs there exists an iconographic history from medieval to modern times that comprises dozens of woodcuts, misericords, emblems, paintings, caricatures, cartoons, and comic strips, including also various types of illustrated greeting cards. Usually the modern illustrations have captions to assure meaningful communication, but there are also proverb depictions that merely allude to the proverb or that exclude any caption whatsoever. In the latter case the cartoonist expects viewers to understand the proverbial message from the picture alone, something that is perfectly possible if the proverb is in fact well known.

As Mieder points out, the relationship between proverbs and graphic media is quite old, which demonstrates that proverbs are a versatile communication tool that proves useful in many different manners of communication. Accordingly, as proverbs find their way into new media, new opportunities for paremiologists to explore spring up.

Given the difficulties caused by the nature of the items presented, as well as their origin and the manner in which they are produced, their originality can only be assessed by the inclusion of the URL under which they are hosted, with both the author and the date of upload remaining unknown. Nevertheless, all the examples are submitted by anonymous contributors from around the world and “[t]he audience has grown from information seekers and consumers into producers and participators, who share their own thoughts, video clips, images and personal memories” (Heimo & Koski, 2014: 4).

In order to deal with the phenomenon of Internet memes, a more folkloristic approach is advisable, as it may not be considered a strictly linguistic phenomenon and its characteristics seem more adaptable to that kind of analysis; even though “at first glance this folklore genre may seem trivial, in reality memes are one of the most popular ways of making statements and taking a stance in today’s world” (Heimo & Koski, 2014: 11).

Additionally, the importance that Internet memes have from a phraseological or paremiological point of view, depending on the item analyzed, is that they are frequently used out of context (one of the most determining elements in the use of proverbs as shall be explained), illustrating the idea that the proverb represents and therefore eliminating the figurativeness that is generally attributed to the use of proverbs and other types of phraseological units. However, this figurativeness remains patent when the image that makes up the meme represents an idea or concept that does not necessarily have to do with the image itself, as shown in some of the examples brought forward.

One of the strong points this phenomenon presents, and which is capital in an analysis of proverbs as a cross-linguistic phenomenon, is that people from different countries who communicate through these platforms do so in English, which is another example of the use of English as the *lingua franca* of the 21st century. Furthermore, the fact that proverbs are used by people in remote places of the world, and that they are appreciated by thousands of people from different countries who speak different languages, demonstrates that said proverbs are meaningful to both sides and that there is a stock of proverbs that is well-known across languages. At the same time, it must be noted that this phenomenon contributes to preserving the good health of proverbs and the claim supported by some that they are falling into disuse is “absurd” (Mieder, 2014: 13).

One last feature worth mentioning is the frequent use of alliteration for the naming of the characters or ideas shown in the images making up an Internet meme, which is paralleled by the use of alliteration or other similar devices in proverbs.²² The amount of internet memes is enormous and it only continues to grow. For this reason, only a handful of examples in which proverbs are used will be mentioned here. However, despite the large amount of memes existing, regardless of how ephemeral the popularity of

some may be, it is often the same meme with different proverbs, which may seem repetitive to some. The reasons for this might be that, on the one hand, different memes may reach different levels of popularity in different places and, on the other, certain memes seem to be more inclined towards the use of proverbs, generally challenging their validity or questioning it. The list of well-know memes includes titles such as Good Guy Greg, Scumbag Steve, Bad Luck Brian, Socially Awkward and Socially Successful Penguin, Conspiracy Keanu, Lazy College Senior, or Unhelpful High-school Teacher.²³

Some examples of actual memes, as found online, created by anonymous people and including proverbs or references to proverbs, together with their URL and an explanation are the following:

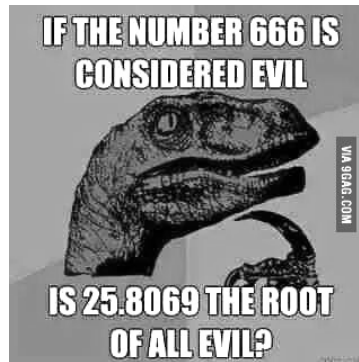


Figure 1: <http://9gag.com/gag/a75NvNz>

“Philosoraptor” is made up of a velociraptor immersed in deep reflection about philosophical and metaphysical matters, which are supposed to make the reader wonder about the same issues. This example is a mathematical pun alluding to the proverbs “Idleness is the root of all evil” (ODEP: 396; ODP: 262) or “Money is the root of all evil” (ODP:214), and other variations. [Figure 1]

The following “Philosoraptor” meme seeks justification for such reprehensible conduct as procrastination in the proverb “Everything/all things come to those who wait” (ODEP: 231; ODP: 5). [Figure 2] Philosoraptor seems to be a meme frequently used in connection with proverbs.²⁴



Figure 2: <http://9gag.com/gag/aLKnRnV>

This next meme is not one of the well-known, relatable ideas. In this case, someone has taken a picture of a seemingly-angry bird and has used it to question the validity of the well-known proverb “the early bird catches the worm” (ODEP: 211). [Figure 3] In this case, the meme works slightly different than the usual. Generally, what the reader gets first is the picture, which he or she identifies as the meme and then proceeds to read the statement that accompanies it. In this case, however, the picture is not identifiable as a meme and it is the proverb the element that provides the cultural element for the meme.



Figure 3: http://img-9gag-fun.9cache.com/photo/aQpP7AW_700b.jpg



Figure 3: <http://9gag.com/gag/aBKZBzx>

In this example, “Sudden Clarity Clarence” realizes a rather well-known fact: the existence of contradicting proverbs, in this case “the pen is mightier than the sword” (ODEP: 618; ODP: 247) and “actions speak louder than words” (ODEP: 3; ODP: 2). [Figure 4] The existence of proverbs with apparently opposite meanings, and the contradiction this poses to the defining feature of proverbs as absolute truth, has not passed unnoticed by paremiologists.²⁵ The explanation for this is that there is an infinite number of possible situations to which these proverbs can be applied and, thus, in the right context, each one may be perfectly valid.

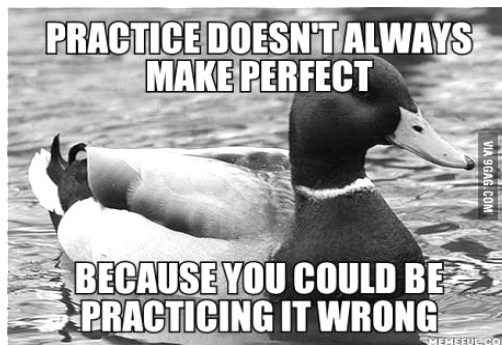


Figure 5: <http://9gag.com/gag/aXbjez9>

“Actual Advice Mallard,” as opposed to “Malicious Advice Mallard” (which can be told apart from the red color of its head) is employed to provide some valuable piece of advice. In this case, it challenges the validity of the proverb “practice makes perfect” (ODEP: 856; ODP: 255). [Figure 5]

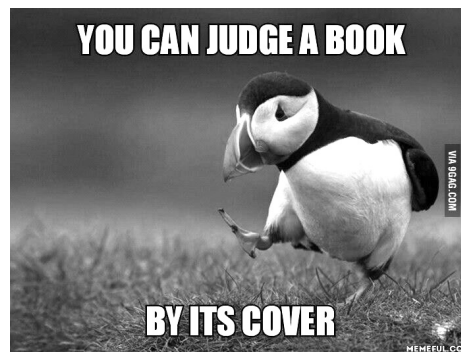


Figure 6: <http://9gag.com/gag/aGVvoA5>

This “Unpopular Opinion Puffin” meme is also used to challenge a proverb, this time “you can’t tell/judge a book by its cover” (ODP: 32), concluding that you actually can. [Figure 6]



Figure 7: <http://9gag.com/gag/aNeqyX4>

“Terrible Twist Tiger” [Figure 7] is another meme with an alliterative name. In this case, the top text is usually a witty or harmless remark that steers towards black humor in the text at the bottom of the picture. In this case, it includes the proverb “one man’s trash is another man’s treasure”, similar to “one man’s meat is another man’s poison” (ODEP: 522; ODP: 208). [Figure 7]

All the examples presented have been posted on a website by anonymous people. They can be accessed on the URL’s provided and they have been used here in order to illustrate an emerging phenomenon that may prove worthy for paremiological studies, as it is a current trend in which proverbs are frequently employed for the propitiousness of their features for the purpose. After close observation of the examples presented, as well as of any others found on the Web, a couple of quite obvious conclusions can be drawn. On the one hand, proverbs seem to be a fruitful and propitious source for the creation of memes; on the other hand, memes often exploit the humorous inclination of proverbs, rather than the other possible intentions with which proverbs may be used.

Conclusions

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis is that proverbs enjoy good health and are still a current and frequent speech device among different groups of people speaking different languages, which supports the idea that there is a collection of proverbs and other types of phrasemes that are well-known to speakers of different languages.²⁶ New technologies and trends have not contributed to their disappearance or abandonment. On the contrary, with the appearance of new ways of communication and expression, proverbs have found their way into the 21st century and are as present in people’s lives now as they ever have been.

Another factor that needs to be pointed out, and which is central to this study, is the establishment of English as the present-day *lingua franca*. This is a current that has been going for quite a long time now. Furthermore, the explosion of the Internet as a mass phenomenon has definitely contributed to its shaping, spreading and acceptance by non-native speakers as such. A distinction that must be noted, though, is that if in the Middle Ages and the modern period, Latin was the language of culture, knowledge, and learning, in present-day society English is not only important in those fields, it has also become the language of entertainment.

This can be proven by the success of many means of entertainment in English that are enjoyed by audiences and users all around the world. Some examples of this have been explained but the global success of other industries of mostly English-speaking origin, such as the film or the video-game industries, which may be just as fruitful for a paremiological analysis.

As has been hinted, similar to the vast number of monographic studies on the use of proverbs by certain literary authors,²⁷ there are new forms of entertainment that will prove valuable for paremiological analyses, and which must be encouraged in order to have a broader scope and a more accurate view of how proverbs are used in different situations and through the employment of different means.

In the present paper two different media, each with its peculiarities, have been discussed in their relation to the use of proverbs, showing that they may both be good sources for paremiological research and that they are already invaluable vehicles for the transmission of proverbial knowledge across languages.

Notes:

¹ For scholarship on the use of proverbs in Drama see Marsh (1863), Falk (1967), Dent (1981), Wilson (1994), Oncins Martínez (1996; 2005; 2012), Castillo Blanco (1998), Sánchez García (1999; 2008), Bryan & Mieder (2004), Breiteneder (2007), or Doyle (2007).

² A clear example is the repeated use of the proverb “Blood is thicker than water” (ODEP: 69) by Nucky Thompson in *Boardwalk Empire* (see A Return to Normalcy and Under God's Power She Flourishes).

³ As can be seen in the following excerpt:

CHARLENE Well, we should've guessed that was gonna happen.

ARCHER Uh We should've?

CHARLENE Well, or at least could've.

ARCHER I mean Yeah, I guess a leopard can't change his spots.

CHARLENE Uh I don't know that much about leopards. ARCHER That was actually a proverb.

CHARLENE That was actually a tiger.

Reed, A. (Writer), & (Director). (14 Apr. 2014). Archer Vice: Filibuster. In Reed, A., & Thompson, M. Producers) *Archer*. Irving, TX: FX.

⁴ Gionfriddo, G., Willimon, B. (Writers), & Coulter, A. (Director). (1 Feb. 2013). Chapter 12 (Television series episode). In D. Fincher et al. (Producers) *House of Cards*. Los Gatos, CA: Netflix.

⁵ J. P. Heming Yong (2007; p. 189) explains that the Chinese version of this proverb has arrow as the default projectile and that “[w]hen the English idiom *kill two birds with one stone* is translated into Chinese, *stone* will have to be translated to *arrow*.”

⁶ See García, Cieślicka, & Heredia (2015: p. 124)

⁷ Martin, G. R. R. (Writer), & Marshall, N. (Director). (27 May 2012). *Blackwater*. In Benioff, D. et al. (Producers) *Game of Thrones*. New York, NY: HBO.

⁸ Hirst, M (Writer), & Woolnough, J. (Director). (27 Mar. 2014). *Answers in Blood*. In Hirst, M. et al. (Producers) *Vikings*. New York, NY: History Channel.

⁹ Cf. Whiting (1932: p. 302), Gallacher (1949: p. 47), Arnaud (1991: p. 22), Corpas Pastor (1996: p. 137), Mieder (1996: p. 507), or Dobrovolskij & Piirainen (2005: p. 51).

¹⁰ Taylor, V. (Writer), & Minahan, D. (Director). (7 Apr. 2013). *Dark Wings, Dark Words*. In Benioff, D. et al. (Producers) *Game of Thrones*. New York, NY: HBO.

¹¹ Levitan, R., Richman, J. (Writers), & Koch, C. (Director). (23 Mar. 2011). *Boys’ Night*. In (Producers) *Modern Family*. New York, NY: ABC.

¹² Tracey, J. (Writer), & Ferland, G. (Director). (21 Nov. 2013). *On the Line*. In Doherty, R. et al. (Producers) *Elementary*. New York, NY: CBS.

¹³ Gilligan, V. (Writer), & Cranston, B. (Director). (21 Mar. 2010). *No más*. In Gilligan, V., Johnson, M., & MacLaren, M. (Producers) *Breaking Bad*. New York, NY: AMC.

¹⁴ Moses, I. (Writer), & White, S. (Director). (9 Oct. 2011). *A Dangerous Maid*. In Winter, T. et al. (Producers) *Boardwalk Empire*. New York, NY: HBO.

¹⁵ See footnote 3.

¹⁶ King, T., Brookshier, L., Banks, S. (Writers), & Yasumi, T. (Director). (30 Sep. 2005). *Funny Pants*. In Hillenburg, S., & Tibbitt, P. (Producers) *SpongeBob Squarepants*. New York, NY: Nickelodeon.

¹⁷ Willimon, B. (Writer), & Coulter, A. (Director). (1 Feb. 2013). Chapter 13 (Television series episode). In D. Fincher et al. (Producers) *House of Cards*. Los Gatos, CA: Netflix.

¹⁸ Dawkins, 1976, pp. 189-201.

¹⁹ *Merriam-Webster Dictionary and Thesaurus*. <<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/meme?show=0&t=1394126478>> March 6, 2014.

²⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary*. <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/239909?redirectedFrom=meme&>> 6 Mar. 2015

²¹ “Meme.” *Oxford Dictionaries*. Oxford University Press, n.d. Web. 06 Mar. 2015. <<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/meme>>

²² See Barsanti Vigo (2006).

²³ See <http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/popular and successive>.

²⁴ Cf. the following links:

<http://9gag.com/gag/am855Qd>

<http://9gag.com/gag/aLQDyKg>

<http://9gag.com/gag/ag00pXx>

<http://9gag.com/gag/amXAze2>

<http://9gag.com/gag/abbvYGp>

<http://9gag.com/gag/1268903>

<http://9gag.com/gag/4481727>

²⁵ See Yankah (1994), Mieder (2004, p. 1; 2007a, p. 39; 2007b, p. 394), Dundes (2007, p. 268), Norrick (2007, p. 381), among others.

²⁶ See Strauss (1994; 1998), Morvay (1996), Paczolay (1997), Flonta (2002), BABUŠYTĚ (2004), Piirainen (2005; 2010; 2012), Zolobova (2005), Mieder (2010), or Oncins Martínez (2010) among others.

²⁷ See footnote 1 and also Whiting (1973); Ross (1987); Castillo de Lucas (1996); Abrahams & Babcock (1997); Estévez Molinero (1999), Sevilla Muñoz, Cantera Ortiz de Urbina, & Sevilla Muñoz (2005); Barsanti Vigo (2006); Baranov & Dobrovolskij (2007); Mieder (2007a); García Romero (2008); Mason Bradbury (2008); Rodríguez Valle (2008); or Rodríguez Martín (2011) among many others.

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Luis J. Tosina Fernández
C/ Blasco de Garay 42, 2º derecho
28015 Madrid
Spain
E-mail: luistosina@gmail.com

DAMIEN VILLERS AND WOLFGANG MIEDER

TIME IS MONEY: BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND THE
VEXING PROBLEM OF PROVERB ORIGINS

Abstract: This article is an investigation of the origins and the dissemination of *Time is money*, which is commonly but erroneously attributed to Benjamin Franklin. Online tools and corpora are used to uncover the British origins of the proverb, as well as possible models for its coinage. The combination of concordance tools and a theoretical framework for “proverb genesis” allows for discoveries on the stages of its birth, as well as on their chronology. Special attention is paid to the role Franklin played in the propagation of the proverb, and therefore its American birth.

Keywords: American, Benjamin Franklin, British, coinage, creation, propagation, proverb origins, proverbiogenesis.

1. The obscure origins of “Time is money”

Identifying the origins of specific proverbs is among the most difficult tasks for scholars and paremiologists, if not a wild-goose chase. Taylor (1934: 10) and Mieder (2015: 29) famously called such attempts “an idle task” and “an especially vexing problem”. *Time is money* is no exception. Many renowned dictionaries, including Bartlett Jere Whiting’s *Early American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (1977: 441), Julia Cresswell’s *Oxford Dictionary of Word Origins* (2010: 447), and Wolfgang Mieder’s *1250 authentisch amerikanische Sprichwörter* (2015: 230) claim this proverb was coined by Benjamin Franklin in the following extract, taken from *Advice to a Young Tradesman* (1748):

Remember that Time is Money. He that can earn Ten Shillings a Day by his Labour, and goes abroad, or sits idle one half of that Day, tho’ he spends but Sixpence during his Diversion or Idleness, ought not to reckon

That the only Expenſe; he has really ſpent or rather thrown away Five Shillings beſides.

Remember that Credit is Money. If a Man lets his Money lie in my Hands after it is due, he gives me the Inter-eſt, or ſo much as I can make of it during that Time. This amounts to a conſiderable Sum where a Man has good and large Credit, and makes good Uſe of it. (Labaree 1961: III, 306)

Similarly, in the minds of many Americans, Franklin is the inventor of many proverbs, including *Time is money* and especially *Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise* (Mieder 1993 and 2004: 17-180). This association can be found in numerous books, forums, and even advertisements (cf. appendix; *Time*, 18 August 1975: 29). However, evidence has recently surfaced, pointing to an older source. A search on Google Books shows that the proverb already appeared in an article of the London-based newspaper *Free Thinker* from 18 May 1719. The article was later republished in 1723 and 1739 compilations that were recently digitised and now offer valuable data that prove that Benjamin Franklin, who lived and worked in London as a typesetter in 1725, “borrowed” the proverb. Indeed, one may notice a few similarities between the article and one of Franklin’s notorious almanacs:

<i>Free Thinker</i> , 1719 (vol. 3, no. 121, 18 May, p. 128)	<i>Poor Richard's Almanack</i> , 1751 (Labaree 1961: IV, 86-87)
Since our Time is reduced to a Standard, and the Bullion of the Day is minted out into Hours; the Industrious know how to employ every Piece of Time to a real Advantage, in their different Professions: And he, that is Prodigal of his Hours, is (in Effect) a Squanderer of Money. I remember to have heard of a notable Woman, who was	Since our Time is reduced to a Standard, and the Bullion of the Day minted out into Hours, the Industrious know how to employ every Piece of Time to a real Advantage in their different Professions: And he that is prodigal of his Hours, is, in effect, a Squanderer of Money. I remember a notable Woman, who was

<p>thoroughly sensible of the intrinsick Value of Time: Her Husband was a Shoe-maker, and an excellent Crafts-man; but never minded how the Minutes passed. In vain did his Wife inculcate to him, That Time is Money. He had too much Wit to apprehend her; and he cursed the Parish-Clock, every Night; which at last brought him to his Ruin. One Night, when the poor Woman sent the Prentice to call him home from the Ale-House; he asked, What a-Clock it was? Twelve, answers the Boy: Go then (says the Master) and bid my Wife be easy; <i>it can never be more</i>. After an Hour's Patience, she sent again: What a-Clock now, Child? <i>One</i>, Sir. That's a good Boy; once more, go and desire my Wife to be comforted <i>it can never be less</i>.</p>	<p>fully sensible of the intrinsic Value of <i>Time</i>. Her Husband was a Shoemaker, and an excellent Craftsman, but never minded how the Minutes passed. In vain did she inculcate to him <i>That Time is Money</i>. He had too much Wit to apprehend her, and it prov'd his Ruin. When at the Alehouse among his idle Companions, if one remark'd that the Clock struck Eleven. <i>What is that</i>, says he, <i>among us all?</i> If she sent him Word by the Boy, that it had stuck Twelve; <i>Tell her to be easy, it can never be more</i>. If, that it had struck One, <i>Bid her be comforted, for it can never be less</i>."</p> <p>(Labaree 1961: 86-87)</p>
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As the table shows, the proverb and the whole extract were almost copied and pasted from the *Free Thinker* with very few modifications. At that time, almanac writers were often “sticky-fingered” and Franklin was no exception, as reported by Keyes (1992: 30). He is even considered a “serial plagiarist” by Lynch (2002: 51), who notes, however, that such a practice was very common and “almost the norm” before the first copyright laws in 1783. Franklin himself considered that “borrowing” was in the best interest of his readers, as he explained in the preface to his 1747 almanac: “Why then should I give my Readers bad lines of my own, when good Ones of other People’s are so plenty?”. This point of view, along with his desire to spread wisdom, may explain the impressive number of proverbs in his almanacs: Mieder

(1993: 98) counted 1044 of them, many of which were attributed to Franklin. In fact, the vast majority of these proverbs already existed before Franklin's almanacs (cf. Gallacher 1949, Newcomb 1957, Barbour 1974, Mieder 1993), which the author himself admitted in *The Way to Wealth* (1758):

The frequent mention he [an old priest] made of me must have tired any one else; but my vanity was wonderfully delighted with it, though I was conscious that not a tenth part of the wisdom was my own, which he ascribed to me, but rather the gleanings that I had made of the sense of all ages and nations.

The origins of such “gleanings” are the object of study in the PhD dissertation by Robert Newcomb (1957), but unfortunately, no mention is made to *Time is money* in it. Thus, this proverb is only one among the many¹ sayings that were erroneously attributed to Franklin.

More importantly, one may wonder if the proverb was coined by the author of the *Free Thinker* article, or if the “notable woman” it mentions really existed. The italics in the extract are no help as they are used in the newspaper not only for quotations, but also for proper names, key notions, and emphasis. Therefore, it is technically impossible to establish with certainty who the real author of the proverb is. It is however possible to verify if the formula was current before the article was published. To do so, online corpora may be of help, especially *Google Books*, which is the only online corpus that contains material from the 18th century (from 1500 to today). A case-insensitive search for the proverb in the 155 billion word corpus shows that apart from the *Free Thinker* and Franklin's works, the proverb did not appear until 1793, in an essay that quotes Franklin's words. Similarly, smaller corpora do not contain any match before 1860 (Hansard) and 1840 (COHA). Until more sources from that period are digitised, the most logical conclusion is that the proverb was either coined by the author of the article or by the “notable woman”, provided she existed.

However, there is still doubt and it is possible that the volume of data is insufficient. Indeed, the only corpus with data from the 18th century is Google Books, and due to its size, it may encounter difficulty extracting specific strings of words. For in-

stance, *Time is Money* is – at least on 6 January 2017 – no longer found by Google Books for the period from 1700 to 1750, although it should be a match with the *Free Thinker*, and despite a frequency peak in its N-gram viewer for 1712. This clear lack – or variability – of precision shows that no conclusion is certain. Furthermore, an analysis of all the matches in the online corpora reveals intriguing comments. In a speech given in 1891 at the House of Commons, Sir William Dyke called *Time is money* “one of the oldest sayings in this country” (Hansard corpus). Such a statement leaves us to wonder whether the English politician was overestimating the age of the proverb or not, as 172 years could hardly have been considered that old (for a proverb). In any case, another early British reference has now been found in *The London Chronicle*, vol. 10 (August 15, 1761), p. 164: “I shall conclude this paper with putting the reader in mind of a well known maxim in trade and law, extremely applicable to us in our present situation, ‘That time is money.’”

2. “*Time is money*” as the result of mutation

Several dictionaries, like the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Wilson 1970: 823), the *Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs* (Speake 2015: 319), the *Dictionary of Proverbs and their Origins* (Flavell 2016: 236), and the *Wordsworth Dictionary of Proverbs* (Apperson 2006: 581) claim the proverb existed as early as in 1572 (Wilson’s *A Discourse upon Usury*) or 1607 (Bacon’s *Essays*), and even in 430 B.C in the ancient works of Antiphon. In fact, the items listed for such dates are not *Time is money* but respectively *Tyme is precious*, *Tyme is the measure of businesse as money is of wares*, and *The most costly outlay is time*. Although these proverbs all have in common the value of time, it is quite apparent that their standard meanings differ from that of *Time is money*, as well as their key lexical elements, making it difficult to claim they are variants of the same proverb (like *The early bird gets / catches the worm*). There is, however, a real possibility that *Time is money* was born from, or inspired by one of these proverbs. While it is quite unlikely that the second proverb (or rather the literal translation of an Ancient Greek proverb) had any direct impact, one might be tempted to speculate that it surfaced as the lexical condensation of *Tyme is the measure of businesse as mon-*

ey is of wares, or even as the phonological deformation of the French proverb *Le Terme vaut l'argent*².

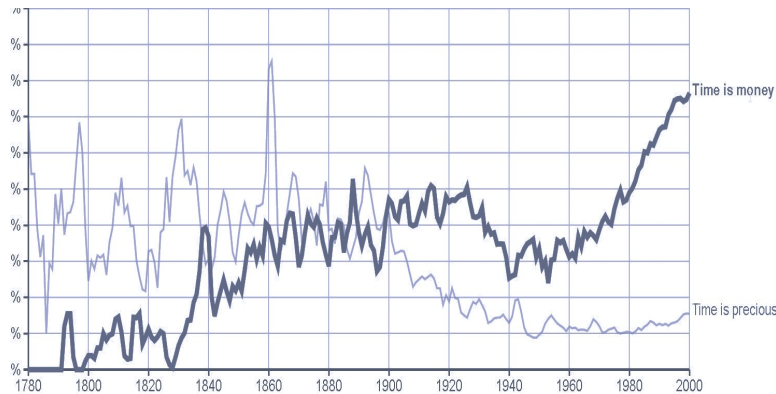


Figure 1: N-gram comparison of *Time is money* (dark grey) and *Time is precious* (light grey).

A much more likely candidate, however, is *Time is precious*. It is not only the closest in terms of surface structure but it also has a very close meaning, even if it refers to the value of time in a more general manner than the mercantile *Time is money*. Besides, *money* may be used figuratively (or metonymically³) to refer to valuable things, making the proverbs potentially synonymous. Finally, *Time is precious* was the only synonymous proverb that was current and common before the birth of its profit-oriented “sibling”, as online corpora show. A quick look at the raw data from the Google Books N-gram viewer confirms this possibility (cf. figure 1). The frequency curves, which represent the number of hits for the proverbs in the Google Books corpus, indicate that *Time is precious* was indeed current long before *Time is money* and that it was superseded by the latter in the 20th century, after a period of coexistence. This coexistence may even be seen as a competition, as the existence of two proverbs with similar meanings lowers their chances of survival. Even if *Time is precious* is not completely obsolete, it turned out that *Time is money* was fitter than its less profit-oriented counterpart, probably because it was more useful and pertinent in our increasingly mercantile society.

3. *Franklin's role in the genesis of "Time is money"*

Even though Franklin did not coin the proverb as many dictionaries claim, it is equally inaccurate to conclude that he did not play a role in its birth. Indeed, proverb genesis may be seen as a process that consists of five obligatory stages (cf. Villers 2015, 2016): induction, coinage, exposure, dissemination, and origin obscuration. Thus, an idea is formulated due to particular circumstances (induction) and then takes concrete form (coinage). It is then exposed, via a propagating agent (a book, a film, a song, an advert, an Internet meme, etc.), to a sufficient number of speakers who can start using and propagating it (dissemination). If the proverb candidate is fit⁴ enough, it is memorised and used by an increasing number of users while its creator is progressively forgotten by a large part of the speech community (origin obscuration). Therefore, it should be stressed that in the selective process of proverb genesis, the exposure phase is essential, the same way a flame or a spark is essential to start a fire. In the case of *Time is money*, one may naturally wonder if Franklin and his works acted as that "spark". Online corpora may bring answers as to the exposure and dissemination phases, for instance through the number of concordances for the proverb in written sources.

Corpus name (corpus.byu.edu)	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880
Hansard Corpus (British parliament, 1.6 billion words)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Corpus of Historical American English (400 million words)	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	5	5	9
Google Books N-gram, USA (155 billion words, from 1500 to 2000)	1	9	18	33	123	132	221	217	247	386

Google Books N-gram, UK (34 billion words, from 1500 to 2000)	0	2	8	14	77	50	119	110	113	136
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Thus, the first concordance is the *Free Thinker* in 1723 (originally 1719), although it is no longer detected by the N-gram. Franklin's *Advice to a Young Tradesman* (1748) and *Poor Richard's Almanack* (1751) are not detected by Google Books either (at least not their first editions), but the proverb appears in numerous reprints after his death (1793, 1803, 1806, etc.). The first concordances that do not refer to Franklin's books or the *Free Thinker* correspond to the period between 1810 and 1820, with the newly found exception from 1761 that has been mentioned above. All of this shows that online corpora are not as complete as one might think:

- “It was a memorable observation of our illustrious Franklin, that ‘Time is money’. The importance of a proper disposition...” (1814, *The Stranger: A Literary Paper*)
- “It is impossible to convince them, that *time is money*. They do not set a value upon their own time, and they think that others estimate theirs...” (1815, *Castle Rackwell*)
- “A horse [...] can perform double the amount of labor with the same expenditure [...] and hence for traveling purposes should be of double the value, because, time is money”. (1819, *The American Farmer*).

This increase in frequency seems to suggest that the actual propagation (or “dissemination”) started several decades after the publication of Franklin's works, leaving us to wonder whether they could have been propagating agents after so much time. However, as mentioned above, his works were reprinted several times after his death, and his name is found in many concordances (also in German; see Steyer 2012: 296), as with the 1814 paper cited above. Overall, almost one third of the concordances from 1810 to 1850 contain the names “Franklin” or “poor Richard” (the ratio is lower nowadays⁵). Furthermore, these names

are the only ones mentioned alongside the proverb, which shows that Franklin's works were indeed the main propagating agents of *Time is money* in the United States. This corpus-based approach confirms what Mieder (1993: 126-127) claimed: "He [Franklin] invented or coined barely any proverbs, but he popularized them to such an extent that some of them [...] came to be attached to his name". Unfortunately, the concordances in British sources do not point to any famous user or author, not even Franklin. Two contradictory conclusions can thus be drawn. On the one hand, it is possible to argue that Franklin might still have been the source of propagation in Britain. In this case, the fact that his name does not appear in British sources might be explained by an insufficient volume of data and British resentment, more precisely the reluctance to credit one of the founding fathers of the United States. On the other hand, it is equally possible to claim that Franklin's name does not appear in the corpora simply because the proverb was already long established in Britain thanks to a less notorious propagating agent.

In terms of dissemination, some of the concordances contain useful information that can be used as landmarks for the genesis process, such as the statement cited from 1761 and this comment by William Charles Jarvis in an essay for *The Republican* from 1820: "Indeed in a national point of view, time is money, and the truth of the proverb has been particularly illustrated by all wise nations". Thus, it appears that the proverb was fairly established by at least 1820, and was also described as a "proverb" in concordances from 1831, 1854, 1861, 1873 ("an old proverb"), etc. Moreover, the various corpora show that in 1815 and the following years, the proverb was used as a general principle, hence its frequent use in clauses introduced by *as*, *for*, *because*, or *remember* (e.g. "because time is money"). Overall, it appears that almost a century passed between its first attested use and its written spread beyond the two references from Franklin. It is very likely that the proverb was used orally before this written spread, but it is difficult to evaluate how many months or years before. This may seem a lot compared to what is needed for the propagation of modern proverbs in the Internet Age (cf. Mieder 2015: 44, Villers 2015: 406-411). However, on British soil, this process seems to have taken place considerably faster. As for Franklin's death, it is unclear whether it accelerated the process but it

certainly had an impact on it. In a sense, this posthumous proverbialisation might be seen as homage to a man who was fond of proverbs.

Conclusion

If we summarise what we know about *Time is money*, we may say that the proverb has British origins and predates Franklin's works by at least decades. It is likely to have been derived from a similar proverb – *Time is precious* – which it superseded in both American and British English in the early 20th century. Online tools and corpora have allowed us to reach more certain conclusions: first of all, the proverb (or proverb “candidate”) started spreading and being used in the United States during the second decade of the 19th century, shortly after Franklin's death; secondly, it is safe to say that Franklin's works (including their reprints) were the main source of propagation (or main “propagating agents”) in the United States. Therefore, even though Franklin did not coin the proverb and actually plagiarised a whole paragraph from a 1719 British article, he is nevertheless responsible for its birth in the United States, as he provided it with the publicity that allowed it to propagate. On the contrary, the genesis of the proverb in Britain is surrounded by mystery due to insufficient data, but it seems to have spread much earlier in Britain. More digitised books and other publications from the relevant period are still needed to complete this fascinating story. Time will tell.

Appendix:

TIME IS MONEY.
-Benjamin Franklin

SO IS PAPER.
-Pitney Bowes

The faster the paper goes out, the faster the money comes in.
 We said that, too.

And we make the systems that can back it up. Machines that work together to accurately fold and insert your statements, head-up your invoices, copy and collate your reports, endorse and sign your checks, address your envelopes, compute your postage, seal, meter stamp, stack, even open your mail, all at high speed.


So if you're thinking this is no time to put company money into anything, think again. About all the expensive, time-consuming, error-prone work your people won't have to get bogged down in any more.

And what keeps your people from getting bogged down, keeps your business from getting bogged down.

The first step is to call a Pitney Bowes expert. He'll give your paperhandling a free diagnosis, tell you where your logjams are happening, and recommend a system that will clear them out and speed up your paperflow to what it should be.

We've been speeding up paperflow all over the world ever since we invented the metered mailing system over fifty years ago.

For full information, write us. Pitney Bowes, 240 Pacific Street, Stamford, Conn. 06904, or call one of our 190 offices throughout the U.S. and Canada.

Notes

¹ Another famous example is *Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise*. Its true origins are discussed in Mieder (1993).

² This French proverb, literally “The term is worth the money”, is given as the equivalent of *Time is money* by Stevenson (1948: 2318; see also Hassell 1982: 236). However, its meaning is quite different and suggests that waiting is worth it and may allow the debtor to save money, not waste money.

³ This hypemymy was already present in the early stages of the proverb’s genesis, as reported by John Stoddart in his *Philosophy of Language* (1854): “When we say ‘Time is money’ [...] we suppose the term money to be employed symbolically as a genus [...] we regard time as a species of that genus”. However, this figurative and non-pecuniary meaning appeared only in a minority of cases between 1810 and 1850, as it does nowadays, judging from the concordances in corpora such as GloWbE or NOW (corpus.byu.edu).

⁴ This term was inspired by the phrase “survival of the fittest”, but also by the notion of “meme fitness” (cf. Heylighen 1999) in memetics, which refers to the chances of a cultural unit (“meme”) to replicate from one host to another. In the case of proverbs, propagation depends to various degrees on criteria such as usefulness, concision, clarity, stylistic markers, and the scope of its propagating agent(s). However, if its creator is too famous, he or she will not be completely forgotten, as with Franklin. If the author is not forgotten at all by the speech community during the genesis process, then the resulting phraseme is a famous quotation or what some phraseologists call a “winged word”.

⁵ For instance, on GloWbE (a 1.9 billion word corpus of Internet English), only 6 out of 588 concordances contain a reference to Franklin while the proportion is 5 out of 660 on NOW (a 2.6 billion word corpus of news articles). The proverb is more commonly referred to as a “saying”, a “proverb”, or an “adage” in these corpora. This data suggests that *Time is money* is significantly less associated with Franklin nowadays, but also that the latter is not completely forgotten by the speech community.

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Damien Villers
Department of English
University of Toulouse – Jean Jaurès
5 allée Antonio Machado
31058 Toulouse
France
E-mail: damien.villers@univ-tlse2.fr

Wolfgang Mieder
Department of German and Russian
422 Waterman Building
University of Vermont
85 South Prospect Street
Burlington, Vermont 05405
USA
E-mail: Wolfgang.Mieder@uvm.edu

ROSEMARIE GLÄSER

A TRIBUTE TO ANTHONY PAUL COWIE

(19th June 1931 – 22nd November 2015)

British Lexicographer – Lexicologist – Phraseologist and Foreign Language Teacher

WorldCat Identities identifies Anthony Paul Cowie as author of publications of Oxford University Press. In the first place, WorldCat Identities lists the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. This most influential dictionary, originally a joint project of A.S. Hornby and A.P. Cowie, reached “250 editions published between 1963 and 2000 in 4 languages and held by 1,948 WorldCat member libraries worldwide”. It was constantly updated, enlarged and finally edited by A.P. Cowie after A.S. Hornby's death.

The centre of Cowie's extensive work as a lexicologist and phraseologist (both as a researcher and a dictionary compiler) – and to no lesser degree as a lecturer with world-wide connections – was the School of English at the University of Leeds. Born on 19th June 1931 at Catterick, North Yorkshire, he attended The Harvey Grammar School. He showed an early interest in languages and literature as well as in the arts.. Between 1952 and 1955 he studied Romance languages (French, Italian, Spanish) at Lincoln College, University of Oxford. He continued his studies at London University, Institute of Education, which he completed with the Postgraduate Certificate in Education in 1956. The next stage of his academic training was the University of Edinburgh, Department of Applied Linguistics, where he came into contact with Ronald Mackin, the later co-author of his phraseological dictionaries. He achieved the Postgraduate Diploma in Applied Linguistics (with distinction) in 1964, and in 1965 he received his M.A. at Oxford University.

A.P. Cowie's academic career was interspersed with periods of language teaching, both in Britain and abroad. But finally he became permanently linked with the University of Leeds. Be-

tween 1964 and 1966 he was Temporary Lecturer in English Language and General Linguistics at the School of English; between 1966 and 1976 Lecturer in Modern English Language and 1976–1992 Senior Lecturer in Modern English Language. From 1992 onwards he was Reader in Lexicography.

Throughout his working life at Leeds University, A.P. Cowie was a restless lexicologist, lexicographer and language teacher. In the position of an Educational Officer he was an English lecturer in the Western Region of Nigeria (1956–1960), where he represented the British Council in 1963/64. Since the late 1970s he received numerous invitations from European and Asian universities to give guest lectures at English Seminars. These journeys widened his own teaching experience in ELT, gave him many insights into the foreign language teaching situation in African countries (e.g. Uganda and Cameroon) and were an extraordinary accumulation of exotic cultural impressions. He visited Japan (Tokyo, Hiroshima), China, Hong Kong, and Korea. He gave guest lectures in Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands (Amsterdam and Maastricht), Sweden, Belgium, Norway and (West) Germany.

But A.P. Cowie also undertook lecture tours to Eastern European countries “behind the Iron Curtain”, at a time of political tensions. Thus, he visited Poland (Poznan) and Romania (Bucharest) and also cooperated with lexicographers in the USSR in connection with a special edition of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* by the Russian Language Publishers, Moscow.

In this respect, he acted as a bridge-builder. In the early 1970s, Tony Cowie (as he was known to his colleagues and friends) made an attempt to establish contacts between the Universities of Leeds and Leipzig on a departmental level, notably by cooperation between the Centre of General and Applied Linguistics, especially the Division (Department) of Translation Studies at the University of Leipzig and the School of English at Leeds University. This contact led to some temporary visits of select students and staff members from the English and Translation Studies Department in Leipzig to their partners in Leeds. And, in return, there were student and faculty visits from the School of English. On the German side, the main problem was

the shortage of foreign currency, since the East German currency ostmark was only convertible into Russian rubles.

After several futile attempts to be included in this exchange scheme as an English philologist working on phraseology and ESP text analysis, I finally received the permission of East German authorities to accept an invitation to guest lectures in Leeds, linked with a stay at London and Edinburgh in autumn 1973. I am most grateful to Tony Cowie for providing this opportunity and for his kind hospitality. And six years later, I had another chance of giving lectures on phraseology at Leeds University when I had already embarked on writing a course book on this subject for German University students. I owe Tony Cowie valuable material from his dictionaries and professional advice for my book *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache*. VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie Leipzig 1986, licensed edition Max Niemeyer Verlag Tübingen 1986.

As a lexicographer, A.P. Cowie focused his work on two areas: first and foremost, on general dictionaries of present-day English, starting with the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, a joint publication by A.S. Hornby, A.P. Cowie and J.W. Lewis, Oxford University Press, 1974.

Some years later, A.P. Cowie became the chief editor of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's English-Chinese Dictionary* (based on the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, fourth edition). The Chinese equivalent appeared at Oxford University Press and Commercial Press in Oxford and Beijing in 1994.

In 1999 A.P. Cowie published a separate volume on *English Dictionaries for Foreign Learners: A History* (Oxford Clarendon Press), a survey of the development of monolingual dictionaries since the 1930s. The paperback edition of this book had a Chinese imprint in 2002 and a Japanese translation in 2003.

A.P. Cowie's next monograph, *Semantics (Oxford Introductions to Language Study)*, appeared at Oxford University Press in 2009 and was followed by a Chinese imprint in 2012. Being aware of the research tradition in British lexicography, Tony Cowie honoured his close co-operator and long-time friend A.S. Hornby by editing a Special Issue of the *International Journal of Lexicography* entitled *A.S. Hornby 1898–1998: Commemorative Issue*. Oxford University Press 1998.

Also worth mentioning are international conferences on lexicography in which A.P. Cowie had an essential share. He was the plenary speaker at the Inaugurate Conference of the European Association for Lexicography (EURALEX) at the University of Exeter in September 1983. In April 1985 A.P. Cowie organized the Seminar on 'The Dictionary and the Language Learner' at the University of Leeds.

The second area of extensive lexicological research in which A.P. Cowie wrote books that pointed the way for later generations of linguists, was phraseology. He initiated the two introductory dictionaries on English Idioms and Phrases that provided a standard compendium for phraseologists, and especially for foreign language learners. The joint work of three authors bore lasting fruit: A.P. Cowie and R. Mackin, *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English. Volume I. Verbs with Prepositions and Particles*. London: Oxford University Press 1975, and A.P. Cowie, R. Mackin and J.R. McCaig, *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English. Volume II. Phrase, Clause and Sentence Idioms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1983. Both dictionaries had several editions throughout the 1980s. The 13th edition of Volume II appeared in 2009.

In these unique reference books, the authors offer the user a thorough linguistic introduction, both as a theoretical foundation and the practical application. This regards the structural properties, the connotations (stylistic colouring), the cultural background and the situational context of idioms and (sentence) phrases, illustrated by authentic examples from written sources.

In the Introduction to the first edition of Volume II (1983), A.P. Cowie and his associates outline the scope of this dictionary and the type of idioms considered. As a broader concept, sentence idioms also include proverbs (*the early bird catches the worm; when/while the cat's away, the mice will play; like son, like father*), sayings (*one lives and learns; no news is good news; the coast is clear*), catchphrases (*the buck stops here; you don't say (so)! No names, no pack-drill*) and quotations (*no man is an island; all men are created equal*).

As an experienced language teacher, A.P. Cowie emphasized the importance of idioms for developing a foreign learner's linguistic competence and performance in present-day English.

In addition to his lexicological and phraseological ground work, A.P. Cowie followed current issues in these fields by attending international conferences, or by stimulating an exchange of ideas on special occasions. Thus, in April 1994, together with Peter Howarth, he organized the ‘International Symposium on Phraseology’ at the University of Leeds and acted as plenary speaker. It was a happy experience that this venue was attended by quite a number of participants from the former USSR who now were fortunate to travel freely, just as I was after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War. And two years later, in April 1996, Tony Cowie was a plenary speaker at the ‘Second International Symposium on Phraseology’. It was held at the Lomonossow Moscow State University. At this conference, I experienced Tony Cowie as a lively and competent speaker at the plenary sessions and in the discussions, but also as a very sociable person at an evening get-together. Thus, for our enjoyment he suggested a joint recital from memory of English poetry – he started himself by setting an astounding example, and some of us followed suit. Although it was a marginal episode of this phraseological symposium, this heart-warming evening with English poems in a Russian environment was an unforgettable experience.

The proceedings of the Leeds conference appeared under the title *Phraseology: Theory, Analysis, and Applications*. Ed. by A.P. Cowie, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1998. Its Paperback edition of 2001 was issued as Japanese translation in 2009.

Most remarkable as a new perspective is the editor’s concluding article on “Phraseological Dictionaries: Some East-West Comparisons”. It provides a well-founded synopsis of the work done by earlier and present lexicographers in the United Kingdom and in Russia as well as in the former Soviet Union.

Also worth mentioning is A.P. Cowie’s visit to Israel in February 2000. In June 2001 he was the plenary speaker at the International Workshop of the European Association for Phraseology and Paremiology, ‘New Perspectives and Research Fields’, held in Ascona, Switzerland.

In the following years, A.P. Cowie took responsibility on the Advisory Council of the European Society for Phraseology and also served on the Editorial Board of *Cahiers de lexicologie*. In

the years 1998–2002 he was the editor of the *International Journal of Lexicography*.

Throughout his life, Tony Cowie was a prolific academic worker. The list of his books (both co-authored and independent titles) and articles, as well as of his lecture and conference tours is impressive. No less important is the survey of his functions on boards of international associations and councils. He received numerous academic distinctions from national boards and councils. However, one is tempted to wonder why this list does not include any honorary doctorate from an overseas university where he did most valuable ground work.

Tony Cowie was not only a competent linguist, he was also a warm-hearted language teacher and outgoing towards his students in foreign countries and cultures. He was always unselfish, generous, and co-operative. In his cultural outlook and teaching experience he was truly a world citizen, but at the same time in his heart he remained a true Yorkshire man.

In his family, together with his wife Bernadette and his three children whom the couple had adopted as orphans from Manizales in Columbia and brought to their home in Leeds in 1982, he found intense happiness and intellectual energy. It was also this homely atmosphere that inspired him to write private and often intimate poems. A few of his lyrical texts were recited by his children at the service of his funeral on 9th December 2015, in Oakwood Church in Leeds.

Tony Cowie will be remembered by his colleagues and friends with high esteem and gratitude.

Rosemarie Gläser
Am Staffelstein 6
01328 Dresden
Germany
Tel./Fax: +49(0)351 266 66 59

WOLFGANG MIEDER

ARVO KRIKMANN (21 July 1939 – 27 February 2017)

It is with much sadness that the international community of paremiologists received the news that one of its very best passed away on February 27, 2017, at Tartu, Estonia. Arvo Krikmann was a giant among the world's folklorists and paremiologists, and he will most certainly be dearly missed. His scholarly accomplishments are legendary, of course, but he will also be remembered as one of the kindest colleagues among all of us. My personal friendship with this great man, who used to give me strong bearhugs whenever we met at Tartu, Tallinn, Tavira, and elsewhere in Europe, meant the world to me, and it is so very difficult for me to come to terms with his departure. There are so many of my paremiological heroes who have predeceased me – Archer Taylor, Grigorii L'vovich Permiakov, Démétrios Loukatos, Matti Kuusi, Kazys Grigas, Alan Dundes, Lutz Röhrich, and others – and I must admit that while I remember them all fondly I also feel ever lonelier as my own life continues to advance towards its end.

I still remember celebrating Arvo Krikmann's seventy-fifth birthday when we honored him with volume 31 (2014) of *Proverbiuum* as a very special *Festschrift* on that occasion on July 21, 2014 (see my laudation on pp. 1-10). I also published a tribute to my dear friend with the fitting title "Friends, Though Absent, Are Still Present," *Folklore* (Tartu), 58 (2014), 209-212. But the most telling account of our special friendship can be found in our moving correspondence that I edited about two years before his death: "Old Friends Are Best! Epistolary Highlights Between the Paremiologists Arvo Krikmann and Wolfgang Mieder," in Anneli Baran, Liisi Laineste, and Piret Voolaid (eds.), *Scala Naturae. Festschrift in Honour of Arvo Krikmann for His 75th Birthday* (Tartu: ELM Scholarly Press, 2014), pp. 17-56. These letters are not only a testimony of our lasting friendship, but they also show how much such friendships mean among scholars beyond any

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borders and distances. Friendships are the humane side of research that add emotion and compassion to the scholarly world.

There were other tributes to Arvo Krikmann on his big birthday, and there is no need to repeat those words as well as my own here at great length. Suffice it to say that the Estonian folklorist and academician Arvo Krikmann was born on July 21, 1939, in the village of Pudivere in the small Baltic country of Estonia. By the time his incredibly productive life ended on February 27, 2017, at Tartu, he had earned himself a distinguished place in the hall of fame of international folkloristics. He graduated from the Department of Estonian Philology of Tartu University in 1962. From 1962-1969 he worked as a researcher and senior researcher at the Literary Museum in Tartu, from 1970-1972 he took post-graduate courses, from 1973-1993 he was a junior and senior researcher at the Institute of Language and Literature, from 1994-2000 he was head researcher at the Institute of Estonian Language, and since 2000 to his death he remained very active as a senior researcher at the Estonian Literary Museum. Having obtained much acclaim for his excellent folkloristic scholarship, he became distinguished professor in 1992 at Tartu University and in 1997 he received the high honor of becoming a member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences. Among his numerous other honors are: member of the Finnish Literature Society (1979), member of the editorial board of *Proverbium* (1984), National Science Prize (1999), Cultural Endowment of Estonia Annual Award (2000 and 2004), member of the Academia Scientiarum et Artium Europaea (2003), Baltic Assembly Prize for Science (2004), and honorary member of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (2005).

His major research endeavors were concerned with culture and society, having conducted his scholarly work primarily from the point of view of folklore, humor, linguistics, paremiology, philology, semantics, and semiotics. His many studies on jokes and riddles were based on a sincere interest in ethnicity and stereotypes that often played a role in them. He also spearheaded the sophisticated analysis of the geographical distribution of verbal folklore genres by means of computer technologies to map the appearance and density of rich arrays of variants as they have been recorded in different regions. The resulting publications and fascinating lectures on these matters in Estonian, Russian, and perfect

English were erudite achievements with an unquestionable influence on Baltic, European, and global scholarship. Clearly Arvo Krikmann was one of the greatest folklorists of the twentieth/twenty-first centuries who brought international recognition not only for his own scholarship but also for the superb work that is going on by other folklorists in Estonia.

But to be sure, Arvo Krikmann was also among the leading paremiologists in the world, and his accomplishments place him next to such distinguished and departed proverb scholars as Alan Dundes, Kazys Grigas, Matti Kuusi, Démétrios Loukatos, Grigorii L'vovich Permiakov, Lutz Röhrich, Archer Taylor, and others. He belonged to the group of such renowned paremiographers as Gyula Paczolay, František Čermák, and many others who are still at work on the national and international compilations of proverbs. Of course, these scholars and many more, among them Valerii Mokienko, Charles Clay Doyle, Outi Lauhakangas, Peter Grzybek, Richard Honeck, Anna T. Litovkina, and Shirley L. Arora, have all benefited from his invaluable work.

It is above all as a theoretical paremiologist that Arvo Krikmann made his lasting mark on the international scene, publishing major papers on the linguistic aspects of proverbs. His seminal monograph *On Denotative Indefiniteness of Proverbs* (1974) and its sequel *Some Additional Aspects of Semantic Indefiniteness of Proverbs* (1974) represented milestones in the semantic and semi-otic study of proverbs. Of course, Krikmann also made major contributions to the study of metaphors in proverbs, their geographical distribution, their variants, their classification, their structure, their syntax, and their significance as preformulated pieces of traditional wisdom. While many of these significant papers were published in his native Estonian tongue or in Russian, his important findings also appeared in English and German, reaching students and scholars of proverbs around the globe.

Together with Ingrid Sarv he published the monumental Estonian proverb collection *Eesti vanasõnad* (1980-1987) in five massive volumes. Both were also part of the international team of paremiologists who, under the direction of Matti Kuusi at Helsinki, put together the unsurpassed comparative proverb collection *Proverbia septentrionalia. 900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels* (1985).

It is not possible in this short necrology to list all of his paremiological publications, but his entire scholarly accomplishments and honors can be found in Karin Maria Rooleid's *Arvo Krikmann. Bibliograafia 1963-2009* (Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi folkloristika osakond, 2009) and on the internet under [https://www.etis.ee/portaal/isikuCV.aspx?PersonV!D=654 &lang=en](https://www.etis.ee/portaal/isikuCV.aspx?PersonV!D=654&lang=en). It is mindboggling to survey his rich contributions to paremiology alone of which at least the following titles published in English and German deserve special recognition:

- “Zur Problematik der Metasprache als Ausdruck der Bedeutungsstreuung der Sprichwörter.” *Proverbium*, no. 17 (1971), 624-626.
- On Denotative Indefiniteness of Proverbs*. Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Institute of Language and Literature, 1974. Also in *Proverbium*, 1 (1984), 47-91; and in Arvo Krikmann, *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor*. Ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009. 15-50.
- Some Additional Aspects of Semantic Indefiniteness of Proverbs*. Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Institute of Language and Literature, 1974. Also in *Proverbium*, 2 (1985), 58-85; and in Arvo Krikmann, *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor*. Ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009. 51-77.
- “Some Difficulties Arising at Semantic Classifying of Proverbs.” *Proverbium*, no. 23 (1974), 865-879; and also in Arvo Krikmann, *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor*. Ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009. 79-94.
- “Some Aspects of Proverb Distribution.” *Symposium on Mathematical Processing of Cartographic Data, Tallinn, December 18-19, 1979*. Ed. G. M. Remmel. Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, 1979. 28-44.
- “1001 Frage zur logischen Struktur der Sprichwörter.” *Semiotische Studien zum Sprichwort. Simple Forms Reconsidered I*. Eds. Peter Grzybek and Wolfgang Eismann. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1984. 387-408.

Proverbia septentrionalia. 900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1985. (editor in chief Matti Kuusi; in cooperation with Marje Joalaid, Elsa Kokare, Arvo Krikmann, Kari Laukkanen, Pentti Leino, Vaina Mälk, and Ingrid Sarv).

Some Statistics on Baltic-Finnic Proverbs. Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Division of Social Sciences, 1985.

“The Great Chain Metaphor: An Open Sesame for Proverb Semantics?” *Proverbium*, 11 (1994), 117-124. Also in *Folklore* (Tartu), 1 (1996), 74-83; and in Arvo Krikmann, *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor.* Ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009. 95-103.

“The Tartu Research Group of Paremiology.” *Folklore* (Tartu), 2 (1996), 87-115 (with Ingrid Sarv). With 1 illustration. Also in *Proverbium*, 13 (1996), 111-133.

“Matti Kuusi and the Project of Baltic-Finnic Proverbs.” *De Proverbio. An Electronic Journal of International Proverb Studies*, 4, no. 1 (1998), 10 pp. (with Pekka Hakamies).

“On the Relationships of the Rhetorical, Modal, Logical, and Syntactic Planes in Estonian Proverbs.” *Folklore* (Tartu), 6 (January 1998), 99-129; 8 (December 1998), 51-99; and 9 (December 1998), 71-96; and also in Arvo Krikmann, *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor.* Ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009. 105-205. With 4 maps.

“Finnic Paremiology: Past, Present, Future.” *Congressus Nonus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum 7.-13.8.2000 Tartu.* Eds. Anu Nurk, Triinu Palo, and Tõnu Seilenthal. Tartu: Ülikool, 2000. I, 77-92.

“Proverbs on Animal Identity: Typological Memoirs.” *Folklore* (Tartu), 17 (2001), 7-84. Also in Arvo Krikmann, *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor.* Ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009. 207-246.

“The Monograph *Lithuanian Proverbs* by Kazys Grigas and Its Significance to the Paremiological Research.” *Tautosakos*

- Darbai / Folklore Studies* (Vilnius), 30 (2005), 23-42 (review article). With 11 maps.
- “Digging One’s Own Grave’.” *Folklore* (Tartu), 35 (2007), 53-60. Also in Arvo Krikmann, *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor*. Ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009. 301-309.
- “Imagery of Proverbs: The Great Chain of Being as the Background of Personificatory and Depersonificatory Metaphors in Proverbs and Elsewhere.” *Proceedings of the First Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Proverbs, 5th to 12th November 2007, at Tavira, Portugal*. Eds. Rui J.B. Soares and Outi Lauhakangas. Tavira: Tipografia Tavirense, 2008. 29-68; and also in Arvo Krikmann, *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor*. Ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009. 247-300. With 7 illustrations.
- “Balto-Finnic Proverb Lore as a Mirror of Folkloric, Ethnic and Linguistic Relationships.” *Proceedings of the Second Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Proverbs, 9th to 16th November 2008, at Tavira, Portugal*. Eds. Rui J.B. Soares and Outi Lauhakangas. Tavira: Tipografia Tavirense, 2009. 247-275. With 17 maps and numerous diagrams.
- Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor*. Ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009. With numerous illustrations and maps.
- “Metaphor vs. Joke? Figurativeness vs. Funniness?” *Proceedings of the Third Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Proverbs, 8th to 15th November 2009, at Tavira, Portugal*. Eds. Rui J.B. Soares and Outi Lauhakangas. Tavira: Tipografia Tavirense, 2010. 300-309.
- “An Attempt at Multidimensional Structural Classification of American Proverbs.” *Proceedings of the Fourth Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Proverbs, 7th to 14th November 2010, at Tavira, Portugal*. Eds. Rui J.B. Soares and Outi Lauhakangas. Tavira: Tipografia Tavirense, 2011. 231-245.
- “The Problem of ‘Motivating Power’ of Proverbs.” *Proceedings of the Sixth Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Proverbs, 4th to 11th November 2012, at Tavira, Portugal*. Eds. Rui J.B. Soares and Outi Lauhakangas. Tavira: Tipografia Tavirense, 2013. 459-468.

“On the Hypervariability of Some Fixed Expressions on the Internet.” “*Bis dat, qui cito dat*”. “*Gegengabe*” in *Paremiology, Folklore, Language, and Literature. Honoring Wolfgang Mieder on His Seventieth Birthday*. Eds. Christian Grandl and Kevin J. McKenna. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 2015. 215-228.

As can be seen from this list (excluding publications in the less accessible languages of Estonian and Russian), it has been one of my very special and treasured honors to edit eight of these essays in a special celebratory volume at the time of Arvo Krikmann’s seventieth birthday: *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor*. Ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009. It is in this volume where he described his scholarly life and work better than what is said here, to wit his personal comments of “How I Started and Continued, and to Whom I Am Indebted” (pp. 1-14). The title of these reflections indicates the humility and kindness of this big man, who to me was like a benevolent and friendly giant bear with an incredible mind that revolutionized modern paremiology. Proverb studies would not have reached today’s impressive theoretical level were it not for the seminal paremiological work of our treasured, respected, and admired Estonian friend Arvo Krikmann. His legendary scholarship will survive and continue to influence generations of paremiologists and folklorists. And those of us, who had the fortune, privilege, and honor to know him personally and belong to his circle of friends, will most certainly carry Arvo Krikmann in our minds and hearts until the end of our own lives.

Wolfgang Mieder
Department of German and Russian
422 Waterman Building
University of Vermont
85 South Prospect Street
Burlington, Vermont 05405
USA
E-mail: Wolfgang.Mieder@uvm.edu

MARIA KALIAMBOU

The Proclamation of Professor Wolfgang Mieder as Honorary Doctorate by the Department of Literature of the Philosophical School of the University of Athens. (Ceremony in the Main Hall, December 16, 2014). Ed. by Minas Al. Alexiadis, Marianthi Kaplanoglou, and Aristeides N. Doulaveras. Institute of Popular Culture of Karpathos. Department of Philology of Philosophical School. University of Athens. Series of Independent Publications, No. 8. Athens: Institute of Book, A. Kardamitsa, 2015. Pp. 78, with 8 illustrations (in Greek).

In December 16, 2014, the acclaimed professor Wolfgang Mieder received an honorary doctorate degree from the Department of Greek Literature of Philosophical School of University of Athens, Greece. The ceremony was held at the historic main hall of the first Greek university and was attended by professors, students, and interested people. The ceremonial speeches, photographic documentation, and other related documents to the event have been published in a small publication edited by the professors of the department. This edition is part of the publications of the Institute of Popular Culture of Karpathos of the Department of Philology of Athens University, located on the island of Karpathos. The Institute focuses on issues related to the island Karpathos and the wider area, and publishes books of general folkloric interest. An English translation of this Greek booklet is published in *Proverbium* 32:2015, pages 101-138.

The rector of the university, Professor Fortsakis, opened the ceremony by saying that it is an honor and moral debt of the university to pay tribute to people who try to make our world better and set an example for the younger generation (13). After the rector, Minas Alexiadis, professor of folklore, paid his tribute; he briefly mentioned the impressive biography and the significant corpus of books, edited volumes, journals and articles by this prolific honored scholar. From his numerous works, Alexiadis focused on two books to better demonstrate the significance of

Mieder's scholarship. The first example was Mieder's book *Proverbs are the Best Policy. Folk Wisdom and American Politics*, which shows how historical and contemporary political speech draws upon folklore and popular culture. Alexiadis commemorated Dimitrios Loukatos, the first Greek folklore scholar, who also worked on proverbs and Greek politics. Then Alexiadis mentioned Mieder's contribution to the establishment of the term "anti-proverbs" and to his rich collections of such material. "Anti-proverbs" are the proverbs of our modern time and play a significant role to cultural understanding.

Professor of folklore Marianthi Kaplanoglou referred to the methodological and theoretical frame of Mieder's work. For Mieder proverbs are expressions of worldview and personal communicative strategies. Mieder carefully studies both oral and written variants, and he meticulously compares international with local proverbs. For Kaplanoglou, Mieder's work is exemplary for the centrality of folklore in the humanities (27-29).

Professor Doulaveras from the University of Peloponnese spoke about Mieder's professional caliber, his contribution to international paremiology, and his remarkable publishing record (as of 2012 Mieder has published 205 books and numerous articles!). Also the speaker referred to Mieder's personal charisma, and his engaging teaching. Mieder's students, colleagues and friends showed their appreciation to him by dedicating five festschrifts to him, an unusual honor for a mentor and leader (31-37).

Finally, the evening closed with the ceremonial speech by the honoree. Professor Mieder opened his remarks by honoring his relationships with international and Greek colleagues and attesting "how important such scholarly and personal connections are for the meaningful advancement of knowledge" (41). In his speech with the proverbial title "Different Proverbs for Different Times. Proverbial Discourse at the Crossroad to Modernity" Mieder reflected on the creation and prevalence of new proverbs due to changed living circumstances. Mieder believes that new proverbs may match old ones in terms of structure, but they have different images of modern life (44). His statement that "the creation of new folklore has not come to an abrupt end" bears tremendous significance for folklorists and the future of folklore studies (44). Mieder closed his remarks by mentioning

three of his beloved proverbs: “Different strokes for different folks”, “God can make a way out of no way”, “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you”. These proverbs are for him the best tools to learn and understand human rights, moral and ethical behavior. For Mieder, an excellent and dedicated teacher, these proverbs can help his students navigate through the atrocities and difficulties in life.

The nomination of the distinguished professor Wolfgang Mieder to honorary doctorate of the University of Athens is very important for the Greek academia. Mieder is the first foreign folklorist who received such an honor from a Greek university. Mieder’s paradigmatic scholarship, which embraces folklore wisdom from the whole world as manifested in his impeccable paremiological studies, and his engaging personality can inspire colleagues and students in Greece and beyond.

Kudos to Mieder!

Maria Kaliambou
Senior Lecturer, Hellenic Studies Program
Yale University
34 Hillhouse Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut 06511
USA
E-mail: maria.kaliambou@yale.edu

JOHN M. JEEP

Alliterative Proverbs in Medieval England: Language Choice and Literary Meaning. By Susan E. Deskis. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 2016. Pp. 163.

This is a welcome, noteworthy study of selected alliterative proverbs documented in Old and Middle English (and in some cases beyond). Clearly alliterative proverbs only represent a subset of all such largely but by no means exclusively folksy expressions, but their cultural connections to Old English, indeed Germanic poetics, makes them especially interesting. Deskis suggests by implication that the rhetorical use of alliteration in any text is worthy of our consideration. Inherently interdisciplinary in nature, paremiological investigation explores interrelationships with literature, history, sociology, folklore study, and, in its true sense, philology (or, per the subtitle, “literary meaning”).

Drawing on terminology derived from Einar Haugen, Deskis refers repeatedly to the “ecology” of language, an analytical framework I think adequately and perhaps more accurately covered in the given context under linguistic “pragmatics”; in simple terms: Who uses what [language, rhetorical device] when under which circumstances, and why? In the introduction, Deskis insightfully discusses the issues relevant to the identification of proverbs, the history of the English alliterative tradition (or traditions), and the cultural ramifications of the Norman Conquest, especially the multicultural, multilingual setting in which most authors worked: English, French, and Latin (hence, also in the subtitle, “language choice”).

The three central chapters analyze various proverbs in some detail. Chapter 2 traces eleven proverbs (or proverbial expressions, such as, “The apple of one's eye”) that carry forth into Middle English collocations from Old English. There follow discussions of twelve examples using Germanic vocabulary (a later

but popular one is, “Look before you leap”), and six employing Romance vocabulary, both sets without Old English parallels. Germanic and Romance lexicons differ noticeably in how alliteration functions (German has the option of distinguishing using 'Stabreim' for 'alliteration in the Germanic poetic tradition'). Most significantly, only semantically *and* phonetically stressed elements can 'stave rhyme'. Thus, “words and wind”, “will and wit”, “poetry and prose”, or 'law and literature” all alliterate distinctly from “modern and medieval” or “literary and linguistic” (all examples in Deskis' text). The proverbs chosen for this study that employ Romance vocabulary all display root stress, but, as the examples cited above show, this is not always the case (consider, too, the 'three R's' “reading, writing, and 'rithmetic”, demonstrating Germanic as opposed to Romance alliteration).

The two chapters to follow address various genres: didactic texts (Ch. 3) and romance, lyric and drama (Ch. 4.). Chapter 5 concludes with a modern, not a strictly Germanic alliterating word pair: Summary and Suggestions. The documentation of old proverbs is, of course, subject to the limited written sources available, so a proverb may be much older than its recorded history. Parallels in other related languages may point to pre-historic origins, unless the case for separate but similar evolution can be made. From the didactic texts (Ch. 3) Deskis excerpts from proverb collections, gnomic poems, devotional prose, a Latin ethnographic travelogue (with specific mention of alliteration), and sermons. Five romances are treated: *Gamelyn* being the most productive for alliterating proverbs, then *Sir Firumbras*, *Tale of Beryn*, *Floris and Blancefleur*, and, finally, *Generydes*. Popular romance employs, as culturally conservative elements, alliterative proverbs much more often than courtly tales. Within lyrical poetry, alliterative proverbial expressions, when they do appear, serve to assert a sense of Englishness. In both poetry and drama, the voices using alliterating proverbs appeal to the audience via a chosen character, most often in a less overtly didactic manner. Summing up, Deskis senses a continuum of references to the traditions represented by the durable alliterating proverb, evidenced in an impressive range of genres. Deskis deftly demonstrates the various elocutionary functions proverbs exhibit.

I offer here a few remarks suggesting another look at the one or other issue. Our own, modern views of code-switching, not at all unusual in the multilingual European milieu (but see p. 12: “unexpected,” “somewhat unusually,” or p. 92: “curious”), may lead to conclusions other than might have been drawn in earlier times. For one proverb, “Old sin makes new shame,” alliteration in the Germanic tradition is in fact not present, since [s] is not the same phoneme as [ʃ]. For “Better is List than lither strength,” a reference to Prov. 24.5: “vir sapiens fortis est / A wise man is strong” (see also Prov. 21.22) would be useful, even if the Biblical passage is without alliteration. This proverb – as recorded in *Lazamon* – was listed by Walter W. Skeat, *Early English Proverbs: Chiefly of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. With Illustrative Quotations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), p. 5; on the same page appears another early English alliterating proverb, “Æuere me æhte wisne mon / Wurthliche igreten,” itself derived from a Biblical verse rich in alliteration: “Coram cano capite consurge, et honora personam senis [...]” (Lev. 19.32); two pages further on in Skeat, also from *Lazamon*, “for god is grith, and god is frith” (*ibid.*, 7). While Skeat (not included in Deskis) does not appear to be interested in alliteration in his broadly conceived compendium, there are more such proverbs to be mined there.

Deskis's nonetheless impressive bibliography with some 400 entries (a few are duplicates) is reflected in nearly 600 footnotes. This tome is carefully indexed. Especially welcome is a separate index to the proverbs – 54 in total – included in this study. For most of these items, a cross-reference is included to Bartlett Jere Whiting's standard compilation *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly before 1500* (1968). More recently, paremiologists can turn to the monumental *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi: Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters* (1995-2002); see also Wolfgang Mieder's four detailed reviews, collected in his “Nieman hât ân arebeit wîstuom”: *Sprichwörtliches in mittelhochdeutschen Epen*, 2009, 105-151; in the meantime, an exemplary collection of proverbs and proverbial sayings in medieval German courtly literature has appeared, the appearance of which Mieder (p. 143) had awaited: *Handbuch der Sentenzen und Sprichwörter im höfischen Roman des 12. und 13. Jahrhun-*

derts, 2 vols., eds. Manfred Eikelmann / Thomas Tomasek, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2013, Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 2009; see my review in *Mediaevistik* 26 [2013], 362-7. Deskis might have enjoyed E. G. Stanley's "Two Old English Poetic Phrases Insufficiently Understood for Literary Criticism: *þing gehegan and seonþ gehegan*," in *Old English Poetry: Essays on Style*, ed. Daniel G. Calder. Contributions of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 10 (Berkeley: UCLA Pr., 1977), 67-90.

Throughout, Deskis stresses the important insight that the body of proverbs, like all language, is comprised of a blend of received tradition and adaptation, of the old and the new. We can look forward both to further research on English proverbs, alliterating or no, and studies on connections revealed in proverbs and proverbial expressions across Europe (and perhaps beyond; see Fionnuala Carson Williams, "Alliteration in English-Language Versions of Current Widespread European Idioms and Proverbs," in Jonathan Roper, ed., *Alliteration in Culture*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 34-44, with a mention of Middle English proverbs, p. 35, and estimates of the frequency of alliteration in proverbs from various languages, p. 40f.) within the various remnants of cultural heritage. There remains much to be done, and studies such as this one by Deskis can show how careful philological work can proceed productively, leading to more comprehensive catalogues of proverbs and other rhetorical devices.

John M. Jeep
 German, Russian, Asian, and Middle Eastern Languages and
 Cultures
 Miami University
 Irvin Hall 166 – GRAMELAC
 Oxford, Ohio 45056-1848
 USA
 E-mail: jeepjm@miamioh.edu

ELISABETH PIIRAINEN

Twäärs üüs en haligschep. Swäärs iis en halagsjep. Lexikon der friesischen Redewendungen von Föhr und Amrum. Hrsg. von Volkert F. Faltings und Reinhard Jannen. Husum: Husum Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 2016. 596 Seiten. [Nordfriesische Quellen und Studien herausgegeben von der Ferring Stiftung in Alkersum auf Föhr, Band 12]

Vorbemerkung

In dem Buch werden mehr als 8.000 idiomatische Wendungen des föhring-amringer Inselnordfriesischen, einer räumlich eng begrenzten und bedrohten Minderheitensprache, präsentiert. Die Dokumentation dieser authentischen phraseologischen Daten ist von besonderem Wert für die Phraseologieforschung, die sich bis jetzt fast ausschließlich mit Standardsprachen befasst hat. Unsere Kenntnisse der Phraseologie beruhen auf der Erforschung von nur etwa 40 etablierten Sprachen mit einer langen Literaturtradition, wobei die Schriftlichkeit stets im Vordergrund stand. Die Phraseologie der hier untersuchten Varietät lässt deutliche Unterschiede zur Phraseologie der Standardsprachen erkennen, die möglicherweise einzelne theoretische Erkenntnisse ergänzen und modifizieren können. Für die vorliegende Buchbesprechung wurden deshalb – angesichts der Frage, was die Leser von *Proverbium* vor allem interessieren könnte – Themen ausgewählt, die Besonderheiten dieser friesischen Varietät im Kontrast zu den bisher untersuchten Standardsprachen aufzeigen, seien sie semantischer, pragmatischer oder syntaktischer Art. Die Unterschiede mögen in der soziolinguistischen Situation des Inselnordfriesischen (es ist eine vorwiegend mündliche, auf den Nahbereich beschränkte Sprachform), in historischen, gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Entwicklungen und nicht zuletzt in der ungewöhnlichen Sprachenvielfalt Nordfrieslands begründet sein. Zuvor sollen die hier untersuchte Sprache und die Methoden der Materialsammlung kurz beleuchtet werden.

Inselnordfriesisch und Materialbasis

Die *nordfriesische Sprache* verfügt noch über etwa 10.000 Muttersprachler, verteilt sich jedoch auf zehn recht unterschiedliche regionale Varietäten. Darunter finden sich sieben an der schleswig-holsteinischen Westküste gesprochene Dialekte des *Festlandnordfriesischen* sowie die auf den Nordseeinseln Helgoland, Sylt, Amrum und Föhr gesprochenen Mundarten des *Inselnordfriesischen*. Im Unterschied zum Helgoländer und Sylter Friesischen gilt das Nordfriesische der Inseln Föhr und Amrum, das den Gegenstand des vorliegenden „Lexikons“ bildet, als ein einheitlicher Dialekt; die Zahl der föhring-amringer Muttersprachler wird auf 3.500 geschätzt.

Der Titel des Buches beginnt mit einem für das Inselnordfriesische typischen Idiom in den Varianten von Föhr und Amrum. Die Charakterisierung einer besonders eigensinnigen Person als „querköpfig wie ein Schaf von der Hallig“ ist in den naturräumlichen Gegebenheiten verankert. Einerseits ist es die Bildlichkeit der inseltypischen Schafzucht, andererseits gelten die Bewohner der Halligen, jener winzigen Inseln im nordfriesischen Wattenmeer, aus der Sicht der Bewohner von Föhr und Amrum als noch stärker von der Außenwelt abgeschnitten und daher als besonders eigenbrötlerisch und stur. Dies ist nur eine von über 8.000 figurativen Lexikoneinheiten des föhring-amringer Friesischen (abgekürzt fa.), die in einem groß angelegten Projekt der Ferring Stiftung in Alkersum auf Föhr in einer Datenbank erfasst und der weiterführenden Forschung zugänglich gemacht wurden. Zwei Buchpublikationen sind aus dieser Datenbank hervorgegangen, zunächst das „Föhring-amringer Sprichwörterlexikon“ (Faltings/Janing 2012), das Proverbien, Sagwörter und Wetterregeln umfasst, sowie nun als Folgeband ein Lexikon, in dem „vor allem Redewendungen und andere idiomatische Erscheinungen“ (S. 7) dokumentiert wurden. Es ist das umfangreichste phraseologische Wörterbuch im friesischen Sprachraum.

Seit 2009 wurden im Rahmen des Projektes der Ferring Stiftung alle erreichbaren schriftlichen und mündlichen Quellen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis in die Gegenwart im Hinblick auf idiomatische Wendungen ausgewertet. Außer den Wörterbüchern gehört eine reiche inselnordfriesische Primärliteratur zu den schriftlichen Quellen, die durch nicht veröffentlichtes handschriftliches Material aus dem Archiv der Ferring Stiftung ergänzt wurden. Mündli-

che Quellen sind einerseits die umfangreichen Tonbandaufnahmen führung-amringer Muttersprachler, die das Inselfriesische zum Teil noch in einer altertümlichen Form repräsentieren. Die wichtigste mündliche Quelle ist der regelmäßig tagende „Arbeitskreis friesischer Sprichwörter und Redewendungen“. In jahrelanger Arbeit wurden die aus den schriftlichen Quellen exzerpierten Belege von den kompetenten Mitarbeiterinnen empirisch abgesichert, auf ihre Richtigkeit, Gebrauchsweisen und Varianten hin überprüft, wobei zugleich eine Fülle zuvor nicht bekannter Wendungen in ihrer Ursprünglichkeit erfasst werden konnte.

Die Zuordnung der fa. Belege erfolgt nach einem deutschen Hauptstichwort. „Dieses ist semantisch definiert, d.h. es ergibt sich aus dem Bedeutungsinhalt der zugrundeliegenden friesischen Wendung“ (S. 21). Diese Anordnung ist nicht unproblematisch, da das Stichwort divergierende Bedeutungen umfassen oder als Konstituente eines deutschen (dt.) Idioms auftreten kann. So wird das fa. Idiom *ham mei ik mä a ialtaang ei uunling* „ihn mag ich mit der Feuerzange nicht anfassen“ unter dem Stichwort „Abscheu“ angeführt, da es ‘Abscheu vor jemandem empfinden’ bedeutet (S. 48). Ein nahezu gleichlautendes Idiom findet sich unter dem Stichwort „Kneifzange“, S. 267: *ham könst dü ei ens mä a naaptang uunling* „ihn kannst du nicht einmal mit der Kneifzange anfassen“, dazu der Kommentar „d.h. man empfindet ihm gegenüber große Abscheu, großes Misstrauen, man möchte nichts mit ihm zu tun haben“. Trotz eines Registers der fa. Wörter und eines Verweissystems erschwert dieses Anordnungsprinzip das Auffinden bestimmter Idiome. Für die Nutzung des dargebotenen Materials für weiterführende Studien ist dies jedoch unerheblich, da hierfür die elektronische Datenbank zur Verfügung steht.

Fremde Sprachen und Menschen

Bis zu fünf Sprachen, Nordfriesisch, Niederdeutsch und Südjütisch sowie das überdachende Hochdeutsch, zum Teil auch das Standarddänische, konnten in Nordfriesland auf engem Raum nebeneinander existieren. All das hat deutliche Spuren in der fa. Phraseologie hinterlassen. Zudem hat das Niederländische (NL) einen starken Einfluss auf das Inselnordfriesische ausgeübt, bedingt durch Zuwanderungen aus den Niederlanden und die jahrhundertelange gemeinsame Seefahrtstradition. Bis heute haben sich zahlreiche Entlehnungen niederländischer Idiome erhalten,

obwohl einzelne Konstituenten zum Teil nicht mehr verständlich sind.

Interessant sind Idiome, die eine Umdeutung erfahren haben, wie nl. *de kat in't donker knippen* 'im Verborgenen scheinheilig etwas Verbotenes tun', das als fa. *hi mei hal ens at kaat uun't jonken(s) naape* 'er mag gerne einmal die Katze im Dunkeln kneifen' erscheint (S. 54). Unter dem Einfluss des fa. Wortes *kaat*, das nicht nur 'Katze', sondern auch 'mit Fell überzogene Feldflasche, Flachmann' bedeutet, hat sich für das fa. Idiom eine andere, konkretere Hauptbedeutung entwickelt, nämlich 'er trinkt heimlich', die im nl. Idiom nicht vorherrschend ist.

Auch die wechsellvollen deutsch-dänischen Beziehungen spiegeln sich in der bildlichen Sprache wider. „Dänisch“ steht für etwas sehr Schlechtes (vgl. *deensk kuraasch(e)* 'dänische Courage' 'durch Krätze verursachter Hautausschlag', S. 277) oder dient zur Intensivierung des Schlechten, vgl. fa. *hi frat üüs en deensken tosker* 'er frisst wie ein dänischer Drescher' 'er isst unmäßig viel' (aus dem benachbarten Jütland kamen Drescher auf die Inseln, S. 161), *hi störemt efter deensk tobak* 'er riecht nach dänischem Tabak' 'er hat eine Alkoholfahne' (S. 55), *at laacht braant, üüs wan diar en deensken duad as* 'das Licht brennt, als ob da ein Däne tot sei' ('das Licht brennt sehr schlecht', S. 117) oder *deensk üüs en root* 'dänisch wie eine Ratte' 'eine starke dänische Gesinnung zeigend' (S. 122), das durch den Begriff *Ratte* besonders negativ konnotiert ist. Hier zeigt sich eine Parallele zu *Dutch* in englischen Idiomen, die auf die 400jährige Feindschaft zwischen Engländern und Holländern zurückführt (z.B. *to be in Dutch* 'in einer schwierigen Lage, im Gefängnis sein', *to beat all the Dutch* 'alles Negative übertreffen', *Dutch courage* 'falscher, durch Alkohol angetrunkener Mut', *Dutch gold* 'unechtes Gold' u.a.m.). Der Unterschied zum Gegenwartsdeutsch ist offensichtlich, da Sprachkritiker dazu anhalten, angeblich „diskriminierende Idiome“ (wie z.B. *polnische Wirtschaft*) aus dem öffentlichen Sprachgebrauch und aus den Wörterbüchern zu verbannen (vgl. Piirainen 2016b).

Die Dokumentation der fa. Redewendungen ist unverfälscht; sie braucht sich um sog. „Political Correctness“ nicht zu kümmern, sondern kann Idiome wie *jo san poolsk befreid* 'sie sind polnisch verheiratet' 'sie leben in wilder Ehe' (S. 141), *hi flekt üüs en tork* 'er flucht wie ein Türke' (S. 178), *hi frat üüs en tork* 'er

frisst wie ein Türke“ (S. 161), *hi as dronken üüs düüsen rüsen* „er ist betrunken wie tausend Russen“ (S. 107), *hi as noch widj beeft a rüsen turag* „er ist noch weit hinter den Russen zurück“ ‘er ist sehr rückständig’ (s: 366) oder solche mit den Konstituenten *taader* ‘Zigeuner’ (S. 117, 134, 193) und *juud* (z.B. 433) problemlos aufnehmen. Als Kuriosum sei fa. *latiinsk* im Sinne von ‘gelehrt’ und von ‘falsch, verkehrt’ erwähnt: *en latiinsken büür* ist ‘ein stubengelehrter Bauer, der sein Wissen aus Büchern und nicht aus der Praxis bezieht’ (S. 92) und *en latiinsken guuwel* „ein lateinischer Giebel“ ist der ‘Giebel eines nichtfriesischen Hauses’ (S. 209).

Eigennamen

Im Bereich der Onomastik finden sich deutliche Unterschiede zwischen der Phraseologie des Föhring-Amringischen und der bis jetzt untersuchten Standardsprachen. Wie Filatkina (2005: 262-265, 302f.) auch für das Lëtzebuergische festgestellt hat, sind anthroponymische Konstituenten produktiver als im Hochdeutschen (Hd.). Im Fa. erstrecken sie sich auf zwei Gruppen. Beliebt sind die „redenden Familiennamen“ (ebd. 263), bei denen die wörtliche Lesart des (nicht existierenden) Nachnamens bestimmte Charakterzüge einer Person andeutet, wie bei *Piter Simpel* „Peter Simpel“ ‘einfältige Person’ und *Pitje Snoot* „Peterchen Rotz“ ‘tölpelhafte Person’ (S. 133), *Jookep Slof* „Jacob Schlurf“ ‘sehr unordentlich gekleidete oder unordentlich arbeitende Person’ (S. 324). Ebenso kann der Name einer nicht existierenden Person Bestandteil des Idioms sein (*hi hee Jookep Lui üüb a neek* „er hat Jacob Faul auf dem Rücken“ ‘er ist sehr faul’, S. 168), wobei der Nachname ebenfalls die Eigenschaft der betreffenden Person benennt. Vergleichbar sind Ausdrücke wie *en holtnen Henerk* „ein hölzerner Hinrich“ ‘eine grobe, ungehobelte Person’ (S. 216).

Die zweite Gruppe besteht aus einst örtlich bekannten Persönlichkeiten. Auch wenn die Sprachteilhaber nicht mehr im Einzelnen mit der Eigenheit und Lebensgeschichte jener Person vertraut sind, kann das Idiom weiterhin geläufig sein. Beispiele sind *en graten Lawerens* „ein großer Lawrenz“ ‘ein hoch aufgeschossener Mann’ (in Anspielung auf einen sehr langen Hamburger Bürger namens Laurentius Damm, S. 302) und *so’n Ölke Hanhoolkiiker* „so ein Oluf Hühnerlochgucker“ ‘eine überaus neugierige Person’ (nach einem für seine Neugier bekannten Mitbürger, der die die Leute sogar aus dem Hühnerloch heraus beobachtete haben soll, S.

330). In den überregional gültigen Sprachen kann es derartige, auf der Kenntnis örtlicher Gegebenheiten beruhende und zugleich motivierbare Idiome nicht geben.

Gleiches gilt für nur begrenzt bekannte Toponyme. So lautet eine Drohung an ungezogene Kinder: *ik stjüür di ütj üüb huuwendik bi da Wik!* „ich schicke dich hinaus auf den Hafendeich bei Wyk!“ im Sinne von ‘du kommst ins Gefängnis!’. Es gehörte zum Weltwissen der föhring-amringer Sprachteilhaber, dass sich am Wyker Hafendeich einst eine Arrestzelle befand (S. 188). In ähnlicher Weise werden in sehr kleinen Sprach- oder Dialektgemeinschaften gern Friedhöfe nach der Flur benannt, auf der sie angelegt wurden, wobei der betreffende Flurname dann in verhüllenden Idiomen für ‘sterben’ erscheinen kann (vgl. Piirainen 2016a: 140f. und 301). In fa. Idiomen ist es nicht ein Mikrotoponym, sondern die Himmelsrichtung, die auf einen Friedhof verweist. So ergeben sich Idiom-Dubletten für ‘er ist gestorben’, je nach dem aus welchem Dorf die Sprecher kommen: *hi as am a süüdwaast gingen* „er ist nach Südwesten gegangen“ (der Friedhof von St. Laurentii/Westerlandföhr liegt aus der Sicht von Oldsum, Klintum und Toftum in südwestlicher Richtung) sowie *hi as ütj am a uast* „er ist draußen im Osten“ (der gleiche Friedhof liegt aus der Sicht des Dorfes Utersum in östlicher Richtung, S. 439). Es scheint der Vorstellung von einem Idiom zu widersprechen, wenn sein Bekanntheitsradius kaum über den eines Dorfes hinausreicht. Doch erfüllen die genannten fa. Wendungen alle Definitionskriterien eines Idioms. Forschungen zur Phraseologie von Standardsprachen haben solche Phänomene bis jetzt nicht beachtet.

Ausgangsdomänen

Das Merkmal, das die hier untersuchten figurativen Lexikoneinheiten von allen anderen Elementen der Sprache unterscheidet, ist ihre „doppelte Lesart“. Idiomatische Wendungen verfügen über eine primäre, „wörtliche“ Lesart und eine sekundäre, „bildliche“ Bedeutung. Durch die wörtliche Lesart wird zumeist ein mentales Bild evoziert, das – u.a. auf metaphorischem Wege – als „Ausgangsdomäne“ für die aktuelle Bedeutung (die „Zieldomäne“, s. unten) dient. Auch in diesen Bereichen sind deutliche Unterschiede zwischen föhring-amringer und standardsprachlichen Phraseologismen zu verzeichnen.

Für viele europäische Literatursprachen ist es kaum möglich, eine größere Anzahl von Idiomen aufzulisten, deren Herkunft eindeutig den natur- und kulturräumlichen Gegebenheiten des betreffenden Sprachraumes zuzuordnen ist. Für das Niederländische etwa könnten Idiome der Ausgangsdomäne ‘Schiff und Seefahrt’ genannt werden; diese ist jedoch auch in anderen Sprachen in Küstenregionen (z.B. im Kroatischen) stark ausgeprägt. Im Unterschied dazu lässt eine Fülle von fa. figurativen Einheiten eine eigenständige Bilderwelt erkennen. Spezielle Ausgangsdomänen nordfriesischer Idiome wurden bereits in einem Beitrag von Nils Århammar (2007) hervorgehoben, wie Seefahrt-, Lotsen und Rettungswesen, Fischerei und Vogelfang. Bei Keike Faltings (2012: 119) heißt es dazu: „Sowohl durch Fischerei, Robbenjagd und Austernfang im hiesigen Wattenmeer als auch durch den Walfang in den arktischen Gewässern vor Grönland und Spitzbergen waren das Meer und seine Bewohner im Bewusstsein der inselnordfriesischen Bevölkerung allgegenwärtig, was sich in ihrer friesischen Sprache auf vielfältige Weise widerspiegelt“.

Neben verschiedenen Aspekten des alltäglichen Lebens auf den Inseln bildet das traditionelle inselnordfriesische Ständerhaus einen herausragenden Ausgangsframe. Den *fjauer pualer*, den vier Eckpfeilern, kommt eine tragende Funktion zu, sodass sie metonymisch für das ganze Haus stehen: fa. *hi blaft aleewen banen sin fjauer pualer* „er bleibt immer innerhalb seiner vier Pfähle“ ‘er bleibt immer zu Hause’ (S. 445). Dem deutschen Idiom *er bleibt in den vier Wänden* liegt dagegen das Konzept eines urbanen Hauses mit Zimmern und Wänden zugrunde. Hier sind Parallelen zu einem niederdeutschen Dialekt zu erkennen. Im Westmünsterländischen (Wml.) sind es die *Pöste*, die mächtigen Eichenpfosten des Niederdeutschen Hallenhauses, die das Bild konstituieren, vgl. wml. *he bliff tüsken de Pöste* „er bleibt zwischen den Pfosten“ ‘er bleibt zu Hause’ (Piiirainen 1999: 122f.).

In mehreren Idiomen erscheint die mit Holznägeln verankerte Fachwerkkonstruktion als Bildspender, vgl. *jo san oner feek* „sie sind unter Fach“ ‘sie haben eine Bleibe’ (S. 336), *hi sat uun’t onerst feek* „er sitzt im untersten Fach“ ‘er hat nichts zu sagen’ (S. 371) sowie *ham hiart neen spiker uun hiiis* „ihm gehört kein Nagel im Haus“ ‘er hat sich hoch verschuldet, sein Besitz gehört seinen Gläubigern’ (S. 392). Weitere bauliche Elemente wie der First als das maximal Höchste (*hi sat ap tu a frast uun skilj(en)* „er sitzt

bis hinauf zum Dachfirst in Schulden“, S. 392), die Dachkehlen zwischen den Gebäuden (fa. *gööd*, S.156), aber auch das Wandbett (z.B. S. 371, 418) und die gute Stube finden sich in fa. Idiomen (*hi treepet ap uun piisel an fäält deel uun busem* „er steigt hinauf in die gute Stube und fällt hinunter in den Stall“ ‘er war zu hochmütig und musste Demütigungen erfahren’, S. 243).

Auch Vorstellungen des Volksglaubens mit Hexen, Kobolden und Zwergen spiegeln sich in den Idiomen der Inselmundart wieder, vgl. fa. *nü wurt a kaat en heks* „nun wird die Katze eine Hexe“ ‘Ausruf der Verwunderung’ (anspielend auf den Glauben, dass sich Hexen gerne in Katzen verwandeln, S. 87) oder *hi as so dronken üüs en heks* „er ist so betrunken wie eine Hexe“ (angeblich beschmierten Hexen sich mit einer Zaubersalbe, die sie in einen rauschartigen Zustand versetzte, S. 108). Fa. *roogslaader* ist ein Korng Geist, der auf Getreidefeldern sein Unwesen treibt und Kinder erschreckt, vgl. fa. *hi leept tu as so’n roogslaader* „er läuft herum wie so ein Roggen-Schläger“ ‘seine Kleidung ist zerlumpt’ (S. 264) und *hi hee en gesicht üüs en roogslaader* ‘er ist sehr hässlich’ (S. 226). In ähnlicher Weise bezeichnet fa. *ooterbaake*, ein sagenhaftes Zwergenwesen, das unter der Erde in den vorge-schichtlichen Grabhügeln Föhrs und Amrums haust, eine unansehnliche Gestalt (S. 226).

Zieldomänen

Auch im Hinblick auf die Zieldomänen sind Unterschiede zwischen dem Inselnordfriesischen einer regional begrenzten, soziokulturell relativ geschlossenen Sprachgemeinschaft und den Standardsprachen, die für ganz anderen Kommunikationszwecke ausgebaut sind, zu erkennen: Einerseits sind es Themen, für die in den Standardsprachen kein Bedarf nach idiomatischen Benennungen besteht, andererseits finden sich quantitativ unterschiedliche Gewichtungen.

So wird es in den großräumig gültigen Sprachen vermutlich keine Idiome für einen ‘Seemann mit unzulänglichen seemännischen Fähigkeiten’ geben, wie fa. *en klöötskaper* „ein Schiebstan-genschiffer“, ursprünglich scherzhaft für einen Schiffer in der Küsten- und Wattenmeerfahrt, der nicht als vollwertiger Seemann angesehen wurde (S. 400). Das Gleiche mag für die Referenz auf ‘die Hosenbeine aufkremeln’ gelten, das auf den Inseln, u.a. bei Gängen durchs Wattenmeer, einen anderen Stellenwert hat als in

urbanen Lebensumständen. Das fa. Idiom *hi hee en rif uun a brek* „er hat ein Riff in der Hose“ ‘er hat die Hosenbeine aufgekrem-pelt’ (S. 76) nutzt ein nautischem Bild: fa. *rif* ist eine Vorrichtung zum Aufrollen der Segel des Segelbootes.

Ein wichtiges Thema in agrarischen Gesellschaften ist die Wetterprognose. So finden sich mehrere fa. Idiome für bestimmte Wolkenbildungen, die gutes Wetter oder anhaltenden Regen vorhersagen (S: 504): *a loft as so kaathiarig* „die Luft ist so katzenhaarig“ (‘Federwolken’), *daar sat klütjer am a waast* „da sitzen Flicker im Westen“ (‘Regenwolken’), *a hemel as fol faan kaatstörter* „die Luft ist voll von Flieder“ (‘dünne Schäfchenwolken’), *diar as en stianbrag uun a locht* „da ist ein Steinbruch in der Luft“ (‘massive Schäfchenwolken’).

Die Zieldomäne ‘Schwangerschaft’ ist mit rund 70 fa. Idiomen deutlich stärker ausgeprägt als in den bis jetzt untersuchten Standardsprachen; es handelt sich um einen vormals tabuisierten Bereich, der nicht direkt, allenfalls verhüllend berührt werden konnte. Neben zahlreichen Idiomen, die auf das Bild der zunehmenden Leibesfülle zurückgehen (fa. *hat hee ham ütjhanket* „sie hat das Mieder weiter gestellt“, S. 395), finden sich auch Krankheit, Schmerz und Missgeschick als bildliche Quellen, vgl. fa. *hat hee a piip* „sie hat den Pieps (eine Hühnerkrankheit)“, fa. *hat hee’t jongwüfenskraankels* „sie hat die Junge-Frauen-Krankheit“, fa. *hat hee ham wat apsaket* „sie hat sich etwas zugezogen“ oder fa. *hat hed üüb a aangel beden* „sie hatte auf den Angelhaken gebissen“ (S. 394-396). Während diese Benennungsmotive im Hochdeutschen nicht vorkommen, zeigt sich wiederum eine Parallele zum wml. Dialekt, der noch drastischere Bilder kennt. Idiome wie wml. *se is an’n Noost loopen* „sie ist an einen Ast gelaufen“, wml. *se häff sik met’t Gatt in ne däörnene Hegge satt* „sie hat sich mit dem Hintern in eine Dornenhecke gesetzt“ ‘sie ist ungewollt schwanger geworden’ lassen Normvorstellungen einer ländlichen, geschlossenen Gesellschaft früherer Zeiten erkennen (Piirainen 2016a: 122, 126, 132f.). Dies leitet über zum folgenden Abschnitt.

Geschlechtsspezifische Restriktionen

Eine zentrale Frage der Phraseologieforschung lautet, inwieweit Spuren eines zugrunde liegenden Bildes in die aktuelle Idiombedeutung hineinragen. So wurde mehrfach diskutiert, ob hd. *unter die Haube kommen* ‘sich verheiraten’ nur von einer Frau

gesagt werden könne, wegen des zugrunde liegenden Bildes der früher zur Tracht der verheirateten Frau gehörenden Haube. Dies scheint gegenwärtig nicht mehr der Fall zu sein; in den Textkorpora finden sich hinreichend Beispiele, in denen das Idiom auf einen Mann bezogen wird (was jedoch ironisch gemeint sein kann!). Auch in anderen Standardsprachen ist es schwierig, überzeugende Beispiele zu finden, da Ausgleichstendenzen zu Unsicherheiten in der Einschätzung von Gebrauchsbeschränkungen führen. Ganz anders verhält es sich u.a. mit dem westmünsterländischen Basisdialekt. Es waren die Kenner der Mundart selbst, die darauf hinwiesen, dass Bilder aus der Arbeitswelt des Mannes (wie Pferd und Wagen) oder der Frau (wie Küche und Kochen) Gebrauchsrestriktionen mit sich bringen.

Für das Inselnordfriesische scheint sich etwas Ähnliches abzuzeichnen. Im vorliegenden Buch werden die Verbidrome in der Regel in der 3. Person mit *hi* „er“ angeführt; bei Zitationsweisen mit *hat* „sie“ könnte es sich um genderbedingte Restriktionen handeln, vgl. *hat plaatsset höör föör ham hen üüs en han föör a hanjüger, diar hör henken steel wal* „sie baut sich vor ihm hin wie eine Henne vor der Rohrweihe, die ihre Küken stehlen will“ ‘sie baut sich selbstbewusst und kampfbereit vor ihm auf’ (S. 73f.). Das Bild der angriffslustigen Glucke ist so dominant, dass der Bezug auf eine männliche Person ausgeschlossen ist. In dem Idiom fa. *hat as aleewen föör’t lut uun a oon* „sie ist immer vor dem Ofenkratzer im Backofen“ ‘sie ist bei der Arbeit übereifrig’ (S. 447) wird die Restriktion durch den Ausgangsframe ‘Backofen’, Bestandteil der häuslichen Domänen der Frau, hervorgerufen.

In anderen fa. Idiomen sind es jedoch gesellschaftlich bedingte Zieldomänen, die eine Beschränkung auf eine der beiden Personengruppen bewirken. Bei der Frau ist es vor allem die äußere Erscheinung. Es wird erwartet, dass sie sich einer Norm entsprechend kleidet, u.a. nicht zu viel Blöße zeigt, was sprachlich sanktioniert würde: fa. *hat as so naagelt ütskäären* „sie ist so nackt ausgeschnitten (zu tief ausgeschnitten)“ (S. 125), fa. *hat as so stont üüs en aarebaare* „sie ist so kurz (gekleidet) wie ein Storch“ ‘sie zeigt viel Bein, ihr Rock ist zu kurz’ (S. 97). Bei Faltings (2012: 115) heißt es dazu: „Dieses auf die Frau übertragene uncharmanten Bild geht sicherlich auf die nordfriesische Kleiderordnung für die Frauen zurück, die noch bis weit in das 20. Jahrhundert hinein tagtäglich die Föhr-Amrumer Tracht trugen, deren

sogenannter *pei*, der dunkelblaue Überrock aus schwerem englischen Wolltuch bis an die Ferse reichte“. Zugleich muss die Kleidung korrekt sitzen (fa. *diar komt Matje Klapswöb faan a Huug* „da kommt Mattje Knallpeitsche von der Hallig Hooge“ ‘gesagt zu einer Frau, deren Kopftuch der Tracht schiefsitzt’, S. 441), darf aber nicht zu stark herausputzen: *hat hed ham faalig apkriüinet* „sie hatte sich ziemlich aufgekrönt“, zu fa. *apkriüine* ‘das Kopftuch der Tracht aufbinden’ und fa. *hat hee ale flaren bi* „sie hat alle Fetzen dran’, nach fa. *aele flaren bihaa* ‘alle Segel am Mast haben’ (S. 233).

Beschränkungen auf männliche Personen sind seltener. Hier sind es gesellschaftlich bedingte Vorstellungen, dass ein Mann stark sein und das Sagen haben muss (*san orderhúuwen as an onerpei* „sein Orderhafen ist der Unterrock“ ‘seine Frau hat das Sagen’, S. 370) und gesellschaftlich festgelegte Einstellungen zu Besitz, Erbschaft, Einheirat (*hi freit am a njoksel* „er heiratet wegen des Misthaufens (wegen der Größe des Hofes)“ ‘er sucht Vorteile durch Einheirat’, S. 231). Für die Standardsprachen findet sich kaum Vergleichbares, doch zeigt das Wml. auch hier Parallelen zu allen Beispielen (vgl. Piirainen 2016a: 127-129).

Figurative Einzelwörter

Wie Nils Århammar bereits 2007 ausgeführt hat, erweist sich eine Beschränkung auf Mehrworteinheiten für eine umfassende Beschreibung der bildlichen friesischen Sprache als nicht sinnvoll, da die Muttersprachler keinen Unterschied machen zwischen bildlichen Mehrwort-Ausdrücken (*Idiomen*, die laut Definition aus mehr als einem Wort bestehen) und bildlichen *Einzelwörtern*. Die Herausgeber des vorliegenden Buches taten gut daran, fa. monolexikalische Ausdrücke ebenfalls zu sammeln, sodass die Dokumentation nun auch eine Fülle von fa. figurativen Komposita und lexikalisierten Einwortmetaphern umfasst. In diesen Fällen ist *bildliche Lexikoneinheit* anstelle von *Idiom* ein geeigneter Terminus.

Fast alle substantivischen Komposita bezeichnen Personen mit besonderen Eigentümlichkeiten. Sie reichen von Hyperbeln wie fa. *oontosker* „Ofendrescher“ ‘sehr kleiner Mann’ (so klein, dass er im Ofen dreschen kann, S. 310), fa. *troonbook* „Tranbake“ ‘Walfänger’ (ein vor Tran triefender Seemann, der auf Walfang fährt, S. 492) über ungewöhnliche Wortbildungen (fa. *hööbsnaar*

„Hoffnungsschwiegertochter“ ‘die zukünftige Schwiegertochter, die Eltern sich für ihren Sohn erhoffen’, S. 399, fa. *ianmaansdochter* „Einmannstochter“ ‘einzige Tochter des Hauses’, S. 435) zu ganzen Serien zur Benennung einer Person mit herausragenden Eigenschaften. Mit 41 fa. Komposita nimmt der Trödler, eine träge, langsam arbeitende Person, den ersten Rang ein; wörtliche Übersetzungen lauten u.a. „Trödeltopf“, „Schlenderschwanz“, „Schleppschuh“, „Trödelhintern“ u.a.m. (S. 443f.). Es folgen der Schmutzfink („Sudelprahm“, „Schlammällchen“, „Schmierjacke“, „Eulenquaste“, S. 386) und der Alkoholiker („Sauftonne“, „Schluckhals“, „Spirituskopf“, „Saufschwanz“, S. 55). Im hochdeutschen Standard gibt es derartige Benennungs-Häufungen nicht, wohl aber in den regionalen Umgangssprachen, nur wurden diese bis jetzt nicht systematisch erforscht).

Fa. Verben zeigen ebenfalls ungewöhnliche Wortbildungen, vgl. fa. *smeerskuche*, wörtlich: „schmierschuhen“, im Sinne von ‘heftig schmeicheln’ (S. 386). Es hat kein „wörtliches“ Gegenstück – im Unterschied zu Verben, die in entsprechenden Kontexten eine metaphorische Bedeutung entwickeln. So wird das fa. Verb *entre* ‘entern, auf ein feindliches Schiff dringen und es gewaltsam in Besitz nehmen’ in Kontexten wie *hi entert en stak fleesk* „er entert/ergattert ein Stück Fleisch“ (S. 155) oder *dat foome entre* „ein Mädchen entern/erobern“ (S. 158) gebraucht. Ein anderes Beispiel ist das Verb *flense* ‘die Speckschicht von einem Wal oder Seehund abziehen’, das auch ‘jmdm. eine Abreibung verpassen’ bedeutet (S. 48).

Unter den Adjektiven sind die sog. Elativhyperbeln (auch „Volkssuperlative“ genannt) hervorzuheben, bei denen die Bedeutung des Grundwortes durch ein Präfixoid intensiviert wird. Umgangssprachlich gibt es sie auch im Deutschen (z.B. *stockdunkel*) und anderen Standardsprachen (finnisch *säkipimeä* „sackdunkel“, *pilkkopimeä*, alle in der Bedeutung ‘vollkommen dunkel’), jedoch nicht in der Menge wie im Föhring-Amringischen; vgl. fa. *oon(en)jonk* „ofendunkel“, *pak(en)jonk* „pechfinster“, *steempjonk* „gestampft dunkel“ (S. 134). Übertroffen werden sie durch das Vorkommen in niederdeutschen Dialekten, vgl. wml. *krickel-*, *pickel-*, *pott-*, *raawen-*, *sack-*, *sticke-*, *stock-*, *tappenduuster*; Piirainen 2016a: 331-337). Weitere fa. Beispiele sind *blikduadenstal* „blank-totenstill“ (419), *iikestark* „eichenstark“, *iisenstark* „eisenstark“ (S. 415), *pöberjüür* „pfefferteuer“ (S. 434), *skringelrip*

„rasselreif, -trocken, von Korn“ (S. 450), *sprütjendol* „spritzenwütend“ (S. 508), *stookblinj* „stockblind“ (S. 114) u.a.m.

Schlussbemerkungen

Wie die Herausgeber in ihrem Vorwort schreiben (S. 8), richtet sich das „Lexikon“ vornehmlich an die föhring-amringer Sprachgemeinschaft, an volkskundlich oder sprachlich interessierte Laien- und Fachforscher; dabei „bleibt eine eingehendere philologische oder linguistische Analyse des phraseologischen Materials zukünftigen (Spezial-)Untersuchungen vorbehalten.“ Die hier betrachteten Beispiele haben gezeigt, dass die Dokumentation des figurativen Lexikons einer zuvor in dieser Hinsicht nicht beschriebenen Varietät ein breites Spektrum an neuen Erkenntnissen und Forschungsmöglichkeiten aufzeigt. So verbindet sich mit dieser Buchbesprechung ein Appell, in die hier nur kurz angeschnittenen Themen tiefer vorzudringen, seien es Untersuchungen zu den multilingualen Einflüssen auf die fa. Idiomatik, zur Onomastik, zu speziellen semantischen Feldern (Zieldomänen) und Ausgangskonzepten, zu möglichen Gebrauchsrestriktionen oder morphosyntaktischen Besonderheiten. Von unschätzbarem Wert ist hier der „Arbeitskreis friesischer Sprichwörter und Redewendungen“, dessen Mitarbeiterinnen weiterhin ihre inselnordfriesische Sprachkompetenz für Rückfragen und Ergänzungen und zur Verfügung stellen würden – ein ungeahnter Vorteil gegenüber Forschungen anhand von schriftlichen Sprachdaten, bei denen Befragungen der Autoren, sei es zu textgestaltendem, wortspielerischem Umgang mit Idiomen, nicht möglich sind.

Seit einiger Zeit hat die Phraseologie, auch seitens der jüngeren Forschergeneration, einen beachtlichen Aufschwung erfahren. Besonders gefragt sind „neue empirische Daten“, womit korpuslinguistische Analysen gemeint sind. Daten der Korpora sind jedoch nicht „neu“; sie existieren ja bereits in den Presse-Erzeugnissen u.Ä., werden nur auf bestimmte Suchanfragen hin „neu sortiert“. Auch „neue“ Bearbeitungen bereits gut erforschter Felder sind zu beobachten. Im Unterschied dazu liegen alle Bereiche des mündlichen Gebrauchs von Phraseologismen völlig brach. Allein in den deutschen Umgangssprachen sind Tausende von Idiomen in Umlauf, die zumeist aus den örtlichen Mundarten in die regionale Alltagssprache vorgedrungen, aber an keiner Stelle lexikographisch erfasst worden sind (vgl. Piirainen 2016a: 172-

220, 235-260). Gleiches gilt für figurative Lexikoneinheiten aller Dialekte und Minderheitensprachen weltweit. Hier könnte die für das „Lexikon der friesischen Redewendungen“ geleistete Arbeit als Vorbild und als Anregung dienen, empirische Grundlagenforschungen zu betreiben und dadurch den theoretischen Rahmen der Phraseologie zu erweitern.

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Elisabeth Piirainen
 Dumte 32
 48565 Steinfurt
 Germany
 Email: piirainen@t-online.de

WOLFGANG MIEDER

Theoretical Approaches to Paremiology in Africa. By Nereus Yerima Tadi. Zaria, Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 2016. Pp. 232.

Let it be said right at the outset that Nereus Yerima Tadi's *Theoretical Approaches to Paremiology in Africa* (2016) is a most welcome and invaluable addition to the set of volumes that cover the entire field of paremiology for various cultures, languages, countries, and even continents. In English it started with Richard Chenevix Trench's *On the Lessons in Proverbs* (New York: Redfield, 1853) that went through several editions until its final publication as *Proverbs and Their Lessons* (London: George Routledge, 1905; rpt. ed. by Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington: The University of Vermont, 2003). While Tadi was able to make use of this slender volume, he did not have F. Edward Hulme's subsequent and more comprehensive treatise on *Proverb Lore. Being a Historical Study of the Similarities, Contrasts, Topics, Meanings, and Other Facets of Proverbs* (London: Elliot Stock, 1902; rpt. ed. by Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2007) at his disposal. But more importantly, he was able to use Archer Taylor's seminal introduction *The Proverb* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931; rpt. ed. by Wolfgang Mieder. Bern: Peter Lang, 1985) that to this day is the most celebrated general study on paremiology. Unfortunately he must not have been able to get a copy of my *Proverbs: A Handbook* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004; rpt. New York: Peter Lang, 2012). If I had known that he was working on his excellent introduction to African paremiology, I would certainly have sent him a copy of my book as well as that by Edward Hulme. We have been in contact over the years, and it has been an honor to publish three valuable articles by him in *Proverbium*. Since they do not appear in his otherwise extensive bibliography, let me cite them here: "Paremic Tropes and Polysemy: Tangle Metaphorical Proverbs,"

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Proverbium, 26 (2009), 351-366; “Proverbs and Philosophy: Tangle People and Their Worldview,” *Proverbium*, 27 (2010), 301-318; and “The Changing Face of Orature in Postcolonial Nigeria: Proverbs in Eddie Iroh’s *Without a Silver Spoon* and *Banana Leaves*,” *Proverbium*, 30 (2013), 311-332.

For some of the theoretical aspects of his book, Tadi benefited greatly from the many articles contained in two essay volumes that survey the fascinating field of paremiology: Wolfgang Mieder and Alan Dundes (eds.), *The Wisdom of Many: Essays on the Proverb* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1981, rpt. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), and Wolfgang Mieder (ed.), *Wise Words: Essays on the Proverb* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994; rpt. London: Routledge, 2015). Important additional more modern theoretical essays are presented in Wolfgang Mieder (ed.), *Cognition, Comprehension, and Communication. A Decade of North American Proverb Studies (1990-2000)* (Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 2003), but this book most likely never reached African libraries. Unfortunately, this is most likely also true for Hrisztalina Hrisztova-Gotthardt’s and Melita Aleksa Varga’s very recent and expensive essay volume *Introduction to Paremiology. A Comprehensive Guide to Proverb Studies* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2015) that in any case was published too late for Tadi to consider in his own study that finally presents an inclusive survey of paremiology in Africa. His new book deserves to be celebrated as a major scholarly accomplishment that will serve paremiologists not only in Africa but throughout the world as a much needed survey of the rich proverb tradition in Africa and the vast studies and numerous collections that have been published during the past two centuries (see also my *African Proverb Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography* [Colorado Springs, Colorado: African Proverbs Project, 1994], and *International Bibliography of Paremiology and Phraseology*, 2 vols. [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009]). Without any doubt this book deserves to stand next to those mentioned in my introductory remarks of this review, and it is my sincere hope that it will find its way into libraries everywhere.

The book is divided into six major chapters with the conclusion of but one page (p. 215) somewhat surprisingly being considered a seventh chapter. Every chapter is richly filled with ex-

amples of African proverbs from a multitude of languages that are cited in the original with English translations, thereby introducing readers to new proverbs whose metaphors are often quite different from the European or Asian proverb tradition. Tadi also finishes each chapter with extremely useful and informative bibliographies, and there is also a final bibliography (pp. 215-227) as well as a subject index (pp.228-232) that will be of great benefit to scholars and students as they deepen their knowledge and understanding about African proverbs. While I found a few bibliographical treasures in these bibliographies that I do not have in my International Proverb Archives at the University of Vermont, I pulled the following books of my shelves that do not appear in Tadi's bibliographies but which are of definite significance: Adeleke Adeeko, *Proverbs, Textuality, and Nativism in African Literature* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1998); Johannes Fabian, *Power and Performance: Ethnographic Explorations through Proverbial Wisdom and Theater in Shaba, Zaire* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); Ambrose Adikamkwu Monye, *Proverbs in African Orature. The Aniocha-Igbo Experience* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1996); and Joyce Penfield, *Communicating with Quotes: The Igbo Case* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983). These are all American publications and most likely were not accessible to Tadi. This is probably also true for Aderemi Raji-Oyelade's important book *Playful Blasphemies: Postproverbials as Archetypes of Modernity in Yoruba Proverbs* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2012) that was published in Germany. As paremiologists pay ever more attention to the appearance, use, function, and meaning of proverbs in modernity, it is paramount that we also study the innovative modern role that proverbs – often in the form of postproverbials or anti-proverbs – play in oral communication, in literature and popular music, and above all in the mass media.

The first chapter on “Conceptualizing the Proverb” (pp. 1-49) is an informed survey of the definition, the poetic nature of proverbs, the origin of proverbs, the coiners of proverbs, and the sources of proverbs. It is here where Tadi reviews previous scholarship on these matters showing his vast international knowledge of paremiology. He correctly observes that most scholarship does not reference African proverbs as examples and

by doing this in his own book, he renders a tremendous intercultural service to all proverb scholars. As the Head of the Department of English (the book is written in exquisite English) at Gombe State University in Nigeria, Nereus Yerima Tadi is a speaker of the Tangle language and draws many of his examples from his mother tongue, but he also cites proverbs from literally dozens of other African languages in the original and with English translations. While these languages have their respective terms for “proverb”, it is to be noted that they also include such genres as aphorisms, idioms, sayings euphemisms, etc. As he states:

The Tangle people of Gombe State of Nigeria use the term *sam kwi bolji* as an umbrella term for proverbs, sayings, and idioms. The phrase ‘*sam kwi bolji*’, literally means matter whose head is turned upside down and hence utterances whose meanings are not to be taken literally. [Proverbs are] loaded speech which demands thought for meaning to yield itself. Like most African terms for proverbs therefore, *sam kwi bolji* connotes figurativeness, hidden meaning and allusiveness. (p. 10)

Following a review of a number of definition attempts by such American and European scholars as Archer Taylor, Bartlett Jere Whiting, Ruth Finnegan, Arvo Krikmann, Wolfgang Mieder, and others, he rightfully cites well-known African paremiologists like Kwesi Yankah, Okumba Miruka and J.O.J. Nwachukwu-Agbada and comes up with the following composite definition:

[Proverbs are] mostly short, terse, witty, literal or figurative statements, often expressing a general truth or wisdom of the society and accepted by the generality of the people. They often have linguistic markers like parallel and contrastive features; are sometimes accompanied by introductory remarks and may or may not be antiquarian in origin. Indeed, the proverb has a particular shape, a particular structure or nature that is akin to poetry. (p. 12)

This is followed by detailed discussions of non-figurative proverbs like the Tangle proverb *Kon nang ka koditho* (Everything has its time) that brings to mind the equivalent Bible proverb “There is a time for everything” (Ecclesiastes 3:1; Tadi p. 18 and

pp. 198-199), structural parallelism, alliteration, assonance, rhyme, imagery, metaphor, personification, synecdoche, and allusion in proverbs.

Regarding the origin of African proverbs, Tadi makes the following important statement that must be kept in mind:

A proverb may have its origin either in the distant or recent past; it could originate from man's reflection on the totality of his life; it could be a product of history or of a song, a tale or a myth. Neighboring language groups could also be sources of proverbs. This means that a particular proverb that is current in a culture might have its origin in another culture. In Africa today many people use Biblical and European proverbs even when speaking in African languages. This is a result of the cross-cultural encounter occasioned largely by trade, missionary activities and colonialism. Globalisation has erased borders as there is increased intermingling of people across cultures, which in turn affects the way we speak. (p. 39)

Regarding the influence of Bible proverbs by way of missionaries on proverbs current in Africa let me add at least these two studies: Philippe Dinzolele Nzambi, *Proverbes bibliques et proverbes kongo* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992) and W. Jay Moon, *African Proverbs Reveal Christianity in Culture. A Narrative Portrayal of Builsa Proverbs. Contextualizing Christianity in Ghana* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2009). I should also mention the following essay volume by Willem Saayman (ed.), *Embracing the Baobab Tree: The African Proverb in the 21st Century* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1997). It contains the papers presented at an International and Interdisciplinary Symposium on the African Proverb held at the University of South Africa in 1995. I had the great honor of presenting the keynote address on "Modern Paremiology in Retrospect and Prospect" at that unforgettable gathering. It was then that the African Proverbs Project was created under the directorship of Father Joseph Healey that is active to this date publishing every year several unique proverb collections of small and almost unknown African languages. At that time, and with this I return to Tadi's statement above, I argued that while we have

numerous and excellent giant African proverb collections, we know very little about the loan processes among them. Thus while we have documented what proverbs are common in Europe or in Asia by borrowing processes, we really don't know anything or very little about proverbs that are known identically (!) throughout Africa or in larger areas of different languages on that extensive and fascinating continent. Tadi concludes this magisterial chapter by also commenting on the coiners and sources of proverbs. It is good that he mentions, albeit only very shortly, the significance of the internet, phones, and the media in all of this (see pp. 44-45). It would certainly be a mistake to study African proverbs or proverbs in general only as traditional wisdom. The modern age everywhere is creating new proverbs or changes established proverbs into anti-proverbs (that might become new proverbs), and if paremiology does not want to become stagnant, these modern phenomena need to be studied locally, regionally, nationally, and globally.

The somewhat shorter but equally informative second chapter on "Basic Issues in the Study of Proverbs" (pp. 50-68) covers the universality, internationality, users, and translation of proverbs. His statement that "there are differences of socio-political, cultural and political realities of the peoples of the world but even in this diversity there are experiences that are essentially human and thereby universalistic in application" (p. 52) covers the phenomenon that proverbs from different cultures and languages, though they might have different metaphors and exhibit different realia, might in fact mean the same and relate to similar phenomena. This is also the reason why foreign proverbs can be accepted in translation as borrowings from one language to another that can lead to internationally disseminated proverbs. Proverbs from antiquity, the Bible, and medieval Latin were loan translated into many European languages and beyond, as Gyula Paczolay has demonstrated in his comparative collection of *European Proverbs in 55 Languages with Equivalents in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese and Japanese* (Veszprém, Hungary: Veszprémi Nyomda, 1997). But notice, the rich African proverb tradition is not included, and as I have already stated, we need a comparative proverb collection of this type for Africa or at least for language groups from Africa. The extant proverb collections, and there are many of them, need to be brought together, and the

ability to deal with large sets of data by way of the computer should make some of this possible. There is still much work to do regarding the universalism and internationalism of African proverbs.

Tadi also points out that there are shifts in how proverbs are used and by whom. It is not at all only traditional communication by way of proverbial wisdom spoken primarily by the elders, but there are also innovative ways of employing proverbs in oral discourse and in literary and media writings. And there are the new indigenous proverbs to which are added borrowed proverbs (primarily from the English) that are translated into the many native African languages or cited in English especially in Nigeria where that Germanic language serves as a *lingua franca* among the multitude of languages spoken in that country alone: "It is not very uncommon to find speakers using African and non-African proverbs in their daily conversations. In fact, some non-African proverbs seem to have been appropriated by Africans who use them in appropriate local contexts" (p. 61). While many proverbs from the Bible and also from the Koran were added to the proverbial repertoire of the African people, the colonizers from various countries also disseminated some of their proverbs. It is important to keep this in mind when trying to establish the origin of proverbs in the African languages. And, of course, "new proverbs are also being coined as the society experiences change. [...] We can therefore conclude that proverbs are as dynamic as the society that uses them. [...] Proverbs are viable, full of vitality and are dynamic" (p. 63). It is good that Tadi mentions this in one paragraph, but I wish that he would have expanded this to three or four pages. Quite a bit is known about proverbs in the modern age, and Charles Clay Doyle, Fred Shapiro, and I have now assembled the first scholarly collection of modern Anglo-American proverbs with historical and contextual annotations in *The Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2012). I might also mention my book *Proverbs Are Never Out of Season: Popular Wisdom in the Modern Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993; rpt. New York: Peter Lang, 2012). There is much more research on this, but there is still little scholarship for the modern African scene which most definitely exists for proverbs. The already mentioned Aderemi Raji-Oyelade is spearheading some of these

efforts in Nigeria, but there are also such articles as N.F. Inyama, "Source and Adaptation in the Proverb: A Nigerian Example," *Lore and Language*, 3 (1980), 47-61; Liveson Tatira, "Proverbs in Zimbabwean Advertisements," *Journal of Folklore Research*, 38 (2001), 229-241; and Bode Agbaje, "Modernization as an Agent of Neo-Traditional Yoruba Proverbs," *Proverbium*, 23 (2006), 17-30. In any case, the chapter closes with a short discussion of the vexing problem of translating indigenous proverbs into other languages (pp. 63-66). Anybody having worked with proverbs from other cultures knows how difficult it is to translate highly metaphorical proverbs that might include obscure words and unknown allusions.

The important third chapter is an erudite treatise on "Theoretical Approaches to the Proverb" (pp. 69-105) that is of utmost importance for the understanding of how folklore in general and proverbs in particular originate, survive, and spread over time. There are sections on evolutionists and diffusionists with a particularly valuable discussion of the Finnish-Historical-Geographical School (pp. 76-85). While Tadi recognizes the historical-geographical method for emphasizing "typology, origin and spread of orature", he does quite correctly criticize the fact that it "fails to look at other aspects of orature such as the question of literary or social relevance of an oral text/performance. The school ignores the vital aspects of style, function and context of oral forms" (p. 84). With regard to the African scene, he concludes these comments with this valid observation:

We credit the Historical-Geographical School for its attempt to shed more light on orature materials through comparative and historical studies. African paremiologists may adopt the comparative and historical approach where materials have already been collected, classified and interpreted. This will certainly help in bringing out the complexity, diversity and shared areas of African aesthetic experience. In examining the proverbs of any African society, it might be fruitful and insightful to examine the variants that exist in other languages if only to see the commonality of certain human experiences and thought processes. (p. 85)

As stated before, I expressed this desideratum on various occasions, and it is good to see that Nereus Yerima Tadi as a distinguished African paremiologist is also arguing for the comparative analysis of African proverbs.

The next section of this loaded chapter is dedicated to the structuralist approach to proverbs (pp. 85-96). He deals with the work of such famous structuralists as Vladimir Propp, Claude Levi-Strauss, Ronald Barthes, Peter Grzybek, Alan Dundes, and Beatrice Silverman-Weinreich. Tadi recognizes the value of structural proverb studies, but he also stresses that there is more to analyzing proverbs than looking at their formalistic aspects:

The Structuralists see language as a model for orature studies. However, whatever the gains that may accrue through the application of the methods of structural linguistics, a mechanical, formalistic adaptation of the structure of language for the examination of orature materials is fraught with perils. It is true that orature springs from language, it is language in action, but an analysis of [an] orature genre like the proverb needs to recognize many other factors like the social values of the society, the context in which it is used at a particular time, place and circumstance. A mechanistic approach to orature studies such as is posited by Structuralists removes orature studies from the peculiarities of its environment. (p. 94)

This is true when the structuralist approach is taken to its extreme, but it must be recognized that many structurally oriented scholars add other aspects of the biology of proverbs to their work. And this is most certainly true for folklorists like Alan Dundes, who added a psychoanalytical bend to his structuralist approach and much more. And it is good that Tadi concludes this chapter with a discussion of the Psychoanalytical School (pp. 96-103). After short remarks about Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung, he points out correctly that their approach is very much centered in European traditions:

Like the structuralists they [the psychoanalysts] universalize European archetypes and hence deny the distinctiveness and originality of African orature. Everything is explained within the contexts of European artistic and

philosophical thought. [...] The Psychoanalytical Approach to orature study seems to be mainly concerned with the issues of sexual symbols, dream interpretations, survivals, archetypal figures and universals. Its generalizing tendency, often from the perspective of Western thought, could be misleading and its approach is limited in view of the fact that it fails to situate proverbs in their social context” (p. 101 and pp. 102-103).

This might well be true in general, but a scholar of the renown of Alan Dundes, for example, went far beyond the limitations of the structural and psychoanalytical approaches that he championed. He was also interested in functional, semantic, and contextual matters as he interpreted various genres of orature. What we obviously want is a synthesis of various approaches in proverb studies that will help us to gain the best possible insights into proverbs.

Tadi did well to finish his survey here and to make his yet again extensive fourth chapter on “Theoretical Approaches to the Proverb” (pp. 106-129) the continuation of his insightful deliberations. As one might have expected, he now turns to the Functionalist School of such scholars as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Bronislaw Malinowski, and William R. Bascom, and once again he has a legitimate criticism – but only if scholars were to limit themselves purely to studying function alone: “While we agree that orature definitely plays a vital function in society, the Functionalist Approach to orature studies is, like the approaches of the Evolutionists, the Diffusionists, the Structuralists and the Psychoanalysts, limited in the sense of being mono-directional” (p. 110). And, of course, Tadi is correct by stating that “for a fuller understanding of the meaning of a proverb, the context within which it is spoken should equally be examined” (p. 111).

This leads him to a detailed discussion of “The Contextual School” (pp. 111-123) as practiced by Walter Ong, Roger D. Abrahams and Barbara A. Babcock, Peter Seitel, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Kwesi Yankah, and others. There can be no doubt that proverbs in collections are basically “dead” since they really only come to live in oral or written communication. This becomes immediately clear when Tadi discusses in but two pages “Other Approaches” (pp. 124-125) at the end of this chap-

ter, among them Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis, Feminism, Postcolonialism, New Historicism, Deconstruction, Poststructuralism, Ecocriticism, Gender/Racial Studies, and Marxism. Doubtlessly this list could be extended depending on the point of view one wants to employ when studying proverbs. Tadi once speaks of “the polyfunctionality of proverbs” (p. 103), and he could not be more correct. Some forty years ago the Estonian paremiologist Arvo Krikmann added two other aspects to this by declaring that proverbs are characterized by their polyfunctionality, polysemanticiy, and polysituativity (see his book *Proverb Semantics: Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor*, ed. by Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009).

Having finished his impressive and informative survey of paremiology from a theoretical point of view in these four inclusive chapters, Tadi is ready to put to use what he has so clearly explained by looking in the fifth chapter at the “Themes of Proverbs” (pp. 130-164). It is here where African proverbial wisdom comes to life by Tadi citing numerous examples from various African languages and providing detailed linguistic, historical, folkloric, semantic, functional, and contextual explanations. There are sections on human behavior, speech or verbal art, conflict, work, togetherness, solidarity, disillusionment, patience, perseverance, foolishness, humans’ relationship with God, and children and youth. It is here where the proverbs come alive, and where Tadi shows his detailed knowledge of the treasure trove of African proverbs with a special emphasis on his native Tangle proverbs. As one reads these proverbs in their African languages with English translations, one is struck by the fact that the meaning of them is often quite similar to proverbs outside of Africa. In other words, as Tadi pointed out in the theoretical part of his book, the human behavior and experiences are not that different at all, but people from different parts of the globe express them in different metaphors depending on their own cultural and societal surroundings. This is not the place to cite numerous examples, but let me just choose this single one:

Proverbs also talk on speech or verbal art. This is because of the importance that people attach to conversation/discourse. People of different cultures value speech

very much because they recognize the problems that a wrong or inappropriate speech may cause and the good that truthful, honest and clear conversation would do. There are therefore many proverbs on the diverse aspects of speech: its defects, its good qualities and often situational needs for silence. (pp. 133-134 with several examples on pp. 134-135)

There are studies on "speech" proverbs from other cultures and languages, such as Frank de Caro, "Talk is Cheap: The Nature of Speech According to American Proverbs," *Proverbium*, 4 (1987), 17-37; J.L. Fischer and Teigo Yoshida, "The Nature of Speech According to Japanese Proverbs," *Journal of American Folklore*, 81 (1968), 34-43; and William K. McNeil, "The Nature of Speech According to Indian Proverbs," *Folklore Forum*, 4 (1971), 2-14. If we do more such studies for individual African languages and others throughout the world, we could get a fascinating comparative picture of attitudes towards the value of speech.

Just as there is basically an unlimited number of themes of proverbs, the same is true for what Tadi presents in the sixth (falsely labelled as the fifth) chapter on the "Functions of Proverbs" (pp. 165-213). He admits that "most of the proverbs are polyfunctional" (p. 165) and then presents numerous examples of African proverbs with an emphasis again on Tangle proverbs that function as education, advice, caution, admonishment, comments on human behavior, settling legal cases, consolation, reflection on life, and embellishment of speech. At the end there is a small section on the literary use of proverbs (pp. 208-209), where Tadi mentions what a profound role proverbs play in African literary works by such authors as Chinua Achebe, Eddi Iroh, Wole Soyinka, and others. Tadi as a literary author has studied this aspect in detail, and it might have been well for him to include a couple of contextualized examples from a novel or play here. In any case, we have an impressive number of proverb studies dealing with African literature, where they add much information regarding the distant cultures of Africa.

But much more work needs to be done on African proverbs, as Tadi mentions in his one-page conclusion (chapter seven): "Despite the numerous works on African proverbs it is still

morning yet on creation day! For example, in Nigeria with language groups of over three hundred, proverb research has hardly covered up to one hundred and fifty language groups. Paremiologists need to extend their work to the yet unexplored fields for they are bound to yield more utterances that provide delight to the listeners, help in effective communication, reflect the rich world views of the speakers, and consequently, enrich humanity as a whole” (p. 214). As mentioned above, Father Joseph Healey and members of his African Proverbs Project are conducting invaluable paremiographical field research by collecting and publishing the proverbs from African languages that have never been registered. And yes, although paremiologists have assembled a rich scholarly record regarding the proverbs of Africa, there is much more comparative and interpretive work to be done. But this is exactly where Nereus Yerima Tadi’s book *Theoretical Approaches to Paremiology in Africa* comes in! It is the perfect book at the right time, and in Africa it needs to reach all school and university libraries and all scholars and students interested in proverbs of their continent. But more than that: this is an excellent survey of paremiology with an emphasis on African proverbs, and is a superb addition to previous overarching treatises of this type. Nereus Yerima Tadi is to be congratulated on his magnificent scholarly achievement. Even though it has just been published, it will very quickly become a classic work in the rich field of paremiology!

Wolfgang Mieder
Department of German and Russian
422 Waterman Building
University of Vermont
85 South Prospect Street
Burlington, Vermont 05405
USA
E-mail: Wolfgang.Mieder@uvm.edu

ARISTEIDES N. DOULAVERAS

Professor Minas Al. Alexiadis and the Greek Folkloristics. By M. G. Varvounis. Athens: Institute of Book-Kardamitsa, 2016. Pp. 172.

This book examines the folkloristic, research and writing contribution of Minas Al. Alexiadis, Professor Emeritus of Folkloristics¹ at the Department of Philology, School of Philosophy, of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. It is written by Manolis G. Varvounis, a close collaborator of Alexiadis and a distinguished Professor of Folklore as well as the Chairman of the Department of History and Ethnology of Democritus University of Thrace.

In his *Preface*, Varvounis explains the reasons that led him to the writing of the present volume, and he highlights, among other critical factors, the following: “*In this concise study, the folkloristic, both through his research and his writing, contribution of the Professor of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Minas Al. Alexiadis, is examined and analyzed. This contribution manifests itself on several different levels, as it has encompassed both the local studies regarding Karpathian and Dodecanese Folkloristics in general, as well as the fields of History of Folkloristics and the Literary and Modernist Folkloristics, a term which he himself has introduced in Greece*” (p.7).

The inaugural chapter presents thoroughly the life, studies, career and the entire academic oeuvre of Professor Alexiadis where one can discern both his excellent training, with studies in Greece (University of Ioannina) and abroad (University College of London, London School of Economics, School of Oriental and African Studies), and his rich instructional, research, publication and administrative work.

The remainder of the book is divided in six different sections and each one of them examines Alexiadis' contribution to the following fields and areas of study: A. History and Theory of Folkloristics. B. Modernist Folkloristics. C. Literary Folkloris-

tics. D. Customary Folkloristics. E. Folk Culture of Karpathos. F. Folk Culture of Dodecanese.

In the first section, the author acknowledges the systematic and lengthy bibliographic involvement of Alexiadis mainly with the Folklore Literature of Epiros, and the publication of essays about contractual documents, remembrances of old religious books from his homeland, essays about the biography of eminent Greek folklorists as well as tributes to them (Dem. S. Loukatos [1908-2003], M. G. Meraklis [born 1932]). Alexiadis wrote essays as well on the work of other great Greek and foreign academic folkloristics, such as N. G. Politis (1852-1921), St. Kyriakidis (1887-1964), Dem. V. Economides (1909-2010), Samuel Baud-Bovy (1906-1986), Richard M. Dawkins (1871-1955) and Alan Dundes (1934-2005). He, moreover, investigated the life and work of non-folklorist scientists, who had dealt, however, with folkloric themes, such as G. Michaelides-Nouaros, Kon. Minas, Zach. Tsirpanlis, Gerasimos Rigatos, I. M. Hatzifotis, Costas Sahinidis, Kon. Melas and Zoe Samara. In addition, Alexiadis was engaged in a book of his, with the study of the *Elliniki kai Diethnis Epistimoniki Onomatotesia tis Laografias (Greek and International Scientific Naming of Folkloristics)*² (1988, 2010), in which he systematically examines Greek and international names of Folklore Science. Furthermore, Alexiadis in another essay of his discussed the term *Folkloristics as replacement of the term Folklore*, a proposal which incited discussions in Greece. He also published numerous other essays on folkloric studies in Greece from 1907 to 2003, while he organized annual seminar lectures, dedicated to eminent Greek and foreign folklorists.

In the second section, titled "Modernist Folkloristics", Varvounis presents the original involvement of Professor Alexiadis with contemporary folklore themes, e.g.: *Laikes Epigrafes kai Onomata se Ellinika Autokineta: Simvoli stin erevna sygxronon laografikon fainomenon (Folk Inscriptions and Names in Greek Cars: Contribution to Phenomena of Modern Folklore Research)*³ (1989), and *Neoteriki Elliniki Laografia (Modern Greek Folkloristics)* (2006, 2013). He also stresses Alexiadis' contribution to the emergence of the popular autobiographical interviews as sources of Folkloristics, to the printed folk poetry of Karpathos and the surrounding islands as well as to systematic

study of some contemporary folk poets and folk-like poets. The author of the book also investigates the research opportunities offered by the traditional Press in the study of popular culture and he refers to the book of Alexiadis *Entypa Mesa Epikoinonias kai Laikos Politismos. Neoterika Laografika (Printed Media and Folk Culture. Modern Folkloristics)*⁴ (2011), a book that highlighted many cases of new folklore sources, including the proverbial discourse in printed media. We also need to mention here Alexiadis' essay "O paroimiakos kai Gnomikos Logos ton Ellinon Politikon. Deigmata apo ton Elliniko Typo" ("The Proverbial and Gnostic Discourse of Greek Politicians. Samples of the Athenian Press") (2009) that demonstrates the widespread survival and use of proverbial discourse by Greek politicians. In another one of his essays entitled "Anti-paroimies se Athinaikes Efimerides" ("Anti-proverbs in Athenian Newspapers") (2010), Alexiadis perceptively notes the modification of the form of traditional proverbs and sayings for mainly advertising mainly reasons. This is in fact the first essay on the subject in Greek Proverbial Literature. Exceptional is also his book *Entypi Diafimisi kai Laikos Politismos (Printed Advertisements and Folk Culture)* (2014), that brings together examples of advertisements by the Greek Press, which are interesting as evidence of the modern urbanized life and as survival elements of traditional life. In the aforementioned book, Alexiadis talks about proverbs and sayings in advertising, which constitute 36.4% of the printed material. In the same book there is a very interesting chapter on "Anti-paroimies se Diafimiseis tou Paradosiakou Typou" ("Anti-proverbs in Advertisements of the Traditional Press") (2015), presenting several printed examples. I would like to finally mention here an essay by Professor Alexiadis bearing the title "Dimosiografikos Logos kai Paroimia ("Journalistic Discourse and Proverb") (2001), in which he highlights for the first time the dynamic function of proverbial speech in newspapers and magazines.

In the third section, Varvounis examines the contribution of Professor Alexiadis in "Literary (Philological) Tradition" and refers to his doctoral dissertation on the Greek tales of "Killing the Dragon" (Aa Th 300, 301A and 301B), which was an original, systematic and exhaustive study on paramythology. Also, in this same section, the author presents works of Alexiadis on folk

songs, riddles, ethnographic approach of the tale, and his very important book *O Agapitikos tis Boskopoulas (The Lover of the Shepherdess)* (1990), that has adapted the fifteen-syllable verses of the Zakynthian folk theater and has as model for its plot the dramatic romance of Dem. Koromilas (1891) with the same title. Finally, to be especially noted, is the contribution of Professor Alexiadis to the emergence and systematic study of Karpathos' printed folk poetry and that of surrounding islands as a kind of modern Greek folk discourse and folk-artistic discourse.

In the fourth section, entitled "Customary Folklore", the author is referring to "Customary Ecclesiastical Auctions", to the reciprocity between the divine and the human, which is governed by the principle of *do ut des*, to the "Praises of the Epitaph of the Virgin Mary", to the "History and Miracles of Our Lady of Menetes" and to relevant essays on the work of contemporary ecclesiastical men like Archbishop of Thyatira and Great Britain Gregorios and the Metropolitans of Karpathos and Kasos Ambrosios and of Kos and Nisyros Nathanael.

The fifth section highlights the contribution of Professor Alexiadis to the study of the folk culture of Karpathos, since Karpathos is his homeland. The book is titled *Karpathiaki Laografia. Opseis tou Laikou Politismou (Karpathian Folkloristics. Aspects of Folk Culture)* (2001), 455 pages, and contains 19 essays, which are related to the folklore heritage and research of Karpathos (1948-1998), but also to the relationship of Professor Richard Dawkins, one of the main researchers of Karpathian Folkloristics, with Greek folklorists of his time. Here are also included works on Karpathian folk songs, printed folk poetry and folk poets of the island, riddles, tales, the jocular narratives of Karpathians, customary auctions, and two ancient proverbs about the island. Various other folkloric themes are also included as well as a work in the English language about the modern aspects of folk culture of the island. Regarding Karpathos there is one more published book by Professor Alexiadis bearing the title, *I Karpathos se Archaious, Latinous kai Byzantinous Syggrafeis (Karpathos in Ancient Greek, Latin and Byzantine Writers)* (Athens 2013), and a new voluminous one is in press right now entitled *Karpathos. Istorika Stoixeia. Laikos Politismos (Karpathos. Historical Elements. Folk Culture)*. He moreover had the editing care of the literary and historical supplement "SEVEN

DAYS" featuring *The Island of Karpathos*, in the widely circulating newspaper *Kathimerini* (June 22, 1997, p. 29). Varvounis in his book also emphasizes the extensive contribution of Professor Alexiadis to the folk culture of Kar-pathos, by organizing five international conferences and by editing their proceedings. Finally, Alexiadis' contribution is consolidated with the establishment and the operation of the *Institute of Folk Culture of Karpathos*, in the Department of Philology, at the University of Athens. The Institute's purpose is to promote basic theoretical and applied scientific research of folk culture in the Greek world, with emphasis on the Dodecanese and other Aegean islands. Until presently there have been offered by the Institute seminars on Folklore, three cycles of postgraduate courses on the Folkloristics of Karpathos, while ten books have been already published by it.

In the sixth section the author discusses the contribution of Alexiadis in the folk culture of the Dodecanese, with central reference to his book *Dodekanisa. Laikos Politismos (Dodecanese. Folk Culture)* (2005²). The book offers a valuable bibliography for the years between 1980-2001 (949 entries) with essays on folk songs and elements on the contribution of Paulos Gneftos (from Rhodes) to them, as well as folk autobiographical interviews from Soroni of Rhodes. It also incorporates research of the folk culture of Kos, customary rituals of birth and remembrances of ecclesiastical books from Karpathos, printed folk poetry of Kasos (1962-1994), and the contribution of Antonis Sofos to the study of the folk culture of the island.

The book is accompanied by related photographic material (15 photos) from the career of Professor Minas Al. Alexiadis at the Universities of Ioannina and Athens.

In conclusion, we should acknowledge that the author, M. G. Varvounis, organized methodically the rich folklore writings of Professor Minas Al. Alexiadis and made efficiently all the necessary classifications and evaluations. The book is not only a tribute to a great university Professor, as Minas Al. Alexiadis really is, but it is also a very valuable contribution to the history of Greek Folkloristics.

Notes

¹ Professor Minas Al. Alexiadis introduces the term *Folkloristics* instead of *Folklore* and has published a relevant article: Minas Al. Alexiadis, “‘Folkloristics’. Mia alli protasi gia ti diethni onomatotesia tis Laografias” (“‘Folkloristics’. Another Proposal for the International Naming of Folklore”), *Scientific Yearbook of Philosophical School of University of Athens*, v. 42 (2013), 57-66.

² Review: Charles Stewart, *Journal of American Folklore*, 102 (1989), 510-511.

³ Review: Walter Puchner, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, XLIV: 93 (1990), 491-492.

⁴ Reviews: Wolfgang Mieder, *Proverbium* 29(2012), 381-384; Maria A. Kastrinou, *Folklore* (London), 124:1(April 2013), 108-109; Walter Puchner, *Südost-Forschungen*, (Germany) 72 (2013), 554-556.

Aristeides N. Doulaveras
University of Peloponnese
7 Agias Marinis St.
200 01- Zeugolatio Korintias
Greece
E-mail: aris.doulaveras@gmail.com

OUTI LAUHAKANGAS

Ordspråk i bruk. Användning av ordspråk i dramadialog. (Proverbs in Play. Usage of Proverbs in Drama Dialogue). By Anders Widbäck. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, Institutionen för nordiska språk, 1995. Pp. 184.

Anders Widbäck's thesis over usage of proverbs in drama dialogue is a rare experiment in the Swedish linguistic research. The main national collections are *Ordspråk och talesätt* (Proverbs and wellerisms) of Pelle Holm (1965) and *Svenska ordspråk* (Swedish proverbs) of Fredrik Ström (1981 [1929]). Widbäck also mentions Inger Lindell's *En medeltida ordspråkssamling på fornsvenska* (The collection of medieval Swedish proverbs, 2011). In order to get an idea of the former Swedish paremiology one must mainly consult the introductions of these proverb collections.

Widbäck points out that there are certain proverbs that are missing from proverb collections. In addition to censorship of coarse and obscene expressions there is a lack of irony and play with cunning connotations in old collections. Instead, there is over-representation of proverbs that include abstract concepts. In this connection it is good to be reminded – as Widbäck does – that in 18th century France there was such a craze of using proverbs in theater plays (*proverbe dramatique*) that the whole dialogue could be constructed of proverbs. This certainly had its influence in Swedish drama art.

Actually, Widbäck has a Finnish-Swedish predecessor, Rolf Pipping (active from 1930s to 1960s), who also studied proverbs in plays. Pipping was interested in how they were used for characterizing persons. Pipping was quite advanced for his time, because he already emphasized the importance of knowing the context in which a proverb is used. He also urged to differentiate between the semantic contents and pragmatic use of proverbs, which brought focus to the meaning of a proverb.

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The focus of Widbäck's thesis is on the communicative functions of proverbs and on how information is disseminated through proverbs. He concentrates on the interpersonal meta-function of proverbs. The theoretical basis of the study is systemic-functional linguistics. Widbäck's source material consists of 45 Swedish plays published between 1700 and 2000. He used the corpus called Swedish drama dialogue.

Widbäck's premise is that proverbs violate standard usage of language. His analysis of the meaning of a figurative expression is fine. In the case of proverbs, we need to broaden the term figurative meaning. Sometimes there is a transfer of meaning by metaphors or metonymy and sometimes the figurative meaning comes from the connotations and from other culturally specific inferences linked with it.

There have long been difficulties with agreeing upon a common area of study among and between scholars studying proverbs and other expressions with a stable form. Most often the aim of research defines the limits of the material considered. Widbäck includes wellerisms (*ordstäv*) and sayings (*talesätt*) in dealing with proverbs. He also counts allusions in his material provided that the kernel of a proverb lies within. He devotes a chapter for the definition of a proverb. His own aim is to deal with functions of proverbs. Widbäck's material allows a diachronic perspective to proverb use and its possible change.

In my (Finnish) dissertation (2004), which was also about functions of proverbs, I concentrated on the speaker's point of view in order to be able to classify the situations. Widbäck doesn't hesitate to take both user's and listener's points of view for his subject. The drama material highlights two main functions of proverbial speech: social – which refers in the first instance to values and norms – and communicative functions when information is mediated. Proverbial information is not so much about special knowledge as written by Holm (1965): a proverb speaks about a single case but it refers to life in general.

Widbäck specifies his research question as a task to sort out, how the proverbs in Swedish drama dialogue are distributed to interpersonal speech acts. He found 14 different speech acts, in which he saw different emphasis on the type of information given (to comment, to describe, to clarify, to strengthen), how this information was given as an opinion (to affirm it, to excuse it, to

make an argument, to oppose, to rebuke, to warn) and how emotional and evaluative it was (criticizing, calming, consoling, abusing).

Commenting was the most common way to use proverbs in Swedish drama during three hundred years. Abusing and consoling was rare, but criticizing was the second common context for the use of proverbs. If I compare Widbäck's results to my observations about use of proverbs in different authentic situations, they are very similar. In my multicultural material people's need to explain, justify and get approval for their deeds and opinions was distinct. For my theory of increasing tension in social interaction and a need to decrease it Widbäck's speech act of commenting is too general or neutral (Lauhakangas 2004). Of course, sometimes it is difficult to assess the tone of commenting with a proverb when you have no clue of nonverbal communication.

Widbäck discusses how authentic conversation and dialogue in a drama differ from each other. The discussion should be continued. We have a challenge in comparing textual (social media) and oral communication.

Another difference between an authentic situation and drama is, how much the personal interests of those taking part in conversations influence the chosen speech acts. In contrast to real-life situations the playwright leads the story in the drama dialogue. In any case, a proverb brings to a discussion an elevated relevance principle. It is filled with semantic content in a condensed form. Widbäck compares a proverb to a line in a play and remarks that neither is said without an aim behind it. In this way, a drama text is comparable to authentic conversation.

A proverb is considered a ready-made lingual resource but this does not prevent it from being converted and from giving it new meanings. Even synonymous proverbs can mean different things.

Widbäck recalls Michael Halliday's systemic functional linguistics. It is an approach to linguistics that considers language as a social semiotic system. According to Halliday any act of communication involves choices. Widbäck (p. 79) opposes those system linguists who claim that in bound sentences there could not be any speech acts. Namely, a proverb has its own separate function even when it is a part of a bound sentence. Widbäck

points out that with proverbs you don't merely do simple verbal acts but use combinations of them.

Widbäck has a good analysis on how the term 'interpersonal metafunction' applies to studying proverbs, how experience and social interaction and their wording work with proverb use.

In his conclusions Widbäck has an interesting approach to information and proverbs. Language using proverbs is conveying information, if it is compared to direct orders, questions or requests. But listening to a proverb means that we meet authority and feel distance.

Widbäck notices that proverbs are used almost in the same way in recent plays as in Swedish drama during three hundred years. Here are examples from the 18th and the 20th centuries:

TORBIÖRN Så tag mig i hand Jungfru Sara Lotand och ifrån den dagen är du en af mig utkorad Fru til Stollebo och til all min egendom. (Stiger fram och kysser henne.) Jag war intet för hastig nu hoppas jag.

SARA (Niger.) Åh nei kiära Juncker. (För sig sielf) Fy huru han lucktar af Tobak, men *man får intet si en gifwen häst i munnen*, har jag hört. [Oh no, my dear Lord. (To herself). Pooh, how he smells of tobacco, but *Don't look the gift horse in the mouth*, I have heard.]

Swenska sprätthöken (A comedy of Carl Gyllenborg, 1737)

DAVID Ja, det har jag också. Finns det ingenting som kan få er att skiljas?

ELIN Skulle du vilja det?

DAVID Nej, varför skulle jag vilja det? **Man vet vad man har men aldrig vad man får.** [No, why should I want it? You know what you have but you don't know what you will get.]

Natten är dagens mor (A play of Lars Norén, 1982)

Still, some differences came out. The writers of the old plays seem to include more factual arguments than later playwrights, who prefer individual and personal problems.

Widbäck's material strengthened the premise that proverbs are used both inside different age groups and from an elder person to a younger one. The results of the study show a clear de-

cline in use over time in the number of proverbs in the material. They are used most frequently in the 18th century to argue and oppose, while in the 20th century they tend to be used to criticize. He formulates a research problem for the future: Can we see the same kind of tendencies when a more comprehensive material is studied? I would also wait for this kind of research to be carried out for example using the conversations on the discussion forums of social media.

Outi Lauhakangas
Independent researcher, paremiologist
Rautiontie 3 C 12
00640 Helsinki
Finland
E-mail: outi-lauhakangas@sci.fi

PETER UNSETH

Two Thousand Zhuang Proverbs from China with Annotations and Chinese and English Translation. Edited and translated by Zhou Yanxian. International Folkloristics 11. New York: Peter Lang. 2017. Pp. 268.

Zhou Yanxian has given the world the first published collection of Zhuang proverbs in English. Zhou Yanxian's collection of 2,160 Proverbs prints each one with a translation into Mandarin Chinese (written in characters) and a translation into English. The Zhuang population is approximately 18 million. The author collected over 11,000 proverbs from many Zhuang varieties. She speaks of Zhuang as a "dialect" (p. xix), but this usage reflects a very different and broader meaning of the word "dialect" than is used by scholars in the West. The International Standards Organization section on languages recognizes 16 Zhuang languages, and one author divides Zhuang into 36 varieties. Most Zhuang languages are spoken within Guangxi province in southeastern China.

The proverbs are arranged into chapters under nine topical headings, such as Family, Labor, Politics. Within each chapter, the proverbs are arranged alphabetically based on the Zhuang proverbs spelled in roman letters. The chapter with the most proverbs is Labor, with 491. This emphasis on labor and hard work is reflected in the proverbs themselves, e.g. "Depend on yourself for food, depend on others and you will starve" (#1454). The chapter with the fewest proverbs is Customs, with only 41. These include affirmations of human relationships "The tree root is long, but human relationships are longer" (#2095), but also taboos, such as "If you see snakes mating, your hair will fall off" (#2094).

There are many, many books that are simply collections of translated proverbs, without showing the proverb in the original language. Such books may be entertaining, but they do not give scholars what we want. This book, however, is prepared with scholars in mind; others may fully enjoy it, but scholars will find

additional features that make the book useful for their study. Some of these features include thematic chapters, a twenty-page index, and a seven-page glossary of Zhuang words that are used in the English translations, such as *Daogong*, “an expert who performs religious rites of Daoism, a foreign religion that has been merged into Zhuang indigenous religions” (p. 222). Also, there are explanatory endnotes for 466 of the proverbs, many of these vital to an outsider trying to understand a proverb. For example, the proverb “A tongue is flat but words are round” (#329) is very helpfully explained “Being round is wisdom in Zhuang philosophy. The Zhuang believe a round circle has no short points so nobody will attack and break it... A man’s round words will not offend others, and people won’t find fault in his words or criticize him” (p. 232).

The majority of entries in the wonderful index are nouns, a few are adjectives (e.g. “young”), and a few are verbs (e.g. “transplant”, “die”). For laymen, the index will be useful in finding proverbs about certain topics, such as “tigers” or “match-makers”. For scholars, the index is more important, including for counting how often various words are used in proverbs. For example, the index allows a reader to see that “man”/“people” are the most common words, which is not a surprise in any proverb collection. The second most frequent word is “rice”. This very quickly shows the economic importance and cognitive salience of rice in the local economy. “Diligence” is used 60 times, a sign of the importance of this virtue in Zhuang culture. Also, in a society where intensive farming was the most important economic activity, this is reflected in the fact that there are 21 proverbs that mention “manure”, but only four that mention “hunt/hunter”. A couple of Zhuang words were used in proverb translations that should have been included in the glossary, such as *Chunfen* (#1582).

Defining “proverb” is notoriously difficult. Archer Taylor gave up trying and settled for something based on culturally influenced intuitions, “The definition of a proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking... An incommunicable quality will tell us this sentence is proverbial and that one is not” (Taylor 1962:3). Wolfgang Mieder gave something more specific and testable, “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” (Mieder 1993: 5 & 24ff.). The fact that the criteria for being a proverb vary among various language communities has been noted by

erb among the Akan of Ghana unless it has a striking image.

Thinking as an English speaker, I would not think that some of the Zhuang entries are truly proverbs. The following seems to be simply a mnemonic for remembering the phases of the moon, not a proverb, “The moon looks like a thread in each month on the first and the second day, a comb on the seventh and eighth day, a copper dish on the fifteenth and sixteenth day, but nothing on the twenty-ninth and the thirtieth day” (#1978). A number of other Zhuang proverbs are descriptions of annual events, such as “Spring fish swim upstream, winter fish downstream” (#2047). There are also many proverbs about weather predictors, such as, “The morning red clouds promise a nonstop rain, the evening red clouds a sunny day” (#1940). This is parallel to the English weather saying, “Red sky at morning, sailors take warning. Red sky at night, sailors’ delight.” Is this truly a proverb by English standards? Alan Dundes was clear, “Are weather proverbs ‘proverbs’? I would say emphatically ‘No!’” (Dundes 1984: 45).

Though some outsiders would reject some of the sayings in this book as true proverbs, we should remember, “The native speaker is always right” (a proverb?). Though the categories of outsiders may differ, the author of the book, a member of the Zhuang community, chose to include all of these sayings in a book for which she uses the word “proverbs” in the title. Simply pondering the various kinds of sayings included within the class that is translated as “proverbs” in this book is a useful exercise.

Most Zhuang proverbs consist of two parts, sometimes parallel, sometimes contrasting, e.g. “A sharpened knife does not fear hard wood, a diligent man does not fear hardship” (#1103). A few consist of four parts, e.g. “Fish live in the deep river bends, crabs in the mud puddle, shrimp in the small trenches, and conchs on the beach” (#48). There are also other forms, such as imperatives, but even the imperatives can be parallel, “Blow off the bran to see rice, dry up the river to see stones” (#28). Among the structures of Zhuang proverbs, it is noteworthy that the book

contains no examples of wellerism proverbs or dialogue proverb, types of proverbs that are familiar west of China.

The author has not been afraid to include “counter proverbs”, proverbs that appear to contradict each other, but each is for use in the appropriate context (Doyle 2012: 32-40). The following counter proverbs are listed one after the other, “The human relationship is deeper than the ocean” (#1418) and “The human relationship is as thin as paper, one’s favor is as heavy as a mountain” (#1419).

Krikmann (2001) has shown that common domestic animals are more common in proverbs than rare, distant, or exotic species. This is certainly true for Zhuang proverbs, where the index shows the most common animals are (in descending order): fish (92), cattle/cow/ox(en) (76), horse (53), dog (51), birds (40), tiger (38), cat (24), pig (23), etc. Note that of the eight most frequently mentioned animals, six are domestic.

Some of the proverbs are drawn from “traditional stories which have been told by the Zhuang from generation to generation” (p. xix), each explained with notes. For example, there is a proverb, “A dog barks at the moon” (#349), helpfully explained in an endnote, “This proverb comes from a Zhuang tale about a dog barking at an eclipse of the moon. It implies things seldom seen are strange and is usually used to describe a man who has seen little or whose experience is limited” (p. 232). Another example is, “The frog comes last and keeps the seal” (#2130). “This proverb comes from a Zhuang tale about a frog that comes last in a race but becomes the power holder” (p. 347).

The author states that the Zhuang proverbs reflect their values, traditional views, thought and feelings (p. xvii, xviii). Certain ideas were repeated enough to suggest that they are important values among the Zhuang: respect to mother’s brother, the joys of singing, the evil of gambling, the importance of diligent work, frugality.

Having lived in Africa for a dozen years and having read many African proverbs, I expected to find proverbs that stress the importance of the collective and downplay the individual. For example, Moon classified 18% of the Ghanaian Builsa proverbs in his collection as supporting membership in the community as opposed to independence (Moon 2009:134). In contrast, the Zhuang proverbs show a different value, “Better to go on your

own than to wait for others" (#1939), which the endnote explains "It is hard to depend on others" (p. 243). Similarly, "Depend on yourself for food, depend on others and you will starve" (#1454). Immediately following this proverb are four more that begin with the same Zhuang word *Baengh* "depend", all urging self-reliance. The index lists 60 proverbs that use the word "diligence", urging people to exercise individual responsibility. This is evidence relevant to the ongoing debate about whether and how much proverbs reflect local values.

Translating proverbs for a collection is a difficult task. For each proverb, the author has given a translation in Mandarin Chinese, written in Chinese characters. This is followed by a translation into English. However, sometimes the translation into English is literal, other times it is an attempt to sound like an English proverb. Note the following terse English translations, "No sweat, no rice" (#1716), "No hardship, no sweetness" (#1717), "Less talk, more work" (#1894). For each of these, the Zhuang and Mandarin forms are much longer. When translating proverbs in a collection, the ideal is to provide both a literal translation as well as an idiomatic, but I realize that this is much more work.

When I read a collection of proverbs, I always look for sound-based art in the proverbs, such things as rhyme, alliteration, assonance. However, it is not as easy to study some kinds of sound-based art in this book because of the spelling system that is used, and the fact that the spelling system is not explained at all. Zhuang is a tonal language so the spelling system indicates the tones of Zhuang syllables by consonants at the end of syllables, *z, j, x, q, h* each serving to mark different tones on the preceding syllable rather than marking their expected consonant values. (Syllables without a syllable-final tone-marking consonant are understood to have "tone 1".) For example, in the following proverb, the syllable-final consonants that are underlined are tone letters: *Caem_x raem_xgyoet lien_h ngokngin_z* (#1095). These syllable-final consonants are not pronounced as consonants, but rather they indicate a tone for the preceding syllable.

Understanding that many syllable-final consonants indicate tones, we can understand that the following proverb, *Monzmonz miz loh lohloh miz dou* (#386), when written without the tones, is *Monmon mi lo lolo mi dou*. Seen without the tone letters high-

lights the repetition of the nasal consonants *m* and *n*, the repetition of *l*, and the repetition of the vowel *o*. But, if we look at only the tones of the syllables, we again find a type of sound-based art: *z, z, z, h, h, h, z*. This proverb shows signs of deliberate artistic crafting, with vowels, consonants, and tones.

Another example to illustrate sound-based art is #562, where the final four words all begin with liquid consonants: *duzdouq gaej riu rw̄z lōz raez̄*. Note also that the final three syllables all have the same tone. These sorts of patterns are evidence that these proverbs have been crafted with an awareness of sound-based art.

Awareness of the tonal role of syllable-final consonants allows us to better understand the *-au* rhyme at the end of each line of the following couplet:

Duhdoem aeu gaenx caūj
lwgc̄ing aeu gaenx gyauq̄ (#896)

Some proverbs have couplets that rhyme both the line-final vowels and tone:

Ruz ngeng raemx coūh haeūj
Va hai mbaj coūh daeūj (#1248).

Sometimes the book uses Zhuang terms for calendar periods which are in the glossary, “An ox fears Dongzhi, a dog fears Xiazhi” (#1903). Other times it uses the English names of months, “March 3 brings worries, July 14 brings happiness” (#1865). For other proverbs, there is a mix of Zhuang and English terms, “Plant ginger in February and taro in Qingming” (#1802). This lack of precision in words related to the calendar will not diminish most people’s joy and profit from reading this book, but it is a hindrance to a person who wants to understand details of these proverbs.

As always, in studying a collection of proverbs from another part of the world, we find some that seem familiar. For example, the Zhuang have a proverb, “A flower does not make a garden, a swallow does not bring spring” (#1425). The second half of the couplet matches what Paczolay (1997:49) has identified as the 4th most common proverb across the languages of Europe. Another Zhuang proverb that invites comparison with distant proverbs is “One hand cannot hold two fish” (#172) and its sister “A hand

can hardly catch two fish” (#573). Coming from a culture that is very involved with raising fish, it is easy to compare this with “One hand cannot hold two melons”, a proverb found from Turkey eastward at least as far as Afghanistan. There are familiar Oriental ones, also, “One hand cannot make applause” (#302). However, to a Westerner, almost all of the proverbs are fascinatingly unfamiliar.

Reading the book carefully is hindered by the practice of using endnotes rather than footnotes. I found that reading this book carefully required me to keep a bookmark in the back where the endnotes are, then I had to flip back and forth 466 times. The use of footnotes on each page would have made this awkward practice unnecessary. I do not fault the author for this since such policies are set by publishers.

This collection of Zhuang proverbs is important not only because it is a first, but also because it is useful in multiple ways for studying Zhuang proverbs. The book will be of obvious interest to those who enjoy collections of translated proverbs from other cultures. It will also be important to any library that builds collections related to China or related to proverbs and associated folklore. Of course, there is an appropriate Zhuang proverb for this: “The poor cannot live without pigs, the scholar cannot live without books” (#1065).

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Peter Unseth
Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics & SIL Intl.
7500 W. Camp Wisdom Rd.
Dallas, Texas 75236
USA
E-mail: pete_unseth@gial.edu

WOLFGANG MIEDER

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEW AND
REPRINTED PROVERB COLLECTIONS

For Knut Dorn

It is with much pleasure that I can present 68 collections that I have been able to add to my International Proverb Archives during 2016. It is always exciting when I can purchase a new volume or when I receive one from a colleague or friend. My American brother George Schumm, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio (USA), surprised me once again with two truly special Christmas presents. He was able to find Johann Friederich Eisenhart's *Grundsätze der deutschen Rechte in Sprüchwörtern mit Anmerkungen erläutert* (Helmstädt: Christian Friederich Weygand, 1759), a massive volume of 631 pages listing German legal proverbs with detailed and invaluable commentaries. As if this over 250-year-old treasure were not enough, he also obtained Erskine Beveridge's edited volume of *Fergusson's Scottish Proverbs from the Original Print of 1641. Together with a larger Manuscript Collection of about the same period hitherto unpublished* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1924), yet another publication of great value for diachronic proverb studies. I really can't thank George enough for his generosity who assures me that he loves the hunt for proverb collections that I do not own. He certainly is adding much value to my ever-expanding library of proverb collections.

During a phraseological conference at the University of Trier, Germany, I came across the reprint of a fabulous giant Czech proverb collection that I had not seen before. To my delight I also noticed that my friends Valerii Mokienko and Ludmila Stepanova had edited the two volumes of Václav Flajshans's *Česká přísloví. Sbírka přísloví, prupovědí, a pořekadel lidu českého v čechách, na moravě a v slezsku* (Praze: Nákladem F. Šimáčka, 1911-1913; rpt. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2013). Naturally I

took down the information and ordered it from the Otto Harrassowitz book suppliers at Wiesbaden, Germany. They have shipped hundreds of books to me during the past five decades, and I shall forever be thankful to Dr. Knut Dorn and his colleagues for their incredible scholarly service. The two large volumes were quite expensive, but as my wife Barbara knows, I don't worry about the cost of books if it helps to make my paremiographical library as complete as possible.

Let me also mention the three volumes of Noor Nazrabi's *Afghanische Redensarten und Volksweisheiten. Thematische Sammlung der schönsten afghanischen Sprichwörter in Deutsch/Dari* (Hamburg: Afghanistik Verlag, 2015) that the good people at Otto Harrassowitz mailed to me. As the world tries to understand the worrisome developments in Afghanistan, it is good to have this collection of proverbs that will help us to understand the worldview of the Afghan people just a little better. I might also remind *Proverbium* readers of the work that Edward Zellel has done on Afghan proverbs. His handsome book *Afghan Proverbs Illustrated* (Lexington, Kentucky: CreateSpace, 2012) has appeared in numerous languages, and there is also his large book *Mataluna: 151 Afghan Pashto Proverbs* (Tampa, Florida: Cultures Direct Press, 2014).

Please continue to let me know about new or reprinted proverb collections so that I can add them to my holdings if I do not already possess them. I know that I can always count on the Otto Harrassowitz booksellers to locate them and to ship them in perfectly wrapped packages to me. So it is high time that I publicly thank Dr. Knut Dorn for his excellent service, reminding him how much my wife and I enjoyed hosting him at our home many years ago when he visited many university libraries in the United States to which his company ships books from abroad.

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Wolfgang Mieder
Department of German and Russian
422 Waterman Building
University of Vermont
85 South Prospect Street
Burlington, Vermont 05405
USA
E-mail: Wolfgang.Mieder@uvm.edu

WOLFGANG MIEDER

INTERNATIONAL PROVERB SCHOLARSHIP:
AN UPDATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

For Anna T. Litovkina

Another year of impressive paremiological accomplishments has passed, and it is with much excitement that I present 343 publications that I have been able to add to my International Proverb Archives. Most of them were published in 2015 and 2016, but there are also a few from earlier dates that have belatedly come to my attention. I would be terribly amiss if I were not to express my sincere appreciation to my friend Peter Unseth from Dallas, Texas, who continues to unearth scholarly publications at remote places. Quite a few items listed in this bibliography were in fact found by him, and we all owe him great thanks for his untiring efforts.

There are quite a few publications on the proverbial *Don Quixote* (1605/15) novel. This is due to the fact that I found numerous older publications on its proverbs and proverbial expressions as I was working on my book "*Stringing Proverbs Together*". *The Proverbial Language in Miguel de Cervantes's "Don Quixote"* (Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2016) that was published just in time for Miguel de Cervantes's four hundred year anniversary of his death (1547-1616). This book will be mailed to all *Proverbiium* subscribers free of charge when the present volume 34 (2017) of this yearbook will be sent to over 200 recipients.

Let me mention just two books in particular that are listed in this bibliography. As most paremiologists know, Rui J.B. Soares and his wife Marinela have now organized ten interdisciplinary colloquia on proverbs at beautiful Tavira, Portugal. Many of us travelled there in November of 2016 to celebrate this incredible accomplishment. While there, we received the traditional volume of *Proceedings* from the previous conference, and we were utterly surprised that it is comprised of 704 pp. of papers delivered by

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paremiologists from all around the world: Rui J.B. Soares and Outi Lauhakangas edited (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Proverbs, 1st to 8th November 2015, at Tavira, Portugal* (Tavira: Tipografia Tavirense, 2016). All nine volumes are a testimony to what Rui and Marinela have been able to build at Tavira, and I urge paremiologists everywhere to plan on travelling to Portugal for the next annual meeting.

The other book that I would like to mention is Elisabeth Piirainen's massive study on *Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond. Lexicon of Common Figurative Units*. In cooperation with József Attila Balázs (New York: Peter Lang, 2016). It is the second volume of *Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond. Toward a Lexicon of Common Figurative Units* (New York: Peter Lang, 2012), and together they amount to 1400 pages with numerous tables and maps of rich polyglot materials. It was clearly a Herculean task to write these two volumes with the help of many researchers worldwide. All of us stand in awe of this magisterial scholarship, and we shall forever be indebted to Elisabeth Piirainen and her team, especially our Hungarian friend József Attila Balázs. Congratulations and thanks to them all. And as a small side note let me mention that it was an honor for me to have these books appear as volumes 5 and 10 of the series on "International Folkloristics" that I edit in New York.

Finally, as has been my custom of late, I would like to dedicate this particular bibliography to a special friend. Anna T. Litovkina is without doubt one of the leading international paremiologists with numerous publications. Together we wrote the comprehensive book on proverbs "*A közmondást nem hiába mondják*". *Vizsgálatok a proverbiumok természetéről és használatáról* (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2005) which gave me the welcome opportunity to reach Hungarian readers in their native language. We also published *Old Proverbs Never Die, They Just Diversify. A Collection of Anti-Proverbs* (Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont; Veszprém: The Pannonian University of Veszprém, 2006), and we enjoy cooperating with each other on various projects as well as meeting at conferences in Hungary and elsewhere in Europe or in the United States. My wife Barbara and I also have the fondest memories of Anna's two visits with us in Burlington where she was doing research in my archive at the University of Vermont. Anna has lately become *the* expert on anti-

proverbs, as can be seen from the present bibliography. It is wonderful for me at my advanced age to see young scholars like Anna excel in their work, and it is with much admiration, respect, and thankfulness for our long friendship that I dedicate this annual bibliography to Anna T. Litovkina.

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WOLFGANG MIEDER

Wolfgang Mieder
Department of German and Russian
422 Waterman Building
University of Vermont
85 South Prospect Street
Burlington, Vermont 05405
USA
E-mail: Wolfgang.Mieder@uvm.edu