

PROVERBIUM

Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship



31:2014

The University of Vermont

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Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship

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This volume of

*Proverbium: Yearbook of
International Proverb Scholarship*

is offered as a

FESTSCHRIFT

for

ARVO KRIKMANN

on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday

July 21, 2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
PREFACE	ix
LAUDATIO	
Wolfgang Mieder	
Arvo Krikmann: Master Folklorist and Paremiologist.....	1
ARTICLES	
Peter Grzybek	
Mosaic or Jigsaw? Publishing an Article From Estonia in the “West”, 30 Years Ago, When Circumstances Were Quite Different From Today	11
Akinmade Timothy Akande and Adebayo Mosobalaje	
The Use of Proverbs in Hip-Hop Music: The Example of Yoruba Proverbs in 9ice’s Lyrics	35
Tamar Alexander and Yaakov Bentolila	
“Las palabras vuelan, lo escrito se queda” (The words fly, the written stays): The Judeo-Spanish (Haketic) Proverb in Northern Morocco.....	59
Mikhail Bredis	
Der Begriff „Sparsamkeit“ in den Sprichwörtern unter dem Aspekt der kulturwissenschaftlichen Linguistik (basierend auf Russisch, Lettisch, Deutsch und Englisch) ...	89
Simon J. Bronner	
The Proverbial and Psychological Meanings of “Who’s Your Daddy?”	109
Esther Clinton	
Proverbial Play: J.R.R. Tolkien’s Use of Proverbs in <i>The Hobbit</i> and <i>The Lord of the Rings</i>	133

Carlos Alberto Crida Álvarez El lado oscuro del 3: En paremias y fraseologismos del español y del griego	167
Charles Clay Doyle “Wearing One’s Heart on His Sleeve”: The Formation and Evolution of a (Shakespearean) Proverbial Phrase	183
Charles Clay Doyle “A Way Out of No Way”: A Note on the Background of the African American Proverbial Saying	193
Erzsébet Drahota-Szabó Sprichwörter als intertextuelle Elemente: Zu den Sprichwörtern mit und ohne Kulturspezifik auf Langue- und auf Diskurs-Ebene.....	199
Patricio Ferrari Proverbs in Fernando Pessoa’s Works	235
Tamás Forgács Über das parömische Minimum des Ungarischen	255
Rosemarie Gläser “We Have Ceased to Be a Nation in Retreat”: Redewendungen und Sprichwörter in Margaret Thatchers Rhetorik	279
Kevin J. Mckenna “Parabasis in Nikolay Gogol’s <i>The Inspector General</i> : The Proverbial Medium	317
Wolfgang Mieder “Keep Your Eyes on the Prize”: Congressman John Lewis’s Proverbial Odyssey for Civil Rights	331

Barry Shelton	
“Root, Hog, or Die”: A Republican Proverb	395
Stephen D. Winick	
Insights From the Middle of Nowhere: Proverbial Language and Intertextuality in Gary Larson’s <i>The Far Side</i>	409

REVIEWS

Natalia Filatkina, Ane Kleine-Engel, Marcel Dräger, and Harald Burger, eds. <i>Aspekte der historischen Phraseo- logie und Phraseographie</i> . (Heidelberg: 2012) – (John M. Jeep)	461
Mesfin Wodajo. <i>Functions and Formal Stylistic Features of Kafa Proverbs</i> . (Saarbrücken: 2012) – (Peter Unseth)	469

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Wolfgang Mieder	
International Bibliography of New and Reprinted Proverb Collections	473
Wolfgang Mieder	
International Proverb Scholarship: An Updated Bibliography	483

WOLFGANG MIEDER

PREFACE

It is always a special occasion to dedicate a new volume of *Proverbium* to a master paremiologist and paremiographer. This year, on July 21, 2014, we are celebrating the seventy-fifth birthday of the renowned Estonian folklorist and proverb scholar Arvo Krikmann, who is well known to the international scholarly community for numerous seminal publications (see my laudatio following these comments). It is utterly amazing what he has been able to accomplish at Tartu in the fields of folklore, humor, linguistics, paremiology, philology, semantics, and semiotics. His many studies on jokes and riddles are legendary, and he has also made innovative use of the computer to map the geographical distribution of texts together with an analysis of the density with which variants have been recorded. As far as paremiography is concerned, it was Arvo Krikmann and Ingrid Sarv who assembled the Estonian national treasure of proverbs in their monumental Estonian proverb collection *Eesti vanasõnad* (1980-1988) in five massive volumes. He was also a member of the international team of paremiologists who, under the direction of Matti Kuusi at Helsinki, published the unsurpassed comparative proverb collection *Proverbia septentrionalia. 900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels* (1985). Of course, he is also known as a leading theoretical paremiologist, to wit the monograph *On Denotative Indefiniteness of Proverbs* (1974) and its sequel *Some Additional Aspects of Semantic Indefiniteness of Proverbs* (1974) which were reprinted in *Proverbium* in 1984 and 1985. Some of his major subsequent paremiological contributions have been reprinted in his book *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor* (2009). It was published five years ago at the University of Vermont in celebration of Arvo Krikmann's seventieth birthday. This book belongs into the hands of anybody seri-

PROVERBIUM 31 (2014)

ously interested in proverbs, and it can be obtained free of charge by contacting the *Proverbium* office at Burlington, Vermont.

This book appeared as volume 29 of the *Supplement Series of Proverbium* with the 36th volume on *Proverbs: Their Lexical and Semantic Features* (2014) by the Czech linguist and paremiologist František Čermák having just been published. Both these volumes and others are available, and so are volumes 24 (2007) to 31 (2014) of *Proverbium*. Please help us to spread the word so that these books can find new homes. They do not do anybody any good being stored away in boxes. If someone is teaching a seminar on proverbs with up to twenty students, we could send copies to the students at no charge. So please do your part in distributing these valuable resources.

Of course, it is also important to mention once again how much we appreciate it that you and your libraries continue to subscribe to *Proverbium*. We are all aware of the fact that libraries are dropping serial subscriptions, and this is, unfortunately, also happening to *Proverbium*. During the past year we have once again lost a number of subscriptions, and we have gained only three new subscribers. There are then times when we are worried about the future of *Proverbium*. Subscriptions are shrinking and the expenses are steadily increasing. We realize that the day might come that *Proverbium* will have to stop its printed format and become an electronic publication. But we have not yet reached this point, and as long as I am able to edit the yearbook, it will most certainly remain in print as an annual book publication. In a few years, when I will have to relinquish my editorship because of advanced age, *Proverbium* will most likely be produced only online due to expenses and libraries not purchasing serial publications like it any longer. But that time has not yet come, and we shall cross that bridge together when the print version of *Proverbium* can no longer be sustained. For right now we continue to go strong, and we appreciate your help and support in spreading the good word about our “beloved” *Proverbium*.

Let’s keep our spirits up and continue our scholarly work in the service of international paremiology. I thank Galit Hasan-Rokem, our Associate Editor in Jerusalem, and our Managing Editor Brian Minier and our Production Editor Hope Greenberg

here at the University of Vermont for all of their much-appreciated help and support. Thanks are also due the College of Arts and Sciences and the Bookstore at the University of Vermont for their generous financial support during the past three decades. Finally, I thank my colleagues and friends at Queen City Printers Inc. for their superb work in printing our attractive books. It all amounts to a serious and dedicated team effort, and as such, it is indeed a pleasure and honor to present the international community of paremiologists with yet another volume of *Proverbium*.

Wolfgang Mieder



WOLFGANG MIEDER

ARVO KRIKMANN: MASTER FOLKLORIST AND
PAREMIOLOGIST

Laudatio on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday
(July 21, 2014)

In the scholarly world of international folkloristics, the Estonian folklorist and academician Arvo Krikmann, born on July 21, 1939, in the village of Pudivere in the small Baltic country of Estonia, has earned himself a distinguished seat in the hall of fame. He is indeed an internationally renowned scholar of the major genres of verbal folklore, notably jokes, riddles, and proverbs. He excelled as a student at Tartu University, finishing his studies with a published final thesis on *Tähelepanekuid eesti rahvanaljandite struktuurist* (Some Notes on the Structure of Estonian Folk Humor) in 1963. From 1962-1969 he worked as a researcher and senior researcher at the Literary Museum in Tartu, from 1970-1972 he took postgraduate courses, from 1973-1993 he worked as a junior and senior researcher at the Institute of Language and Literature, from 1994-2000 he was employed as a head researcher at the Institute of Estonian Language, and since 2000 as a senior researcher at the Estonian Literary Museum at Tartu. Having gained much acclaim for his superb folkloristic scholarship, he became professor extraordinary in 1992 at Tartu University and in 1997 he received the high honor of being named a member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences. Among his many other honors are: member in 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).

PROVERBIUM 31 (2014)

As a polyglot folklorist applying comparative and interdisciplinary methodologies, he has gained international recognition as a humor scholar who deals with his subject matter from a theoretical point of view. His special research interests are concerned with culture and society, and he approaches his erudite investigations primarily from the point of view of folklore, humor, linguistics, paremiology, philology, semantics, and semiotics. His many studies on jokes and riddles are informed by a keen concern for the issues of ethnicity and stereotypes being expressed in them. In addition, Arvo Krikmann has also pioneered the geographical distribution of various folklore genres, making ample use of modern computer technologies to map the appearance and density of their variants as they have been recorded in different regions. His publications and lectures on these topics in Estonian, Russian, and perfect English are scholarly milestones with an undeniable influence on Baltic, European, and global scholarship.

This is not to say that he is not also a great archivist and compiler, as can be seen from his magisterial collection of Estonian riddles. But as far as paremiography is concerned, it was Arvo Krikmann and Ingrid Sarv who assembled the Estonian national treasure of proverbs in their monumental Estonian proverb collection *Eesti vanasõnad* (1980-1988) in five massive volumes. It represents one of the best and most complete collections of a national corpus of proverbs which has served as a model for other large collections of different languages. Naturally Arvo Krikmann and Ingrid Sarv were also part of the international team of paremiologists who, under the direction of Matti Kuusi at Helsinki, put together the phenomenal comparative proverb collection *Proverbia septentrionalia. 900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels* (1985). Much of this work was done without the help of sophisticated computer programs, and when I proudly show my students such volumes, I always tell them to imagine the labor that went into these compilations! There is no doubt that Arvo Krikmann's name will forever be associated with study of Estonian proverbs and their relationship to other Baltic, Finnic, Germanic, and Slavic languages.

Arvo Krikmann shares his paremiographical fame with such great scholars as Grigorii L'vovich Permiakov, Matti Kuusi, Archer Taylor, Bartlett Jere Whiting, Démétrios Loukatos,

Kazys Grigas, Lutz Röhrich, and others, all of whom have left behind major proverb collections. But he also joins such renowned paremiographers as Gyula Paczolay, Frantisek Cermak, 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, Julia Sevilla Muñoz, Charles Clay Doyle, Outi Lauhakangas, Peter Grzybek, Richard Honeck, Anna T. Litovkina, Shirley L. Arora, are all also involved in paremiology, i.e., the scientific study of proverbs that goes beyond the necessary and invaluable work of collecting and registering them. It is as a theoretical paremiologist where Arvo Krikmann has made his 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) represent milestones in the semantic and semiotic study of proverbs. Of course, Krikmann has 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 have been published in his native Estonian tongue or in Russian, his major findings have also appeared in English, reaching students and scholars of proverbs around the globe

It was one of my great honors to invite Arvo Krikmann to publish eight of his invaluable paremiological contributions as volume 29 of the Supplement Series of *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. This book with the title *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor* (Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009) with its 312 pages is one of the most valuable publications on proverbs for the present and future generations of paremiologists. It contains his best research, and it belongs to a set of books that every paremiologist ought to read and possess.

About twenty years ago, in 1993 to be precise, Arvo Krikmann and I began to correspond with each other about our work, he at Tartu, Estonia, and I thousands of miles away at Burlington, Vermont. Our friendship began by way of letters and then also through our meetings at international conferences in Vilnius

(Lithuania), Tartu (Estonia), and Tavira (Portugal). Even though by now we could skype, we still prefer writing letters to each other. I miss getting envelopes with stamps on them, but we have realized that modern e-mail is the way to communicate. But not to worry! I have every letter nicely printed out with over 500 pages altogether. These epistles are a great record of our lasting friendship, and it is always a special pleasure for me when I find a communication from Arvo Krikmann on my computer screen. Our friendship has grown ever stronger over the years, including our wives and families as well as pets. And once in a while we meet somewhere in Europe at a folklore or paremiology conference. And then I receive a strong bear-hug from my friend who towers over me not only in physical size. Actually, friendships like the one between Arvo Krikmann and me make all of our labors worthwhile. To know that there are friends who share our scholarly interests and passions adds life and purpose to scholarly work. It all would be rather meaningless if we could not share the joys of our scholarship with kindred souls.

Be that as it may, it is with much delight that this thirty-first volume of *Proverbium* is dedicated as a *Festschrift* to Arvo Krikmann, one of the truly great paremiologists of the modern age. Paremiologists from everywhere wish him the very best on his seventy-fifth birthday, and we all hope that he will continue his paremiological work for many happy, healthy, and fruitful years. For me personally it is “wonderful” (my friend will smile at my use of this adjective, since he told me that I use it a lot) to grow old together with Arvo Krikmann. We both hope that we have exciting years of scholarship ahead of us, and as I conclude these remarks, I promise him that I will do my best to meet up with him at least once a year somewhere in Europe.

Ad multos annos, dear friend Arvo, from all of your paremiological friends who have the greatest admiration and respect for your invaluable contributions to international paremiology.

*Arvo Krikmann's Major Paremiographical and
Paremiological Publications*

There is no need to list all of the folklore publications by Arvo Krikmann that have appeared between 1963 and now. Karin Maria Rooleid edited such a bibliography on the occasion of Krikmann's seventieth birthday five years ago: *Arvo Krikmann. Bibliograafia 1963-2009* (Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi folkloristika osakond, 2009), 55 pp. See also Mari Sarv, "On the Life and Work of Academician Arvo Krikmann on His 70th Birthday." *Folklore* (Tartu), 43 (2009), 143-148. What is listed here are the books and articles that are contained in the International Proverb Archives at the University of Vermont, at Burlington, Vermont (USA).

1. "Keelestatistikat eesti vanasonadest." *Emakeele Seltsi Astaraamat*, 13 (1967), 127-154.
2. "Zur Problematik der Metasprache als Ausdruck der Bedeutungsstreuung der Sprichwörter." *Proverbium*, no. 17 (1971), 624-626.
3. *On Denotative Indefiniteness of Proverbs*. Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Institute of Language and Literature, 1974. 48 pp. Also in *Proverbium*, 1 (1984), 47-91; and also in Arvo Krikmann, *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor*. Ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009. 15-50.
4. *Some Additional Aspects of Semantic Indefiniteness of Proverbs*. Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Institute of Language and Literature, 1974. 35 pp. Also in *Proverbium*, 2 (1985), 58-85; and also in Arvo Krikmann, *Proverb Semantics. Studies in Structure, Logic, and Metaphor*. Ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2009. 51-77.
5. "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.

6. "Vanasõnateksti denotatiivsest määramatusest." *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 17 (1974), 22-29 and 93-98.
7. "Eesti vanasonade teaduslik väljaanne käsikirjas valminud." *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 19 (1976), 541-547 (with Ingrid Sarv).
8. "Zametki k stat'e Vil'mosha Foita 'Voprosy obshchei teorii poslovits'." *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 26 (1977), 174-179.
9. "Folkloristliku kartograafia töömailt. Eskiis hobuse ja härja geograafiast." *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 21 (1978), 665-674.
10. "Nenotorye aspekty semanitcheskoi neopredelennosti poslovitsy." *Paremiologicheskii Sbornik*. Ed. Grigorii L'vovich Permiakov. Moskva: Nauka, 1978. 82-104.
11. "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.
12. *Eesti vanasõnad. 1-5000*. Tallinn: "Eesti Raamat", 1980. I, 910 pp. (with Ingrid Sarv).
13. *Towards the Typology of Estonian Folklore Regions*. Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Division of Social Sciences, 1980. 14 pp.
14. *Meri andab. meri ottab. Valimik lahemaa vanasõnu*. Tallinn: Valgus, 1981. 116 pp.
15. *Eesti vanasõnad. 5001-10000*. Tallinn: "Eesti Raamat", 1983. II, 866 pp. (with Ingrid Sarv).
16. "1001 Frage zur logischen Struktur der Sprichwörter." *Semitische Studien zum Sprichwort. Simple Forms Reconsidered I*. Eds. Peter Grzybek and Wolfgang Eismann. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1984. 387-408.
17. "Grigorii Permjakovi folkloristlikust pärandist." *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 27, no. 6 (1984), 364-366.
18. "Opyt ob'iasneniia nekotorykh semanticheskikh mekhanizmov poslovitsy." *Paremiologicheskie issledovaniia*. Ed. Grigorii L'vovich Permiakov. Moskva: Nauka, 1984. 149-178. Also in French as "Mécanismes sémantiques" de

l'annoncé proverbiale." *Tel grain tel pain. Poétique de la sagesse populaire*. Ed. G.L. Permiakov. Moscou: Éditions du Progrès, 1988. 82-113.

19. "Paremiologicheskie publikatsii 1975-nachala 1982." *Paremiologicheskie issledovaniia*. Ed. Grigorii L'vovich Permiakov. Moskva: Nauka, 1984. 300-318. Also in French as "Publications parémiologiques soviétiques (1975-début 1982)." *Tel grain tel pain. Poétique de la sagesse populaire*. Ed. G.L. Permiakov. Moscou: Éditions du Progrès, 1988. 364-378. (with Grigorii L'vovich Permiakov and Anatolii Mikhailovich Bushui).
20. *Vanasõnaraamat*. Tallinn: Kirjastus "Eesti Raamat", 1984. 624 pp. (with A. Hussar and Ingrid Sarv).
21. *Eesti vanasõnad. 10001-15140*. Tallinn: "Eesti Raamat", 1985. III, 911 pp. (with Ingrid Sarv).
22. *Proverbia septentrionalia. 900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1985. 451 pp. (editor in chief Matti Kuusi; in cooperation with Marje Joalaid, Elsa Kokare, Arvo Krikmann, Kari Laukkanen, Pentti Leino, Vaina Mälk, and Ingrid Sarv).
23. *Some Statistics on Baltic-Finnic Proverbs*. Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Division of Social Sciences, 1985. 53 pp.
24. "Vanasõnaparoodiatest." *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 28 (1985), 474-483. With 4 illustrations.
25. *Eestonskie poslovitsy. 1-15140*. Tallinn: "Eesti Raamat", 1986. V,1, 400 pp. (with Ingrid Sarv).
26. *Paremiologicheskie eksperimenty G.L. Permiakova*. Tallin: Akademiia Nauk Estonskoi SSR Otdelenie Obshchestvennykh Nauk, 1986. 58 pp. Also in *Malye formy fol'klora: Sbornik statei pamiati G.L. Permiakova*. Eds. E.M. Melemunskii et al. Moskva: Izdatel'skaia Firma, 1995. 338-382.
27. *Estnische Sprichwörter. 1-15140*. Tallinn: "Eesti Raamat", 1987. V,2, 438 pp. (with Ingrid Sarv).

28. *Eesti vanasõnad. Lisad*. Tallinn: "Eesti Raamat", 1988. IV, 530 pp. (with Ingrid Sarv).
29. "Fraseoloogilisi elemente Georg Mülleri jutlustes." *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 35, no. 3 (1992), 144-150.
30. "Härjamari, vähirasv (Zoohübriididest ja -absurdidest paröömikas)." *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 35, no. 11 (1992), 667-682.
31. "Suure Ahela Metafoor - võti või muukraud vanasõnade semantikasse?" *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 37, no. 2 (1994), 93-98. With 2 illustrations.
32. "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.
33. "Piibel kui ütluste allikas." *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 39, no. 5 (1996), 289-301.
34. "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.
35. "Retoorilise, modaalse, loogilise ja suntaktilise plaani seostest eesti vanasõnades." *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 40, no. 4 (1997), 232-244; 40, no. 5 (1997), 327-343; 40, no. 6 (1997), 384-393 and 432. Also in English as "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 again 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.
36. *Sissevaateid folkloori lühivormidesse. I. Põhimõisteid, žanrisuhteid, üldprobleeme*. [Insights into the Short Forms of Folklore (Mainly Proverbs and Riddles). I. Basic Concepts, Interrelations, General Problems]. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 1997. 307 pp. With 95 maps.

37. "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).
38. "Vanasõnad loomade identiteedist (Tüpoloogilisi memuaare)." *Mäetagused*, 12 (1999), 52-86.
39. "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.
40. "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.
41. "Vklad sovremennoi teorii metafory v paremiologiiu." *Tautosakos Darbai / Folklore Studies* (Vilnius), 15 (22) (2001), 17-92 (English summary pp. 84-92).
42. "Kaasaegse metafooriteoria panus parömioloogiasse [The Contribution of Contemporary Theory of Metaphor to Paremiology]." *Reetor*, 1 (2003), 52-144.
43. "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.
44. "'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.
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PETER GRZYBEK

MOSAIC OR JIGSAW? PUBLISHING AN ARTICLE FROM
ESTONIA IN THE “WEST”, 30 YEARS AGO, WHEN
CIRCUMSTANCES WERE QUITE DIFFERENT
FROM TODAY

The communication from April until November 1984 between Arvo Krikmann from Estonia and myself (at that time living in Germany) is from a time, when there was no electronic communication, neither written (be that by email or sms), nor spoken (via mobiles, skype, or similar media). It was a time, when “ordinary” letters or telegrams were written, and when “ordinary” telephones were used for spoken communication – provided there were open lines and connections, which was the case only to a very limited degree when communicating with members of the former Soviet Union. Despite such restrictions, particularly concerning communication across political boundaries, and despite analogical options and desires to control communication in our days, one advantage of the “old” communication media is that they are likely to be saved for a longer time than our modern ones, and that they thus can serve as documents not only of personal or inter-personal relations, but also of a specific period, both in political and academic respects.

I had been in Soviet Moscow, as an exchange student, with a grant for six months, in the first half of 1983. During that time, I established contact with Grigorij L’vocič Permjakov, the outstanding Russian paremiologist, whose works I had become acquainted with before. Permjakov lived some 25 km outside of Moscow, in the city of Žukovskij, which at that time was what was termed a “closed city”, because of some important aviation research center in that town, and, due to this fact, inaccessible for foreigners. At that time, Permjakov (who died shortly after my return to Germany on November 16, 1983) was already in bad health state, due to his head injuries he had suffered during World War II. It must have been some very special experience

PROVERBIUM 31 (2014)

for him to talk to a young scholar, interested in his research probably more than many of his country(wo)men, and coming just from that part of the world which ultimately was responsible for his personal state and for the fact that he could not leave his home any more. Yet, he was still able to talk to me by telephone, although sometimes not more than five minutes per day, and we had intensive phone discussions two or three times per week. Talking to him was not easy for me, too: doing this from a hotel was no good idea, since it was well-known that those telephone lines might be intercepted, and I had learnt quite fast that it was wiser to avoid any complications. As a result, after a Russian friend of mine had established contact with him per phone, and I had thus personally been introduced to Permjakov as a trustful person (i.e., I could reliably be identified as “one of ours”), I regularly gave him calls from a post office, and I made personal arrangements with his wife, Nadežda Iosifovna Rašba, whom I regularly met at various subway stations in Moscow, to exchange unpublished research material. At that time I had already started to translate his seminal *Grammar of Proverbial Wisdom* from 1979 into German, an English translation of which unfortunately has never been published, the reception of Permjakov’s seminal work thus having remained limited to our days.

After my return to Germany, at the end of 1983, I was informed about Permjakov’s death by his widow, who gave part of his academic papers to the Institute of Oriental Research, which I later visited, and another part, namely, the entire scholarly part of his personal library, to the Estonian Literary Museum in Tartu.

Immediately after hearing about Permjakov’s death, in the beginning of 1984, I made the first plans and negotiations to publish not only Permjakov’s *Grammar*, but also a whole book with translations from modern Soviet paremiology, at that time almost unknown in the Western world. The two most important books, in that respect, were the Russian collections *Paremiologičeskij sbornik* [Paremiological Volume] (1978) and *Paremiologičeskie issledovanija*, [Paremiological Studies] (1984), both compiled and edited by Permjakov, who had made available to me all articles from the second of these books before they were published. Thanks to my work in Moscow, I had been able to read and make copies, among others, of Arvo Krikmann’s paremiological works, which were, of course, present in the Lenin

State Library in Moscow, where foreign students (of whatever professional rank) had good access not only to literature, but also to affordable copy services.

Hearing about Permjakov's death, and starting to work on the special volume devoted to the semiotics of the proverb, I decided to contact Arvo Krikmann from Tartu. For me, at that time, he was not from Estonia, but from the Estonian Republic of the Soviet Union. To write him in Russian seemed to me the most natural thing to do. During my stay in the Soviet Union, I had repeatedly been in contact with official institutions, and I had acquired, at least partly, the phraseology which was necessary and adequate in dealing with such institutions, or in writing letters to private persons, which might eventually be read by such institutions.

This explains, among other reasons, the highly official addresses in my first letter from April 4, 1984, which of course was not handwritten, but typewritten on official university stationary. This also explains why the letter contained appreciating and praising references to the "outstanding Soviet scholar" Permjakov, and to "important works and results from Soviet paremiology". This also explains why, at the end of the letter, there is an explicit remark as to expecting some answer – this was not, of course, an indirect hint at the addressee's possible laziness in answering, but a sign to make sure that the letter got through (whatever possible controlling and censoring instances) and arrived safely.

In his handwritten answer two weeks later from April 30 (which was not written on university stationary, but of course sent as a registered letter), Arvo Krikmann took up the ball, referring to Permjakov, and although his initial address was quite formal, too, his letter would not only end analogically, i.e., with a quest to re-assure receipt, but also with "cordial greetings", signaling that we were sharing a particular segment of the world. And it was clear to me that our correspondence was not undesired by the official organs, which was not completely unexpected to me, of course, after I had been tolerated in the Soviet Union for half a year, without any scandals, and after I had done my best to meet the official organs' communicative desires.

After one intermediate letter, Arvo Krikmann's answer from September 6, again handwritten on ordinary stationary and sent

as registered mail, already contains the private address “Dear Peter”, starting with a confirmation that he got my letter, and ending with the almost colloquial wish “All the best to you”.

His letter from November 8, handwritten and registered, was just to inform me that his work progressed; on the one hand, this was a personal sign from him that I could trust his promise, on the other hand, this was an official sign saying that no letter, which might have been sent in the meantime, might not have gotten through, or might “wait” at some controlling instances.

I was then completely surprised to receive Matti Kuusi’s letter from November 30, along with a copy of Arvo Krikmann’s text. I had known, of course, that there had always been, for long times, special relations between Russia and Finland, on the one hand, and between Finland and the Baltic states including Estonia, on the other. But I had never been aware of this specific window from (or to) the Soviet Union. And Matti Kuusi’s phrase speaking of the “legal” copy to arrive some time makes me smile still today...

The official version of the text indeed arrived some time later, along with Arvo Krikmann’s official letter from November 30 accompanying it. It was written, of course, in a highly formal way. That can be seen not only from the addresses, but also from the fact that it was typewritten again, not handwritten. It was of utmost importance that the permission to publish it was given just for once, and that no remuneration would come into play, because else VAAP would intervene and ask for enormous money, or even refuse publication. Quite logically, the reference to the paper’s registration at that agency was not missing.

As can be seen, it took approximately half a year, and we had not only established personal friendly relations with Arvo Krikmann, but we had also made successful business negotiations over the Iron Curtain which fell only years later.

It would take many more years till I first met Arvo Krikmann personally. Our written correspondence in the meantime had been episodically, with a peak in December 1999, when we detected our common interests in quantitative paradigms of scientific research, particular with regard to paremiological questions. Our first personal meeting then took place in 2008, in Helsinki, after more than 20 years of our long-distance acquaintance.

May this, that has turned into an open-minded and faithful friendship over the years, continue for many years, and may the publication of our first letters from three decades ago keep us aware of the importance and the value of personal relations and ties, in academic research too, along with friendship and confidence.

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Letter 1

16.4.1984

Respected Arvo Arnol'dovič,¹

As you probably know, the outstanding Soviet paremiologist Grigorij L'vovič Permjakov died at the end of last year in Moscow.

I wrote a small necrologue in honor of Grigorij L'vovič for the new yearbook *Proverbium*, and am just now about to publish a special issue of the journal *Kodikas/Code – Ars Semeiotica. An International Journal of Semiotics* devoted to the memory of Grigorij L'vovič. In this volume, I would like to introduce the readers with important works and results from Soviet paremiology (in German or English translation).

In this context, I would very much like to re-publish your work "Some Aspects of Semantic Indefiniteness of proverbs", written in 1978, in German translation.

Before officially contacting VAAP², I would prefer to ask you first if you have any objections against the translation or against a re-publication.

I know, by the way, the following works of yours:

1. „Zur Problematik der Metasprache als Ausdruck der Bedeutungsstreuung der Sprichwörter.“ *Proverbium*, (17) 1971; 624-626.
2. *On Denotative Indefiniteness of Proverbs*. Tallinn, 1974.
3. *Some Additional Aspects of Semantic Indefiniteness of Proverbs*. Tallinn, 1974.
4. "Some Difficulties arising at semantic classification of proverbs". *Proverbium*, (23) 1974; 865-879.
5. *К проблематике исследования содержания и мировоззрения пословиц*. АКД, Таллинн, 1975.
6. See above (*Паремилогический сборник*)
7. „К объяснению некоторых семантических механизмов пословиц.“ (Abstract)

If you have additional works, I would very much appreciate relevant information about them. I will be waiting for your answer.

With deep respects,

(Peter Grzybek)

¹ Addressing a person by first name and father's name is the formal and official version in Russian oral and written communication; it would not be in Estonian. The original letter was written in Russian, however, the lingua franca not only in the Soviet Union, but all other East European countries of that time, so the official address was phrased correspondingly.

² See fn. in the introductory text.

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16.4.1984

Уважаемый Арво Арнольдович,

Как Вам наверняка известно, в конце прошлого года в городе Москве умер замечательный советский ученый-паремиолог Григорий Львович Пермяков.

Я написал маленький некролог в честь Григория Львовича в новый ежегодник "Провербиум" и теперь же собираюсь издать специальный номер журнала "Code Kodikas - Ars Semeioticae. An International Journal of Semiotics" в честь и на память Григория Львовича. В этом сборнике мне хотелось бы познакомить читателей с важными работами и результатами советской паремиологии (в немецких или английских переводах).

В связи с этим мне очень хотелось бы переопубликовать Вашу работу "Некоторые аспекты семантической неопределенности пословиц" из 1978-ого года в немецком переводе.-

До официального контакта с ВВАП-ом я предпочитал бы узнать есть ли у Вас каких-либо возражений против перевода или против переопубликования?

Я знаю, кстати, следующие Ваши работы:

1. "Zur Problematik der Metasprache als Ausdruck der Bedeutungstreue der Sprichwörter". Proverbium, (17) 1971; 624-626.
2. "On Denotative Indefiniteness of Proverbs". Tallinn, 1974.
3. "Some Additional Aspects of semantic indefiniteness of Proverbs." Tallinn, 1974.
4. Some Difficulties arising at semantic classification of proverbs. Proverbium, (23) 1974; 865-879.
5. "К проблематике исследования содержания и мировоззрения пословиц." АКД, Таллинн, 1975.
6. см. выше (Паремиологический Сборник).
7. К объяснению некоторых семантических механизмов пословиц. (Abstract)

Если у Вас есть добавочные работы, я очень оценил бы соответствующие информации.

Я жду Вашего ответа.

С глубоким уважением

(Peter Grzybek)

Letter 2

Tartu, 30.IV.84

Respected¹ dr. P. Grzybek

Some days ago I received your letter with very interesting information for me. Of course, I was familiar with Grigorij L'vovič for a long time, we had a regular correspondence, etc.; therefore I am very glad about any news, which concern attempts to perpetuate his memory, the dissemination of his works and the like. I am also very grateful for your suggestion to re-publish my article on the *Semantic Indefiniteness of Proverbs*. It goes without saying that I do not have (in principle) any objections against its re-publication, although, strictly speaking, I would suggest to write a completely new article² for you, because that work of mine expresses my "mental state" somewhere of the early 1970s, and not at all the present – not even speaking what happened during that time in the fields of linguistic semantics, theory of metaphor, or paremiological theory itself. But I am afraid that you do not have enough time for this, particularly taking into account, additionally, formalities³ and the like. [Otherwise I would be glad to know as soon as possible, how much time will be at my disposal. In that case I could offer immediately an English (or, if this is inevitable, German) text, the editing of which would waste much less time than a solid translation.]

In the last years I worked more or less on questions of the geographical distribution of proverbs. To my mind, the works of this period are not of particular interest for you; nevertheless I quote some of them:

1. "Some aspects of proverb distribution." – Symposium 'Mathematical processing of cartographic data'. Tallinn, December 18-19, 1979. Tallinn 1979, pp. 28-44.

2. "Towards the typology of Estonian folklore regions." Paper presented to the Fifth International Finno-Ugric Congress (Turku 1980). Preprint KKJ-16- Tallinn 1980.

3. „Опыт оценки тесноты фольклорной связи прибалтийско-финских народов (на материале пословиц).“ – Ученые записки Тартуского Государственного Университета №. 628. Труды по лингвостатистике VIII. Тарту 1982, стр. 63-79.

So, I will wait for your answer.

With cordial greetings

Your

Arvo Krikmann.

¹A phraseologically correct equivalent of the Russian address „Уважаемый“ would be “Dear”, but this English translation would also include the much more intimate Russian “Дорогой” which is not used here.

² Ultimately, this suggestion would result in the German translation and publication of Arvo Krikmann’s important article “1001 Questions on the Logical Structure of Proverbs”, which unfortunately has never been translated to English.

³ The most important „formality“ at that time was, of course, to get the publication permission from *ВААП* (see endnote 1 in the introductory text).

г. Марту 30. IV 84

Уважаемый др П. Грзбек.

Несколько дней тому назад получил от Вас письмо с очень интересной для меня информацией. Конечно, я давно был знаком с Григорием Львовичем, мы вели регулярную переписку и т.д.; поэтому меня радуют любые вести, касающиеся попытки увековечения его памяти, ознакомления его трудов и т.п. Весьма признателен Вам и за предложение перепубликовать мою статью о семантической неопределенности пословиц. Разумеется, у меня нет никаких (в принципе) возражений против ее перепубликации, хотя, собственно говоря, предпочел бы написать для Вас совсем новую статью, поскольку эта работа отражает мое "ментальное состояние" где-то в начале 1970-ых годов, а статьи не пишется — не говоря, тем более, о том, что произошло за это время в лингвистической семантике, в области теории метафоры и проп., а также самой паремимологической теории. Но опасаясь, что для этого у Вас не хватает времени, учитывая, к тому же, формальности и т.п. (В противном случае был бы рад возмозно поскорее узнать, сколько времени именно будет в моем распоряжении. В том случае я мог бы предложить сразу английский (или, если это неизбежно, немецкий) текст, редактирование которого уже было бы гораздо меньше времени, чем сплошной перевод.)

В последние годы я был занят в основном вопросами картографического геопространственного моделирования. Думаю, что работа этого периода не представляется для Вас особого интереса. Разовы все же некоторые:

- (1) Some aspects of proverb distribution. → Symposium "Mathematical processing of cartographic data", (Tallinn, December 18-19, 1979). Tallinn 1979, pp. 28-44.
- (2) Towards the typology of Estonian folklore regions. Paper presented to the Fifth International Finno-Ugric Congress (Turku 1980). Preprint KKF-16, Tallinn 1980.
- (3) Опыт оценки тесноты пространственной связи прибалтийско-финских народов (на материале пословиц), — Члены записки Тартуского ГУ № 628. Труды по лингвистике VIII. Тарту 1982, стр. 63-79.

Итак, буду ждать Вашего ответа.

С сердечным приветом
Вам

Arvo Krikmann.



Letter 3

Tartu, 6.09.84

Dear Peter,

Finally I succeed in answering your last letter, which I received already two weeks ago. I must say that you made me very happy: I mean your message that you achieved some prolongation in the publication of your issue or volume. From your last but one letter I read that you have such a small amount of time that I absolutely had no chance to write a new article (particularly if one additionally takes into account formalities and the like). Now for me arose some new hope.

You write that you are also planning to re-publish my “new” (that is, again some other old) article on semantic mechanisms of proverbs, which I wrote in fall 1975, but which came out only recently. I again, this time, too, do not have, and this goes without saying, any principle objection, except for, maybe, the following one: as an archivist, I do not like the existence of doublets. I got to know, completely post factum, that the first of my old pre-prints “On Denotative Indefiniteness of Proverbs” will be re-published in the first volume of the new yearbook *Proverbium*, and for the second volume the publication of its continuation “Some Additional Aspects...” is planned – but the text of these two works largely coincide with the text of my article “Some Aspects of Semantic Indefiniteness...”, which you intend to re-publish. Moreover, there were negotiations of Grigorij L’vocič (via Ben Amos or whom? – I do not know exactly) concerning the publication of some English translations of works from Soviet authors, who were represented in the volume *Paremiologičeskij sbornik* and *Paremiologičeskie issledovanija*, among them both of my articles, which are mentioned in your letters. Wouldn’t this be too much? On the other hand, a Russian text will most probably be not very readable for a Western reader, so that probably this will not represent a special problem. So I leave this question completely for your decision.

If I succeed to write a new article until October, then its title will be, probably, “Logical versus Pragmatical?” or something of the kind. I would very much like to discuss the problem of this kind of “explosion” in contemporary approaches to the semantics of the proverb, on the background of analogical developments and tendencies in linguistic and general semantics (even if in the pragmatic direction of some works undertaken in the framework of the so-called artificial intelligence, on the one hand, and “logistic” works – as for example Montague grammar, on which Kanyó bases his hopes – on the other.

Nadežda Iosifovna¹ just was my guest here, together with her small friend Anja (maybe you also know her, i.e. Anja?). On their way they visited Pskov and Pečery, and from here they left some days to Tallinn. Cordial greetings to you from them and from myself.

All the best!

Your

Arvo Krikmann

¹ Nadežda Iosifovna Rašba is the wife of the late Grigorij L'vovič Permjakov.

Парту, 6.09.84.

Дорогой Петер!

Удастся наконец ответить на Ваше последнее письмо, которое получил уже неделю две тому назад. Должен сказать, что Вы меня обрадовали меня: имено в виду сообщения о том, что у Вас получилась некоторая стечка со своим коллегой или сверстником. Из Вашего предпоследнего письма я вычитал, что у Вас настолько мало времени, что я ни в коем случае уже не успею написать ответу статью (учитывая еще и формальности и прочее). Теперь у меня на этот счет возникла новая надежда.

Вы пишете, что собираетесь перепубликовать и мою "novum" (т.е. опять-таки дурную статью) статью — о семантических механизмах слововиз, которую я написал осенью 1975 г., хотя она и вышла только недавно. У меня, разумеется, и на сей раз нет никаких принципиальных возражений, кроме, может быть, одного: мне как архивисту в общем не нравятся обилие дублетов. Я узнал — совершенно пост фактум —, что в первом номере нового ежегодника "Rocznik" перепубликовали первый из моих старых препринтов "On Denotative Indefiniteness of Polish", а во втором номере намеревается перепубликовать и по продолжении "Some Additional Aspects..." — а текст этих работ во многом совпадает с текстом статьи "Некоторые аспекты семантической неопределенности...", которую собираетесь перепубликовать Вы. Кроме того, ~~уже~~ Григорий Павлович были заключены договоры (через Бэн-Амоса или кого? — я точно не знаю) относительно издания ~~их~~ в английском переводе некоторой выборки трудов советских авторов, входящих в сверстки "Лингвистический сборник" и "Лингвистические исследования" в том числе обеих моих работ, о которых говорилось в Ваших письмах. Не много ли получится? С одной стороны, для западного читателя русский текст, по всей вероятности, не является особенно читабельным, так что и особой бедой ~~из~~ лишнего повторения, наверно, не будет. Итак, предоставлю этот вопрос полностью на Ваше усмотрение.

Если целью написать и опубликовать новую статью, то ее заглавием будет, по-видимому, "Logical versus Pragmatical?" or something else of the kind. Мне очень хотелось бы обсуждать проблему своего рода "разрыва" в современных подходах к семантике пословиц, на фоне аналогичных разрывов и тенденций в лингвистической и общей семантике (например, прагматической направленности части работ, выполненных в рамках Т.п. интеллектуального интеллекта, с одной стороны, и лингвистических работ — хотя бы прагматиком Монтегю, на которую возлагает надежды Канье, — с другой). Целью ли, будет видно в ближайшем будущем.

Надежда Цвейгровна только что была у меня в гости, вместе со своей маленькой подружкой Анней (может быть Вы и с ней, т.е. Анней, знакомы?). Они мимоходом посетили еще и Петров и Петровы, а от нас уехали на несколько дней в Калинин. Сердечный привет Вам и от них и от меня самого.

Всего хорошего!

Ваш

Arvo Krikman



Letter 4

Tartu
8 XI 1984

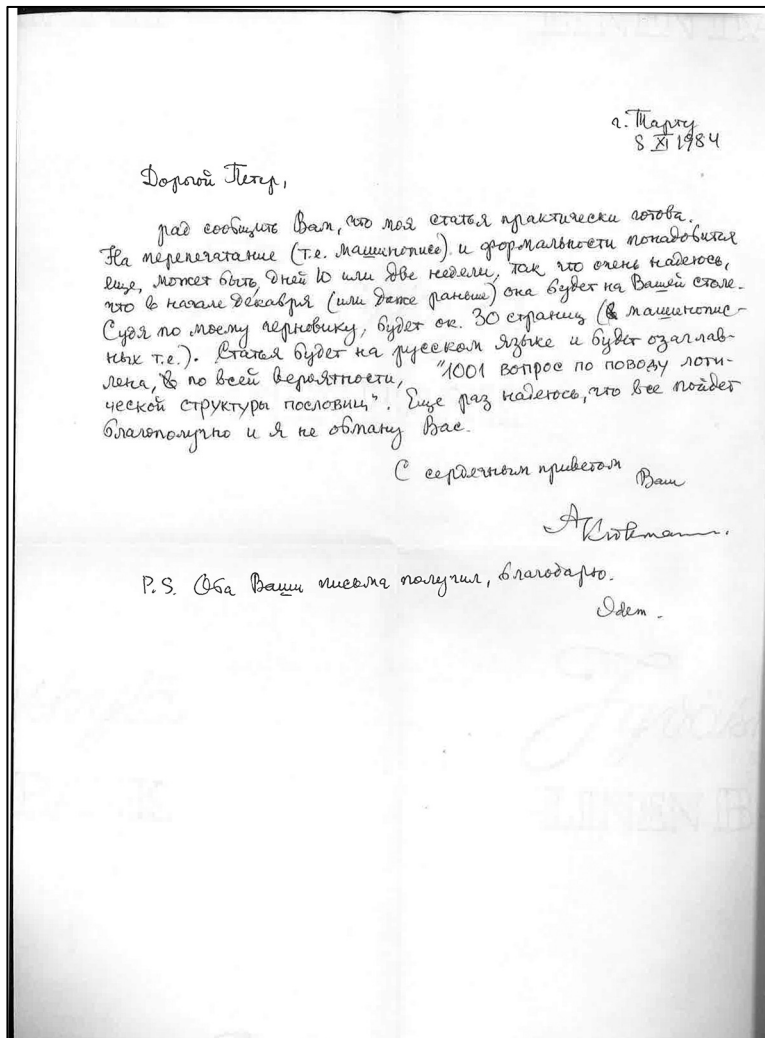
Dear Peter,

I am glad to inform you that my article is almost finished. Re-printing (i.e., typewriting) and some formalities will need some 10 days or maybe two weeks, and I hope very much that at the beginning of December (or even earlier) it will be on your desk. Judging from my handwritings, it will comprise ca. 30 (typewritten) pages. The article will be in Russian, and most probably it will be entitled "1001 Questions on the Logical Structure of Proverbs". I hope once again that all will end well and I do not cheat you.

With cordial greetings

Your
Krikmann.

P.S. I got both your letters, safely.





MOSAIC OR JIGSAW?

31

Letter 5

30.11.1984

Dr. P. Grzybek

On behalf of Arvo Krikmann I hereby send you his article. A legal copy will arrive some time.

With best greetings

Matti Kuusi
Professor Emeritus

HELSINGIN YLIOPISTO
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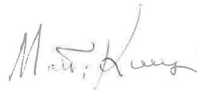
UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI
DEPARTMENT OF FOLKLORE
FABIANINKATU 33, 00170 HELSINKI 17
FINLAND

30.10.1984

Dr. P.Grzybek. Bochum

Im Auftrage von Arvo Krikmann sende ich hiermit
seinen Artikel. Ein legales Exemplar ankommt seinerzeit.

Mit besten Grüßen



Matti Kuusi
Professor Emeritus

Letter 6

30.11.1984

Mr P. Grzybek
Editor of the Journal "Ars Semeiotica"

Deeply respected Mr Grzybek !

In accordance with your suggestion I am sending you my article "1001 Question on the Logical Structure of Proverbs" (39 pages) for publication in the journal "Ars Semeiotica. An International Journal of Semiotics".

I give my agreement to publish the article once in Russian or German without any remuneration. No promise was made before to publish the given work in any other publication. All rights for the further use of the article will then be returned to the author.

The present manuscript is registered at VAAP (103104 Moskva, Bol'shaja Bronnaja, 6-A).

With regards,

Krikmann

Tallinn, November 30, 1984.

г-н П.Гржибек
Редактор журнала "Ars Semeioticae"
Bundesrepublik Deutschland
4630 Bochum 1
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Ruhr-Universität Bochum
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Postfach 10 21 48

Глубокоуважаемый г-н Гржибек!

В соответствии с Вашем предложением посылаю Вам статью "1001 вопрос по поводу логической структуры пословиц" (39 с.) для опубликования в журнале "Ars Semeioticae. An International Journal of Semiotics".

Даю согласие на однократную публикацию статьи без гонорара на русском или немецком языке. Ранее не было дано обещание на опубликование данной работы ни одному изданию. Все права на дальнейшее использование статьи возвращаются автору.

Настоящая рукопись зарегистрирована во Всесоюзном агентстве по авторским правам (ГОЗИО4 Москва, Большая Бронная, 6-А).

С уважением


А.Крикманн

Таллин, 30. ноября 1984 г.

AKINMADE TIMOTHY AKANDE AND
ADEBAYO MOSOBALAJE

THE USE OF PROVERBS IN HIP-HOP MUSIC: THE
EXAMPLE OF YORUBA PROVERBS IN 9ICE'S LYRICS

Abstract: Proverb is a canonized oral form that contains the mores, wisdom and worldview of a particular society. As an oral form of the Yoruba people of Southwestern Nigeria, it is used to (re)create identity, interrogate reality, and mediate real and artistic discourses. It is against this background that this paper examines the use of, and modes of mediation of Yoruba proverbs in the song-poetry of Abolore Adegbola Akande, a popular Nigerian hip-hop artiste whose stage name is 9ice. The data for the paper are selected song-texts of 9ice downloaded from different websites. The proverbs in the selected songs were identified and classified into groups. The study reveals that 9ice uses Yoruba proverbs to perform various global speech acts such as boasting, dissing, warning and teaching.

Keywords: 9ice, hip-hop lyrics, erotic music, Yoruba proverbs, pragmatic acts, local culture, identity.

Introduction

Proverbs are, often, short value-laden expressions with multilayered meanings that can be decoded only by those who possess a good mastery of the oral art and culture that produce them. Lau, Tokofsky and Winick (2004:8), similar to the definitions of earlier scholars (e.g. Mieder 1993), define proverbs as “short, traditional utterances that encapsulate cultural truths and sum up recurrent social situations.” Yusuf and Mathangwane (2003:408) also define proverbs as “relatively short expressions which are usually associated with wisdom and are used to perform a variety of social functions.”

Yoruba proverbs are typically short although some can be unusually long. The short ones are usually in simple sentences while the long ones may run into two or three lines. A proverb may contain two short or long sentences built by parallelism or

objective correlative structures. There is hardly any hard and fast rule regarding the structure. The important aspect of Yoruba proverbs is that meanings of lexical items in them are not subject to literal interpretation. Meanings of proverbs mostly transcend the literal, superficial and are thus deeply connotative in the manner of poetic writings; the properties of which proverbs mostly share. Thus, target meanings are embedded in the deeper layers of signification of proverbs.

Just as meanings of proverbs are so deep, the production regime and time of production of proverbs can be very elusive. We are assuming greatly that proverbs do not just come into being in one moment without prior processes of developmental maturation. It however seems that people simply grow to proverbs. No African study has actually traced the passage of axiomatic sayings from the non-canonized form to the canonized genre of Yoruba proverbs. Tracing this, we assume, may lead us to the possible roots of creations of different proverbs perhaps by individual proverb makers. What we have known for now is that proverbs do not have individual authors as can be ascribed to novels, plays and poetry collections. Proverbs are communally produced like all other canonized oral genres such as *Oriki* (praise poetry), *Ijala* (hunters' panegyric), or *Ekun Iyawo* (bridal chants) to mention a few.

Proverbs are an oral store of the wisdom and values of Yoruba people and as such a body of knowledge with which life and its constituents in entirety are approached. For example, it is through proverbs that basic moral etiquette is taught in Yoruba setting. This is attested to by the saying *bi iro ba n lo logun odun, ojo kan lotito n ba* (if lie has been going on for twenty years, truth catches up with it in just one day). And with this there is a strong condemnation for telling lies and a commendation for saying the truth among the Yoruba. Thus, proverbs are an archive that is easily accessed by Yoruba matured grown-ups for varying social functions. The maturity in this case is marked by age and experience in the company of elders who are always deemed to be mobile archives of Yoruba proverbs. Aesthetically speaking, Yoruba proverbs are used in the following four ways. One, they are always engaged as formulaic cues or opening glees in any crucial and civilized socio-cultural and political discussions. Beyond this, proverbs are key weapons to unravel compli-

cations and entanglements in discourse. This function is self-referentially captured in the proverb below:

<i>Owe lesin oro</i>	<i>The proverb is the horse of the word</i>
<i>Boro ba sonu</i>	<i>When the word is lost</i>
<i>Owe ni a fi wa a</i>	<i>It is the proverb that is used to recover it.</i>

The 'word' in the translation of the above proverb is discourse and the preoccupation of discourse which could be the discovery of truth or conflict or any other crucial concern in a given discourse. In addition, proverbs are a great tool in exegetical discourse (Lawal, Ajayi and Raji 1997:638). Proverbs possess the intrinsic power to elucidate and elaborate upon ideas in the simplest ways and they equally have graphic strength of summation. Through the use of a single proverb, an idea can be reproduced in a manifold of exegetical works without being exhausted. The inexhaustive nature of proverb-informed interpretations is ensured by the use of proverbs to reinterpret proverbs and ad-infinitum.

The cumulative effect of the aforementioned three functions of proverbs is the fourth which is aesthetic beauty (Fakoya 2007). The Yoruba value beauty of thought and this can only be expressed by witty sayings that are couched using the best language combinations. Yoruba proverbs have proven beyond reasonable doubt to be an indisputably excellent domain of verbal dexterity, mental acuity and language use. There is an enviable social location for Yoruba men and women who have distinguished themselves in the handling of proverbs and language use in general.

Proverbs perform other sociolinguistic functions in Yoruba land in the same way that it is used to achieve a variety of functions in most cultures of the world (see Plopper [1969] on Chinese proverbs, Nwoga [1975] on Igbo proverbs, Nyembezi [1974] on Zulu proverbs). It can be used in the resolution of conflicts (Adegoju 2009). Conflict resolution is very important in any Yoruba setting as the Yoruba believe that people must cohabit peacefully; a belief which is evident in the saying that *alaafia loogun oro* (good health is the medicine of wealth). It is only when a society is healthy and there is no war or conflict that the inhabitants of such a society can acquire wealth. Thus, when-

ever there is a conflict, proverbs may be used to “advise, rebuke or shame another into compliance” (Finnegan 1970: 409-410).

Ironically, proverbs are also deployed in songs meant to ignite conflicts and wars. A special genre of Yoruba poetry, called *Orin Owe* (Proverb Songs), is particularly used in fomenting trouble and causing conflicts. Daramola (2007:122) remarks that in Yoruba traditional setting, “abusive proverbial songs usually flow freely most especially from the women” during quarrels. This is perhaps why the Yoruba believe that *orin ni saaju ote* (songs herald conspiracy). The use of proverbs to warn, persuade or dissuade people from behaving in a particular manner is common not only among the Yoruba but also to all races of the world. A Yoruba proverb says:

*Eni ba se ohun tenikan o se ri
Oju re a ri ohun tenikan o riri*

*Whoever does what no one has ever done
S/he will see what nobody has ever seen*

This proverb is a warning and if the person being warned still goes ahead with her/his intention, s/he should be prepared to face the consequence. Mensah (2010:251) seems to sum this up by saying:

Our traditional leaders of thoughts, and men of wisdom, use proverbs as a form of literary expression to warn, encourage, admonish, mock, advise, console and generally establish the verbal convention that is significant to the social order, given some social, cultural and historical circumstances.

Previous work on Yoruba proverbs

Research on Yoruba proverbs is very robust as scholars have studied these from different perspectives. Some studies have looked at the sexist nature of Yoruba proverbs vis a vis those of English (Yusuf 1997; 1998; 2002), some have focused on the lexico-semantic and syntactic aspects of Yoruba proverbs (Alabi 2009; Asiyanbola 2007) and there are others which have examined proverbs from a pragmatic point of view (Fakoya 2007; Lawal, Ajayi and Raji 1997). A few scholars have also investigated Yoruba proverbs from a philosophical standpoint (Fasiku

2006; Fayemi 2007, 2010; Oke 2007) while Asiyanbola (2007) attempts a semiotic-syntactic analysis of some Yoruba proverbs. Lawal, Ajayi and Raji (1997) focus on the pragmatics of Yoruba proverbs in order to see if the knowledge of Yoruba proverbs can enrich the theory of pragmatics generally. Using six pairs of contradictory Yoruba proverbs, they attempt to examine the performative acts of the proverbs and, in addition, identify the contexts and corresponding competencies that could help in resolving the contradictions in the proverbs. The study finds out, among other things, that Yoruba proverbs can be used performatively to advise, assert, inform, recommend, make a claim, teach moral lessons or rebuke. They conclude that listeners arrive at the meanings of proverbs by making recourse to “the situational, psychological, social, sociological and cosmological contexts” (Lawal et al, 1997:656). Concerning the resolution of the contradictions in the proverbs, they claim that:

It is also in the deeper networks of context and competence relative to the pragmatics of each proverb that the seeming contradictions between certain pairs of proverbs can be resolved by identifying and employing background facts, feelings, beliefs, situations and view-points which are presupposed or implicated, as the case may be.

Several studies on Yoruba proverbs are concerned with feminist ideology by showing how women have been subjected to linguistic violence and culturally-rooted bias (Adetunji 2010; Balogun 2010; Daramola 2007; Yusuf 1994, 1998). Balogun (2010), using Yoruba proverbs that demonstrate gender bias against women, argues that the oppression of women in Africa is enhanced through proverbs while Yusuf (1997) compares forty-six English and Yoruba proverbs and shows that some of these proverbs dehumanize women by comparing them with animals, plants and so on (also see Yusuf 1994). Omenugha (2007) examines how sexist language is used in Nigerian English-medium newspapers to portray women while Fakoya’s (2007) work, which examines the discourse relevance of sexually-grounded proverbs in Yoruba, shows that most of these sexually-bias proverbs are misogynistic (Fakoya 2007:21) and should be used with caution in a mixed gathering. Daramola (2007), in his work, dis-

covers that offensive proverbial songs are often used among the Yoruba to depict gender construct.

Scholars have also worked on Nigeria hip-hop (e.g., Omoniyi 2006, 2009; Onanuga 2010), but no scholarly searchlight seems to have been directed to the use of proverbs in Nigeria hip-hop. The reason for the paucity of works on Nigeria hip-hop, in general, is because it just came onto the Nigerian musical scene in the early 2000. This is in addition to the fact that most people, including Nigerian scholars, associate hip-hop with thugery, vulgarity and perhaps violence because of the manners in which hip-hop artistes dress and use language. This paper seeks to contribute to the few existing studies on Nigerian hip-hop by focusing on the use of Yoruba proverbs in the lyrics of Adegbola Abolore Akande, a hip-hop artiste popularly known as 9ice. In order to achieve this, the study investigates the pragmatic acts that the proverbs used by 9ice exemplify. The data for this work are drawn from selected lyrics of 9ice such as *Gongo*, *Aso*, *Street Credibility*, *Photocopy*, *Petepete Alapomeji* and *Little Money Expended*.

Theoretical framework

Briefly discussed here is Speech Act Theory which is believed to be the originator of performativity. Speech Act Theory was developed by Austin (1962) in *How to Do Things with Words* using a small set of verbs which 'perform' what they say. Austin divides speech acts into three categories, namely: the *locution* of a speech act (the actual words used in an utterance), its *illocution* (the force or the intention of a speaker behind the utterance), and its *perlocution* (the effect of the utterance on the listener) (Jaworski and Coupland 2006:13). In Austin's sense, performatives consist in the tendency of some verbs to do what they say. Austin attempted a distinction between, among other things, performative and constative acts. On the one hand, constative acts are statements of fact which can be true or false and this means that constatives are verifiable and testable. Examples of these are assertions, reports and statements. On the other hand, performative acts are neither true nor false but when such utterances are made, it is believed that the speaker is not just saying something but s/he is doing something. Performatives are

therefore either felicitous or infelicitous i.e., successful or unsuccessful.

Searle (1977:34), in order to improve upon Austin work, classifies speech acts into five categories: representatives which are assertions, directives geared towards getting listeners to do something or to behave in certain ways, commissives which create obligation and commitment on the part of the speaker, expressives and, lastly declarations. However, Kreidler (1998:175-194) proposes seven major speech acts each of which contains specific pragmatic acts. These are:

- a) Assertive utterances which contains such acts as informing, predicting, reporting, alleging etc
- b) Performative utterances which includes the acts of arresting, sentencing, betting, naming, pronouncing, declaring and so on.
- c) Verdictive utterances that includes accusing, criticizing, blaming and praising
- d) Expressive utterances which includes acknowledging, admitting, apologizing and denying
- e) Directive utterances which cover acts like commanding, suggesting and requesting
- f) Commissive utterances which cover acts like offering to do something, agreeing to do something, refusing to do something and pledging; and,
- g) Phatic utterances which especially consist in the establishment and maintenance of social bonds such as greeting.

In this study, the focus is on specific acts of Kreidler as this gives us the freedom to navigate away from the general speech acts such as commissives and expressives and move on directly to such specific acts such as naming, advising, suggesting and so on.

Pennycook (2007:69) says performativity deals with “the way in which we perform acts of identity as an ongoing series of social and cultural performatives rather than as the expression of a prior identity.” Pennycook argues that identity is not pre-given, as Le Page and Tabourer-Keller (1985) would have us believe, but it is the productive force of language that constitutes identity. Citing English as an example, he notes that no language exists as

a prior system but a language undergoes the process of sedimentation through acts of identity. He questions the foundationalist categories by emphasizing that “identities are formed in the linguistic performance rather than pregiven” (p. 76). Also related to Performative Theory (PT) is Transgressive Theory. By Transgressive Theory, Pennycook emphasizes cultural flows from one setting to another setting (translocality), from one text to another text (transtextuality) and from one mode to another mode (transmodality).

Close to the heart of Kreidler’s performative utterances which perform among other things the pragmatic acts of naming, pronouncing and declaring is the task of Yoruba proverbs as an artistic horse that is in search of the word or genre of hip-hop. In the enterprise of indigenization and domestication, the artiste 9ice has deployed Yoruba proverbs to carry all the weight and nuances of the hip-hop genre for the Yoruba urban underclass and wealthy elite who ordinarily could not have wanted to patronize hip-hop music because of its association with vulgarity and violence. In using Yoruba proverbs in the naming of this genre, the hip-hop sub-genre of 9ice has also carried the weight of Yoruba proverbs in the manner of hybrid aesthetics. What this has done is to create a sub-genre of hip-hop that can be described as Yoruba hip-hop which a great majority of Yoruba people can identify with and describe as their own.

The aesthetic subsuming of hip-hop in Yoruba proverbs or vice-versa takes us further into Pennycook’s transgressive theory. What Pennycook considers as “cultural flow from one text to another” is what is aptly described as intertextuality in literary parlance. Intertextuality is the dialogue that exists between two different texts for varying purposes. The flow or dialogue of different texts could be to uphold or disapprove of an ideological or aesthetic project as the case may be. Whatever the purpose, the dialogue will result in either pastiche or eclecticism of art such that boundaries or territorial aesthetic purity of each text will be lost in the interest of cultural hybridity and globalization. The aesthetic process of deploying Yoruba proverbs in the hip-hop of 9ice is a performative pragmatic act which is geared towards naming, pronouncing and declaring Yoruba proverbs as a carrier of the weight of hip-hop or using hip-hop to carry the weight of

Yoruba reality through the aesthetic nuances and strategies of Yoruba proverbs.

According to Pennycook's theorizing, the Yoruba hip-hop identity that the sub-genre of hip-hop of 9ice attains is achieved within the context of linguistic and aesthetic performance of Yoruba proverbs and identity. As a new gatepost for the survival of Yoruba proverbs, 9ice's sub-genre of hip-hop becomes a more readily available domain for the dissemination of Yoruba ethical values for Nigerians and the global world. In one word, the artiste under study has deployed Yoruba proverbs not only to name and arrest hip-hop genre but also to carry the weight of hip-hop and for the genre of hip-hop to in turn carry the weight of Yoruba proverbs with the intents to indigenize it and produce a sub-genre of Yoruba hip-hop.

Structure of Transgressive Text in 9ice's Hip-Hop

The most crucial trademark of hip-hop in Nigeria is bilingualism (or sometimes multilingualism) as opposed to monolingualism which characterizes western hip-hop. 9ice's use of proverbs is replete with both intra-sentential and inter-sentential switches. For instance, in one of his songs, he says:

They forget say ogbon ju agbara lo
They forget that wisdom is greater than power

Evident in this proverb is an intra-sentential switch from Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) to Yoruba. Hardly can we see any hip-hop artiste in Nigeria who does not make use of NPE. Since NPE is not regionally bound as other indigenous languages are, the use of NPE by artistes may be an attempt to appeal to a wider audience. More importantly, the use of NPE may be interpreted as one of the ways Nigerian artistes perform their 'Nigerianess' and by so doing, have projected their national identity. On other occasions, the switch is between English and Yoruba as the proverb below illustrates.

I told yah egbe isu koni iyan
I told you that pounded yam is superior to yam

Apart from the fusion of codes generally, 9ice sometimes mixes English and Yoruba together in his proverbs as evident in the above example where the first clause 'I told yah' is clearly

English and the second is clearly Yoruba. The use of ‘yah’ as a pronoun instead of ‘you’ has its root in AAVE, a dialect which is arguably associated with the origin of hip-hop. In one of his albums entitled *Photocopy*, he warns other artistes not to copy him in the way he uses Yoruba as his use of Yoruba proverbs and idioms constitute his trademark. He says:

Photocopy ko easy
(It is not easy to copy others)
You can never be like me
This is my identity
Teni nteni, takisa ntaatan.
(One’s own is one’s own; rags belong to the dunghill)

The switch here is at the inter-sentential level from English (This is my identity) to Yoruba *Teni nteni, takisa ntaatan*. The switch between English and Yoruba instances the meeting of the global and the local in 9ice’s songs and as Omoniyi (2006:198) has argued, this is one of the ways Nigerian hip-hop artistes have modified their songs “in resistance to a wholesale assimilation by global hip-hop culture and to carve out an independent glocal identity.” With this fusion of codes, 9ice seems to be engaged in “local articulation of identity” (Pennycook and Mitchell 2009). 9ice uses English as a global means of communication to ensure that he also makes some connection with the outside world; especially America where hip-hop supposedly originated from. This he achieves in his lyrics through several means. Apart from switching between Yoruba and English, the use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) syntactic features such as *BE* deletion and reduplication exemplify some of the means through which 9ice has made further connection with the global. The following proverb illustrates this:

Money speaking speaking
Any idea waiting waiting

There is no doubt that there is a *BE* deletion in the first line of this proverb while it is also obvious that *speaking* and *waiting* are duplicated. These are syntactic features that characterize AAVE although these features are also present in non-Standard Nigerian English (non-SNE). It could, however, be argued that in

the context above the *BE* deletion is an AAVE feature rather than a feature of non-SNE since 9ice is highly educated.

Data Analysis and Discussion

We proceed here to analyse and discuss the Yoruba proverbs in the lyrics of 9ice with the aim of showing some of the pragmatic acts that the proverbs used have enunciated. It is important to remark here that a pragmatic act classification of proverbs can only be done effectively by making recourse to the contexts in which they are used. Also important is the fact that there may be an overlap as a proverb can perform more than one pragmatic act. It is possible for a proverb that performs the pragmatic act of warning to also threaten. In this paper, the Yoruba proverbs used are translated into English. Sometimes, a proverb is given a literal translation and sometimes a metaphoric one. However, attempts are made to ensure that the ideas in Yoruba proverbs are, to a large extent, reflected and maintained in the English translations. The identified pragmatic acts such as informing, teaching, asserting, boasting, bragging, warning, threatening and inciting are neatly grouped under three broad headings which are depiction of local culture, defence of commercial precincts and political music making.

Depiction of Local Culture

To begin with, 9ice claims to have learnt the use of proverbs from his 75-year-old grandmother with whom he lived while growing up and who always thought and spoke in proverbs. With this background, his approach to music was to recreate the language use culture in which he grew up and create an entirely new sub-genre of hip-hop that would be his and Yoruba at the same time. The principal deployment of Yoruba proverbs as horses of culture in the hip-hop sub-genre of 9ice, as hinted at earlier, is for the effects of local colour that will mark the music as a creative and cultural expression of the Yoruba. 9ice's hip-hop sub-genre therefore becomes elevated given the language richness that accompanies the wisdom contained in Yoruba proverbs. His hip-hop has hereby been invested with marked respectability that attracts the patronage of the Yoruba and Nigerian middle class, educated and wealthy elite around the country who hitherto, as argued earlier, would not have listened to hip-hop music owing to its vulgarity and gangsterism. The intertextual context has

served to tame the vulgar contents such that most of 9ice's erotic lyrics are couched using a heavy shield of euphemisms that most likely would shut out under-age children.

The various boastings and braggings of 9ice, using Yoruba proverbs, are presented following socially acceptable modes of addressing seniority and superiority. Ultimately, the eclectic experimentation of 9ice in the interest of indigenization of hip-hop for the Yoruba people has resulted in a transgressive pragmatic act and loss of aesthetic purity on the part of hip-hop or what could be appropriately described as globalization. The global hip-hop has been halfway deterritorialized to serve the interest of Yoruba proverbs as a survival medium and for the Yoruba people who find it comfortable identifying with hip-hop. The hip-hop of 9ice performs Yoruba ethical values and worldviews (Alim2003:55) through the pragmatic acts of teaching, informing and recommending various aspects of Yoruba life as depicted in the song-texts below:

1)

*This is my identity
Teni nteni, takisa ntaatan*

Apalara, igunpa niyekan

*This is my identity
One's own is one's own; rags
belong to the dunghill
Your arm is your kin, and your
elbow your family*

2)

*Daddy, you know you always
tell us*

To live in harmony

Ba reni fehinti

Bi ole laari

Oju to ma bani kale

ko ma ni f'arose'pin

*Daddy, you know you always
tell us*

To live in harmony

If there is no one to rely on

We would be like lazy ones

*The eyes that will serve one till
old age*

*Do not run liquid matter in the
morning*

3)

*That thing called love, omo
no be film trick*

*E dey do me anywhere wey I
dey like*

*That thing called love, friend, it
is not a film trick*

*It always rocks my being to
want*

<i>make she dey there, together</i>	<i>Her to be with me all the time</i>
<i>We are meant to be, forever</i>	<i>We are meant to be forever</i>
<i>Ekuro l'alabaku ewa</i>	<i>The kernel dies with the bean</i>

The song in excerpt 1 celebrates one of the cardinal principles of the Yoruba concept of *omoluwabi* (gentleman or gentlewoman of integrity) within the context of dignity of labour to earn a respectable place in the society. Yoruba people place much emphasis on work because it humanizes and enhances a befitting social location unto whoever can dissipate his or her sweat in a choice trade or profession. It is believed that whoever does not work cannot be an important person and thus would not be accorded any form of integrity in life. It is this work ethic that informs the notion that you are what your handiwork can make of you. Therefore, one of the most treasured parts of the human body should be his or her arms, which symbolically represent all other parts engaged in all socially-acceptable and socially-evolving professional pursuits in the society. Contained in this performative pragmatic act of informing is indigenization of hip-hop as a forum for cultural education. What 9ice is doing here is shoring himself up in the work ethic of his culture with the full implications that his commitment to his career is the only thing that can see him up the ladder of his set goals as an individual worthy of emulation.

It is this same ethic that is further pursued in excerpt 2 in which he recalls the teacher figure of his father and the generational mode of imparting knowledge in Yoruba culture. Father in this sense could be literal or symbolic because we can observe two levels of artistic heritage that 9ice is indebted to in terms of the two songs in excerpts 1 and 2. His first point of indebtedness goes to the tradition of proverbs that are a product of the Yoruba work worldview. His second point of indebtedness goes to scholars of Yoruba literature who inscribed the Yoruba work ethic into memorable poems in Yoruba Primary School books which 9ice must have read while in school. Lines such as *bi a koba r'eni fehinti, bi ole laari* (if there is no one to rely on, we would be like lazy ones) and *apalara, igunpa niyekan* (Your arm is your kin, and your elbow your family) were directly lifted by 9ice from the must-memorised title *Ise Logun Ise* of those days into the third level of artistic heritage brought about by his trans-

gressive pragmatic act of arresting the hip-hop genre for his proverb-imbued sub-genre of hip-hop.

The song in excerpt 3 asserts the Yoruba conception of loving, relationship and family life. According to the Yoruba, the coming together of a young man and a young woman transcends mere realities of the material incarnation. In popular parlance, they say, husband and wife belong to each other both in life and in death. This goes to show that Yoruba people do not approve of divorce in relationships because it tampers with what they describe as *okun ebi* (family thread/cord) which they live to continually build as an essentially family-oriented ethnic group. It is this social ideology that is captured in *ekuro lalabaku ewa* (the kernel dies with the bean). *9ice* is thus evoking the essential social and sacred bonds that are at the heart of marriages in Yoruba land. The pragmatic act of asserting, here, sums it up that both in life and death, husbands and wives must never be separated.

Defence of Commercial Precincts

A couple of pragmatic acts are deployed by popular artistes ranging from boasting, warning and in some cases cursing in order to engage supposed or real enemies. We must state right from the outset that beyond being a culture producing musical form, hip-hop music is a commercial genre aiming to break even in terms of profit. What this translates into is that hip-hop artistes deploy all strategies to hold fast their clientele and patronage at all levels of social strata. That the same Nigerian market has to be shared by all hip-hop artistes demands all forms of struggles to attain prominence. Depending on creative ingenuity, some hip-hop artistes would secure more patronage than others and become more successful.

This success is marked in several ways. First and foremost is the change in the social status of the artiste from the lower rung of the society to becoming a big man like the patrons who brought him up. The indices of the present status range from having free money to flaunt affluence to numerous abroad trips for performances, winning of awards, being honoured with chieftaincy and honorary institutional titles, maintaining a fleet of cars and mansions and a host of others. Attainment of these or getting close to attaining some of them could become a basis of jealousy and competition among musical peers or between artistes who

have attained stardom and those just coming up. Largely, boasting and warning are pragmatic act tools used in contesting and defending creative and/or commercial space that is jealously guarded by each hip-hop artiste as contained in the following:

4)

<i>Omoj'omo lo l'Adigun</i>	<i>Children are greater than children, Adigun</i>
<i>Mo koja omo eniyan t'a n peri</i>	<i>I am more than a person whose guardian soul can be put under a spell</i>
<i>B'aba r'erin, ka so pe a r'erin</i>	<i>If we see an elephant, let's agree we see an elephant</i>
<i>Ajanaku koja mori nkan fi wi</i>	<i>The elephant is beyond The grasp of a single eye span</i>
....	
<i>T'abaju ada soke ni igbaagba</i>	<i>If we throw up a cutlass countless times</i>
<i>bee ni</i>	<i>Yes</i>
<i>Ib ipelebe lo ma fi le le</i>	<i>It will always fall on its side</i>

5)

<i>I'm beyond your beef talk</i>	<i>I'm beyond your beef talk</i>
<i>Ojumo kan, imokan</i>	<i>One day is one knowledge</i>
<i>Ere kan, arakan, asakan</i>	<i>One show is one wonder and one culture</i>
<i>Just like Chameleon</i>	<i>Just like Chameleon</i>
<i>Olomosikata loba agbado</i>	<i>The sparsely populated maize cob is the king of maize</i>

6)

<i>I told ya</i>	<i>I told you</i>
<i>You can never be like me</i>	<i>You can never be like me</i>
<i>Now I see, no be for free</i>	<i>Now I see, it is not free</i>
<i>Kogba agidi, e ya lo ka A B D</i>	<i>It is not by struggle, just go and read your A, B, D</i>
<i>E ko A B C, e joo same nani</i>	<i>Learn A, B, C, it is all the same</i>
<i>Itakun to so gba</i>	<i>What is good for the goose</i>
<i>Tolohun o so legede</i>	<i>Should also be good for the gander</i>

<i>Melo la feka</i>	<i>How many can we count</i>
<i>Ninu ehin adipele</i>	<i>In Adepele's teeth?</i>
<i>I told ya</i>	<i>I told you</i>
<i>Egbe isu kon'iyān</i>	<i>Pounded yam is superior to yam</i>
<i>Ajurawa lo jo</i>	<i>Being superior to one's peer</i>
<i>Ani tijaḡadi ko</i>	<i>Is not a test of wrestling</i>
7)	
<i>I'm a coded tune pick, who wan tackle me</i>	<i>I'm a coded tune pick, who wants to challenge me</i>
<i>Ere taja fogun odun sa</i>	<i>The race run by a dog for twenty years</i>
<i>Irin faaji ni fun esin mi,</i>	<i>is child's play for a horse (The strength of a horse is unrivalled)</i>
<i>Adigun always moving</i>	<i>Adigun is always moving/ ahead of them</i>

The proverbs in excerpts 4 -7 above are used by 9ice to boast that he has no match among Nigerian hip-hoppers. Excerpt 4 is an example of boasting but largely situated within the cultural orientation of the Yoruba people who believe firmly in the mutual interplay between the material and supernatural dimensions of existence. It is within this tradition that people's fate and destiny are held to be open to spiritual tampering and attacks by opponents through the services of herbalists, pastors, Moslem clerics or witches. It is not such a ridiculous development that popular artistes seek the assistance of herbalists or witches to protect and promote their musical career. It is this tradition that has found expression in the boasting of 9ice that no one is capable of invoking his *ori* (head) guardian soul for evil machination. Using two metaphoric proverbs, he has compared himself to an elephant whose massiveness cannot be denied or undermined and to a cutlass that always falls on its side no matter which way it is thrown by enemies, especially to achieve a desired negative result.

In excerpt 5, he boasts about his achievements and likens himself to a Chameleon. In Yoruba tradition, it is believed that a Chameleon has many clothes and can choose whichever pleases

him at any time. Before referring to himself as a Chameleon, however, he claims that he could afford to come up with a new song, a new style on a regular basis as he has more than enough in his repertoire: *Ojumo kan, imo kan* (one day is one knowledge). Thus, he is the self-acclaimed ‘King’ of Nigerian hip-hoppers *the sparsely populated maize cob who is the king of maize*. In excerpt 6, he likens his colleagues to kindergarten pupils who need to start by first of all mastering the alphabet of hip-hop. The first proverb in this excerpt which makes reference to *igba* and *elegede* signals the pragmatic act of *equaling* which is evident in other Yoruba proverbs like *Ibi koju ibi, bi a se bi eru la bi omo* (childbearing is the same, the same way a free child is born is the way a slave is born).

However, the fact that 9ice uses this proverb to show that A, B, D (the Yoruba letters) and A, B, C (the English letters) are the same and ask his colleagues to learn these letters indicates another act: *arrogating*. He boasts that his achievements and songs are too numerous to count by using a fragmented proverb: *Melo la fe ka ninu ehin Adepele* (how many can we count in Adepele’s teeth?). This proverb was fragmented probably to match with the rhythm and tempo of the song. The full version of this proverb in Yoruba is: *melo la fe ka ninu ehin Adepele, tiwaju ogun, teyin ogbon, otalenirinwo lo subululelehin* (how many of Adepele’s teeth can we count? She has twenty front teeth, the back teeth are thirty and four hundred and sixty at the back). Two other proverbs which depict 9ice as being boastful are *egbe isu koniyan* and *A jurawa lo, tajakadi ko* which are translated as (pounded yam is superior to yam) and (being superior to one’s peer is not a test of wrestling) respectively. Although the English proverb “What is good for the goose is also good for the gander” does not really exist in Yoruba, this English proverb seems to be the appropriate loan translation from English that carries the weight of the Yoruba proverb *Itakun to so agbe, lo so elegede*.

These proverbs further suggest that 9ice sees himself as the best among his colleagues and as if to strengthen his opinion, he again, in excerpt 7 likens himself to a horse and his colleagues to dogs by saying *Ere taja fogun odun sa, irin faaji ni fesin* (The race run by a dog for twenty years is child’s play for a horse, i.e., The strength of horse is unrivalled). What takes his colleagues several years to achieve, the self-acclaimed King of Nigerian

hip-hop has achieved even more without any stress; a proverb which further cements his claim that he is superior to other hip-hoppers. With these proverbs, 9ice has created for himself and presented himself to other artistes as somebody whom they should respect and should accept as their leader.

Political Music Making

Undoubtedly, political music making and protest traditions are crucial political processes in indigenous Yoruba societies. Oral chanters participate actively as the conscience of the society in challenging political misrule in the interest of common men. To a large extent, oral chanters enjoy immunity in the cause of the common people such that it is popularly held that *Oba ii p'okorin* (the king never molests an artist) (Isola 1992, 19). The protest tradition has survived into the post-independence Nigerian society in the music of artistes such as Fela Anikulapo Kuti, Ologundudu, and Beautiful Nubia in the recent times. Being a Yoruba artiste, 9ice must have been influenced by this rich tradition of protest music. His own contribution to the tradition would be his heavy deployment of Yoruba proverbs within the context of hip-hop performance. A major pragmatic act enunciated by 9ice through Yoruba proverbs in this regard is warning. Through this act, he has deployed his hip-hop to making political statements in relation to issues of health, sickness and well-being of the Nigerian society. The purpose of his artistic intervention in politics is to spread awareness and raise consciousness of common people to the socio-cultural, political and economic condition of their being. Nigerians are thereafter left with whatever they think they can do with the awareness of the condition. The songs below confirm the use of warning for possible incitement for mass action:

8)

<i>Sebe l'ema sun</i>	<i>Is this where you will be sleeping?</i>
<i>Te ba sope e o mon Kankan</i>	<i>If you say you do not know what is going on</i>
<i>Eyin aro lema waa</i>	<i>You will be behind the hearth</i>
<i>Ojo re bi ana ta gb'ominira, 1960</i>	<i>It was just like yesterday that we got independence in 1960</i>

<i>N'igba yen tis easy gege bo se wi</i>	<i>Then, the country was so easy and good as told</i>
<i>Ta rugbo, t'omidan lo ndunu pa ti d'ominira</i>	<i>Everybody was happy because of independence</i>
<i>Ominira indeed abi, ewo naira wa</i>	<i>It has indeed become our undoing, look at our naira</i>
<i>Ilu polukurumusu</i>	<i>The land is in turmoil</i>
<i>T'ewe t'agba lonj'eyan won nisu</i>	<i>Everybody is suffering</i>
<i>Abe ori, ewe eri, sugbon e o fewi</i>	<i>The youth have felt it but they do not want to say a word</i>
<i>Abe ori, agba eri atenuje lofe p'ayin</i>	<i>The elders have seen it but kept quiet because of what they want to eat</i>
<i>Petepete t'ana ni popa</i>	<i>Whoever gets splashed by the mud that was</i>
<i>Eni ba taba, kolo mo feni</i>	<i>hit with a stick should run away</i>
<i>Bo dasiko 'bo yen won a wa s'adugbo</i>	<i>When it is election time, politicians will come</i>
<i>Won a'somo jeje</i>	<i>And they will behave themselves</i>
<i>Eje kan wole tan</i>	<i>Let them win elections</i>
<i>Gbogbo eje tan je a w'oke se</i>	<i>All their pledges will go unfulfilled</i>
<i>Toba tun se were, la siko ibo</i>	<i>At another election time</i>
<i>Won ani k'odo to lo bere</i>	<i>They will get the youth to line up endlessly</i>
<i>Won a senu mere, kalokalo gbenkan mi senu wuye</i>	<i>But keep a smart sealed lip Gambling machine that gulps money without a trace</i>
<i>Jagunlabi tuntun wole</i>	<i>The upstart has won the election again</i>
<i>Talo dibo fun?</i>	<i>Who voted for him?</i>
<i>Pasan ta fi nayale</i>	<i>The cane used to beat the senior wife</i>
<i>o nbe lori aja fun.</i>	<i>Is kept in the rafter for the junior wife</i>
<i>Odo elo tunra mu</i>	<i>Youth of the land, go and buckle up</i>

9)

<i>Make dem talk</i>	<i>Let them talk</i>
<i>Oun ton ri lobe, ton se waru owo</i>	<i>What they have seen in the soup That makes them to recline their arm</i>
<i>Make dem talk</i>	<i>Let them talk</i>
<i>Kulikuli poun kan, odi naira kan</i>	<i>One pound groundnut cake has become one naira</i>
<i>Make dem talk</i>	<i>Let them talk</i>
<i>We want to know wassup, idi ti garri se won</i>	<i>We want to know why the price of farina has risen</i>
<i>Make dem talk</i>	<i>Let them talk</i>

The pragmatic act of warning in excerpt 8 performed by 9ice and Asa, another rap artiste in Nigeria, is contained in the proverb *petepete t'ana ni popa, eni bata ba, kolo mo feni* (whoever gets splashed by the mud that was hit with a stick should run away) which is a strong signal to corrupt post-independence rulers who have ravaged the economy shortly after the brief euphoria of independence. The warning is stringent as it is couched within two tropes of forces of mobilization which are the first stanza *sebe l'ema sun?* (is that where you will sleep?) and the last line of the excerpt *odo elo tunra mu* (youth of the land, go and buckle up) that warns the people to shake off their docility and get ready for a popular onslaught against the reprobate Nigerian power elite. The second proverb *pasan ta fi nayale o nbe lori aja fun* (the cane used to beat the senior wife is kept in the rafter for the junior wife) equally warns about terrible consequences from common men to the dishonest political elite who use unscrupulous means and strategies to rig elections and wangle their way into offices. They are compared to junior wives who become favourites of husbands all of a sudden but who would soon meet up with the fate of senior wives. In both proverbs, beating is used to anchor the spirit of the warning.

Excerpt 9 by 2 Shotz, a popular rap artiste in Nigeria, featuring 9ice is realized as a court of the people in which corrupt Nigerian leaders are summoned to render accounts for political misrule using the proverb *oun tori lobe, to se waru owo* (what they have seen in the soup that makes them to recline their arm). In this proverb, the pragmatic act of arresting is being carried out

and an invitation to come and explain the reasons behind the reclining of the arm is a summon served by the society to the small ruling elite. The ruling elite have been summoned to explain the skyrocketing increase in the price of goods and basic amenities of living that serve as guarantors of a good life and human dignity. The summon therefore is a symbolic call for political action and mass mobilization to oust the undesirable ruling elite. In putting music at the service of the people as exemplified by the pragmatic acts of the three proverbs identified under political music making, 9ice has chosen to also be functioning within the tradition of Yoruba oral chanters as the fearless conscience of society for the modern post-independence Yoruba and Nigerian societies.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined the pragmatic acts enunciated by the proverbs 9ice engages in his sub-genre of hip-hop using conceptual and theoretical insights from Kreidler and Pennycook. It is observed that 9ice has deployed Yoruba proverbs to perform, in the main, the pragmatic acts of naming, pronouncing and arresting the hip-hop genre as a sub-genre that bears the oral and musical orientation of the Yoruba people. Within this broad context of arresting and marking the hip-hop genre as that of the Yoruba, 9ice's proverbs have also been engaged in a variety of pragmatic acts such as boasting, bragging, warning, threatening, inciting, teaching, instructing, and suggesting to paint local colour and teach Yoruba ethical values, defend his commercial territory against external aggressors and address political issues current in his society. 9ice's musical experiment has been in full keeping with Pennycook's notion of identity as a product of performance.

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TAMAR ALEXANDER AND YAAKOV BENTOLILA

“LAS PALABRAS VUELAN, LO ESCRITO SE QUEDA”
(THE WORDS FLY, THE WRITTEN STAYS): THE JUDEO-
SPANISH (HAKETIC) PROVERB IN NORTHERN
MOROCCO¹

Abstract: The aim of this article is to define the literary and linguistic characteristics of proverbs in Haketia in order to examine the proverb as an expression of ethnic identity. Haketia is the Judeo-Spanish language spoken in Jewish communities in northern Morocco among descendants of Jews exiled from Spain. We claim that the tradition of proverbs in Haketia possesses its own unique characteristics that express the “voice of the group.” To isolate this voice, we analyzed proverbs in Haketia in comparison to their counterparts in other groups that belong to the same cultural context: (1) Proverbs from canonical Hebrew sources (Bible, Talmud, and Midrash) that are commonly shared within the whole Jewish culture. (2) Spanish proverbs: The affinities with the culture of their geographical origin (Spain) that is shared among all the communities that speak the Judeo-Spanish language; Modern Spanish had a decisive effect among Haketia speakers. (3) Another Judeo-Spanish group: the eastern Ladino speakers (we chose Salonika). (4) The Judeo-Arabic speakers in Morocco, and Muslims speaking Moroccan Arabic with whom the speakers of Haketia interacted on a daily basis. (5) Finally, we examined unique proverbs in Haketia for which we could not find a counterpart in other cultures. For every group we posed a different secondary research question (such as theme, genre, language, or context) and offered a different method of research using analytical tools taken from different disciplines, such as literature, folklore, linguistics, and history.

Keywords: proverb; Haketia; canonical Hebrew sources; Judeo Arabic; Ladino (Judeo-Spanish); Juha; Spanish culture; provnames (proverbs including names); ethnic identity; cultural changes, cultural adaptations.

The aim of this article is to focus on literary and linguistic characteristics of proverbs in Haketia in order to examine the proverb as an expression of ethnic identity.

PROVERBIUM 31 (2014)

Haketia is the Judeo-Spanish language spoken until two or three generations ago in Jewish communities in northern Morocco among descendants of Jews exiled from Spain. Its foundation is in the language spoken by the Jews prior to the Exile, and in this it is a sister of Judezmo (Spanyolit, Ladino), used by large parts of the Jewry of Turkey and the Balkans. Haketia developed in a rather independent manner, particularly in the area of phraseology (speech formulae, including proverbs). Similar to other Jewish languages, it borrowed words from the linguistic environment, that is, from Maghreb Arabic, and it also had a Hebrew-Aramaic component. The Arabic and Hebrew words maintain their original patterns or are fused within the dominant Spanish morphology.² Today Haketia is only in partial use and only in very specific registers among members of these communities, most of whom immigrated to Israel or emigrated to various western countries. The process of the disappearance of Haketia accelerated as a result of the Spanish presence in northern Morocco, beginning in 1860, and more strongly since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate in 1912.³ The younger community members who sought education and advancement through cultural emancipation considered Haketia a low variant fit only for use within the home or within the community, and they adopted Modern Spanish as their main language.

The change in the cultural concept in Israel over the past fifty years, from a monolithic Hebrew culture to a pluralistic, multicultural one, led to an ethnic cultural revival, including attempts to revitalize Haketia, even if only to make it an expression of group identity. The characteristics of the proverb, such as its brevity, its being easy to remember in the source language even if people no longer have command of it, and the authority of the past and the collective behind it turned it into a fitting channel for expressing Haketia culture and the collective memory.

There are several factors appearing within a proverb that serve as obvious indices for identity: the use of personal pronouns “I”, “you”; the position of the speaker as the addresser or addressee; the relation to reality of what is said—descriptively or critically; the usage of symbolic or figurative language; and more especially the level of presentation of reality, either literally or metaphorically. Behind the proverb lies not only the personal authority of the speaker, but—in the main—the authority of the group.

The tradition of proverbs in Haketia possesses its own unique characteristics that express the “voice of the group.” To isolate this voice, we analyzed the proverbs in Haketia in comparison to their counterparts in other groups that belong to the same cultural context:

- (1) Canonical Hebrew sources (Bible, Talmud and Midrash) that are commonly shared within Jewish culture as a whole and are a part of the Jewish national memory
- (2) The affinities with the culture of their geographical origin (Spain) that is shared among all the communities that speak the Judeo-Spanish language. Unlike other communities living in the countries under Ottoman rule, modern Spanish was destined to have a decisive effect among Haketia speakers.
- (3) Another Judeo-Spanish group—the eastern Ladino speakers (we chose Salonika)
- (4) The Judeo-Arabic speakers in Morocco, and Muslims speaking Moroccan Arabic, with whom the speakers of Haketia interacted on a daily basis. The differences between the proverb groupings define the cultural and ethnic boundaries of the groups and create an awareness of self-identity.
- (5) Finally, we examined unique proverbs in Haketia for which we could not find a counterpart in other cultures.

For every group we posed a different secondary research question, used a different method of research and offered different analytical tools.

1. Affinities with the Hebrew proverb

Jewish culture is based, among other things, on a stratified system of common canonic texts, such as the Bible, the Talmud, and the Midrash. These constitute a fundamental source for ideas, stories, and proverbs likely to provide many citations at different levels of precision or similarity to the original text.

The aim of the adaptation of a literary text is to transmit the nucleus of the idea inherent in the original message through a new encoding more befitting a different micro-structure or other semiotic system. The new encoding can be effected in the original sign system or in another language. In this manner a secondary text, the meta-text, develops from the original text, the proto-text.

The connections found between a portion of the Haketia proverbs and canonic Hebrew sources can be categorized into inter-literary links (such as between two languages), intra-literary (such as two genres), and inter-media (such as transfer of a written text to oral performance).⁴

In the examination of the linkage between the Haketia proverb and the canonic sources, we ranked the proverb according to the order of the five groups, from the close to the distant. Below we cite a number of examples representative of each group.

(A) Translated Proverbs, which include Hebrew words from the source

Following is a Haketia proverb which retains Hebrew words quoted from the source:

**Cada cozza y su maZZal, hatta el séfer en el hekhal
(ABT No. 104)⁵**

(Everything and its *mazzal* [“luck, astral sign”] including the Book of the Torah [Bible] in the Torah Ark).

In its structure and content this proverb is based on the book of the Zohar, the main kabbalistic book in Jewish mysticism (*Zohar, Naso*, 134). It means that even a Torah scroll needs *mazzal*, i.e., ‘luck’, so that it will be chosen for reading among the other scrolls found in the Torah ark. The Haketia proverb contains three Hebrew words, two of which represent concepts from Jewish culture: “*sefer*” [“book” or “scroll”] is the *Torah* scroll and “*hekhal*” is the Torah ark in the synagogue. The Spanish elements in the proverb include one noun, *cozza* (“thing”), and particles with a grammatical function (*el, en*), through which the expression is accepted as a Spanish one. The word *hatta* [even] is in Arabic. This proverb interweaves three languages. This is not a common proverb, as use of such a proverb requires familiarity with the customs relating to prayer and reading of the Torah; the Hebrew words are clear to the group members, but not everyone is aware of the shades of the meaning. Few knew the proverb; most of them attributed it to the Talmud and not to the Zohar. Erroneous attribution is typical of the use of proverbs taken from Hebrew sources.

(B) Translated Proverbs

More common are the Haketia proverbs that constitute a complete translation of an original Hebrew proverb. These translations are generally repetitions of the common printed Ladino translation of the Bible. Namely this is a canonic Jewish source, yet not necessarily a Hebrew one. The shift of expression may occur through a mediating written literary stage, which consists of Ladino translations of the Bible.⁶

One of the most common proverbs in the Judeo-Spanish and Spanish heritage, appearing in many variations in both Haketia and Ladino, is

La mujer sabia fragua la caña, la loca con su mano la derroca (ABT No. 537)

(The wise woman builds her house, the foolish destroys it with her own hands.)

This is a complete translation of the verse “Every wise woman buildeth her house; but the foolish plucketh it down with her own hands” (Prov. 14:1). The Haketia proverb is based on the Ladino translation of the Hebrew verse, which appears in a contrastive pattern with two hemistiches: wise/foolish builds/destroys.

The Bible, especially the Writings (which include Proverbs and Ecclesiastes), in which proverbs are available, obviously nourished the Christian repertoire. Yet, the surprising thing is to find in Spanish collections proverbs connected to post-biblical Hebrew sources, especially the Talmud and the Midrashim. It was surprising to find that the latter constitute the main source for proverbs in Haketia. In contrast, Ladino proverbs rely extensively on biblical sources.

Dios da la llaga y da también la melezina (ABT No. 261)

(God sends the wound and also the medicine)

The Midrashic source is

The Holy One blessed be He—with what he smites he cures (*Mekhilta de R. Ishmael* Be-Shalah 5)

The plethora of parallels in the Haketia and Spanish repertoire⁷ attest to the wide distribution of these proverbs.

(C) Proverbs Reflecting an Adaptation of the Original

This group is the most extensive one. Unlike a translator, the adapter may sever himself from the source and gain space for his literary creativity. There are, however, different levels of adaptation: paraphrastic adaptation, which preserves the source in alternative vocabulary; selective adaptation which combines different sources; and creative adaptation, which fuses various sources and fashions them with a free hand.

The following proverb represents the verse from Proverbs 25:15, “And a soft tongue breaks the bone,” in a paraphrase that lowered the expression’s linguistic register:

Buenas palabras finden piedras (BA, N° 55)⁸
(Good words split stones.)⁹

The proverb in Haketia abandons the metaphor “soft tongue” as well as the general word “bone” and commutes them into concrete descriptions, “good words” and “stones”, which are more appropriate for an oral recitation of a proverb.

Commutation of words is not necessarily a paraphrase, as in the following example:

Mismo el ḥakham se yerra en la tebá (ABT No. 696)
(Even the ḥakham [rabbi] errs (when standing) on the tebah [pulpit])

This proverb is understood when standing alone, even without familiarity with the source upon which it is based:

Even Moshe Rabbenu erred (*Zebaḥim* 101a).

The Talmud is not referring to just any *hakham*, but to the greatest, Moshe Rabbenu;¹⁰ it alludes to the biblical story of Moses’ error of hitting the rock to draw out water. The addressee, who is confused and embarrassed because of a mistake he has made, can garner great consolation if people will tell him a proverb that reminds him that individuals greater than he have erred.

The next proverb exemplifies an addition of a whole hemistich, and a change of structure:

Mis vestidos, mis honrantes, ellos me enzalzan y ellos me abaten (ABT No. 695)

(My garments are those who honor me; they lift me up
and they bring me low)

Compare this with: “R. Johanan called his garments ‘those who honor me’” (Talmud, *Shabbat* 113a) and “the glory of men is in their garments” (*Derekh Erets Zuta* 86). The Haketia proverb repeats R. Yohanan’s words but omits his name. Moreover, it formulates the statement using the first person pronoun, i.e., shifting it to a correlation.¹¹ Finally, it adds a hemistich explaining the verb “*le-khabbed*” (“to honor”) and stressing the contrast between “lift up” and “bring low” and repeating the pronoun *ellos* (they). These additions change the talmudic saying, which is not a proverb, into a structured proverb. The *Derekh Erets Zuta* version does have proverbial structure, but it differs more from the Haketia proverb in its formulation. The Haketia proverb, which is related to two sources, developed the more prosaic, non-proverb text.

The message of this proverb appears in a Ladino narrative telling about Juha, who was seated at a wedding banquet and poured the delicacies served at the dinner into the sleeves of his robe. When people asked him the meaning of his behavior, he explained that he had come in simple clothing and was not allowed in, but when he returned in fine clothing, they sat him in a place of honor.¹²

(D) Proverbs for which Hebrew Idioms Underpin Their Formulations

Sometimes an idiom from the sources is integrated within the Haketia proverb, loading it with the contextual meaning of the proto-text.

La hija y la madre como la uña y la carne (ABT No. 522)

(The daughter and the mother are like the nail and the flesh.)

This proverb is a simile, which describes the extreme closeness between a mother and daughter. The idiom “fingernail and flesh” occurs in Hebrew sources in three contexts: laws of ritual slaughtering, laws of *havdalah* (ceremony ending the Sabbath), and laws of ritual immersion.

The knife used for ritual slaughtering must be unblemished. Every ritual slaughterer learns to pass his finger lightly over the blade of the knife, first from the side of the flesh and then from the side of the nail (*Shulḥan Arukh, Yoreh De'ah*, Section 18, par. 9.)

With regard to the candle (“light of the fire”) in the *havdalah* ceremony, lest the blessing be in vain, people took care to make immediate use of the candlelight, and today one customarily looks at the fingernails.

Regarding ritual immersion one must be careful of interposition, for anything that poses a barrier in ritual immersion is a barrier such as under the fingernail not resting on the flesh (*Shulḥan Arukh, Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, Section 161, par. 1)

The pair of words “flesh and fingernail” turned into a collocation, first in the discussion among the Halacha scholars, and from there it became common in daily discourse, and finally a proverb. The proverb became separated from the original contexts and was transposed to the sphere of relations between mother and daughter.

(E) Proverbs that contain an echoing of sources

The pool for the drawing of parallel ideas and echoes from the sources is almost inexhaustible, and making use of it depends upon the education of the one performing the proverb and the addressee. A common phenomenon is that informants who are at home with Jewish lore offer the researcher at their own initiative identification of the source, sometimes correct, sometimes wrong.

All the proverbs we found in this group have a parallel message.¹³ Sometimes a parallel exists in structure or wording, but when three factors appear together—message, structure, and wording—one can already see this as adaptation. Yet the differentiation between the echoing group and the adapted group is not always sharp and clear.

Below is one of the most common proverbs in Jewish culture, and it demonstrates preservation of the nucleus of the wording:

Cambio de lughar cambio de maʒal (ABT No. 117)

(Change of place, change of *mazzal* [luck])

The informants are convinced that the proverb is “from the Talmud,” yet what we found in the Talmud is only the expression “change of place” (Rosh Hashanah 16b). The term “*mazzal*” is not mentioned, but an opinion appears that change of place “can-

cels” the doom of a person. However, in late halakhic literature we found the assertion, Change of place causes a change in *mazzal*” (nineteenth century),¹⁴ and it was even formulated as a proverb, “Changes place changes *mazzal*” (twentieth century).¹⁵

Another example deals with the idea of human covetousness:

Lo que el ojo ve, el alma lo desea (ABT No. 584)
(What the eye sees, the soul desires)

Echoing in the background is the verse:

So the eyes of man are never satiated (Prov. 27:20).

And the words of the Bible interpreter Rashi on Numbers 15:39:

“The eye sees, the heart desires, and the body commits the sin.”

The same message and the same words (the desire of the eye) appear in a famous Talmudic story about Alexander the Great who put a skull on a scale but it did not tip the balance down even against a large amount of gold. Only when he covered the eyes with dust was the skull weighed down (TB, Tamid 32b).

The Hebrew source presents covetousness as negative, but the Haketia text is non-judgmental; moreover, the word “soul” has a positive connotation. The meaning of the proverb as positive or negative depends on the circumstances of its performance: the intent of the one using the proverb, the identity of the addressee, and the reason the proverb is being uttered.

To sum up: these links to canonic Hebrew sources determine the proverb as an essential part of Jewish culture and fit in with the expression of unique group identity; even when the Hebrew elements, which represent the prestigious language, are latent, the continuity of the link to the sources is maintained.

When the collective authority of a proverb relies on a familiar Hebrew source, it gains from the authority of the sacred text, which provides for the educated user a kind of poetic strategy¹⁶ that helps him attain his goal more successfully when performing a proverb in a given situation.

2. Affinities with the Spanish proverb

Ties between speakers of Haketia and Spanish were maintained for generations through commerce and travel, beyond the common

geographical origin, the Iberian Peninsula. No wonder Spanish had weighty cultural and linguistic influence on Haketia, including the proverb repertoire.

We compared Spanish proverbs to Haketia proverbs according to four criteria that we determined:

(a) Message: the general idea, the intention, or the function of the proverb; the message is usually deduced or implicit, and the addressee of the proverb or the investigator must conclude its pragmatic meaning.

(b) Subject: the issue, the proverb text addresses; the subject relates to the verbal aspect, and it is always explicit.

(c) Formulation: Syntax and forms of language (grammar).

(d) Lexicon: the words—mainly nouns, adjectives, and verbs—appearing in the proverb. To determine a common lexicon between proverbs, required are at least two identical words, which are not prepositions, in the two proverbs.

We did not include in the comparison proverbs that have no connection between them, such that there is nothing to compare. Therefore, the four criteria we have proposed do not include ‘pattern’, since the pattern is abstract and may comprise a number of proverbs that are totally unrelated.

These four criteria enabled us to categorize pairs of Haketia proverbs and Spanish proverbs and to propose twelve types of possible patterns, according to the different or similar characteristics exhibited by them.

A Haketia proverb that differs from its Spanish parallel on all four criteria is usually a proverb that has preserved its original Jewish uniqueness. Differences in the message and the subject have the greatest effect on the degree of adaptation of the proverbs to Haketia culture.

After classifying pairs of proverbs, we divided them into three categories according to the degree of closeness or distance between the Haketia proverbs and the Spanish proverbs: uniqueness, parallelism, adaptation.

(A) Uniqueness

At one end stand the decidedly Jewish proverbs, either because one can identify in them, with certainty, a Hebrew textual source or

because their message and theme are unique to the Jewish world, as for example:

Desbañibos, madre, que no vino padre (ABT No. 243)

(Cancel, mother, your dip in the bathhouse, for father is not coming).

The word *baño* in Haketia has two meanings: both the bathhouse and the *mikveh* (ritual bath) which serves for purification dipping of the woman before marital relations with her husband. The “I”-speaker in the proverb addresses the “mother” in second person and informs her that she need not go to the *mikveh*, since the father, her husband, is not coming. One may assume that the speaker is the daughter, since under discussion is a very intimate sphere for which modesty is quite apt, and it is not logical that a son would be party to such a conversation. From the proverb’s textual context, it is clear that it is a *mikveh*, a ritularium for purification, that is being spoken about and not simply bathing, which in traditional society had no special meaning related to the father’s arrival. It is unclear whether the daughter’s statement has a touch of sadness over the disappointment in store for the mother or whether she is rejoicing at her mother’s misfortune; in any event, this is obviously a very loaded statement when directed from a daughter to her mother.

The parallel proverb in Spanish presents a similar message and formulation, and it too is populated with familial figures: father, mother, and “I”-speaker, which is a son or a daughter. But in contrast to the Jewish proverb, in the Spanish one there is a change of functions and the “I”-speaker addresses the father, not the mother:

Tiraos, padre; posarse ha mi madre (Correas, p. 479)

(Go away, Father; because mother has to sit).

From this proverb¹⁷ one discerns tense, hostile relations between the father and the mother. If the son is the speaker, perhaps the saying is alluding to an unconscious wish to dispose of the father in order to gain the mother.

The similarity between the two proverbs, therefore, is noticeable in the structure, the figures (even though their functions are reversed), and the associative reverberation; all other components are different: message # subject # formulation # lexicon=

(B) Parallelism

At the other end stand Haketia proverbs whose comparison to their Spanish parallels attests solely to slight differences. The message, subject, formulation, and lexicon are almost identical:

Haketia: Quien madruga el Dió le ayuda (BA, p. 129)¹⁸

Spanish: Quien madruga Dios le ayuda (CO. p. 421)¹⁹
(Whoever rises early, God helps him)

The only difference between the two proverbs is the use of *el Dió* in contrast to *Dios*. In popular perception, the expression *el Dió*, in the singular—in contrast to the Spanish expression, which presents a suffix that is understood as plural—stresses the unique Jewish belief and has connotations of closeness and intimacy. Both proverbs urge people to rise early, with the promise of a reward: God's help. The proverb moves between the two cultures, the Jewish and the Christian, with almost no change. Even though we are dealing with two different religions, which disagree with each other, the adaptation of the proverb to the Jewish group is expressed by the very absorption of the proverb, its selection from among many others, and its being included in the group members' proverb pool'. And since God is mentioned in a universal-general context, not necessarily Jewish or Christian, there was no need to make an essential change in the proverb.

(C) Adaptation

Most of the proverbs examined belong to the category of proverbs that were absorbed into the Haketia repertoire after undergoing adaptation processes at various levels as they made their way from Spanish culture to Jewish culture.

We categorized these changes into sub-groups: (c1) pan-cultural adaptation; (c2) gender adaptation; (C3) profession; (c4) personal adaptation in the speech of the user of the proverb.

We shall cite examples only from the first and last sub-groups:

(C1) Pan-Cultural Adaptation

A pan-Jewish and ideological change is found in the following comparison:

Haketia: Da un palmo al perro, tomará cuatro (ABT No. 192)

(Give one finger to the dog, he will take four)

Spanish: Al judío dalde un palmo, y tomará cuatro (CO, p. 32)

(The Jew, give him one finger, he will take four)

The two proverbs have one message—condemnation of avarice—but the situation is different, of course. The difference in lexicon, *dog* versus *Jew*, derives here from the cultural context and fundamentally changes the proverb's subject and its meaning. The Spanish version stresses the negative stereotype of the avaricious Jew; obviously the Haketia-speaking Jew cannot adopt this Spanish proverb as is.

In the group context of Haketia speakers, the dog is considered a threatening animal, and in Moroccan Jewish proverbs in Judeo-Arabic, it is the nickname for the non-Jews used by Jews.²⁰ Actually, one may completely ignore the Spanish proverb. Perhaps including it in the Haketia pool, with changes, is a type of correction presenting a Jewish proverb in competition with the Spanish one.

The difference between these two proverbs is actually only in one word, but this is the key word in the proverb; it is the subject of the proverb, and with it both the message of the proverb and its meaning change: message # subject # formulation = lexicon =

(C2) Personal Adaptation

Haketia: El mal del Milano y el papa sano (ABT No. 329)

(Milano with the ill and the Pope among the healthy)

Spanish: El mal del milano, las alas quebradas y el papo sano (CO p. 286)

(The disease of “Milano”, the wings are broken but his crop is healthy)

The Spanish proverb appears in a tripartite pattern that contains three hemistichs and deals with cowards fearing the predatory bird called ‘milano’ in Spanish. Two interpretations are given for this proverb: (a) the proverb describes a coward who outwardly makes a showy display of bravery that he actually lacks; (b) a person who complains about his state of health (“broken wings”)

but still exhibits a healthy appetite.²¹ In the Haketia version, the words “Papa” and “Milan” are written in capital letters, i.e., the collector Anita Levy understood the word Milano as the name of the Italian city—and the word ‘papo’ (stomach, crop), she wrote as the byname Papa, for Pope. It may be that that is how she heard the proverb, but since the use of the word ‘milano’ meaning predatory bird was exceedingly rare among the Jews of these communities, and since the city Milano was well known, the first part drew a different interpretation, since the pope, el Papa, lives in Italy. Apparently, we are discussing a personal change made by Anita Levy, since we found no parallel of this formulation of the proverb in Haketia. In the Jewish context the proverb applies to the Jews of Milano, who are steeped in distress, while the pope is enjoying himself. This explanation links the proverb to a plethora of folktales concerning the persecuted Jewish community at a time when the Church and its leaders are apathetic to the fate of the Jews and at times responsible for it.²² The slight change of two letters was enough to create a unique message and subject.

To sum up this section: Undoubtedly, Spanish culture had a great influence on the culture of Haketia speakers; this influence is quite noticeable also in the Haketia proverb repertoire for most of which there are parallels in Spanish. Some of the proverbs were taken in just as they were, with no changes from the Spanish to the Haketia, but the majority went through a process of adaptation and adjustment to Jewish society in general and Haketia society in particular.

3. Affinities with the Moroccan Judeo-Arabic and Moroccan Arabic proverb

The Jews who were expelled from Spain and arrived in North Africa had already maintained close relations with the Muslims during the centuries in which they had dwelled together in Spain. These relations grew stronger in an essentially Muslim country and in the close proximity of a community of Judeo-Arabic speakers. These complex affinities, which had deep historical roots and geographical range, were a very convenient basis for intercultural exchange. Indeed, it is no wonder that a substantial portion of the repertoire of Moroccan proverbs, Jewish

and Muslim, appear in the Haketian repertoire. Here, for example, is a parallel proverb which appears in the three cultures:

Haketia: Mas vale tuerto que ciego)ABT No. 659(
(Better blind in one eye than blind)

Judeo-Arabic: Among the blind the one-eye person is a king (DA No. 687)²³
Arabic: Better an absence of one eye than blindness
(WES No. 421)²⁴

This sharing in part of the proverbs does not prevent the creation of proverbs expressing sharp hostility of one group against another.

In examining the affinity between Haketia proverbs, proverbs in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic, and Moroccan Arabic, we chose to focus on a thematic issue: the rivalry in the relationship between Jews and Muslims. Of course, proverbs of this kind also existed between Christians and Jews.²⁵ Sometimes the reference is to the same proverb except that its subject is different: what the Muslim thinks of the Jew is what the Jew thinks of the Muslim.

Haketia proverbs scornfully equate the Muslim to an ass; even luxurious garb of gold will not hide the negative nature of the Muslim, and the aim of the Arab is only to exploit the Jew. The proverbs, however, alternate in use of the terms “Muslim” or “Arab”. In Judeo-Arabic, the Muslim or the Arab is called a “dog” and advise the Jew to swindle him or to exploit him. Even if sometime one may gain benefit from him, and “there are also good Arabs,” it is contemptuously said:

Haketia: Más vale un borro que un moro (ABT No. 661)
(Better one ass than one Muslim)

Haketia: Un moro vestido de oro: moro, moro (ABT No. 1017)
(A Muslim dressed with gold- Muslim, Muslim)

Haketia: Dale a Ahmed que es buen moro (ABT No. 194)
(Give Ahmed because he is a good Arab)

Arabic: Greet an Arab and you've lost a loaf of bread. (BEA p. 102)²⁶

Judeo-Arabic: Cheat a non-Jew/the dog and you will make a nice profit. (Chetrit²⁷)

The same stereotypes that appear in Jewish proverbs are used in Muslim proverbs in which the Jew is depicted as a swindler who only seeks a way to cheat the innocent Muslim. What the Jew says about the Muslim, the Muslim says about the Jew. Even if the Jew has a refined appearance and is wrapped in gold, he cannot hide his true nature, though at times it is possible to gain some benefit from him.

Arabic: A Jew who succeeded in cheating a Muslim, is happy that day (WES No. 469)

Arabic: Even if a Jew is made of gold, his testicles are brass (WES No. 473)

Arabic: Make friends with a Jew, he is likely to benefit you in one thing or another (WES No. 475)

The most common proverb regarding this subject, one that expresses a decisive and all-inclusive position against Moslems, is

Haketia: No confies en un moro cuarenta años despues de muerto (BC, N° 97)²⁸

(Do not trust a Moslim, not even forty years after death)

A parallel proverb exists in Judeo-Arabic in Morocco:

Judeo-Arabic: Do not trust a Goy (non-Jew) even forty years in grave²⁹

The mutual hostility was so strong that both sides were not willing to forgive even those who converted to the other religion.

Judeo-Arabic: Do not trust a Jew who converted to Islam even after forty years (DA No. 2745)³⁰

The same proverb appears also in the Muslim society of Morocco:

Arabic: Do not trust a Jew who converted to Islam even after forty years (WES No. 471)³¹

The conditions of distress or the temptations for a career and wealth did motivate Jews in different periods and different locations to convert to Islam. The ideal norm, however, preferred martyrdom over conversion to Islam. The most famous is the beautiful girl Sol (Suleika) Hatuel, from Tangier who made friends with a Muslim woman neighbor, who falsely accused her of conversion to Islam. Sol was therefore taken to the court of the king where she was offered a royal match, but she preferred death instead and she was beheaded.

In Haketia, the story is summarized in the form of a proverb formulated in the opening pattern of “do not trust”:

Haketia: No fiarse en ninguna mora para que no se vea como se vió Sol (ABT No. 737)

(Do not trust a Muslim woman, so you will not find yourself like Sol)

This proverb cannot be understood without acquaintance with the historical background. Except for the familiar opening pattern, the wording of the proverb is unique and it presents a typical gender relation: addressing Jewish women and warning them against Muslim women.

To sum up this section: The function of the proverb in every group as a true expression of collective multi-generational tradition turns it into a powerful social tool that carries a message of segregation and helps erect a barrier between groups. It defines in a clear manner the barriers between “us” (having positive qualities) and “them” (having negative qualities). Paradoxically, the mutual usage of the same pattern of hostility blunts its sharpness.

A comparative layout of these proverbs actually shows a kind of cooperation, which is expressed through a dialogue with the image of the “other” and the image of “oneself”. These proverbs, although obviously proverbs of segregation in relation to their content, conduct a cultural dialogue by their common pattern and distribution among people of different faiths.

4. Affinities with the Ladino proverb

The two Judeo-Spanish cultures, the eastern and the western, are sister cultures that have maintained contact during the generations. Books written in Ladino reached North Africa, and travelers

went back and forth between the two foci. However, the main connection was in their common past, in their Spanish origins, a link that is also expressed in the treasury of proverbs.

In this section we will analyze the relation between the proverbs in Haketia and the proverbs in Ladino from a different perspective and different methodology than in the comparisons made above, that of genre and context. We will examine humoristic proverbs about Joha, and see how they operate in the social and in the narrative context in both communities.

While the Ladino proverbs give a starring role to the double-faced figure of Joha, the naïve simpleton and the trickster, in the entire corpus of our Haketia proverbs there are only two about Joha. Instead, we have his feminine counterpart, Aisha or Hasha.

(A) The social context

The most common proverb, which has dozens of parallel wordings, is

Ladino: Djoha se fue al banyo, tuvo de kontar mil i un anyo (Koen-Sarano, p. 370)³²

(Juha went to the bath-house and found what to tell for thousand and one years)

In Haketia this proverb is attributed to Aisha (Asha, Hacha), and the duration is shortened to one year:

Haketia: Asha fué al baño y trujo para contar para un año (ABT No. 78)

(Asha went to the bath-house and brought what to tell for one year)

All the versions, both in Ladino and Haketia, have a single pattern composed of two parts that end with rhyming words: “baño”~“año”. The first part describes an ordinary action common to everyone: going to the public bathhouse. The second part undermines the expectation and causes wonder at the grave importance that the character attributes to the action. In this regard, the structure of the proverb parallels the structure of a joke that has a twist at the end.

The use of a woman figure in the Haketia proverb fits in with the conception of women as being more voluble in nature than men. If the figure of Joha is inferior, all the more so is a

woman as a Joha figure. Moreover, the word “baño” in Haketia has a special meaning to the members of the group – not only “public bathhouse”, as in Ladino, but also a ritual bath that women immerse in. Perhaps this is another reason that in the Haketia versions, the figure of a woman appears rather than that of a man.

The citing of proverbs on Joha or Aisha in direct reference to the addressee is usually regarded as offensive behavior towards both the addressee and the self-respecting addresser. Therefore, the use of these proverbs is always subject to the rules accepted among the members of the group.

A native Tangier woman described for me an example of the usage of this proverb: When one of her women friends came back from a trip abroad and exhausted the others with trivial details, one of those present whispered this proverb in the ears of her neighbor.

On the other hand, informants among Ladino speakers have testified that they heard this proverb in their childhood from their mothers when they used to talk and tell many stories. However, in that situation (between parents and children) the proverb was uttered out of affection and pride at the linguistic abilities of the child.

Haketia speakers explained that the proverb regarding the public bathhouse was usually told in the third person regarding someone not present, or if present, then in such a way that he would not hear what was said as it was considered a very insulting proverb. Ladino speakers suggested using it in direct address, in the second person, although from a clearly detached stance: the proverb is told by parents to their children, that is, from persons of authority with the aim to educate; the proverb is never addressed in the opposite direction, by children to parents. Both in the second and third persons, the speaker expresses his anger regarding a specific pattern of behavior. The very use of this proverb gives the speaker a critical-judgmental position, and the way it is said has an influence on the reaction of the addressee.

(B) The narrative context

As opposed to the use of a proverb in a social behavioral context, it is much easier to transmit the message through a story that demands less involvement than a proverb that is directed at the addressee and makes a response necessary.

Because of the widespread Joha stories, there is no need to tell the entire story as the community already knows it. It is sufficient to summarize its moral as a proverb.

The proverb can appear: (a) outside the story's inner plot: in the opening of the story, and then the plot illustrates the proverb, or at the end of the story as summarizing its moral. In these cases, a proverb can be attached to a certain story, for example, a Joha story, but it can function in other contexts as well. (b) A proverb within the story, linked essentially to it, can appear in the mouth of one of the figures or in the mouth of the intra-plot narrator. The same proverb can even function in both possibilities alternatively. For example, among Haketia speakers the following proverb is an intra-story proverb placed in Joha's mouth

Si tu sos ajo , yo soy piedra que te majo (ABT No. 965)

(If you are garlic, I am the stone that crushes you.)

Joha sells his house at an especially low price but on the condition that there will remain on one wall of the house one nail that will belong solely to him. Every night Joha comes and hangs the carcass of an animal on the nail. The buyers, who cannot stand it anymore, leave without asking for their money back, so Joha pours salt on their wounds and recites this proverb to them.³³

But in Ladino, this is an independent proverb serving as an introduction to a story about a competition of lies. The friend relates that he saw a cabbage so large that ten people could not encompass it with their hands, while Joha responds that he bought a bowl for his wife which if it is struck on one side, no one hears the hits on the other. "What will they do with such a bowl?" asks the friend. "They will put the cabbage you saw in it," replies Joha. In Ladino, the narrator chose to open this story with the above-discussed proverb:

Si tu sos ajo , yo se piedra ke te majo³⁴

(If you are garlic, I am the stone that crushes you.)

The proverb is not mentioned in the body of the story and is not vital to the plot. Its application to this story is one possibility of many. Conversely, there are proverbs that are essential to the story and cannot be understood without being familiar with it. Yet, the story became so well known that the proverb functions even without the story. For example, a proverb from within a

very well-known story, in both Haketia and Ladino, is the proverb in which Joha sends chickens by themselves to his home in honor of his wedding.

Kish Kish para caza gaillnas para la boda³⁵
(Kish Kish to home, chickens to the wedding)

The proverb was put in Joha's mouth twice, once he says it to the chickens, and once he quotes to his mother what he said to the chickens. The proverb was so widespread among members of the community that a meta-proverb was created based on knowledge of this proverb, and it is said regarding someone who has been charged with a task that he is incapable of doing and believes things will be accomplished by themselves.

Que te crees—? Que kish kish para caza?³⁶
(What do you think??? That Kish kish to home)

To sum up this section: Laughter fulfills two important but contradictory social functions. On one hand, it contributes to the preservation of accepted norms in the group, and on the other, it can be used by the individual as a means of finding refuge from the tyranny of those norms. It is no wonder, therefore, that Joha and Aisha are presented with double faces: mischievous – working for their own benefit and rebelling against the norms of society, its laws and values; and naive – incapable of dealing with the complicated laws of society and caught in ridiculous situations.

5. Haketia proverbs that have no parallels

We end our discussion with the proverbs for which we found no counterpart either in Hebrew, Spanish, Judeo-Arabic, Arabic, or Ladino. We focus on the group of proverbs that include personal names and we refer to them as 'provnames'.

Provnames outstandingly represent Haketian proverbs, especially those proverbs and expressions that appear in names embedded in the life of the community and relate to real characters and events. Such proverbs are not understood by people outside the community, and they therefore create a kind of a communal idiosyncratic language that clearly marks the borders of communal identity, uniting the group from within and differentiating it from other groups outside it. For example:

Como el sastre David cosia de balde y ponía también el hilo de su parte (ABT No. 145)

(Just as David the tailor who sewed without pay, and also gave the thread as a gift)

This proverb refers to the figure of a craftsman, a tailor, who is familiar only to members of the community and his behavior is embodied in a proverb that means a man works hard and not only that he does not gain anything, he also gives the client a gift. Thus the proverb becomes an example of everyday reality, since as a text it has no need of a personal name, and can be formulated as a general statement.

We divided all; the provnames within the corpus into two main categories: (1) names from reality divided into four groups: 1.1 names with historical reference; 1.2 historical names which refer to the community; 1.3 names which refer to the community without reference to history; 1.4 names without reference to the community or to history; (2) fictional names divided into two groups: 2.1 literary names; 2.2 “no-names”-artificial names.

1. Names from reality

1.1 Names taken from Jewish history: These are known names from canonical Hebrew sources – such as Moses, Menahem, Hannah, Rachel – on condition that they appear in a proverb with the historical context. The salient characteristic of Haketic provnames, as opposed to proverbs in Ladino, is the infrequent usage of names within the historical connection. A rare example in Haketia:

Todos salimos de Eva (BA, N° 532)³⁷

(We all came from EVE)

The text of the proverb clearly refers to the biblical Eve.

1.2 Names taken from the canonic texts but in the Haketic proverb they change their function from the canonic context to the community context. In the following proverb, the names Shimon and Pinhas are mentioned, not as biblical heroes, but rather as ordinary characters, as people who deal with simple tasks:

Lo que sacó Pinhas del luban, y Ximoon de las cafeteras (BA, N° 322)³⁸

(What Pinhas earned from the resin and Shimon from the coffee pots)

This is told about people who waste their meager profits.

1.3 Names used in the community which are not taken from Jewish heritage are usually foreign names from Spanish or Arabic given to women, like Oriko or Jamila.

De todo tiene Orico hat-ta alheña en el culico (ABT No. 232)
(Orico has everything, even henna on her buttocks)

1.4 Sometimes the proverbs use generic names that have no historical background but are also not common in the community, such as Pedro, Juan, Miguel, or Maria.

De día en día se casa Maria (ABT No. 208= BA 155)
(From one day to day Maria weds)

Said about a repeated promise that is never fulfilled or about a hope that never comes true. The most common formulations of this proverb are the ones without a private name.

2. *Fictional names that have no real reference:*

The second category of proverbs employing names is the use of fictional names. Here we find artificial names that were invented for the purpose of rhyme or alliteration, for example:

Sholo y mollo y capi aburacado (ABT No. 980)
(Sholo and Molo and a tattered coat)

One of the informants provided a context for the use of the proverb by the example: "Who went to this party? Sholo and Molo, the most wretched people, and in torn coats filled with holes."

Sometimes general nouns are used as personal names.

Bazineta, donde no te llaman, no te metas (ABT No. 89)
(Bowl, if no one calls you to come to the place, don't push)

A diachronic discussion of proverbs containing names demonstrates, in our opinion, the following development: at first the name is the name of a person living and functioning in the community who has a certain characteristic that creates a proverb.

This is the biographical stage reflecting actual reality. So, for example, according to the testimony of informants, there lived in Tetuán an unfortunate streets weeper who was always crying and complaining about his bitter fate, and his name was Menahem. In the next stage, the figure is severed from reality and becomes a literary figure with a particular characteristic. This is the stage in which the name melds with the proverb.

El bien va al bien y el cisco a Menahem (ABT Mo. 285)

(The good goes to the good and the filth to Menahem)

In the third stage, the name is disengaged from the proverb and gains independent existence based on familiarity with the proverb; this is the stage of lexicalization. The private name becomes a lexeme indicating a trait or attribute. The name Menahem becomes an indicator of wretchedness. If someone begins to cry and complain, they say to him:

Ya esta Menahem³⁹

(He has already become Menahem)

If someone has a distorted, sour faced, people say “cara de Menahem” (The face of Menahem).⁴⁰

In the final part of this article we would like to demonstrate the principles that we indicated above through a multi-level analysis of one proverb:

Juró Rahel por menahem (ABT No. 500)

(Rachel swore by Menahem)

We did not find any counterpart for this proverb in other groups of Judeo-Spanish speakers. According to one explanation, the proverb was applied to a stubborn man, who does not give up until he gets what he wants. According to another explanation, the meaning of the proverb is **šebuá de balde** (an oath in vain). The use of names such as Rachel and Menachem enables us to understand the proverb on the three levels we offered in the above model:

On the historical level, the biblical Rachel is a young maiden who was cheated, who suffers while waiting for her beloved spouse; she is the preferred woman, the barren woman who was

late in childbearing, and the mother who died young, whose husband is inconsolable. On this level the statement refers to “Rachel was promised a comforter.” The biblical Rachel was promised comfort, someone to comfort her (*‘menahem’* in verb form which means in Hebrew: comforter). And the comfort is given: Rachel bears two sons.

On the mythical level, Rachel becomes the symbol for the mother of all the Jewish people suffering in exile: “Rachel weeping for her children refused to be comforted for her children because they were not” (Jeremiah 31:15). In Kabbalah (Jewish mysticism), Rachel represents the emanation of Kingdom (royalty), the Shechina in exile, the Community of Israel who longs to unite with the emanation Tiferet (Beauty), which is Jacob, or the Holy One Blessed be He, in order to bring about the redemption. Rachel appears as the Mother of Israel until today, and not only on the literary level, but even in everyday behavior. The Tomb of Rachel is visited by barren women who wish to become childbearing like Rachel and receive as a charm a piece of red thread that is wound around the tomb.

The biblical Menahem, King of Israel (2 Kings 15) is far less known than Rachel. But on the mythical level of Menahem as redeemer, the name has profound meaning: Menahem is the name for the month of Av (Menahem-Av) on the basis of the belief that the Messiah would come during the month of Av, the month when the Temple was destroyed. Moreover, Menahem is one of the names for the Messiah himself.

On the communal level, the reference is to ordinary and widespread names without any significance. The name Menahem becomes for Haketia speakers the lexeme for a person who is pursued by troubles, based on the biography of a certain miserable street sweeper living in Tetuán:

Siempre Menahem en ayuno (ABT No. 970)
(Menahem is always fasting)

This is a pessimist who only foresees evil times, but changing the pronunciation creates an entirely different interpretation:

Siempre Menahem hay uno (ABT No. 971)

(There is always one Menahem)

Even in this atmosphere of ridicule (the miserable Menahem), it is impossible to disregard the Jewish cultural significance echoing in the background (Menahem the Messiah). The gap between the two levels increases the irony. We expected the Messiah and here comes the miserable Menahem.

Parallel with the lowly figure of Menahem is the lowly figure of Rachel in the well-known Haketic song that opens with the words “estando Rachel lastimoza” (Rachel the poor one). Rachel is also pursued by troubles.

In spite of the opposition between the different levels, one cannot overlook the link between them. The promise to Rachel has no value; the promise made to the biblical Rachel was broken (Genesis 29:25) and she herself broke trust by stealing the idol images of her father (Genesis 31:19). The promise of messianic days has still not been fulfilled.

Through the use of these two names the hope for redemption is liable to resound also on the level of ridicule. In this way, ironic tension is created between hope and desire and between despair and sarcasm.

This proverb is hardly used any more. It seems that because of its enigmatic character for those outside the group, the proverb has not transcended the confines of time and space. This is an outstanding example for a unique Haketic proverb understood only among members of the group.

Presenting a proverb as a provname by changing a concept in a private name or by attributing a general proverb to a certain figure turns it into a means of expression of group identity. Provnames in Haketic, therefore, are an additional channel through which speakers of the language express their uniqueness as a distinct Sephardic community.

To summarize

The Sephardic communities in northern Morocco are a unique group which considers itself prestigious and pedigreed versus the other Jewish communities of the Maghreb. Over time and owing to geographical proximity many influences from Judeo-Arabic culture penetrated (including also Arab-Muslim culture) both the language and mores of Sephardic Moroccan

Jews. Yet, despite their linguistic distinctiveness, they maintained connections with their Ladino-speaking brethren in the eastern communities. Moreover, Haketia hold a middle position between Ladino and Judeo-Arabic. This middle standing is expressed not only in linguistic characteristics but also in the cultural details, including the choice of proverbs and their methods of literary design.

The proverb, like every folklore unit, moves between the universal and the local, between the permanent and the variable. The process of change is the process of vitality, the process that folklore undergoes to adapt itself to time and place, and in this way it becomes the cultural tool of a specific group.⁴¹

In order to determine the uniqueness of the Haketian proverb as characteristic of the members of a group, we examined its affinities with proverbs of other five cultures with which the Haketia speakers were in contact: Hebrew, Spanish, Ladino, Judeo-Arabic, and Arabic. We documented and published 1,040 proverbs in Haketia, each proverb accompanied with parallel proverbs from the five cultures noted. To each proverb we added a translation into Hebrew and an interpretation indicating the use of the proverb, as given by the members of the community. We examined those proverbs that were accepted into the Haketian repertoire and the processes of changes and modifications they underwent so as to be incorporated. The last group we examined was the proverbs for which we did not find any counterpart, most of them being understood only within communal usage, and therefore forming a kind of a communal idiosyncratic language that clearly marks the boundaries of group identity, uniting the group from within and differentiating it from other groups outside it. The complex interrelationships between all the parts within this multi-cultural cluster are what create the unique ethnic identity of Haketian speakers, an identity in which one of its most salient channels of expression is the proverb.

Notes

⁴¹This article is based on the book by Tamar Alexander and Yaakov Bentolila, *La Palabra en su hora es oro – El refrán judeo-español en el Norte de Marruecos* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2008). The book includes an analysis written in Hebrew accompanied by a summary in Spanish, 1,040 proverbs written in Judeo-Spanish (Hakitia), parallel proverbs in Hebrew, Spanish, Ladino, Arabic, and Judeo-Arabic.

²J. Benoliel. *Dialecto judeo-hispano-marroquí o hakitia*. Madrid, 1977), ed. R. Benazeraf; Alegria Bendelac, *Diccionario del Judeoespañol de los Safardíes del Norte de Marruecos*, (Caracas: Centro de estudios sefardíes de Caracas, 1995); Y. Bentolila, “Le composant hébraïque dans le judéo-espagnol marocain,” in *Judeo-Romance Languages*, ed. Isaac Benabu and Joseph Sermoneta (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Misgav Yerushalayim, 1985), pp. 27–40; Y. Bentolila, “The Hebrew Elements in Hakitia” [in Hebrew], *Miqqedem Umিয়am*, Hebrew Elements in Jewish Languages, 5 (1992): 59–66.

³Y. Bentolila, “Le processus d’hispanisation de la *hakitia* à la lumière de quelques sources littéraires,” in *Linguistique des langues juives et linguistique générale*, sous la direction de F. Alvarez-Péreyre et J. Baumgarten (Paris: CNRS editions, 2003), pp. 247–65. Y. Bentolila, “The Study of Moroccan Judeo-Spanish (Hakitia),” *Mikan 8 – Studies in Sephardic Culture, El Prezente* 1 (2007): 159–64; Y. Bentolila. “Hakitia (in Judeo-Spanish),” *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, exec. ed. Norman A. Stillman (Brill, 2011). Brill Online. Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. 16 January 2011: http://brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=ejiw_COM-0012390

⁴Imrich Dénes, “Toward the Typology of Literary Textual Adaptations” [in Hebrew], *Hasifrut* 28 (1979): 70–75.

⁵All proverbs are taken from our book: Alexander Bentolila (above n. 1). The number refers to the proverb number in our collection (pp. 91–421).

⁶In Morocco no editions of the Bible were printed in Ladino; the Jews usually used editions that were published in Leghorn characterized by minor phonological and lexical adjustments that made them fit for Maghrebi Sephardi communities.

⁷Spanish parallels: G. Correas, *Refranero Clásico Español*, ed. F.C.R. Maldonado (Madrid, 1974).

Quando Dios da la llaga, da el remedio que la sana (N° 492)

(When God gives the affliction, he gives the medicine that will cure us.)

J. G. Campos, A. Barella, *Diccionario de Refranes* (Madrid, 1993, 1995).

Dios, que da la llaga, da la medicina (N° 1373)

(God who gives the affliction, gives the medicine)

⁸R. Benazeraf, *Refranero: Recueil de proverbes judéo-espagnols du Maroc* (Madrid, 1975).

⁹In Spanish: Dádivas quebrantan peñas. El dar quebranta las peñas. El dar quiebra las piedras. Dádivas ablandan peñas (CB, N° 1175). Campos and Barella, *Diccionario de Refranes* (above note 7).

¹⁰See Alexander, T., and Y. Bentolila, “Personal Names in Proverbs,” in *Pleasant Are Their Names, Jewish Names in the Sephardi Diaspora*, ed. A. Demsky (Bethesda, 2010), pp. 233–62.

¹¹The concept “correlation” is taken from the article by Peter Seitel in which he proposes it as an instrument for the analysis of proverbs in whose formulation a concrete grammatical personal pronoun, such as “I”, “you”, or “they”, was selected. P. Seitel, “Proverbs: A Social Use of Metaphor,” *Genre*, 2 (1964): 143–61; also in W. Mieder, A. Dundes (eds.), *The Wisdom of the Many* (New York & London, 1981), pp. 122–39.

¹²M. Koén-Sarano, *Djohá ke dize? Kuentos populares djudeo-espanyoles* [What Does Joha Say? Popular Sephardic Tales] (Jerusalem: Kana, 1991), p. 330.

¹³This is not an imperative condition. It can be that two proverbs have an identical structure but different messages. For example, the following two proverbs are constructed on a pattern of double or triple negation, but the message and wording are completely different: *Ni martes sin sol ni amor sin dolor* (“No Tuesday without sun and no love without pain”) (Alexander collection, from her mother); *Ni obra buena ni palabra mala* (“Not a good deed and not a bad word.”) (Campos and Barella, *Diccionario de Refranes* (above n. 7), N° 2511).

¹⁴Responsa *Yehuda Ya'aleh*, pt. 2, Even ha-Ezer, Hoshen Mishpat 123.

¹⁵Responsa *Divrei Yatsiv*, pt. 10, par. 238.

¹⁶Seitel, ‘Proverbs’ (above n. 11).

¹⁷The situation in the proverb is reminiscent of the Belfagor story (AT1164), published by _____ in 1544, in which the son's devil chases his father from the sick princess's bed, telling him that mother is coming and as a result saves the princess's life.

¹⁸Benazeraf, *Refranero* (above note 8).

¹⁹Correas, *Refranero Clásico Español* (above n. 7).

²⁰J. Chétrit, “Tradition du discours et discours de la tradition dans les communautés juives du Maroc,” in *Communication in the Jewish Diaspora: The Pre-Modern World*, ed. S. Menashe (Leiden, 1996), pp. 339–407; idem, J. Chétrit, “Dire proverbial et dire méta-textuel – Analyse socio-pragmatique de proverbes judéo-marocains,” *Cahiers de Littérature Orale*, 44 (1998): 143–71.

²¹Campos & Barella, *Diccionario de Refranes* (above n. 7), p. 214.

²²T. Alexander, *The Heart is a Mirror – The Sephardic Folktale* (Detroit, 2008), pp. 478–520.

²³H. Dahan, *Otzar pitgamim shel yehudey Maroko* [The Proverbs of the Jews from Morocco] (Tel Aviv, 1983).

²⁴E. Westermarck, *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco – A Study in Native Proverbs* (London, 1930).

²⁵For a discussion on this group of proverbs in Ladino and Spanish, see T. Alexander, “‘Do Not Trust X,’ Inter-Cultural Confrontation and Prejudice: Between Judeo Spanish Proverbs & Hispanic Proverbs,” *Shefa Tal Studies in Jewish Thought and Culture* presented to Bracha Sack, (Beersheba: Ben-Gurion University Press, 2004), pp. 349–79.

²⁶I. Ben Ami, “One thousand and One Jewish Proverbs from Morocco,” in *Folklore Research Center Studies*, vol. 1, eds. D. Noy and I. Ben Ami (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 35–149 [in Hebrew].

²⁷Chétrit, “Tradition du discours.”

²⁸A. Bendelac, *Voces Jaquetiescas* (Caracas, 1990).

²⁹Told by Naftali Alon, a Moroccan Jew

³⁰I. Benabu, “Humorous Tales from Morocco in Western Judeo Spanish: A Linguistic Study,” *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore* 5-6 (1984): 123–50.

³¹Koen Sarano, *Djohá ke dize?* (above n. 32), pp. 280–81.w.

³²Dahan, *Proverbs of the Jews* (above n. 23; No. 2745).

³³Westermarck, *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco* (above n. 26).

³⁴M. Koén-Sarano, *Djohá ke dize? Kuentos populares djudeo-espanyoles* (Jerusalem, 1991).

³⁵In Ladino: Koen Sarano, *Djohá ke dize?* (above note 32), p. 138; in Haketia: G. Pimienta, “Djoha en haketia,” *Aki Yerushalayim*, 76 (2004): 34–38.

³⁶Pimienta (see note above) p. 35

³⁷Benazeraf, Refrano (above n. 8).

³⁸Benazeraf, Refrano (above n. 8).

³⁹Field work.

⁴⁰Field work.

⁴¹A model for examining folklore as an expression for ethnic identity is offered in the book by T. Alexander, *Heart is a Mirror* (above n. 21) pp. 3–24.

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MIKHAIL BREDIS

DER BEGRIFF „SPARSAMKEIT“ IN DEN
SPRICHWÖRTERN UNTER DEM ASPEKT DER
KULTURWISSENSCHAFTLICHEN LINGUISTIK
(BASIEREND AUF RUSSISCH, LETTISCH, DEUTSCH UND
ENGLISCH)

Abstract: This article provides a comparison between Russian, Latvian, German and English proverbs, related to the topic of frugality in relation to money and wealth. When considering the Latvian proverbs, Latgalian proverbs also were considered, because the Latgalian written language is regarded as a historical subspecies of Latvian. Particular attention is paid to the specifics and differences of the proverbs in languages under examination. Proverbs are considered with reference to different monetary units. In this article the proverb meaning similarity of all analyzed languages is noted in many cases, at the same time there is a significant variation of the used images.

Keywords: paremiology, proverb, cultural linguistics, husbandry, frugality, semantics, equivalent, comparative studies, cognitive model

Kulturwissenschaftliche Linguistik, die die Sprache als kulturelles Phänomen betrachtet, geht vom anthropozentrischen Paradigma aus, das die Weltanschauung durch nationale Sprachen analysiert. Laut W. A. Maslowa, charakterisiert sprachliche Information von dem Wertsystem die Besonderheiten der Weltanschauung eines Volkes [Маслова 2001: 8]. In den Sprichwörtern sind die Wertgrundlagen zwischenmenschlicher verbaler Kommunikation konzentriert [Владимирова 2010: 77]. Das Wertsystem stellt die Kulturbasis dar und die Menschen bewerten Ereignisse und Phänomene des Lebens laut ihrer Vorstellungen von den Werten.

Unterschiede des wertgebundenen Weltbildes widerspiegeln sich in nationalen Parömien. Die Kulturwerte jedes Volkes finden ihren Niederschlag in seinem Parömiakon mit allen nationalen

Spezifika. Die Bildhaftigkeit der Sprichwörter ruft die kulturellen Bedeutungen ins Menschengedächtnis zurück.

Die Parömien umfassen in der Sprache alle möglichen Lebenssituationen. Laut G. L. Permjakow (1919–1983) wählen die Menschen bei Verwendung von Sprichwörtern je nach Situation bestimmte Klischees aus. Dem Forscher zufolge sind „Sprichwörter und Redensarten (sowie andere Aussprüche des Genres) nichts anderes als Zeichen für bestimmte Situationen oder bestimmte Beziehungen zwischen den Dingen“. Alle ethnischen, geographischen und anderen Spezifika von Parömien werden bestimmt durch ihre bildliche Struktur, lokale Gegebenheiten und Begrifflichkeiten, und zwar ausschließlich. Und ihre Allgemeingültigkeit besteht in ihrem logischen Inhalt, im Charakter der Übertragung von Beziehungen zwischen den Dingen des realen Lebens [Пермяков 1988: 21]. Praktisch sind alle Parömien vergleichbar. Der Vergleich von Parömien hilft bei der Bestimmung des Allgemeinen, Universellen und Kulturnationalen in ihrer Struktur, was uns eine Charakterisierung von Mentalität und Besonderheiten des Weltbildes bei verschiedenen Völkern ermöglicht.

Es ist sehr wichtig zum Vergleich der Parömien in verschiedenen Sprachen zu bestimmen, was wir als Äquivalent betrachten. Zu den wichtigsten Arbeiten auf dem Gebiet der interlingualen phraseologischen Korrespondenzen gehören Studien von E. M. Solodukho (1945-1997). Laut E. M. Solodukho gilt als Hauptmerkmal der interlingualen phraseologischen Äquivalenz die semantische Äquivalenz, d. h. die Überlagerung des Inhaltsaspektes von verglichenen phraseologischen Einheiten (semantische Äquivalenz) [Солодухо 1982: 19].

Beim Vergleich von Parömien ist es sehr wichtig, die semantische Quintessenz der Sprichwörter zu verwenden. Die Vorstellung von dieser Quintessenz als Ergebnis der Kondensierung des Gedanken wird derzeit von russischen Forschern weiterentwickelt und in der Verwendung des Begriffes *Sprichwörterkondensat* widerspiegelt. Dieser Begriff ist dem von E. W. Iwanowa verwendeten Begriff *kognitives Thema* und *kognitives Modell* ähnlich [Иванова 2002: 57]. E. I. Seliwerstowa schreibt: „...eine Zweikomponenten-Bedeutung (seltener Dreikomponenten-Bedeutung) des Sprichwortes, die ohne jede Bildhaftigkeit in kondensierter Form (von lateinisch *condensatus* –

verdichtet, zusammengepresst) ist, nennen wir das *Sprichwörterkondensat*. Es überträgt in einer verdichteten Form (unverblümt) den Sinn, der durch etabliertes Parömien-Verfahren nur verblümt (mit Beschönigung) übertragen wird“ [Селиверстова 2009: 132]. Dieser Begriff ermöglicht uns eine Erklärung einiger Phänomene im Bereich der sprichwörtlichen Variabilität. Wir verwenden die semantische Komponente zum Vergleich der Sprichwörter in den Sprachen unter Berücksichtigung.

Das Thema unserer Studie ist die Vergegenständlichung von materiellen und Geldbeziehungen in der Sprache durch Parömien, die den Begriff "Sparsamkeit" in Russisch, Lettisch, Deutsch und Englisch darstellen. Unter lettischen Parömien unterscheiden wir lettische und lettgalische Sprichwörter, was mit der historischen Entwicklung der Völker Lettlands verbunden ist. Im Falle von Lettisch und Lettgalisch geht es tatsächlich um zwei eng miteinander verwandte baltische Sprachen.

Nach Angaben von A. W. Andronow zeigen vorläufige Berechnungen nach der 100-Wörter-Grundwortschatzliste (Methode der statistischen Glottochronologie) 5 Prozent Unterscheidungen zwischen Lettgalisch und Lettisch: *solts* : *auksts*, *atīt* : *nākt*, *nūsist* : *nogalināt*, *maut* : *peldēt*, *itys* : *šis* (ähnliches Verhältnis ist zum Beispiel für Deutsch und Holländisch typisch). Der Forscher betont, dass unter 100 Wortwurzeln, die aus dem Erzählungsexemplar von V. Celeitane „Die Litanei“ ausgewählt wurden, es nur eine Wurzel gab, die keine enge Entsprechung in Lettisch hatte: *buod-* (*atbuost* 'überdrüssig sein') (ein solches Verhältnis gibt es zum Beispiel zwischen Weißrussisch und Ukrainisch) [Андронов 2008: 3]. Die schriftliche lettgalische Sprache wird in Lettland als historische Unterart der lettischen Sprache offiziell betrachtet.

In der russischen Kultur gehört die Sparsamkeit nicht zu Stichwörtern. A. Wierzbicka bezeichnet als Stichwörter (*key words*) die Wörter, die als besonders wichtig und hinweisend für eine bestimmte Kultur gelten [Вежбицкая 2001: 35]. Für die russische Sprache kann man diesen Begriff nicht als einen der zentralen Punkte nennen, die zur Bildung von Kulturschichten dienen. Westliche Mäßigkeit und Sparsamkeit werden von Russen häufig als Kleinigkeitskrämerei und Geiz wahrgenommen. Wir könnten sagen, dass unter russischen Tugenden die Sparsamkeit ein Schattendasein führt. Es gibt jedoch eine Reihe von russischen Sprichwörtern, die die Sparsamkeit als positive, richtige mensch-

liche Eigenschaft betrachten: *Тот без нужды живёт, кто деньги бережёт* (*Der lebt ohne Not, der das Geld spart*) [Мюррей 2008: 220]; *Бережливость лучше богатства* (*Sparsamkeit ist besser als Reichtum*) [Даль 1957: 115]; *Денежки счёт любят* (*Geld will gezählt sein*) [Мокиенко 2011: 31]. Man kann sogar das Wort *скупо* (*geizig*), das in Sprichwörtern negativ wahrgenommen wird, in der Bedeutung *экономно* (*sparsam*) finden: *Кто скупо живёт, тот и деньги сбережёт* (buchstäblich – *Wer „geizig“ lebt, der spart auch das Geld*) [Мокиенко 2011: 36].

In den lettischen Parömien wird die Sparsamkeit positiv zum Unterschied von Geiz bewertet: *Taurība labāka par bagātību* (*Sparsamkeit ist besser als Reichtum*); *Taurība nav skopums* (*Sparsamkeit ist kein Geiz*) [Birkerti 1997: 62]. Im Allgemeinen ist das lettische Verständnis für die Sparsamkeit dem deutschen sehr nah: *Sparsamkeit ist vom Geize weit* [Wander 1876: Sp. 662].

Der deutsche Begriff *Sparsamkeit*, abgeleitet vom Verb *sparen*, gehört zu den Stichwörtern (*keywords* im Sinne von A. Wierzbicka) der deutschen Kultur und hat am häufigsten eine positive Konnotation. Die Sparsamkeit im Bezug auf Geld, Sachen und Zeit ist eines der bedeutendsten Merkmale von protestantischer Mentalität. Diese positive Konnotation lässt sich in vielen deutschen Sprichwörtern zurückverfolgen: *Sparsamkeit und Fleiß machen kleine Häuser gross; Wo Sparsamkeit haushält, da wächst der Speck an den Balken; Besser sparsam leben, als im Elend sterben; Sparsam sein ist eine gute Rente; Sparen ist mehr als Geldmachen; Sparen bringt Haben* [Wander 1876]; *Sparen ist verdienen* [Kokare 1988: 193].

J. Venedey (1805-1871) schrieb, dass bei Deutschen die Überschätzung des Geldes nicht eine Folge des Geizes, der inwendigen Liebe zum Mammon, sondern die Tochter der echt-deutschen Sparsamkeit und Vorsorge ist [Venedey 1842: 125].

In der englischen Sprache enthält der Sprachbegriff *Sparsamkeit* eine positive Bewertung. Aber er äußert sich nicht in einem, sondern in mehreren Wörtern: *frugality, husbandry, spar-ing*. Und das kann als Nachweis der großen Bedeutung und Wertschätzung der *Sparsamkeit* im englischen Weltbild betrachtet werden.

Führen wir eine Reihe englischer Sprichwörter mit einer positiven Konnotation des Begriffes „Sparsamkeit“ an: *Sparing is the rich purse; Sparing is the first gaining; Spare well and spend*

well; Frugality is an income [Wordsworth 2006]; *Good husbandry is the first step to riches* [Wander 1876: Sp. 662]; *Know when to spend and when to spare, and you need not be bare* [Wander 1876: Sp. 657].

Russische Sprichwörter sagen oft, dass man das Geld nicht auf den alten Mann sparen soll, sondern auf den *schwarzen Tag*, d. h. für den Fall verschiedener Schicksalschläge und Nöte usw.: *Береги белую деньги на чёрный день* (*Spare Weißgeld für den schwarzen Tag*); *Собирай монеты медные, пригодятся в дни бедные* (*Sammele Kupfermünzen, die werden in den Tagen der Armut nützlich*); *Береги денежку на чёрный день* (*Bewahre das Geld für den schwarzen Tag*); *Лишнюю копейку береги про чёрный день* (*Bewahre jede überflüssige Kopeke für den schwarzen Tag*) [Мокиенко 2011]. Ein lettisches und ein lettgalisches Sprichwort sind diesen russischen Parömien semantisch adäquat: (Lett.) *Taupi priekš nebaltas dienas* (*Spare für den schwarzen Tag (buchstäblich – nicht weiße Tage)*) [Birkerti 1997: 71]; (Lettgal.) *Taupi grasi nadīnai* (*Spare den Groschen für den schwarzen Tag (buchstäblich – Nichttag)*) [Opincāne 2000: 75]. Das lettgalische Wort *nadīna* (*buchstäblich Nichttag*) sowie das lettische Wort *nedienas* (*buchstäblich – Nichttage pl.*) bedeuten alle Übel und entsprechen dem russischen Begriff *чёрный день* (*schwarzer Tag*). Beachten wir, dass der Begriff *schwarzer Tag* auch in deutschen Parömien verwendet wird: *Weißes Geld ist für den schwarzen Tag*; *Den weißen Kreuzer für den schwarzen Tag* [Düringsfeld 1863, Bd. 2: 17]; *Man muss einen Pfennig aufheben für den schwarzen (bösen) Tag* [Wander 1873: Sp. 1271].

Zum Unterschied von russischen Sprichwörtern, die nicht weit hinter die Kulissen von menschlicher Zukunft schauen, widerspiegeln die lettischen, deutschen und englischen Sprichwörter eine Modell-Empfehlung „**man muss in jungen Jahren sparen, um im hohen Alter das Geld zu haben**“: Lett. *Taupi jaunumā, tad būs tev vecumā* (*Spare in jungen Jahren, dann hast du in hohem Alter*) [Birkerti 1997: 71]; *Jaunībā krāsi, vecumā ņemsi* (*Schaffe Vorräte in jungen Jahren, und du nimmst in hohem Alter*); *Ko jauns sataupīsi, to vecs atradīsi* (*Was du in der Jugendzeit sparst, findest du in hohem Alter*) [Kokare 1988: 193]; De. *Wer heute spart, hat morgen etwas* [Wander 1876: Sp. 657]; En. *Spare when you are young and spend when you are old* [Wordsworth 2006: 544].

In diesen Sprichwörtern manifestiert sich eine Besonderheit der Weltanschauung, die gemeinsame Mentalitätseigenschaften der Deutschen, Engländer und Letten widerspiegelt. J. Venedey schrieb von dieser Vision der Deutschen: „Der Deutsche ist arbeitsam und sparsam. Er wird nicht müde, sein ganzes Leben lang rüstig zu schaffen, den kleinen Gewinn bei Seite zu legen, um am Ende seines Lebens einen Ruhetag zu haben, seinen Kindern eine Zukunft zu sichern“ [Venedey 1842: 121].

Im allgemeinen Lobeschor der Sparsamkeit in der deutschen, lettischen und englischen Parömiaka dissonieren nur einige Sprichwörter, die eine negative Semantik dieses Begriffs tragen. Es gibt zum Beispiel Sprichwörter, die die Sparsamkeit nicht direkt verurteilen, sondern ihre Nutzlosigkeit betonen (das Modell „**Sparen ist nutzlos**“): *Wer spart für morgen, spart für Mäuse* [Wander 1876: Sp. 657]; *Sparmund frisst Katz' und Hund* [Kokare 1988: 198]; *Wer spart hat nie vollauf* [Wander 1876: Sp. 657]; Lett. *Ko rītam taupa, to kaķis apēd* (*Was man für morgen spart, das frisst der Kater*) [Birkerti 1997: 70]; Eng. *Ever spare and ever bare* [Wander 1876: Sp. 657].

Wie wir sehen können, sind deutsche und lettische Sprichwörter in ihrer Bildhaftigkeit am meisten einander ähnlich. Das ist zweifellos mit einem jahrhundertealten Einfluss der deutschen Kultur auf dem Territorium vom heutigen Lettland verbunden. Logischerweise schließt ein lettisches Sprichwort diese Reihe der negativen Sprichwörter: *Taupa, taupa – pēc ne suņam, ne kaķam* (*Man spart immer und dann – entweder dem Hund oder dem Kater*) [Birkerti 1997: 71].

Unter den von uns betrachteten Parömien fallen Sprichwörter heraus, die das Modell **“Kleinigkeit zu Kleinigkeit macht etwas Großes aus**“ darstellen, in dem die Bedeutung der kleinen Münzen für einen sparsamen Mensch betont wird. Da sind russische Sprichwörter: *Кто копейки бережёт, тот и до рубля доберётся* (*Wer Kopeke bewahrt, der gelangt auch zum Rubel*); *Грош к грошу – оно и капитал* (*Groschen zu Groschen macht ein Kapital*); *Денежка рубль бережёт* (*Denezhka bewahrt den Rubel*); *Деньга счёт любит, а хлеб – меру* (*Denga (Geld) will gezählt werden und Korn will gemessen werden*); *Копеечка к копейке – рубль набегаёт* (*Kopeke zu Kopeke macht den Rubel*); *Бережёна копейка рубль бережёт* (*Bewahrte Kopeke bewahrt den Rubel*) [Мокиенко 2011].

In diesen Beispielen sehen wir verschiedene Geldeinheiten: *Kopeke*, *Rubel*, *Denga*, *Grosch*, *Denezhka*. Hier ist das Paar „Kopeke – Rubel“ am meisten verbreitet. Das ist natürlich, denn es geht um hauptsächliche Geldeinheiten Russlands, die im Laufe von mehreren Jahrhunderten bestehen. Die Bezeichnung *Rubel* stammt aus dem russischen Wort *рубить* (*hacken*). Ursprünglich war *der Rubel* ein Silberbarren mit einem durchschnittlichen Gewicht von 204 g (*nowgorodskaja griwna*), der in Teile gehackt wurde. Aus diesen Silberbarren konnte man 200 Münzen (*Denga*) prägen. Laut dem numismatischen Lexikon, nach der Geldreform im Jahr 1534 enthielt ein Rubel schon 100 Münzen – Kopeken, was den Grund zum zukünftigen dezimalen Münzsystem Russlands gelegt hat. Im Jahre 1654 unter dem Zaren Alexej Michailowitsch wurden die ersten reellen Rubel-Silbermünzen in Umlauf gebracht, die aus den Talern umgemünzt wurden (zum ersten Mal wurde die Inschrift *Rubel* auf die Münze platziert) [Зварич 1979: 146].

Kopeke ist der Name der staatlichen russischen Münze, die im Jahr 1534 in Umlauf gebracht wurde. Sie war doppelt so schwer wie *Denga* und betrug ein Hundertstel des Rubels. Auf dieser Münze wurde ein Reiter mit einem Speer dargestellt. So bekam die Münze den Namen *Kopeke* (*Speermünze*) [Зварич 1979: 89].

Grosch (*Groschen*) (von Lateinisch *grossus denarius* – *dicker Pfennig*) war ursprünglich nicht die kleinste Zählinheit. Der Groschen war einst eine ganz wichtige Münze in Europa. Nach dem Vorbild von *grossus denarius* wurden um 1300 in Böhmen die Prager und später ab 1338 in Sachsen und Thüringen die Meisner Groschen geprägt. „Die Groschen beeinflussten das ganze mitteleuropäische Münzwesen, sodass sie, eingeteilt in 12 Pfennige, zu einer der wichtigsten Handelsmünzen wurden“ [Mehlhausen 2004: 16]. Im Jahre 1654 hat man in Russland mit dem Prägen von Kupfergroschen begonnen, die den Wert von zwei Kopeken hatten. Nach der Geldreform 1839-1843 wurde der Groschen entwertet. *Denga* bekam den Namen Groschen, was mit dem Umlauf zweisprachiger russisch-polnischen Münzen verbunden war (der polnische Groschen enthielt $\frac{1}{2}$ Kopeke) [Зварич 1979: 43].

Denga (*деньга*) war vom 14. Bis 18. Jahrhundert eine russische Silbermünze. Die ersten Dengas wurden im Moskau im 14. Jahrhundert geprägt. Aus dem Silberbarren mit einem Gewicht

von 204 g wurden 200 Dengas geprägt, die einem Moskauer Rubel entsprachen [Зварич 1979: 53].

Im Sprichwort *Деньга счёт любит, а хлеб – меру* (*Denga [Geld] will gezählt werden und Korn will gemessen werden*) kann man den Begriff *Denga* nicht nur als metonymische Bezeichnung für Reichtum betrachten, sondern auch als die kleinste Zahlungseinheit – $\frac{1}{2}$ Kopeke. Im Sprichwort *Денежка рубль бережёт* (*Denezhka bewahrt den Rubel*) kann das Wort *денежка* (*Denezhka*) ein Diminutiv von *Denga* ($\frac{1}{2}$ Kopeke) darstellen. Aber es kann auch tatsächlicher Name von einer Geldeinheit sein: eine Kupfermünze *Denezhka* mit einem Wert von $\frac{1}{2}$ Kopeke, die in Russland in Jahren 1849-1867 geprägt wurde [Зварич: 53]. Es ist interessant, dass unter den von uns betrachteten Sprichwörtern zum Thema Sparsamkeit keines mit der kleinsten russischen Geldeinheit – *Poluschka* (die Kupfermünze – eine Hälfte von *Denga* oder $\frac{1}{4}$ Kopeke) gefunden wird.

Lettische und lettgalische Parömien sind den obengenannten russischen Sprichwörtern semantisch sehr nah: Lett. *Grasis pie graša – iztaisa rubli* (*Groschen zu Groschen macht einen Rubel*) [Birkerti 1997: 70]; *Kapeika rubli sargā* (*Kopeke bewahrt den Rubel*); *Rublis bez kapeikas nav pilns* (*Rubel ohne Kopeke ist nicht voll*) [Milzere 1998: 62]; *Liec rubli pie rubļa – būs simts* (*Lege Rubel zu Rubel – wird Hundert*) [Kokare 1988: 194]; Lettgal.: *Kapeika rubli sorgoj* (*Kopeke bewahrt den Rubel*) [Kokare 1988: 193].

Es ist klar, dass die obengenannten Sprichwörter die Kontaktparallelen von entsprechenden russischen Sprichwörter darstellen, denn das von Letten bewohnte Territorium war lange Zeit hindurch ein Teil des Russischen Reiches. Ein lettgalisches Sprichwort unterscheidet sich ein bisschen davon durch seine Bildhaftigkeit: *Līc grošu pī groša – pibērsi moku* (*Lege Groschen zu Groschen – füllst du die Burse voll*) [Kokare 1988: 193].

Unter den lettischen Sprichwörtern haben wir keine älteren Geldeinheiten wie Taler oder Mark gefunden, die auf dem Territorium des heutigen Lettlands seinerzeit kursierten. Im lettischen Folklore-Lexikon wird betont, dass in den Volksliedern der *Taler* (*dālderis*) an Stelle der älteren Mark vorkommt. Und der russische Silberrubel wurde lange Zeit im Volksmund Taler genannt. Dieser Fakt erklärt zahlreiche Erwähnungen von Talern in den Volksliedern [Latviešu folklorā]. In den betrachteten Sprichwörtern

haben wir keine solchen Beispiele gefunden. In lettischen Parömien werden auch solche Geldeinheiten wie *Groschen*, *Lat* und *Santim* erwähnt. Die beiden letztgenannten Zahlungseinheiten sind relativ jung, denn sie wurden nach der Unabhängigkeitsausrufung Lettlands im Jahre 1918 (genauer gesagt im Jahr 1922) in Umlauf gebracht. Sie figurieren zum Beispiel im Sprichwort *Bez santīma lats nav pilns (Ohne Santim ist Lat nicht voll)* [Kokare 1988: 194].

Die größte Zahl der verschiedenen monetären Einheiten ist in den deutschen Sprichwörtern lexikalisiert, die das Modell **“Kleinigkeit zu Kleinigkeit macht etwas Großes aus“** in Bezug auf Geld darstellen. Der Grund dafür liegt in historischen und kulturellen Besonderheiten der Entwicklung der deutschen Nation: *Ein Pfennig täglich ist ein Thaler im Jahr; Ein Pfennig und aber ein Pfennig macht endlich einen Groschen; Erst müssen die Pfennige sich sammeln, ehe die Thaler wachsen; Aus gewonnenen Pfennigen werden Thaler; Es müssen sich die Pfennige mehren, ehe sich die Thaler mehren; Wer Pfennige zählt, wird auch Thaler zählen* [Wander 1873]; *Ein Groschen zum andern wird mit der Zeit ein Schatz; Es ist ja ein guter Groschen, der einen Gulden erspart; Aus Kreuzern werden Gulden; Viel Kreuzer machen einen Gulden* [Wander 1870]; *Es ist ein guter Batzen, der einen Gulden erspart* [Wander 1867].

Unter diesen Sprichwörtern unterscheiden sich folgende: *Vierundzwanzig Groschen machen einen Thaler* [Wander 1870: Sp.143]; *Drei Batzen machen einen Orth und fünf Orth ist ein Gulden* [Wander 1867: Sp. 244]. Sie stellen bloß einen Fakt fest: eine Geldeinheit enthält eine gewisse Zahl von kleineren Einheiten. Sematisch können wir sie nicht nur als Behauptung interpretieren, dass die Sparsamkeit aus Kleinem etwas Grosses ausmacht, sondern auch als ein Hinweis, der genau bestimmt, wie viel Groschen, Batzen oder Orten man sparen muss, damit aus Kleinem etwas Grosses (ein Taler oder Gulden) wird.

In den von uns betrachteten deutschen Sprichwörtern werden solche Geldeinheiten wie Pfennig, Mark, Groschen, Gulden, Batzen, Ort, Kreuzer, Stüber und Heller erwähnt.

Der Pfennig ist die älteste deutsche Münze, schon seit dem 7. Jahrhundert geprägt, allerdings in sehr wechselnder Gestalt. Laut Wolfgang Mehlhausen wogen die ersten silbernen Pfennige etwa 1,2 bis 1,3 g, unter Karl dem Großen rund 1,7 g. Ab dem 17. Jahrhundert wurden Pfennige zu Kupfermünzen [Mehlhausen 2004:

16]. Seit 1871 wurde Pfennig zur Scheidemünze Deutschlands und betrug 1/100 Mark.

Die ersten silbernen Talermünzen wurden erstmals unter dem Namen Guldengroschen 1486 in Hall in Tirol geprägt. Der Taler entsprach im Wert einem Goldgulden. Laut dem „Handbuch Münzensammeln“ wurden diese Großmünzen ab 1519/20 durch die Grafen Schlick im böhmischen Joachimsthal geprägt. „Die nach diesem Ort genannten „Joachimsthaler“ (später Taler) gaben dieser großen Silbermünze schließlich im 16. Jahrhundert den allgemein gebräuchlichen Namen, der sich gegen die Bezeichnungen Guldengroschen oder Guldiner durchsetzte. Der Taler wurde schließlich zur beliebtesten Großsilbermünze“ [Mehlhausen 2004: 17]. In Russland wurden die Taler „jefimok“ genannt, wahrscheinlich durch Vermittlung der polnischen Sprache, wo diese Großsilbermünze „joachimik“ genannt wurde.

Gulden war eine Goldmünze (wie der Name schon sagt), es war ursprünglich der Name des goldenen Florin, sowie der in Deutschland seit der Mitte von 14. Jahrhundert nach Vorbild von Florin geprägten Goldmünze. Mit dem Entstehen vom silbernen Äquivalent des Guldens (dem Taler) bekam der goldene Gulden seit 1559 den Namen Goldgulden. Die Silbermünze, deren Wert dem Wert von 60 Kreuzern oder einem Goldgulden entsprach, wurde Gulden genannt [Зварич 1979: 45].

Laut dem numismatischen Lexikon war *Batzen* eine Silbermünze, deren Wert den 4 Kreuzern oder 16 Pfennigen entsprach. Diese Münze wurde seit dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts wegen des Mangels an kleinen Münzen in der Schweiz und in Süddeutschland in Umlauf gebracht [Зварич 1979: 22]. Der *Ort* war eine deutsche Silbermünze, die einen Wert von $\frac{1}{4}$ Taler hatte [Зварич 1979: 124].

Ursprünglich war *Kreuzer* eine Silbermünze, später wurde er zur Billonmünze und schließlich – zur Kupfermünze. Diese Münze bekam ihren Namen vom Wort *Kreuz*, das auf dieser Münze dargestellt war. Seit dem 16. Jahrhundert wurden Kreuzer überall in Deutschland bis 1873 geprägt [Зварич 1979: 91].

Der *Stüber* war eine deutsche Billon-Münze, eine Nachahmung vom niederländischen Stuiver, die in den Territorien des heutigen Nordrhein-Westfalen verbreitet wurde. Ein Goldgulden enthielt 24 Stüber [Зварич 1979: 194]. Die Bezeichnung vom *Heller* stammt aus dem Namen der deutschen Stadt Hall, wo diese

Münzen unter Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa (1152-1190) erstmals geprägt wurden. Seit dem 16. Jahrhundert wurden Heller wie Pfennig zur unterwertigen Münze. Später wurde der Heller aus dem Kupfer produziert (=1/2 Pfennig). Kupferheller wurden bis 1866 in Bayern, Württemberg und Frankfurt geprägt und hatten einen Wert von 1/8 Kreuzer [Зварич 1979: 36].

In der englischen Sprache entsprechen folgende Parömien dem Modell **“Kleinigkeit zu Kleinigkeit macht etwas Großes aus“**: *Farthing is good that makes the penny bud; Penny and penny will laid up will be many; Take care of the pence and the pounds will take care of themselves* [Wordsworth 2006].

In diesen Sprichwörtern werden Bezeichnungen von Farthing, Penny und Pfund erwähnt. Der *Farthing* (Viertel) war eine englische Münze im Wert eines Viertelpenny. Die ersten silbernen Farthings wurden in England unter König Edward I (1272-1307) geprägt und hatten ein Gewicht von 0,36 g. Seit der Zeit der Regierung von Jakob I (1603-1625) wurden Farthings aus dem Kupfer und später aus der Bronze geprägt. 1956 wurde die Prägung von Farthings gestoppt [Зварич 1979: 170].

Penny war ursprünglich eine englische Silbermünze und später Kupfermünze im Wert von 1/12 Schilling oder 1/240 Pfund Sterling. Seit dem Ende von 17. Jahrhundert wurden Kupfer-Pence und Farthings und seit 1860 Bronzen- Pence geprägt. Derzeit ist Penny britische Kleinmünze [Зварич 1979: 128].

Groat (vom Lateinisch grossus – groß) war eine britische Silbermünze, die von Edward I (1272-1307) im Jahre 1279 in Umlauf gebracht wurde. Diese Münze hatte den Wert von 4 Pence [Зварич 1979: 43].

Pfund (pound sterling) – britische Währungseinheit, deren Wert 20 Schillings oder 240 Pence entspricht. Als britische Zahlungseinheit wurde der Pfund noch im 10. Jahrhundert verwendet [Зварич 1979: 181].

Das Sprichwort *Take care of the pence and the pounds will take care of themselves* unterscheidet sich unter den Parömien mit der Bedeutung **“Kleinigkeit zu Kleinigkeit macht etwas Großes aus“** durch die Personifizierung von Geldeinheiten (Pfund). Auch in dem russischen Sprichwort *Kopeke bewahrt den Rubel* gibt es eine Personifizierung von Geldeinheit (Kopeke). Eine dem Modell **“Kleinigkeit zu Kleinigkeit macht etwas Großes aus“** entsprechende Bedeutung hat auch das englische Sprichwort *Little*

and often fills the purse [Мюррей 2008: 94]. Zum Unterschied von anderen Sprichwörtern werden hier keine Geldeinheiten erwähnt (aber gedacht). Das Bild des von Geld gefüllten Beutels wird durch die Wörter *little* (*klein, hier kann man als Kleingeld betrachten*) und *purse* (*Burse, Geldbeutel*) erstellt.

In allen von uns betrachteten Parömien existieren Sprichwörter, die dem Modell „**Wer das Kleingeld nicht achtet, der ist selbst nicht achtungswert (des Reichtums nicht würdig)**“ semantisch entsprechen. In diesen Sprichwörtern werden Bezeichnungen von Geldeinheiten am meisten verwendet. Rus. *Кто копейки не щадит, тому и рубль ни почём* (*Wer eine Kopeke nicht verschont, der achtet auch den Rubel nicht*) [Мокиенко 2011: 35]; *Кто за копейкой не нагнется – ломаного гроша не стоит* (*Wer sich wegen der Kopeke nicht beugen will, der kostet keinen gebrochenen Groschen*) [Мюррей 2008: 99]; *Кто копеечку не бережёт, тот гроша не стоит* (*Wer eine Kopeke nicht bewahrt, der kostet keinen Groschent*) [Мокиенко 2011: 35]. Die Besonderheit von den beiden letztgenannten Beispielen besteht darin, dass es hier einen Vergleich eines unwirtschaftlichen Menschen, der keine Kopeke spart, mit einer noch kleineren Geldeinheit – dem Groschen (Grosch mit einem Wert von $\frac{1}{2}$ Kopeke) gibt. Das heißt: ein nicht sparsamer Mensch ist des mindesten Kleingeldes nicht würdig. In solchen Sprichwörtern in anderen von uns betrachteten Sprachen können wir ein folgendes Schema sehen: der Mensch, der das Kleingeld nicht achtet, ist in der Regel des größeren Geldes nicht würdig. Mit der Ausnahme von einem lettischen und einem lettgalischen Sprichwort: (Lett.) *Kas kapeikas netur par naudu, tas pats kapeikas nestāv* [Milzere 1998: 62]; (Lettg.) *Kas kapeikas natur par naudu, tys pats kapeikas nastōv* (*Wer eine Kopeke nicht als Geld betrachtet, der kostet selbst keine Kopeke*) [Birkerti 1997: 158]. Hier sehen wir, dass der Mensch, der keine Kopeke achtet, auch keine Kopeke kostet (es geht hier um eine Geldeinheit vom gleichen Wert).

Die lettischen und lettgalischen Parömien sind nach ihrer Semantik so auch nach ihrer Bildhaftigkeit den russischen Sprichwörtern sehr ähnlich: Lett. *Kas netaupa graša, nav vērts ne rubļa* (*Wer den Grosch nicht bewahrt, kostet keinen Rubel*); *Kurš necieni kapeiku, nav rubļa vērts* (*Wer keine Kopeke achtet, der kostet keinen Rubel*); *Kas kapeiku netaupa, pie rubļa netiek* (*Wer keine Kopeke spart, der kommt nie zu einem Rubel*); *Kas santīmu*

netaupa, pie lata netiks (Wer keinen Santim spart, der kommt nicht zu einem Lat); *Kas kapeiku met upē, pie rubļa tas netiks* (Wer eine Kopeke in den Fluss wirft, der kommt nie zu einem Rubel) [Milzere 1998]; Lettgal. *Kas santima nataupa, pi lata nateik* (Wer keinen Santim spart, der kommt nicht zu einem Lat); *Kas santimus mat upē, pi lata natiks* (Wer Santime in den Fluss wirft, der kommt nie zu einem Lat) [Opincāne 2000].

Die lexikalisierten deutschen Sprichwörter, die diese Semantik tragen, unterscheiden sich durch große Vielfältigkeit der Bezeichnungen von Geldeinheiten: *Wer den Pfennig nicht achtet, gelangt auch nicht zum Thaler* [Kokare 1988: 194]; *Wer den Groschen nicht achtet, kommt nie zu einem Thaler*; *Wer den Groschen nicht ehrt, wie den Gulden, der kommt bald zu Schulden*; *Wer den Kreuzer nicht achtet, wird keinen Gulden wechseln*; *Wer den Kreuzer nicht acht't, dem wird kein Kreuzer (Gulden) gebracht* [Wander 1870]; *Wer nicht auf einen Heller rechnet, der rechnet auch nicht auf einen Thaler* [Kokare 1988: 194].

Bei aller Vielfältigkeit der Geldeinheiten wird der Pfennig in deutschen Sprichwörtern am häufigsten erwähnt. Es ist kein Zufall. Genau wie die russische Kopeke gehört der Pfennig zu den ältesten Geldeinheiten Deutschlands, die in verschiedenen Epochen bis 2002 im Umlauf waren. Genau wie die russische Kopeke war der Pfennig nicht immer die kleinste Geldeinheit. In der Geschichte Deutschlands gab es kleinere Geldeinheiten, zum Beispiel Heller. Allerdings ist Pfennig in deutschen Parömien weit verbreitet. Das Sprichwort *Wer den Pfennig nicht ehrt, ist des Guldens (Thalers) nicht werth* [Wander 1873: Sp.1274] ist sehr populär. Schon im Sprichwörter-Lexikon von K. F. W. Wander wurden in diesem Sprichwort zwei Varianten der größeren Geldeinheiten (Gulden und Taler) lexikalisiert, bei Invarianz des Pfennigs. Später verwendeten die Deutschen in diesem Sprichwort die Bezeichnungen von neueren Geldeinheiten, zum Beispiel die Mark. Die Bezeichnung von Pfennig ist immer konstant. Die Beliebtheit dieses Sprichworts wird im deutschen Diskurs heutzutage bestätigt. Es wird in der modernen Form verwendet: *Wer den Cent nicht ehrt, ist den / des Euro nicht wert* [Redensarten; vgl. auch Mieder 2001]. Diese Variante bestätigt die Ansicht von A. Krikmann (die wir teilen), dass die Sprichwörter eine Formelstruktur haben. A. Krikmann nach Z. Kanyó betrachtet die logische Struktur der Sprichwörter und stellt eine auffallende

Ähnlichkeit von den meisten Sprichwörtern mit mathematischen Formeln fest [Krikmann 1984, Kanyó 1981]. Wir sehen, dass in der obengenannten Formel des modernen Sprichwortes die Substituierung von Variablen nicht die Semantik ändert. Sofern das Sprichwort auch einen Text darstellt, ist nicht nur seine logische, sondern auch semantische Struktur sehr wichtig.

Dem beliebten deutschen Sprichwort *Wer den Pfennig nicht ehrt, ist des Talers nicht wert* entspricht semantisch das englische Sprichwort *If you make not much of Three-pens, you'll never be worth a groat* [Wander 1873: Sp.1274]. Im Unterschied zu den meisten russischen, lettischen und deutschen Parömien werden hier nicht Extreme (kleine und große Geldeinheiten), sondern die Einheiten mit ähnlichem Wert verglichen. Die Münze mit einem Wert von 3 Pence ist nur einen Penny billiger als der Groat (die Münze mit einem Wert von 4 Pence). Aber ohne diesen Penny ist der Groat nicht voll. In diesem Sinne ist der semantische Hintergrund dieses englischen Sprichwortes den folgenden Sprichwörtern ähnlich: (Rus.) *Без копейки и рубля нет (Ohne Kopeke gibt es keinen Rubel); В рубле копейки нет, так и не полон рубль (Mangelt eine Kopeke im Rubel, so ist der Rubel nicht voll)*[Мокиенко 2011]; (Lett.) *Bez santīma lats nav pilns (Ohne Santim ist Lat nicht voll)* [Kokare 1988: 194]; (De) *Der letzte Kreuzer macht den Gulden voll* [Wander 1870: Sp. 1612]. In diesen Sprichwörtern wird die Bedeutung von Kleingeldeinheiten betont, als Komponenten, aus denen die größeren Geldeinheiten bestehen. Das englische Sprichwort *Who will not lay up a penny Shall never have many* [Wordsworth 2006: 452] behauptet nicht, dass der Mensch, der Kleingeld nicht achtet, des Reichtums nicht würdig ist. Aber seine Semantik ist dem Modell „**Wer das Kleingeld nicht achtet, der ist selbst nicht achtungswert (des Reichtums nicht würdig)**“ sehr ähnlich. Die Bildhaftigkeit dieses Sprichwortes ist minimal. Hier wird nur die Tatsache konstatiert: der Mensch, der Kleingeld nicht spart, wird nie zum reichen (und deshalb respektierten) Mann.

Diesem Modell ähnlich ist die Semantik vom alten englischen Sprichwort: *He that will not stoop for a pin, shall never be worth a pound* [Мюппей 2008: 99]. Es ist interessant, dass in diesem Fall nicht zwei Geldeinheiten verglichen werden, sondern ein kleines Ding (eine Stecknadel) und eine große Geldeinheit (ein Pfund). Die Bezeichnung *pin (Stecknadel)* im Sinne von einem kleinen,

nichtigen und sehr billigen Ding stellt metaphorisch den Begriff des Kleingeldes dar. Hier ersetzt das Wort *pin* das Wort *penny*. Dazu sind die beiden Wörter phonetisch ähnlich genug. Außerdem ist der Begriff *Stecknadel* in der englischen Sprache mit dem Kleingeld verbunden. Es ist kein Zufall, dass das kleine Taschengeld *pin money* genannt ist. Diese Bezeichnung ist auch in der deutschen Sprache bekannt. Aber die Begriffe *Nadelgeld* und *Spillgeld* werden in der Regel in Bezug auf Frauen verwendet und als veraltet lexikalisiert. Früher waren die beiden Bezeichnungen Rechts- und Finanzbegriffe. Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon definiert: „*Nadelgeld (Spillgeld, Spielgeld, Trüffelgeld)* ursprünglich Gaben, die der Mann der Frau zur Bestreitung ihrer persönlichen Ausgaben für Kleidung, Leibwäsche u. dgl. zuwendet. Bei Abschluss von Ehen des hohen Adels ist es üblich, in den Eheverträgen den Betrag des Nadelgeldes zu bestimmen“ [Meyers 1908, Bd.14: 370].

Anders ist es in der englischen Weltanschauung. Die Bezeichnungen *pin* und *penny* sind im Bewusstsein der Engländer eng verbunden. Es gibt ein Beispiel (vom 4. Februar 2003) auf der Internet-Seite, die englischen Redensarten gewidmet ist [Phrases.org.uk]. Man musste die richtige Variante des Satzes auswählen: *See a pin and pick it up and all the day you'll have good luck!* oder *See a penny pick it up...* Die Mehrheit der Benutzer hat die zweite Variante mit dem Begriff *penny* ausgewählt. In der Tat ging es um die ersten Zeilen des Gedichts „Pins“ vom Kinderbuch „The Real Mother Goose“. Nach diesem Buch lernen kleine Kinder Englisch. Aber im Gedächtnis der Menschen werden diese gereimten Zeilen nur als blasse Erinnerung gehalten. Und *penny* wurde durch *pins* ersetzt, ohne die Semantik zu ändern. Dies erinnert an die Substitution von verschiedenen Werten in einer mathematischen Formel. So können wir den Satz *See a penny pick it up and all the day you'll have good luck!* als das Sprichwort betrachten, denn dieser Satz hat alle Merkmale des Sprichwortes.

Zum Unterschied von russischen und baltischen Sprichwörtern ist das Modell „**Sparen heißt gewinnen**“ in deutschen und englischen Sprichwörtern weit verbreitet. Hier sind die Beispiele deutscher Parömien: *Ein ersparter Pfennig ist zweimal verdient; Ein ersparter Pfennig ist so lieb (so viel werth) als ein gewonnener Thaler* [Wander 1873: Sp.1268]; *Der Groschen, den man hat erspart, nutzt mehr, dann der gewonnen ward; Der*

ersparte Pfennig ist so gut wie der erworbene [Wander 1870: Sp.1265]; *Ein ersparter Stüber ist ein gewonnener Stüber* [Wander 1876: Sp. 928]; *Erspartes Geld ist so gut wie gewonnen*; *Erspart ist so gut als erworben* [Kokare 1988: 193]; *Ein Kreuzer erspart, ist zween gewonnen* [Wander 1870: Sp. 1612].

Das englische Sprichwort *A penny saved is a penny earned* [Wordsworth 2006: 451] entspricht semantisch diesen Sprichwörtern. Noch eine Variante: *Every penny that's saved is gotten* [Wander 1873: Sp.1268].

Das Sprichwort kann wie folgt interpretiert werden: das Sparen ist auch eine Art von Arbeit, eine Form des Einkommens. Im Buch von Benjamin Franklin „*Poor Richard's Almanack*“ (1737) wird dieses offenbar vom Autor paraphrasierte Sprichwort in folgender Variante angeführt: *A Penny sav'd is Twopence clear, A Pin a day is a Groat a Year* [Franklin 1737: 16]. Im ersten Teil dieser Empfehlung wurde der gewonnene Pfennig (*penny earned*) im Sprichwort *A penny saved is a penny earned* durch die Bezeichnung der britischen Silbermünze mit einem Wert von 2 Pence (*Twopence*) ersetzt. Der zweite Teil hat auch die Form eines Sprichwortes. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass im diesen Teil die Bezeichnung *pin* (*Stecknadel*) als Maß der kleinsten Geldmenge verwendet wird.

Aufgrund der Entwertung des Penny erschien jetzt in englischer Sprache ein Antispruchwort *A penny saved is a penny spurned* [Wisegeek.org], wo das Wort *earned* (*gewonnen*) durch das Wort *spurned* (*mit dem Fuß gestoßen*) ersetzt wird.

In den von uns betrachteten Sprachen zeigen Sprichwörter zum Thema „Sparsamkeit“ mehr Gemeinsamkeiten als Unterschiede auf. Das lässt sich leicht erklären durch logische und semantische Gemeinsamkeit der Sprichwörter als Zeichen von Situationen und Beziehungen zwischen den Dingen sowie durch die Verwandtschaft der Sprachen (wenn auch in unterschiedlichem Maße) und Kontakte zwischen den Völkern. Umso interessanter werden unvollständige Äquivalente von Sprichwörtern, wo dasselbe kognitive Modell (*Sprichwörterkondensat*) durch verschiedene Bilder vertreten wird.

Baltische (lettische und lettgalische) Sprichwörter zeigen die größte Ähnlichkeit mit russischen Sprichwörtern zum Thema „Sparsamkeit“, denn es geht um die baltische Gruppe der Sprachen, die am engsten mit slawischen Sprachen verwandt ist.

Darüber hinaus spielen geographische Nähe und gemeinsame Geschichte eine wichtige Rolle. Von den beiden baltischen Sprachen sind die lettgalischen Sprichwörter am meisten den russischen Sprichwörtern ähnlich. Hier gibt es die meisten Kontaktparallelen. E. Kokare (1920-2003) betonte, dass es eine Migration von Sprichwörtern häufig unter den Bedingungen der Zweisprachigkeit gibt. Und es widerspiegelt sich in den Parömien selbst, in denen neben den Wörtern der Muttersprache auch die Lexeme erscheinen, die der Sprache vom Nachbarvolk entlehnt werden [Kokape 1978: 39].

Demgemäß sind deutsche und englische Sprichwörter einander näher. Hier spielen geographische und kulturelle Faktoren eine Rolle sowie die Zugehörigkeit von deutscher und englischer Sprache zur gemeinsamen Sprachgruppe (Gruppe der germanischen Sprachen).

Unter den in Sprichwörtern zum Thema „Sparsamkeit“ erwähnten Geldeinheiten sehen wir häufig den *Groschen*. Der Groschen wird in den Sprichwörtern aller von uns betrachteten Sprachen erwähnt (Rus. *zpow*; Lett. *grasis*, Lettgal. *grošs*; De. Groschen; En. *groat*). Das spricht für die weitgestreute Verbreitung von Geldeinheiten mit diesem Namen in Europa lange Zeit hindurch.

Zur Darstellung der Semantik vom Kleinen und Großen werden historisch nicht kleinste Geldeinheit erwähnt. Hier lassen sich am meisten geläufige Paare ausmachen: Rus. *копейка – рубль* (*Kopeke – Rubel*); Lett. *kapeika – rublis* (*Kopeke – Rubel*), *santīms – lats* (*Santim – Lat*); *Pfennig – Taler* (*Mark*); *penny – pound*. Nicht so geläufig sind wirklich minimale Zahlungseinheiten: Rus. *Полушка* (*Poluschka*), De. *Heller*, En. *farthing*. Dies lässt sich wahrscheinlich dadurch erklären, dass die letztgenannten Geldeinheiten nur im Laufe eines kürzeren historischen Zeitraums existierten. Was angeführte Paare der Geldeinheiten angeht, bestehen diese über längere Zeit und sind währenddessen tatsächlich zu den Paaren „kleinste Geldeinheit und nationale Währungseinheit“ in ihren Staaten geworden, die noch heute existieren (im Falle Deutschlands Pfennig und Mark – bis 2002).

Es ist zu bemerken, dass es in englischen Sprichwörtern im Vergleich zu russischen Sprichwörtern weniger Zweideutigkeit (equivocation) gibt. Die englischen Sprichwörter zeichnen sich mehr durch Faktenfeststellungen und Lehrhaftigkeit aus. Häufig

stellen diese Sprichwörter bloße Empfehlungen dar. Deutsche Parömien unterscheiden sich nicht nur durch reiche Vielfältigkeit von Bildern, sondern auch durch Vielfältigkeit von Varianten. Dies lässt sich durch bedeutende regionale Unterschiede in Deutschland erklären. Bis zum 19. Jahrhundert stellte Deutschland ein gemischtes Bild von unabhängigen Staaten dar. Das lettische Parömiakon wird durch den Reichtum und die Varianten-Vielfalt charakterisiert. Eine wichtige Rolle darin hat der Fakt gespielt, dass das lettische Volk hundertjahrelang unter Einfluss der russischen und deutschen Sprachen und Kulturen stand. Dabei hat es auch seine nationale Identität in Sprichwörtern bewahrt.

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THE PROVERBIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MEANINGS
OF “WHO’S YOUR DADDY?”

Abstract: At the end of the twentieth-century and early twenty-first century, “Who’s Your Daddy?” spontaneously chanted by large crowds at sporting events in the United States drew national press attention. Journalists usually reported the ritualized chanting of the question being of recent origin, but differed over whether it was meant to be offensive or endearing. In this essay, I use linguistic, paremiological, historical, folkloristic, and ethnographic research to show that the phrase could be considered a “proverbial interrogative” indicating social dominance associated with patriarchy and probably dates to the American frontier experience in the mid-nineteenth century. Through the twentieth century, it became associated with African-American street culture and the “beat scene,” often with sexual connotations. In its latest iteration, I argue with reference to “frame theory” that the frame of sports allowed for psychological projection in this and other folk sayings of anxieties about declining power of men in a feminizing American society.

Keywords: African-American, Barack Obama, basketball, blues, Bob Knight, catchphrase, frame theory, frontier, Hoosier, interrogative, masculinity, psychology, sports, patriarchy, politics, weightlifting.

The day after Indiana University’s overtime victory in basketball over Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, February 13, 1999, news headlines across the country appeared more concerned with the meaning of a chant hurled by fans at Indiana’s fiery coach Bob Knight than the outcome of the game. Most members of the press corps present that day reported that Northwestern fans in a spontaneous outburst repeatedly yelled in unison “Who’s Your Daddy?” although some reporters heard it as “Hoosier Daddy” with reference to Indiana University’s team moniker. Realizing that the taunt would have to be contextualized within the frame of a hotly contested sporting event and two high-profile, combative coaches, journalists scurried to find background to explain what might appear to be a cheer departing

from the usual “Go team!” variety of spectator shouting. No one could identify who started the chorus, but it sounded increasingly familiar to participants as a growing number of voices echoed through the arena. Spectators seemed to be enjoying themselves, but judging by Bob Knight’s reaction the expression was inappropriate and insulting. Knight was known for dishing out verbal abuse, but he did not seem to take it very well because the message from the home crowd obviously bothered him. After the final buzzer sounded he turned to the student section of the arena, pointed to the scoreboard, and angrily bellowed “Who’s your daddy now?”¹ Moments later at midcourt Knight gave Northwestern coach Kevin O’Neill, seventeen years his junior, a tongue-lashing about the chant at a spot where coaches usually shake hands cordially after a contest. O’Neill took umbrage at Knight’s tirade and the Wildcats coach grabbed Knight’s trademark red shirt before the Hoosiers’ coach ripped his arm away. O’Neill had to be restrained by assistant coaches to prevent a scuffle. Questioned on the incident by reporters, Knight later related that although he is accustomed to harangues from fans, this ritual taunt was out of line even in a playful arena where yelling invectives is commonplace. Using rhetoric that suggested that abusive cheering is comparable to homosexual rape, Knight exclaimed, “The crowd can get on my butt, they have all things to get on my butt about, but that’s not the kind of thing that should be part of college basketball. The crowd needs to have the same class as the team does” (Gano 1999). Coach O’Neill claimed ignorance of the situation. He responded that he did not know what the crowd said, was unaware of the chant’s meaning, and certainly could not control the crowd even if he did.

Rick Gano writing for the Associated Press (AP) reported that the game was hardly the first time the chant was used but it was notable for causing two renowned coaches to nearly come to blows. Gano reflected that the meanings of the phrase are “open to interpretation.” He wrote, “Sometimes parentage is involved; sometimes it’s a generic put-down. Other times, it can mean whatever the crowd wants it to mean” (Gano 1999). He noted that in the same season Stanford students harassed Arizona and Connecticut players with it, but observed that Duke’s fans used it endearingly when encouraging their own star forward Shane Battier, because, he speculated, of the “lyrical bounce” of “Who’s

your daddy, Battier?” (his name is pronounced Bat-ee-ay). Another interpretation was that it referred to his habit of frequently taking “charges” on the court which meant he withstood a punishing force from an opposing player. Duke fans and players even used it as a motto emblazoned on t-shirts during its run for the NCAA tournament championship (the team eventually lost in the tournament final game in 1999). Administrators at the predominantly black Milwaukee King High School in 2012, however, did not appreciate the assonance of the phrase when it was shouted by white Germantown High fans in an emotionally charged Division 1 title game at the state capital (Causey 2012). They believed the crowd was raising a stereotype of African American deadbeat and absent fathers. The Germantown High School principal defensively announced that the phrase was actually “Hoosier Daddy” meant as encouragement for its star player—Luke Fischer—an imposing 6 foot, 10 inch, junior center who had committed to play for the Indiana Hoosiers.

One might conclude from these examples that joining a chorus of “Who’s your daddy?” is a scholastic basketball fan tradition and is appropriate because of youthful exuberance and showmanship expected of spectators in frenzied high school and college arenas. Yet in major league baseball, fans hounded famed pitcher Pedro Martinez with taunts of “Who’s Your Daddy?” beginning with the 2004 American League Championship series when the normally successful Red Sox pitcher referred to the Yankees as his “daddy” because he lost to them so often (Verducci 2004). The phrase is commonly also heard in male-centered powerlifting venues because training often involves working with a male partner who yells encouragement, often goading the lifter with challenges to show his superior manliness. Apropos, at the Weightlifting Hall of Fame in York, Pennsylvania, a large poster of York Barbell founder shows Robert Hoffman flexing his exaggerated muscles under a large banner blaring “Who’s Your Daddy?” Outside of sports settings, recording artist Toby Keith had a number one hit on the country charts with “Who’s Your Daddy?” (2002). The song described a non-committal young woman attracted to “college boys” who apparently toy with the down-to-earth singer. In his performance, Keith boasts “You know I got it, Come and get it.” The repeated chorus contains the lines “Who’s your daddy, who’s your baby?”

Who's your buddy, who's your friend?" In the heavy metal genre, the band Lordi had success in Europe in 2006 with the song "Who's Your Daddy?" containing the dom lyrics "Who's your daddy, Say who's your daddy? Who puts you in your place? Who's your daddy, Bitch, who's your daddy?, Surrender and obey, who's your daddy?" Several rock bands, often claiming an affinity for blues and jazz music, share the name "Who's Your Daddy?" (Wild 2010). In broadcast media, Fox Network sponsored a reality television show in 2004 titled *Who's Your Daddy?* The controversial show featured an adult female contestant adopted as an infant trying to guess which man is her biological father. Three years earlier, Inner City Games Designs released a board game called "Who's Your Daddy?" that involved players trying to pin the paternity of their children on other players. Hundreds of sites claiming "Who's Your Daddy" sprouted on Facebook in the early twenty-first century and a 2003 B-movie titled *Who's Your Daddy?* was released about an adopted Ohio high school senior who discovers he is heir to a porn empire. More memorable cinematic moments, though, are Denzel Washington's character Coach Boone in *Remember the Titans* (2000) screaming the phrase to establish his authority at two arrogant football players and Angelina Jolie's character Jane Smith in *Mr. & Mrs. Smith* (2005) asking the question after forcing her husband John Smith played by Brad Pitt into submission.

Taking notice of the circulation of the saying in mass media, the *Washington Post* declared in 2005 that "Who's your daddy?" had become in the reporter's words, "mainstream" and although it might have a shady past in the argot of black pimps, it had become acceptable in mixed company (Farhi 2005). That is not to say it was entirely clear what it meant. But it appeared to be used as a boast of power or mocking insult hurled at an adversary. Looking at oft-repeated Wikipedia descriptions and popular press reports of the saying, the inherited wisdom is that the interrogative phrase proclaims social dominance and has a recent popular culture source. In the absence of scholarship on the saying, the popular press reported that it was of late twentieth-century vintage and circulated primarily in the United States, often in sports settings. A commonly cited, if unlikely, source for its rise is the 1968 hit song "Time of the Season" by the English rock band Zombies who sing "What's your name? Who's your

daddy? Is he rich like me?” (reaching no. 3 on the *Billboard* Hot 100 in March 1969). Composer Rod Argent told *The Guardian* on February 21, 2008 that the words “Who’s your daddy? Is he rich like me?” were an “affectionate nod” to one of his favorite records, George Gershwin’s “Summertime” (containing the line “Oh, your daddy’s rich” at the start of the second verse) (Lynskey 2008). Listeners did not perceive the lyrics negatively as they did the repetition of “Who’s your daddy now?” on March 28, 2013 by an obese naked man who on live television revengefully pounced on David Phelps, a member of the Westboro Baptist Church known for taking virulent anti-gay stands (Rasheed 2013). The phrase also fueled controversy when popular comedian Chris Rock referred to President Barack Obama as his “daddy” on February 7, 2013, and critics questioned whether his imagery had racial or sexual connotations of a black street pimp, despite Rock’s denials (Rosen 2013).

Discord still swirls around the saying because the line between playful fun and aggressive abuse is often ambiguous. Even if it has structural similarities to proverbial or sarcastic interrogatives such as “who’s your friend?” and “who’s the man?,” “who’s your daddy?” appears risqué because of its questioning of the sensitive personal matter of paternity (Doyle 1975; Doyle 2008; Mieder 2004; Spears 2000, 443). This line of questioning and its rhetoric that draws attention to itself indeed suggests that the phrase has a symbolic meaning rather than merely being a figure of speech. Reporters that I have cited so far often mention that it is more prevalent or public in the early twenty-first century than ever before but still debate its message or cultural context. The journalistic fiction that it is a new phrase suggests that it represents something special or novel currently occurring in the society. A noticeable context that frequently arises around Father’s Day is the decline of the strong, authoritarian father figure in modern, post-feminism American society (Skenazy 2013; Wild 2010). A raft of movies, popular books, apparel, and television episodes, including the ones previously mentioned, use “Who’s Your Daddy?” to playfully refer to a weak or absent father. The popular television show *House* (2006), Season 2, Episode 23, used the title in reference to the female hospital administrator’s search for a sperm donor. *George Lopez* (2002), Seasons 1-2, Episode 5, blares the same title for comedic effect in an episode that features George

spinning a yarn about his wonderful father only to admit at the end that he never knew his absent father. The novelty company CoolAprons sold aprons for men with “Who’s Your Daddy?” emblazoned on them, apparently to signify the feminine role of cooking filled by the male wearer. Not surprisingly, the smash hit *Star Wars* movie franchise (*Episode V: The Empire Strikes Back*, 1980) has spawned novelty attire including attire showing the image of Darth Vader with “Who’s Your Daddy?” on it (the powerful Vader from the “dark side” turned out to be the absent father of Luke Skywalker from the Rebel Alliance). All these iterations tone down sexual connotations and in their place refer to the change of the nuclear family with its male provider head from the late twentieth century to an often female-centered or egalitarian household. A Pew Research Center report released in 2013 found that four in ten households with children under the age of 18 included a mother who was the sole or primary breadwinner (Wang, Parker, and Taylor 2013). The percentage of female earners had risen sharply since 1960 when only one in ten households had females as primary providers. Indeed, many women who are heads of families have never married; the share of never married mothers among all single mothers had increased in the same period from four percent to 44 percent (Wang, Parker, and Taylor 2013). A notable finding that many readers found counter-intuitive was that the total family income was higher in the United States when the mother, not the father, was the primary breadwinner. Of significance to my analysis of the context for “Who’s Your Daddy?” is that around the time of the headlines regarding “Who’s Your Daddy?” the American public was divided as to whether the rise of female breadwinners was a positive trend. The Pew Research survey in 1997 found that forty percent of respondents in 1997 preferred a husband earning more than his wife but that figure declined to 28 percent in 2011 (Wang, Parker, and Taylor 2013; see also Rampell 2013). It appears that when the *Washington Post* in 2005 observed mainstreaming of “Who’s Your Daddy?” this allusion of the saying to the weakening of the father role in popular culture productions is what it meant. Fewer reports of the saying’s incidence burst onto the front page in the second decade of the century. It is possible to view a correlation of the saying’s circulation in popular culture with public attitudes toward the decline of the male provider role as a symbol of authority.

In folk practice, the symbolism and the social frame in which “Who’s your daddy?” is communicated are enigmatic. In sporting events and weightlifting gyms, “Who’s your daddy?” epitomizes a potentially offensive expression enabled by a play frame but in so doing draws out the paradoxes of its variable message in and out of the frame. Critics are left to wonder as in the exchange between Bob Knight and Kevin O’Neill whether it is meant literally or playfully to comment on a person or if it refers more abstractly to an innuendo projecting social biases and conflicts. Extending the idea of a play frame in which folkloric expressions, often with offensive connotations, can be expressed, frame theory developed by sociologically oriented scholars such as Roger Abrahams, Gregory Bateson, Erving Goffman, and Jay Mechling, explores the process by which the enactment of folklore in modern society erects boundaries between play and reality and the tensions that exist between them (Abrahams 2005; Bateson 2000; Bronner 2010; Goffman 1974; Mechling 1983). Presumably participants in a cultural scene understand these socially constructed boundaries as protective frames for their actions even if the frames are not physical barriers. More than constituting a zone for saying or doing things that would not be deemed appropriate outside the frame, the cultural scene signals communication that is paradoxical, symbolic, and often objectionable. When the playfulness of the expression is challenged, however, attention shifts from the communication to the legitimacy of the frame. In the case of “Who’s your daddy?,” for instance, the discourse about the ambiguous content of the chant moved to the appropriateness of allowable spectator behavior in college sports arenas.

Because of its ambiguity or liminality, communication of expressions within a play frame is usually perceived to be separate from the ordinariness of conversation or the purposefulness of festival. It is protected to an extent by social agreement of its appropriateness to a situation, and even with that, risks opprobrium for creating a setting for contentious material. For those witnessing or participating in the communication, the meaning might be unconscious or disguised, which raises the possibility of projecting internalized anxieties onto folklore as an external object and rendering it symbolic or ameliorated as collectively enacted “fun” often with youthful participants. In a dictionary of college student slang at the University of Georgia, for example,

compiler Don R. McCreary defined “Who’s your daddy?” as an aggressive statement tempered by an air of play: “When someone says ‘who’s your daddy?’, they are asking who is in charge here? Said when poking *fun* at someone. Mark said ‘who’s your daddy’ while I washed his car after losing the bet to him” (2001, 70; emphasis added). The phrase was reprinted in the 2003 edition but disappeared in the 2005 edition, presumably “on account of a perceived lack of currency,” according to University of Georgia professor Charles Clay Doyle.²

One reason for situating folklore as an instrumental speech act in a social scene such as a sports arena is that it contains the paradox that structures the frame itself, or at least the tense borders between play and reality. The sport has a mixed message of “playing” a game that is taken seriously and is covered as national “news.” The enactment or emergence of folklore signals that the scene is playful even as it also raises references that are serious or not in the realm of play. The identification of folklore used in this way locates situations that point to fundamental tensions and conflicts in a culture, and these problems are ones that individuals cannot resolve by themselves. Psychologically, analysts can look for the sources of projection and inquire as folklorist Alan Dundes suggested in calls for psychological analyses of speech, “how and why “the symbol employed in any one given folkloristic (con)text may be related to a general system of symbols” (1980, 37; see also Bronner 2007; Mieder 2006).

Especially with the interest by frame analysts in the Saussurean distinction between *langue* and *parole* applied to the relationship of a speech act to a general folkloric code as a metaphor for cultural process, it is not surprising that folk sayings as a form of *parole* drawing attention to themselves in language by first, their variable or ritualized repetition, second, their artistry or enactment, and third, their social significance, typically in a contested “framed” exchange should become centers of inquiry about meaning or *langue* arising at the borders of play and reality. I have avoided categorization of “Who’s Your Daddy?” because its ambiguity is part of its allure and instrumentality. Journalists variously call it a “slang expression,” “rhetorical question,” and “popular saying.” It can seem comical, encouraging, or insulting depending on its use in the basketball arena or on the street. The master paremiologist Wolfgang Mieder has suggested to me the possibility of classify-

ing it structurally as a “catch phrase” or “proverbial interrogative” and these labels raise the analytical issue of how ritual and setting turns an ordinary sounding question into a connotative act with what could be called “proverbial meaning” in the sense that it conveys a traditional, collectively shared idea (see Haas 2013; Mieder 2004, xii; Partridge 1977). As Heather Haas points out in her survey of proverbial interrogatives, the form often has a humorous aspect that refers in the form of the query or the implied answer to something else listeners know. In her words, “the humor is not humor for its own sake, but rather humor in service of wisdom” (Haas 2013, 39). In the social and physical setting of the sports arena it can be construed as a prankish, localized taunt or boast that in the American context implicitly refers to sociocultural conditions outside the field of play. My premise is that the playfulness for this form and the involvement of an implied respondent suggests conflicts or anxieties to be collectively resolved. Asking the question suggests an uncertainty that needs social affirmation to dissolve. The play frame often accompanying it as a *proverbial* interrogative betokens a difficult query to broach but is allowable by the setting. Perhaps this difficulty, or a questioning rather than an affirmation of wisdom in the “standard proverb,” is why as Mieder has pointed out, proverbial interrogatives are a minor part of paremiological minima; in his survey for the *Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* (2012) he quantifies the form as one percent of texts he collected (Mieder 2012, 147; see also Doyle, Mieder, and Shapiro 2012). Yet the proverbial interrogatives often point to, or invite, commentary as a “rhetorical question” on a reigning social issue, as in the ones he cites of “Who cares if a cat is black or white as long as it catches mice?” (on race), “Who ever said life is fair?” (on justice), and “Other than that, Mrs. Lincoln, how did you like the play?” (on public violence) (Mieder 2012, 147-48). Both “catch phrase” in the sense of an expression that idiomatically draws social attention to its repeated content and “proverbial interrogative” that refers often jocularly to a proverbial or commonplace statement or requests an answer from a listener imply a construction that in a sense gives the communication extra attention or a socially framed context. In the case of “Who’s your daddy?,” for example, the possibility exists of its patriarchal reference to “daddy of them all” (related to the male social dominance connoted by “king of the hill,” which also has the interrogative form

of “Who’s the king of the hill?”³) as the ultimate statement of progenitor dominance.

Documented occurrences of the chant are almost universally from the United States, although occasional Canadian examples can be identified such as the “Who’s Your Daddy?” Beer Festival held annually on Father’s Day weekend in Vancouver since 2009. Perhaps because of the ambiguity of the phrase as an idiom or catchphrase, slang dictionaries have barely noticed “Who’s your daddy?” and when they do usually cite the earliest examples in the early twenty-first century (Green 2010, 1498). Another claim is that it was in vogue even before then among homosexuals and bondage/sado-masochist fetish culture or African American urban sexual trade. Jonathan Green’s multivolume *Dictionary of Slang* (2010) cites the earliest use in 2000 with the definition “a mocking statement of the speaker’s domination/humiliation of their target” (2010, 1498). Green indicates that it can be used to refer to an older male homosexual or a pimp and assigns it to “US Black” origin.

My finding is that as an Americanism it has a wider folk cultural origin that goes back to the nineteenth century in relation to its pronouncement of patriarchal social dominance, often of vernacular culture over elites signified as brainy rather than brawny. In its present iteration with a motifemic slot of daddy with boss and man, it has a related but distinct reference, and indeed psychological projection, by signifying social changes engendered by a modern egalitarian and cooperative ethic. Use of “daddy/boss/man” in the slot indicates insecurity about masculine hierarchical status and suggests compensation in a protected social frame for the decline of the male provider family model since the late twentieth century (Dalzell 2009, 468). Often this male role is expressed sexually as well as economically dominant. For example, media sexual adviser Brian Alexander replied to a questioner as to why he likes being “daddy” during sex, “There was a time (*somewhere, long ago*), when daddys were considered powerful, respected, competent. Hearing “daddy” during sex is like receiving this old time admiration in surround sound” (Alexander 2005; emphasis added). The connotation of the “daddy” being a provider also is conspicuous in a discussion thread regarding “Who’s your daddy?” on *Wordreference.com* in 2007. When a post asked whether “daddy” in the phrase meant “boss,” an obviously male

“languageGuy” from Missouri chimed in that it was “not so much a boss, but more a provider, someone who is earning the money to support you, in return for your love.” JamesM from California answered, “I agree. To me, it’s more like ‘who’s taking care of you?’ or ‘who can you count on to take care of you?’” Timpeac identified more aggression in the interrogative pronouncement of “Who’s your daddy?” as if the speaker was saying “bite me” or “kiss my ass” and the female Joelline from Pennsylvania editorialized that it had a “sinister connotation.” Thinking about the question of paternity in the phrase, Glinda from Alabama added that “‘Who’s your daddy?’ also implies that you don’t know who your father is. A bastard. It is more common that it implies ‘I’m your daddy’ or ‘I own you’” (“Who’s Your Daddy?” 2007).

Patriarchal power is symbolized with reference to the “giver” daddy role in a sexual relationship, suggesting elevation over a feminized or infantilized subordinate or adversary. I argue that “Who’s Your Daddy?” is significant in American culture as a prominent form of what I call patriarchal speech that sublimates feelings of emasculation and inverts it externally to a hypermasculine statement by intersecting paternity, homoeroticism, and race, particularly in the play frames of sports that paradoxically juxtaposes intense competition eliminating an opponent inside the frame with an egalitarian, cooperative ethic outside the frame. The interrogative form provides the speaker reassurance of total domination by soliciting an implied emphatic (and submissive) response of “you” or “we” are. It is a statement to be made from a superior vantage (for example, when one’s team is winning) and forcing the adversary to admit the speaker’s superiority.

Despite modern claims for its recent origin, the phrase shows up in American frontier rhetoric contrasting the dominant, elitist East with poor outliers. Setting the paternity metaphor with the statement “Uncle Sam has got a way of his own in managing his family affairs,” the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* in April 1851 complained that the governmental father in Washington, D.C., was too authoritarian in its land dealings with his farmer “b’hoys.” The populist tract stated that the character of Uncle Sam could be heard exclaiming, “Did’nt I give you every foot of land you own, you rebellious rascals? –answer me that—who’s your daddy, hey?” (p. 300). Invoking “daddy” suggested a colloquialism recognized as American and especially

centered in vernacularized southern and frontier lands in a male-centered, hardscrabble environment (Cassidy 1991, 2). “Daddy” here is a symbolic equivalent of “boss” and the phrase “Who’s your daddy?” suggests that the superior is forcing the infantilized subordinate to submit to his will. This is also the sense that lexicographer John Russell Bartlett in 1877 emphasized when he contrasted the imposing “daddy” to the subordinate “buster.” His example of the meaning of buster was to have the speaker say “Come here, *buster*,’ in the sense of ‘sonny,’ ‘who’s your daddy?’” (1877, 87; the 1849 edition did not have this example). Even before these two texts apparently drawing on oral tradition were published, Southwest humorist Alexander G. McNutt (1802-48) in *The Big Bear of Arkansas* (1845) conspicuously used the phrase in his dialect stories. His hero Chunkey is a tough backwoods folktype who boasts “Did you ever hearn tell of the man they calls ‘Chunkey’? born in Kaintuck and raised in Mississippi? ...If you diddent, look, for *I’m he!* I kills bar, whips panthers in a fair fight; I walks the water, I out-bellars the thunder, and when I gets hot, the Mississippi hides itself!...Now, Captin, we will have a deer movin’ afore you can tell who’s your daddy” (McNutt 1994 [1845], 92). This idea of a ring-tailed roarer is implied in legends about the origin of the rustic folktype “Hoosier.” Ronald Baker in *Hoosier Folk Legends* (1984) reports an oral text from a student in 1972 under the heading of “Who’s Your Daddy?” stating that the nickname came from migrants from Kentucky asking “Who’s Your Daddy?” (Baker 1984, 172). Baker comments that this is a common story used to show the tough frontier roots of Midwesterners who often feel debased by the cosmopolitanism of the east and west coasts. The pronunciation of “Who’s your” or “Who’s yo” daddy in the story identifies the Hoosier as a manly ruffian, probably from the South, who is uncouth and uncivilized (Baker 1995, 21-22). The vernacular pronunciation of “Who is” is part of the figure’s frontier rube image in stories of the term’s origin in early Indiana settlers who answered “Who’s here?” when someone rapped upon their cabin door (Graf 2013, 24). A variant that brings up the sexual appetite of these folktypes is related by columnist Mike Royko from 1982: “The early settlers of southern Indiana were mainly unwashed, uncouth mountain folk from Kentucky. They were usually referred to as ‘a hoojee’ or a ‘hoojin’ As in: ‘Quick lock

up the girls and the livestock—there some of them hoojees and hoojins comin’” (Graf 2013, 24). Humorist Dave Barry in 2003 combined senses of “Who’s your daddy?” and “Hoosier” in his column titled “Hey! Hoosier daddy, Indiana?” Tongue in cheek, Barry followed up his claim that Hoosier could be a Native American word meaning “has sex with a caribou” with this statement: “So from now on, when you hear people proudly refer to themselves as ‘Hoosiers’ you will know exactly what they are referring to: an inquisitive, one-eared, hill-dwelling Ohio River contractor, large for his kind, who has a lot of trouble with pronunciation but does NOT have sex with caribou. Who WOULDN’T be proud?” (Barry 2003, 2D).

Rural African Americans shared the southern folk term “daddy” with whites, and reference to “daddy” as a sexually potent figure is evident in early twentieth-century country blues. When men sang about women, they typically referred to themselves as “papa” (e.g., “Hot Papa Blues” by Papa Charlie Jackson, 1929) and their women as “babies.” Yet Stephen Calt in *Barrelhouse Words: A Blues Dialect Dictionary* (2009) notes that unlike the frontier term, “daddy” in black lingo was most commonly used by females, sometimes with adjectives such as “sugar,” “sweet,” and “pretty” to indicate that they are providers and often older than boyfriends or husbands. In 1923 bluesinger Sara Martin, for example, recorded “Leave My Sweet Daddy Alone” and “Longing for Daddy Blues,” in which she fears being left alone by her jailed boyfriend: “I turned to the cell, looked at my daddy in the face, ‘I’m sorry, pretty daddy, but I just can’t take your place’” (Oliver 1990, 205). “Daddy” also commonly meant someone who was a casual polygamous lover rather than in a steady committed relationship, and this might explain the transition from country blues to urban use of the term for a street pimp. African-American blues more so than other musical forms featured the “rattlesnakin’ daddy,” for example. Invoking phallic symbolism of the snake, singers such as Blind Boy Fuller boasted, “I can rattle to the left, rattle to the right, My woman said I believe my rattlesnake daddy can rattle all night” (1935 ARC Records ARC-6-01-56 17862-2).

The male “daddy” can also be sexually potent with other men. A popular song describing ritual insults called “Dirty Dozens” included the lines “I met your daddy on the corner the other

day, You know about that, he was funny that way” (Oliver 1990, 115). In uses such as “jailhouse daddy,” “daddy-o,” and “sweet daddy,” often associated with prison slang, there is an implication that the daddy is the dominant, larger, or aggressive masculine “giver” role in a homosexual relationship (Lighter 1994, 552). Being a daddy was preferable and showed one’s might by forcing the submission, diminution, or feminization of the “taker” (also recorded in prison slang as “jailhouse pussy” coupled with the “jailhouse daddy” giver). This usage is also apparent in weightlifting lore where the daddy is physically large and powerful, as Arnold Schwarzenegger made famous with his boast that he is the daddy of his male competitors in the documentary *Pumping Iron* (1977).⁴ He implied that more than being declared the winner, he dominated the competition. Related to this view is his eroticism as he expanded his naked muscles to the awe of onlookers. He boasted that display of his strength got him sexually aroused to the point of ejaculation. Adding to the sexual connotation of “daddy” is slang reported in the twentieth century for “daddy-bag” and “daddy package” as the testes and scrotum. Vash Designs produced a birthday card in the early twenty-first century showing a man in the back of a pickup truck taking the top position in intercourse with a woman. The comic call-out has the lines “Who’s Your Daddy? Who’s Your Daddy?” while the woman is shown to be saying “You are Daddy.” The message inside the card is “Happiness is relative.” Papa” had similar connotations as in the blues song “come to papa” meaning that the father figure could command or compel the woman to come to him (Weathersby 2000). In modern popular culture, t-shirts showing an image of Papa Smurf, village elder and leader of the cartoon Smurfs, sported the saying “Who’s Your Papa?” and “Call Me Big Papa.” (“Smurfs T-Shirts” 2013).

One possibility for how the terminology of “daddy” entered college slang is through the popularity of jazz during the Beat generation which referred to a daddy as a male friend. The *New Yorker* in its July 3, 1948 issue reported that “The bebop people...call each other Pops, Daddy, and Dick.” Boyer 1948, 28). Daddio also entered jazz and other college lingo, as made widely known on the popular television show *The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis* (1959-1963) in which teen character Maynard G. Krebs and his beatnik college friends constantly uttered the word

“daddio.”⁵ Music might have also been a conduit for “Who’s your daddy?” when shock jock Doug “Greaseman” Tracht (born 1950), in the 1980s spiced up his syndicated radio program out of Washington, D.C., aimed at young adults with repeated references to “Who’s Your Daddy?” apparently influenced by his bodybuilder news director as something his male characters said while having sex (Farhi 2005). His comedy drew protestors who complained that he was belittling women. Shock jocks and big-time sports coaches often thumbed their noses at growing egalitarianism, particularly between men and women. There is a sense that Freud’s symbolic interpretation of patriarchal sexual fantasies as desires for social dominance can be invoked but by stating paternity as a question “Who’s Your Daddy?” the speaker forces the other person to acknowledge submission as someone who is feminized, particularly in male contests of strength (Bocock 1979; Dundes 1997, 25-45). Daddy is not only the giver but he is also large and able to provide for others implied by the patriarchal character “Big Daddy,” who figured prominently in the renowned play and movie *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1955) written by Tennessee Williams through to the present in *Django Unchained* (2012) written by Quentin Tarantino.

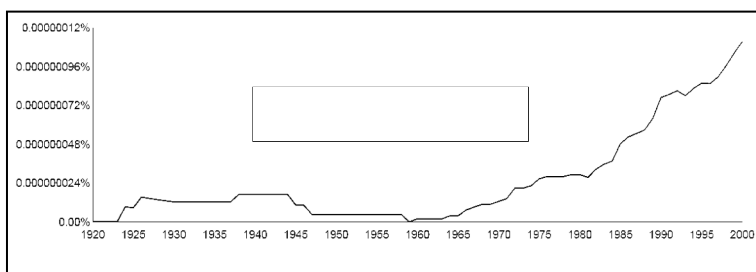
The boastful exaggeration of the patriarchal figure is significant because unlike maternity, paternity is ambiguous because the father does not give birth. The father has to prove himself as the progenitor often with phallogocentric displays imitating sexual potency. The child cannot be certain of his or her paternal partner as one can of the mother. This predicament is well expressed in the common blues lyric, “The woman rocks the cradle, I declare she rules the home, Married man rocks some other man’s babe, fool thinks he’s rockin’ his own” (Oliver 1990, 280). A traditional insult is for a man to claim to have fathered a male peer, as in the cartoon character Superfly: “You know who your daddy is? It’s me yeah! I’m your daddy! Do you know how come I’m your daddy? ‘Cuz I did this to your momma! Yeah, Your momma!” (Aldan 2003). The possibility that the person designated as father did not provide the sperm raises questions of whether the child is illegitimate, the father is impotent, or the father is a cuckold. In short, the ability to impregnate, and more dramatically to sodomize another male, is interpreted as a proof of patriarchal manliness and superiority. Influenced by the egali-

tarian and anti-authoritarian ethic of civil rights, the decentering of patriarchy became a goal of the women's movement beginning in the 1960s. The rise in mothers as primary household earners, who in increasing numbers led the family alone, took a sharp upward trajectory in the 1990s (Wang, Parker, and Taylor 2013). Historian Gary Cross in *Boys to Men* (2010) further reflects that one response to the emasculation of the male provider/progenitor in the wake of the women's movement is the immaturity, and consequently parental irrelevance, of the man in the family system. In this view, "daddy" is put into the position of being a pal or buddy rather than "father figure" to his sons (Cross 2010, 122-23).

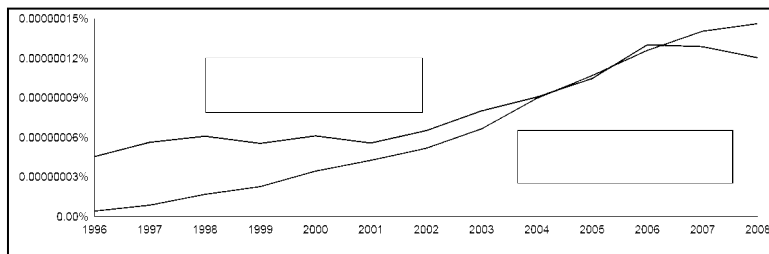
The online site *Urban Dictionary* that encourages users to post examples of contemporary slang gives some indication of the ways that the interrogative phrase "Who's your daddy?" is proverbially framed. Fourteen posts, mostly by persons with male first names (about half used "handles" in place of their names) were made for the phrase between 2003 and 2012. Only one each could be found for "Who's your father?" and "Who's yer pappy?" (set in a "backwoods family situation"). All but four of the posts were made between 2003 and 2006, and the largest number of posts was in 2003. Of social significance as settings for performance of "Who's your daddy" is that six of the posts (43 percent) gave examples of its usage in sports, mostly in basketball and baseball. In these cases, a speaker directed the question as an insult to his opponent, such as Drake Aldan's exclamation: "Oh yeah! I just scored 15 3-pointers on your punk ass! Who's your daddy?!" (Aldan 2003). It not only meant that the victor won, but with the win, crushed or "owned" the opponent. Four of the posts explicitly described usage of the phrase in sex, most frequently as a boast by the sexually potent speaker. In two of these posts, the sex is with a prostitute: "when ur about to pick up some slut in a club but b4 u bang her u wanna make sure ur not gonna get shot (by her pimp OR is shes in the mafia, actually her daddy); "something to tell a hooker in the throes of passion while slapping her ass." One combined sexual and sports metaphors in describing a boast in a basketball contest: "'Ooh, you see that shot? Who's your daddy?' 'Yeah suck it bitch, Who's your daddy?'" (Tkieron 2006). Two posts more generally referred to the phrase as a pronouncement of superiority, such as

“An expression of power and domination from one individual to another” (Edgar 2003) and two referred to the question of uncertain paternity as in the example, “To point [to] someone as dubious offspring. If you don’t know who your daddy is you’r [sic] probably a sonofa..’ You bastard!,’ ‘Oh, yeah? Who’s YOUR daddy?’” (Monitor 2003). Another post refers to paternity in terms of having an income to provide for the family as well as having genetic connection. The post states, “Often, it is a lotto trying to figure out who the real Daddy is, and is discovered once the child has developed strong physical characteristics. The most vulnerable target to be initially labeled ‘Daddy’ will earn a higher gross income and an ability to be extremely gullible. The poor lad has no idea he’s a sucker of the game ‘Who’s Your Daddy?’ and no one has the heart to tell him” (everyoneshould-haveadumbass2pay). Although a relatively small sample of oral sources, the posts indicate a pattern of young men using the phrase in play frames of sports and expressing sexual dominance.

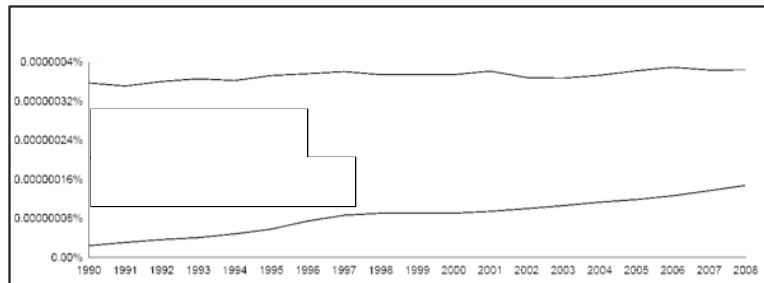
Google provides a large sample of print sources that can be graphed to see appearances of “Who’s your daddy?” in its “Ngram” database of over five million scanned books. Results from searches of phrases are normalized to account for the increase in the number of books in later years. If publication is a function of entrance into popular culture, the first chart confirms the rise, and mainstreaming, of the phrase reported by the *Washington Post* to the end of the twentieth century. As a sign of the Americanness of “Who’s your daddy,” the charts below represent the sample of “American English” because the “British English” sample returned insignificant number of results.



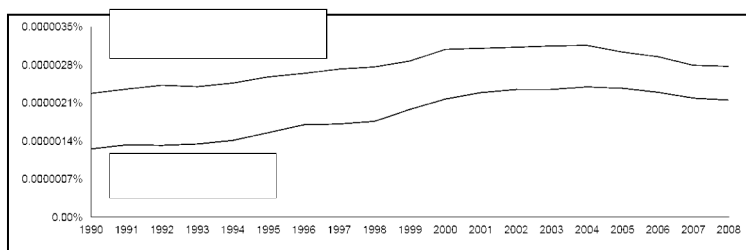
Another statistical inquiry is the potential relation of other proverbial interrogatives as patriarchal speech at a time when patriarchal masculinity was challenged in American society. This pattern is borne out by a comparison of “Who’s the man?” with “Who’s your daddy?” between 1996 and 2008. By the end of the period “Who’s your daddy?” overtakes “Who’s the man?” in popularity in print, but both as expressions of masculine domination in the form of a question have similar frequencies from 2001 to the end of the period.



Previously, I raised the possibility of the relation of “Who’s Your Daddy?” to the proverbial “daddy of them all.” The following chart shows a parallel pattern in the phrases between 1990 and 2008 with an indication of convergence toward the end of the period.



A parallel pattern in patriarchal speech also is indicated by a comparison of “king of the hill” and “big daddy,” although these terms went into some decline in print while “Who’s your daddy?” increased.



A limitation of these data is a lack of context for the phrases or knowledge of individual titles but as the *Urban Dictionary* evidence indicates, speakers, usually American, often connect patriarchal speech to sports and sexual prowess. “Arizona Sports 620,” a sports radio station out of Phoenix, for example, launched “Who’s Your Daddy Week” in 2013 asking guests two related questions: “What is the most important life lesson your dad passed down to you?” and “What is the most memorable sports experience you remember sharing with your dad?” (“Who’s Your Daddy Week” 2013). A Kansas City sports fan site posted “Who’s Your Daddy?” as an abusive chant hurled at “the officials with tendencies of screwing us over”: “Who’s your daddy/ Who’s your daddy/Who’s your daddy, referee?! Don’t got one, Never had one, You’re a b*stard referee” (mrrayshirley 2013). Meanwhile, manufacturer Who’s Your Daddy, Inc., marketed a “sport energy shot” beverage for consumers that it called the “King of Energy,” aligning “king” and “daddy” as symbolic equivalents in a what the company called a “highly marketable name” (Who’s Your Daddy Energy Drink 2013).

The “Who’s your daddy?” chant probably lodged in male bastions of sports because these settings emerged by the end of the twentieth century as a prime location for a social hierarchy of male dominance, outbursts of male bravado as well as female adoration, and as Alan Dundes points out, the feminization of other men by symbolic sodomy (Dundes 1997). Basketball has been attached more so than other major sports in the American context as a frame for outbursts of “Who’s your daddy” perhaps because women have made more inroads into the sport than in baseball or football. Moreover, the larger-than-life bodies who usually play the sport and prominent metaphors of “charging,” “taking charges,” driving,” “going to the hole,” “dunking,” and

“slamming” in the rhetoric of the game proclaim the significance of asserting power on the court. In addition, basketball players in skimpy uniforms make skin-to-skin contact, especially “in the post” or “down low” where the largest players vie for position “on top” or “over” the opponent, and this action can raise images of masculine, or dominating, sexual aggression. As the earlier mentioned case of Milwaukee King High School basketball players indicated, there can also be a racial innuendo in “Who’s Your Daddy?” not only because of some references to “daddy” in prison and pimp argot, but also because of the perception of basketball as a “black game” and its sexualized players arising out of ghetto street life with the association of absent or deadbeat fathers (as well as a stronger than culturally normative bond with their mothers).

The taunts of “Who’s Your Daddy?” might appear disguised in the revved-up arena setting, but when mass media outlets report enactments of the taunt outside of its sporting context as news because they appear out of step with society, journalists raise images of patriarchal abuse and bullying rather than male compensation for social inadequacy and disempowerment. In the digital age, the joking relationship among participants in a folk cultural scene breaks down and no longer is able to internalize or frame the paradoxes of patriarchal hyperbolization surrounded by an egalitarian exterior. The proverbiality of “Who’s your daddy?” is diminished and it fades in public use. Having been previously framed in the nineteenth-century frontier, the twentieth-century blues joint, the urban ghetto street, and the post-war jazz scene, the interrogative saying found its way among young men on campus whose ability to provide economically, and consequently their political authority and sexual dominance, appeared in doubt. In one such very public setting, Bob Knight, an icon of patriarchal, even military, authority, took offense because he thought his manliness, his command, was being undermined by symbolically being sodomized. The irony is that the enactment of the chant showed that his patriarchy still mattered, at least in the arena. The crowd played to his strengths.

Acknowledgments

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California. I appreciate suggestions and materials contributed by colleagues on the panel titled “Talking Folklore: New Studies of Old Sayings”: Patricia Turner, Wolfgang Mieder, and Charles Clay Doyle.

Notes

¹Knight’s outburst inspired an oral and online joke imagining Bob Knight committed to a mental hospital:

²Bobby Knight: “Hoosier daddy!”

³Mental Ward Orderly: “Alright Mr. Knight, here’s your medication. I need your outbursts under control. Now, let’s all have a good Knight.” (under breath:)

⁴“I’M Y’DADDY, and don’t you forget it!” (posted by Chango Bolamongo, October 7, 2006, <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Hoosier+daddy!>).

⁵In the text, Knight’s patriarchal aggressiveness associated with his embodiment of sports competition is shown to be non-normative but he resists change or sublimation of his feelings.

⁶Email correspondence from Charles Clay Doyle, April 8, 2013.

⁷An example is in the popular song “King of the Hill” released by the American heavy metal rock band Quiet Riot in 1977: Hold your head up high, Look ‘em in the eye, No need to compromise, It’s time you realize, Can you tell me, Who’s king of the hill? Can you tell me, yeah, Who’s king of the hill?...I am king, uh ah uh ah, I am king of the hill, yeah, Out of my way punk, Yeah, your ass is mine.

⁸“Say Uncle” or “Cry Uncle” admits defeat or submission, especially in a fight, but according to slang dictionaries is derived from the Irish *anacol* for “mercy” rather than the male family member. Nonetheless, although “uncle” is a male familial figure, he is symbolically perceived as weaker than the father. Moreover, the association of “Uncle Tom” implies someone, especially African-American, who is obedient and subservient. Another racially tinged patriarchal reference relative to the southern “daddy” is the appellation of the African American male as “boy.” This naming pattern suggested the authority of the white man over the infantilized, submissive black man. See Dalzell and Victor 2006, 2034-35.

⁹“Daddio” was prominently featured as the title of a later television show. In 2000, NBC broadcast the show with a weak stay-at-home father as “daddio.” His lawyer wife was the breadwinner of the four-child family. A leitmotif of the show was his defense of his new role (he had been a restaurant supply salesman) to his best friend and “macho” or hypermasculine neighbor who had formerly been a marine.

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PROVERBIAL PLAY: J.R.R. TOLKIEN'S USE OF
PROVERBS IN *THE HOBBIT* AND *THE LORD*
OF THE RINGS

Abstract: Proverbs are a significant part of the linguistic complexity that Tolkien created for Middle Earth: both Tolkien as narrator/author and many of his characters use them. This article discusses Tolkien's use of proverbs, including the question of how and why he indicates proverbiality when he creates new proverbs. Tolkien's use and creation of proverbs reminds readers that Middle Earth has a history that has affected (and been affected by) language and language use.

Keywords: proverbs, *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings*, J.R.R. Tolkien, proverbs in literature, invented proverbs, Middle Earth, anti-proverbs, Tolkien fans, Tolkien and language

The linguistic richness of J.R.R. Tolkien's beloved book *The Hobbit* (hereafter *H*) and the series that follows it, *The Lord of the Rings*¹ (hereafter *LotR*), is instrumental in creating the illusion that Middle Earth actually existed by providing readers with a sense of its history, traditions and cultural distinctiveness. It also allows Tolkien to play with language, as he tells the reader in his foreword to the second edition of *LotR*. "I desired to... [write *LotR*] for my own satisfaction, and I had little hope that other people would be interested in this work, especially since it was primarily linguistic in inspiration and was begun in order to provide the necessary background of 'history' for Elvish tongues" (J.R.R. Tolkien, "Foreword to the Second Edition" to Tolkien 2004 (1954), p. xiii).

Proverbs are a significant part of the linguistic complexity that Tolkien created for Middle Earth. Tolkien's use of proverbs is particularly rich; both he as narrator² and many of his characters use them. Many characters even use anti-proverbs (or what Obelkevich calls "perverted proverbs" [1987, 239]), a speak-

er/writer's reworking of traditional proverbs, often though not always for humorous effect (following W. Mieder, *Antispruchs-wörter* [Wiesbaden: Verlag für deutsche Sprache, 1982, 1985, and 1989]), and there are several conversations in which characters debate their future options primarily through the exchange of proverbs (called "proverb dueling" by Dundes [Arewa and Dundes 1964]). But how should scholars approach Tolkien's inclusion of proverbs, many of them invented and some of them anti-proverbs (some even invented anti-proverbs), in a fictional world populated by fictional characters? How do readers even recognize that a character is using proverbial language?

This article discusses the proverbs Tolkien uses in *H* and *LotR*, including the thorny question of how and why Tolkien indicates proverbiality in these texts. I am not the first scholar to address these issues; as early as 1969, George Boswell wrote about Tolkien's use of formulaic sayings, including proverbs. His seminal and important article primarily lists and categorizes proverbs in *LotR*. My work tries to take these ideas further, as I seek to understand how Tolkien and his characters use proverbs in conversation and the deeper implications of these proverbs to the overall story arc.

Many of the topics discussed in this article, particularly Tolkien's linguistic interests, *LotR* characters' use of proverbs in conversation, and textual indications of proverbiality in *LotR*, are deftly discussed by Michael N. Stanton in his important article "'Advice is a Dangerous Gift':³ (Pseudo)Proverbs in *The Lord of the Rings*." Stanton's article is thorough enough to make one question the need for this article. Although he and I consider some of the same proverbs, many of the proverbs I discussed are addressed only briefly, or not at all, by Stanton, who offers what is essentially an annotated list of proverbs found in *LotR*. I also, as will be clear in this article, disagree with Stanton on several important points, including whether morally compromised characters like Gollum or Orcs use proverbs and whether the use of generalized sayings in the mouths of the wise (such as Gandalf and Elrond) should be seen as proverbial. Finally, my article is not limited to *LotR* (as Stanton's is), which allows me to trace the use of certain proverbs in both *H* and *LotR* (for a consideration of proverbs in *H*, see Trokhimenko 2003, 368). In general, it is my contention that proverbs have been underappreciated by

Tolkien scholars and that Tolkien has been underappreciated by paremiologists and folklorists in general.

J.R.R. Tolkien and Language

Considering how a single author creates and represents proverbs provides a model for proverb production and use in real life. Ultimately proverbs allow Tolkien to remind readers without directly telling them that Middle Earth has a history, and a history that has affected (and been affected by) language and language use.

J.R.R. Tolkien's love and appreciation of language can be seen throughout his writings (scholarly, fictional and personal correspondence), and is particularly evident in *The Hobbit* and *Lord of the Rings*. Between 1918, when he finished his World War I military service, and 1920, Tolkien was, as he put it in 1964, "employed on the staff of the then still incomplete great [Oxford English] Dictionary" (Carpenter 345; see also Winchester xx, 206-208). Tolkien's facility with language eventually led to his career at Oxford University, first as Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon (Carpenter 13) and later as Merton Professor of English Language and Literature at Merton College (Oxford University is divided into multiple colleges, including Merton) (Carpenter 116). At Oxford his love for language was enriched by both his scholarly duties and his friends at the university (such as his fellow members of the Inklings⁴).

Tolkien's love of language is well illustrated by the various languages and linguistic forms that permeate *H* and *LotR*. Most races⁵ have their own languages; some, such as Humans and Elves, have multiple languages. Many of these languages include examples of proverbs. The Hobbits speak English or, as Tolkien put it in an October 14, 1958 letter to Rhona Beare (who had written to him as the representative of an American Tolkien fan club), "hobbit⁶ language is represented as English," though with some Old English influence (Carpenter 278, letter 211). The Hobbit tongue also seems to be related to the unique language (based almost exclusively on Old English) spoken by the Rohirrim (Carpenter 381), a point noted and discussed by Merry, Pippin, and Théoden (*The Two Towers*, hereafter *TT*, III, viii, 544; see also Appendices D, E and F). The majority of the human characters in Middle Earth speak standard English, but

some also or primarily speak other languages, such as the Elvish language used by the Númenórean elite (whose common tongue, Adunaic, was the precursor of common speech) (Carpenter 175) or the Wildmen's/Woses'/Púkel-men's rhythmic tongue (of which we catch glimpses in *Return of the King*, hereafter *RK*, V, v, 813-817; see also Appendix F Section I), depending on the speakers' ethnic background and where they live. The Dwarves⁷ have a secret language that they share with no-one (noted by Gandalf in *The Fellowship of the Ring*, hereafter *FR* [*FR*, II, iv, 299]), though several examples are found in the text (mostly in place names such as Khazad-Dûm, Zirakzigil, Bundushathûr and Kheled-Zâram; but see also Appendix F I). The Elvish languages are particularly complex; the Elves who traveled across the sea to Valinor speak a different tongue than those who did not (Appendix F I; Carpenter 175-177), and there are also geographically distinct Elvish languages (implied by Gandalf *FR*, II, iv, 297; see also Carpenter 175-177). Specific details about these linguistic and historical relationships can be found in *LotR*'s extensive appendices, particularly Appendices E and F. Several different alphabets are also used in Middle Earth, as discussed in Appendix E II.

Even the parts of Tolkien's work that are written in "standard"⁸ English (the majority, luckily for Tolkien's readers who have had little or no linguistic training) exhibit many different language styles. Individual characters also have their own voices (see Appendix F, p. 1107, where Tolkien discusses different characters' voices; see also Trokhimenko 2003, 367), a point illustrated by a comparison of the speech styles of three Hobbits: Sam's speech is plain and colloquial, Frodo's more intellectually adept speech is careful and deliberate, while Bilbo's is poetic and playful. Poetry and songs occur throughout *LotR*, some crafted by characters in the novels (including such unsympathetic races as the Goblins/Orcs), some apparently traditional, and others translated from languages such as one of the Elvish tongues. Readers also encounter Bilbo's neck-riddling session (a term used by folklorists to refer to situations, usually literary, wherein one character has to correctly answer a series of riddles or forfeit his or her life) with Gollum (a topic previously addressed by folklorists such as F.A. de Caro 1986, 175-177).

Tolkien's comments about the riddling session show us that he was interested not only in language play but also in literary/folklore forms such as riddles. In a personal letter to his publisher, Allen and Unwin, dated 20 September 1947, Tolkien describes the fact that he created most of the riddles in *The Hobbit*: "As for the Riddles: they are 'all my own work' except for 'Thirty White Horses' which is traditional, and 'No-legs.' The remainder, though their style and method is that of old literary (but not 'folk-lore'⁹) riddles, have *no models* as far as I am aware, save only the egg-riddle which is a reproduction to a couplet (my own) of a longer literary riddle which appears in some 'Nursery Rhyme' books, notably American ones...." (letter to Allen and Unwin, Sept 20, 1947, Carpenter 124 letter 110, italics in original). In this excerpt we have a glimpse of the many influences, both traditional and creative, that inspired Tolkien's composition. Although I am unable to find examples of Tolkien writing about his inclusion of proverbs in *LotR*, given his known love of language it seems likely that his use of proverbs was as careful and intentional as his use of riddles.

Scholarly Approaches to the Proverb

That proverbs are nearly impossible to define has been widely accepted ever since Archer Taylor's 1931 declaration that "the definition of a proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking"¹⁰ (3). Archer Taylor was ultimately arguing, I think, that scholars shouldn't worry too much about the definition of proverbs; if they work with proverbs enough, they will be able to intuitively recognize them. This advice is both good and practical. However, scholars (being scholars) continue to try to define proverbs linguistically (Cram 1983; Norrick 1982), semiotically (see, for example, Grzybek 1987), structurally (Dundes 1975), sociologically (Messenger 1959), and in other ways (for example, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1973, Obelkevich 1987).

One approach to determining whether a phrase is a proverb or proverbial¹¹ is to determine whether the saying is traditional. This apparently simple exercise can actually be quite difficult. It would be simpler if scholars could agree as to such basic issues as the definition of tradition or the length of time in circulation required for a phrase (or chair design or ballad) to be considered traditional. As these issues are contentious, scholars are left to

demonstrate that a specific phrase has been in use for a sufficient amount of time to be considered “traditional.” Several significant studies have shown us the linguistic fortitude this work requires (see, for example, Mieder 1983, 1987)

Currency is another central defining element of the proverb; in other words, a proverb has to be present in speech and/or writing in order to be considered a proverb. Early British scholar Richard Chenevix Trench indicated that currency was the defining characteristic of proverbs, even more important than traditionality (Trench 2003 [1853] 14-16). This defining element is also of limited value since folklorists argue about the precise meaning and nuance of most of the key words in this definition. Can a phrase be considered “current” if, for example, ten percent of the people in a community recognize it? How about twenty percent (Mieder 1992 discusses the paremiological minimum and its importance to cultural literacy; see also Hirsch 1987)? Is it enough that people recognize a phrase, or do they need to actively use it? Whether one is investigating proverbs in social interaction or in a work of literature, these definitions are problematic.

How, then, does the reader determine which sentences and phrases in *H* and *LotR* are proverbial? Tolkien himself seems to have created some of the phrases that he intended to appear proverbial. The answer appears to be that there are linguistic and contextual cues that point to a saying’s traditionality (or, in the case of Tolkien’s literary world, its diegetic traditionality) and currency, therefore marking it as a proverb.

Tolkien’s Use of Traditional Proverbs

Tolkien’s use of traditional proverbs does several things. First, it creates the appearance of a folksy/traditional world; following Susan Stewart, the use of proverbs makes the work seem to be “distressed,” in other words, to appear older (and more traditional) than it actually is (Stewart 1991). Mieder has written about how Wilhelm Grimm added traditional proverbs to the *Kinder und Hausmärchen* in order to remind the reader of the (apparent) antiquity of these stories (Mieder 1988). In many ways Tolkien’s work is a lament of the loss of what Warren Roberts would have called “the old traditional way of life” (this great folklorist used this phrase so often that it is the title of his

festschrift – see Walls and Shoemaker 1989), depicting a romanticized view of life before the industrial revolution (previous scholars have written about this focus in Tolkien's work; for a good overview, see Campbell 2011). The archaic language and phrases in *H* and *LotR* serve to reinforce both the story's apparent age and the romantic sense that something valuable is passing or has passed.

Tolkien's use of traditional proverbs also provides linguistic and social models of proverb structure and use for his audience. Sometimes Tolkien uses traditional proverbs, making it easy for readers to identify the phrases as proverbs (provided, of course, that they are familiar with English-language proverbs). Some examples of these include such classics as "All's well as ends well" (*FR*, I, iv, 95)¹², which is said by Farmer Maggot to Merry upon safe delivery of Frodo, Sam and Pippin. This proverb is used in Shakespeare's¹³ *All's Well that Ends Well*; interestingly, in the entire quote from Shakespeare, the character Helena goes on to say, "Whate'er the course, the end is the renown" (Act IV, Scene 4), an interesting statement to make at the beginning of a fantasy novel that describes a long journey that ends both in renown and, for Frodo at least, in personal tragedy. At the end of the series Tolkien uses this proverb again; after the Gaffer (Sam's grandfather) has been restored to his home, he repeatedly says, "It's an ill wind as blows nobody any good, as I always say. And All's well as ends Better!" (*RK*, IV, ix, 999). The Gaffer actually references two proverbs in these two sentences: "It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good" and "All's well as ends well." Notice that he also plays with the proverbs a bit – instead of "All's well that ends well," we get the stronger "All's well as ends better" (Boswell 1969, 63; Stanton 1996, 344). We also find the more colloquial and archaic "as" used instead of "that" (which also occurs in the ill-wind proverb). The Gaffer's use of this proverb serves to remind the reader of his lower socio-economic status and traditional values.

Another real-world proverb used in Middle Earth is an older variant of the familiar "When it rains it pours," now used to market Morton salt. When Frodo and company inquire about beds at the Prancing Pony Inn in Bree, the innkeeper Barliman Butterbur explains that they have a lot of guests by saying, "It never rains but it pours,' we say in Bree" (*FR*, I, ix, 150; see also

Boswell 1969, 63 and Stanton 1996, 336). Notice that Tolkien uses the more archaic form of this proverb.

When the hobbits meet Aragorn at the same inn, Pippin tells him, in reference to his stern and grim appearance, “‘But handsome is as handsome does, as we say in the Shire’” (*FR*, I, x, 167; see also Boswell 1969, 63). This proverb is from Oliver Goldsmith’s *The Vicar of Wakefield* (Bartlett’s 341:11). It is an interesting choice of proverbs, because it doesn’t specify the nature of Aragorn’s character; the openness of “‘Handsome is as handsome does’” allows for the possibility that Aragorn will not behave handsomely (though readers know that he does). This proverb (like many used in *LotR*) shows up again in the text, long after Aragorn’s character has been firmly established as upright and true. In *The Two Towers* (hereafter *TT*), Sam and Frodo are discovered in the wilderness near Mordor by Faramir and his men. Faramir takes them to his secret refuge and interrogates them about why they are traveling in this land. Frodo deftly manages to avoid telling Faramir about the Ring, but Sam, who is tired, worried about Frodo, and less agile with obfuscation, accidentally blurts out the truth. Aghast, Sam tells Faramir, “‘Don’t you go taking advantage of my master because his servant’s no better than a fool. You’ve spoken very handsome all along, put me off my guard, talking of Elves and all. But *handsome is as handsome does* we say. Now’s a chance to show your quality’” (*TT*, IV, v, 665, italics in the original). By using the same proverb that Pippin had earlier applied to Aragorn, Tolkien (through Sam) suggests to his readers that it is safe to trust Faramir (as it was to trust Aragorn before him) in spite of uncertain appearances.

Marking Phrases as Proverbs or Proverbial

Sometimes, though not always, proverbs in *H* and *LotR* are presented in italicized type, thereby marking them as somehow special or distinct. In the following example (italics in the original), Frodo tells Sam that they need to continue with their quest, even though they are comfortable and safe in Lothlórien. Sam replies “‘*It’s the job that’s never started as takes longest to finish*, as my old gaffer used to say’” (*FR*, II, vii, 352; see also Stanton 1996, 337). Even if a reader misses the attributive “as

my old gaffer used to say," he or she still might note that the phrase is somehow exceptional because it is presented in italics.

In one case from *The Hobbit*, Tolkien tells us that a specific phrase became a proverb ("“Never laugh at live dragons, Bilbo, you fool!” he [Bilbo, after taunting and being singed by an irate Smaug] said to himself, and it became a favourite saying of his later, and passed into a proverb”) (*H*, 12, 216; listed Boswell 1969, 64; see also Trokhimenko 2003, 369-370). This is interesting because, in addition to telling us that this phrase became a proverb, it shows us (albeit in brief) how some Middle Earth proverbs developed. It also shows Tolkien’s conception of how proverbs start; to paraphrase Lord Russell, “the wisdom of many, the wit of Bilbo” (Lord Russell’s actual early 19th century statement, that a proverb is “one man’s wit and all men’s wisdom,” and the later frequent inversion of the two parts of this saying, are referenced in Taylor 1985 [1931], 3).

Tolkien’s inclusion of this phrase’s passage into proverbiality is self-referential in that readers are reminded that they have suspended their disbelief. Notice that the proverb “Never laugh at live dragons,” began life as a phrase intended to be interpreted literally in response to a real situation (Bilbo had laughed at the dragon Smaug who, in his rage, sent a jet of flame after Bilbo as the Hobbit retreated from Smaug’s den) (*H*, 12, 216). When the phrase “Never laugh at live dragons” gained currency, it was probably used metaphorically, in which analogic form it would be more generally applicable to everyday life. As will be seen throughout this essay, Tolkien often played with the literal/metaphorical applicability of proverbs.

Tolkien (or one of his characters) often indicates that a phrase is intended to be a proverb or proverbial by using introductory formulas (verbal or linguistic framing devices used to draw attention to the proverb), such as “As we used to say...” (called a “tying phrase” by Briggs 1985)¹⁴. This frame alerts the reader to the fact that a proverb follows just as surely as the phrase “Once upon a time” alerts the audience that a wonder tale follows. We have already seen a few examples of the frames Tolkien uses (“as my father used to say,” “as my old gaffer used to say,” “as they say in Bree,” and “as we say in the Shire”). The use of these tying phrases mirrors the use of proverbs in real social interaction; in order to appeal to the traditional wisdom and

authority of a proverb, speakers often use tying phrases to indicate that they are using a proverb.

Polysemanticism

One indication that a phrase is proverbial lies in its polysemanticism, the fact that the proverb is structured so that it can be used in many different linguistic contexts without compromising its meaning. This means that such proverbs must be sufficiently linguistically non-specific that they can be applied to various situations. Such proverbs frequently use general rather than specific pronouns, such as the general “you” accompanied by the passive voice (as in “There is nothing like looking, if you want to find something” [*H*, 4, 68], said by Thorin to the younger Dwarves). A proverb’s polysemanticism can also be indicated by non-specific pronouns such as “one,” “many,” “some,” “people,” “he” and “men.”¹⁵ In the following exchange, Frodo has just told Gandalf that it’s a pity that Bilbo didn’t kill Gollum when he had a chance because Gollum deserved to die. Gandalf objects to the idea that Gollum should have been killed unnecessarily, arguing: “Many that live deserve death. And some that die deserve life. Can you give it to them? Then do not be too eager to deal out death in judgement” (*FR*, I, ii, 58; listed Stanton 1996, 336). This phrase’s proverbiality is indicated not only by the polysemanticism facilitated by the pronouns “many” and “some,” but also by the parallel structure of the two short sentences (“Many that live deserve death. Some that die deserve life”).

Sometimes proverbs are polysemantic because they are stated as generalities, without offering any pronouns at all. When Gandalf tells the Council at Rivendell about Saruman’s treachery, Elrond comments, “It is perilous to study too deeply the arts of the Enemy, for good or for ill” (*FR*, II, ii, 258). This phrase can be applied to many different enemies with many different arts, making it both generally applicable and linguistically flexible. Proverbs that are polysemantic because they are stated as generalities do not need to be complex; sometimes they are short and simple, as in the following case. Later at Elrond’s Council, the Elf lord Glorfindel uses another proverb stated as a generality: “Yet oft in lies truth is hidden” (*FR*, II, ii, 259). Here Glorfindel is suggesting that the Council should throw the Ring into the sea (where Saruman had said it was hidden) “and

so make the lies of Saruman come true.” Glorfindel is both old and wise even for an Elf, and his wisdom informs this proverb. First, he uses the archaic qualifier “oft” (rather than the more familiar “often”) to indicate that, although this proverb is appropriate in this situation, it would not necessarily apply to any situation. This proverb is also a model of linguistic efficiency in that it is made up of a mere seven words, all but one of which has only one syllable. The proverb also breaks neatly into two-syllable sets (“Yet oft”/ “in lies”/ “truth is”/ “hidden”); such consistent rhythm makes the proverb stand out in conversation and makes it easier to remember.

Stylistic Cues

Sometimes the reader’s intuitive feeling that a phrase in *LotR* or *H* is proverbial is based on linguistic or stylistic cues. Many traditional proverbs use poetic devices such as metaphor, rhyme, rhythm and parallel structure. Tolkien uses these devices to invent and mark new proverbs. Because he follows standard proverbial linguistic cues, the reader is more likely to be able to recognize that the phrase is intended to be proverbial, even if Tolkien does not specifically mark the genre through framing or by italicizing it.

Rhyme

One of the most commonly recognized stylistic cues in proverbs is the use of rhyme. The traditional proverb “An apple a day keeps the doctor away,” for example, repeats the long \bar{a} sound in “day” and the second syllable of “away.” Often when proverbs use rhyme, they also repeat the syllabic rhythm, wherein the sections that end with the rhyming words have the same number of syllables (in the case of “An apple a day keeps the doctor away” five syllables on either side of the verb “keeps”). When Pippin and the Hobbits question the wisdom of traveling through the woods as Aragorn suggests, Aragorn offers an example of the simultaneous use of rhyme and syllabic rhythm with the expression with “My cuts, short or long, don’t go wrong” (*FR*, I, xi, 177; see also Stanton 1996, 336). Here we have an introductory phrase (“my cuts”) of two syllables, followed by a pair of rhyming three-syllable phrases (“short or long” and “don’t go wrong”). Remember that, at this point in *LotR*, the Hobbits are still uncertain whether they should trust Aragorn and that the

rhyme scheme emphasizes the “rightness” (or safety/value) of Aragorn and his choices.

Alliteration

Proverbs often include alliteration, seen in examples such as “Many a mickle makes a muckle” and “Birds of a feather flock together.” Alliteration probably appealed particularly strongly to Tolkien because alliteration, not rhyme, serves as the primary poetic device in Old English and Old Norse poetry. Not only was Tolkien a scholar of Old English and Old Norse, but he was also one of the few modern poets to use successfully the alliterative style in modern English, as he did in the poem “The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm’s Son” (Tolkien 1953).

When Aragorn and the Hobbits are threatened by the Nazgûl in *FR*, Aragorn lights a fire, explaining to Frodo that, “Sauron can put it [fire] to his evil uses, as he can all things; but these Riders do not love it, and fear those who wield it. Fire is our friend in the wilderness” (*FR*, I, xi, 185). This proverb (“Fire is our friend in the wilderness”) is linguistically marked by the alliteration of the initial *f*-sound in “fire” and “friend.” But interestingly, Tolkien extends the alliteration beyond the proverb to tie it more directly to the preceding sentence. The clause before the proverb also begins with the *f*-sound in “fear.” The *w*-sound in “wield” and “wilderness” also alliterates, further tying the proverb stylistically to the preceding sentence.

At the Council of Elrond in Rivendell, where the current state of Middle Earth is discussed, a stranger from Gondor named Boromir uses an alliterative proverb to explain that he is not asking for military assistance but for information and advice. He says, “The might of Elrond is in wisdom, not in weapons, it is said.” (*FR*, II, ii, 239). Here we again find parallel structure: after the introductory “The might of Elrond,” we get two clauses of three words and four syllables (“is in wisdom” and “not in weapons”). The first of these clauses is positive, the second negative (see Dundes 1975), the second word of each is “in,” and the final words open with the alliterative *w*-sound.

Even morally compromised characters and/or those opposed to the heroes use proverbs¹⁶. Gollum, for example, uses an alliterative proverb in *TT* when he responds to one of the Nazgûl flying overhead. After the Nazgûl flies over Frodo, Sam and

Gollum a third time, Gollum says, “‘Three times!’ he whimpered. ‘Three times is a threat’” (*TT*, IV, ii, 621)¹⁷. Later in *RK*, Frodo and Sam are found in Mordor by a company of Orcs marching to war. Since Frodo and Sam are disguised as Orcs, the Orc-leader assumes that they are Orcs trying to desert. When (because they’re both sick and exhausted) the two Hobbits start to fall behind, the Orc-leader encourages them to keep up by hitting them with a whip and saying, “‘Where there’s a whip, there’s a will, my slugs’” (*RK*, VI, ii, 909-910; see also Boswell 1969, 62; Stanton 1996, 341 and Trokhimenko 2003, 372-373¹⁸). Like the proverb used by Gollum, this proverb alliterates, though not perfectly – the *wh*-sound and *w*-sound are not identical, a fact of which Tolkien as a linguist was well aware. I suspect that Tolkien uses this phrase in part to linguistically reinforce the Orc-leader’s uncouthness. But, since this is also an anti-proverb (a play on the traditional “Where there’s a will there’s a way”), we also see here an example of an Orc playing with a traditional proverb.¹⁹

Parallel Structure

As many scholars have observed (Trench 2003 [1853], De Caro 1986, Dundes 1975, Mieder 1983, Taylor 1983), proverbs often follow parallel structure; that is, they naturally fall into two parts. Many proverbs could easily be written in poetic line form, such as: “The early bird/ gets the worm.” Often the two parts contain either the same number of syllables or a similar number – in the case of this proverb, four in the first part and three in the second. The two parts of a proverb with parallel structure are inevitably compared and/or contrasted (see Dundes 1975 for a detailed structuralist interpretation of the relationship between the two parts of a parallel proverb, although Dundes uses the term “dyadic” instead of the now more common “parallel”). Let’s consider some of the dyadic proverbs in *LotR*; many of which are not only syllabically parallel but also alliterate.

When Sam and Frodo meet Faramir in Mordor in *TT*, they are uncertain as to whether they should trust him even though he is kind to them. Here we see Sam using a proverb with parallel structure to summarize their dilemma. “Sam struggled with himself, arguing this way and that. ‘He [Faramir] may be all right,’ he thought, ‘and then he may not. Fair speech may hide a foul

heart” (*TT*, IV, v, 660; see also Stanton 1996, 340). Alliteration of the *f*-sound (which also is the first sound in Faramir’s name) stylistically reinforces the potential paradox of someone using “fair speech” in spite of having a “foul heart.” This proverb also parallels a similar consideration of Aragorn’s character when the Hobbits first meet him at the Prancing Pony. Although a different proverb is used in that case, the words “fair” and “foul” occur in both (see discussion above), suggesting to readers that Faramir is as trustworthy as Aragorn. Tolkien may also be playing with the traditional proverb “Faint heart never won fair lady,”²⁰ an interesting choice given that Faramir (whose heart is anything but faint; he shows great courage, particularly in *RK*) ultimately marries the fair lady Eowyn.

Metaphor

Folklorists have long observed that many proverbs are metaphorical (De Caro 1986, Dundes 1975, Seitel 1986, Taylor 1983), and (as already briefly noted in this article) Tolkien frequently plays with the tension between literal and metaphorical meaning in the use of proverbs. A good example of a straightforward use of a metaphorical proverb occurs when, after their encounter with the Barrow-wights (malicious undead creatures), the Hobbits tell their savior, Tom Bombadil, that they regret losing their clothing. He replies, “Clothes are but little loss, if you escape from drowning” (*FR*, I, viii, 140). Obviously the Hobbits weren’t going to literally drown in the dusty barrow (a very old crypt that is not described as at all damp), but being overcome and losing control of one’s consciousness, as implied by the drowning metaphor, is appropriate to their encounter with the Wights.

Sauron’s Long Arm

Some proverbs and metaphors recur throughout *LotR*. For example, Sauron is described as “having a long arm” or people say, to indicate the growth of his influence and power, that “his arm has grown long” (for example, *FR*, II, iii, 281). This proverbial phrase is as old as Herodotus’s *Histories*, wherein it is said that, “The king’s might is greater than human, and his arm is very long” VIII, 98 (Bartlett 71: 25). The metaphor of Sauron having a long arm reminds readers of Sauron’s unnatural corporeality (by the time of *LotR* he seems to exist as only a malevo-

lent, sentient presence and a huge lidless eye) and that, following the whole phrase from Herodotus, his might is greater than an ordinary human's. Subtly drawing attention to Sauron's unnaturalness, this proverbial phrase also serves to highlight his evil nature and the impossibility of compromise with or mercy from him.

Sometimes the long arm metaphor is indirectly referenced, as in the following case. When, in *TT*, Legolas, Gimli and Aragorn are searching for Pippin and Merry, who have been captured by Orcs, Tolkien as narrator describes the scene at the end of the day: "The sun sank. Shadows rose behind and reached out long arms from the East" (*TT*, III, ii, 414). By using a metaphor so often applied to Sauron, Tolkien reminds readers that the sun setting (which means that Aragorn can no longer track the Orcs) is the least of the trackers' concerns. Sauron's threatening power is also rising as the sun sets.

Another example of Tolkien indirectly applying the long arm metaphor occurs at the very end of *FR*. After being pressured by Boromir to surrender the Ring, Frodo runs to the ruins of Amon Hen while wearing the Ring and almost draws Sauron's attention. "He took the Ring off his finger. He was kneeling in clear sunlight before the high seat [of Amon Hen]. A black shadow seemed to pass like an arm above him; it missed Amon Hen" (*FR*, II, x, 392). This shadow which moves like an arm is more than just shade; it serves as a physical representation of Sauron's attention and influence.

In the following passage from *RK*, Pippin in Minas Tirith is looking east into Mordor, and Tolkien expands the metaphor of Sauron's long arm to include fingers:

[Pippin]...looked at the great walls [of Minas Tirith], and the towers and brave banners, and the sun in the high sky, and then at the gathering gloom in the East; and he thought of the long fingers of that Shadow: of the orcs in the woods and the mountains, the treason of Isengard, the birds of evil eye, and the Black Riders even in the lanes of the Shire – and of the winged terror, the Nazgûl (*RK*, V, i, 749).

As Sauron's influence grows, Tolkien accentuates the "long arm" metaphor, moving beyond the simple reference of reach

and influence to the specific character of the long arm, now moving beyond the arm to the hand and fingers. Pippin also thinks of five examples of Sauron's meddling, just as hands typically include five fingers.

Then, as the story moves closer to its climax, Tolkien returns to the straight-forward long arm metaphor, as in the following quote, describing the scene the Lord of the Nazgûl sees at the beginning of the Battle of the Pelennor Fields. "The darkness was breaking too soon, before the date that his [the Lord of the Nazgûl's] Master [i.e., Sauron] had set for it:... victory was slipping from his grasp even as he stretched out his hand to seize it. But his arm was long" (*RK*, V, vi, 821). This quote is interesting because the long arm seems to belong simultaneously both to Sauron and the Lord of the Nazgûl (though of course this is physically impossible). Indeed, since Sauron is largely non-corporeal, he remains in the background of the action, menacing but remote. The Lord of the Nazgûl acts as Sauron's agent, the character who most closely follows Sauron's wishes, his proxy in the story.

While the Battle of the Pelennor Fields is raging, Gandalf urges Denethor, Steward of Gondor, to fight alongside his people. Denethor explains why he thinks all such actions are futile, "...But against the Power that now arises [Sauron and his forces] there is no victory. To this City [Minas Tirith] only the first finger of its hand has yet been stretched..." (*RK*, V, vi, 835). The use of this metaphor shows us that Denethor has imagined Sauron's arm as longer even than it perhaps is. Several pages later, Gandalf watches as Théoden's corpse is brought into the city and thinks about how he could have saved Théoden but for Denethor's attempt, in his madness, to immolate himself and his gravely wounded (but still living) son, Faramir. "So long has the reach of our enemy become [that Sauron was able to influence Denethor in Minas Tirith]" (*RK*, V, vi, 838).

Another, less direct reference to Sauron's long arm occurs after the Battle of the Pelennor Fields is won, when the leaders discuss what they should do about Sauron, who remains unharmed and in power in Mordor. After it is decided that the forces of Minas Tirith (and neighboring areas), led by Aragorn and Gandalf, should march into Mordor and threaten Sauron, Prince Imrahil asks Gandalf,

“If the Dark Lord knows so much as you say, Mithrandir, will he not rather smile than fear, and with his little finger crush us like a fly that tries to sting him?”

“No, he will try to trap the fly and take the sting,” said Gandalf (*RK*, V, ix, 864).

Although Imrahil seems to be minimizing Sauron's threat, limiting his long arm to its “little finger,” Gandalf turns the proverb and reminds those at the council (and readers) that Sauron is still strong, cruel enough to play with a mere fly, and arrogant enough to believe that he can take the fly's sting.

When Sauron is overthrown shortly thereafter (because the Ring has been destroyed), Tolkien describes what those who had marched to Mordor to challenge Sauron saw:

And as the Captains [on the field of Cormallen] gazed south to the Land of Mordor, it seemed to them that, black against the pall of cloud, there rose a huge shape of shadow, impenetrable, lightning-crowned, filling all the sky. Enormous it reared above the world, and stretched out towards them a vast threatening hand, terrible but impotent: for even as it leaned over them, a great wind took it, and it was all blown away, and passed; and then a hush fell. (*RK*, VI, iv, 928).

Even in death, then, Sauron's arm is long and threatening (though, with his decease, ultimately impotent).

Tolkien liked the “long arm” metaphor so well that he used it not only in the text of the story but in the appendices as well. This is particularly interesting because the appendices are much less linguistically complete than the story itself; in fact, in many cases single words, tables, or sentence fragments are used. Yet in the description of the events of the year in which Sauron was forced out of Dol Guldur outside of Mirkwood (and, incidentally, the year that Bilbo and a company of Dwarves overcame the dragon, Smaug, in *H*), the reader finds the following statement:

So it was that when war came at last the main assault was turned southwards; yet even so with his far-stretched right hand Sauron might have done great evil

in the North, if King Dáin and King Brand had not stood in his path (Appendix A, 1052-1053).

The fact that this metaphor is repeated throughout the text serves to remind readers of Sauron's menace and power. It is also rather ironic, since readers do not at any point in *LotR* meet or even get a physical description of Sauron – although he is the one who plans the attempt to take over Middle Earth, actions are taken through others, such as the Mouth of Sauron or the Lord of the Nazgûl. But Sauron is a being of vast influence, power and unnatural threat, a fact that is reinforced by Tolkien's repeated references to Sauron's "long arm."

Proverb Dueling

Sometimes Tolkien's characters trade proverbs; in that case the social context (admittedly, their context within the story world) implies that the phrases are folkloric. The characters may even use proverbial language differently than ordinary speech. One of the best examples of this occurs when Frodo, early in his quest, on the run from Hobbiton with Sam and Pippin, and recently frightened by the Black Riders, meets the High Elf Gildor Inglorion. In addition to discussing the Black Riders (though Gildor tells Frodo little about them other than that they are dangerous, which he had already surmised), the two discuss their personal histories, the nature of wizards, and their respective racial identities (this passage is also addressed in Boswell 1969, 61-62).

In the following quote from *FR*, Frodo has just asked Gildor if he should leave the Shire or wait to hear from Gandalf. In this exchange the proverbs are also typographically marked by being italicized.

Gildor: ““But it is said: *do not meddle in the affairs of Wizards, for they are subtle and quick to anger.* The choice is yours: to go or wait.

““And it is also said,” answered Frodo, ‘*Go not to the Elves for counsel, for they will say both no and yes.*’

““Is it indeed?’ laughed Gildor. ‘Elves seldom give unguarded advice, for advice is a dangerous gift, and all courses may run ill...’” (*FR*, I, iii, 82-83).

When Gildor avoids answering Frodo's question by using a proverb about Wizards, Frodo responds by giving his own proverb, this one about Elves. Then Gildor offers commentary on the Hobbit's proverb: he addresses its truth and fairness, ultimately admitting its applicability.

The next two conversations, in which characters use proverbs to debate the most appropriate future action, show us that Tolkien was aware that proverbs are not universal but culturally and contextually variable. In the following exchange from *FR*, Gimli and Elrond have a disagreement in which their points of view are wholly expressed through proverbs (for a discussion of proverbs used to disambiguate complex situations, see Lieber 1984). The Fellowship is about to leave Rivendell, and Elrond has just said that he will not require oaths from anyone but Frodo, since the journey will be more difficult than any of them realize. Gimli objects, saying:

“‘Faithless is he that says farewell when the road darkens,’

“... ‘Maybe,’ said Elrond, ‘but let him not vow to walk in the dark, who has not seen the nightfall.’”

“‘Yet sworn word may strengthen quaking heart,’ said Gimli.

“‘Or break it,’ said Elrond” (*FR*, II, iii, 274; listed Boswell 1969, 64, 65; see also Stanton 1996, 337).

This exchange also addresses the fact that proverbs can be contradictory. Various people have argued that since proverbial wisdom is often contradictory (does “absence make the heart grow fonder,” or is someone who is “out of sight, out of mind”?), proverbs are not true (discussed in Rogers 1986). As Yankah (1984) has pointed out, this argument assumes that any given proverb must be applicable in all contexts. The truth is that, depending on the people involved, how long they are apart, the depth of their feelings, and many other variables, sometimes absence makes the heart grow fonder, and sometimes it causes the other person to be “out of mind.” Tolkien is, essentially, making the point that proverbs are dependent on individual characters, situations, and circumstances. One proverb may be true in one

situation, and a contradictory proverb might be true in a different situation. This reflects not the applicability of the proverbs themselves, which rarely claim infallibility, but instead the ambiguity of different contexts. Note also that Gimli and Elrond are talking about future developments that neither can foresee (even Elrond, who seems to have some ability to predict the future) – they are arguing not about whether these proverbs are appropriate, but about the events to come and how the individuals in question might react.

Shortly after the Fellowship leaves Rivendell in *FR*, they come to an impasse – they cannot cross the mountain Caradhras in the snowstorm (which seems to be supernatural in origin), and they do not want to go through the Mines of Moria, an old Dwarven settlement that has probably been long abandoned. They are discussing this one night and unable to reach any consensus as to what to do when Frodo, to relieve the tension, comments that the wind is howling. Aragorn and Boromir, chief opponents in the disagreement, recognize that what they hear howling isn't the wind at all, but wolves. The following conversation ensues, in which Aragorn and Boromir continue their disagreement, though now it is as much about how to deal with the wolves that seem to be nearby as it is about their future route.

Boromir says, “‘The wolf that one hears is worse than the orc²¹ that one fears’” (*FR*, II, iv, 290). He is partially talking about the wolves themselves and the need to address immediate threats. But the proverb also applies to the question of whether to go through the Mines of Moria in that Boromir is reminding Aragorn (and the rest of the Fellowship) that their concerns about Moria are abstract, whereas they know that their current situation is untenable.

“‘True!’ said Aragorn, loosening his sword in its sheath. ‘But where the warg howls, there also the orc prowls’” (*FR*, II, iv, 290; see also Stanton 1996, 337). Here Aragorn, although initially admitting the justice of the first proverb, essentially negates it by implying that Orcs are likely to be accompanying the wolves. He is also, it seems to me, arguing that the stories about the dangers of the Mines of Moria strongly suggest that the Mines really are dangerous (sort of the Middle Earth equivalent to “where there’s smoke, there’s fire”). In addition to continuing both the argument about their route and the subject matter of the

first proverb, the second also offers linguistic parallels, in this case including the repetition of rhyme (“hears”/“fears,” “howls”/“prowls”) and parallel structure. Aragorn’s proverb concludes the proverbial duel/exchange and therefore appears to be the “winning” proverb, though in the case of the argument about the Mines of Moria, the larger argumentative context, it is not – the Fellowship decides against Aragorn’s wishes and goes through the Mines. Aragorn’s final, though perhaps not triumphant, proverb is not just the last one given, but also the shorter one – Boromir’s proverb consists of two sets of five syllables balanced around the word “than.” Aragorn’s proverb could, and probably would outside of this speech event, consist of two sets of only four syllables without a verb or comparative word separating them (“where the warg howls, there the orc prowls”). However, in this case, because he is responding to Boromir’s proverb, he adds the word “also,” allowing him to accept Boromir’s point (or appear to do so) before adding to it.

Proverbial Play

Tolkien (and his characters, as in the previous example of proverb dueling between Boromir and Aragorn) plays with both traditional proverbs and with his invented proverbs. By “play” I mean take standard proverbs and slightly but deliberately change them. There are many possible reasons a character, Tolkien himself, or anyone engaged in proverbial play, might want to make these slight adjustments. First, these new proverbs, much like parodies, simultaneously reference both the new and the old. So the anti-proverb “All that glitters is not dull” is only humorous in reference to the proverb on which it is based, “All that glitters is not gold.” Sometimes anti-proverbs change the order of the words in a proverb in order to change the meaning. The poem about Aragorn in the letter left by Gandalf for Frodo, which consists of many proverbs and proverbial expression, begins with the anti-proverb “All that is gold does not glitter” (*FR*, I, x, 167), obviously an inversion of the well-known “All that glitters is not gold.” But while the more familiar proverb means that some things look better than they actually are, the anti-proverb applied to Aragorn means that some things actually are much better than they look.

Play with traditional proverbs

First let us consider the play with traditional proverbs in Tolkien's Middle Earth. Frequently chapter titles reference proverbs, often by providing a slightly variant anti-proverb (a point observed by Trokhimenko 2003, 370, specifically in reference to *H*, chapter 14). Consider, for example, the title of Chapter III: "Three is Company" [*FR*], which plays with the traditional proverb "Two's company, three's a crowd." By referencing the proverb about three being too many, and then negating it by making three (instead of two) company, Tolkien reminds us how close the three Hobbits in question (Frodo, Sam and Pippin) are. It also highlights how alone they are (there are only three of them), which, since this chapter is where they first realize they are being hunted by the Black Riders, is important.

When the Hobbits are at Tom Bombadil's house, Tolkien describes their unusual and often eerie dreams (Frodo's is particularly significant, since he dreams about where Gandalf was and why he was unable to contact the Hobbits). Sam, however, is not troubled by dreams that night. Tolkien writes, "As far as he could remember, Sam slept through the night in deep content, if logs are contented" (*FR*, I, vii, 126). Here Tolkien plays with the well-known proverbial comparison "to sleep like a log" not by quoting it in its entirety but by referencing logs in the context of sleep. Note that, even though it is Tolkien as narrator who says this and not Sam himself, we still are reminded of Sam's rustic simplicity. It is hard to imagine the same phrase being applied to Aragorn or Gandalf, or even Frodo. Not only would it be too irreverent and earthy to apply to them, it would also be inappropriate because Aragorn, Gandalf and Frodo are all observant and usually on top of things. Sam's "sleeping like a log" reminds us that he is not the smartest or most observant member of the party.

The following example of proverbial play, on Gandalf's part this time, also references two different traditional proverbs. At the *FR* meeting in Rivendell various luminaries (and five Hobbits) discuss the history of the Ring and what should be done about it. After hearing the story of how the Ring was made, the first (and only somewhat successful) battle to overthrow Sauron in which the Ring was taken by the human Isildur, both the characters at the meeting and the readers could use some humor. And

they get it from a surprising place: from Gandalf the Wizard. Although Gandalf is given the place of honor and therefore the right to speak last (*FR*, II, ii, 243) at the meeting, and nearly everyone there (including kings and princes) defers to him, Gandalf takes this opportunity to make a self-deprecating reference to his temper. Later at this same meeting, Gandalf describes how he came to the Prancing Pony and was angry that the innkeeper hadn't sent the letter Gandalf had written to Frodo months before. Frodo, who liked the bartender, expresses concern about whether Gandalf was unpleasant to him. Gandalf says the following: "I did not bite, and I barked very little" (*FR*, II, ii, 257). This answer plays with two traditional proverbs: "His bark is much worse than his bite" and "Barking dogs don't bite." It also adds some much-needed humor to this long chapter in which much (not immediately exciting) back story is presented.

Interestingly, when Gandalf refers to himself, particularly in a critical manner, he frequently uses proverbial language. Gandalf is one of the most important characters in the series, and the only character to play major roles in both *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* (Elrond, Bilbo, Gollum and Glóin also show up in both books, though their roles are significantly more minor in *The Hobbit*, in Elrond's and Gollum's cases, or *The Lord of the Rings*, in Bilbo's and Glóin's cases). In spite of Gandalf's frequent presence in the series, readers rarely get a sense of his personality. Proverbial play allows Gandalf to safely (and somewhat less obviously) share his personality with the other characters in the series and therefore also with us, the readers. In this case, by referencing two different proverbs that talk about barking, Gandalf likens himself to a dog (not the best respected of animals). This in no way leaves the characters at the table (or the reader) with a negative impression of Gandalf's intellect or status; instead, it serves as a reminder that even Gandalf makes mistakes, is imperfect, and that he is able to acknowledge it. But this comparison is not all negative – dogs are also known for their loyalty and their persistence (also called "doggedness"), both traits that Gandalf has in abundance.

Earlier, at the Prancing Pony Inn, when the Hobbits first meet Aragorn, they are hesitant to accept his help. In the inn's common room, Frodo is led, by Pippin's thoughtlessness, into telling a story and singing a song, which he does by standing on

top of a table (he is, after all, only as tall as a Hobbit, and at an inn that caters to both Hobbits and “big people”). He slips on the table and, as he falls off, manages to put his finger into the Ring which he had been handling in his pocket. Embarrassed and aware that he has made his situation worse, he crawls over to where Aragorn is sitting. The following conversation occurs between them: “‘Well?’ said Strider [Aragorn], when he [Frodo] had reappeared. ‘Why did you do that? Worse than anything your friends could have said! You have put your foot in it! Or should I say your finger?’” (*FR*, I, ix, 157). Aragorn’s words play with the proverbial phrase “to put one’s foot in it,” meaning to involve oneself in a specific situation while also making it worse. This play is quite intentional in that it allows Aragorn to tell Frodo that he knows what’s going on while keeping his true meaning concealed from anyone else who might be listening. By changing “foot” to the alliterative “finger,” Strider indicates that he knows it is a ring that Frodo is dealing with. Tolkien also references Bilbo here, because in *The Hobbit* Bilbo is repeatedly described as “having put his foot in it” when he agreed to go with the Dwarves (*H*, I, 27; *H*, XII, 205). So the reader is reminded that both Frodo and the Ring have long histories (though admittedly the Ring’s is much longer) and connections to other people and places. The reader is also left with a glimpse of hope in one of the darkest chapters in *The Fellowship of the Ring*; since Bilbo survived, and indeed prospered after his journey, perhaps his nephew and heir Frodo will also be successful.

In the following passage we once again see Aragorn playing with a proverb in order to make a point. Aragorn and Merry are discussing their future route, and in response to Merry’s plan to cross first one river and, later another, Aragorn says, “‘One river at a time!’” (*FR*, I, xii, 195). This plays on two traditional proverbs: “One thing at a time!” and “We’ll cross that bridge when we come to it.” It also places these traditional sayings in the Fellowship’s immediate geographic context. Finally, it creates a specific type of anti-proverb by taking a usually metaphorical proverb and applying it literally, something that occurs frequently in Tolkien’s work, often to humorous effect.

The next example also shows us how a proverb that is usually meant to be understood metaphorically can actually be applied literally. Before Frodo and company leave Rivendell, Bilbo gives

Frodo the Mithril coat that, years before, Thorin had given to him as part of his payment for helping to recover the Dwarves' treasure from the dragon Smaug. In *FR*, Frodo puts it on and worries that it looks too ostentatious, so Bilbo suggests that he wear it under his regular clothes – where it will be able to protect him without being visible. Frodo puts his clothes on over the Mithril coat and Bilbo tells him, “‘Just a plain hobbit²² you look,’ said Bilbo. ‘But there is more about you now than appears on the surface’” (*FR*, II, iii, 271). The reference to more than appears on the surface (reminiscent of proverbs such as “Don’t judge a book by its cover” and “Still waters run deep”) is usually meant to be understood metaphorically, to mean that someone is more intelligent or interesting than he or she first appears. But in this case the phrase is meant to be taken literally: there is a physical object hidden beneath Frodo’s surface clothing.

The literal use of this typically metaphorical proverb is repeated many pages later in *FR* by Gandalf, who says, when Frodo is found to have inexplicably survived an Orc-chieftain’s spear thrust, “‘There is more about you than meets the eye, as I said of him [Bilbo] long ago’” (*FR*, II, v, 319, referring to *H*, 6, 104; *H*, 16, 257). Note that these two uses of the proverb offer slight variation in the phrasing (Bilbo’s “There is more about you... than appears on the surface” and Gandalf’s “There is more about you than meets the eye” [discussed Stanton 1996, 337]), much like proverbs in the real world, where multiple versions exist. Gandalf also, once again, equates Frodo and Bilbo. This ironically reminds us that the Ring is now evil, since what was more about Bilbo than met the eye was the Ring (and, of course, the hidden strength of his own character), but now the Ring is no longer an asset; instead, the secret Mithril coat is the wondrous asset that, as the Ring saved Bilbo years before in his escapes from Gollum and later the spiders, has saved Frodo’s life.

When the Fellowship flees from the Orcs in the Mines of Moria, they encounter a group of Elves. The Elves are able to talk to Legolas (who is also an Elf) and accept that the members of the Fellowship are friends in need of help. The exhausted Hobbits are led to flets up in the trees where they are offered blankets and told to rest. Tolkien describes the scene and then presents the following exchange between Pippin and Sam:

“...Pippin went on talking for a while. ‘I hope, if I do get to sleep in this bed-loft, that I shan’t roll off,’ he said.

“‘Once I do get to sleep,’ said Sam, ‘I shall go on sleeping, whether I roll off or no. And the less said, the sooner I’ll drop off, if you take my meaning’” (*FR*, II, vi, 335).

Here Sam, probably inadvertently (although if it is inadvertent he quickly catches it, as demonstrated by his adding, “if you take my meaning”), makes a pun out of the proverbial phrase “to drop off to sleep.”

Some of the characters’ linguistic play is carried from chapter to chapter or character to character. After Frodo, Sam and Pippin have left the Shire and encountered the Black Riders in *FR*, Frodo suggests that they should leave the road and cut across country, where perhaps they are less likely to be seen. “‘*Short cuts make long delays*,’ argued Pippin” (*FR*, I, iv, 86, italics in the original; listed Boswell 1969, 64). Pippin specifically laments missing the Golden Perch, an inn with “‘the best beer in the Eastfarthing.’” “‘That settles it!’ said Frodo. ‘Short cuts make delays, but inns make longer ones....’” (*FR*, I, iv, 86). Here Frodo’s response, in adding a new clause to the proverb Pippin used earlier, shows how intertwined the Hobbits’ language is and underscores their deep personal connection. Later in *FR*, when Sam sees a Black Rider at the top of a hill, Frodo references the same proverb again, “‘.... The short cut has gone crooked already...’” (*FR*, I, iv, 87).

Irrepressible Pippin continues to reference this proverb and, with it, his deep connection to Frodo. Soon after Aragorn (at this point in the story using the name Strider) joins the Hobbits (who are still not certain that they should trust him) in *FR*, he tells them that he has chosen a special route for them. This particular quote has already been discussed in this paper, though in another context.

“‘Not a “short cut,” I hope,’ said Pippin. ‘Our last short cut through woods nearly ended in disaster.’”

“‘Ah, but you had not got me with you then,’ laughed Strider. ‘My cuts, short or long, don’t go wrong’” (*FR*, I, xi, 177).

Pippin, by referencing both the experience that he, Sam and Frodo had and his linguistic banter with Frodo, reminds Aragorn that he is the new character here and that Pippin’s connection to Frodo is stronger. In retrospect, the reader realizes that this exchange is ironic, since Strider’s “cut” ultimately includes Weather-top, a large open hill on which Frodo is seen by the Black Riders, stabbed by their leader, and nearly dies. One could argue that any road Strider could have taken would have been dark, and that at least the “cut” he chose got all of the Hobbits and the Ring safely to Rivendell. But even if Strider’s path was the best possible one, it clearly does “go wrong” for Frodo and, nearly, the whole of Middle Earth.

Why does Tolkien (and why do his characters) play with these proverbs? Such play draws attention to the original, traditional proverb, as well as the newly created anti-proverb. Such references are often used to make connections (such as between Frodo and Bilbo) without being too obvious. Many readers probably don’t consciously recognize that, for example, the same proverb Gandalf applies to Frodo was also applied to Bilbo in *The Hobbit*. But some do (after all, many Tolkien fans reread *H* and *LotR* over and over again), and I suspect that even those who do not consciously remember that the same proverb was applied to Bilbo may be inexplicably reminded of Bilbo without realizing why.

Proverbial play also adds humor to an often dark plot. Tolkien’s work has been criticized for being overly serious, but it in actuality includes a lot of linguistic play, much of which is humorous. Some examples of such humor have been described in this essay. For Tolkien, a great lover of language, linguistic humor was doubtless greatly revered.

Proverbial play can also help to illustrate specific characters’ styles; for example, Frodo, Aragorn and Gandalf play with proverbs a lot. Sam rarely does (at least not on purpose); when he uses proverbs, he either uses them in a straightforward manner or, as we have seen in this article, he occasionally seems to use them without first thinking through their literal meaning. This

tells us something about their characters, comparative language skills, and their attitudes towards tradition and traditional authority. How they play with proverbs also tells us something about them. Gandalf is often slightly mocking (“as they say in Bree,” “I didn’t bite, and I barked very little”), Aragorn reassuring, while Frodo and particularly Bilbo seem to enjoy the play primarily in terms of humor and language.

Conclusions

When I began this project, I expected that the character who used the most proverbs would be Sam, thinking that it would fit his folk/working-class character and values. In assuming this I misjudged Tolkien’s appreciation for proverbs, because although Sam does use proverbs throughout the series, both Aragorn and Gandalf use many more. It seems that, to Tolkien, proverbs are not just remnants of lost wisdom; they are still part of how the wise understand and explain the world around them. This fits the romantic, nostalgic style that is so prominent in Tolkien’s fiction. In this I disagree with Stanton 1996 and Trokhimenko 2003, who seem to assume that when the wise use generalized terms they are not using proverbs and proverbial phrases.

Critics of Tolkien’s fiction often accuse him of employing very little humor in his epic tales. This exploration of his use of proverbial phrases shows that there is in fact a great deal of humor in Tolkien’s storytelling, particularly in his use of language. Tolkien uses proverbial language, both made-up and traditional, to flesh out characters, to illustrate relationships between characters, to describe plot developments, and to make his world more believable and to give it historical depth. In the next section we will see how some of his made up proverbial expressions have become proverbs in the real world, at least among avid readers of his fiction.

Ultimately Tolkien’s use of proverbs addresses a question dear to many folklorists’ hearts: what is the relationship between dynamism and conservatism, tradition and innovation? How much of any given speech event follows previous models, even to the point of the rote use of words without thinking about their meaning? We know that people sometimes use language without considering its literal meaning – lots of people use proverbial comparisons such as “black as pitch” without understanding

what “pitch” is (except, of course, that it is very dark). Yet even in using a phrase that has been used thousands of times before, the speaker (whether a “real” person or a character in a text) is using it in some unique context or style. Human creative expression is always both traditional and innovative. Proverbial play, in taking a familiar traditional text and updating it, draws attention to this continual tension. It does this in Tolkien’s Middle Earth just as much as it does in everyday interactions.

Tolkien Fans’ Proverbial Play

Tolkien fans have continued this play with proverbs, both old and new. One proverb that Tolkien fans have deliberately picked up is Gildor’s phrase about Wizards: “Do not meddle in the affairs of Wizards, for they are subtle and quick to anger” (*FR*, I, iii, 82). This has been incorporated into bumper stickers, e-mail tag lines, and fan fiction. Here we have an example of a proverb invented by an author to give his world an apparent history being brought into real-world speech. Fans have even formed anti-proverbs around this proverb created by Tolkien (such as “Do not meddle in the affairs of wizards, for you are crunchy and taste good with ketchup”). This anti-proverb has moved beyond Middle Earth by being applied not only to wizards, but also to dragons (“do not meddle in the affairs of dragons, for you are crunchy and taste good with ketchup”) and witches (I purchased a bumper sticker in Yellow Springs, Ohio, home of the progressive Antioch College, that says “Do not Meddle in the Affairs of Witches” – notice that this example omits the second half of the proverb, perhaps with the knowledge that most readers will be able to supply it themselves). Here we see a proverb that Tolkien invented for Middle Earth being used in real-world speech, being transformed into an anti-proverb, and even being applied to new subjects. So a fictional proverb has passed into real-world currency.

Notes:

¹ Although *LotR* is often referred to as a trilogy, Tolkien conceived of it as a single work with six sections. All *LotR* page numbers refer to Tolkien 2003 unless otherwise indicated.

² Tolkien also used proverbial language in personal situations; for example, in the summer of 1966 he wrote in his diary that, “So much time has been wasted in all

my work by this constant breaking of threads” (quoted in Anderson 1994, x). In using this proverb Tolkien explained why it took him so long to complete the series.

³ Stanton uses the phrase “Advice is a dangerous gift” as part of the title of his excellent article, implicitly indicating that it is a proverb. However, within the text itself, Tolkien does *not* indicate, either through the use of italics or through direct spoken reference to the phrase’s antiquity, that “Advice is a dangerous gift” is, in fact, a proverb. I mention this not to criticize Stanton (I agree with him that it does seem to be a proverb, or at least proverbial) but to illustrate the challenges inherent in determining which phrases are proverbial and which are not in a literary context. Such ambiguity has also prevented me from quantifying the number of proverbs in *H* and *LotR*, though it will be clear in this article that I think there are far more than previous estimates (see, for example, Boswell 1969 and Stanton 1996).

⁴ The Inklings were a group of intellectual men, most of them associated with Oxford University, who shared interests in Medieval history and literature, the fantastic, and language. In addition to Tolkien, important members of the Inklings include Charles Williams and C.S. Lewis.

⁵ Throughout this paper the term “race” is used as Tolkien used it: to distinguish different humanoids, such as Elves, Hobbits, Humans, Dwarves, Orcs, or Trolls. When different types of humans are indicated (such as the Rohirrim, the Númenóreans, or the wildmen/Woses/Púkel-men), I use the term “ethnicity.”

⁶ The word “Hobbit” is not capitalized in the letter, so I have left it in lower-case here.

⁷ I have followed Tolkien in usually capitalizing race names, including “Elves,” “Dwarves,” and “Orcs.”

⁸ Tolkien’s language can rarely if ever be considered “standard”; he deliberately used archaic vocabulary and sentence structure and many poetic devices. Also, each of his characters has a distinct “voice.”

⁹ When Tolkien was writing, folk-lore (then two words) was generally focused, especially in England, on oral forms. So when Tolkien contrasts literary and folk-lore versions, he is referring not to the phrase’s traditionality, as most of us would now assume, but to its literariness or orality.

¹⁰ This is not unique to proverbs; as Taylor notes (1985), most folklore genres are problematic to define.

¹¹ Throughout this paper I do not distinguish between proverbs and their close allies, proverbial phrases. I am specifically interested in traditional sayings and sayings that are designed to appear traditional, which would include both proverbs and proverbial phrases.

¹² Citations from Tolkien follow the style (title abbreviation, book, chapter, page) used in the journal *Tolkien Studies*. Pages are, as stated in Endnote 1, taken from Tolkien 2003, a single-volume version of *LotR*.

¹³ Whether Shakespeare created the many proverbs he uses in his plays and poetry or merely used already existing traditional proverbs, though an interesting topic, is beyond the scope of this article.

¹⁴ A point already made and discussed by Stanton 1996; see especially 333.

¹⁵ Because proverbs are conservative, they often use gender-specific pronouns such as “he” assuming that “he” could apply to a female or a male subject. In the

conservative language frequently used in proverbs, this "he" serves as a synonym for "a person." The familiar "He who laughs last laughs best" also uses the gender-specific "he" as a general pronoun. However, many people using this proverb would expect that **she** who laughs last would laugh better than a he who laughed slightly earlier.

¹⁶ Though both Boswell 1969 and Stanton 1996 argue that they don't, though Stanton admits (334) that "Where there's a whip, there's a way" is a proverb.

¹⁷ Interestingly, Sam uses proverbs that talk about thirds at least twice (Stanton 1996 340), perhaps allowing Tolkien to reinforce Gollum's hobbit-like nature while also comparing two characters who are frequently antagonists, Sam and Gollum.

¹⁸ Stanton 1996, 334, parenthetically notes that, "With one exception... , creatures like Orcs and Trolls do not figure in this census [of beings who use proverbial expressions], since they are only counterfeits of other races, perverted by uncreative Evil." It is true that there are few proverbs spoken by Orcs or Goblins (though some do occur in *H*), but we get so little direct speech from Orcs or Goblins that I think it isn't reasonable to argue that Orcs don't use proverbs. Our sample size is simply too small and (unsurprisingly given that Stanton's analysis is confined to *LotR*) doesn't account for the examples of Goblins using proverbs in *H*.

¹⁹ Thanks to Dr. Jeremy Wallach for pointing this out.

²⁰ Thanks to Dr. Wolfgang Mieder for pointing this out.

²¹ Tolkien 2003 doesn't capitalize this word, so neither have I.

²² Tolkien does not capitalize this word, so neither have I.

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EL LADO OSCURO DEL 3: EN PAREMIAS Y FRASEOLOGISMOS DEL ESPAÑOL Y DEL GRIEGO*

Abstract: In several European languages concepts that express something positive or negative by the cardinal numeral three or the ordinal third or even by a triad have been fixed in proverbs and idioms. This article focuses on the negative side only of this figure, as diachronically appears in Spanish and Greek languages, without discarding other European languages. We believe that the negative feature of the number three has its cultural origins in the Greco-Roman world, and more specifically in Greek mythology, and that its transmission would be done through the Jungian “collective unconscious.” The negative symbolism of this figure would be the source of some metaphors, which would have been fixed in phraseological units.

Keywords: proverbs, phraseologisms, phraseological units, negative symbolism of number three.

En nuestro imaginario el número tres está cargado de connotaciones esotéricas y simbólicas positivas. Recordemos por ejemplo que representa la síntesis espiritual en muchas religiones: la Santísima Trinidad (Padre-Hijo-Espíritu Santo) en el cristianismo; Trimurti (Brahma-Vishnu-Shiva o Creador-Conservador-Destructor) en el hinduismo; la Tríada osiríaca (Osiris-Isis-Horus) en el antiguo Egipto; etc. Asimismo, a través del cristianismo tenemos imágenes y conceptos tan positivos como los tres Reyes Magos o las tres Virtudes Teologales (Fe-Esperanza-Caridad) (Cooper, 55, 509; Cirlot, 336; Buitrago, 514). No obstante, la otra cara de la moneda nos indica que el tres también es usado para expresar ideas negativas.

En varias lenguas europeas se han institucionalizado (es decir, fijado por repetición de sus hablantes) conceptos a través de unidades fraseológicas (ya sean colocaciones, locuciones, pare-

mias o fórmulas discursivas rutinarias) que expresan algo positivo o negativo a través del tres o de una tríada.

En este trabajo nos centramos en unidades fraseológicas del español y del griego moderno, sin descartar otras lenguas europeas (en caso de que hayamos encontrado equivalencias), en las que aparece el numeral cardinal *tres* o el ordinal *tercero/la* asociado a un concepto negativo o en las que se presenta una tríada de carácter negativo.

Las agrupaciones de tres en tres constituyen “una peculiar estructura de pensamiento” para reunir conceptos filosóficos, científicos, religiosos, políticos, culturales, etc., ya utilizadas desde la Antigüedad (Wikipedia, tríada). Valga de ejemplo esta frase atribuida a Tales de Mileto (c.625/4-c.547/6 a.C.): *Τριῶν τούτων ἔνεκα χάριν ἔχω τῇ τύχῃ πρῶτον ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ οὐ θηρίον, εἶτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή, τρίτον ὅτι Ἕλληνας καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος* (Papazafeiri p.35) [Por estas tres cosas agradezco a la suerte: primero porque nací humano y no fiera, después porque hombre y no mujer, tercero porque griego y no bárbaro].¹

El lado oscuro del tres ya estaba presente en el pensamiento de los griegos antiguos, y en su imaginario mitológico contaban con diosas y seres que vinculaban el tres al peligro, al terror, a algo negativo en definitiva. Estas imágenes, asociadas negativamente al tres, pasaron a través de los romanos a gran parte de los pueblos europeos; se renovaron durante el Renacimiento y el Neoclasicismo y llegaron hasta nosotros. Así pues, el destino estaba personificado en las Moiras, cuyo número terminó fijándose en tres y a las que los romanos llamaron Parcas; la ctónica diosa de las artes mágicas, Hécate, reina de los fantasmas, era representada en forma triple; las diosas de la venganza, que perseguían a los culpables de ciertos crímenes, eran las también ctónicas Erinias, que los romanos llamaron Furias y de las que Virgilio nombró tres (Alecto, Megera y Tisífone); tres eran las terribles Gorgonas (Medusa, Esteno y Euríale); el guardián de las puertas del Hades era el Can Cerbero, monstruo de tres cabezas en la tradición más común; Escila, el monstruo marino que habitaba en un estrecho paso marítimo en cuyo lado opuesto estaba Caribdis, algunas veces fue representada con una cola triple, otras con tres perros partiendo de su cintura, y se dice que poseía tres apretadas hileras de afilados dientes; la Quimera fue descrip-

ta por algunos como un monstruo de tres cabezas: una de león, otra de macho cabrío, que le salía del lomo, y la última de dragón, que nacía en la cola. Por lo tanto, no en vano los griegos utilizan en la actualidad la frase proverbial *Μου πήγε τρεις και* (Brillouët T156) [Me fue tres y] y sus variantes *Μου πήγε τρεις και μία/πέντε* (Brillouët T156) [Me fue tres y una/cinco], aludiendo quizá a un triple salto del corazón o del alma, cuando quieren expresar que algo los asustó o aterrorizó, o la frase proverbial *Τριτώνει το κακό* (Tsoroni p.445) [Se triplica el mal] para referirse a males que se repiten, al menos tres veces; mientras que en español decimos *No hay dos sin tres* (Buitrago p.514) para asegurar “que tras dos sucesos, negativos o positivos, ha de llegar por fuerza el tercero”.

La tríada es una forma habitual de establecer estructuras, divisiones y periodizaciones de nuestro mundo cognitivo, puesto que constituye un recurso mnemotécnico (Wikipedia, tríada). Así pues, según Venizelos, los antiguos griegos decían *Κάρες, Κύλικες, Καππαδόκες* [Cáreos, Cílices, Capadosios] o sea mencionaban los habitantes de tres regiones del Asia Menor en la Antigüedad, para referirse a gente no estimable, si inferimos del refrán en desuso, que recoge en su refranero griego decimonónico: *Τρία Κάππα κάκιστα, δύο Μι παγκάκιστα, Κρήτη, Κύπρος και Κεφαλονιά, Μυτιλήνη και Μοριάς* (Venizelos T599) [Tres Kappas malísimo, dos Mi pésimo: Creta, Chipre y Cefalonia, Mitilene y Morea].

No es la única paremia griega que agrupa tres ciudades, localidades o islas, cuyos pobladores son vistos negativamente, como en el refrán aún en uso *Αθηναίοι και Θηβαίοι και κακοί Μυτιληναίοι, άλλα λέγουν το βράδυ κι' άλλα κάνουν το ταχύ* (Kapsalis A58) [Atenienses, Tebanos y malos Mitileneos, una cosa dicen de noche y otra hacen rápidamente]. Ferentinou (p.12) explica que este refrán nos llega desde la época de Alejandro Magno, cuando los habitantes de estas ciudades, incumpliendo lo acordado, se negaron a enviar sus ejércitos para la campaña militar contra los persas organizada por el gran estratega heleno. Asimismo, se emplea la frase proverbial *Η σάρα, η μάρα και το κακό συναπάντημα* (Ferentinou p.102) [La chusma, la corrupción y el mal encuentro]² cuando hay gente reunida, la cual desestimamos.

Refranes con sentido negativo que agrupan tres elementos encontramos tanto en griego como en español. Así pues, el *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* recoge la paremia *Θάλασσα καὶ πῦρ καὶ τρίτον κακὴ γυνή* (M IV 61) [Mar y fuego y tercero mala mujer], la cual ha pasado a refraneros actuales en diferentes variantes: *Θάλασσα, πῦρ καὶ γυνή, κακὰ τρία* (Kapsalis Θ8) [Mar, fuego y mujer, tres males], *Τρία του κόσμου τ' αγαθά, τρία καὶ τα κακά του, φωτιά, γυναίκα, θάλασσα* (Kapsalis T786) [Tres las cosas buenas del mundo, tres también sus cosas malas: fuego, mujer, mar], *Γυνή, φωτιά καὶ θάλασσα, τα τρία ανταμωμένα, τα πιο χειρότερα κακά στον κόσμο είναι δομένα* (Kapsalis Γ169) [Mujer, fuego y mar, las tres cosas halladas, los peores males al mundo han sido dados].

La desacreditación sexista de la mujer se refleja en refranes españoles que igualmente presentan una tríada: *Tres cosas hay que nadie sabe cómo han de ser: el melón, el toro y la mujer* (Doval p.440), y *Tres cosas echan al hombre de casa: el humo, la gotera y la mujer vocinglera* (Campos 1089). Este último refrán tiene su origen en un proverbio medieval en latín, cuyas variantes, tal como apunta Pascual López (p.160), son: *Sunt tria damna domus: imber mala femina, fumus* [Tres daños tiene la casa: la lluvia, la mala mujer y el humo] y *Tria sunt, quae expellunt hominem de domo, scilicet fumus et stillicidium et mala esposa* [Tres son las cosas que echan al hombre de su casa, a saber: el humo, la lluvia y la mala esposa³].⁴ Por otra parte, existen otros refranes en los que aparece la cifra tres conectada a un concepto negativo de la mujer: *Tres hijas y una madre, cuatro diablos para el padre* (Núñez 7965; Junceda p. 467), *Tres veces Juan se casó y con tres suegras vivió; si al infierno no fue, aquí lo pasó* (Docal p.441), *Tres eran, tres, las hijas de Elena; tres eran, tres, y ninguna era buena* (Junceda p.467); así como en otras paremias griegas: *Η γυναίκα έχει τρεις πέτσες. Η μια κόβεται όταν παντρευθεί, η δεύτερη όταν γεννήσει, κι' η τρίτη όταν τα φτιάσει μ' άλλον* (Kapsalis H104) [La mujer tiene tres pieles. Una se corta cuando se casa, la segunda cuando pare, y la tercera cuando se ennovia con otro], *Τρεις που με είχες, τρεις που σ' είχα, και τρεις που είναι το παιδί* (Kapsalis T777) [Tres que me tuviste, tres que te tuve y tres que está el niño] y su variante *Τρεις που με είχες, τρεις που σ' είχα, και*

τρεις που 'χει το παιδί (Kapsalis T777 nota 168) [Tres que me tuviste, tres que te tuve y tres que tiene el niño], y *Τρεις γυναίκες κάνουν μια αγορά και τέσσερις ένα πανηγύρι* (Kapsalis T771) [Tres mujeres hacen un mercado y cuatro una verbena].

La idea de alboroto asociada al tres aparece en el refrán *Τρεις βλάχοι, δυο παζάρια* (Kaplanoglou 578) [Tres paletos, dos mercados], así como la idea de intransigencia: *Tres españoles, cuatro opiniones* (Junceda p.467) y *Δυο νομάτοι, τρεις κουβέντες* (Kapsalis Δ202) [Dos personas, tres charlas]. La indiferencia e insensibilidad, así como también la incoherencia la encontramos en *Τρεις λαλούν και δυο χορεύουν* (Kapsalis T774; Ferentinou p.244; Stratigakis 368) [Tres hablan y dos bailan] y en la frase proverbial *Τρία πουλάκια κάθονταν...* (Babiniotis, τρεις) [Tres pajaritos se asentaban...], la avaricia en *Τρεις τ' αυγό, κι' ο κρόκος χώρια* (Kapsalis T780) [Tres el huevo, y la yema aparte] o en la variante *Τρεις κι αυγό, κι ο κροκός στη μέση* (Venizelos T599) [Tres y huevo, y la yema en el medio], el engaño y el fraude están recogidos en *Τέσσερις παίζουν, τρεις μοιράζουν* (Kapsalis T178) [Cuatro juegan, tres reparten] y *Τρεις το λάδι, τρεις το ξίδι, έξι το λαδόξιδο* (Ferentinou p.244; Babiniotis, τρεις) [Tres el aceite, tres el vinagre, seis la vinagreta], los cálculos errados y la incoherencia se ven en *Δυο ζευγάρια τρία βόδια* (Kapsalis Δ190) [Dos parejas tres bueyes] o *Τρία βόδια, δυο ζευγάρια* (Kaplanoglou 579) [Tres bueyes, dos parejas].

El tres, asociado a la mala salud, aparece en refranes médicos españoles: *Tres estornudos, resfriado seguro* (Doval 1734), *Tres jarabes y una purga; venga premio y anda, mula* (Campos 1969) dicho contra quienes buscan el lucro y no cumplen con su deber, *Aceituna, una; dos, mejor, y tres, peor* o su variante *Aceituna, una es oro; dos, plata, y la tercera, mata* (Campos 28). Una vez muerto *Τρεις πήγες χώμα φτάνουν και για το μεγαλύτερο άνθρωπο* (Kapsalis T776) [Tres codos de tierra alcanzan hasta para la mayor persona].

Los períodos de tres, conectados a algo negativo, se manifiestan en el refrán meteorológico español *El cielo aborregado, antes de tres días bañado* (Campos 954) y en el dístico griego *Του Φλεβάρη αν οι τρεις του καλές όλες του κακές, / μ' αν οι τρεις του κακές, όλες του καλές* (Kapsalis T709) [De febre-

ro si tres días son buenos el resto son malos./ pero si tres son malos, el resto son buenos], así como en el refrán laboral *Ένα χρόνο άσκαφτο, τρία χρόνια έρημο* (Kapsalis E204) [Un año sin escavar, tres años desierto] y en el dístico decapentasílabo *Τρεις μήνες είναι η άνοιξη και τρεις το καλοκαίρι./ τρεις μήνες το χινόπωρο και τρεις βαρύς χειμώνας* (Kapsalis T775) [Tres meses es la primavera y tres el verano./ tres meses el otoño y tres pesado invierno]. También se observa en el refrán *Cedacito nuevo, tres días en estaca* y su variante *Cedazuelo nuevo, tres días en estaca* (Campos 915), en el refrán griego *Τρυγονίτσας κόμπωμα, τριών χρόνωνε σκόνταμα* (Kapsalis T791) [Engaño de tortolita, tropezón de tres años] y en el anátoma, en dístico decapentasílabo, *Ανάθεμα που δούλεψε τα τρία καλά Σάββατα./ της Κριατινής, της Τυρινής και των Αγιο-Θοδώρων* (Kapsalis A224) [Maldito que trabajó los tres buenos sábados./ de Kriatiní, de Tiriní y de los Santos Teodoros]⁵ y su variante *Ανάθεμα που δούλεψε τούτα τα τρία τα Σάββατα./ της Κριατινής, της Τυρινής και των Αγιο-Θοδώρων* (Kapsalis A224 nota 43) [Maldito que trabajó estos tres sábados./ de Kriatiní, de Tiriní y de los Santos Teodoros].

Un período de tiempo de tres semanas unido a una dificultad o necesidad extrema se da en un refrán que constituye un calco traductológico en varias lenguas romance; hoy decimos *A pan de quinze días, hambre de tres semanas*, pero en los refraneros de Santillana (23), Vallés (81) y Núñez (739) aparece como *A pan de quinze días, hambre de dos semanas*; los gallegos dicen *A pan de quinze días, fame de tres semanas*, los catalanes *A pa de quinze dies, fam de tres setmanes*, los portugueses *A pão de quinze dias, fome de três semanas* y los italianos *A pane di quindici giorni fame di tre settimane* (Sevilla: *Refranero multilingüe*). El DRAE recoge el sintagma *Hambre de tres semanas* usado “cuando alguien, por puro melindre, muestra repugnancia a ciertos alimentos, o no quiere comer a sus horas, por estar ya satisfecho”.

Hospedar a alguien por largo tiempo puede resultar oneroso, de ahí que una glosa de Erasmo de Róterdam a una paremia latina haya sido fuente de un refrán con una amplia equivalencia semántica y formal en varias lenguas europeas, en que el tres es el detonante. De *Piscis nequam est nisi recens* [El pescado solo vale cuando es reciente] comentó Erasmo: «manet in hunc usque

diem vulgo celebre. Dicitur autem peculiariter in hospitem aut vulgarem amicum qui primo quidem adventu non ingratus est, ceterum ante triduum exactum putet», que dio origen al refrán español *El huésped y el pez, a los tres días hiedelapesta* y al griego *Ο μουσαφίρης και το ψάρι την τρίτη μέρα βρωμάει* (Kapsalis O372) [El huésped y el pescado al tercer día apesta], pero también al catalán *L'hoste i el peix menut, més de tres dies put*, al gallego *O hóspede e o peixe, aos tres días feden*, al portugués *O hóspede e o peixe aos três dias aborrechem*, al italiano *L'ospite è come il pesce: dopo tre giorni puzza*, al francés *L'hôte et le poisson, en trois jours poison*, al alemán *Ein Gast ist wie ein Fisch, er bleibt nicht lange Frisch*, al inglés *Fish and guests smell after three days*, al húngaro *Harmadnapra mind a hal, mind a vendég büdös*, aunque se conoce y se usa mucho más su sinónimo *Akármilyen kedves vendég, három napig untig elég* [El huésped, por muy querido que sea, durante tres días es más que suficiente], al vasco *Arraina eta arrotza, heren egunak karatzez, (usain txarrez) kanpora deragotza (bota)* (Sevilla: *Refranero multilingüe*).

La frase proverbial *A la tercera va la vencida* o *A las tres va la vencida* (Campos 3357) adquiere un sentido negativo dicho “como en son de amenaza, a quien, habiendo cometido ya dos faltas, no se le quiere perdonar una más”, especialmente si la vinculamos al refrán griego *Μια του κλέφτη, δυο του κλέφτη, τρεις και την κακή του μέρα* (Babiniotis κλέφτης) [Una al ladrón, dos al ladrón, tres y su mal día], así como su variante *Μια του φίλου, δυο του φίλου, τρεις και την κακή του μέρα* (Kapsalis M260) [Una al amigo, dos al amigo, tres y su mal día] proveniente del fragmento de *Trabajos y días* de Hesíodo (vv.401-3): *δὲς μὲν γὰρ καὶ τρεῖς τάχα τεύξεαι ἦν δ' ἔτι λυπῆς./ χρῆμα μὲν οὐ πρόξεις, σὺ δ' ἐτώσια πόλλ' ἀγορεύσεις./ ἀχρεῖος δ' ἔσται ἐπέων νομός.* (Kapsalis M260 nota 44) [Porque de momento lo conseguirás dos y hasta tres veces; pero si todavía los sigues molestando, no lograrás nada, sino que tú dirás muchas cosas en vano, e inútil será un pastizal de palabras].⁶ En tal caso, solo quedaría decirle *Τρεις ἢ τρεις εννιά, άδειασέ μας τη γωνιά* (Kapsalis T773) [Tres o tres nueve, vacíanos el rincón].

Los secretos no pueden ser conocidos por tres personas pues dejan de serlo, tal como advierten refranes griegos y españoles:

Μυστικό που το ξέρουν τρεις, το ξέρει πλήθος κόσμος (Kapsalis M332) [Secreto que lo conocen tres, lo conoce multitud de gente] o la variante *Μυστικό που το ξέρουν τρεις, το ξέρουν τρεις αλλά και εκατό ένδεκα* (Kapsalis M332 nota 58) [Secreto que lo conocen tres, lo conocen tres pero también ciento once], *Lo que saben tres, sábelo toda res* (Campos 3011), refrán que recogía Hernán Núñez a mediados del siglo XVI pero que ya aparecía en la novela anónima *Libro del Caballero Zifar*, compuesto hacia 1300.

La idea de que tres es algo negativo o perjudicial la encontramos en el refrán *Dos es compañía, tres es multitud*, cuya variante es *Dos son compañía, tres son multitud*, con equivalencia formal y semántica en inglés *Two is company, three is a crowd*, y solo semántica en polaco, donde también aparece el tres como negativo, *Gdzie dwóch, tam rada; gdzie trzech, tam zdrada* [Donde hay dos, hay consejo; donde hay tres, hay pelea] (Sevilla: *Refranero multilingüe*). No obstante, el tres también es usado para expresar exigüidad, como en la locución nominal *Tres gatos* (Cantera, gato), también dicha con el numeral cuatro, cuya variante diatópica uruguaya es *Cuatro/ tres gatos locos*. Asimismo, se expresa el poco número de personas en griego mediante la locución nominal *Τρεις κι ο κούκος* (Babiniotis, τρεις) [Tres y el cuco], completada por algunos con el adjunto *Τρεις κι ο κούκος όλοι κι όλοι, για να πάρουμε την Πόλη* (Ferentinou p.244) [Tres y el cuco, no más, para tomar la Ciudad],⁷ que crea ritmo a través de la rima, además de darle un tono humorístico. La compañía de tres es igualmente incompleta, tal como expresa el refrán griego *Στο τραπέζι τρεις δε στέκουν καλά, αν δεν είναι κι' ο τέταρτος* (Kapsalis Σ245) [A la mesa tres no están bien, si no está también el cuarto] y llega a ser muy molesto cuando ya son tres los que tratan de convencernos de algo: *Οι δυο τον ένα πείθουν τον κι' οι τρεις καταπονούν τον* (Kapsalis O157) [Los dos a uno convencen y los tres lo extenuan]. También está ligado el tres al exceso en las paremias *Tres veces sí quieren decir no* (Doval p.441) *Dos negaciones afirman; pero tres confirman* (Doval 156) y a la falta de espacio cuando se está muy apretado como en la comparativa estereotipada *Como tres en un zapato* (Cantera, como).

El vínculo del tres a ideas negativas aparece en otras paremias españolas relacionadas con: problemas o disgustos: *De ca-*

da canto,⁸ *tres leguas de mal quebranto*, que en la famosa tragi-comedia *La Celestina* (IV) tiene la forma *A cada cabo*⁹ *hay tres leguas de mal quebranto* (Campos 579); los cambios: *Tres mudanzas equivalen a un incendio* (Doval 277), “aforismo popularizado en todo el mundo por Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), que alude a lo mucho que se pierde, y se rompe o estropea, al trasladar los muebles y enseres de una casa a otra”; la necedad e ignorancia: *A dos palabras tres porradas* (Campos 2639); la inhabilidad: *Tres al saco, y el saco en tierra* (Campos 3088); la astucia: *Hombre bellaco, tres barbas*¹⁰ *o cuatro* (Campos 1878); el derroche o mal gasto: *Ahorrar para la vejez, ganar un maravedí y beber tres* (Campos 3352). El tres se muestra asimismo negativo en la frase proverbial *Δε νογάει να μοιράσει τριών βοϊδιών άχερα* (Kapsalis Δ82) [No sabe repartir paja a tres bueyes] y en su variante *Δε νογάει να μοιράσει τριών γομαριών άχερα* (Kapsalis Δ82 nota 11) [No sabe repartir paja a tres bestias], dicha actualmente de quien no sabe hacer ni hasta lo más simple.

El tres y el esquema triádico están presentes en una paremia griega que critica a los popes: *Οι παπάδες οι φαγάδες έχουν τρία στόματα. Μ' ένα πίνουν, μ' ένα τρώνε και με τ' άλλο ρωτούν μήπως πέθανε κανείς* (Kapsalis O167) [Los comilones popes tienen tres bocas. Con una beben, con otra comen y con la otra preguntan si quizás murió alguien], como también en la frase proverbial española que criticaba importantes instituciones de la España de la época Moderna, la Santa Cruzada, la Santa Inquisición, la Santa Hermandad y el Honrado Consejo de la Mesta: *Tres santas y un honrado traen al pueblo agobiado* (Junceda p. 467) y que “hoy se dice cuando hay que atender a demasiados mandos, cada uno proveniente de una persona distinta”. También están presentes en los refranes morales *Tres muchos y tres pocos destruyen los hombres locos: mucho gastar y poco tener, mucho hablar y poco saber, mucho presumir y poco valer* (Doval p.440), que Núñez recogía en la forma *Tres muchos destruyen al hombre: mucho hablar y poco saber, mucho gastar y poco tener, mucho presumir y poco valer* (7966), y *Tres cosas demando si Dios me las diere; la tela, el telar y la que la teje* (Núñez 7970; Campos 1088) que “reprende a los ambiciosos que con nada se contentan”. De igual modo encontramos una visión negativa junto al tres y la formación triádica en el refrán *Pato*,

ganso y ansarón, tres cosas suenan y una son (Campos 2729), que “reprende a los que usan de muchas palabras para decir una misma cosa” y en los refranes sefardíes, que guardan parecida estructura sintáctica: *Tres cozas feas ay en el mundo: rico mentirozo, prove gaviento, y viezho putañero* (Cantera 2004, 4140), *Tres cozas quitan al ombre del mundo: eshar y no dormir, esperar y no venir, faser y no agradecer* (Cantera 2004, 4141) y *Tres cozas son de morir: asperar y no venir, asentarse a la meza y no comer, esharse a la cama y no dormir* (Cantera 2004, 4142).

Ganar muy poco se expresa en griego mediante la locución numérica con estructura de binomio (*Παίρνει τρεις και εξήντα* [(Gana) tres y sesenta], que tiene su equivalente semántico en francés, también con el numeral tres: (*Il gagne*) *trois fois rien* (Brillouët T155). En español para expresar que algo no se puede realizar, a pesar de los varios intentos, lo hacemos mediante la locución adverbial coloquial *Ni a la de tres* (DRAE; Seco, tres) o también *Ni a tres tirones* (Cantera, tirón). Molestar o fastidiar a alguien lo manifestamos eufemísticamente y en sentido humorístico a través de la locución verbal *Tocar [a alguien] las tres de la tarde* (Seco, tres). Negamos “enfáticamente lo que alguien acaba de decir”, o comentamos “lo equivocada que está la persona que lo ha dicho” mediante la fórmula coloquial *Y tres más*, como en el ejemplo que da Seco “*—Me ha dicho que quiere que le dejes el coche. —Y tres más” (Seco, tres). “Algo muy difícil a pesar de lo fácil que pueda parecer” se hace *A dos tiros y tres tirones* (Cantera, tiro). Para describir la situación de los novios que han regañado se utiliza la locución verbal coloquial *Andar a las tres menos cuartillo* (Cantera, andar). “Meterse en complicaciones inútiles” es *Buscar tres pies al gato* (Cantera, buscar), que también decimos con el numeral cinco. Ver muy mal o no ver nada es *No ver tres en un burro* (García-Page p.366); algo que queda muy lejos está *Donde Cristo dio las tres voces* (García-Page p.366). “Para denotar y ponderar la poca estimación, aprecio y valor de algo” se usa la locución adjetiva *De tres al cuarto* (DRAE; García-Page p.366), y para demostrar insatisfacción por la repetición de algo se dice *¡Tres cuartos de lo mismo!* (García-Page p.367).

Finalmente, es larga la lista de locuciones que empleamos los hispanohablantes para expresar que algo no nos importa o que importa poco y que incluyen el numeral tres: *Importar tres*

narices/ tres pares de narices/ tres pepinos/ rábanos/ cominos/ pitos (Cantera, importar). Mientras que en griego expresamos irónicamente indiferencia, ante algo que no nos importa, a través de la fórmula de carácter vulgar *Μου έκανες τα τρία, δύο* [Me hiciste los tres, dos], con clara referencia a los órganos sexuales masculinos.

Por otra parte, en griego moderno el prefijo *τρεις-* [tres-] refuerza el sentido del adjetivo al cual se antepone, al igual que los prefijos *τέτρα-* [cuatro-] y *πέντα-* [cinco-], siendo generalmente fonético el motivo de la elección del prefijo, como por ejemplo en los compuestos *τρισεχιρότερος* [tres veces peor], *τρισαάθλιος* [tres veces miserable], *τρισακαταραμένος* [tres veces maldito] (Dimitríou p.459).

Una última imagen negativa del tres, generalizada mundialmente, la tenemos en la construcción onímica *Τercer mundo*, *Τρίτος κόσμος*; nombre dado al total de países subdesarrollados en contraposición al llamado *Primer mundo*, de los países desarrollados económicamente (Tsoroni 445).

Tal como hemos podido apreciar son numerosas las unidades fraseológicas del griego y del español que contienen el numeral tres o un ordenamiento triádico de elementos, relacionados a un concepto negativo, a pesar del simbolismo positivo, de cuño judeo-cristiano, que este número tiene en la Civilización Occidental. Más allá de que la imaginería y simbología cristianas presenten el lado positivo del tres, no deja de aparecer su lado negativo en el relato de la vida de Jesús. No olvidemos que los cuatro evangelistas relatan el pasaje en el que Jesús anuncia a Pedro que ha de negarle tres veces antes de que cante el gallo o las treinta monedas de plata (múltiplo de tres), por las que Judas lo vendió.

Sin embargo, consideramos más plausible que el rasgo negativo del tres tenga su procedencia cultural en el mundo grecolatino, y más precisamente en la mitología griega, como hemos adelantado. Estimamos que la transmisión de la imagen negativa del tres se ha efectuado a través del “inconsciente colectivo” junguiano. “No se trata de representaciones heredadas, sino de cierta predisposición innata a la formación de representaciones paralelas” (Cirlot p.41), las cuales, en nuestra opinión, son recurrentes a través del tiempo, reapareciendo en distintas épocas y bajo diferentes manifestaciones.

Por ejemplo, el pintor renacentista italiano Sandro Botticelli (1444/5-1510) hizo una representación del infierno, según la *Divina Comedia* de Dante, en un cuadro llamado *Mapa del Infierno*,¹¹ en el que colocó en el noveno círculo (otro múltiplo de tres) el rostro triple de Lucifer. En torno al año 1525, el pintor e ingeniero hidráulico alemán Matthias Grünewald (c.1470-1528) realizó un dibujo sobre papel en el que representó tres cabezas, que parecen estar unidas. En la actualidad se lo titula *Trias Roma*¹² pues se lo ha vinculado a un panfleto de Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523) que criticaba los vicios de la Iglesia católica (Wikipedia: *Trias_Romana*).¹³ A mediados del siglo XVI, siguiendo la influencia erasmista de los *Adagia*, Hernán Núñez de Toledo y Guzmán, conocido como El Comendador Griego, registraba refranes, que luego fueron publicados póstumamente en 1555. En su colección aparecen varios refranes de los ya mencionados, así como otros que incluyen el tres asociado a conceptos negativos, como la enemistad y la discrepancia: *Tres vecinos y mal avenidos* (Núñez 7934), la envidia: *Tres bueyes en un barbecho, más los querría en el mío que en el vuestro* (Núñez 7971), etc. Obviamente, no ha habido influencias directas entre estos ejemplos, en los que se ha retratado, a través de la imagen o de la palabra, el numeral tres conectado a algo negativo. A nuestro entender, han sido representaciones paralelas recurrentes tomadas innatamente de ese desván llamado inconsciente colectivo, del cual nos habló el fundador de la escuela de psicología analítica Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961).

El tres sería pues un arquetipo, cuya simbología presentaría un lado positivo y otro negativo. Este doble aspecto sería la fuente de metáforas, que impregnarían nuestro sistema conceptual mediante el cual pensamos y actuamos, ya que en palabras de Lakoff y Johnson “la metáfora [...] impregna la vida cotidiana, no solamente el lenguaje, sino también el pensamiento y la acción” (p.39). Del tres surgen metáforas como EL TRES ES BUENO/ MALO/ POCO/ MUCHO/ etc. que se han fijado en unidades fraseológicas. Nosotros hemos recogido solamente algunas de las que presentan el aspecto negativo en idioma español y griego.

Así pues, el numeral tres, a pesar de expresar una cantidad precisa, está contaminado por aspectos negativos a los que se quiere criticar o sobre los que se quiere advertir, reprender, etc.,

ya sea por mengua o exceso. Observa García-Page que “el numeral es capaz, *contra natura*, de no expresar una cantidad exacta o precisa, sino indefinida; por ejemplo, cuando se emplea como número redondo indicando una cantidad aproximada o genérica, o como número hiperbólico, estereotipo de las nociones ‘mucho’ o ‘poco’” (p.366), lo cual hemos podido comprobar satisfactoriamente.

Después de examinar nuestro corpus de unidades fraseológicas griegas y españolas, también coincidimos con este investigador en que el numeral fraseológico amplía “sus acepciones a partir de su significado (cantidad) puramente objetivo o concreto” (p.367), siendo en este caso conceptos negativos de la cifra tres.

Notas

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¹ Las traducciones, literales en su mayoría, del griego al español son nuestras, a no ser que se indique lo contrario.

² Según Tsaroni (p.159) la palabra σάρα proviene del verbo σαρώω [barrer, arruinar, destrozarse, etc.] y significa chusma, populacho, vulgo, multitud; mientras que μάρα, proveniente del verbo μαράω [marchitar, secar] denota marchitamiento, deterioro, corrupción.

³ La traducción al español de estas dos paremias latinas medievales es de Xavier Pascual López (p.160).

⁴ Agradecemos al Prof. W. Mieder que nos haya indicado el trabajo de Archer Taylor titulado “Sunt tria damna domus” (Hessische Blätter fuer Volkskunde 24, 1926: 130-146), el cual no nos ha sido posible consultar pero que nos ha conducido al artículo de Pascual López.

⁵ Kriatíní es la segunda semana de carnaval, en la que se consume mucha carne (κρέας), en particular el día jueves (Τσικνοπέμπτη); Tiriní es la tercera semana de carnaval, en la que las fiestas llegan a su mayor grado; los Santos Teodoros se festeja el primer sábado de la Cuaresma.

⁶ La traducción es de Fernando García Romero.

⁷ La Ciudad con mayúscula es Constantinopla, actual Estambul.

⁸ Canto = lugar.

⁹ Cabo = parte.

¹⁰ Barba = cara.

¹¹ Se encuentra, muy deteriorado, en la Galería de los Uffizi de Florencia (Italia).

¹² Se encuentra en el Gabinete de grabados de los Staatliche Museen de Berlín (Alemania).

¹³ Ver también Frederik Koning pp. 290-291.

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“WEARING ONE’S HEART ON HIS SLEEVE”:
THE FORMATION AND EVOLUTION OF A
(SHAKESPEAREAN) PROVERBIAL PHRASE

Abstract: The proverbial phrase “wear one’s heart on his sleeve” derives from a line in Shakespeare’s *Othello*. It has taken on a variety of meanings and acquired variants in wording, most notably, the common substitution of an abstract noun for the metaphorical *heart*, and the frequent replacement of *wear* with *hang* or *pin*. The image of *pinning* to the sleeve has its own history, which antedates Shakespeare’s play.

Keywords: English proverbs, historical study of proverbs, Renaissance proverbs, modern proverbs, William Shakespeare, Thomas More

In the first scene of Shakespeare’s tragedy *Othello*, written about 1603, the villainous Iago explains to his sidekick Rodrigo how he intends to undermine and destroy his military commander, Othello, by insinuating himself into the noble Moor’s confidence and feigning loyalty. “I follow him to serve my turn upon him,” Iago confides. He continues:

In following him, I follow but myself;
Heaven is my judge, not I for love and duty,
But seeming so, for my peculiar end;
For when my outward action doth demonstrate
The native act and figure of my heart
In complement extern, ’tis not long after
But I will wear my heart upon my sleeve
For daws to peck at: I am not what I am.

(1.1.42-65; Shakespeare 1997, 1252)

The contorted, reverse way of expressing the point could easily baffle an audience in the theater—not to mention the weak-minded Rodrigo, whom Iago addresses. The sense is that if Iago were ever to be found serving Othello with *true* loyalty and honesty (like never!), then he will be seen wearing his heart on his

sleeve, deserving for the to be contemptuously pecked by *daws* (or jackdaws, birds resembling crows)—though in the first published text, a quarto of 1622, the word appears as *doves* (“doues”).¹ Perhaps Iago’s very reluctance to express the point straightforwardly is to be seen as a mark of his deviousness.

So familiar nowadays is the expression “wear one’s heart on his sleeve” that we might assume Shakespeare was himself employing a proverbial phrase. The evidence, however—or rather the lack of evidence—suggests otherwise. We know, of course, to be cautious in crediting the Bard with the actual coining of words or phrases, but in this case, no earlier instance of the saying has been discovered.

During the next two centuries, the phrase “wear one’s heart on his sleeve” occurred frequently enough, but almost always as an acknowledged quotation or a definite allusion to its Shakespearean source—for example, with the coda “for daws to peck at” still attached, as in the anonymous satire *Advice to a New Member of Parliament* in 1784: “To avoid betraying a sense of your own *demerits*, you must seem to ‘*wear your heart upon your sleeve for daws to peck at*’” (9). Even though Shakespeare’s pronouns have been altered, the expression is placed inside quotation marks (and italicized as well!). There we notice a subtle shift: For all his deceptiveness, Iago had disdained even to *appear* to “wear his heart upon his sleeve.” From the mid-eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, wearing one’s heart on his sleeve frequently implied a *dishonest* display of sincerity or candor.

Perhaps the earliest instance of the expression that lacks any specific suggestion of the Shakespearean source appeared in Thomas Delamayne’s gallery of satiric sketches titled *The Senators*, 1772 (with at least five editions that year). In contrast to the corrupt English parliamentarian James Townsend, the verses present the innocent though credulous John Sawbridge,

with easier, gentler manners grac’d;
Possessed of candour, rectitude, and taste;
Above all art to flatter or deceive,
Hangs out his honest heart upon his sleeve. (9)

During the nineteenth century, the expression “wear one’s heart on his sleeve” continued floating free of its Shakespearean association—and continued to shed the cynical assumption evident in the

one of the eighteenth-century instances just cited, that any such cardiac display must be hypocritical. In 1839 an anonymous story in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* practically defined the application of the phrase to genuine sincerity: “Here the philanthropist may wear his heart upon his sleeve—there is no selfishness, trickery, or falsehood to wound him here—all is candour, truth, and honour” (“Some Account of Himself” 1839, 355). Also in 1839, a biographer praised the comedian Charles Mathews: “[H]e wore his heart on his sleeve, and was thoroughly known and greatly prized on a very short acquaintance” (Mathews 1838-39, 4:443). In 1832 a writer in the Richmond *Enquirer* had lauded President Andrew Jackson: “It is new and irresistible proof that this man does not flinch from responsibility—that he ‘wears his heart upon his sleeve’—that he will not see a public servant unjustly persecuted” (“The President’s Letter” 1832). In 1823 a writer in *The London Magazine* said of a habitual exaggerator, “He has no sly and indirect means of lulling our suspicion and cheating us into belief. He may have his lies, but they are lies which wear their hearts on their sleeves” (R. A. 1823, 9). In 1811 an anonymous “character sketch” of one “Candidus” (or ‘the candid man’) in *The Monthly Mirror* remarked with approval, “It is a maxim with him to wear his heart upon his sleeve, and he courts his associates to imitate his example, and to let each look freely into the inmost workings of the other” (“Character of Candidus” 1811, 103).

Sometimes, however, such candor could seem tiresome, even unmanly. In 1864 Thomas Carlyle wrote admiringly of the emperor Leopold: he “had wells of strange sorrow in the rugged heart of him—sorrow and still better things—which he does not wear on his sleeve” (Carlyle 1858-65, 4:101). In 1841 Carlyle had turned the phrase into an aphoristic piece of advice: “If [Oliver] Cromwell was not open to all, a man must not wear his heart on his sleeve” (Carlyle 1841, 359-60). Indeed, in his 1952 collection of North Carolina proverbs, B. J. Whiting gave as a proverb, “Don’t wear your heart on your sleeve,” as if to encourage stoicism or virile reserve, even secretiveness (Whiting 1952, 422). Wolfgang Mieder’s *Dictionary of American Proverbs* (1996, 292) also gives “Don’t wear your heart on your sleeve” as a proverb (Mieder et al. 1992, 292).

It seems as if the Shakespearean expression “wear my heart on my sleeve”—and the proverb and proverbial phrase deriving from it—paraphrase or expand an older idiom, “show one’s heart,” in

approximately the same sense: ‘be forthright, candid, truthful’. Shakespeare’s (or Iago’s) imagery makes the concept more vivid—not just abstractly revealing the thoughts and feelings in one’s “heart” but actually displaying the heart itself, visibly attached to the sleeve. Attached *how*? Until the nineteenth century, occurrences of the proverb, echoing the Shakespearean *wear*, did not usually specify. However, some popular phrasing from earlier than Shakespeare’s heyday suggests a germ that sprouted into the image of specifically wearing or hanging the heart on the sleeve by *pinning* it.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a traditional formula spoke of pinning one’s soul or conscience or salvation or judgment to the sleeve of *another*, in the sense of foolishly forfeiting one’s autonomy or gullibly trusting someone else in matters of ultimate personal importance. Occasionally that imagery has appeared in the form of a proverb or aphorism. For instance, from 1589 we have this advice: “Look wel about you in time. Pin not your faith vpon another mans sleeue” (Ocland 1589, sig. C4^v). Similar proverbial statements have continued to occur. From an anonymous book titled *Advice to a Father*, 1664: “...[G]ood men may erre, the best are but men; do not pin thy faith upon anothers sleeve...” (sig. I5^v). Somewhat surprisingly, Mieder’s *Dictionary of American Proverbs* (1996, 196) enters the archaically worded “Pin not your faith on another’s sleeve” as a proverb.

In phrasal form, the imagery is apparently older. In 1567 a religious tractate warned, “Consider wel of it [,] Christian Reader, how safe it is for thee...to pinne thy faith on M. Jewels sleeue...” (Harding 1567, sig. 3M2^v). In 1588 a pamphlet said, “But I thinke it the duetie of a Christian still to endeuour to informe himself how hee ought to serue God, and not to pinne his soule on another mans sleeue” (G. D. 1588, sig. B4^f). In 1592 an anti-Catholic treatise urged, “...[S]ee [,] I pray you, these mennes faith is pinned vpon Popes sleeues... . But doe you not thinke that these iollie Popes... haue a priuiledge not to erre in faith?” (Willet 1592, sig L6^f). In 1602 a satire imagined a Jesuit declaring, “We professe to obey the Generall of our Order, blindfolde,... and wee are bounde to pinne our consciences to his sleeue...” (Pasquier 1602, sig. C3^v). In 1603—as Shakespeare was busy scripting *Othello*—an anti-Catholic pamphlet inquired rhetorically, “Why should you pin your faith vpon the Popes sleeue?” (Willet 1603, sig. A4^f).²

So the recombinant materials were present for Shakespeare (or Iago) to arrange into the phrase “wear one’s heart upon his sleeve.” The *heart*, a metaphor for sincerity and honesty (or perhaps a metonymy, as Elizabethans would have regarded the trope) replaces *faith* or the *soul* or another intangible quality to be figuratively pinned (or otherwise attached) to the sleeve.

But the *sleeve* itself may have been a belated arrival in the traditional phrasing. The earliest discovered instance of the phrase in any variant comes from a letter to her stepsister, dated 1534, by Margaret Roper, daughter of Sir Thomas More. There, another’s *back* is specified as the site of pinning. Margaret had implied to her father, now in prison for refusing to take a certain oath demanded by King Henry, the possibility that his most esteemed friend and closest ally, John Fisher, might now consent to take the oath, and suggested that More himself could then follow suit. Thomas More (as Margaret has quoted him) responds, “Verely, Daughter, I neuer entend (God being my good lorde) to pynne my soule at a nother man’s backe, not euen the best man that I know this day liuing; for I knowe not whither he may happe to cary it” (More 1947, 521). That 1534 letter was first printed in the long introduction to More’s *English Works*, 1557. In 1561 the image was less specific: An anonymous translation of Erasmus’s *Enchiridion* noted, in a marginal gloss, “We mai not hange our faith on other men” (Erasmus 1561, sig. F3^v). In 1662 it was another person’s *shoulders* where one’s faith should not be hung; that would be as if one should “put out his own eyes, and live by another’s sight, and hang his faith upon another’s shoulders” (Howgill 1662, sig. E3^v).

Thomas More’s *pin-to-the-back* version of the saying persisted, somewhat sporadically. For instance, in 1564 a religious treatise inquired sarcastically, “Am I [,] thinkest thou, he, that will pinne my faithe to anie mans backe what so euer he be?” (Dorman 1564, sig. Q4^v). However, by the end of the sixteenth century the image of the *sleeve* had come to dominate. Even an early biography of Thomas More himself, about 1599, changed More’s wording: “. . . [V]erilie, daughtyer, I never intended to pinne my soule to another mans sleeve, not even the best man that I know this day living; for they may for favour, feare, or other respect goe awrie” (Ro: Ba: 1950, 205). Thereafter, through the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, Thomas More was regularly reported to have said “pin my soul to another man’s *sleeve*.” In 1656, John Beadle

declared, “I will not pin my faith upon any mans sleeve, (saith Sir *Tho. More*) because I know not whither he will carry it” (sig. T7^v). In 1674 Edward Calamy was quoted: “It was a saying of the learned Sir Thomas More, I will never pin my Faith upon the sleeve of another man, for he may carry it where I would be unwilling to follow” (Calamy et al. 1674, sig. B5^v).

By the late nineteenth century, the altering of Iago’s saying to include the image of *pinning* had become common, even when the Shakespearean allusion is clearly intended. For instance, John Ruskin in 1884 remarked, “It is certainly true that I have not the least mind to pin my heart on my sleeve, for the daily daw, or nightly owl, to peck at...” (Ruskin 1884, 95). And from a novel of 1887: “‘Proud as Lucifer,’ was Sir Joseph’s mental comment [about a young woman]; ‘doesn’t pin her heart on her sleeve for daws to peck at’” (Leroy 1887, 3:180).

In 1899 an anonymous and untitled epigram or detached stanza, credited to the *Detroit Journal*, playfully literalized the metaphor:

Did she pin her heart upon her sleeve,
Even her friends must own,
She’d probably forgot it
When next she changed her gown.

(“Poetry” 1899, 7)

In 1941 a character in a story is frustrated by her male friend’s lack of perceptiveness: “...[D]o I have to pin my heart on my sleeve for you, Johnny?” (Pentecost 1941, 90). In a western novel of 1942 the narrator calls a certain cowboy “a smooth one and no kind of guy to pin his heart on his sleeve” (Nye 1993, 87). In 1967 President Lyndon Johnson orated, “It is easy to agonize and moralize, to pin your heart on your sleeve or a placard and think you are helping stop war” (Reed 1967). In 1990 the narrator of Stephen King’s *The Stand* said of a character, “...[T]he convincing would entail showing him what her own true feelings were. She thought she would have to pin her heart to her sleeve, where he would see it” (King 1990, 551). In 2000 a music reviewer commented, “...Bono pins his heart on his sleeve and sings as if he fears it might be for the last time” (Sweeting 2000).

The writer there did not mean to suggest that Bono was being especially candid or un-deceptive but rather that he was singing with great emotional intensity, with “all his heart,” as it were. We

see what has become a common shift in the meaning of the proverbial phrase. The college football star Johnny Manziel declared in late 2012, prior to an important game, “I’m going to play with my heart on my sleeve every single play” (Sherrington 2012)—even, we must suppose, when he was faking handoffs or otherwise deceiving. Even more recently, the basketball coach at Immaculata University said of her players, “They all hang their hearts on their sleeve, and it’s not just basketball, but a commitment to a program and a university” (Geoghegan 2013). Well, basketball uniforms don’t even *have* sleeves!

In recent decades, a great variety of attributes—besides *hearts*—have been worn or hung or pinned on figurative sleeves. Variants of the proverbial phrase have featured such nouns as *personality*, *attitude*, *feelings*, *emotions*, *passion*, *religion*, *patriotism*, *problems*, *anger*, *confidence*, and *faith*—among others.

To summarize: The proverbial phrase “wear one’s heart on his sleeve” derives from a line in Shakespeare’s play. However, it has taken on meanings and uses beyond what the phrase meant when Shakespeare’s character first uttered it, and it has acquired variants in wording, most notably, the frequent substitution of an abstract noun for the metaphorical *heart*, and the frequent replacement of the verb *wear* with *hang* or *pin*—the image of figuratively pinning to the *sleeve* having its own history that reaches back to a time earlier than Shakespeare’s play.

Notes:

¹ *Dawes* is the reading in the First Folio, 1623. For the 1622 First Quarto, it is easy to imagine a typesetter’s mistake if a manuscript read something like “dauues”; attested early spellings of *dove* include “douue,” “duue,” and “dow.” In Elizabethan parlance, the word *daw* could contemptuously designate a foolish person, a simpleton.

² The second edition of John Ray’s famous *Collection of English Proverbs* in 1678 inserted “I’ll not pin my faith on your sleeve” (342)—not really a proverb but just a sentence containing the proverbial phrase. Likewise, Thomas Fuller’s *Gnomologia: Adagies [sic] and Proverbs*, 1732, has “He pins his Faith upon another Man’s Sleeve” (79). Tilley (1950, 200) gives Fuller’s form as the main entry, “He pins his faith on another man’s sleeve.” Wilson (1970, 626) repeats the form of Tilley’s main entry (except with *upon* in place of *on*). Whiting’s dictionary of early American proverbs (1977, 143-44) has the phrase “To pin one’s Faith on another’s sleeve” as a main entry.

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“A WAY OUT OF NO WAY”: A NOTE ON THE BACK-
GROUND OF THE AFRICAN AMERICAN PROVERBIAL
SAYING

Abstract: The proverbial phrase “make a way out of no way,” common in the rhetoric of Martin Luther King and other African American writers and speakers in the twentieth century, was anticipated by very similar expressions among nineteenth-century Quakers—and before that by a sixteenth century Protestant Reformer.

Keywords: English proverbs, historical proverb study, African American proverbs, Quaker proverbs, Martin Luther King, Andrew Young, John Calvin

One of the most interesting portions of Wolfgang Mieder’s book on Martin Luther King’s “sermonic proverbial rhetoric” is the discussion of the proverbial phrase that gives the book its title, *Making a Way out of No Way* (2010, 171-86), with its full-proverb counterpart “God makes (can make) a way out of no way.” Mieder establishes that in the twentieth century such expressions occurred prominently in the speech of African Americans, especially preachers—possibly paraphrasing Isaiah 43:10, where God declares, “I will even make a way in the wilderness.” Certainly, to African Americans the “way” toward respect, economic sufficiency, and full civil rights has often seemed like a journey not just through a wilderness but through terrain where no way at all appears.

So the paradoxical expression became a leitmotif in King’s rhetoric, as he sought to give hope to his people and instill faith that God would eventually (“How long, O Lord, how long?”) lead to the fulfillment of that hope. In his use of the proverbial saying, King was following a tradition that gave the expression its currency and its power. To Mieder’s copious examples showing the common occurrence of the expression among African American orators and writers, I will add one that strikes me (being a Georgian!) as especially noteworthy: In 1994 King’s good friend, fel-

low Georgian, fellow civil rights activist, fellow Baptist preacher—and eventually a member of Congress, then U. S. ambassador to the United Nations, then mayor of Atlanta—Andrew Young titled his “spiritual memoir” *A Way out of No Way*.

King himself, in a 1957 sermon, associated the proverbial phrase with the famous English poet William Cowper (1731-1800), who, King said, was dissuaded from suicide upon entering a Paris cathedral and hearing a voice “talking about the man who could make a way out of no way” (King 1992-2007, 6:300-01). Probably King did not intend actually to attribute the expression to Cowper—or to the speaker (real or imagined) whom Cowper heard—and the source of his anecdote about the poet’s providential visit to the cathedral has not been discovered. Nonetheless, we might inquire into what lies behind the twentieth-century African American use of the expression.

In fact, versions—both as proverbs and as proverbial phrases—can be found rather abundantly among nineteenth-century Quakers, English and American. Mostly, the *way/no-way* dichotomy is intact, though sometimes we find, instead, the elliptical *way/none*. Another small variation is the occasional construing of *way* as abstract (“make way”) rather than concrete (“make a way”). None of the earlier instances, it should be noted, use the preposition *out of*, which is distinctive to the African American analogs, where it facilitates both a play on the idiom “a way out” and a possible non-spatial sense of miraculously transforming the very obstacle itself into a means of success.

1816. “...I am constrained to acknowledge that in all my various difficulties, distresses and dangers, the power and presence of One ...has been with me and around me, bringing about seeming impossibilities, making a way where no way was....” John Barclay, letter to “W. F.” (19 Sep.), *Friends’ Intelligencer* 23 (20 Oct. 1866): 499.

1823. “...I have had to endure the condescending goodness of our Heavenly Father, in making a way where there seemed to be none, in furnishing strength and ability to do His work....” William Allen (English scientist and abolitionist), letter to Czar Alexander I of Russia (29 Apr.). *Life of William Allen, with Selections from His Correspondence*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Henry Longstreth, 1847), 2:117.

1842. “How gracious and tender towards me was my heavenly Father,...making a way where no way appeared, and safely leading me forth.” John Barclay, “A Selection from the Letters and Papers of the Late John Barclay,” in William Evans and Thomas Evans, eds., *The Friends’ Library: Comprising Journals, Doctrinal Treatises, and Other Writings*, 14 vols. (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1837-1850), 6:452.

1848. “[S]eeing no way open but by urging on the seamen to exert themselves, looking unto Him who makes a way where none appears, I ventured on deck....” David Sands, *Journal of the Life and Gospel Labors of David Sands* (London: Charles Gilpin), 76-77.

1861. “She gave much pertinent counsel to her family and others, commending them to the Lord, and to put their trust in him who would care for them and make way where there appeared to be no way.” Obituary for Julia Ann Hadley of Monrovia, Indiana (died 1 Mar.), *Friends’ Review* 14 (13 Apr.): 505.

1862. “J. Backhouse made a brief report of our religious labours in the colony...and made a feeling acknowledgment of the goodness of Him who called us forth, and has been pleased to go before us, making a way where there seemed no way.” James Backhouse and Charles Tylor, *The Life and Labours of George Washington Walker of Hobart Town, Tasmania* (London: A. W. Bennett), 186.

1876. “...I would have all encouraged, for Divine goodness often makes a way, where to the human understanding there appears to be no way....” “A Testimony of Baltimore Monthly Meeting for the Western District” (quoting Jacob Lafetra), *Friends’ Intelligencer* 33 (8 Jun.): 307.

1881. “He [God] has been so kind and loving to us in times of trial, making a way ‘where there was no way,’ also in giving us so many to help forward the work.” Jonathan Ozrun, “Osage [Indian] Mission,” *Friends’ Review* 34 (2 Apr.): 541. Notice the quotation marks.

1881. “God led his people to a place where they were shut in.... He made a way where there was no way. He shows His power when His people need it most.” “Suggestions” (a series of miscellaneous thoughts), *Friends’ Review* 34 (Jul. 30): 813.

1885. "2. He makes a way where no way is." "Political Thoughts" (a numbered list of aphorisms and trenchant sayings), *Friends' Review* 39 (29 Aug.): 59.

1887. "...[S]ecret praise ascended to Him who melts away the mountain that seems impassable, making a way where there seemed no way." Laura S. Haviland (abolitionist, suffragette, and social reformer), *Woman's Life-Work: Labors and Experiences*, 3rd ed., (Chicago: C. V. Waite), 49.

1887. "In a short memorandum of the visit he records his thankfulness to his Heavenly Father for his continual care over him, often making way where there seemed to be none." "Eleazer Bales, of Indiana" (a memorial to Bales, who died 3 Aug. 1887), *The Friend* 61 (3 Dec.): 137.

1889. "We do praise our dear Father in heaven for thus making a way where there seemed to be no way...." Jonathan E. Cox and Sue V. Tomlinson, "Friends' Blue Ridge Mission of North Carolina," *Friends' Review* 43 (8 Aug.): 29.

1895. "When I look ahead sometimes I can't see how I can get along, but God makes way where there is no way." (Mr. or Ms.) Page of Logan County, Kansas, in *The Friend* 68 (23 Feb.): 248.

1905. And in the faith of that [,] we could only stand waiting to see what God would work, in making a way where there seemed no way." "The Prince of Peace Heard," *The Friend* 79 (9 Sep.): 65.

1909. "The visit to the meetings in our Quarterly Meeting, for which I was liberated before knowing thee was coming amongst us [,] was to me fresh evidence of the tender regard and compassion of our Heavenly Father, making a way where no way was seen." Phebe W. Roberts, undated letter to Elwood Dean, *Letters and Memoranda of Elwood Dean* (n.p.: Meeting for Sufferings of Ohio Yearly Meeting), 44-45.

The preponderance of nineteenth-century instances do appear in Quaker sources, though a smattering of others can be found. In a letter dated 18 November 1872 the Baptist minister Thomas Godwin, an Englishman, wrote, "Although I have had a trying path to travel in for many years, yet the Lord ..hath made a way where I could see no way" (Godwin 1878, 327). The very minor American

poet Stephen Hart (1782-1857), in a poem titled “To the Afflicted,” included this stanza:

Be not discourag’d, neither be dismay’d,
 Though you no onward path before may see;
 The arm Omnipotent hath often made
 A way where there appeared no way to be.
 (Hart 1846, 55)

I find no evidence of Hart’s being a Quaker—or of his *not* being one.

It might be hypothesized that the nineteenth-century expression in wide currency among Quakers, so many of whom were active in the Abolition movement and (with their passion for social justice and their strict adherence to a credo of nonviolence) in the subsequent Civil Rights movement, migrated directly to the parlance and the oratory of twentieth-century African Americans—with the consistent “way where” altered to “way out of.” However, the use of the phrasing by Quakers and other Protestants itself had a possible source in the sixteenth century, even though the record from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is very skimpy.

The Reformer John Calvin used versions of the worshipful paradox several times, at least three in his Latin *Commentary on the Psalms* (1564), making it a sort of leitmotif in that work. It is conceivable that Calvin himself knew such a proverbial saying in Switzerland or in his native France. In Arthur Golding’s translation of 1571: “...[W]e may lerne, not to measure his [God’s] help by our owne wit, but (euen when we be plunged in the bottomlesse pittes) to refer our hope too the hand of GOD, whose proper tie it is too make vs way where no way is” (Calvin 1571, sig. 2I6^r). In the Latin, that last clause reads, “...*cuius proprium est viam per inuia patefacere*” (Calvin 1557, sig. U1^v [first signing])—literally, “to make a way through the impassable”; *inuia* is a plural adjective used nominatively, to effect the antithesis *via/in-via*. Elsewhere, Calvin says of God’s chosen, “...it is Gods part to make them a way where no way is” (Calvin 1571, sig. 3X5^v; “*viam per inuia monstrare*” [Calvin 1557, sig. L5^r, 2nd signing]); and again, David cannot escape his enemies “onlesse God doo ...open hym a way where no way is” (Calvin 1571, sig. B7^v; “*viam per inuia aperiat*” [Calvin 1557, sig. B1^v, first signing]). Golding’s English

opts for the sequence “a way *where*,” like the nineteenth-century Quaker versions—even though the Latin says “a way *through*” (“*viam per*”), which may more closely resemble the sense of the phrase “a way out of” in the African American version.

Certainly Martin Luther King, during his theological studies, could have encountered Calvin’s uses of the expression, perhaps as they appeared in the anonymous 1840 translation “based on the translation of Arthur Golding,” where Golding’s archaic “make vs way where no way is” has been replaced with “make a way where no way is” (Calvin 1840, 2:210-211). Yet, historically Calvin—with his predestinarian doctrines—was not notably influential on either Baptists or Quakers.

All we can safely conclude, then, is that versions of our proverb and proverbial phrase have occurred in different historical eras, attaining some prominence among Quakers in the nineteenth century and then among African Americans in the twentieth century. Of course, polygenesis is a possibility. Otherwise, the question of influences or other connections remains unresolved.

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SPRICHWÖRTER ALS INTERTEXTUELLE ELEMENTE:
ZU DEN SPRICHWÖRTERN MIT UND OHNE KULTUR-
SPEZIFIK AUF LANGUE- UND AUF DISKURS-EBENE

Abstract: Die Verfasserin betrachtet Phraseologismen als intertextuelle Elemente, die im kulturellen Makrodiskurs als kohärenzbildende Einheiten fungieren. Besonders trifft dies auf die kulturspezifischen Phraseologismen zu. Da diese durch ihre sprachlich-kulturelle Gebundenheit über weitgehend intersubjektive Konnotationen verfügen, werden sie als Realien aufgefasst. Somit unternimmt die Verfasserin in ihren Forschungen, kulturspezifische und nicht kulturspezifische Phraseologismen voneinander abzugrenzen. In diesem Beitrag wendet sie diese Unterscheidungskriterien auf Sprichwörter an. Sprichwörter werden zuerst auf Langue-Ebene, dann auf Diskurs-Ebene betrachtet und die Beziehungen zwischen diesen Ebenen erschlossen. Die Übertragung der kulturspezifischen Sprichwörter in literarischen Texten spricht das ewige Dilemma der Übersetzung an: die Wahl zwischen Verfremdung und Domestikation. Diese Übersetzungsstrategien bzw. einige Übersetzungsverfahren werden durch die Analyse ausgewählter Textbeispiele – in der Relation Ungarisch-Deutsch – aufgezeigt.

Keywords: kultureller Makrotext, Intertextualität, Realien, kulturspezifische und nicht kulturspezifische Sprichwörter, Äquivalenz auf Langue- und auf Diskurs-Ebene, Übersetzungsstrategien und Übersetzungsverfahren, Verfremdung vs. Domestikation

1. Einführung

Der vorliegende Beitrag stellt einerseits einen kleinen Querschnitt aus meinem Buch *Realien – Intertextualität – Übersetzung* (Drahota-Szabó 2013) dar, andererseits werden die dort ausführlich beschriebenen Gedanken weitergeführt, und zwar in Bezug auf Sprichwörter. In meinem Buch klassifiziere ich kulturspezifische und nicht-kulturspezifische Phraseologismen und erschließe – auf Grund von literarischen Texten aus der zeitgenössischen ungarischen schöngeistigen Literatur bzw. auf Grund der deutschen Übersetzungen dieser Texte – die möglichen Übersetzungsverfahren. Es

wird dabei vor allem untersucht, welchen Äquivalenzanforderungen der Übersetzer jeweils entsprechen soll; welche Übersetzungs- und Rezeptionsverluste in den Übersetzungen entstehen; welche von diesen hätten vermieden werden können und welche einfach in Kauf zu nehmen sind.

Dieser Aufsatz besteht im Wesentlichen aus drei Teilen: Erstens hebe ich einige Grundgedanken aus dem theoretischen Teil meiner oben genannten Monographie hervor; zweitens versuche ich, die bei der Unterscheidung von kulturell gebundenen (kulturspezifischen) und kulturell nicht gebundenen (nicht-kulturspezifischen) Phraseologismen verwendeten Kriterien auf Sprichwörter zu adaptieren; diesen Betrachtungen auf Langue-Ebene folgt drittens die Analyse einiger Textbeispiele: Es soll exemplarisch aufgezeigt werden, mit welchen Verfahren nicht kulturspezifische und kulturspezifische Sprichwörter übertragen werden können und welche Wirkung diese auf der Diskurs-Ebene haben.

Da ich Phraseologismen als intertextuelle Elemente betrachte und die kulturell gebundenen sprachlichen Elemente – so auch die kulturell gebundenen Redewendungen und Sprichwörter – als Realien auffasse, dient der Realien-Begriff als Ausgangspunkt meiner Betrachtungen.¹

2. Zum theoretischen Hintergrund

2.1. Zum Begriff der Realien

In der diesbezüglichen Forschung gibt es viele Realien-Definitionen (s. die Bibliographie in Drahot-Szabó 2013). Nicht einmal die Bezeichnung der Realien ist einheitlich: Sie werden – neben dem Terminus Realien – vor allem (Bezeichnungs) Exotismen, kulturspezifische oder kulturell gebundene Wörter/Ausdrücke/sprachliche Elemente, in der englischsprachigen Literatur culture-bound units und culture-specific items genannt. Auf die kontroversen Definitionen und auf die unterschiedlichen Bezeichnungen will ich hier nicht eingehen, es soll lediglich meine Stellungnahme ausgeführt werden (vgl. Forgács, E. 2004a: 39f.; 2004b: 192; 2007a: 378; 2007b: 135 bzw. zuletzt Drahot-Szabó 2013: 17ff.).

Ich vertrete nach wie vor eine – auch in meinen bisherigen Forschungen konsequent verwendete – breite Realien-Auffassung: Hierher rechne ich nicht nur die Bezeichnungen für kulturspezifische Gegenstände/Begriffe (z. B. Speisen, Trachten, Währungen, Feste, Möbelstücke, Verkehrsmittel), politisch-gesellschaftliche

Institutionen, Begriffe (z. B. Bezeichnungen im Zusammenhang mit der Staatsverwaltung und Nachrichtenübermittlung, mit dem Gesundheitswesen und Handel usw.; Bezeichnungen von sozialen Schichten) und die Eigennamen (Personennamen, geographische Namen usw.), sondern auch jeglichen sprachlichen Ausdruck, der mit der jeweiligen Kultur aufs Engste verknüpft ist (z. B. Berufsbezeichnungen, Titel, Anrede- und Begrüßungsformeln). Diese Ausdrücke können auch feste Wendungen im breitesten Sinne sein (Phraseologismen, d. h. Redewendungen, Sprichwörter, geflügelte Worte; Titel von/Zitate aus literarischen Werken; politische Losungen; Ausdrücke der verbalen Aggressivität wie Beschimpfungen und Flüche). Ferner rechne ich auch die Arten der sprachlichen Kreativität hierher, die auf den Beziehungen sprachlicher Zeichen der jeweiligen Sprache zueinander, d. h. auf intralinguistischer Bedeutung beruhen. Dementsprechend lautet meine Realien-Definition wie folgt:

Realien sind solche sprachlichen Zeichen und Zeichenverbindungen, die in einer bestimmten Epoche für eine bestimmte Gruppe der Zeichenbenutzer – über die Denotation der Zeichen hinaus – einen Zusatzwert, eine Konnotation aufweisen, d. h. in den Mitgliedern der Gruppe weitgehend identische bzw. ähnliche Assoziationen hervorrufen können. Zu dieser Relevanz gelangen die Realien dadurch, dass sie mit der Geschichte, mit der gesellschaftlich-politischen Grundordnung, mit der Kunst, mit den Sitten und Bräuchen – kurz: mit dem Leben, mit dem Denken der Mitglieder der Kultur-/Sprachgemeinschaft – wesentlich zusammenhängen.

Verdeutlichen wir die Definition durch einige Beispiele. Realie ist das Wort *csárdás* (dt. (*der*) *Csardas/Csárdás*; mit der alten Schreibung: *Tschardasch*) (vgl. Duden 2005: 199, 1061), das einen ungarischen Nationaltanz bezeichnet; Realie ist das Wort *gulyás* (dt. (*der/das*) *Gulasch*) als Bezeichnung für ein typisch ungarisches Fleischgericht. Realie ist das Wort *szaloncukor* [wörtl.: Salonzucker] als der Name eines spezifisch ungarischen Wickelbonbons. Im Ungarischen Bedeutungshandwörterbuch wird die Bedeutung von *szaloncukor* wie folgt angegeben: 'einzeln eingewickelte, (mit Schokolade überzogene) weiche Süßigkeit, die an den Weihnachtsbaum gehängt wird' (vgl. Pusztai 2003: 1219). Ohne *szaloncukor* kann man sich Weihnachten in Ungarn schwer vorstellen. Realie ist auch das Wort *puszta* (dt. mit dieser Schreibung: (*die*) *Puszta*; s.

Duden 2005: 864) für die Grassteppe, also für das Weideland in Ungarn.

Ich betrachte als Realie auch die phraseologische Wendung *vki nem enged a negyvennyolcból* [wörtlich: jmd. lässt nicht von der Achtundvierzig (nach)] mit der Bedeutung: 'jmd. lässt nicht nach, bleibt hartnäckig, beharrt auf seiner Meinung/Überzeugung'. Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung der Wendung ist: 'jmd. hält an den Gesetzen der bürgerlichen Revolution im Jahre 1848 fest, welche dazu bestimmt waren, die Beziehungen Ungarns zu Österreich zu regeln'. Die Wendung ist kulturspezifisch, d. h. ist in der ungarischen Geschichte verankert: „Vor dem Ausgleich im Jahre 1867 drückte man mit dieser Redewendung aus, dass ein Politiker nicht bereit ist, von dem sog. achtundvierziger Programm abzuweichen, d. h. davon, dass die Beziehung von Ungarn und Österreich auf Grund der Retablierung der im Jahre 1848 verabschiedeten Gesetze geregelt wird. Später, nachdem in 1848 die Unabhängigkeitspartei [Függetlenségi Párt] das Attribut „achtundvierziger“ [negyvennyolcas] auch in ihren Namen aufgenommen hat, fing man an, die Wendung in der Bedeutung zu verwenden, dass jemand der Unabhängigkeitspartei treu bleibt. Der politische Bezug der Redewendung ist aber mittlerweile verblasst und langsam entwickelte sich ihre heutige Bedeutung: 'jemand beharrt auf seinem Standpunkt, lässt von seiner Entscheidung nicht nach'.“ (Vgl. Forgács, T. 2003: 517; Übersetzung von mir – E. D.-Sz.)

Kulturspezifisch, daher als Realie ist auch das folgende Sprichwort zu betrachten: *Meghalt Mátyás (király), oda az igazság.* [(König) Mátyás [Matthias] ist gestorben, die Gerechtigkeit ist hin.]. Das Sprichwort ist ein humorvoller Ausdruck dafür, dass 'man sich für Gerechtigkeit an niemanden (mehr) wenden kann'. Um die kulturspezifischen Konnotationen des Sprichwortes nachvollziehen zu können, braucht man folgende Vorkenntnisse: Mátyás Hunyadi (auf Deutsch: Matthias Corvinus) war zwischen 1458 und 1490 ungarischer König. Als Zunamen erhielt er das Attribut „az igazságos“, er wird auch heute noch so genannt: „Matthias, der Gerechte“. Viele Volksmärchen und Sagen erzählen, wie er sich als einfacher Mensch verkleidet unter das Volk gemischt haben soll, um zu erfahren, was für Sorgen die Menschen haben.

2.2. *Kultur und Intertextualität*

Genauso wie der Begriff „Realie(n)“ vielfach und verschiedenartig definiert wird, gibt es auch zahlreiche Definitionen zum Begriff der „Kultur“. Auf diese wird hier nicht näher eingegangen, es werden nur die wichtigsten Gedanken – thesenhaft und aus meiner Sicht – zusammengefasst.

Mit meiner breiten Realien-Auffassung korreliert eine ebenfalls breite Kultur-Auffassung, welche die Einheit von materialer und mentaler Kultur betont (vgl. Posner 1991: 37ff.). Die Kultur wird als eine dynamische Größe aufgefasst, denn die sprachlich erfasste Welt ist in einem ständigen Wandel. In diesem Sinne ändern sich auch Sinngebungsprozesse, die sprachlichen Interpretationen der Welt. Die Kultur entsteht durch die Versprachlichung, durch das In-Worte-Fassen der gemeinsam erlebten Welt. Die Kultur ist nach meiner Auffassung als (Makro)Diskurs, als Textraum aufzufassen, wobei unter Textraum ein Makrotext zu verstehen ist, genauer ein System von Texten, in dem die Realien als intertextuelle Bezüge, als kohärenzbildende Elemente fungieren. Die Funktion der Realien in literarischen Texten kann mit der Funktion der visuellen Medien (Abbildungen, Photos usw.) in den Hypertexten, d. h. in den multimodalen/multimedialen Texten, verglichen werden: Beide haben eine Verweisfunktion nach außen und sichern zugleich auch die Kohärenz des Textgebildes. Die visuellen Medien verweisen auf die verbalen Komponenten (oder umgekehrt bzw. gegenseitig), die Realien verweisen auf den kulturellen Kontext und tragen zur Kohärenz des Einzeltextes und des kulturellen Makrotextes bei. Wie die visuellen Medien in den multimodalen Texten, so haben auch die Realien außerdem eine emotionalisierende Funktion. Dies tun auch die Phraseologismen, so auch die Sprichwörter.

Ich fasse zusammen: Ein wesentliches Merkmal der Kultur als Makrotext besteht in der Intertextualität, wobei man von einer gegenseitigen Bedingtheit sprechen muss: Die Intertextualität ist gleichwohl die Grundvoraussetzung als auch die Konsequenz der Kultur als Makrotext. Kulturen können als Zusammenhänge von Texten angesehen werden. Die Realien erfüllen bei der Textkonstitution solche Aufgaben wie die Prätexte (oder: Vortexte), da sie die präsupponierten Vorkenntnisse der Mitglieder einer und derselben Kultur – im Idealfall mindestens – aktivieren, d. h. praktisch wie Texte funktionieren.

2.3. *Sprichwörter als intertextuelle Elemente*

Es wird vielfach thematisiert, dass Phraseologismen „als Mittel der Textbildung dienen können“: „Phraseologismen/Phraseme sorgen für Zusammenhänge, für semantische Verflechtungen und für satzübergreifende Strukturen“ (Lüger 2013: 201). Dies tun sie allerdings nicht nur im jeweiligen Einzeltext, sondern auch in Bezug auf den kulturellen Makrotext: Sie tragen auch zur Kohäsion und zur Kohärenz des Makrodiskurses bei. Die ausgeführten Gedanken können auf die Sprichwörter wie folgt bezogen werden: Sprichwörter verfügen neben ihrer denotativen Bedeutung oft auch über auffällige Konnotationen, und dies trifft besonders auf die kulturell gebundenen Sprichwörter zu. Wenn wir Konnotation als „Bildung von Bewußtseinsinhalten in Form von Abbildern der Wirklichkeit“ auffassen, dann sind Assoziationen die Verbindungen unter diesen Bewusstseinsinhalten. Unter Assoziation verstehe ich demnach mentale Verknüpfungen von Vorstellungen, Wissensbeständen und Emotionen. Diese Auffassung korreliert mit der Auffassung, nach der Konnotationen „unterschiedliche bewertende Assoziationen [sind], die ein Wort bei unterschiedlichen Mitgliedern einer Sprachgemeinschaft auslöst“ (Knapp et. al. 2007: 626).

Es ist keine revolutionäre Idee, Phraseologismen als intertextuelle Elemente aufzufassen. Burger (1991: 18) betrachtet die Phraseologismen als „Mini-Texte“, die die „Basis intertextueller Bezugnahmen“ bilden. Er sagt des Weiteren (Burger 1991: 18), dass „der Phraseologismus als präsenster Text fungiert, auf den man anspielen kann“; Phraseologismen sind „abrufbare Texte“ (Burger 1991: 26).

Zusammengefasst: Phraseologismen, d. h. sowohl kulturell gebundene als auch kulturell nicht gebundene Redewendungen und Sprichwörter, sind Elemente des kulturellen Makrotextes, deshalb betrachte ich sie als intertextuelle Elemente, genauso wie auch z. B. literarische Zitate. Der Unterschied besteht nur darin, dass hier als Zitatspender nicht ein einziger Text, d. h. ein von einem (bestimmten) Autor verfasster Text dient: Das ganze Sprachsystem, genauer das phraseologische System fungiert als referiertes Textkorpus. Viele Redensarten und Sprichwörter verfügen über auffällige, weitgehend intersubjektive Konnotationen. Wenn diese intersubjektiven Konnotationen eine Kulturspezifik aufweisen, sind Phraseologismen als Realien aufzufassen, sie konstituieren den jeweiligen kulturellen Makrotext mit. Kulturell gebundene Phraseologismen sind Erscheinungsformen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses, welche ein

identitätsstiftendes Wissen vermitteln bzw. welche als identitätsausdrückende sprachliche Elemente fungieren und in den Texten als ein „gemeinsamer Nenner“ funktionieren: Die Verwendung der Phraseologismen drückt nicht nur die sprachliche, sondern auch die kulturelle Zusammengehörigkeit, somit die Wir-Identität aus (vgl. Lajos 2007: 102). Phraseologismen, „die auf dem Gebiet der Sprachgemeinschaft entstanden sind und die sich auf etwas Kulturspezifisches aus dieser Gemeinschaft beziehen“, d. h. „die nationalen Phraseologismen“, werden auch von Hrustic als kulturspezifische sprachliche Elemente aufgefasst (s. Hrustic 2007: 325). Das sind nach meiner Terminologie: Realien. Wenn das Sprichwörter sind, nenne ich sie Realien-Sprichwörter.

2.4. Zur Methodik bei der Unterscheidung kulturell gebundener und kulturell nicht gebundener Sprichwörter

Um entscheiden zu können, welche Phraseologismen kulturspezifisch sind, d. h. zu den Realien zu rechnen sind und welche nicht, empfiehlt es sich, neben dem kulturspezifischen Ansatz auch die Methode der kontrastiven interlingualen Phraseologie anzuwenden, d. h. Kulturkomparatistik und kontrastive Linguistik zu koppeln.² Ähnlich wie im lexikalischen Bereich, können bekanntlich auch im phraseologischen Bereich Äquivalenztypen erschlossen werden (zu einer Klassifizierung auf Grund einiger ausgewählter Einteilungen s. Forgács, E. 2007a: 265ff.; zur kontrastiven Phraseologie in Bezug auf Translation s. Hallsteinsdóttir/Farø 2010).

Auf Grund der Äquivalenztypen der kontrastiven Phraseologie und des kontrastiv-kulturellen Ansatzes werden des Weiteren zuerst die Gruppen der nicht-kulturspezifischen Sprichwörter systematisch zusammengefasst. Als Ausgangssprache (abgekürzt als AS) dient das Ungarische, als Kontrastsprache (Zielsprache, abgekürzt als ZS) das Deutsche. Die Kulturspezifität kann und soll jeweils in der Relation zweier Sprachen/Kulturen betrachtet werden: Realien sind relationale sprachliche Elemente. Da es hier des Weiteren nicht um Phraseologismen im Allgemeinen, sondern um Sprichwörter geht, kann man davon ausgehen, dass der Äquivalenztyp „lexikalische Entsprechung“ nicht vertreten ist, zumal Sprichwörter „Mini-Texte“ darstellen.³

3. Die nicht-kulturspezifischen Sprichwörter auf Langue-Ebene

3.1. Sprichwörter mit weitgehenden/totalen ZS-Äquivalenten

Die Sprichwörter, welche ein weitgehendes (oder sogar totales) phraseologisches Äquivalent in der ZS haben, gehören nicht zu den Realien. Das Wort „weitgehend“ soll in der Definition betont werden, da wir – wegen den sprachtypologischen Besonderheiten – in der Relation Ungarisch-Deutsch bzw. Deutsch-Ungarisch kaum von einer „totalen“ Äquivalenz reden können. (Auch schon deshalb können wir in den meisten Fällen nur von einer weitgehenden und nicht von einer totalen Äquivalenz sprechen, da im agglutinierenden Ungarischen die grammatischen Beziehungen nicht mit Präpositionen, sondern mit Kasus-Suffixen ausgedrückt werden, die an den Wortstamm „angeklebt“ werden.)

Da die Sprichwörter Lebensweisheiten formulieren, lassen sich unter ihnen in den verschiedenen Sprachen viele Äquivalente finden.

3.1.1.

Viele Phraseologismen basieren auf den ähnlichen Erfahrungen, Beobachtungen, Empfindungen der Menschen mit unterschiedlichem kulturellem Hintergrund und auf der weitgehend gleichen (in manchen Fällen sogar auf der übereinstimmenden) Versprachlichung dieser Erfahrungen.

Die meisten weitgehenden Äquivalente lassen sich unter den Sprichwörtern finden, die eindeutig oder eher als 'nicht idiomatisch' betrachtet werden können. Wenn nun das Ungarische als Quellsprache und das Deutsche als Kontrastsprache dient, so sind z. B. folgende Beispiele zu nennen:

ung. *A baj nem jár egyedül.* – dt. *Ein Unglück kommt selten allein.*

ung. *A pénz nem boldogít.* – dt. *Geld allein macht nicht glücklich.*

ung. *Az ellentétek vonzzák egymást.* – dt. *Gegensätze ziehen sich an.*

Nimmt man das von Peter Grzybek (1991) erstellte Liste mit dem deutschen parömischen Minimum als Korpus, so muss man feststellen, dass viele von diesen Sprichwörtern im Ungarischen ein weitgehendes Sprichwort-Äquivalent haben (zur ganzen Liste mit den Äquivalenten im Ungarischen, im Englischen und im Russi-

schen s. Forgács, E. 2007a: 241ff.; die morphologischen Unterschiede (wie Unterschiede im Numerus-Gebrauch) werden hier außer Acht gelassen):

dt. *Übung macht den Meister.* – ung. *Gyakorlat teszi a mestert.*

dt. *Ausnahmen bestätigen die Regel.* – ung. *A kivétel erősíti a szabályt.*

dt. *Kleider machen Leute.* – ung. *Ruha teszi az embert.*

dt. *Wer wagt, gewinnt.* – ung. *Aki mer, az nyer.*

dt. *Wer zuletzt lacht, lacht am besten.* – ung. *Az nevet igazán, aki utoljára nevet.*

Die obigen ungarischen Sprichwörter gehören zum Bestand des ungarischen parömischen Minimums, d. h. sind für 95 % bis 100% der Sprecher mit ungarischer Muttersprache bekannt (vgl. Tóthné Litovkina 1996). Obwohl weitere Forschungsfragen gewöhnlich im Fazit formuliert werden, soll bereits hier auf ein Forschungsdesiderat verwiesen werden. Seit der Erstellung des ungarischen parömischen Minimums sind bereits 17 Jahre vergangen und in diesen Jahren hat sich der Sprachgebrauch in vielerlei Hinsicht Veränderungen durchgemacht, so auch in Bezug auf Sprichwörter (und Anti-Sprichwörter). Das parömische Minimum des Ungarischen sollte daher erneut erschlossen werden, wobei aktuelle Korpora verwendet werden sollten: Die Erstellung eines Sprichwortminimums (oder eben eines Optimums) sollte die heutige Sprachverwendung, die aktuellen Trends widerspiegeln. (Zu den parömischen Minima als Basis kontrastiver Untersuchungen s. Hrisztova-Gotthardt 2006.)

Unter den (eindeutig oder eher) idiomatischen Sprichwörtern finden wir auch sehr viele Übereinstimmungen, z. B.:

ung. *Ki mint veti ágyát, úgy alussza álmát.* – dt. *Wie man sich bettet, so schläft man.*

ung. *Vak tyúk is talál szemet.* – dt. *Ein blindes Huhn findet auch einmal ein Korn.*

ung. *Aki á-t mond, mondjon bé-t is!* – dt. *Wer A sagt, muss auch B sagen.*

Hier stehen zwar ungarische und deutsche Sprichwörter im Mittelpunkt, es sei doch kurz darauf verwiesen, dass es unter den Sprichwörtern viele Internationalismen gibt, sogar unter den idiomatischen Sprichwörtern, z. B.:

ung. *Addig jár a korsó a kútra, míg el nem török.* – dt. *Der Krug geht so lange zu Wasser (zum Brunnen), bis er bricht.* – engl. *A pitcher that goes too often to the well is broken at last.* – russ. *Подавился кувшин по воду ходить, там ему и голову сломить.*

ung. *Ha nincs otthon a macska, cincognak az egerek.* – dt. *Wenn die Katze aus dem Haus ist, tanzen die Mäuse.* – engl. *When the cat is away (is not at home/sleeps/leaves), the mice will/can/may play/dance (on the table).* – russ. *Когда коты нет, мыши пляшут.; Кошка из дома, мышкам воля.; Без коты мышам масленица.*

3.1.2.

Diejenigen Sprichwörter sind auch keine Realien, welche in der ZS deshalb über ein weitgehendes oder partielles Äquivalent verfügen, weil sie, d. h. das AS- und das ZS-Sprichwort, nachweisbar auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zurückgehen. Die Hauptquelle stellt zweifelsohne die Bibel dar:

ung. *Szemet szemért, fogat fogért.* – dt. *Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn.* (S. im Alten Testament, im 3. Buch Mose (24, 19): „Und wer seinen Nächsten verletzt, dem soll man tun, wie er getan hat. Schade um Schade, Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn.“ (Vgl. Duden 2002: 76; Forgács, T. 2003: 669.)

ung. *Aki másnak vermet ás, maga esik bele.* – dt. *Wer andern eine Grube gräbt, fällt selbst hinein.* (vgl. engl. *If you dig a pit for someone else, you fall into it yourself.* – russ. *He поўне копай другому яму, сам в неё попадёшь.*) (Das Sprichwort geht laut Duden (2002: 298) auf den Spruch des Predigers Salomo zurück (10, 8): „Aber wer eine Grube macht, der wird selbst darein fallen“.)

3.1.3.

Weitgehende oder sogar totale Äquivalenz kann auch durch Entlehnung aus der einen Sprache in die andere resultieren. Das folgende ungarische Sprichwort ist höchstwahrscheinlich ein Lehn-Sprichwort, d. h. es ist als Spiegelübersetzung des entsprechenden deutschen Sprichwortes ins Ungarische gelangt (s. Forgács, T. 2003: 167):

ung. *Ahol fát vágnak, ott hullik a forgács.* ← dt. *Wo gehobelt wird, fallen Späne.*

3.2. Sprichwörter mit partiellen zielsprachlichen ZS-Äquivalenten

Die Sprichwörter, die in der ZS über ein partielles Äquivalent verfügen, wobei die beiden Sprichwörter in ihrer Bildhaftigkeit beinahe übereinstimmen, sind kulturell nicht gebunden, d. h. keine Realien. (Es sei hier darauf nicht eingegangen, dass die Abgrenzung des Äquivalenztyps „weitgehende (oder sogar: totale) Übereinstimmung“ und des Typs „partielle Übereinstimmung“ oft nicht ganz eindeutig ist. Bei der Unterscheidung der Phraseologismen mit und ohne Kulturspezifität spielt das eigentlich keine Rolle.) Dieser Äquivalenztyp ist ebenfalls reichlich zu belegen, z. B.:

ung. *Az alma nem esik messze a fájától.* [Der Apfel fällt nicht weit von seinem Baum.] – dt. *Der Apfel fällt nicht weit vom Stamm.*

ung. *Ajándék lónak ne nézd a fogát!* [Dem geschenkten Pferd schaue nicht seine Zähne!] – ném. *Einem geschenkten Gaul schaut man nicht ins Maul.* (vgl. engl. *Don't look a gift horse in the mouth.* – russ. *Дарёному коню в зубы не смотрят.*)

Zwischenfazit: Die obigen Gruppen nicht-kulturspezifischer Sprichwörter decken sich im Großen und Ganzen mit den von Regina Hessky (1987: 95) aufgezählten Typen, welche sie als Gründe für die totale Äquivalenz deutscher und ungarischer Phraseologismen auflistet. Dies sind: 1) Gemeinsamkeiten in der historisch-gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung; 2) Gemeinsamkeiten in den ethisch-moralischen Wertvorstellungen und daraus folgend Übereinstimmungen in der Symbolik sprachlicher Ausdrücke; 3) Gemeinsamkeiten in den Sitten und Bräuchen; 4) direkte Übernahmen von Phraseologismen aus der Quellsprache in die Zielsprache; 5) eine dritte Sprache als gemeinsame Quelle der Übernahme (solche Quellen können z. B. die Bibel, die Antike, bekannte Werke aus der Weltliteratur sein).

4. Die kulturspezifischen Sprichwörter auf *Langue-Ebene*

Die Sprichwörter, die ich zu den Realien rechne, stellen keine homogene Gruppe dar. Was sie aber doch zu einer Gruppe verbindet, das ist das Merkmal, dass sie kulturgebundene emotiv-assoziative Werte haben. Die aufgeführten Beispiele stammen aus dem phraseologischen Wörterbuch Tamás Forgács (2003 bzw. 2013).

4.1. Sprichwörter mit einer Realie im engeren Sinne als Komponente

Erstens sind diejenigen Sprichwörter kulturspezifisch und daher als Realien zu betrachten, die in ihren Komponenten (oder zumindest und meistens in einer Komponente) eine Realie im engeren Sinne enthalten und somit kein Äquivalent in der Zielsprache haben (oder ein ZS-Äquivalent mit einer ZS-Realie als Komponente). Diese kulturspezifischen Komponenten in den Sprichwörtern können sehr verschiedenartig sein, so werden hier nur einige, m. E. typische Arten aufgeführt. (Zur detaillierten Klassifizierung der Realien auf Grund von ausgewählten Werken des zeitgenössischen ungarischen Schriftstellers László Garaczi s. Forgács, E. 2004a.)

- geographische Namen:

ung. *Egyszer volt **Budán** kutyavásár.* [Es gab in Buda (= Teil der ungarischen Hauptstadt *Budapest*) einmal Hundemarkt.] ('Man hat nur einmal ein außergewöhnliches Glück; daraus, dass einem einmal etw. erlaubt oder verziehen wurde, folgt nicht, dass dies wiederholt erlaubt/verziehen wird.')
- Bezeichnungen für Währungen:

ung. *Ki a **fillért** nem becsüli, a **forintot** nem érdemli.* [Wer den Fillér nicht ehrt, ist des Forints nicht wert.] (vgl. dt. *Wer den Pfennig nicht ehrt, ist des Talers nicht wert.*)
(Die ungarische Währung *fillér* als Wechselmünze von *forint* wurde mittlerweile aus dem Verkehr gezogen, im Sprichwort lebt aber ihre Bezeichnung weiter.)
- Bezeichnungen für landesspezifische Berufe:

ung. ***Betyárból** lesz a legjobb **pandúr.*** [Aus einem Betyár wird der beste Pandur.] ('Wenn jmd. früher bestimmte Regeln/Vorschriften mißachtet hat, kann er diese erfolgreicher

aufdecken; wenn jmd. früher gewisse Missstände kritisiert hat, kann er diese leichter beheben.’)

(Das Ungarisch-Deutsche Großwörterbuch von Halász/Földes/Uzonyi (2003: 148) gibt zu ung. *betyár* u. a. das Äquivalent (*der*) *Strauchdieb* an bzw. als eine „Berufsbezeichnung“ aus den alten ungarischen Zeiten Folgendes: (*der*) *Betyar*. In der ungarischen Kultur verbindet man mit *betyár* positive Konnotationen: Die legendären ungarischen Betyáre hatten die Reichen bestohlen, darum wurden sie vielfach als Volkshelden betrachtet. Es gibt Lieder, vor allem balladenähnliche Volkslieder, die ihre Abenteuer und ihren Lebensstil thematisieren (vgl. ung. *betyárnóta* [Betyárlied]). Ihr Leben wird in Anekdoten usw. vielfach romantisch dargestellt, so spricht man sogar von *betyárromantika* [Betyárromantik].

Zu ung. *pandúr* führt das Ungarisch-Deutsche Großwörterbuch von Halász/Földes/Uzonyi (2003: 1164) folgende Äquivalente an: (*der*) *Pandur*, (*der*) *Häuscher*, (*der*) *Fußsoldat*. Das Duden-Fremdwörterbuch (Duden 2005: 754) führt unter dem Lemma (*der*) *Pandur* aus, dass es ein Wort aus dem Ungarischen ist, mit den Bedeutungen: 1.) '(bewaffneter) Leibdiener'; 2.) 'Fußsoldat'. Laut dem ungarischen Bedeutungshandwörterbuch (Pusztai 2003: 1055) bezeichnet man mit ung. *pandúr* Mitglieder eines bewaffneten Ordnungsorgans aus dem 19. Jahrhundert. Das Wort ist höchstwahrscheinlich ein Wanderwort; in seiner Verbreitung soll das Serbo-Kroatische eine relevante Rolle gespielt haben.)

- Bezeichnung des Volkes/der Nation:

ung. *Három a magyar igazság*. [Drei (d. h. 3) ist die ungarische Wahrheit.] ('Von allen guten – seltener: schlechten – Sachen sollte man mindestens drei haben.') (vgl. dt. *Aller guten Dinge sind drei*. = 'Ausspruch zur Rechtfertigung von etw., was jmd. ein drittes Mal tut, probiert')

(Die Wendung ist lateinischen Ursprungs: *Omne trinum perfectum*. Die Komponente *magyar* (dt. *ungarisch*) dient als Nachdruck (vgl. Forgács, T. 2003: 309) und verleiht dem Sprichwort seine kulturelle Geprägtheit.)

- Bezeichnungen für landesspezifische Gebäude:

ung. *Két dudás nem fér meg egy csárdában.* [Zwei Dudeler/Dudelsackpfeifer vertragen sich nicht in einer (und derselben) Csárda.] ('Zwei Menschen, die in derselben Gesellschaft/Gemeinschaft das Sagen haben wollen, können miteinander nicht auskommen.')

(Im Duden-Fremdwörterbuch wird die Schreibweise (*die*) *Tscharda* als die alte Schreibung für (*die*) *Csárda* ('Pusztaschenke') angegeben (2005: 1061, 199).)

4.2. Sprichwörter mit einem kulturspezifischen Hintergrund

Zweitens gehören solche Sprichwörter hierher, die zwar keine Realie im engeren Sinne enthalten, deren Herkunft aber in der jeweiligen Kultur (in der Geschichte, in den Traditionen, in den Sitten und Bräuchen usw.) verankert ist, unabhängig davon, ob oder inwieweit dieser Hintergrund für die Sprecher heute nachvollziehbar ist, d. h. unabhängig davon, ob oder inwieweit der kulturspezifische Hintergrund verblasst ist, z. B.:

ung. *Rossz szomszédság török átok.* [Schlechte Nachbarschaft ist (ein) türkischer Fluch.] ('Schlechte Nachbarschaft ist ein großer Schicksalsschlag.')

Zum geschichtlichen Hintergrund: Nachdem Buda (Teil der heutigen ungarischen Hauptstadt) im Jahre 1541 von den Türken erobert wurde, stand der Karpaten-Becken, somit auch der beträchtliche Teil des damaligen Königreichs Ungarn, mehr als 150 Jahre lang unter der Herrschaft des Osmanischen Reiches.

4.3. Sprichwörter national-literarischer Herkunft: verblasste Zitate

Manche Sprichwörter sind ursprünglich Zitate aus den Werken einer Nationalliteratur, deswegen haben sie kein ZS-Äquivalent. Auf das Gedicht mit dem gleichnamigen Titel des ungarischen Dichters Attila József geht der folgende Beleg zurück:

ung. *Aki szegény, az a legszegényebb.* [Wer arm ist, ist am ärmsten.] ('Die Armut kann einen armen Menschen mehrfach schlagen.')

4.4. Sprichwörter mit einer spezifischen Idiomatisierung

In diese Gruppe gehören solche Sprichwörter, die in der ZS ein funktionales Äquivalent haben: Dem AS-Spruchwort entspricht in der ZS ein interlinguales Synonym, d. h. ein Sprichwort, das mit der AS-Einheit semantisch und stilistisch (d. h. in seiner „Funktion“) übereinstimmt, sich jedoch in seiner bildhaften Grundlage (in seiner Motivierung, in seinem Bildspenderbereich) völlig unterscheidet. Man könnte hier einwenden, dass diese Sprichwörter in der Tiefenstruktur, im logisch-semantischen Modell, im kognitiven Muster vielfach übereinstimmen. Die Versprachlichung derselben begrifflichen Metapher kann allerdings in den jeweiligen Sprachen unterschiedlich sein, wobei der kulturell-ideologische Hintergrund eine Rolle spielt, welcher für die gegebene Kultur/Sprache charakteristisch ist (vgl. Kövecses 2009). Da die Idiomatisierung kultur/sprachenspezifisch ist, zähle ich diese Sprichwörter zu den Realien:

ung. *Vén darázs is megdongja a mézeskörtét.* [Eine alte Wespe summt auch die Honigbirne an.]; *Vén ló is megröhögi az abrakot.* [Ein altes Pferd lacht auch das Futter an.]; *Vén kecske is megnyalja a sót.* [Eine alte Ziege leckt auch am Salz.] – dt. *Alte Mäuse fressen auch gern frischen Speck.*

ung. *Egy fenékkell/seggel nem lehet két lovon ülni / két lovat megülni.* [Mit einem Hintern/Arsch kann man nicht auf zwei Pferden sitzen/reiten.] (‘Niemand sollte mehr vornehmen als man tatsächlich schafft; zwei Sachen kann man gleichzeitig nicht ordentlich machen.’) – dt. Redewendung als partielles funktionales Äquivalent (nicht nur in der bildhaften Grundlage anders, sondern semantisch auch nicht deckungsgleich): *auf zwei Hochzeiten (österr.: Kirtagen) tanzen* (‘an zwei Veranstaltungen, Unternehmungen o. Ä. teilnehmen’).

4.5. Sprichwörter mit einer echten Lücke in der Zielsprache

Ich rechne die Sprichwörter hierher, die im phraseologischen Bestand der ZS eine echte Lücke aufweisen, d. h. keine ständigen Entsprechungen haben. Ihre Bedeutung kann in der ZS paraphrasiert werden. Der Grund für die Existenz derartiger Sprichwörter liegt einfach darin, dass die eine Kultur/Sprachgemeinschaft manche Sachverhalte mit Sprichwörtern ausdrückt, während andere Kultur-/Sprachgemeinschaften das nicht tun. Ob es mit hundertprozentiger Sicherheit behauptet werden kann, dass ein AS-Sprich-

wort in der ZS, d. h. in einer bestimmten Sprachenpaar-Relation, kein Äquivalent hat, ist natürlich fraglich, allein schon dadurch, dass man praktisch keine ausgewogene bilinguale Sprachkompetenz haben kann. Auf die Sprichwort-Lexika kann man sich auch nicht ganz verlassen, zumal sie nicht alle Sprichwörter einer Sprache enthalten können. Ich liste deshalb die folgenden ungarischen Sprichwörter mit der vorsichtigen Behauptung auf, dass sie – meines Wissens (!) – im Deutschen keine ständigen, kodifizierten Äquivalente haben:

ung. *Alamuszi macska nagyot ugrik.* [Die heimtückische/duckmäuserische Katze macht einen großen Sprung.] ('Mit den heimtückischen/duckmäuserischen Menschen müssen wir sehr vorsichtig sein, denn sie können uns böse Überraschungen bereiten.')

ung. *Az kiabál (legjobban), akinek a háza ég.* [Der schreit (am besten, d. h. 'am lautesten'), dessen Haus brennt.] ('Der verteidigt sich am heftigsten oder beschuldigt andere, dessen Gewissen nicht rein ist.')

ung. *Éhes disznó makkal álmodik.* [Das hungrige Schwein träumt von Eicheln.] ('Jeder träumt davon, wonach man sich sehnt.')

ung. *Felmelegítve csak a töltött káposzta jó.* [Aufgewärmt ist nur das gefüllte Kraut gut.] ('Kaputte private Beziehungen (Liebesbeziehungen, besonders Ehe) kann man durch einen Neuanfang schwer oder überhaupt nicht „reparieren“.)

ung. *Könnyű Katát/Katit/Katót táncba vinni.* [Es ist leicht, Kata/Kati/Kató zum Tanzen mitzunehmen/zum Tanzen aufzufordern.] ('Es ist leicht, jmdn. dazu zu überreden, was er selbst gern tut und tun will.')

ung. *Közös lónak túros a háta.* [Gemeinsames Pferd hat einen wunden/aufgeriebenen/aufgescheuerten Rücken.] ('Was von mehreren Menschen benutzt wird, geht meistens schnell kaputt/wird beschädigt, denn die Menschen gehen mit diesen Sachen nicht so sorgsam/behutsam um, als würden sie nur ihnen gehören.')

ung. *Ne vakarjuk (ott), ahol nem viszket.* [Wir sollten (dort) nicht kratzen, wo es nicht juckt.] ('Wir sollten nicht voreilig handeln und auch solche Probleme lösen wollen, die noch gar nicht eingetreten sind.')

ung. *Néha az ördögnek is kell gyertyát gyújtani.* [Manchmal muss man sogar dem Teufel eine Kerze anzünden.] ('Manchmal muss man auch zu unangenehmen Verpflichtungen eine gute Miene machen.')

ung. *Nem lehet egy rókáról két bőrt (le)húzni/(le)nyúzni.* [Von einem Fuchs kann man nicht zwei Häute abziehen.] ('Man kann von einer Sache keinen doppelten Nutzen ziehen.')

ung. *Finggal nem lehet tojást festeni.* [Mit einem Furz kann man nicht Eier bemahlen.] (Slang; 'Wenn die Umstände nicht gesichert sind (wenn es z. B. keine entsprechenden Werkzeuge, Materialien zur Verfügung stehen), kann man keine gute Arbeit verrichten.')

ung. *SzARBól nem lehet aranyat csinálni.* [Aus Scheiße kann man nicht Gold machen.] (nach Forgács, T. 2003: 654 ist das ein Gemeinplatz; Slang; 'Aus wertlosen Sachen kann man nichts Wertvolles schaffen.')

5. Sprichwörter auf Diskurs-Ebene

Nachdem die relevantesten Arten der Sprichwörter mit und ohne Kulturspezifika auf Langue-Ebene erschlossen worden sind, soll durch Textbeispiele aufgezeigt werden, wie sie als intertextuelle Elemente fungieren und mit welchen Verfahren kulturell nicht-gebundene und kulturell gebundene Sprichwörter übertragen werden. Alle Übersetzungsverfahren können hier natürlich nicht besprochen werden.

Die Frage, inwieweit die Übersetzer bei der Übertragung von Phraseologismen mit Wörterbüchern arbeiten, ist schwer zu beantworten. Erstens deshalb, da die Übertragung der festen Wendungen – so auch die Übertragung der Sprichwörter – jeweils von ihrer Funktion im konkreten Textzusammenhang abhängt, also davon, welche Art von Äquivalenz jeweils präferiert werden muss (zur textkonstitutiven Rolle der Phraseologismen s. Forgács 2004c und 2005; „Zur Frage der Äquivalenz“ und „Zu den methodischen Grundlagen der phraseologischen Übersetzungsanalyse und -kritik“

s. die gleichnamigen Kapitel in Drahota-Szabó 2013). Vorerst muss der Übersetzer erschließen, ob die Sprichwörter eine quantitative Relevanz aufweisen, oder eine Art der qualitativen Übersetzungsrelevanz, d. h. ob sie im AS-Text stilistisch, textlinguistisch oder pragmatisch relevant sind und ob diese Relevanz auch in den ZS-Text übertragen werden soll oder überhaupt kann. Zweitens ist manchmal sogar die Festlegung der Äquivalente auf Langue-Ebene nicht eindeutig, da eine „Idee“ sowohl in der AS als auch in der ZS mit mehreren festen Wendungen ausgedrückt werden kann: Auch im Bereich der Phraseologie gibt es bekanntlich Synonyme (vgl. dazu z. B. Fleischer 1997: 178ff.; Forgács, T. 2007: 143ff.; Palm 1997: 49ff.; zu den Problemen der Sprichwörterlexikographie s. Mieder 2003).

Generell kann ich – auf Grund meiner zahlreichen Textanalysen – begründet behaupten, dass der entscheidende Faktor bei der Wahl eines sog. Wörterbuch- Äquivalents (oder besser: eines Langue- Äquivalents oder System-Äquivalents) ist, ob der Phraseologismus eine ausgangskulturelle Spezifik aufweist oder eben keine. Man könnte die These formulieren: Durch den Einsatz der Äquivalente auf Systemebene lässt sich eine Äquivalenz auf Textebene gewöhnlich leicht erzielen und das Vorhandensein eines phraseologischen Äquivalents auf Systemebene führt somit in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Fälle „automatisch“ dazu, dass der Übersetzer diesen ZS-Phraseologismus auch verwendet. Zwischen dem Vorhandensein oder dem Fehlen eines ZS-Äquivalents und zwischen dem eingesetzten Übersetzungsverfahren gibt es also evidente Zusammenhänge (vgl. dazu auch Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 309).

Die obige These sollte allerdings durch Textanalysen eindeutig bewiesen werden, d. h. durch quantitative Daten untermauert werden. Die parallelen Textanalysen, d. h. der Vergleich von AS-Texten mit mehreren ZS-Varianten (in derselben ZS oder in mehreren Zielsprachen) könnten dabei aufschlussreiche Ergebnisse liefern, denn die Übersetzung ist jeweils sprachen- und kulturbedingt. Ein Beispiel soll dies verdeutlichen. In der zitierten Szene haben wir einen Dialog zwischen Gott und seinen beiden Engeln, die er in Männergestalt auf die Erde geschickt hat, um eine Frau, namens Anna, zu beschatten. (Nach dem ungarischen Original werden die Übersetzungen ins Deutsche und ins Englische angegeben. In den Textbelegen (hier wie auch in den folgenden) werde ich die Sprichwörter durch Fettdruck markieren.)

„Ekkor lépett ki Anna a kertkapun. Bevásárolni ment vagy orvoshoz? Az idősebb férfi kituszkolta a fiatalabbat az autóból.

– Menjél már utána, ne bénázz – sziszegte. Nem volt féltékeny, sót. [...]

– Angelusz, én most nem kontaktálnék a kiskollégával... én nem tudok ott lenni minden nemi ingernél... nekem erre nincs időm! [...]

– Uram, Ön irigykedik a Balázskára.

– **Bagoly mondja verébnek, hogy nagyfejű.**

– Pardon?

– Semmi. Végeztem.“ (Esterházy 1990: 54f.)

„In diesem Augenblick war Anna an das Gartentor getreten. Ging sie zum Einkaufen oder zum Arzt? Der ältere Mann schubste den anderen aus dem Wagen.

– Geh nach ihr, sei nicht so lahm, zischte er. Er war nicht eifersüchtig, im Gegenteil. [...]

– Angelus, ich möchte jetzt mit dem jungen Kollegen keinen Kontakt aufnehmen ... ich kann nicht bei jeder geschlechtlichen Erregung dabei sein ... dazu habe ich keine Zeit! [...]

– Herr, Sie beneiden Balázska.

– **Das sagt der Uhu zum Spatzen, Sie Großkopferter.**

– Pardon?

– Nichts. Abtreten.“ (Esterházy 2004a: 55f.)

„It was at this juncture that Anna came through the garden gate. Was she going shopping or to the doctor? The older man nudged the younger out of the car.

‘Snap out of it, and go after her,’ he hissed. He was not jealous. On the contrary. [...]

‘Look here, Angelus. This is no time for a heart-to-heart with your little buddy, dig? ... I can’t be present at every sexual turn-on. I haven’t got the time!’ [...]

‘Lord, you are jealous of Blase.’

‘**Look who is calling the kettle black.**’

‘Excuse me?’

‘Forget it. Over and out.’“ (Esterházy 1993: 41f.)

Das ungarische Sprichwort lautet in kodifizierter Form: *Bagoly mondja (a) verébnék, hogy nagyfejű/nagy a feje*. [Der Uhu sagt dem Spatzen, Großkopf/dass er einen großen Kopf hat.] und bedeutet: 'man behauptet etw. Negatives von einer anderen Person, man kritisiert jemanden oder macht sich sogar lustig über jemanden wegen einer Eigenschaft, eines Charaktermerkmals, wobei der Kritikpunkt eben für ihn selbst charakteristisch ist' (vgl. Forgács, T. 2003: 48). Der Duden (2002) führt kein entsprechendes Sprichwort auf. Ins Deutsche wird zum großen Teil wörtlich übersetzt, womit eine semantische und gleichzeitig auch eine stilistische Äquivalenz erzielt wird. Durch den Einsatz des Wortes *Großkopferter* ruft die Textstelle Komik hervor: Neben der wörtlichen Lesart von *nagyfejű* [großköpfig], die durch die Adaptation des ungarischen Sprichwortes erscheint, wird auch eine andere Deutung aktualisiert. Das besonders im Bairischen und im österreichischen Deutsch verwendete Wort (*der*) *Großkopferte* hat nämlich die Bedeutungen: 1. 'einflussreiche, gesellschaftlich hoch gestellte Person'; 2. 'Intellektuelle(r)' (s. DUW 2003: 681). In der Übersetzung ins Englische wird das funktionale System-Äquivalent (dem Kontext angepasst in leicht modifizierter Form) eingesetzt: *The pot calls the kettle black*.

Es lässt sich subsumieren, dass mit beiden Verfahren, d. h. sowohl mit einer weitgehend wörtlichen, doch spielerischen Übersetzung als auch mit dem Einsatz des interlingualen Synonyms adäquate Übersetzungen entstanden sind, die allen Äquivalenz-Anforderungen weitgehend entsprechen. Wie im ungarischen Original, so auch in beiden Übersetzungen ist an den entsprechenden Textstellen ein Stilbruch, der als Stilmittel textkonstitutiv ist. (Der Stilbruch entsteht dadurch, dass das Sprichwort, das stilistisch als umgangssprachlich zu bewerten ist, von Gott gesagt wird.) Es sind keine Übersetzungsverluste oder Rezeptionsverluste nachzuweisen.

6. Die nicht-kulturspezifischen Sprichwörter auf Diskurs-Ebene

6.1. Normgerechte Verwendung und Modifizierung

Der folgende ungarische Textbeleg enthält zwei Sprichwörter und beide werden mit ihren Langue-Äquivalenten übertragen. Das erste Sprichwort wird normgerecht verwendet, d. h.: ung. *Amelyik kutya ugat, nem harap*. – dt. *Hunde, die bellen, beißen nicht*. Das zweite Sprichwort lautet in kodifizierter Form: ung. *Hallgatni arany* (, *beszélni ezüst*). – dt. *Reden ist Silber, Schweigen ist Gold*. Dieses zweite Sprichwort wird im Text modifiziert, durch das Negations-

wort ins Gegenteil gekehrt. Das Spiel lässt sich am ZS-Äquivalent leicht nachmachen:

„Apám komondor. **Mely kutya ugat, azon kutya nem harap.** Édesapám harap is, ugat is. Ezt másképpen úgy lehet mondani, hogy közelebb áll hozzá Sztálin vagy Dzsingisz kán, mint Grillparzer. A bőrén érzi a kor kihívását. [...] Rendre arról kell, sőt illős beszélünk, amiről nem tudunk beszélni. **Hallgatni nem arany.**“ (Esterházy 2001: I/53.)⁴ →

„Mein Vater ist ein Komondor. **Ein Hund, der bellt, beißt nicht.** Mein Vater tut beides: Er bellt, und er beißt. Das könnte man mit anderen Worten so ausdrücken, daß ihm Stalin oder Dschingis-Khan näherstehen als Grillparzer. Er spürt die Herausforderung der Zeit auf seiner Haut. [...] Immer wieder müssen wir darüber sprechen, worüber wir nicht sprechen können. **Schweigen ist nicht Gold.**“ (Esterházy 2004b: I/53.)

6.2. Implikation und Literalisierung

Sprichwörter, die in der ZS ein weitgehendes Langue-Äquivalent haben, lassen sich auch dann leicht übertragen, wenn sie im Text nur impliziert werden und auch noch literalisiert werden. Wenn neben der idiomatischen Bedeutung auch ihre wörtliche Lesart erscheint, eröffnen sie zwei Isotopie-Ebenen. Es vollzieht sich eine Art Code-switching (s. Palm 1997: 62), indem zwei Lesarten einer Wendung aktualisiert werden, einmal die Bedeutung als feste Wortverbindung und parallel dazu die Bedeutung als freie Wortverbindung. Umborg (1993: 170) nennt dieses Sprachspiel auf Grund des Zusammenspiels der beiden Bedeutungsebenen doppelte Aktualisierung. Palm (1997: 3) spricht noch von dualer Kodierung; Burger (1973: 23) von umgekehrter Metaphorisierung bzw. von Motivierung und von Aktualisierung der (bzw. einer) wörtlichen Lesart (Burger 2010: 71). Farø (2006: 195) verwendet die Bezeichnung duale Dekodierung.

In der nächsten Textpassage verursacht die Übersetzung des Sprichwortes wieder keine Schwierigkeiten. Das ungarische Sprichwort *Új seprű/seprő/söprű jól seper/söpör.* [Neuer Besen kehrt gut.] und das deutsche Äquivalent, nämlich *Neue Besen kehren gut.* stimmen in ihrer Bedeutung völlig überein: 'wenn jmd. eine neue Aufgabe o. Ä. übernimmt, zeigt er anfänglich besonderen Eifer'. Der Unterschied ist nur formal, denn dem Singular im Ungari-

schen steht im Deutschen der Plural gegenüber. Sowohl im ungarischen Original als auch in der deutschsprachigen Übersetzung werden die Sprichwörter impliziert, sie werden durch den Kontext literalisiert und fungieren als textstrukturierende Elemente (s. die durch Fettdruck hervorgehobenen Textstellen). Die Implizierung geschieht hier dadurch, dass das Sprichwort sowohl im ungarischen als auch im deutschen Text in seine Komponenten zerlegt wird und diese Teile haben in der Textpassage eine textkonstitutive Rolle.

„Ha valaki aljas, szerencséesebb, ha buta. Ez a Kenderesi nem volt buta ember. Azt ötölte ki, hogy apámat osztotta be a rendőrökhöz a portákat ellenőrizni. Ellenőrizni a beszolgáltatást. Vagyis apám **„söpörte le a padlást”**. Ellenállni, cin-koskodni nem lehetett, meg lett mondva, hogy már ki van jelölve a hatvani börtönben a cella.

– Rád vár, gróf, úgy **seperj. Új seprő!**

Az emberek ezt tudták, mondták is, hogy nem baj, doktor úr. De, ismétlés, baj volt. Engem is leköptek az utcában. Nem szóltam senkinek. Meg is tagadhatta volna a **lesöprést**, gondoltam akkor. De nem tagadta meg.“ (Esterházy 2001: II/144)

→

„Wenn einer niederträchtig ist, ist es besser, wenn er auch dumm ist. Dieser Kenderesi war kein dummer Mensch. Es war seine Idee, meinen Vater zur Kontrolle der Höfe zu den Polizisten einzuteilen. Um die Pflichtabgabe zu kontrollieren. Das heißt, mein Vater war derjenige, der **»den Estrich leerfegte«**. Widerstand, Komplizenschaft war nicht möglich, es wurde ihm gesagt, die Zelle im Gefängnis von Hatvan stehe schon bereit.

»Die wartet nur auf dich, Graf, also **kehre** so gut du kannst. **Neuer Besen!**«

Die Leute wußten das, sie sagten's auch, macht nichts, Herr Doktor. Aber, Wiederholung, es machte was. Auch ich wurde auf der Straße angespuckt. Ich habe es keinem erzählt. Er hätte **das Leerfegen** auch verweigern können, dachte ich damals. Aber er verweigerte es nicht.“ (Esterházy 2004b: II/144)

Um den obigen Text im ungarischen Makrokontext rezipieren zu können, sind Hintergrundkenntnisse nötig. Im AS-Text – wie auch im ZS-Text – steht „söpörte le a padlást“ [hat den Estrich

leergefegt] in Anführungszeichen, da „söprés“, d. h. „Fegen“ hier nicht wörtlich gemeint ist. Das pejorative Wort *padlássöprés/padlásle-söprés* [(Leer)Fegen des Dachbodens/des Estrichs; Kompositum aus *padlás* = *Dachboden* + *söprés* = *Fegen*] bezog sich ursprünglich – wie auch im zitierten literarischen Text – auf die Pflichtablieferungen der landwirtschaftlichen Produkte. Ende der 1940-er bzw. Anfang der 1950-er Jahre, d. h. im sog. Rákosi-Ära, mussten die Bauern in Ungarn Weizen, Nutztiere usw. dem sozialistischen Staat abgeben. (Mátyás Rákosi war der erste Sekretär der Ungarischen Kommunistischen Partei bzw. später der Präsident des Ministerrates, der durch die Organisation ÁVH (Initialwort aus *Államvédelmi Hatóság* [Staatssicherheitsdienst]; wie die Stasi in der ehemaligen DDR) dafür sorgte, dass die Estriche der Bauern tatsächlich leergefegt werden. Die Pflichtabgabe wurde mit staatlicher Gewalt durchgeführt: Hat man z. B. ein Schwein „schwarz“ geschlachtet, so wurde man von den Stasi-Leuten geholt, verhaftet und verurteilt, wie dies auch im ungarischen Filmklassiker von Péter Bacsó mit dem Titel „A tanú“ [Der Zeuge] karikierend dargestellt wird. – Zur ausgangskulturell orientierten Rezeption des obigen Textes braucht man diese Vorkenntnisse: Durch die kurz angesprochenen historischen Umstände erhält nämlich das Sprichwort, das auf Langue-Ebene nicht kulturspezifisch ist, durch den Kontext doch eine kulturelle Einbettung, ein „ungarisches Gepräge“.

7. Die kulturspezifischen Sprichwörter auf Diskurs-Ebene

Die Übertragung der kulturspezifischen Sprichwörter weist des Öfteren Probleme auf. Entscheidend dabei ist, ob das kulturell gebundene AS-Sprichwort in der ZS ein Sprichwort-Äquivalent hat oder eben keins. Steht aber dem kulturell gebundenen AS-Sprichwort in der ZS (d. h. als Langue-Äquivalent) ein ebenfalls kulturspezifisches Sprichwort gegenüber, so muss der Übersetzer entscheiden, ob er verfremdet, d. h. die AS-kulturelle Einbettung des Textes behält, oder domestiziert, d. h. den ZS-Text in die Zielkultur einbettet, oder eine Zwischenlösung anstrebt. Auf jeden Fall muss der Übersetzer zwischen den Übersetzungsstrategien wählen und dementsprechend ein Übersetzungsverfahren einsetzen. Hier gilt es natürlich auch, dass die Wahl des Übersetzungsverfahrens in erster Linie von der Art der Übersetzungsrelevanz des Sprichwortes

im jeweiligen Kontext abhängt bzw. auch von seinem Bezug zum Gesamttext.

Während die wörtliche Übersetzung auf dem einen Pol der möglichen Verfahren verfremdend wirkt, dient die Adaptation auf dem anderen Pol der kulturellen Assimilierung, d. h. der Domestikation. Bei der Nachdichtung spielt die Kreativität des Übersetzers eine wesentliche Rolle, besonders, wenn ein Sprachspiel nachgestaltet werden soll. Die Übersetzungsverfahren haben keine absoluten Werte. Das eingesetzte Verfahren soll nicht nur im Mikrotext, sondern auch im Zusammenhang des Makrotexes beurteilt werden: Erst auf der Makroebene des Textes lässt sich eine Übersetzungsstrategie erschließen. (Zu den Übersetzungsverfahren bei den Realien und bei den Phraseologismen s. Drahota-Szabó 2013.)

Äquivalentlose Sprichwörter werden dann eins zu eins, d. h. wörtlich übersetzt, wenn die wörtliche Übertragung auch für den ZS-Leser einen Sinn ergibt, d. h. wenn die Idiomatisierung für ihn nachvollziehbar ist.

Im nächsten Text geht es darum, dass die Eltern überlegen, ob sie ihre Kinder in der Schule zum Religionunterricht anmelden. Das war in den 1950-er und 1960-er Jahren, d. h. zu den Zeiten des Sozialismus, als die Parteiideologie bestimmend war, keine einfache Frage. Wenn man sich doch dazu entschieden hat, dann *ging man mit dem Kopf gegen die Wand* (s. auch im Text; vgl. ung. *fejjel megy a falnak vki* [wörtlich: mit dem Kopf gegen die Wand gehen]). Was hier von Belang ist, das ist die zweite hervorgehobene Textstelle. Die als Slang oder sogar grob markierte ungarische Wendung lautet in kodifizierter Form: *ad egy pofont a szarnak* [gibt der Scheiße eine Ohrfeige], d. h. 'jmd. macht etwas, unternimmt etwas, trifft solche Maßnahmen, womit/mit denen das Problem nicht zu lösen ist; jmd. macht etw. Überflüssiges'.⁵ Die Redewendung verwandelt sich im Text in ein Sprichwort, wird als Aussage mit einem allgemein geltenden Wahrheitsanspruch verwendet. Durch die wörtliche Übertragung wird sowohl eine semantische, als auch eine stilistische Äquivalenz erreicht.

„Egyébként az egyház is alkalmazkodott ehhez a titye-totyogáshoz. A plébános úr egyáltalán nem örült, hogy anyám, egyetlenként, beiratott minket az iskolai hittanra.

– Méltóságos asszonyom ...

– Ne szólítson méltóságos asszonynak!

– ... méltóságos asszonyom, **nem kell fejje a falnak menni**, ha ért engem.

Mami értette is meg nem is.

– Igaza van a plébánek – így apám –, **a szarnak nem lehet pofont adni.**“ (Esterházy 2001: II/195) →

„Im übrigen hatte sich auch die Kirche dieser Gängelgängelei angepaßt. Herr Pfarrer freute sich überhaupt nicht, daß uns meine Mutter, als einzige, zum schulischen Religionsunterricht anmeldete.

»Gnädige Frau ...«

»Nennen Sie mich nicht gnädige Frau!«

»... gnädige Frau, man muß nicht gleich mit dem Kopf durch die Wand, wenn Sie mich verstehen.«

Mami verstand es nicht wirklich.

»Recht hat er, der Pfarrer«, sagte mein Vater. **»Einem Haufen Scheiße kann man keine Ohrfeige verpassen.«**“ (Esterházy 2004b: II/195)

8. Kulturgebundene Übertragung nicht-kulturgebundener Sprichwörter

Die beiden letzten ungarischen Textbelege enthalten dasselbe kulturell nicht gebundene Sprichwort, in verdrehter Form, d. h. als Sprichwortpersiflage, als Antispruchwort.⁶ Die Übersetzerin wählt jeweils eine andere Lösung, d. h. sie spielt mit zwei unterschiedlichen ZS-Sprichwörtern. Im ersten Fall ist die Übertragung ins Deutsche nicht kulturspezifisch, im zweiten aber doch, durch ein sprachenspezifisches Wortspiel.

8.1. Die Adaptation wird vielfach bei der Übertragung von Sprachspielen verwendet. Zum Situationskontext der nächsten Textpassage soll man Folgendes wissen: Tubitza, der rassenführende Präsident der sog. palomistischen Bewegung, bemängelt, dass unser Ich-Erzähler kein Mobiltelefon hat und führt ihm die Möglichkeit vor Augen, eins direkt in sein Gehirn operieren zu lassen, da dies mit der Hilfe eines Homopräparators und eines Psychochirurgen bereits machbar sei:

„Mert látja ő, hajolt bele az arcomba, látja, hogy engem nem nagyon izzít be se ez a dolog, se az ő jelenléte, de se baj, majd be fog, tesókám, monda látogatóm, és elővett egy noteszt, majd be fog.

Ami kések, nem múlik.“ (Parti Nagy 2000: 48f.) →

„Denn er sehe ganz genau, sagte er und beugte sich in mein Gesicht, er sehe sehr wohl, dass ich nicht gerade heiß bin, weder auf die Sache noch wegen seiner Anwesenheit, aber macht nichts, Brüderchen, sagte mein Besucher und zog ein Notizbuch hervor, das kommt noch, das kommt.“

Besser Speer als nie.“ (Parti Nagy 2005: 47)

Sowohl im ungarischen Original als auch in der deutschen Übersetzung wird jeweils ein Sprichwort verdreht. Das ungarische Sprichwort lautet in kodifizierter Form: *Ami késik, nem múlik*. [Was sich verspätet/was auf sich warten lässt, wird nicht aufgehoben/wird noch kommen.]. Die Bedeutung ist: 'auch wenn etwas zum erwarteten Zeitpunkt nicht eintrifft, kann es später noch eintreffen'. Im Ungarisch-Deutschen Großwörterbuch von Halász/Földes/Uzonyi (2003: 770) wird als deutsches Äquivalent das folgende Sprichwort angegeben: *Aufgeschoben ist nicht aufgehoben*. Die Bedeutung des deutschen Sprichwortes ist: 'das wird zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt ganz bestimmt besorgt oder erledigt' (vgl. Duden 2002: 67).

Die Sprichwort-Persiflage entsteht im Ungarischen durch die Substitution vom Verb *késik* [jmd./etw. verspätet sich] und von dem ähnlich klingenden Substantiv *kések* [Messer – im Plural; *kés* (dt. *Messer*) + *-e* (Bindevokal) + *-k* (Pluralmorphem)]. Da dieses Sprichwort kein Äquivalent im Deutschen hat, setzt die Übersetzerin ein anderes Sprichwort ein, das sich semantisch in den Text integrieren lässt und durch den Austausch von *spät* und *Speer* ein gleich funktionierendes Sprachspiel, ein Antisprichwort, eine Sprichwortparodie ergibt (vgl. Duden 2002: 714: *Besser/lieber spät als gar nicht/nie*. = ugs. 'Kommentar, wenn etw. sehr spät geschieht'; im Ungarischen: *Jobb későn, mint soha.*). Das Sprachspiel in der Übersetzung ist nicht nur deshalb genial, weil dabei der Wirkungsmechanismus des Sprachspiels des ungarischen Originals nachgemacht wird, sondern auch deshalb, da ein Speer auch ein Stichinstrument ist wie ein Messer und im Roman geht es darum, wie Menschen in Tauben umoperiert werden bzw. wie die politischen Feinde mit Gewalt vernichtet werden. Auf Grund des ungarischen Antisprichworts kann der Leser auch noch andere Assoziationen haben, d. h. an die als (Reichs-)Kristallnacht bezeichnete Pogromnacht denken, auf Ung.: „a hosszú **kések** éjszakája“ [wörtlich: die Nacht der langen **Messer**].

8.2. Dieses Sprachspiel kommt auch noch an einer anderen Stelle im ungarischen Roman vor, wo es aber ganz anders übersetzt wird:

„Végül a gondterhelt törzsbeleges megunhatta a hercehurcát, lemondóan legyintett, s a mutogató bivalykézbe nyomott egy *Ocsúdjatok* föliratú táblát, majd feje fölött az *Ami kések, nem múlik* jelmondattal maga is elhúzott a kigyulladt jégpálya irányába.“ (Parti Nagy 2000: 275f.) →

„Schließlich wurde der besorgte Stabskröpfler des Hin und Hers müde, winkte designiert ab, drückte ein Fliegt-auf-Transparent in die herumfuchtelnde Bärenatze und machte sich mit einem *Was lange gärt wird schließlich Wut*-Spruchband über dem Kopf Richtung brennende Eishalle davon.“ (Parti Nagy 2005: 292)

Terézia Mora übersetzt wieder mit einem kreativen phraseologischen Spiel: Sie schafft ein Antispruchwort aus dem Sprichwort *Was lange währt, wird endlich gut*. (= 'geduldiges Warten, Sichbemühen wird am Ende belohnt'; vgl. Duden 2002: 462). Die Textstelle zeigt sehr anschaulich, dass der konkrete Textzusammenhang bei der Übersetzung eine relevante Rolle spielt, denn ein und dasselbe Sprachspiel, ein und dasselbe intertextuelle Element verlangt in unterschiedlichen Kontexten jeweils eine andere Übersetzung. Als die ungarische Sprichwort-Persiflage das erste Mal vorkam, waren die Tauben noch dabei, ihre Macht auszubauen, aber beim zweiten Vorkommen war das Regime schon fertig bzw. stand man kurz vor dem Putsch. Die kommunikative Rolle eines und desselben Sprichwortes ist kontextbedingt, d. h. hängt von der jeweiligen Kommunikationssituation ab. Das in den Text eingebettete Sprichwort fungiert als Evidenzbehauptung, deren Wahrheitsgehalt nicht hinterfragt werden kann bzw. sollte. Diese argumentationsspezifische Leistung weist auch das ZS-Spruchwort bzw. seine Persiflage auf, wodurch Wirkungsgleichheit erzielt wird.⁷

Auf meine Nachfrage bei der Übersetzerin Terézia Mora, warum sie die Sprichwort-Persiflage an den beiden Stellen anders übersetzt hat, bekam ich die folgende Antwort:

„Also, schade, schade, wie ich das heute mir ansehe, es wäre besser gewesen, das gleich ['genauso, identisch'] zu lassen. Umso mehr, dass „Was lange gärt wird schließlich Wut“ nicht

so geistreich ist. Ich kann mich daran nicht mehr erinnern, wie es dazu kam. Es könnte sein, es hat mich verführt, dass der zitierte Satz mit „Wut“ als Wandspruch existierte. Oder ich hatte Mitleid mit Speer. (Er war ja doch schließlich nicht Hitler, oder?) Es könnte auch sein, dass ich noch eine Zeile spielen wollte. Mit heutigen Augen gesehen würde ich das lieber gleich lassen. Aber ob ich Speer oder Wut wählen würde, kann ich auf die Schnelle nicht sagen. Ich würde das mit dem Lektor besprechen.“ (Übersetzung von mir – E. D.-Sz.)

Wie es sich nun herausgestellt hat, waren meine obigen Annahmen „falsch“, genauer gesagt auf der Produzentenseite gab es für die Übersetzung ganz andere Beweggründe. Ich hätte meine Ausführungen oben dementsprechend einfach auch weglassen können. Ich wollte jedoch verdeutlichen, dass die Leser-Rezeption subjektiv ist, und man bei der Übersetzungsanalyse nicht (immer) mit den Kategorien „richtig“ und „gut“ bzw. „nicht richtig“ und „falsch“ operieren kann. Wie aus dem Kommentar von Terézia Mora deutlich wird, hat sie beim Sprachspiel mit „Speer“ nicht an das Stichinstrument gedacht im Sinne von einer 'Waffe zum Stoßen od. Werfen in Form eines langen, dünnen, zugespitzten od. mit einer (Metall)spitze versehenen Stabes' oder an die Leichtathletik, genauer an einen 'Speer als Sportgerät zum Werfen' (vgl. DUW 2003: 1480), sondern an Albert Speer, an den führenden Architekten des Nationalsozialismus, der zum engsten Kreis Hitlers gehörte.

Zusammengefasst kann Folgendes festgehalten werden: Das nicht kulturspezifische Sprichwort hat Mora mit einem ebenfalls nicht kulturspezifischen ZS-Sprichwort übertragen, das allerdings – durch den Verweis auf Albert Speer – doch kulturspezifisch wurde. Daran ändert die Tatsache nichts, dass es keine „Garantie“ dafür gibt, dass der Rezipient diese kulturelle Gebundenheit auch erkennt.

Es soll angemerkt werden, dass die ungarische Sprichwort-Persiflage auch durch die einfache Übersetzung von *kések* (dt. (*die*) *Messer*, d. h. Plural) übertragen werden könnte, d. h.: *Besser spät als nie.* → *Messer spät als nie.* Diese Lösung ist ebenfalls ein kreatives Sprachspiel, denn *besser* und *Messer* klingen ähnlich und das Sprachspiel ließe sich in den Kontext reibungslos integrieren. Dieses Sprachspiel trägt allerdings keine kulturspezifischen Züge, im Gegensatz zur Substitution mit *Speer*.

9. Zusammenfassung und Ausblick

In meinem Aufsatz wurde erstens von der dialektischen Beziehung zwischen Sprache und Kultur ausgegangen, d. h. davon, dass Kulturen textuell eingebettet sind: Die Kultur wird als Makrodiskurs, als Textraum aufgefasst. Vorgeprägte Sprachformeln, so auch die hier behandelten Sprichwörter, sind kohärenzbildende intertextuelle Elemente des kulturellen Makrotextes. Besonders die kulturspezifischen Sprichwörter – als eine Art der Realien – tragen zur Kohärenz dieses Makrotextes, des gemeinsamen Gedächtnisraumes bei, auf Grund ihrer weitgehend intersubjektiven Konnotationen. Sprichwörter fungieren in Einzeltexten als zentripetale Kräfte, und da sie gleichzeitig Elemente des kollektiven, d. h. kulturell gebundenen Prätextes einer Sprach-/Kulturgemeinschaft darstellen, verbinden sie als zentrifugale Kräfte den Einzeltext mit dem kulturellen Makrotext: Sprichwörter treten somit doppelt als kohärenzbildende sprachliche Elemente auf.⁸

Bei der Übersetzung von Texten mit Sprichwörtern soll der Übersetzer im ersten Schritt – als Interpret des AS-Textes – die mehr oder weniger ausgeprägte kohärenzbildende Funktion der Sprichwörter (sowohl im Mikro- als auch im Makrotext) erschließen und demgemäß ein Verfahren einsetzen. Der Übersetzer entscheidet, in welchen kulturellen Makrotext der ZS-Text integriert wird, d. h. er wählt eine Übersetzungsstrategie aus. Sowohl für den Übersetzer als auch für den Übersetzungskritiker muss es klar sein, dass die Forderung einer „Gleichwertigkeit“ des AS- und des ZS-Textes als irrealer Forderung aufgegeben werden muss: Der ZS-Text kann nicht alle Konnotationen des AS-Textes bewahren. Erstens deshalb, weil der Übersetzer selbst nur ein Interpret ist, wobei es keine Garantie dafür gibt, dass seine Interpretation „die beste“ oder „die richtige“ ist (vgl. Albert 2012: 12). Wenn es so wäre, sollte es zu einem AS-Text – theoretisch – mehrere, vollkommen identische, auf „der richtigen“ Interpretation basierende Übersetzungen geben. Dies ist allerdings nie der Fall. Außerdem gibt es keine Garantie dafür, dass der Übersetzer – im ersten Schritt als Rezipient und Interpret – den vom Autor verfassten Text so „(mit)versteht“, wie es vom Autor gewollt ist: „Letzten Endes ist es also der (Translator als) Rezipient, der entscheidet, was mitverstanden wird und in die Zieltextproduktion eingehen soll“ (Vermeer 2000: 48).⁹ Die Entscheidungen seitens des Übersetzers enthalten auch viele subjektive Elemente. Doch wird dem „Mit(verstehen)“ viel ge-

holfen, wenn der Übersetzer sich im phraseologischen Bestand der ZS/der Zielkultur gut auskennt. Die Texte, die Realien, d. h. z. B. kulturspezifische Phraseologismen, Redewendungen und Sprichwörter als intertextuelle Elemente enthalten, erfordern ein besonderes Rezeptionsverhalten – da werden das assoziative, das kulturelle, das kollokative und das enzyklopädische Netz des mentalen Lexikons des Rezipienten in Gang gesetzt, und abhängig von der Ausprägtheit dieser Netze beim Rezipienten wird der Text rekonstruiert oder viel eher konstruiert. Bei der Übersetzung und bei der Übersetzungsanalyse werden Sinngebungsprozesse rekonstruiert, die weitgehend kulturell bedingt sind. Dazu ist es notwendig, dass der Übersetzer und der Übersetzungskritiker diese kulturspezifischen Sinngebungsprozesse so gut wie möglich kennt. Erst dann kann der Übersetzer eine diskursive Äquivalenz erzielen und erst dann ist für den Übersetzungskritiker eine mehr oder weniger objektivierbare Reflexion über die Übersetzung und über den Wirkungsmechanismus der beiden Texte, d. h. des AS- und des ZS-Textes, möglich.

Auf größeren Korpora durchgeführte Übersetzungsanalysen könnten auch über die aktuellen Trends Auskunft geben, darüber, ob literarische Übersetzung in einer bestimmten Sprachpaar-Relation als kultureller Transfer funktioniert, d. h. ob bei der Zieltextproduktion die ausgangskulturelle Einbettung bewahrt wird oder – im Sinne der pragmatischen Adaptation – die Zielkultur anvisiert wird und dementsprechend eine kulturelle Umbettung stattfindet.

Die Relevanz der Phraseologismen im kulturellen Kontext hat man mittlerweile auch in der interdisziplinär ausgerichteten Translator-Ausbildung erkannt, die aus mehreren, hierarchisch aufgebauten Stufen – mit jeweils anderen Inhalten, Methoden und Zielen – besteht. Nach der Vermittlung bzw. Aneignung eines intra- und interkulturellen Grundwissens auf der ersten Stufe wird auf der zweiten Stufe die exemplarische Erarbeitung verschiedener kulturspezifischer Inhalte erwartet (vgl. Löwe 2002: 153). Solche Inhalte können durch phraseologische Studien erworben werden. Unterricht im phraseologischen Bereich – so auch die Vermittlung von Sprichwörtern – sollte Bestandteil der Translator-Ausbildung sein, auf die Primärkultur (Eigenkultur) bezogen, d. h. intrakulturell, auch unter dem diachronem Aspekt, denn die kulturspezifischen Hintergründe können nur auf diese Weise bewusst gemacht werden, bzw.

interkulturell, nach dem synchronen Aspekt, d. h. nach dem kontrastiven Aspekt. Bei beiden Aspekten verdienen die kulturell gebundenen Sprichwörter, d. h. die sog. Realien-Sprichwörter, besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Diese Vorgehensweise würde dem Grundsatz der Translatorsausbildung entsprechen, wonach Kompetenzen *in* und *zwischen* den Kulturen erworben werden sollen, im Sinne der Linguokulturologie.¹⁰

Endnoten

¹ Zur Terminologie: Den Terminus „Phraseologismus“ verwende ich als Hyperonym. Unter „Phraseologismen“ verstehe ich aus mindestens zwei Wörtern bestehende Wortverbindungen, welche durch lexikalische und strukturelle Stabilität und durch Reproduzierbarkeit charakterisiert werden. Im Sinne eines breiteren Phraseologismus-Auffassung betrachte ich die Idiomatizität nicht als Kriterium. Mit „Redewendungen/Redensarten“ bezeichne ich die nominativen Phraseologismen. Neben diesen bilden die satzwertigen, d. h. die propositionalen Phraseologismen, so auch die Sprichwörter, die andere Gruppe der referentiellen Phraseologismen. In meiner Terminologie lehne ich mich somit an Burger (2010: 36ff.) an.

² Lewandowska (2008: 159ff.) setzt sich mit den Aspekten einer interkulturell-kontrastiven Methodologie auseinander und geht u. a. auf den kulturspezifischen Vergleichsansatz und auf den Äquivalentenansatz ein.

³ Bei den ungarischen Sprichwörtern, die mit ihren deutschen Äquivalenten weitgehend übereinstimmen, wird auf eine wörtliche Übersetzung verzichtet. Bei den ungarischen Sprichwörtern aber, die in ihren Komponenten Abweichungen im Kontrast zu den deutschen Entsprechungen zeigen oder sogar ein ganz anderes Bildmotiv haben, werde ich die wörtlichen Übersetzungen in eckigen Klammern angeben, wie auch bei den äquivalentlosen Sprichwörtern. Durch die wörtliche Übertragung können kultur- und sprachenspezifische Bildmotive kontrastiert und bewusst gemacht werden. Die Bedeutung der äquivalentlosen ungarischen Phraseologismen wird angegeben, in den anderen Fällen wird auf die Bedeutungsangaben verzichtet, zumal diese als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden können.

⁴ Die römischen Zahlen I und II beziehen sich auf den entsprechenden Teil des Romans, die arabischen Zahlen auf die nummerierten Kapitel.

⁵ Die Wendung hat auch eine andere Variante: (a) szarba nem lehet szöget verni [in (die) Scheiße kann man keinen Nagel schlagen].

⁶ Den Terminus „Sprichwort-Persiflage“ verwende ich synonym zu „Antispruchwort“. Die Fachliteratur zu den Antispruchwörtern ist bekanntlich sehr reich, vgl. vor allem Mieder 1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1992 und Mieder/Litovkina 1999. Vgl. dazu auch Forgács, E. 2003.

⁷ Zu den argumentationsspezifischen Leistungen der Phraseologismen s. Lüger 2001.

⁸ Zu den zentripetalen und zu den zentrifugalen Kräften s. Blühdorn 2006: 284.

⁹ Was mit „Mitzuverstehendes“ bzw. was mit „mitverstehen können“, „mitverstehen sollen“ und „mitverstehen müssen“ gemeint ist, dazu s. Vermeer 2000.

¹⁰ Zur unbewussten und zur bewussten Kulturkompetenz, zur doppelten Kulturkompetenz, d. h. zur intra- und interkulturellen Kompetenz sowie zur translatorischen Kulturkompetenz s. Löwe 2002.

Zu Linguolandeskunde und Linguokulturologie s. Ostapovyč (2006: 145f.): „Während sich die Linguolandeskunde [...] meistens auf die Nomination der konkreten gegenständlichen Realien beschränkt, analysiert die Linguokulturologie vor allem den assoziativen, symbolischen Inhalt der Spracheinheiten, selbst der linguolandeskundlich neutralen. Das bedeutet, dass, während sich die Linguolandeskunde mit der denotativ-signifikativen Semantikkomponente beschäftigt, sich die Linguokulturologie eher auf ihre konnotative Konstituente beruft.“

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PROVERBS IN FERNANDO PESSOA'S WORKS

Abstract: In the spring of 1914 Fernando Pessoa carefully gathered, selected and translated 300 Portuguese proverbs for the National Proverbs series edited by the London-based publisher Frank Palmer. In this study I intend to highlight one of the representative subject matters in Pessoa's compilation. Furthermore, I will endeavour to trace and discuss briefly a few national and foreign proverbs that emerge in Pessoa's literary writings. Working closely with the author's archive and private library, I will indicate the source texts of all the proverbs referred to in each section.

Keywords: Fernando Pessoa, anti-proverbs, proverbs, perverbs, archive, private library.

The mob strives for gain rather than honour.
Aristotle²

Fernando Pessoa's interest in *proverbs* ("a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorable form and which is handed down from generation to generation" [Mieder 1993: 24]) may be attested in some of his writings, most of which were still unpublished when he died on 30 November 1935.³ Being an avid and heterogeneous reader, it is not surprising that he had a few books of proverbs in his private library and that he left bibliographical lists and preparatory notes for different projects.⁴

Pessoa turned to the "sentence of the folk" at various periods of his life and in two distinctive ways. In April 1914, only a month after the famous eruption of heteronyms,⁵ he gathered, selected and translated 300 Portuguese proverbs for the National Proverbs series edited by Frank Palmer. He had written to the London-based publisher on 26 September 1913 and suggested that Portuguese proverbs should be included in the series. After a few cordial letters and on reaching agreement, Pessoa sent the editor (later Frank Palmer and Cecil Palmer) the 300 Portuguese proverbs on 30 April 1914.

However, with the outbreak of World War I, Pessoa's anthology was only published posthumously (see *Provérbios Portugueses* 2010: 7-15).⁶

It should be noted that before and after this commercial undertaking, Pessoa had used Portuguese and foreign proverbs in his own writings. What is more, in around 1930 and in the voice of his modernist-decadent heteronym, Álvaro de Campos, he crafted six Portuguese *perverbs* ("parodied, twisted, or fractured proverbs that reveal humorous or satirical speech play with traditional proverbial wisdom" [Mieder 2004: 28]). Also attributed to Campos is a reproduction of a conversation between the two other members of the fictional coterie, Ricardo Reis and Alberto Caeiro, where one of Pessoa's favourite proverbs is quoted and commented upon.

The main scope of the present article is twofold: (1) to highlight one of the representative subject matters of Pessoa's 1914 proverb compilation; (2) to trace and discuss briefly some of the proverbs in Pessoa's literary writings (including those attributed to Campos) that touch upon the same subject matter as those in section (1). Relying on the author's archive and private library, I will also indicate the source texts of the proverbs referred to in each section. Two appendixes precede the bibliography: (I) the 24 Portuguese proverbs (with their respective English translation) from Pessoa's 1914 selection related to section (1); (II) 3 unpublished manuscripts from Pessoa's archive related to proverbs.

I. Representativeness in Pessoa's Provérbios Portugueses (2010)

We know from a copy of the letter Pessoa sent to Palmer on 30 April 1914 the criteria he followed in selecting his anthology:

I may observe that, in choosing them [the Portuguese proverbs], I had constantly in view that they should be representative, that is to say, that they should be such as to give the reader a clear idea of the character of the Portuguese and of their characteristic attitude towards life and men (114²-13^r; *Provérbios Portugueses* 2010: 131).⁷

One of the subject matters in Pessoa's selection is God (see Appendix 1).⁸ A quick look at every source he consulted while researching for this work (*A Época*, *Revista Lusitana*, *Feira dos Anxins* [Melo 1875], *Florilegio* [Pereira 1655], *Bibliotheca do*

Povo [Da Cunha 1902]; see *Provérbios Portugueses* 2010: 17-26) reveals that all of them contain proverbs about God and/or sacred/religious matters. However, the publication from which he drew almost a third of the 300 proverbs shows that the sub-section entitled *Deus* [God] is by no means the one with the most entries (see Da Cunha 1902). Yet among the various thematic lists in the second section of the article in the *Bibliotheca do Povo* ("Florilegio de provérbios, adágios, rifões, anexins, etc"), it was the one that mentioned [Deus] God that Pessoa privileged and extracted proverbs number 25, 36, 271, 276, 277 and 300. (None of the other thematic sub-sections⁹ furnished him with as many as six proverbs.)

It is also noteworthy that before the final selection, Pessoa had initially copied over 500 proverbs. Among those excluded, we also find several proverbs that mention God. This is the case of every single one that Pessoa copied from Francisco Manuel de Melo's *Feira dos Anexins: obra posthuma* (1875) as can be seen in the facsimile below:

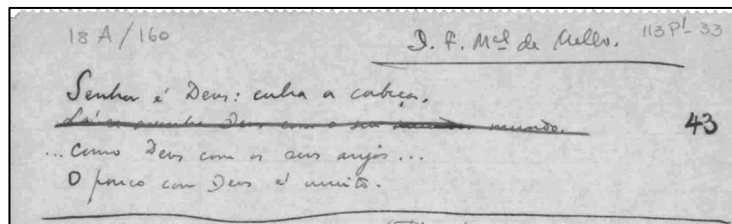


Fig. 1. Detail of 113P¹-33.

D[om] F[rancisco] M[anu]el de Mello.

Senhor é Deus: cubra a cabeça.
 <Lá se avenha Deus com o seu mundo [sic] mundo.>
 ...como Deus com os seus anjos...
 O pouco com Deus é muito.
 [God is our Lord: cover our heads.
 May God continue with His world.
 ...as God with his angels...
 What is little with God becomes plenty.]

These four proverbs are in the section entitled “Em metaphora de Deus” [“As metaphors for God”] and only the second (numbered 43)¹⁰ made it into the final selection.

Pessoa wanted his choice to be “representative” as he wrote to Palmer on 30 April 1914. Now, there is a common saying that “to be Portuguese is to be Catholic” (see *Público* 10 June 2008) and the percentages of two different censuses speak for themselves: while today 79.5% of the Portuguese are Catholic (see *Público* 16 April 2012) a decade prior to the first Portuguese Republic (1910-1926) the percentage was almost 100% (*i.e.*, 99.8%).¹¹

The fact that the opening and closing proverbs in Pessoa’s final selection have God (*i.e.*, a Christian god) as the subject matter is rather revealing. It is also interesting that the only literary proverb, as he described it in his letter to Palmer (see 114²-13¹; *Provérbios Portugueses* 2010: 131), that Pessoa included has God in it.¹² Extracting it from *Florilegio* (Pereira 1697: 56), he modernized the orthography and rendered it thus: “Deus te guarde de parrafo de Legista, e de Infra de Canonista, e de Etcoetera de Escrivão, e de Recipe de matasão” [“May God preserve you from the Legist’s paragraph, the Canonist’s Infra, the Notary’s Etcetera, and the quack’s Prescription”].¹³ The number inside the square in fig. 2 shows that Pessoa had initially intended to open the selection with this particular proverb:

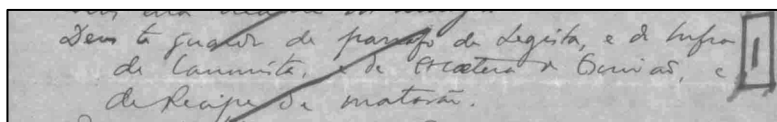


Fig. 2. Detail of 113P¹-35.

If the publication of the Portuguese proverbs had to be cancelled, which was a further blow to Pessoa’s finances, it certainly did not distance him from folk sayings. In the following years, both Portuguese and foreign proverbs crept into some of his literary writings, including those of his heteronym Álvaro de Campos. And in both cases God (re)appeared as the subject.

II. Proverbs around God in *Erostratus*, *Mensagem* and a *Heteronymic Dialogue*

While the selection sent to Palmer opened on an ironic note (“Deus é bom, mas o Diabo também não é mau” [“God is good, but the Devil is also not a bad fellow”]),¹⁴ Pessoa chose a more pious proverb to close:

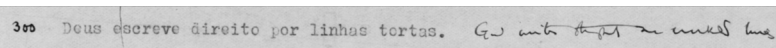


Fig. 3. Detail of 74-67.

300 Deus escreve direito por linhas tortas.

God writes straight on crooked lines.

(74-67; cf. *Provérbios Portugueses* 2010: 90)

The latter, which he probably found in the *Bibliotheca do Povo* (see Da Cunha 1902: 34), was quoted in English, fifteen years later, in a fragmentary passage meant for *Erostratus* – an unfinished prose work on posthumous celebrity. Below is a transcription of the last three paragraphs of the document in question:

A hope □ in a final – but not too final – justice, the “God writes straight on crooked lines” of the Portuguese proverb...

...unless by a practical development of Einstein it be possible to relay our talk into the past. But there is a linguistic brake to that: the ancients are spared more than our mere noise. When Caesar begin/s/ to have heard Mussolini, he will be no wiser than he now yet has been.¹⁵

end: The Gods will not tell us, nor¹⁶ will Fate. The Gods are dead and Fate is dumb. (19-78; cf. *Páginas de Estética* 1967: 226-227).

The paradoxical nature (*i.e.*, writing straight on crooked lines) of what Pessoa took to be a Portuguese proverb¹⁷ re-emerges in the passage quoted above (*i.e.*, Caesar talking to Mussolini). Placed in this new context, though, it loses its optimistic connotation.

On the other hand, there are two other proverbs used in *Erostratus*, whose meaning has not been affected. Discussing writers who have attained fortune, honour and celebrity during their life-

time, but who cannot long for immortality (*e.g.*, Shaw), Pessoa resorted to the often-cited proverb “You cannot eat your cake and have it too.” It is a proverb that he might have first come across almost thirty years earlier in one of Keats’s sonnets “On Fame,” where it appears as its incipit (see Keats 1894: 342).¹⁸ The earliest known reference to this proverb is recorded in the book of proverbs by John Heywood in 1546 (Mieder, Kingsbury and Harder 1992: 79). In fact, the author of *Endymion* was fond of proverbs and frequently mentioned them in his letters. In a 16 December 1818 letter to George and Georgiana Keats, for example, he wrote: “the common observations of the commonest people on death are as true as their proverbs” (Keats 2002: II, 4)¹⁹.

Pessoa’s use of proverbs in *Erostratus* is intended as an act of popular validation. Before concluding his argument humorously with an English proverb, he slipped in the following: “What the Gods give, they sell, the Greeks said” (19-59^v; *Páginas de Estética* 1967: 206). Humour and gravity, respectively, shift the spotlight of the argument onto a truism.

The latter was taken up in “O das Quinas,” a poem included in *Mensagem* [*Message*] (1934), the only Portuguese book Pessoa managed to publish in his lifetime. As if voicing a universal truth, the poem opens thus:

Os Deuses vendem quando dão
 Compra-se a glória com desgraça.
 (*Mensagem* [1941] 1993: 14)²⁰

The source text of these lines may be traced back to a book in the author’s private library, the *Dictionary of Foreign Phrases and Classical Quotations* (Jones 1923).²¹ Along with quotations in modern Romance languages, German, Latin and Greek, this book evinces one particular reading practice that demands particular attention. Selections for the first section of the book are in Latin, and while accompanied by English translations, Pessoa’s underlining suggests that he did not ignore the original:

<u>Dii laboribus omnia vendunt.</u>	(The gods sell everything for labour.) Without pains, no gains. No mill, no meal.
-------------------------------------	---

Fig. 4. Jones (ed.). *Dictionary of Foreign Phrases and Classical Quotations*, 1923. Detail of page 31.

Although aware of its Greek origin,²² in view of what he wrote in the passage referred to above for *Erostratus*, it seems rather unlikely that Jones's edition is not the source for these lines. Interestingly, the rhythm of the opening line (stressed syllables underlined and given in bold by me) (positions 2-4-6-8):

Os **Deuses** **vendem** **quando** **dão**
Compra-s^c a **glória** com **desgraça**.

[The Gods sell when they give
 Glory is bought with misery.]

echoes the iambic poetic rhythm of the English translation in Jones (I have written the iambic tetrameter template below the line):²³

The gods sell everything for labour
 w s w s w s w s

The Greek saying was underlined in 1924 and employed in poetry and prose about five years later. It also appeared in a dialogue between Ricardo Reis and Alberto Caeiro (*ca.* October of 1931), which Álvaro de Campos reproduced thus:

O meu mestre C[aeiro] era incapaz de pessimismo.
 uma “lei da composição” que é clara scientificamente,
 nem é lei nem nada.
 O R[icardo] R[eis] citou desoladamente:
 – O que os Deuses dão, vendem-o.
 – Vendem mas entregam, disse o meu mestre Caeiro.
 (4-14^v; *cf. Prosa de Álvaro de Campos* 2012: 114-115)

[My master Caeiro was incapable of pessimism.
 A “law of composition” that is scientifically clear is neither a law nor anything else.
 Ricardo Reis quoted in a desolate manner:
 – What the Gods give, they sell.
 – They sell but they hand over, said my master Caeiro.]

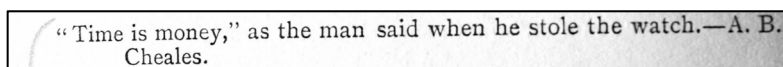
While Reis dramatizes the conditions contained in what the gods give, Caeiro matter-of-factly assures his disciple that although a godly gift may require a price, its delivery is guaranteed. Thus by

inverting the gravity of Reis' statement, the master's lightness displaces the pessimistic tone of the original proverb.

III. *Perverbs, or Álvaro de Campos' Crooked Lines*

If there was one author who provided Fernando Pessoa the pleasure of reading from an early age on, it was Charles Dickens. References to him are not numerous, yet they are often traversed with a hint of nostalgic tenderness. From loose notes (7-41'; *Livro de Desasocego* 2010: II, 698) and literary criticism (19-97; *Apreciações literárias* [in press]) to underlined passages in his private library (e.g., "J'étais plus ému que je ne puis dire. Il me semblait lire un roman de Dickens") (see Amiel 1911: I, 225), the author of *The Pickwick Papers*²⁴ stands out as one of Pessoa's dearest companions.

A particular stylistic trait in Dickens that must have attracted him became known as a *Wellerism*, named after Sam Weller, a fictional character in Dickens's *The Pickwick Papers*. His satirical remarks were characteristically quoted as follows: '____,' as ____ said, when (as, and) (s)he ____ (i.e., "a quotation, speaker named or otherwise identified, and a clause or phrase which puts the quotation in a new light or within an incongruous setting" (Baer 1983: 173, Mieder and Kingsbury 1994: ix-xi). In short, the first part is a harmless cliché or [proverb](#) that is then undermined by a mocking or vulgar addition. Examples of various Wellerisms (see Fig. 5) were marked by Pessoa in his copy of *Lean's Collectanea*, a collection of proverbs and proverbial phrases, among other things:



"Time is money," as the man said when he stole the watch.—A. B. Cheales.

Fig. 5. Lean. *Lean's Collectanea: collections of proverbs (English and foreign), folk lore, and superstitions, also compilations towards dictionaries of proverbial phrases and words, old and disused, 1902-1904. Vol II, part II, detail of page 750.*

Wellerisms fall into the category of proverbs generally known as anti-proverbs. While Pessoa had encountered this type of anti-proverb in his Durban years, it is different from the sort he came to practice in the voice of one of his heteronyms. In around 1930, he twisted the wording of six proverbs and attributed them to Álvaro

varo de Campos (see 71A-33^r and 21-119^r; *Prosa de Álvaro de Campos* 2012: 58) (see Monteiro 2012: 337). Below I quote the last one in the list of the first document (71A-33^r), one that the reader will recognize from Pessoa's 1914 compilation:

Deus escreve os tortos por linhas direitas.
[God writes the crooked on straight lines.]

Known as a *perverb* (see Mieder and Litovkina 2002), it is the manipulation of an established proverb. Conscious of metaphorical language, the alteration:

Deus escreve direito por linhas tortas > Deus escreve os
tortos por linhas direitas

results in a change in meaning which allowed Campos to talk about himself.

Tradition is the passing down of a given belief and/or behaviour, that is, the preservation of meanings and practices. While tradition is in itself a conservative practice, it is also a condition for innovation (see Schuback 2011: 63-64). Campos' perverted version of the proverb is an evasion and emancipation from a given tradition: his linguistic innovation is the coinage of a new meaning. What is handed down is transformed. The 'we' of tradition becomes an 'I' in a literary text. The familiar becomes estranged. And those acquainted with Campos' writings may read this perverted proverb as a proverbial aphorism that is at the core of his rebel-like character (*e.g.*, see "Ultimatum"²⁵ in *Prosa de Álvaro de Campos* 2012: 143-161).

Future Research

The transmission of tradition relies to a great extent on language. And proverbs are one of its most eloquent mediums. Although Pessoa used proverbs less extensively than some writers that he read (*e.g.*, Dickens and Shaw), establishing a complete inventory may set the basis for a systematic study of the uses he gave to the "sentence of the folk." While the index could begin with proverbs used in the published texts, his archive should not be ignored. In this regard, preparatory notes intended for still unpublished projects (*e.g.*, "History of a Dictatorship") are an example that Pessoa's interest in proverbs went beyond the realm of literature (see Appendix 2). Last but not least, a critical transcription of all proverbs excluded

from the 1914 selection may contribute to a better understanding of Pessoa's view vis-à-vis the character of the Portuguese and of their distinctive outlook towards life and men.

Appendix 1

Each proverb below preserves the original number, as well as the original Portuguese orthography in Pessoa's selection (see *Provérbios Portugueses* 2010):

1. Deus é bom, mas o Diabo também não é mau.
God is good, but the Devil is also not a bad fellow.
5. A três homens deu Deus má mulher – a meu sogro, a mim, e a qualquér.
To three men God gave a bad wife – to my father-in-law, to me, and to any other man.
25. A cada qual dá Deus o frio conforme anda vestido.
God gives each one cold according to his clothing.
36. Deixei fazer a Deus, que é santo velho.
Let God do, for he is an old saint.
60. Prometeu Deus á terra que nada se fizera que se não soubera.
God promised the earth that nothing would be done that would not be known.
65. Bom é Deus e está fechado no sacrário.
God is good, and he is locked up in the altar.
73. Dá Deus nozes a quem não tem dentes.
God gives nuts to those who have no teeth.
79. Sabe Deus as linhas com que cada um se cose.
God knows the threads each one sews himself with.
85. Furtar o porco e dar os pés a Deus.
Steel the pig and give God the feet.
102. Ainda Deus está onde estava.
God is still where He was.

136. A quem Deus quere bem, o vento lhe apanha a lenha.
He whom God loves – the wind picks up his wood.
143. Lá se avenha Deus com o seu mundo.
Let God and His world get on as they can.
171. Com agua e sol Deus é creador.
With water and sun God is the creator.
184. Quem não falla, não o ouve Deus.
If you don't speak, God can't hear you.
208. Deus te guarde de párrafo de Legista, e de Infra de Canonista, e de Etcoetera de Escrivão, e de Recipe de Matasão.
May God preserve you from the Legist's Paragraph, the Canonist's Infra, the Notary's Etcetera, and the Quack's Prescription.
209. Dá Deus azas á formiga para se perder mais azinha.
God gave the ant wings so that it might be more easily killed.
236. Vão á missa os sapateiros; rogam a Deus que morram os carneiros.
Shoemakers go to Mass to pray to God that butchers die.
241. Para seres pobre sem Deus querer, mette trabalhadores e não os vás ver.
To become poor without God's willing it, employ workmen and don't go and watch them.
247. A verdade, deixe-m'a Deus dizer.
God lets me to tell the truth.
255. Deus está deante dos amigos.
God comes before friends.
271. Não fez Deus quem desamparasse.
God did not make him to be forsaken.
276. Quando Deus não quere, santos não rogam.
Saints don't pray when God doesn't want it.
277. A mãos lavadas Deus lhes dá que comam.
To clean hands God gives food.

300. Deus escreve direito por linhas tortas.
God writes straight on crooked lines.

Appendix 2

The documents transcribed below from the author's archive are organized chronologically.

1 [108B-30] [ca. 1910]

J[eshua]-bem-P[andira] or H[istory] of a D[ictatorship]

Lean's Collectanea.

“On ne doit pas cracher dans l'eau;¹ celui qui crache dans l'eau crache dans les yeux au bon Dieu.”² Swiss (Rothenbach) (Lean. 2. 177). – Explanation: Water is the lakes (common in Switzerland); as they, like eyes, reflect & seem thus to have some sort of life, large eyes, God's eyes therefore;³ hence the /legend/.

Theoria: que a idea de □ é a idea de vêr em uma cousa uma realidade qualquer; como no caso acima, o lago *contém* a imagem do céu. A água, reflectindo, parece conter⁴ outra cousa do que é.

[108B-30]

A sheet of graph paper written in black ink. The two fragments are divided by a horizontal line, also in black ink. Datable from ca. 1910. The source text is found in Lean (1902-1904: II, part I, 177); all the volumes of the Collectanea are extant in Pessoa's private library (Casa Fernando Pessoa 3-38). In the author's archive there are various scattered documents for the projects indicated on the top of the ms.: Jeshua-bem-Pandira (also written Ieshu-ben-Pandira and Jesus bem Pandira) (26C-25, 108-19, 108-48 and 108B-25) and History of a Dictatorship (see envelops 108, 108A, 108B, 108C, and docs. 48H-49 and 93-87').

GENETIC NOTES

- 1 Thus written in the original; the original proverb in French has a comma instead of a semicolon.
- 2 les yeux <de> au bon Dieu.”
- 3 God's <> eyes therefore;
- 4 parec/e\ conter

2 [93A-27]**[ca. March 1914]**

Leite de Vasconcellos:
 Ensaios Ethnographicos.

. I.¹
 p. 255

Tausend Portugies[ische]

Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos:

[93A-27]

A sheet of paper written in black ink folded in the middle horizontally. The two bibliographical references are as follow: J. Leite de Vasconcellos. Ensaios Ethnographicos. 4 vols. Collecção Silva Vieira. Espozende: [s.n.], 1891-1896; Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos. "Tausend portugiesische Sprichwörter." Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstage Adolf Toblers, Braunschweig (1905): 13-48. In the latter article, the author referred to the first two tomes of Leite de Vasconcellos's Ensaios Ethnographicos. The relevant pages in tome I are from 115-190 and 245-256, respectively (see 1905: 14, n. 4). On page 255 (the one Pessoa wrote from) we read the following: Ha-de haver ainda collecções geraes estrangeiras de proverbios, em que entrem portugueses. Nos nossos repertorios, almanachs, dictionarios, grammaticas, selectas escolares, jornaes, vêem tambem proverbios frequentemente: por exemplo, no Almanach Popular para o anno de 1852 publica-se, a pag. 58-60, [p. 256] em separado, uma collecção de Maximas agricolas populares [...]. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos' article may be consulted on-line at <http://www.archive.org/stream/festschriftadolff00brauuoft#page/12/model/2up>. (Accessed on 17 November 2012).

GENETIC NOTES

1 <2> . I .] *there is a horizontal line in black ink before this reference which may have originally served to separate the references.*

3 [144A-38^v]**[ca. November 1914-July 1915]**

Behar Proverbs – John Christian
 Macedonian Folklore – G[eorge] F[rederick] Abbot

Fables of Bidpai – Keith-Falconer.

Greek Votive Offerings – W[illiam] H[enry] D[enham] Rouse

[144A-38^v]

*Written in blue ink. Notebook used between November 1914 and July 1915. Above the four titles (none of them extant in Pessoa's private library), there are two numbers written in black ink: 4270 / 4126. A blue horizontal line separates the numbers from the titles below. The complete bibliographical references listed are as follows: John Christian (ed.), *Behar Proverbs classified and arranged according to their subject matter. Edited and translated into English with notes by John Christian, London, Routledge, 1891; George Frederick Abbott, Macedonian Folklore, Cambridge, University Press, 1903; Kalilah and Dimnah: or, The Fables of Bidpai: being an account of their literary history. With an English translation of the later Syriac version of the same, and notes, by I. G. N. Keith-Falconer, Cambridge, University Press, 1885; William Henry Denham Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings. An essay in the history of Greek religion, Cambridge, University Press, 1902. The name of Frank Palmer appears in 144A-35^v, 37^r, 38^r and 38^v, respectively (in the first and third instances, it is accompanied by the amount Pessoa expected to receive for his work).**

Notes

¹ Post-doctoral affiliations: Center for Comparative Studies, University of Lisbon; Department of English, Stockholm University. I am grateful to George Monteiro, Wolfgang Mieder and Beth Lau for the historical elucidation of some of the proverbs in this article. I also extend my thanks to José Barreto, who aided me in the new transcription of the ms. attributed to Campos discussed in section 2.

² The English translation was marked by Pessoa in his *Dictionary of Foreign Phrases* (see Jones 1923: 157). Copy extant in Pessoa's private library available on-line since October 2010 (<http://casafernandopessoa.cm-lisboa.pt/bdigital/index/index.htm>). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa* (Pizarro, Ferrari and Cardiello 2010), a paper publication that accompanies the site gathers in one volume a list of the majority of the books, magazines and newspapers that were in Pessoa's possession at the time of his death on 30 November 1935.

³ Lisbon-born Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935) lived in Durban, South Africa, from February 1896 to August 1905. In August 1901 he returned to Portugal where he remained until September of the following year before embarking again

for Durban. In December 1904, he completed his studies at Durban High School (Form VI). For detailed information regarding his British education, see Severino ([1969/1970] 1983) and Jennings (1984). When not quoting from a first edition, I will provide the year in which the work was first published before the publication that I use. This will only be done in the first occurrence.

⁴ While his archive is housed at the National Library of Portugal [Espólio 3 /Archive 3] the private library is in Casa Fernando Pessoa. Both these institutions are in Lisbon.

⁵ Pessoa's own definition of orthonymic and heteronymic works was published in 1928: "O que Fernando Pessoa escreve pertence a duas categorias de obras, a que poderemos chamar orthónymas e heterónymas. Não se poderá dizer que são autónymas e pseudónymas, porque de veras o não são. A obra pseudónyma é do auctor em sua pessoa, salvo no nome que assina; a heterónyma é do auctor fóra de sua pessoa, é de uma individualidade completa fabricada por êlle, como o seriam os dizeres de qualquer personagem de qualquer drama seu." ["What Fernando Pessoa writes falls into two categories of works, which we could call orthonymic works and heteronymic works. It is not possible to say that they are autonomous works and pseudonymous works because they are in fact neither. While the pseudonymous work was written by the author in his own person (the only difference being the name he chose as the signature), the heteronymic work is done by the author outside his personality. This is to say, it is the work of an individuality that he has completely crafted himself as would be the sayings of characters in any of his dramas"] (*Presença* 1928: 10). Unless indicated the translations are my own. For further information regarding the coinage of Pessoa's terminology referring to the fictional poets and prose writers he created himself, see Sepulveda (2012) and Pizarro (2012).

⁶ This edition is entirely based on the extant documents in Pessoa's archive. There are no documents by Fernando Pessoa in Cecil Palmer's archive (*i.e.*, his correspondence for the years 1905-1930) housed at the Harry Ransom Center in the University of Texas.

⁷ Citations will be preceded by the archive number and, when applicable, by its first publication. If a critical edition exists, this will be the one referred to. Due to the numerous posthumous Pessoa editions of a single work, I will always refer to the title of the book instead of the author's name. For unpublished documents or documents that have never been critically published, I will transcribe them according to the symbols used by the Fernando Pessoa Critical Edition published by the Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda (INCM) under the coordination of Ivo Castro: □ blank space; * conjectural reading; // passage doubted by author; † illegible word; < > enclose word(s) that have been crossed out; < > / \ substitution by overwriting (<substitution> /substitute\); < > [↑] substitution by crossing out and addition in the in-between line above; [↑] addition in the in-between line above; [↓] addition in the in-between line below; [→] addition in the same line; [] word/phrase completed by editor. When Pessoa underlines a word/phrase he writes, this will be reproduced in italics. Where my transcription differs, I will write *cf.* before the title of the edition in question.

⁸ The 24 Portuguese proverbs selected by Pessoa along with the translations are given in Appendix 1. Except for the translations of proverbs 208, 236, 241, 247, 255, 271, 276, 277 (done by the editors of *Provérbios Portugueses* 2010) all the rest of the translations are Pessoa's (see *Provérbios Portugueses* 2010). In this article I offer new translations for proverbs 208, 236, 241, 247, 271 and 276.

⁹ The complete thematic list is as follows: Agriculture and rural economy, Excessive ambition, Friendship and friendships, Love and relationships, Masters and servants, Appearance and reality, Parsimony and prodigality, Good and evil, Marriage, Caution and distrust, Certain and uncertain, Circumspection, Choice of companionship, Buying and selling, Correlations in practical life, God, Diligence and laziness, Influence of money, Domestic economy, Egotism, Experience and practice, Expertise and sagacity, Fame, Cruelties and arrogance, Beauty, Danger of greatness, Gratitude, Precepts of hygiene, Deep-rooted habits, Honour and honours, Ignorance and bragging, Against improvidence and negligence, Independence and lack of interest, Against indiscretion, Ingratitude, Against immoderation, Intrepidity and perplexity, Envy, Gambling, Liberality, Lesser of two evils, Slander and gossip, Advantages of gentleness, Advantages of moderation, Medicine and doctors, Aphorisms related to Weather, Death, Need, Chance, Opportunity, Influence of origins, Cursing, Savings badly employed, Pedagogy, Perseverance, Poverty and wealth, Influence of beginnings, Promises, Reason, Nonsense and prudence, Secrets, Pride, Work, Everything requires its skill, Everything needs its time, Everything has its middle way, Fortune and misfortune, Truth and lie, Human life, Villainy).

¹⁰ It was placed as proverb number 143 in the final selection. See appendix 1.

¹¹ http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religi%C3%A3o_em_Portugal (consulted on 1 April 2013). The proclamation of the Republic provoked a crisis in the relations between Church and State. Only in 1918 were good relations re-established under Sidónio Pais. It should be added that the apparition of the Virgin Mary in Fatima in 1917 resulted in a religious renaissance in Portugal.

¹² Pessoa never explained why he considered this proverb to be literary.

¹³ In Pereira's first (and subsequent) edition(s) each entry is given in both Portuguese and Latin. For the proverb in question, we read "Causidicos, scribas, medicos vitare memento" (1697: 56).

¹⁴ This proverb was probably noted down before Pessoa began his thorough research; on the same loose sheet of paper, he jotted down both the proverb in question and the name of the person who supposedly could provide him with useful information concerning Portuguese proverbs (see *Livro do Desasocego* 2010: II, 618).

¹⁵ than he now has always been [→ than he now yet has been].

¹⁶ neither [→ nor]

¹⁷ "Tradition had long attributed this proverb to the Portuguese, but the discussion of it centred on the possibility that its ultimate source was St. Augustine. The controversy ended inconclusively since no one succeeded in locating it in Augustine's writings" (Monteiro [unpublished]; see also Monteiro 1976).

¹⁸ In the Erostratus passage Pessoa referred to this proverb thus: "[...] English children are told that they cannot <keep> [↓ have] the cake they eat" (19-59v;

cf. *Páginas de Estética* 1967: 206). He also employed it in another prose work entitled *Impermanence* datable from ca. 1916-1920: "It is a child's proverb that you cannot eat your cake and have it too [...]" (19-81v; cf. *Páginas de Estética* 1967: 283). Around this period, it appears in a passage for the *Livro do Desasocego* but in Portuguese.: "Não se pode comer um bolo sem o perder" (7-16; 2010: I, 153). The literal translation is as follows: "One cannot eat a cake without losing it."

¹⁹ Keats's sonnet "On Fame" with the reference "You cannot eat your cake and have it too" was transcribed into his letter to George and Georgiana on 30 April 1819. Hyder Rollins's edition of Keats's letters has a section in the index that lists all the proverbs Keats used (see Keats 2002: II, 425-426).

²⁰ *Mensagem [Message]* was published in December of 1934. The first edition to include Pessoa's emendations to the copy extant in his private library dates from 1941. The poem "O das Quinas" (with Pessoa's emendations) was facsimiled in (Pizarro, Ferrari and Cardiello 2010: 322).

²¹ On 5 December 1924 Pessoa ordered the *Dictionary of Foreign Phrases* (114³-67; *Correspondência 1923-1935* 1999: II, 62-63).

²² This saying, for instance, may be found in *Επίχαρμος* (Epicharmo; 530-440 A.C.): "Τῶν πόνων πολούσιν ἡμῖν πάντα τα ἀγαθὰ οἱ θεοί" (<http://www.gnomikologikon.gr/authquotes.php?auth=1583> consulted on 1 April 2013). A possible English literal translation is "The gods give us the goods we need only after we have made the effort".

²³ This line may be read as an iambic tetrameter with no tensions. Parametric theory states that weak positions (except the first) may not be occupied by the strong syllables of polysyllabic words; "everything" [Sws], the only polysyllabic word, has the primary and secondary stress in strong positions. Also, lexical monosyllables are allowed in weak positions, as in the verb *sell*. (For a detailed scansion of this line see Ferrari 2012: 203-204).

²⁴ The *Pickwick Papers* is no longer extant in Pessoa's private library (see Pizarro, Ferrari and Cardiello 2010: 13, 19 and 421).

²⁵ ["This old anguish"].

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TAMÁS FORGÁCS

ÜBER DAS PARÖMISCHE MINIMUM DES UNGARISCHEN

Abstract: This paper deals with the issues of paremiological minimum with special attention on why the results of German and Hungarian surveys (Grzybek 1991 and Litovkina 1993, 1996, respectively) are remarkably different. It points out that the differences are partially due to the different treatment of “common knowledge” (95% vs. 90%), but the higher scores in the Hungarian surveys may also come from the fact that Litovkina’s list is longer with more proverbs to complete.

On the other hand, it has to be noted that Litovkina’s list and conclusions, despite their high value as pioneering work, have some problems. Several proverbs which are in fact each other’s variants, are listed as different items, and also some of her proverbs are somewhat archaic, missing from all the largest electronic corpora. All of the above indicate that it is time to carry out a new survey with a test list validated by previous corpus analyses.

Keywords: phraseology, paremiology, paremiological minimum, knowledge of proverbs, use of proverbs, familiarity, corpus linguistics, use of electronic databases, sociolinguistics

Die folgende Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit Fragen des parömisches Minimums und will vor allem auf die Frage eine Antwort geben, warum die Ergebnisse der von Peter Grzybek in Bezug auf das Deutsche (Grzybek 1991) und von Anna Litovkina (Litovkina 1993, 1996) in Bezug auf das Ungarische durchgeführten Untersuchungen ziemlich große Unterschiede aufweisen.

I. Nach dem „bahnbrechenden“ Forschungsansatz von Permjakov über das parömisches Minimum des Russischen (vgl. Grzybek 1984a) ist die Frage des Sprichwörterminimums zu einem beliebten Forschungsgegenstand geworden. Die Darstellung seines Experiments ist in der Folge in unterschiedlichen Beiträgen diskutiert worden, so z. B. in der Schweiz (Ruef 1989), in Finnland (Schellbach-Kopra 1987) oder in den USA (Mieder 1986). Folgeuntersuchungen sind aber bis zum Ende der 80er Jahre nicht durchgeführt

worden. Erst Peter Grzybek benutzte die Permjakovsche Methode der Teiltexträsentation, um die Validität einer deutschen Sprichwörterammlung (Frey et al. 1970) zu prüfen (Grzybek 1991). Wenig später führte er mit seinen Mitarbeitern eine entsprechende Untersuchung zum Kroatischen durch (Grzybek/Škara/Heyken 1993). Seinem Beispiel ist man auch im Ausland gefolgt: Schindler hat in seiner Dissertation (1992) das parömische Minimum des Tschechischen ermittelt (vgl. noch Bittnerová – Schindler 1996), Anna Tóthné-Litovkina in ihrer Dissertation für den postdoktoralen Titel „Kandidatin der Sprachwissenschaft“ (1993) das Sprichwörterminimum des Ungarischen festgestellt¹.

Da ich mich seit längerer Zeit mit phraseologischen Forschungen des Ungarischen beschäftige, kenne ich die diesbezüglichen Arbeiten von Litovkina recht gut. Schon beim Lesen ihrer Beiträge ist mir aufgefallen, dass manche Einheiten ihrer Liste ziemlich veraltet sind und selten gebraucht werden. Trotzdem kommt sie zu einer relativ hohen Anzahl der für die Mehrheit der Informanten bekannten Sprichwörter. Ich habe ihre Ergebnisse mit denen von Grzybek über das deutsche parömische Minimum verglichen:² Die Ergebnisse für das Ungarische sind doppelt so hoch wie für das Deutsche. Das könnte bedeuten, dass die Ungarn wesentlich mehr Sprichwörter kennen und gebrauchen als die Deutschen, aber der große Unterschied veranlasst trotzdem zum Nachdenken, ob die Unterschiede nicht auch andere Gründe haben können. In den letzten zehn Jahren entstanden unter meiner Betreuung zwei Diplomarbeiten (Békefi 2005, Lautner-Deák 2011), die sich – aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven – mit dieser Thematik befassen. Da ihre Ergebnisse bezüglich des parömischen Minimums des Ungarischen wesentlich niedrigere Werte gezeigt haben als die von Litovkina, liegt es nahe, den Ursachen dieses Unterschiedes eingehender nachzugehen.

2. Die Untersuchungen von Grzybek ergeben, dass von den untersuchten 275 deutschen Sprichwörtern 77 den Anspruch der allgemeinen Bekanntheit erfüllen (1991: 251), wenn man den Grad für allgemeine Bekanntheit bei 95% festlegt. Laut Litovkina gehören 158 ungarische Belege zu dem ungarischen Sprichwörterminimum (1996: 454).³

Wenn man von der eher methodologischen Veranlagung der Untersuchungen zum Deutschen und Kroatischen absieht, ist an-

hand der Untersuchungen der Unterschied zwischen der Sprichwortkenntnis der Deutschen und der Kroaten im Vergleich zu der der Ungarn scheinbar gewaltig. Es wäre eigentlich erfreulich, wenn Litovkina mit ihrer Zahl 158 Recht hätte, aber meine Erfahrungen mit StudentInnen für Hungarologie zeigen eher, dass selbst sie relativ häufig für mich wohlbekannte und gebrauchte Sprichwörter nicht kennen. Daher suchte ich nach möglichen Erklärungen. Die Ursachen des Unterschiedes setzen sich m. E. aus mehreren Faktoren zusammen:

2.1. Einerseits liegt der Unterschied einfach in den **Zahlen**. Was die absoluten Zahlen angeht, gibt es nämlich einen bedeutenden Unterschied an der **Menge der** für die Untersuchungen verwendeten **Teiltextbeispiele**. Die von Grzybek 1991 und Grzybek/Skara/Heyken 1993 gebrauchten Sprichwörterkorpora sind nämlich wesentlich kleiner als die Sprichwortliste von Litovkina: Der deutschen Teiltextliste gehörten 275, der kroatischen 245, der ungarischen jedoch 378 Sprichwörter an. So hatten die ungarischen Informanten eine größere Auswahl von Sprichwörtern, die sie potentiell ergänzen konnten. Der höhere Wert für das Ungarische (158 Belege zu 77 im Deutschen) kann z. T. schon damit zusammenhängen.

Auf einen ähnlichen Zusammenhang weisen übrigens auch Grzybek und Chlosta in ihrem Beitrag über die Grundlagen der empirischen Sprichwortforschung hin (1993). In diesem Zusammenhang berichten sie über einen Forschungsansatz, in dem den Informanten zwei Sprichwörtersammlungen (Simrock 1846 und Beyer/Beyer 1984) vorgelegt wurden, um aus diesen die für sie bekannten Sprichwörter herauszufiltern. Zehn Informanten hatten „die Sammlung von Beyer/Beyer auf die ihnen unbekanntem Sprichwörter hin zu bearbeiten“ (1993: 116). Dabei kam man zu dem Ergebnis, dass 310 Sprichwörter von allen Versuchspersonen (Vpn-Bey) bekannt waren. Im Ergebnis stellten sie fest: „Die große Anzahl an allen Vpn-Bey gemeinsam bekannten Sprichwörtern darf wohl als Indiz für ein zu erwartendes großes Sprichwörterminimum gewertet werden. Dies hat natürlich Auswirkungen auf die Bewertung der oben diskutierten Arbeiten an anderen Sprichwörterminima, die ja teilweise nur 300 Sprichwörter überhaupt in der Teiltextpräsentation darboten“ (ebda.).

2.2. Noch entscheidender für die unterschiedlichen Zahlen ist aber der Unterschied bezüglich des **Grenzwertes der „allgemeinen Bekanntheit“**. Permjakov hat in seinen Untersuchungen eine sehr hohe Marke (97,5%) für dieses Prädikat gestellt. (In gewissen Untersuchungen ist er aber auf die 90%-Marke heruntergegangen, vgl. Grzybek/Chlosta 1993: 109). Die 97,5%-Marke schien aber für Grzybek in seiner Untersuchung für das Deutsche zu hoch zu sein und er senkte deswegen aus pragmatischen Gründen die Prozentzahl auf 95%. Somit ergab seine Untersuchung 77 Sprichwörter als für deutsche Sprachteilhaber „allgemein bekannt“. Litovkina stellte dagegen bei ihrer Untersuchung den Bekanntheitsgrad bei 90% fest: Es ist leicht einzusehen, dass auch aus diesem Grund wesentlich mehr Sprichwörter zu dem ungarischen parömischen Minimum gehören.

Vergleichen wir aber die Tabellen der allgemeinen Bekanntheit in den Gesamtstichproben beider Untersuchungen! (Die Tabellen stammen von Grzybek 1991: 252 und Litovkina 1996: 454, ich übernehme aber nicht alle Zeilen, da sie nicht immer mit den gleichen Prozentwerten arbeiten.)

Bekanntheit (in %)	Sw	(%)
100.00	18	6.54
>97.50	52	18.90
>95.00	77	28.00
>90.00	112	40.73
>50.00	203	73.82

Tabelle 1: Allgemeine Bekanntheit der Sprichwörter bei Grzybek 1991

Bekanntheit (in %)	Sw	(%)
100.00	1	0.3
>99.00 (!)	17	4.5
>95.00	106	28.0
>90.00	158	41.8
>50.00	358	95.0

Tabelle 2: Allgemeine Bekanntheit der Sprichwörter bei Litovkina 1996

Wenn man die beiden Tabellen vergleicht, sieht man, dass der große Unterschied der Sprichwörterminima im Deutschen und im

Ungarischen (77 zu 158) bei gleichen Bekanntheitsgrad-Marken wesentlich kleiner ist: Erhebt man die Marke bei Litovkina auf 95%, dann sind den Informanten fast ein Drittel weniger Sprichwörter (106) bekannt. Somit verringert sich der Unterschied zum Deutschen gewaltig. Genauso verringert sich der Unterschied auch dann, wenn man bei Grzybek auf die 90%-Marke heruntergeht (112 allgemein bekannte Sprichwörter). Die verbleibenden Unterschiede können z. T. schon damit zusammenhängen, dass Litovkina als Ausgangsbasis einen um etwa 25% längeren Teiltextrkopus verwendet hat.

Am besten sieht man übrigens, wie sehr die relativen Werte der Sprichwortkenntnis beieinander liegen, wenn man die **prozentualen Werte** der einzelnen Untersuchungen miteinander vergleicht: Bei einem 95%-en Bekanntheitsgrad sind die Zahlen identisch (28% der gebrauchten Listen in beiden Untersuchungen), bei 90% fast identisch (etwa 41% der Listen).⁴ (Bei einem 50%-en Bekanntheitsgrad gibt es schon wesentliche Unterschiede: 73,8% bei Grzybek und 95% bei Litovkina, aber darauf komme ich später zurück.)

Diese prozentuale Übereinstimmung ist eigentlich sehr überraschend, man muss aber noch erwähnen, dass die Zahlen von Litovkina auf einer wesentlich höheren Anzahl von Informanten beruhen (bei Grzybek sind es 125 Befragte (1991: 246), bei Litovkina 418 Befragte (1996: 443)). Die Untersuchung von Litovkina ist also repräsentativer. Gerade daher überrascht die prozentuale Übereinstimmung bei diesen Bekanntheitsgraden.

Aus den Bisherigen ist es ersichtlich, dass einige der Gründe für die im Ungarischen höher ausfallende Sprichwortkenntnis einfach in den Zahlen liegen: einerseits in den absoluten Zahlen wegen einer etwa um ein Drittel größeren Sprichwortliste, andererseits in den relativen Zahlen, die sich durch eine unterschiedliche Wertung der „allgemeinen Bekanntheit“ in den beiden Untersuchungen (95% bzw. 90%) ergeben. Bei gleichem Bekanntheitsgrad und immer an den jeweiligen Korpora berechnet, sind die Ergebnisse recht nahe beieinander.

2.3. Außer den Zahlenangaben habe ich mich aber auch eingehender mit Litovkinas Sprichwortliste befasst, da sie – wie schon erwähnt – eine getestete Selektion als Basis der Untersuchung genommen hat, während Grzybek 1991 eher die Validität einer ferti-

gen Liste überprüft hat. Dabei bin ich zu dem Ergebnis gekommen, dass es bei Litovkina leider auch mit den absoluten Zahlen einige Probleme gibt. Sie arbeitet nämlich – wie schon erwähnt – mit einer Liste aus 378 Sprichwörtern: Alle ihre weiteren prozentualen Berechnungen beziehen sich auf diese Summe (N = 378). Bei einer genaueren Betrachtung fällt einem aber auf, dass in der Liste eigentlich **keine 378 völlig unterschiedlichen Belege** Platz bekommen haben. Es gibt nämlich im Korpus mehrere Sprichwörter, die eher nur Varianten zueinander sind.

Einige haben einen umgekehrten Sinn wie ihre Varianten, lexikologisch gesehen bestehen sie aber aus dem gleichen „Sprachmaterial“. Manchmal unterscheiden sie sich nur in der Verwendung von Negationspartikeln oder in der Umdrehung des Prädikates, z. B.:

Ruha teszi az embert. (319)⁵ 'Kleider machen Leute.' vs.
Nem a ruha teszi az embert. (281) 'Nicht die Kleider machen die Leute.'

Minden jóban van valami rossz. (231) 'In allem Guten steckt etwas Schlechtes.' vs.

Minden rosszban van valami jó. (235) 'In allem Schlechten steckt etwas Gutes.'

Aki szerencsés a játékban, szerencsétlen a szerelemben. (29) 'Glück im Spiel, Unglück in der Liebe.' vs.

Aki szerencsétlen a játékban, szerencsés a szerelemben. (30) 'Unglück im Spiel, Glück in der Liebe.'

Ha Katalin kopog, karácsony locsog. (123) 'Wenn es am Kathrinstag (25. November) friert, wird es zu Weihnachten nur Regen geben.' vs.

Ha Katalin locsog, karácsony kopog. (124) 'Wenn es am Kathrinstag (25. November) regnet, wird es zu Weihnachten frostig sein.'

Die folgenden Belege folgen auch dem gleichen syntaktischen und logischen Muster – bei nur ganz geringfügig anderer lexikalischer Ausfüllung:

Fogadatlan prókátornak ajtó mögött a helye. (113) 'Ein ungebetener Anwalt gehört hinter die Tür.' vs.

Hívatlan vendégnek ajtó mögött a helye. (138) 'Ein ungeladener Gast gehört hinter die Tür.'

Bei den nächsten Belegen geht es sogar tatsächlich nur um etwaige Varianten, z. B.:

Először a munka, aztán a pihenés. (99) 'Erst die Arbeit, dann das Vergnügen (die Erholung).' vs.

Munka után édes a pihenés. (256) 'Nach (getaner) Arbeit ist das Vergnügen (die Erholung) süß.'

Minden kakas úr a maga szemétdombján. (232) 'Alle Hähne sind Herr auf ihrem eigenen Mist(haufen).'

vs.

Nem fér meg két kakas egy szemétdombon. (275) 'Zwei Hähne auf einem Mist(haufen) kommen miteinander nicht aus.'

Ha az Isten akarja, a kapanyél is elsül. (122) 'Wenn Gott es will, kann auch der Hackenstiel Schüsse abfeuern.' vs.

Néha még a kapanyél is elsül. (268) 'Manchmal kann auch der Hackenstiel Schüsse abfeuern.'

Okos enged, szamár szenved. (299) 'Der Klügere gibt nach, der Esel leidet.' vs.

Az okosabb enged. (300) 'Der Klügere gibt nach.'

Vor allem bei dieser letzten Gruppe ist es mir völlig unverständlich, warum Litovkina diese Paare nicht unter der gleichen Nummer als bloße Varianten aufführt: Sie greift nämlich in anderen Fällen nicht selten zu dieser Lösung, z. B.:

(40) *Amelyik kutya ugat, nem harap.* 'Hunde, die bellen, beißen nicht.'

Ugat a kutya, de nem harap. 'Der Hund bellt, aber beißt nicht.'

(293) *Nincsen ember hiba nélkül.* 'Kein Mensch ist ohne Fehler.'

Senki sincs hiba nélkül. 'Niemand ist ohne Fehler.'

Mindenkinek van hibája. 'Alle haben Fehler.'

Wenn man die obigen Beispiele in Betracht zieht, sind das insgesamt 11 Paare, also 22 Sprichwörter. Es ist leicht einzusehen, dass Informanten, die eine der Varianten kennen, auch die andere kennen werden bzw. umgekehrt: Wer die eine nicht kennt, wird auch die andere nicht kennen. Diese Tatsache wirkt sich aber störend auf die weiteren Zahlen in der Untersuchung aus. Einerseits ist die Basismenge geringfügig kleiner als angegeben, da in Wirklichkeit nur 367 und nicht 378 Einheiten in die Untersuchung einbezogen wurden, andererseits beeinflusst die Kenntnis bzw. Unkenntnis der obigen Varianten auch die prozentualen Ergebnisse bzw. die Liste der als „allgemein bekannt“ aufgeführten Sprichwörter.⁶

Interessant ist übrigens auch, dass diese Einheiten in Litovkinas Liste manchmal weit voneinander platziert sind, manchmal jedoch ganz nahe zueinander stehen: Es gibt sogar welche, die gleich hintereinander stehen (s. die Zahlen hinter den Beispielen oben). In ihrer schon erwähnten Diplomarbeit hat Lautner-Deák beobachtet (2011: 10), dass bei direkt nacheinander stehenden Einheiten mit fast gleicher Form viele Informanten den zweiten Beleg gar nicht ergänzt haben. Das mag in die Richtung zeigen, dass sie die beiden für (fast) identisch hielten. Diese Tatsache kann aber – wenn auch nur geringfügig – wieder die Zahlen in den Berechnungen beeinflussen.

2.4. Ein weiteres Problem von Litovkinas Liste ist, dass es auch einige Belege darin gibt, die bei einer Teiltextpräsentation **nicht immer eindeutig zu ergänzen** sind. Sowohl Békefi (2005: 15) als auch Lautner-Deák (2011: 10) berichten darüber, dass die Informanten manche Belege nicht als Sprichwörter, sondern als Redewendungen ergänzt haben. Das ist insofern nicht verwunderlich, als die Informanten schließlich keine Linguisten sind, die den Unterschied zwischen Sprichwort und idiomatischer Wendung kennen sollten: Wenn also ein Teiltext auch als Redewendung ergänzbar war, ist manchen diese Form eingefallen. Solche Beispiele sind:

Szeget szeggel (342) 'Gleiches mit Gleichem (meistens eher: Schlechtes mit Schlechtem) erwidern [wörtl.: Nagel mit Nagel]'. Dieses Sprichwort ist aus einer längeren Form gekürzt worden (*Szeget szeggel kell kiverni/kiüttni/kitolni* = 'einen Nagel soll man mit einem anderen ausschlagen/ausschieben'), ist aber heute nur noch in dieser kurzen Form gebräuchlich. Als Teiltext wurde bei

Litovkina – wie bei solchen Untersuchungen üblich – die erste Hälfte des Sprichwortes angegeben, also das Wort *szeget*. Manche Informanten haben aber statt *szeggel* den Ausdruck anders ergänzt, u. zw. in der Form *Szeget üt a fejébe* 'etw. schlägt einem einen Nagel in den Kopf, d. h. etw. lässt ihn über etw. nachdenken, grübeln'. Sie konnten also den Text ergänzen, haben aber nicht das Sprichwort gewählt, somit galt diese Lösung als falsch.

Ein ähnlicher Fall ist auch beim Teiltex *Zavaros vízben* (378) zu beobachten. Laut Litovkina (1996: 454) sollte das in der Form *Zavaros vízben nem jó halászni* 'Im trüben Wasser ist nicht gut zu fischen' ergänzt werden, aber in den Untersuchungen von Békefi (2005: 15) und Lautner-Deák (2011: 10) haben viele Informanten einfach das Verb *halászik* als Ergänzung gewählt. Somit haben sie wieder kein Sprichwort, sondern eine idiomatische Wendung verwendet, mit der Bedeutung 'im Trüben fischen [wörtl.: im trüben Wasser fischen]'.⁷ Dadurch gilt aber diese Lösung wieder als falsch, und beeinträchtigt – wenn auch nur geringfügig – die Zahlen über die Sprichwortkenntnis.

Es stellt sich die Frage, ob man diese Probleme hätte vermeiden können. Ich meine, ja. Entweder hätte man diese Sprichwörter von der Liste streichen können: Eher einige Sprichwörter weniger, als „einkodierte“ Fehler. Oder man hätte in diesen Fällen den zweiten Teil des Sprichwortes angeben können (... *szeggel* bzw. ... *(nem) jó halászni*). Diese Lösung wäre nicht unikal gewesen: Es gibt Fälle, wo Litovkina nicht die erste Hälfte des Sprichwortes angibt, sondern die zweite, oder einfach einen Teil mitten im Sprichwort weglässt, z. B.

..... *új a nap alatt*. (292) = *Nincs új a nap alatt*. 'Es gibt nichts Neues unter der Sonne.'

A házasságok *köttetnek*. (137) = *A házasságok az égben köttetnek*. 'Ehen werden im Himmel geschlossen.'

Jó az *a háznál*. (159) = *Jó az öreg a háznál*. 'Ein alter Mensch im Haus ist immer gut.'

Außer den Beispielen *Szeget szeggel* und *Zavaros vízben (nem) jó halászni* gibt es übrigens auch noch weitere Belege, die im Ungarischen eher als idiomatische Wendungen üblich sind, aber man kann mit ihnen – durch die Verwendung von verneinenden Formen – auch Sprichwörter formulieren. Solche sind z. B.:

Ágyúval nem lehet verebet löni. (6) 'Mit Kanonen kann man nicht Spatzen schießen.'

Ár ellen nem lehet úszni/evezni. (56) 'Gegen den Strom kann man nicht schwimmen/rudern.'

Ne keresd (keressük) a kákán a csomót. (265) 'Suche keine Fehler dort, wo es die nicht gibt.' [wörtl.: Suche nicht Knoten in Binsen.]

Diese sprichwörtlichen Varianten sind aber im Ungarischen eher unüblich, das beweist vielleicht auch, dass alle drei obigen Beispiele bei O. Nagy nur als Redewendungen aufgeführt sind, vgl.

Ágyúval [ágyúkkal] lő [megy] verebekre. 'mit Kanonen auf Spatzen schießen' (1976: 37)

Az ár ellen úszik. 'gegen den Strom schwimmen' (1976: 50)

Kákán is csomót keres. 'Fehler suchen dort, wo es die nicht gibt' [wörtl.: Knoten in Binsen suchen] (1976: 324)⁸

Da diese also eigentlich keine richtigen Sprichwörter sind, wäre es vielleicht besser gewesen, auch diese von der Sprichwortliste zu streichen. Sie sind aber als Redewendungen ziemlich bekannt, so war vermutlich die Ergänzung der Teiltextformulierungen für die Informanten auch in diesen sprichwörtlichen Formen möglich. (Obwohl in der Untersuchung von Békefi (2005: 13) Kinder aus Grund- und Oberschulen nur selten die richtigen Lösungen gekannt haben.)

2.5. Ein weiteres Problem von Litovkinas Liste ist, dass **manche Belege heute relativ wenig bekannt** sind. Litovkina schreibt zwar darüber, dass sie in mehreren Schritten und durch mehrere Informantengruppen zu ihrer Liste mit 378 Sprichwörtern gekommen ist, und kommt auch in der konkreten Untersuchung zum Ergebnis, dass mehr als die Hälfte ihrer Informanten den überwiegenden Teil der Liste (95%) gekannt hat (s. auch Tabelle 2. oben). Das beweist ihrer Meinung nach, dass nur die populärsten ungarischen Sprichwörter auf die Liste aufgenommen wurden (1996: 454). Dabei gibt es aber nicht wenige Belege, die bei O. Nagy als **veraltet** oder **dialektal** bezeichnet werden.⁹ Der oben erwähnte Ausdruck *Szeget szeggel* war ein Beispiel für veraltete

Sprichwörter, die nächsten vier Belege sind Beispiele für dialektale Formen:

- Lovat, borotvát, asszonyt nem szoktak kölcsönadni.* (216) 'Pferde, Rasierklingen und Frauen verleiht man nicht.'
- Január, február, itt a nyár.* (150) 'Januar, Februar, der Sommer ist da.'
- Akkor kell a lányt adni, (a)mikor kérik.* (36) 'Man soll die Tochter dann vergeben, wenn man sie nehmen will.'
- Üres hordó (jobban) kong.* (370) 'Menschen mit leeren Köpfen sprechen manchmal zu viel.' [wörtl.: Ein hohles Fass hallt (besser).]

Manche Belege von Litovkinas Liste sind sogar in der sonst so reichen Sammlung von O. Nagy gar nicht vorhanden, man findet sie höchstens in älteren Sammlungen, z. B.

- Jobb mindig sietni, mint egyszer elkésni.* (168) 'Es ist besser sich immer zu beeilen, als einmal zu spät zu kommen.' (Ist bei O. Nagy nicht, bei Sirisaka (1891: 92) in der Form *Jobb mindenkör sietni, mint egyszer elkésni* zu finden.)
- Adj a tótnak szállást, kiver a házadból.* (4) 'Gib dem Slowaken Herberge und er vertreibt dich aus deinem Haus.' (Ist bei O. Nagy nicht, nur bei Sirisaka (1891: 2) und Margalits (1896: 721) zu finden.)

Gerade wegen dieser nicht allzu häufigen Belege ist es für mich verwunderlich, dass laut Litovkina (1996: 454) mehr als 50% der Informanten 95% der Belege gekannt hat.¹⁰ Die neueren Folgeuntersuchungen von Békefi (2005) und Lautner-Deák (2011) zeugen allerdings im Vergleich zur Untersuchung von Litovkina von einer wesentlich niedrigeren Sprichwortkenntnis der ungarischen Informanten. Setzen wir uns mit den Ergebnissen dieser Untersuchungen im Folgenden ausführlicher auseinander!

2.6. Békefi hat ihre Untersuchung mit SchülerInnen von 12 bis 18 Jahren, also in den oberen Klassen von Grundschulen und Oberschulen durchgeführt; diese Altersklassen waren auch in Litovkinas Untersuchung eingebunden. Die neue Fragestellung bezog

sich allerdings eher darauf, ob der soziale Status bzw. der Schultyp (z. B. Eliteschule einer Großstadt gegen eine durchschnittliche Schule in einer Kleinstadt) die Menge der von den Informanten gekannten Sprichwörter beeinflussen. Wegen der völlig unterschiedlichen Zusammensetzung der Informanten kann man natürlich die gewonnenen Ergebnisse nicht direkt mit Litovkinas größer angelegter Untersuchung vergleichen. Litovkina hat aber auch eine andere, weniger repräsentative Untersuchung mit 70 Informanten aus Schulen (Alter: 7–17 Jahre) durchgeführt; die Ergebnisse dieser Studie (Litovkina 1995) sind schon eher mit denen von Békefi zu vergleichen.

Anhand ihrer Untersuchung stellt Litovkina (1995: 36) fest, dass von den 378 Sprichwörtern alle Befragten durchschnittlich 160 „richtig“ (also etwa dem Wörterbuchlemma entsprechend) ergänzen konnten, 200 ließen sie leer und bei 17 Belegen gaben sie eine „falsche“ Antwort, d. h. sie haben das Sprichwort ergänzt, aber nicht in der bekannten und gebräuchlichen Form (vgl. Litovkina 1995: 36).

Trotz der oben behandelten Probleme mit Litovkinas Liste hat Békefi die gleiche verwendet, um so Vergleiche mit den Ergebnissen von Litovkina zu ermöglichen. Das ergab aber, dass viele ihrer Informanten manche Belege gar nicht zu ergänzen versuchten, da sie wahrscheinlich für sie unbekannt waren. Vor allem betraf dieses Problem veraltete oder dialektale Formen, aber auch manche Bauernregeln aus dem Material (z. B. *A reték reggel méreg, délben éték, este orvosság*. 'Rettich ist morgens Gift, zu Mittag eine Speise, am Abend ein Medikament.'). Auch etliche geflügelte Worte, die als Sprichwörter gebraucht werden, waren für die meisten Schulkinder unbekannt (z. B. *Kéz kezét mos* 'Eine Hand wäscht die andere' oder *A mór megtette a kötelességét, a mór mehet* 'Der Mohr hat seine Schuldigkeit getan, der Mohr kann gehen') – vgl. Békefi 2005: 13.

Litovkinas Beitrag (1995: 43) beinhaltet eine nach Alter und Geschlecht gegliederte Tabelle über den Umfang der in dieser kleineren Untersuchung als bekannt erwiesenen Sprichwörter. Davon hat Békefi die entsprechenden Zahlen mit denen ihrer Untersuchung verglichen. Die folgende Tabelle 3 zeigt die Ergebnisse (die Nummern in der oberen Reihe bedeuten die durchschnittliche Zahl der von den Informanten ergänzten Sprichwörter):

	1. Durchschnitt der 12-jährigen Jungen	2. Durchschnitt der 12-jährigen Mädchen	3. Durchschnitt der 14-jährigen Jungen
Litovkina 1995	1 Pers.[!] ¹¹ 57 (15,0%)	2 Pers. 124 (32,8%)	2 Pers. 131 (34,7%)
Békefi 2005	22 Pers. 77,5 (20,4%)	18 Pers. 77,1 (20,4%)	20 Pers. 110,9 (29,3%)
	4. Durchschnitt der 14-jährigen Mädchen	5. Durchschnitt der 12-jährigen	6. Durchschnitt der 14-jährigen
Litovkina 1995	5 Pers. 187 (49,5%)	3 Pers. 102 (26,9%)	7 Pers. 201[!] (53,2%)
Békefi 2005	16 Pers. 129,6 (34,2%)	40 Pers. 77,2 (20,4%)	36 Pers. 119,9 (31,7%)

Aus der Tabelle sieht man eindeutig, dass in dieser Untersuchung Litovkina tatsächlich mit relativ wenigen Informanten gearbeitet hat, das gibt sie selber zu. Aber man sieht auch, dass die Sprichwortkenntnis in Békefis Untersuchung wesentlich niedriger ausfiel, als bei Litovkina. Besonders deutlich ist das in der letzten Spalte der Tabelle zu sehen, wo die 14-jährigen Befragten von Békefi ein um etwa 20% niedrigeres Ergebnis, als die von Litovkina erreicht haben.¹² Es muss übrigens bemerkt werden, dass es hier auch einige Probleme mit den Zahlen von Litovkina in der Tabelle gibt: Meinen Berechnungen nach sollte hier nämlich – wenn die Daten (131 und 187) in den Spalten 3 und 4 der Tabelle für die 14-jährigen stimmen – als Durchschnitt der Sprichwortkenntnis dieser Altersklasse statt 201 die Zahl 159 stehen. Das würde auch eine wesentlich niedrigere Prozentzahl nach sich ziehen (42%). In diesem Fall sind die Ergebnisse nicht so weit voneinander, der Unterschied beläuft nur auf 10% und hängt vielleicht nur mit den weitaus höheren Informantenzahlen bei Békefi zusammen.

Wenn aber die Prozentzahl in Spalte 6 stimmt (53,2%), dann ist der Unterschied ziemlich groß, und verlangt nach einer anderen Erklärung. Es könnte eigentlich sein, dass sich die Sprichwortkenntnis der Jugendlichen in zehn Jahren relativ drastisch verringert hat. Das ist aber weniger wahrscheinlich. Vielmehr kann der große Unterschied damit zusammenhängen, dass die Informanten

von Békefi nur in der Schule, unter kontrollierten Umständen die Möglichkeit hatten, die Liste zu ergänzen, während Litovkina – mindestens in ihrer großen Untersuchung – die Liste vor allem in ihrem Bekanntenkreis verteilt, manchmal sogar mit der Post zugeschickt hat. Natürlich ist es fast unmöglich, bei geplanten 600 Informanten kontrollierte Verhältnisse zu schaffen, so dass man in dieser Hinsicht Litovkina keinen Vorwurf machen kann. Sie hat von den 600 Fragebögen 418 zurückbekommen, aber auf jeden Fall hatten die Informanten beliebig viel Zeit zum Ausfüllen und eventuell – obwohl Litovkina sie gebeten hat, nur solche Ergänzungen in die Liste zu schreiben, die sie selber kennen – auch die Möglichkeit, andere Personen zur Hilfe zu bitten, falls ihnen etwas nicht einfel.

Die Untersuchungen von Lautner-Deák (2011) führen zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen wie die von Békefi. Lautner-Deák hatte die Absicht, ihre Ergebnisse mit Litovkinas größerer Untersuchung zu vergleichen, so hat sie Informanten aus der Altersgruppe zwischen 19 und 30 Jahren gewählt. Die Gruppe der jüngeren Generation bestand nämlich in Litovkina 1996 aus Informanten zwischen 13 und 29 Jahren. So konnte also Lautner-Deák – ihre Ergebnisse mit den Zahlen von Békefi (Informanten zwischen 12 und 18 Jahren) ergänzt – die Sprichwortkenntnis der gleichen Altersgruppe untersuchen. (Zusätzlich hat sie noch eine kleine Kontrollgruppe mit 20 Informanten zwischen 30 und 49 Jahren befragt, um zu testen, ob die Sprichwortkenntnis mit dem Alter tatsächlich wächst.) Die Befragung erfolgte auch bei ihr unter kontrollierten Umständen, die Informanten hatten etwa 1,5 Stunden für die Ausfüllung der Fragebögen (Lautner-Deák 2011: 8).

Lautner-Deák hatte in der Altersgruppe der 19- bis 30-jährigen weiblichen Informanten drei unterschiedliche Gruppen bezüglich Schulabschluss: Facharbeiterinnen, sowie Befragte mit Abitur bzw. Diplom. Aus den Ergebnissen ist es ersichtlich, dass die Kenntnis der Sprichwörter mit steigendem Bildungsniveau eindeutig wächst: Die Anzahl der richtigen Lösungen sieht in den drei Gruppen folgendermaßen aus (vgl. Lautner-Deák 2011: 24):¹³

	Sw	%
Facharbeiterinnen	141	37,3
Informanten mit Abitur	202	53,3
Informanten mit Diplom	240	63,4
Durchschnitt	194	51,3

Was die männlichen Informanten angeht, hatte sie nur zwei Gruppen nach Schulabschluss: Befragte mit Abitur bzw. mit Diplom. Die oben erwähnte Tendenz, dass höheres Bildungsniveau mit besserer Sprichwortkenntnis korreliert, ist aber auch hier eindeutig zu beobachten (vgl. Lautner-Deák 2011: 25):

	Sw	%
Informanten mit Abitur	178	46,9
Informanten mit Diplom	255	67,4
Durchschnitt	216	57,2

Wie aus den beiden Tabellen ersichtlich ist, gibt es – wie in den meisten Untersuchungen zum parömisches Minimum – zwischen der Sprichwortkenntnis der Frauen und der der Männer mit gleicher Ausbildung keine auffälligen Unterschiede.

Was die Kontrollgruppe betrifft, hatte Lautner-Deák 10 Informanten zwischen 30–39 Jahren und weitere 10 zwischen 40–49. Die Ergebnisse über ihre Sprichwortkenntnis sind in der folgenden Tabelle zusammengefasst (vgl. Lautner-Deák 2011: 32):

	Sw	%
Informanten zwischen 30–39 Jahren	282,2	74,6
Informanten zwischen 40–49 Jahren	304,5	80,5
Durchschnitt	293	77,6

In Litovkinas Untersuchung ist die Durchschnittkenntnis der Sprichwörter in dieser Altersgruppe 322 (85,1%). Der Unterschied ist also 7,6%, d. h. weniger ausgeprägt. Vielleicht hängt das Ergebnis nur mit der unterschiedlichen Anzahl der Testpersonen zusammen, da Litovkina in dieser Altersgruppe eine wesentlich repräsentativere Informantengruppe als Lautner-Deák hat.

Was das parömisches Minimum in der Untersuchung von Lautner-Deák betrifft, ist das wesentlich niedriger als bei Litovkina: In der Gruppe der 19–29-jährigen sind es nur 38 Sprichwörter, die > 95% der Befragten bekannt sind. Senkt man die Grenze der

Bekanntheit auf > 90%, dann sind es 16 Sprichwörter mehr, also insgesamt 54 Belege. Das ist nur ein Drittel davon, was Litovkinas Untersuchung ergeben hat. Direkt kann man die Ergebnisse natürlich nicht vergleichen, da in die Untersuchung von Litovkina viel mehr – und was vielleicht noch wichtiger ist, auch ältere – Informanten einbezogen wurden. Da nach dem Ergebnis aller bisherigen Untersuchungen zum parömischen Minimum die Kenntnis der Sprichwörter mit zunehmendem Alter wächst, wäre es dann auch verständlich, dass das Minimum bei Litovkina höher ist. Zieht man aber die kleine Kontrollgruppe der 30-49-jährigen bei Lautner-Deák in Betracht, erweitert sich die Liste nur mit 11 Sprichwörtern, also auf 65 (im Vergleich zu 158 Belege bei Litovkina). So ist der Unterschied immer noch beträchtlich, auch wenn bei Litovkina gerade die ältesten Informanten die Endergebnisse verbessern konnten.

Der Unterschied kann aber auch mit der schon oben erwähnten Tatsache zusammenhängen, dass Litovkinas Informanten beliebig viel Zeit für die Ergänzung der Fragebögen hatten und eventuell auch Hilfe in Anspruch nehmen konnten. Außerdem schreibt sie, dass sich die Mehrheit der Informanten aus ihrem Bekannten- und Freundeskreis stammte. Möglicherweise gab es also unter ihnen relativ viele LehrerInnen, PhilologInnen und PhilologiestudentInnen, die mehr Sprichwörter als die ungarischen Durchschnittsprecher gekannt haben.

3. Aus den bisherigen Erörterungen konnte man sehen, dass die Zahlen in der Untersuchung über das ungarische Sprichwörterminimum (Litovkina 1996) nur auf den ersten Blick stark von den Ergebnissen der Untersuchung über das deutsche parömische Minimum (Grzybek 1991) abweichen; auf den zweiten Blick stehen jedoch die Ergebnisse wesentlich näher zueinander. Die weitere Beschäftigung mit dem Thema ergab aber, dass Litovkinas Sprichwörterliste einigermaßen problematisch ist, insofern etliche Sprichwörter, die eher nur Varianten von ohnehin enthaltenen Einheiten sind, als separate Belege auftauchen, obwohl in vielen anderen Fällen ähnliche Beispiele unter einer Nummer geführt werden. Die Liste ist also nicht immer konsequent angelegt, außerdem tauchen in ihr einige Belege auf, die nach anderen Sammlungen veraltet oder dialektal gefärbt sind, wodurch Zweifel entstehen können, ob die Liste tatsächlich die 378 bekanntesten

ungarischen Sprichwörter beinhaltet, wie Litovkina auf Grund ihrer Voruntersuchungen es behauptet hat.

Meiner Meinung nach sollte man die Untersuchung mit einer neuen Liste wiederholen, um authentische Ergebnisse zu bekommen. Für erste Reduktionen einer Anfangsliste könnte man weiterhin Informanten befragen und sie bitten, die nicht bekannten Sprichwörter aus der Liste zu streichen. Bevor man aber zu einer endgültigen Liste kommt, sollte man m. E. den Belegen in großen Textkorpora nachsuchen, ob sie tatsächlich gebraucht werden. Für das Ungarische könnte z. B. der Korpus Magyar Nemzeti Szöveg-tár (Ungarischer Nationalkorpus, <http://www.mnsz.hu>) in Frage kommen. Aus meinen Erfahrungen weiß ich natürlich, dass Sprichwörter und Situationsreplika in geschriebenen Texten oft nicht so einfach belegbar sind, aber der Ungarische Nationalkorpus beinhaltet relativ viele literarische Texte, in denen häufig auch Dialoge aus der gesprochenen Sprache vorkommen: in diesen sind satzförmige Belege wesentlich häufiger zu finden. Eine im Voraus durchgeführte Korpusuntersuchung könnte die Authentizität einer Sprichwortliste für den Fragebogen wesentlich stärken.¹⁴

Um zu erfahren, ob eine solche Voruntersuchung tatsächlich hilfreich sein könnte, habe ich stichprobenartig etliche Sprichwörter aus Litovkinas Liste im Ungarischen Nationalkorpus auf ihr Vorkommen hin recherchiert. Einerseits habe ich die Vorkommenshäufigkeit derjenigen Belege überprüft, über die ich früher behauptet habe, dass sie m. E. heute wenig bekannt sind. Von den oben erwähnten 6 Beispielen waren 4 im Nationalkorpus gar nicht zu finden (*Lovat, borotvát, asszonyt nem szoktak kölcsönadni* 'Pferde, Rasierklingen und Frauen verleiht man nicht'; *Január, február, itt a nyár* 'Januar, Februar, der Sommer ist da'; *Akkor kell a lányt adni, (a)mikor kéri* 'Man soll die Tochter dann vergeben, wenn man sie nehmen will' und *Jobb mindig sietni, mint egyszer elkésni* 'Es ist besser immer in Eile zu sein, als einmal zu spät kommen'. Von den anderen beiden Beispielen kommt im Korpus *Üres hordó jobban kong* 'Ein hohles Fass hallt besser' einmal vor, *Adj a tótnak szállást, kiver a házadból* 'Gib dem Slowaken Herberge und er vertreibt dich aus deinem Haus' ist zweimal zu belegen. Das kann die früheren Zweifel verstärken, ob alle 378 Belege der Liste wirklich zu den bekanntesten ungarischen Sprichwörtern gehören.

Dieses Gefühl wird noch verstärkt, wenn man nach anderen, meiner Meinung nach häufiger gebrauchten Belegen sucht. So habe ich im Korpus 20 weitere Parömien auf ihr Vorkommen hin überprüft. Diese sind die letzten Sprichwörter der aus 158 Parömien bestehenden Minimum-Liste von Litovkina, also von der Bekanntheit her nicht die meistbekanntesten ungarischen Sprichwörter. Trotzdem konnte man die Mehrheit von ihnen mit recht vielen Beispielen belegen.

A pénznek nincs szaga. 'Geld stinkt nicht.' – 31 Belege

Májusi eső aranyat ér. 'Mairegen bringt Segen.' – 8 Belege

Szegény ember vízzel főz. 'Arme Leute kochen mit Wasser.' – 18 Belege

A baj nem jár egyedül. 'Ein Unglück kommt selten allein.' – 32 Belege

Mindenki magából indul ki. 'Ein jeder geht von sich selbst aus.' – 22 Belege

Szükség törvényt bont. 'Not kennt kein Gebot.' – 18 Belege

Kutyaharapást szőrivel. 'Auf Hundebiss soll man Hundehaare auflegen.' – 23 Belege

Nézd meg az anyját, vedd el a lányát! 'Ist die Mutter gut von Sitten, magst du wohl um die Tochter bitten.' [wörtl.: Schau die Mutter an, heirate ihre Tochter!] – 8 Belege

Aki nincs ellenünk, az velünk van. 'Wer nicht gegen uns ist, ist mit uns.' – 57 Belege

Pénz beszél, kutya ugat. 'Geld regiert die Welt.' [wörtl.: Geld spricht, Hunde bellen.] – 30 Belege

A cél szentesíti az eszközt. 'Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel.' – 113 Belege

Sok bába közt elvesz a gyerek. 'Viele Köche verderben den Brei.' [wörtl.: Unter vieler Hebammen geht das Kind verloren.] – 34 Belege

Die folgenden vier Beispiele sind schon relativ wenig frequent, aber noch eindeutig zu belegen:

A halál ellen nincs orvosság. 'Gegen Tod ist kein Kraut gewachsen.' – 4 Belege

Ha a hegy nem megy Mohamedhez, Mohamed megy a hegyhez 'Geht der Berg nicht zu Mohammed, soll Mohammed zum Berg gehen.' – 3 Belege

Tanulj tinó, ökör lesz belőled. 'Lerne Jungochs, dann wirst du ein Ochs.' – 2 Belege

Ne fuss olyan szekér után, amelyik nem vesz föl. 'Lauf nicht einem Wagen hinterher, der dich nicht hinaufnimmt.' – 2 Belege

Das Sprichwort *Nagy urakkal nem jó egy tálból cseresznyézni* 'Mit großen Herren ist nicht gut Kirschen essen' ist nur einmal zu belegen, aber es gibt 10 weitere Belege für die redensartliche Variante (*egy tálból cseresznyézik vkivel* 'mit jmdm. Kirschen essen, d. h. gemeinsame Angelegenheiten haben'). Hochfrequent ist die Form *Lassan, de biztosan* 'Langsam, aber sicher' (mehr als 200 Belege), aber meistens kommt auch diese Wortverbindung nicht in Satzform vor, sondern eingebaut in Sätze als Redewendung.

Ich glaube, schon diese wenigen Beispiele können überzeugen, dass Korpusuntersuchungen für die Zusammenstellung einer authentischen Sprichwortliste, die den Probanden vorgelegt wird, unerlässlich sind. Als Litovkina ihre Untersuchung durchgeführt hat, gab es natürlich noch ganz wenige und nicht allzu große elektronische Korpora, so kann man ihr nicht vorwerfen, dass sie das verabsäumt hat. Mit diesen Stichproben wollte ich nur meine oben intuitiv formulierten Einwände gegen ihre Ausgangsliste mit Korpusbelegen unterstützen. Elektronische Korpora sind übrigens in den letzten zehn Jahren verstärkt in phraseologische Forschungen einbezogen worden, so z. B. in die Feststellung eines phraseologischen Optimums für Deutsch als Fremdsprache (vgl. Hallsteindóttir – Sajánková – Quasthoff 2006, Ďurčo 2001 usw.). Auch für die Zusammenstellung der Belege für die multilinguale Datenbank www.sprichwort-plattform.org sind elektronische Korpora verwendet worden. So wäre die korpusbasierte Frequenzuntersuchung bei einer erneuten Durchführung einer gründlichen Unter-

suchung eines parömischen Minimums des Ungarischen (aber auch anderer Sprachen) für die Zusammenstellung der für die Bekanntheitsuntersuchung gebrauchten Fragebögen unerlässlich.

Anmerkungen:

¹ Litovkinas Dissertation, die eine wichtige Pionierarbeit auf diesem Gebiet war, ist Manuskript geblieben, ihre wichtigsten Feststellungen sind aber in Litovkina 1996 publiziert. So beziehe ich mich im Folgenden meistens auf diesen Beitrag.

² Man soll zwar mit einem direkten Vergleich etwas vorsichtig sein, da Grzybek 1991 eine bestehende Sprichwortsammlung auf deren aktuelle Validität getestet, während Litovkina nach verschiedenen Verfahren der Vorauswahl eine getestete Selektion als Basis der Untersuchung gebraucht hat. Ansonsten ist aber ihr Analyseverfahren ungefähr identisch, somit ist ein Vergleich gar nicht verfehlt.

³ Die Untersuchung zum Kroatischen (Grzybek/Škara/Heyken 1993: 91) ergab noch niedrigere Werte als für das Deutsche (insgesamt 15 Sprichwörter bei einer Grenze für „allgemeine Bekanntheit“ bei 95%, und 26 Sprichwörter, wenn man auf 90% heruntergeht. Aber auch diese Studie ist eher methodologisch wichtig, somit wäre ein direkter Vergleich mit Litovkinas Untersuchung zum Ungarischen etwas verfehlt.

⁴ Interessant ist, dass die Ergebnisse im Kroatischen wesentlich niedriger ausfallen (6,12% bei 95% und 10,61% bei 90%), aber da ich diese Untersuchung nicht näher kenne, kann ich auf die Ursachen nicht eingehen.

⁵ Die Zahlen geben die Position des Sprichwortes in Litovkinas Liste an.

⁶ Interessant ist übrigens, dass in der vielleicht repräsentativsten ungarischen phraseologischen Sammlung von O. Nagy (1976) manche von den obigen Beispielen unter ein und demselben Stichwort stehen, also tatsächlich als Varianten aufgeführt sind, z. B. (A_z) *okosabb enged* [(A_z) *okos enged*, (a) *szamár szenved*; dial: *Engedj okos a kajlának!*] (514) oder (A) *kakas is [minden kakas] úr a (maga) szemétdombján* (325). Außerdem kommt bei O. Nagy z. B. nur die Form *Munka után édes a nyugalom / a pihenés* 'Nach (getaner) Arbeit ist die Ruhe süß' vor, die andere – von Litovkina auf Platz 99 angeführte – Variante (*Először a munka, aztán a pihenés*), die wahrscheinlich dem deutschen Muster *Erst die Arbeit, dann das Vergnügen* folgt, ist bei O. Nagy gar nicht zu finden.

⁷ Litovkina gibt selber zu, dass auch in ihrer Untersuchung dieses Sprichwort zu den am wenigsten bekannten gehört hat (1996: 454). Das kann eben auch damit zusammenhängen, dass viele Informanten diese idiomatische Wendung als Ergänzung gewählt haben, wie auch sie in der Fußnote 4 ihres Beitrages (1996: 443) das erwähnt. Es muss eigentlich auch darauf verwiesen werden, dass die von Litovkina erwartete Lösung einigermaßen falsch ist. Laut O. Nagy (1976: 728) ist nämlich die richtige Form des Sprichwortes *Zavaros vízben jó halászni* 'Im trüben Wasser ist es gut zu fischen, d. h. die unkontrolliert-chaotischen Verhältnisse kann man sich zum Vorteil nutzen'. Wenn man an die Herkunft des Sprichwortes denkt, ist es leicht einzusehen, dass die nicht negierte Form die richtige ist, da im trüben Wasser die Fische den Angelhaken nicht sehen.

⁸ Bei diesem Beleg führt übrigens selbst Litovkina neben der auffordernden sprichwortähnlichen Form die bloße Redewendung als Variante auf: *A kákán is keres(i)*.

⁹ Trotzdem könnte ihre Verwendung in der Untersuchung berechtigt sein, wenn ihr häufiges Vorkommen durch Korpusbelege nachweisbar wäre. Das ist aber gar nicht der Fall, s. später.

¹⁰ Auch wenn Grzybek seine Untersuchung mit Hilfe einer fertigen, also nicht selber zusammengestellten und getesteten Liste ausgearbeitet hat, waren nur 74% seiner Liste für die Hälfte der Befragten bekannt (vgl. 1991: 252).

¹¹ Es ist etwas merkwürdig, bei nur einem Informanten überhaupt über „Durchschnitt“ zu sprechen.

¹² Aus der Tabelle sieht man auch, dass in der Untersuchung von Békefi der Unterschied zwischen der Sprichwortkenntnis der Jungen und der Mädchen wesentlich geringer ausfiel, als bei Litovkina 1995. Das mag aber auch damit zusammenhängen, dass Litovkina in dieser Untersuchung nur ganz wenige Informanten hatte, so sind ihre Zahlen nicht repräsentativ, während Békefi wesentlich mehr Informanten befragt hat.

¹³ Die Anzahl der als falsch zu betrachtenden Lösungen ist bei allen 3 Gruppen ähnlich, Unterschiede gab es eher in der Zahl der nicht ergänzten Sprichwörter (vgl. Lautner-Deák 2011: 19–24).

¹⁴ Gegen dieses Verfahren könnte man zwar einwenden, dass Bekanntheit nicht mit Verwendung gleichzusetzen ist. Das Verfahren dient aber nur dazu, die vorher durch Informantenbefragungen erstellten Listen zu verifizieren. Es ist natürlich klar, dass – wie auch Grzybek feststellt (2012: 99) – nicht alles verwendet werden muss oder verwendet wird, was man kennt. Aber auch er stellt schließlich fest: „Individuelle Kenntnis – und damit [...] die allgemeine Bekanntheit – ist trotzdem an häufiges Vorkommen und damit an soziale Verwendung (zumindest durch andere) gebunden“ (a.a.O. 100).

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ROSEMARIE GLÄSER

“WE HAVE CEASED TO BE A NATION IN RETREAT”:
REDEWENDUNGEN UND SPRICHWÖRTER IN MARGARET
THATCHERS RHETORIK

Abstract: The article sets out to examine Margaret Thatcher’s rhetoric and individual style in her two autobiographies, *The Downing Street Years* (1993) and *The Path to Power* (1995) in the light of paroemiology and phraseology. The linguistic analysis is focused on fixed expressions (i.e. phraseological units) in the function of words (i.e. nominations) and sentences (as propositions), with special reference to proverbial and metaphorical sayings; quotations and winged words; maxims and slogans. These set expressions constitute a salient feature of Margaret Thatcher’s rhetoric in her memoirs. Another remarkable quality is her open-minded account of the process of speech-writing for her public performances – in close cooperation with journalists, ministers and specialists in many subject areas. The final version of a speech always included meticulous work on words and phrases, the structuring of the whole text, but also on the prosody for presentation, done by the speaker herself.

Keywords: Rhetorik, Parömiologie; Redewendung/Phraseologismus; Nomination, Proposition; sprichwörtliche Redensart; Sprichwort, Zitat, geflügeltes Wort, Maxime, Losung; speech-writing

1. Einleitung

Ein wichtiges Untersuchungsgebiet der Parömiologie, wie sie an der Universität Vermont unter der Leitung von Professor Wolfgang Mieder bereits seit mehreren Jahren betrieben wird, ist die Verwendung von Sprichwortgut in der Rhetorik amerikanischer Politiker in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart: bei Harry S. Truman (1997); Abraham Lincoln (2000); Frederick Douglass (2001); Barack Obama (2009) sowie dem Geistlichen und Bürgerrechtskämpfer Martin Luther King (2010). Der Rhetorik eines Staatsmannes Großbritanniens galt Mieders Interesse bereits 1995 in der gemeinsam mit George B. Bryan verfassten Arbeit über Premierminister Sir Winston Churchill. Die durch Sprichwörter angereicherte Rhetorik als Merkmal des Individualstils dieser Persönlichkeiten unter-

sucht Mieder auf der Grundlage eines aus ihrem Gesamtwerk gewonnenen Materialkopus, das eine Vielzahl von Textsorten der mündlichen und schriftlichen Kommunikation einschließt und die Belege für Sprichwörter, Zitate und Phraseologismen unterschiedlicher Struktur und Funktion liefert.

Der folgende Beitrag hat das Ziel, im Anschluss an das Forschungskonzept Wolfgang Mieders die Rhetorik der britischen Premierministerin Margaret Thatcher (Lebensdaten 13. Oktober 1925 – 8. April 2013) unter phraseologischen und parömiologischen Gesichtspunkten zu untersuchen. Das zu analysierende Korpusmaterial wurde jedoch nicht aus der Gesamtheit ihrer öffentlichen Texte, sondern nur aus ihren beiden Autobiografien, *The Downing Street Years* (1993) und *The Path to Power* (1995), exzerpiert. Diese Werke, die Margaret Thatcher unmittelbar nach dem Ende ihrer Amtszeit in Angriff genommen hat, bieten einen subjektiv gespiegelten zeitgeschichtlichen Abriss der Innen- und Außenpolitik Großbritanniens zwischen 1979 und 1990. Sie enthalten Ausschnitte von Reden, Berichte und protokollarische persönliche Kommentare zu Staatsbesuchen in zahlreichen Ländern der Welt sowie zur Entwicklung der Europäischen Gemeinschaft nach dem Ende des Kalten Krieges. Die Verfasserin äußert sich freimütig und authentisch über ihren familiären Hintergrund, ihren politischen Werdegang und ihre Erfolge und Misserfolge, und sie gewährt Einblicke in ihre psychische Befindlichkeit in schwierigen Situationen internationaler Spannungen.

Die beiden Autobiografien Margaret Thatchers sind ein lohnender Gegenstand phraseologischer und parömiologischer Betrachtungen, zumal hier der historische Kontext der Sentenzen, Aphorismen, Maximen und Losungen nachgewiesen ist, die sie in ihrer Amtszeit selbst geprägt hat und die nach ihrem Tode in Nachrufen und Kommentaren englischer und deutscher Tageszeitungen erneut zitiert wurden. Die Erinnerungsbände belegen aber auch eine Fülle sprichwörtlicher Redensarten, Sprichwörter und Zitate sowie einen Reichtum metaphorischer Wendungen, die den Stil des historischen Berichts und der persönlichen Erlebnisschilderung wirkungsvoll zum Ausdruck bringen.

Dem Band *The Downing Street Years* hat Margaret Thatcher eine handgeschriebene Widmung mit Dankesworten an ihre Familie und an ihre Mitarbeiter während ihrer Amtszeit in Downing Street und Chequers auf einem Blatt mit ihrem Wappen und Adelstitel

vorangestellt. Bemerkenswert im Impressum des zweiten Bandes, *The Path to Power*, ist die Formulierung "Margaret Thatcher asserts the moral right to be identified as the author of this work."

Ein beachtenswerter Aspekt der Memoirenbände besteht nicht zuletzt darin, dass Margaret Thatcher über die Entstehung ihrer öffentlichen Reden aus einer Zusammenarbeit zwischen ihr und den Redenschreibern, in der sie den aus der antiken Rhetorik bekannten Arbeitsschritten der Textproduktion folgt, genaue Auskunft gibt und wiederholt auch die Wirkung ihrer Rede einer kritischen Selbstprüfung unterzieht.

2. Margaret Thatchers Rhetorik im Urteil von Nachrufen auf ihre Person (April 2013)

In der britischen Öffentlichkeit wurde Margaret Thatcher als erste und bisher einzige Frau, die in der Geschichte Großbritanniens das Amt des Ministerpräsidenten bekleidet und elf Jahre ausgeübt hat, in Gedenkartikeln gewürdigt. Dennoch wurden ihre Leistungen bei der wirtschaftlichen Umgestaltung des Landes, die weitgehende Privatisierung der Industrie, auch kontrovers beurteilt. Unangefochten dagegen blieben ihre Verdienste um die Annäherung zwischen der Sowjetunion und den USA in der Endphase des Kalten Krieges, die sie mit diplomatischem Geschick und in persönlichen Gesprächen mit dem sowjetischen Staatsoberhaupt Michail Gorbatschow, dem sie Achtung und Vertrauen entgegenbrachte, und dem amerikanischen Präsidenten Ronald Reagan, mit dem sie befreundet war, wesentlich befördern half. Im offenherzigen privaten Ton des Umgangs mit Staatsmännern machte sie jedoch keine Zugeständnisse in der britischen Außenpolitik, wenn sie beispielsweise in den Gremien der Europäischen Gemeinschaft für die Wahrung der Interessen ihres Landes eintrat. Diese politischen Sachverhalte bestimmten ihre öffentliche Diktion. Bezeichnenderweise gelangte gerade in Gedenkartikeln englischer und deutscher Tageszeitungen die Rhetorik Margaret Thatchers auf den Prüfstand der Medienkritiker, die ihr weitgehend negative Wertungen verliehen, was die folgenden Zitate belegen:

"Thatcher's anti-communist rhetoric" (Daily Mail, 9.4.2013, p. 48)

"Thatchers brachiale Rhetorik" (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 9.4.2013, S. 11)

"Thatchers grimmige Rhetorik" (ebenda)

“*Thatchers verbale Radikalität*” (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 9.4.2013, S. 11)

“*Thatcher’s aggressive style*”/“*Thatcher’s verbal punch-up*” (Daily Mail, 9.4.2013, p. 48)

In der Interpretation der Medienvertreter bezieht sich der Begriff Rhetorik in diesem Kontext hauptsächlich auf die mündlichen Äußerungsformen der Premierministerin und ihr sprachliches Handeln in Konfliktsituationen, wenn sie ihren rational gefestigten Standpunkt mit emotional gefärbten sprachlichen Mitteln durchzusetzen trachtete.

Einen wesentlich anderen Eindruck der Rhetorik Margaret Thatchers gewannen Journalisten in Interviews, in denen sie im konzentrierten Austausch von Argumenten treffsichere und überzeugende Formulierungen fand, deren eingängige Kürze sich auch für Überschriften eignete. Solche “*memorable sayings*” erwiesen sich nicht selten als geistvolle Sentenzen wie Aphorismen und wurden zu geflügelten Worten.

In englischen und deutschen Tageszeitungen wurden charakteristische Aussprüche von ihr kolportiert wie

‘I am extraordinarily patient, provided I get my own will in the end’ (Daily Mail, 9.4.2013, p. 9) – deutsch: ‘Ich bin außerordentlich geduldig, vorausgesetzt, ich bekomme am Ende meinen Willen.’ (Berliner Zeitung, 9.4.2013, S. 4)

‘If you want something said, ask a man, If you want something done, ask a woman.’ (Daily Mail, 9.4.2013, p. 9) – ‘Greife auf einen Mann zurück, wenn etwas gesagt werden soll, auf eine Frau, wenn etwas getan werden muss.’ (Berliner Morgenpost, 9. April 2013, S. 3)

Der Journalist Thomas Kielinger kommentiert diese ironische Bemerkung, eine scheinbare Maxime, als eine „hübsche Sottise“. (ibid.)

Deutsche Tageszeitungen zitierten auch den markanten Ausspruch Margaret Thatchers, mit dem sie im Jahr 1982 den erfolgreichen Einsatz der britischen Spezialeinheit (*task force*) auf den Falkland-Inseln kommentiert hatte.

‘Wir haben aufgehört, eine Nation auf dem Rückzug zu sein.’ (Berliner Morgenpost, 9.4.2013, S. 3, und

‚Wir sind nicht länger eine Nation auf dem Rückzug.‘

Den authentischen, rhetorisch ausgefeilten Wortlaut ihrer Rede vom 3. Juli 1982 in Cheltenham hat sie jedoch in ihren Memoiren (Vol. I, p. 235) wiedergegeben:

‘We have ceased to be a nation in retreat. We have instead a newfound confidence – born in the economic battles at home and tested and found true 8000 miles away... And so today we can rejoice at our success in the Falklands and take pride in the achievement of the men and women of our task force. But we do so, not as some flickering of a flame which must soon be dead. No – we rejoice that Britain has rekindled that spirit which has fired her for generations past and which today has begun to burn as brightly as before. Britain has found herself again in the South Atlantic and will not look back from the victory she has won.’

(Hervorhebungen – R.G.)

Dieser Redeausschnitt liefert ein Beispiel für eine ausgezeichnete Rhetorik. Die Premierministerin wählt eine expandierte Metapher (*flickering flame – rekindle – fire – burn brightly*) und vertraut der Wirkung der Antithese wie auch der Emotionalität, die durch die Personifikation des Nationalstaates (*Britain – she*) ausgelöst wurde.

3. Mediale Beinamen und Selbstbezeichnungen Margaret Thatchers

Der bekannteste inoffizielle Personenname bzw. Beiname der britischen Premierministerin, der sie auch in der Berichterstattung der internationalen Medien begleitete, war *the Iron Lady*. Ursprünglich war er in der Formulierung *Železnaja ženščina* als Schimpfname von einem sowjetischen Journalisten für die Armeezeitung *Krasnaja Zvezda* (Roter Stern) geprägt worden, aber er wurde in der Folgezeit zu einem Ehrennamen, zu dem sich Margaret Thatcher mit Stolz bekannte. Über die politischen Umstände dieser Namensbildung gibt sie im zweiten Band ihrer Memoiren selbst Auskunft. In einer Rede im Rathaus von Kensington in London hatte sie in starken Worten von dem militärischen Ungleichgewicht zwischen der NATO und dem Warschauer Pakt in Mitteleuropa und von dem Streben der Russen nach Weltherrschaft gesprochen (Vol. II, p. 361/362).

“The Russians are bent on world dominance, and they are rapidly acquiring the means to become the most powerful imperial nation the world has seen. The men in the Soviet Politburo do not have to worry about the *ebb and flow* of public opinion. They *put guns before butter*, while we put just about everything before guns.” (Hervorhebungen – R.G.)

Das metaphorische Idiom *guns or butter*, das nach Angaben des *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English*, Vol. 2, 1983, p. 248 als “translation of a broadcast speech by Hermann Goering, 1936” gilt, löste in der britischen Presse und bei der sowjetischen Botschaft in London konträre Reaktionen aus, über die Margaret Thatcher rückblickend urteilt:

“A stream of crude invective flowed from the different Soviet propaganda organs. But it was some apparatchik in the office of *Red Star*, the Red Army newspaper, his imagination surpassing his judgement, who coined the description of me as ‘The Iron Lady’.” (Vol. II, p. 362)

Dieser Beiname wurde sogar offiziell im Unterhaus von Enoch Powell 1982 kurz vor der Entscheidung über den Einsatz einer britischen Spezialeinheit auf den Falkland-Inseln in einem an die Premierministerin gerichteten Redebeitrag gebraucht, den diese in ihren Memoiren wie folgt wiedergibt:

‘The Prime Minister, shortly after she came into office, received a soubriquet as the ‘Iron Lady’. It arose in the context of remarks which she made about defence against the Soviet Union and its allies; but there was no reason to suppose that the Right Hon. Lady did not welcome and, indeed, take pride in that description. In the next week or two this House, the nation and the Right Hon. Lady herself will learn of what metal she is made.’ (Vol. I, p. 184)

Dieser Text enthält als Wortspiel eine expandierte Metapher. In onomastischer Hinsicht ist die Bezeichnung *the Iron Lady* ein positiv konnotierter Beiname, in phraseologischer Hinsicht eine onymisierte feste metaphorische Wortverbindung. Interessant ist, dass Powell in seiner Bemerkung den französischen Ausdruck *soubri-*

quet („Spitzname“) verwendet, während Margaret Thatcher nur von *description* spricht.

In den britischen Medien kursierten mehrere Beinamen und Epitheta, darunter auch beleidigende Ausdrücke, die der Premierministerin durchaus bekannt waren. Sie zählt sie in ihrem Erinnerungsband auf:

My public image was on the whole not a disadvantageous one: I was *‘the Iron Lady’*, *‘Battling Maggie’*, *‘Attila the Hen’*, etc. Since these generally gave opponents the impression I was *a hard nut to crack*, I was glad to be so portrayed even though no person could be so single-minded tough [...] (Vol. II, p. 470, Hervorhebungen – R.G.)

Ein Schimpfname entstand, als Margaret Thatcher im Zuge ihrer Sparmaßnahmen Anfang der 1970er Jahre keine kostenlose Milch für Schulkinder genehmigte und die meisten englischen Zeitungen darüber empört waren. Sie nimmt rückblickend an, dass der Spitzname (‘the catchy title’) *‘Mrs Thatcher – milk snatcher’* von einem Sprecher der Labour Party Conference in Umlauf gesetzt wurde (Vol. II, p. 181). Im November 1971 wurde sie laut einer Umfrage der Zeitung *Sun* zu *‘The Most Unpopular Woman in Britain’* gewählt, wie sie zugibt (Vol. II, p. 181). Aber ihre selbstkritische Schlussfolgerung lautete:

I learned a valuable lesson. I had incurred the maximum of political odium for the minimum of political benefit (Vol. II, p. 182).

Die bekannte Selbstdarstellung der Premierministerin in der aphorismusähnlichen Wendung *The Lady is not for turning* hat ihren Ursprung auf der Konferenz der Konservativen in Brighton am 10. Okt. 1980 und war offenbar nicht ihre eigene Formulierung, sondern eine Empfehlung eines Redenschreibers, Ronnie Millar, was sie im ersten Band, *The Downing Street Years*, ausführlich darlegt.

However, I was utterly convinced of one thing: there was no chance of achieving that fundamental change of attitude which was required to wrench Britain out of decline if people believed that we were prepared to alter course under pressure. I made the point with a line provided by Ronnie

Millar: “To those waiting with bated breath for that favourite media catchphrase, the ‘U-turn’, I have only one thing to say: ‘You turn if you want to. *The lady’s not for turning.*’ I say that not only to you, but to our friends overseas – and also to those who are not our friends.” (Vol. I, p. 122) (Hervorhebung – R.G.)

In Nachrufen deutscher Zeitungen am 9.4.2013 wurde die Formulierung *The Lady is not for turning*, die als Losung wie auch als Maxime gedeutet werden kann, übersetzt als „Verbiegen Sie sich, wenn Sie wollen. Diese Dame verbiegt sich nie“ (Welt am Sonntag, 14.4.2013, S. 43), „Diese Dame lässt sich nicht verbiegen“ (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 9.4.2013, S. 1) und „Mit dieser Dame gibt es keine Umkehr“ (Berliner Morgenpost, 9.4.2013, S. 3).

4. Margaret Thatchers Selbstaussagen zur Abfassung und Präsentation ihrer öffentlichen Reden

Es ist ungewöhnlich, dass ein Politiker wiederholt tiefgründige Einblicke in die Praxis der Abfassung seiner öffentlichen Reden mithilfe von *speech-writers* und in die eigenen Arbeitsvorgänge bis zum Auftritt vor einer großen Zuhörerschaft vermittelt. Bereits im ersten Band ihrer Autobiografie, *The Downing Street Years*, formuliert Margaret Thatcher allgemeine Grundsätze:

Speech writing was for me an important political activity. As one of my speech writers said, ‘no one writes speeches for Mrs Thatcher: they write speeches with Mrs Thatcher.’ Every written word goes through the mincing machine of my criticism before it gets into a speech. These are occasions for thinking creatively and politically and for fashioning larger themes into which particular policies fit. I often found myself drawing on phrases and ideas from these sessions when I was speaking off the cuff, answering questions at Prime Minister’s Question Time and for television interviews. This helped to preserve me from the occupational hazard of long-serving ministers: so I was never accused of thinking like a civil servant. (They had to think like me.) – (Vol. I, p. 302f.)

Für bevorstehende Kurzreden notiert sich die Premierministerin Stichworte in ein persönliches Notizheft, eine Hilfe für improvisierte Auftritte. Sie stellt fest, dass freies Sprechen aus dem Stehgreif,

ohne vorhandene Textvorlage, stets eine gute Wirkung erzielt, wie sie es 1985 bei ihrem Besuch in Israel nach ihrer Landung in Tel Aviv, wo sie sich beim Verlassen des Flugzeugs einer großen Menschenmenge gegenüber sah, erlebt hatte:

[...], a huge crowd of cheering residents, before being squeezed through and onto a large platform from which I had to give an unscripted speech – always the best: [...] (Vol. I, p. 512)

Die historische Gelegenheit, bei einem Staatsbesuch in den USA und anlässlich der Übergabe einer Bronzestatue Winston Churchills an die Gastgeber am 20. Februar 1985 vor dem Senat im Capitol in Washington eine Rede halten zu dürfen, an demselben Ort, wo Churchill aufgetreten war, betrachtete Margaret Thatcher als hohe politische Verpflichtung und rhetorische Herausforderung, ihrem patriotischen Vorbild nicht nachzustehen.

Was Margaret Thatcher konkret beschreibt, ist im Grunde die Anwendung der seit der antiken Rhetorik bekannten Arbeitsschritte zur Herstellung, Gestaltung und Präsentation einer öffentlichen Rede in der Stufenfolge

- 1) *inventio* (das Finden des Gegenstandes, Stoffes, Themas)
- 2) *dispositio* (die gedankliche, logische Gliederung)
- 3) *elocutio* (die sprachliche Ausformulierung, Arbeit am Stil, die Ausschmückung der Rede: *ornatus* durch rhetorische Figuren)
- 4) *memoria* (das Einprägen der Rede zum freien Vortrag)
- 5) *pronuntiatio* (das Üben der guten Aussprache)
- 6) *actio* (Gestik, Mimik, Motorik bei der Präsentation der Rede)

Als wesentlich bei einem öffentlichen Auftritt erachtete Margaret Thatcher auch das Erscheinungsbild des Redners, die angemessene Kleidung. Bei Auslandsreisen wählte sie ihre Garderobe nach den Landesfarben und der Nationalflagge des Gastgeberstaates. (Vol. I, p. 575) Dieser Aspekt erweitert den rhetorischen Begriff der *actio*.

Aufträge zur Zuarbeit für längere Reden, z.B. für einen Rechenschaftsbericht auf einem Parteitag, erteilt Margaret Thatcher an 'Ministers, advisers, friendly journalists, and academics' (Vol. I, p.

567), die Themenbeauftragten für das jeweilige 'speech-writing'. Diese Textteile werden von ihr begutachtet und koordiniert, bis eine inhaltlich kohärente und strukturell kohäsive Struktur entstanden ist.

Linking passages would be written and then the still disjointed and often repetitive first draft would be typed up. Everyone breathed a sigh of relief when we knew that we at least had a speech of some sort. (Vol. I, p. 567)

Mit diesem Ergebnis ist aber nur im Idealfall die Endfassung der Rede gewonnen. Die Disposition bildet die Grundlage für die Arbeit am guten Ausdruck und geschliffenen Stil.

Then would come the long hours of refining and polishing until midnight (if we were lucky). (p. 568)

Diese Arbeitsphasen werden im Kollektiv bewältigt. Die prosodische Vorbereitung des Vortrags bis zur Präsentation obliegt allein Margaret Thatcher selbst. Sie verwendet dafür eine private Notation mit intonatorischen Symbolen, wie sie auch im Phonetikunterricht üblich sind. Diese Arbeitsphase entspricht der *pronuntiatio* im klassischen Sinne:

[...] I used to mark up the text with my own special code, noting pauses, stress and where to have my voice rise or fall. (Vol. I, p. 568)

Im Laufe ihrer rhetorischen Praxis gewinnt die Premierministerin Sicherheit im freien Sprechen, wenn sie sich den Text weitgehend eingepägt (memoriert) hat.

I prepared my speech until it was word perfect, and I had mastered the technique of talking without notes. Equally important was that I should put myself in the right state of mind – confident but not too confident. (Vol. II, p. 96)

5. *Phraseologismen in Margaret Thatchers Autobiografien The Downing Street Years (1993) und The Path to Power (1995)*

Den ersten Hauptteil der folgenden Korpusanalyse bilden wortähnliche Phraseologismen in der Funktion von *Nominationen* (Substantive, Verben, Adjektive und Adverbien), unter denen vor allem die *Idiome* durch ihre Bildkraft die Anschaulichkeit autobiografischer Berichte und Schilderungen der Autorin Margaret Thatcher erhöhen. Der zweite Hauptteil der Korpusanalyse besteht aus *Pro-*

positionen, d.h. satzähnlichen Phraseologismen, mit einem vielfältig kulturellem Hintergrund. In der Rhetorik Margaret Thatchers erzielen sie in bestimmten Situationen ihre stilistische Wirkung. Strukturell können sie in ihrer Grundform auftreten oder mit Modifikationen bzw. Variationen in den laufenden Text eingebettet sein.

Zu den satzähnlichen Phraseologismen gehören Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten; literarische Zitate und geflügelte Worte; Maximen und politische Losungen. Auffällig sind gewisse Unterschiede der Stilebene. Während zahlreiche Phraseologismen in Wortfunktion als "not formal" oder "colloquial" markiert sind, gehören Propositionen zur neutralen, in einigen Fällen auch zur literarisch-gehobenen Stilebene. Hinsichtlich der Vorkommenshäufigkeit sind in dem untersuchten Korpus die substantivischen und verbalen Phraseologismen am stärksten vertreten.

Im theoretischen Ansatz und in der Methode gründet sich die folgende Textanalyse auf das Einführungswerk *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache* von Rosemarie Gläser (1986/1990).

5.1 *Phraseologismen als Nominationen*

Aus der Fülle des Belegmaterials können nur einige charakteristische Beispiele für feste oder stilistisch modifizierte Wortverbindungen, die Margaret Thatcher als Substantive, Verben, Adverbien oder als Adjektive in ihren Memioren verwendet, angeführt werden. Ein Teil dieser Phraseologismen sind in einschlägigen Wörterbüchern wie dem *Longmans Dictionary of English Idioms* (1979) und dem *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English* (1983) verzeichnet.

5.1.1 *Substantivische Phraseologismen*

odd man out

Vol. I, p. 752

Ironically, when – on the second day of the Council – it came to the drafting of the section of the communiqué which dealt with EMU [= Economic and Monetary Union – R.G.] it was France who was the *odd man out*. Insofar as there could be an acceptable text which advanced us towards an unacceptable objective I felt that I had got it. All my requirements were satisfied by it.

Vol. I, p. 788

The attitude of Brent Scowcroft – the President’s National Security Adviser – was sounder. But I could not tell what the President’s own view would be. In any case, I now found myself going to Brussels as the *odd man out*.

odd woman out

Vol. II, p. 353

Auf der Konferenz in Helsinki im Sommer 1975 betonte Margaret Thatcher in ihrer Rede, dass eine wirkliche internationale Entspannung nicht durch verbale Beteuerungen (“words and gestures”), sondern nur durch die Gewährung der vollen Menschenrechte in den Ländern des Ostblocks erreicht werden könnte (“free movement of people and ideas”).

The reaction to this speech confirmed that I was the *odd woman out*. The Helsinki Agreement was widely welcomed. I could imagine the shaking of wise heads at my impulsive imprudence.

Bemerkenswert an den beiden letzten Belegen ist, dass sich Margaret Thatcher in ihrer politischen Rolle und Einstellung sowohl als Mann als auch als Frau begreift.

odd family out

Vol. II, p. 11

The Peace Ballot [1935, bezogen auf die Politik Hitlers und Mussolinis – R.G.] was a foolish idea which must take some of the blame nationally for delaying the rearmament necessary to deter and ultimately defeat the dictators. On this question and others, being staunchly Conservative, we were the *odd family out*. Our friend the Rev. Skimmer was an enthusiast for the Peace Ballot.

a far cry from

Vol. I, p. 505

Whatever differences of outlook we had on other matters, I found Mr Keating refreshingly orthodox on finance – *a far cry from* the British Labour Party. In my speech at the lunch which followed I stressed the importance of Australia’s role as a regional power.

light at the end of the tunnel

Vol. I, p. 452

They were the people who appeared night after night on the television screens analysing the Soviet Union in terms borrowed from liberal democracies. These were the optimists, in search of *light at the end of even the longest tunnel*, confident that somehow, somewhere, within the Soviet totalitarian system rationality and compromise were about to break out.

the green light/a cosy relationship

Vol. I, p. 439

The company fully recognized the political sensitivity of this and it probably also understood how much opposition to expect from BL [= British Leyland, later Rover Group – R.G.], which would much prefer to stick with its *cosier relationship* with Honda. So Ford wanted *the green light* from the Government first.

concerted action

Vol. II, p. 403

And Geoffrey Howe, remorselessly seeking some kind of consensus between the conflicting views in the Economic Reconstruction Group, had by now become thoroughly convinced of the merits of German-style '*concerted action*' within some kind of economic forum.

a grain of truth

Vol. I, p. 560

Perhaps the most damaging accusation made against me during the Westland affair was that I did not listen. Like most allegations which stick, this contained *a grain of truth*. Once I begin to follow a *train of thought*, I am not easily stopped.

Die okkasionelle metaphorische Wendung *train of thought* entspricht rhythmisch dem Idiom *a grain of truth*.

the lion's share

Vol. I, p. 673

But the fact remains that Nigel's [= Nigel Lawson – R.G.] budgets were essentially his. And just as I hold him largely

responsible for the error of policy, which *threw away* our success on inflation so I have no hesitation in giving him *the lion's share* of credit for the ingenious measures in his budgets.

the nuts and bolts

Vol. I, p. 758

I was also happy now to appoint John Mac-Gregor with his Scottish devotion to Education as the right person to deal with *the nuts and bolts* of making our education reform work.

the wisdom of hindsight

Vol. I, p. 536

The wisdom of hindsight, so useful to historians and indeed to authors of memoirs, is sadly denied to practising politicians. (Diese Wendung ist ein Cliché.)

draconian restraints

Vol. I, p. 667

The conclusion I drew is that whatever reform was chosen, we should have accompanied it with *draconian restraints* on local government spending from the centre in order to prevent local authorities – *alas* Conservatives as well as Labour – from using the transition to *jack up* spending and blame it on the Government [...].

Dieses Zitat enthält das Cliché *draconian restraints* als Variante von *draconian measures*. Es ist außerdem ein seltener Beleg für eine Interjektion – *alas* – in Margaret Thatchers Stil, während *phrasal verbs* wie *to jack up* als Ausdrucksmittel der Umgangssprache häufiger auftreten.

5.1.2 Verbale Phraseologismen

Margaret Thatcher beweist in ihren Autobiografien eine Vorliebe für *phrasal verbs* und bildhafte verbale Phraseologismen. Sie ähneln sprichwörtlichen Redensarten in ihrer Aussage.

to get down to brass tacks

Vol. I, p. 538

By the time I reached Brussels three possible 'solutions' to the budget question had been advanced [...]. None was satisfactory to us. [...] We were *getting down to brass tacks*.

to paper over the cracks

Vol. I, p. 537 (Margaret Thatcher in ihrer Rede am 8. März 1984)

“I don’t want *to paper over the cracks*. I want *to get rid of the cracks*. I want to rebuild the foundations... I want to solve (the current problems) so that we can *set about* building the Community of the future.”

to cut one’s teeth on

Vol. II, p. 25

The scale of the problem was demonstrated in the general election of 1935 – the contest in which *I cut my teeth politically*, at the age of ten. It will already be clear that we were a highly political family.

to rub shoulders with/to keep in touch with

Vol. II, p. 49

So it was there [in the Taylorian Institute – R.G.] that I first *rubbed shoulders with* the great figures of the Tory Party – and, in fact, *I kept in touch with* many of them over the years.

to make both ends meet

Vol. II, p. 38

I might have had a more glittering Oxford career, but I had little money to spare and would have been hard put *to make both ends meet* if it had not been for a number of modest grants secured for me from the college. [...]

to eat one’s cake and have it

Vol. II, p. 52 (Artikel von Colm Brogan 1947)

“They [the people – R.G.] had voted *to eat their cake and have it, to save it for a rainy day and give it away*. They have voted for high wages and low production and a world of plenty.”

to whet sb.’s appetite

Vol. I, p. 545

It seems that the Greeks’ *appetite has been further whetted* by unauthorized discussion of large sums within the Commission.

to fuel sb.'s desire/to strengthen sb.'s hand

Vol. I, p. 759

In the longer term the emergence of free, independent and anti-socialist governments in the region would provide me with potential allies in my crusade for a wider, looser Europe. But the immediate effect, through the prospect and then the reality of German reunification, was *to strengthen the hand* of Chancellor Kohl and *to fuel the desire* of President Mitterand and M. Delors for a federal Europe which would 'bind in' the new Germany to a structure within which its preponderance would be checked.

to kick one's heels

Vol. I, p. 523

At a dinner given by Rajiv Gandhi back in Vancouver I was left to *kick my heels* for forty-five minutes on my own waiting for other heads of government *to turn up*. They had in fact been holding a press conference on South Africa to which I had not been invited and of whose existence I was unaware.

to put flesh on the bones

Vol. I, p. 451

Perhaps for me the most useful paper was one which described and analysed the power structure of the Soviet State, and which *put flesh on the bones* of what I had already learnt in Opposition from Robert Conquest.

to sink differences/to cut links with

Vol. I, p. 803

The emergence of Boris Yeltsin as a radical proponent of reform – both political and economic – ought perhaps to have strengthened Mr Gorbachev's position. If the two of them had been able *to sink their differences* and if Mr Gorbachev had been prepared *to cut his links with* the Communist Party perhaps the impetus of reform might have been renewed. But these were *two 'ifs' too many*. Their relations remained bad and Mr Gorbachev remained a communist to the end.

Die Grundform des umgangssprachlichen Idioms lautet 'one too many'.

to come to grips with

Vol. I, p. 808

In Czechoslovakia and Hungary in September 1990 I found myself speaking with people who not long before had been totally excluded from power by the communists and who were *coming to grips with* the communist legacy of economic failure, pollution and despondency.

to see eye to eye with/to take a tough line

Vol. I, p. 437

I had *not always seen eye to eye with* Norman Tebbit over BL [= British Leyland – R.G.]. I felt that the company was continuing to perform badly and wanted *to take a tougher line* with it.

to mince one's words

Vol. II, p. 51

Nor did Hayek *mince his words* about the monopolistic tendencies of the planned society which professional groups and trade unions would inevitably seek to exploit.

to get on the gravy train

Vol. II, p. 351

If I was to challenge the accepted wisdom on these matters I needed expert help. But most of the experts had *jumped aboard the Sovietology gravy train* which ran on official patronage, conferences with 'approved' Soviet academics, visa journalism, and a large dose of professional complacency.

to cook the books

Vol. I, p. 315

[...] in itself a sign of the progress we were making towards a property-owning democracy, but naturally unpopular with barrowers. All this led to accusations that the Government had '*cooked the books*' on the economy before the election.

(not) to be put off

Vol. I, p. 511

He [Defence Minister Mr Rabin – R. G.] proceeded to read out his views to me for forty minutes with barely time for a

bite of toast. But I was *not to be put off*. I repeated my proposals for local elections in a speech that afternoon to a group of Israeli MPs in the Knesseth [...].

to leg behind

Vol. I, p. 668

Whereas Britain *legged behind* other European Community countries in the 1960s and 1970s, our economy grew faster in the 1980s than all of them except Spain.

5.1.3 Adverbiale Phraseologismen

Auffällig in Margaret Thatchers Memoiren sind umgangssprachliche adverbiale Idiome, namentlich in Überschriften von Hauptkapiteln oder größeren Textabschnitten. Sie dienen gewissermaßen als Blickfang. Kapitel XI im Vol. I (p. 281) ist überschrieben

Home and Dry

Der Untertitel lautet:

The background to and the course of the 1983 general election campaign.

Vol. I, p. 451

Elliptische Überschrift eines neuen Textabschnitts:

Back to the drawing board

In fact, by the time the seminar went ahead I felt that we did have the right people and some first-class papers.

Auch die folgenden Präpositionalphrasen in adverbialer Funktion tragen das Stilmerkmal 'not formal' bzw. 'colloquial'.

on one's feet

Vol. II, p. 45

Most valuable of all for me personally, however, was the experience of having to think *on my feet* when answering questions from a good-humoured but critical audience.

on the heels

Vol. I, p. 437

On the heels of Westland came the question of privatising British Leyland (BL).

under one's belt

Vol. II, p. 59

By the time I left Oxford with a second-class degree in Chemistry *under my belt*. I knew a great deal more about the world and particularly about the world of politics.

'Over the shop'/on duty

Vol. II, p. 4

Die metaphorische Wendung *'over the shop'* ist eine Eigenprägung Margaret Thatchers zur anschaulichen Wiedergabe ihres Kindheitsmilieus und der bescheidenen Lebensumstände der Familie des Gemischtwarenhändlers Roberts in der Kleinstadt Grantham.

Life *'over the shop'* is much more than a phrase. It is something which those who have lived it know to be quite distinctive. For one thing, you are always *on duty*. People would knock on the door at almost any hour of the night or weekend if they ran out of bacon, sugar, butter or eggs. Everyone knew that we lived by serving the customer; it was pointless to complain – and so nobody did.

for a rainy day

Vol. II, p. 52

They have voted to eat their cake and have it, to save it *for a rainy day* and give it away.

with one's tongue in one's cheek

Vol. I, p. 762

To deliver a ten-minute speech *with one's tongue in one's cheek* is as much a physical as a rhetorical achievement. For of course this was precisely the route which political union, if taken seriously, would go.

in the flesh

Vol. II, p. 75

This was a great occasion for me – to meet *in the flesh* and talk to the leader [Churchill – R.G.] whose words had so impressed me as I sat with my family around the wireless in Grantham.

Adverbiale Idiome können auch als *Zwillingsformeln* auftreten, was die folgenden Beispiele belegen.

neck and neck with sb.

Vol. II, p. 444

When the possibility had first been mooted, we were *neck-and-neck* with the Labour Party in the opinion polls.

root and branch

Vol. I, p. 750

I was, of course, opposed, *root and branch* to the whole approach of the Delors Report. But I was not in a position to prevent some kind of action being taken upon it.

Vol. II, p. 49

Or it [the Conservative Party – R.G.] could have fought collectivism *root and branch*, seeking to persuade national opinion that 1945 represented a wrong turning from the country's destined path.

up to the hilt/within one's means

Vol. I, p. 12

[...] we always lived *within our means*. The worst you could say about another family was that they '*lived up to the hilt*'.

5.1.4 Adjektivische Phraseologismen

Das Belegmaterial für diese Phraseologismen, das in den Memoiren Margaret Thatchers ermittelt werden konnte, ist quantitativ gering und qualitativ heterogen. Die Bezeichnung ‚adjektivische Phraseologismen‘ steht für einen Funktionsbegriff und umfasst Wortgruppen unterschiedlicher Festigkeit und Bildkraft. Diese können in attributiver oder prädikativer Stellung ein Substantiv qualifizieren.

a) Phraseologische Einheiten als Attribute

rank-and-file unionists

Vol. I, p. 100

I was convinced that *rank-and-file unionists* felt very differently to the union bosses about the reform.

off-the-cuff speeches

Vol. II, p. 7

Above all, it [a special edition of Bibby's Annual – R.G.] taught me some verses which I still use in *off-the-cuff*

speeches because they came to embody for me so much of what I was brought up to feel.

Eine Untergruppe bilden adjektivische Komposita als Ableitungen von einem verbalen Phraseologismus.

spine-chilling account

Vol. II, p. 29

When he went out to meetings I would take it [the book – R.G.] down from the shelf on which it was hidden and read its *spine-chilling account* of totalitarianism in action.

Das verbale Idiom *to chill sb.'s spine* ist eine okkasionelle Variante des lexikalisierten Idioms *to chill sb.'s blood*.

battle-worn Maggie

Vol. II, p. 457

But someone told the press that the real cause was that my voice was failing, which was used to paint an exaggerated picture of a '*battle-worn Maggie*' trying to stop the election slipping away.

full-blooded rendering

Vol. II, p. 279

I used my own speech to the Conference to give a *full-blooded rendering* of my views.

hard-headed pursuit

Vol. I, p. 487

Personal relations must never become a substitute for *hard-headed pursuit* of national interests.

high-flowing language

Vol. I, p. 314

But the *high-flowing language* of the declaration has become familiar from later developments: the linguistic skeleton on which so much institutional flesh would grow was already visible.

ever-sweet tooth

Vol. II, p. 36

[...] I ceased to have sugar in my tea – though only many years later would I deny my *ever-sweet tooth* the pleasure of sugared coffee [...].

Die adjektivische Phrase ist eine Ableitung von der sprichwörtlichen Redensart *to have a sweet tooth* und gleichzeitig ein Kompositum mit dem Adverb *ever*.

warm-up speakers

Vol. II, p. 45

Back in Grantham, I was one of the 'warm-up' speakers for the Conservative candidates at village meetings.

winding-up speech

Vol. I, p. 185

John Nott, who was under great strain had delivered an uncharacteristically poor performance in his *winding-up speech*.

b) Phraseologische Einheiten als Prädikate

to be as good as one's word

Vol. I, p. 776

President Reagan was *as good as his word* when he went to Moscow.

to be chilled up to the marrow

Vol. II, p. 370

My first duty was to climb the 150 steps to the huge war memorial on the top of Mount Avala to lay a wreath. I did not have a warm coat with me and so by the time we descended *I was chilled to the marrow*.

5.2 Propositionen

Die satzähnlichen Phraseologismen als Propositionen sind von besonderem Interesse für die Parömiologie. In Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten spiegelt sich das Brauchtum eines Volkes; Zitate und geflügelte Worte aus der Belletristik können Allgemeingut der Sprachbenutzer werden und das Phrasikon einer Sprache bereichern. Politische Losungen können kurzlebig sein oder aber im kollektiven Gedächtnis einer Sprachgemeinschaft weiterleben. In den Erinnerungsbänden Margaret Thatchers finden sich zahlreiche Belege für diese Typen von Propositionen in unterschiedlichen Situationskontexten und Funktionen.

5.2.1. *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten*

Im Rückblick auf ihre Schulzeit in der mittelenglischen Kleinstadt Grantham, wo sie als Margaret Roberts am 13. Oktober 1925 geboren worden war, stellt die lebenserfahrene Premierministerin fest, dass sie bereits in den Anfangsjahren ihres Schulunterrichts über die Realitätsnähe und den Wahrheitsgehalt von Sprichwörtern kritische Betrachtungen angestellt und logische Widersprüche erkannt hatte:

Later, in General Knowledge, I first came across the mystery of 'proverbs'. I already had a logical and indeed somewhat literal mind – perhaps I have not changed much in this regard – and I was perplexed by the metaphorical element of phrases like '*Look before you leap*'. I thought it would be far better to say '*Look before you cross*' – a highly practical point given the dangerous road I must traverse on my way to school. And like other children before and after I triumphantly pointed out the contradiction between that proverb and '*He who hesitates is lost*'. (Vol.. II, p. 17)

In den Texten ihrer ausformulierten Reden verwendet Margaret Thatcher Sprichwörter eher sparsam, aber stets wirkungsvoll. Als Ausdrucksmittel wählt sie zur Abwechslung auch literarische Zitate, geflügelte Worte, Maximen und Losungen. Es sind zumeist Phraseologismen als Propositionen mit parömiologischen Merkmalen. Gelegentlich benutzt Margaret Thatcher Sprichwörter als Ausgangspunkt für eine expandierte Metapher. (Die folgenden Hervorhebungen in den Belegen – R.G.)

let sleeping dogs lie

Such language may have reflected Ted Heath's wishes. It certainly did not reflect mine. But there was no point in picking a quarrel which we would have lost. So I preferred *to let sleeping dogs lie*.

Then, of course, they woke up and started barking in the course of the negotiations of the Single European Act of 1985. (Vol. I, p. 741)

the dog which did not bark

Margaret Thatcher berichtet über ihren Besuch in Georgien in der Zeit vor der Auflösung der Sowjetunion.

From all that I saw – and from the excellent and exotic food and Georgian wine – it was clear to me that given the right political and economic conditions this was an area where tourist industry could flourish. But, as in the detective story, perhaps the most important feature of my admittedly brief visit was the ‘*dog which did not bark*’ [...] there was still no evidence of that desire for national self-assertion and independence which was to come. (Vol. I, p. 484 f.)

Actions speak louder than words

Since the British Government’s stance, rhetorically at least, was similarly hostile to the United States of Europe, these were, in domestic political terms, easier points to make than criticisms of economic and monetary union, where the Government’s position appeared far less clear. Indeed, *actions were already speaking louder than words ever could*. In 1991 it was clear that economic policy was now principally determined by the parity of sterling with the Deutschmark, rather than by considerations of domestic monetary policy. (Vol. II, p. 477)

to match private words with public deeds

He [President Mitterrand] made the wrong decision for France. Moreover, his failure *to match private words with public deeds* also increased my difficulties. But it must be said that his judgement that there was nothing we could do to halt the German reunification turned out to be right. (Vol. I, p. 798)

Hope for the best and prepare for the worst

Die Bevölkerung Großbritanniens bereitete sich schon 1938 auf den drohenden Zweiten Weltkrieg vor.

Hoping for the best, we prepared for the worst. As early as September 1938 – the time of Munich – my mother and I went out to buy yards of blackout material. (Vol. II, p. 25)

To have a sweet tooth

One of the minor benefits to my health and figure of such austerities was that I ceased having sugar in my tea – though only many years later would I deny my *ever-sweet*

tooth the pleasure of sugared coffee (not that there was over-much coffee for some time either). (Vol. II, p. 36)

Das verbale Idiom erscheint hier als Nominalphrase mit einem adjektivischen Kompositum in attributiver Funktion.

New brooms sweep clean

I felt it was an effective day's campaigning, beginning in Bristol where I visited the Kleeneze brush factory to use every possible photo-opportunity to demonstrate my intention of 'sweeping away the cobwebs', 'applying a new broom' etc. (Vol. II, p. 449)

Das Sprichwortfragment hat hier eine symbolische Funktion im Wahlkampf, der Besen kann als konkreter Gegenstand auf einem Foto wie ein Appell wirken. Der Firmenname Kleeneze dürfte auf eine für Werbezwecke verfremdete Schreibung der Appellativa *clean + ease* zurückgehen.

Russische Sprichwörter

Michail Gorbatschow verwendete in einem persönlichen Gespräch, das er noch in der Zeit des Kalten Krieges mit Margaret Thatcher führte, in zwangloser Weise russische Sprichwörter, um die Atmosphäre aufzulockern und auch um seine Ansichten zu veranschaulichen. Die britische Premierministerin war von dieser Episode so angetan, dass sie ihr in ihren Lebenserinnerungen eine wichtige Bedeutung beimaß.

Mr. Gorbachev argued that if both sides continued to pile up weapons this could lead to accidents or unforeseen circumstances and with the present generation of weapons the time for decision-making could be counted in minutes. As he put it, in one of the more obscure Russian proverbs, 'once a year even an unloaded gun can go off'. (Vol. I, p. 462)

Gorbatschow gewinnt allmählich das Vertrauen seiner Gesprächspartnerin aus dem NATO-Block, indem er sie mit dem Reichtum der russischen Volksweisheiten bekannt macht, ehe er – programmgemäß – die sowjetische Botschaft aufsucht.

It was 5.50 p.m. when he left, having introduced me to another pearl of Russian popular wisdom to the effect that,

‘Mountain folk cannot live without guests any more than they can live without air. But if the guests stay longer than necessary they choke’. As he took his leave, I hoped that I had been talking to the next Soviet leader. For, as I subsequently told the press, this was a man with whom I could do business. (Vol. I, p. 463)

Die politische Entwicklung hat diese Hoffnung der britischen Premierministerin bestätigt.

5.2.2 Literarische Zitate und geflügelte Worte

In ihrer Autobiografie (Vol. II) berichtet Margaret Thatcher, dass sie bereits seit Beginn ihrer Schulzeit Freude am Lesen und Auswendiglernen wie auch am Rezitieren von Gedichten hatte. Im Laufe der Jahre erwarb sie sich einen beträchtlichen Fundus von Zitaten aus der englischen, schottischen und amerikanischen Literatur sowie aus Quellen der Antike. Ihre rasche Auffassungsgabe, ihr ausgezeichnetes Gedächtnis und ihre Kombinationsfähigkeit halfen ihr, diese mental gespeicherten literarischen Texte in unterschiedlichen Situationen für Stehgreifreden oder offizielle Briefe wirkungsvoll zu verwenden. Sie bezog ihr literarisches Schulwissen aus dem *Oxford Book of English Verse* und aus einer Sonderausgabe von *Bibby's Annual* mit philosophischen und poetischen Texten, darunter von Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Dryden, Walter de la Mare und John Milton. (vgl. Vol. II, p. 7 ff.) Sie kannte auch eine Vielzahl methodistischer Kirchenlieder.

In den Erinnerungsbänden finden sich Zitate aus den Dramen William Shakespeares, aus der Epik von Alexander Pope, der Lyrik von Robert Burns und den Romanen Rudyard Kiplings. Diese Zitate sind als „geflügelte Worte“ (ohne Hinweis auf den Autor) in den laufenden Text entweder im vollen Wortlaut oder in modifizierter Form eingebettet. In einigen Fällen werden die Quellen genannt.

Denkwürdig war die medienwirksame Ansprache, die Margaret Thatcher als gerade gewählte Premierministerin am 3. Mai 1979 vor ihrem Amtssitz in Downing Street hielt und die erneut in einigen Nachrufen erwähnt wurde. Auch wenn diese in die Memoiren nicht aufgenommen wurde, ist doch das Kernzitat der Rede, das als ein Leitspruch des Predigers Franz von Assisi gilt und das sie in der englischen Übersetzung vortrug, bemerkenswert:

*Where there is discord, may we bring harmony,
Where there is error, may we bring truth,
Where there is doubt, may we bring faith,
And where there is despair, may we bring hope*
(zitiert in Daily Mail, 9.4.2013, p. 9).

Die dominierende Stilfigur dieser philosophischen und religiösen Aussage ist der Parallelismus, der mit sich steigerndem Rhythmus und dem daktylischen Versmaß auf eine Klimax hinstrebt. In dem historischen Augenblick der englischen Politik, in dem zum ersten Mal eine Frau das Amt des Prime Minister antritt, ist Pathos berechtigt, und die Botschaft des Predigers Franz von Assisi kann ihre rhetorische Wirkung entfalten.

Aus den Werken Shakespeares verwendet Margaret Thatcher mehrere Zitate, darunter *the Winter of Discontent*, *Banquo's ghost* und Anspielungen auf weitere Dramen.

Die in der englischen Wirtschaftspolitik in den Jahren 1978/79 verbreitete Redewendung *Winter of Discontent* stammt aus Shakespeares Königsdrama *Richard III* (aus dem Eingangsmonolog des Duke of Gloucester). Das Zitat erweckt Assoziationen mit den chaotischen Verhältnissen in der englischen Wirtschaft mit Streiks und Krisen in der Infrastruktur.

[...] the collectivist spirit that came to dominate wartime Britain [...] shaping and distorting British society in the process, before it collapsed in 1979's *Winter of Discontent*. (Vol. II, p. 46)

Auf das Königsdrama *Macbeth* aus der schottischen Geschichte bezieht sich die Anspielung *Banquo's ghost*.

But now *Banquo's ghost* came back to haunt the Labour Government. Devolution which they had embraced solely as a means of staying in power with support from the Scottish and Welsh Nationalists, returned to grimace and gibber at Jim Callaghan at his lowest point. (Vol. II, p. 430, Überschrift THE FALL OF GOVERNMENT)

Ein Zitat aus Shakespeares Drama *Measure for Measure* wählt Margaret Thatcher als geeigneten Schluss eines Briefes an einen führenden Industriellen, dem sie ihre gemeinsame Einstellung gegenüber britischen Gewerkschaften bekundet hat.

I finished by quoting Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*:
Our doubts are traitors,
And make us lose the good we oft might win,
By fearing to attempt.
 (Vol. I, p. 106)

Ein abgewandeltes Zitat aus der Tragödie *Hamlet* verwendet die Politikerin als Kapitelüberschrift: *To cap or not to cap?* (Vol. I, p. 663). Es handelt sich um das Konzept *rate-capping*, d.h., die Festsetzung einer oberen Grenze für Steuern und Abgaben. Der Leser erkennt hinter dieser Formulierung das ihm vertraute Zitat aus dem Monolog Hamlets: *To be or not to be [that is the question]*.

Einige Zitate aus der englischen und schottischen Literatur erscheinen bei Margaret Thatcher im ursprünglichen oder modifizierten Wortlaut im fortlaufenden Text ohne Hinweis auf die Quelle. Als Bildungswissen werden sie bei den Lesern vorausgesetzt.

There was a good deal of suspicion of women candidates, particularly in what was regarded as a tough industrial seat like Dartford. This was quite definitely a man's world *into which not just angels feared to tread*. There was, of course, little hope of winning it for the Conservatives [...] (Vol. II, p. 64)

Das ursprüngliche Zitat aus Alexander Popes literarischem Werk *An Essay on Criticism* (1711) lautet: "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." Es ist sogar zu einer lexikalisierten phraseologischen Einheit geworden, die Eingang in das *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms* von 1979 gefunden hat mit der Erklärung "people with little experience or knowledge often attempt to do more difficult or dangerous things than wiser and more experienced people". (p. 119)

Auch in dem folgenden Zitat bleibt die literarische Bezugsquelle verborgen. Der Sachverhalt besteht darin, dass die Premierministerin glaubt, mit der Kabinettsumbildung die konservative Partei und Regierung gestärkt zu haben, aber ihren Irrtum einsehen muss.

I believed that we had created a stronger administration, good at both policy and presentation, that could weather any storm and see us through to the next election. But it was not to be. '*The best laid schemes o' mice an' men* [and women], *Gang aft a-gley*.' (Vol. I, p. 423)

Margaret Thatcher variiert hier die bekannte Verszeile aus dem Gedicht *To a Mouse* von Robert Burns, das im schottischen Dialekt 1786 veröffentlicht wurde und den Untertitel trägt 'On turning her up in her nest with a plough'. Die Politikerin muss feststellen, dass das Tiergleichnis des schottischen Nationaldichters auch nach 200 Jahren seine Gültigkeit noch nicht verloren hat, und im gegenwärtigen Bewusstsein der Geschlechtergleichheit ergänzt sie es mit dem Hinweis auf die Frauen, die ebenfalls an Plänen beteiligt sind.

An anderer Stelle nimmt Margaret Thatcher Bezug auf einen paradox anmutenden Aphorismus von Oscar Wilde, hier in der Funktion eines Thesenzitats:

These policies [...] produced the inflation with which we are all too familiar, and which is the underlying cause of the present recession [...] 'Experience', said Oscar Wilde, 'is the name we give to our mistakes'. And the conclusion to be drawn from our experience to both the 1970s and the 1980s is that governments should commit themselves to price stability [...]. (Vol. II, p. 478)

Als Quelle für ein treffsicheres Zitat in einer kritisch angelegten Rede auf dem Parteitag der westdeutschen CDU in Hannover am 25. Mai 1971, in der sie die deutschen Gesinnungspartner vor bestimmten Strategien der Vertreter osteuropäischer Regierungen in der EU warnen wollte, wählte Margaret Thatcher das Volksmärchen vom *Rotkäppchen*. Seine englische Entsprechung, *Little Red Riding Hood*, erfreut sich auf den Britischen Inseln der gleichen Beliebtheit. Sie sagte:

"In some European countries we now see communist parties dressed in the democratic clothes and speaking with soft voices. Of course, we hope that their oft-proclaimed change of heart is genuine. But every child in Europe knows the story of *Little Red Riding Hood* and what happened to her in her grandmother's cottage in the forest. Despite the new look of these communist parties, despite the softness of their voices, we should be on the watch for the teeth and appetite of the wolf." It was clear to me from the uproarious applause which greeted this remark that *Little Red Riding Hood* had a cousin somewhere in the Black Forest. (Vol. II, p. 341f.)

Bemerkenswert ist, dass hier die Premierministerin die Wirkung ihrer Rede auf das deutsche Publikum ausdrücklich erwähnt; sie hatte den richtigen Ton getroffen. Die mit dem Märchen der Gebrüder Grimm vertrauten Zuhörer hatten offensichtlich das verschlüsselte politische Analogon erkannt und verstanden.

Als Margaret Thatcher 1969 einen Staatsbesuch in Moskau abstattete, wurde sie von einem jungen Stadtführer in eine Kunstaussstellung geleitet, wo eine Skulptur das Umschmieden eines Schwertes und seine Bearbeitung mit einem Hammer darstellte. Um den unerfahrenen jungen Menschen über die Symbolik dieser Szene aufzuklären, griff die Politikerin auf eine Bibelstelle zurück.

Outside an art gallery I visited there was a sculpture of a blacksmith beating a sword with a hammer. 'That represents communism', my guide proudly observed. 'Actually, it doesn't', I replied. 'It's from the Old Testament – "*And they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks*".' Collapse of stout aesthete. Methodist Sunday School has its uses. (Vol. II, p. 155)
(Hervorhebungen in den Belegen – R.G.)

5.2.3 Maximen

Lebensregeln als Maximen wurden Margaret Thatcher bereits in ihrem Elternhaus in Grantham mit auf den Weg gegeben. Ihr Vater war Rotarier und handelte nach dem humanitären Motto der weltweit verbreiteten Verbindung des Rotary Club: *Service Above Self* (Vol. II., p. 16). Oberste Priorität in der Familie hatte das Sparsamkeitsprinzip. Es galt für den Umgang mit Zeit und Geld und die Verpflichtung, nie über die eigenen Verhältnisse zu leben. Eine Maxime lautete "*Value for Money*". Da die Mutter selbst schneiden konnte, war sie in der Lage, aus Stoffen, die sie aus günstigen Schlussverkäufen erworben hatte, für die Töchter und sich selbst geschmackvolle Bekleidung herzustellen:

So we got excellent *value for money* and were, by Grantham standards, rather fashionable. (Vol. II, p. 13)

Ein weiterer Grundsatz für Neuanschaffungen lautete:

'*Never aspire to a cheap fur coat when a well-tailored wool coat will be a better buy.*' The rule was *always to go for quality within your own income.* (Vol. II, p. 18)

Eine Grundeinsicht ihres Vaters in Bezug auf die Dauer einer Amtszeit und den Umstand des Abtretens machte sich Margaret Thatcher zu eigen, als sie nach 11 Jahren an der Spitze ihrer Partei und der Regierung sich selbst in einer solchen Lage befand. Ihr Vater hatte bei seinem Rückzug aus dem Dienst des Alderman nach dem Sieg der Labour Party gesagt: “Although I have toppled over I have fallen on my feet. My own feeling is that *I was content to be in and I am content to be out.*” (Vol. II, p. 21)

Ausdruck der Denkweise ihres Ehemanns Denis waren Konsequenz und Beharrlichkeit, solche Eigenschaften, wie sie auch der Sport fordert. Margaret Thatcher zitiert den Inhalt dieser Maximen in gebundener Rede:

“The desire to win is born in most of us. The will to win is a matter of training. The manner of winning is a matter of honour.” (Vol. I, p. 22)

Den ähnlichen Gedanken drückt die folgende Maxime des Vaters aus:

It’s easy to be a starter, but are you a sticker too?
It’s easy enough to begin a job,
It’s harder to see it through. (Vol. I, p. 37)

Im Laufe ihrer Regierungszeit prägte die Premierministerin zahlreiche eingängige Sprüche, die sich als Aphorismen, aber auch als Maximen betrachten lassen. Dazu gehören *The Lady is not for turning*, *No U-turn* als ihr politisches Prinzip und eine ganz persönliche Erkenntnis:

And finally, there was what I came to call Thatcher’s law: ‘No matter how well prepared you are, the unexpected happens.’ How you cope then remains, of course, the real test. (Vol. I, p. 537)

Nach ihrem Ausscheiden aus dem Staatsamt (28. November 1990) und Auszug aus Downing Street äußerte sie gegenüber einem Journalisten:

Home is where you go when you have nothing else to do
(Zitiert in Daily Mail, 9.4.2013, S. 52) (Hervorhebungen – R.G.)

Dieser Ausspruch wurde in der deutschen Presse übersetzt als:

„Zu Hause ist der Ort, wohin man geht, wenn man nichts Besseres zu tun hat.“ (Sächsische Zeitung, 9.4. 2013, S. 4)

5.2.4 Politische Losungen

Inhaltlich beziehen sich politische Losungen häufig auf Parteiprogramme, deren Ziel konkrete Veränderungen der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse des betreffenden Landes sind. Eine aktuelle Funktion haben solche Losungen in Wahlkampfzeiten, wenn sie durch ihre treffsichere und eingängige sprachliche Form die Willensbildung und das Abstimmungsverhalten der Wähler im Sinne einer Partei oder eines Bündnisses beeinflussen sollen. In der Regel verlieren politische Losungen ihre Aktualität im Zusammenhang mit dem jeweils relevanten gesellschaftlichen Sachverhalt. Andere Losungen können sich im kollektiven Gedächtnis einer Generation behaupten, wenn sie zeitgeschichtlich bedeutsam waren.

In der Regierungszeit Margaret Thatchers sind mehrere solche politische Losungen entstanden. Die Premierministerin spricht von ihnen in ihren Memoiren als *'slogans'* (Vol. I, p. 566), *'phrases'* (Vol. I, p. 670) und *'formulas'* (Vol. I, p. 692).

Vor den Parlamentswahlen 1979 lautete die generelle Losung der Conservative Party unter der Führung Margaret Thatchers *'time for a change'*. (Vol. II, p. 440)

The 1979 campaign was also different in a number of other ways. It was the first time that the Conservative Party had ever fought so clearly on the theme that it was *'time for a change'*. Implicit in this approach was that Britain had been *in retreat* for more than the years since 1974 [...].

Die Phrase *'in retreat'* gebrauchte Margaret Thatcher erneut, aber im Sinne einer nachdrücklichen Verneinung, als sie in ihrer Rede am 3. Juli 1982 mit Stolz das siegreiche Ende des britischen Militäreinsatzes auf den Falkland Inseln mit den Worten verkündete (Vol. I, p. 235):

'We have ceased to be a nation in retreat'.
Dieser Ausspruch wurde zum geflügelten Wort.

Die Losung *'Our Next Move Forward'* galt für den Parteitag der Conservative Party 1986. Margaret Thatcher und Norman Tebbit achteten bei dessen Vorbereitung streng darauf, keine Anleihen

aus der Taktik der Labour Party zu übernehmen, sondern mit den eigenen Kräften zu agitieren.

Vol. I, p. 566-567

One of the first rules of campaigning is to play to your own strengths: only if these are insufficient should you think about aping other people's. This meant that we must stress our record of achievement, not just by reeling off figures but by portraying it as the basis for further progress – or, as the slogan Norman picked for the Conference had it, for '*Our Next Move Forward*'. When Norman told me what he intended I was impressed.

Dieses Zitat enthält außerdem die verbale Wendung *to play to one's own strengths*.

Im Zusammenhang mit sozialpolitischen Maßnahmen, die vorrangig die Mobilität der Arbeitskräfte durch eine Standortverlagerung von Betrieben unterstützen sollten, so dass die Arbeitsstellen mit dem Fahrrad erreicht werden konnten, prägte Norman Tebbit die Losung '*getting on their bikes*'. Auch diese Formulierung hat Margaret Thatcher in ihren Erinnerungsbericht aufgenommen, gleichzeitig aber die illusorischen Vorstellungen erkannt, auf diese Weise die Arbeitslosigkeit in bestimmten Gegenden Englands beseitigen zu können.

Vol. I, p. 670

Housing is vital to a properly working labour market. If people cannot move to regions where there are jobs – '*getting on their bikes*', to quote Norman Tebbit's immortal phrase – there will remain pockets of intractable unemployment. And the less willing or able they are to move, the greater call there will be for state intervention to force or bribe firms to go to commercially unsuitable locations to provide the jobs [...].

Eine wiederholt für unterschiedliche Zwecke verwendete Losung der Conservative Party lautete: '*when the time is right*' bzw. '*when the time is ripe*'. Sie bezog sich auf den Beitritt Großbritanniens zu bestimmten Abkommen innerhalb der Europäischen Gemeinschaft.

Vol. I, p. 692

But since we had devised the *formula* that we would join when the '*time was right*' (or *ripe* as it was sometimes expressed) there seemed no need to change our basic position. The time was not 'right' and no one seriously thought it was.

Vol. I, p. 697

We went over the same ground and at the end I repeated that I had not been convinced by the arguments I had heard. However, I agreed that we should strictly maintain the line we had taken so far, namely that Britain would join the ERM [= Exchange Rate Mechanism – R.G.] '*when the time was right*'.

Die Premierministerin änderte jedoch ihre Einstellung gegenüber der Losung '*when the time is ripe*' nach der Zusammenkunft des European Council in Madrid am 14. Juni 1983, als die 'Madrid Conditions' verabschiedet worden waren. Bezogen auf den Beitritt Großbritanniens zu den Euro-Staaten, für den es in ihrem eigenen Lande sogar Befürworter gab, schreibt sie rückblickend:

Vol. I, p. 713

In fact, though, the Madrid conditions did allow me to rally the Conservative Party around our negotiating position and got us away from the *tired and faintly ridiculous formula of 'when the time was right'*. The outcome of Madrid was widely praised back at home. Unfortunately, in a sense the time would never be right [...].

Innerhalb der Europäischen Gemeinschaft entstand der auf die britische Premierministerin bezogene Slogan '*If she joins she wins*'. Ihn verwendete der Vizepräsident der Europäischen Kommission, Leon Brittain, in der Absicht, Margaret Thatcher von den Vorteilen des ERM [= Exchange Rate Mechanism – R.G.] für Großbritannien zu überzeugen.

Vol. I, p. 710

Indeed, he said that it would enable Britain to dictate the pace and course of further progress in this area. He had apparently been reinforced in the view by a remark made to him by M. Delors over dinner to the effect that '*if she joins,*

she wins'. I was not, however, overimpressed by the European Commission President's table talk.

Die Premierministerin kommentiert die ihr wiederholt begegnende außenpolitische Losung mit der typisch englischen Stilfigur der Litotes, der verstärkten Verneinung durch eine scheinbar positiv gemeinte Formulierung: *I was not overimpressed*, die einen ironischen Unterton erkennen lässt.

(Alle Hervorhebungen in den Belegziten stammen von der Verfasserin R.G.)

6. Margaret Thatchers Sprachkritik an Dokumenten der Europäischen Gemeinschaft

Die britische Premierministerin war seit jeher gegenüber der EU skeptisch eingestellt, beharrte auf einem Sonderstatus Großbritanniens und prägte den Satz *I want my money back*, als sich Krisenerscheinungen auf dem Finanzmarkt abzeichneten. Sie spricht von 'high-flowing language'/'grandiloquent language' (Vol. I, p. 314), 'Euro-Jargon' (Vol. I, p. 555) und NATO 'phraseology' (Vol. I, p. 465) mit Bezug auf den Wortlaut amtlicher Dokumente aus Brüssel, was die folgende Textstelle belegt (Vol. I, p. 555):

When I was questioned later about the declaration in the House of Commons, I replied. 'I must make it clear that I do not in any way believe in federal Europe. Nor does that document. Certainly it did not transfer powers to a centralized Europe in the way that the Maastricht Treaty was to do. But the *high-flowing language* of the document has become familiar from later developments: the linguistic skeleton on which so much institutional flesh would grow was already visible'. (Hervorhebungen – R.G.)

Margaret Thatcher hatte auch wenig Verständnis für die bildliche Ausdrucksweise Helmut Kohls im Zusammenhang mit „Baumängeln“ des gemeinsamen Hauses Europa. Sie hatte bereits selbst erkannt:

For by now – 1989 – *the cracks* in eastern European communist system *were widening into crevices* and soon, *wing by wing, the whole edifice fell away*. (Vol. I, p. 768)

Der deutsche Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl versuchte die britische Premierministerin für die Idee des „gemeinsamen Hauses Europa“ zu erwärmen, stieß bei ihr aber auf Vorbehalte:

He (Herr Kohl) also told me that the European Community was ‘politically essential to Germany’, but it was ‘no good having the Community as *a roof over Germany if the roof was leaking* – an interesting metaphor, I thought; and anyone dealing with the European Community should pay careful attention to metaphors. We in Britain were inclined to minimize their significance – whether about ‘roofs’ or ‘trains’ – and to concentrate on the practicalities – *mending the leaking roofs*, in Chancellor Kohl’s phrase. (Vol. I, p. 319)

In ihrer schlagfertigen und sprachkritischen Entgegnung bedient sich Margaret Thatcher der gleichen Metaphorik wie Bundeskanzler Kohl.

7. Zusammenfassung

Die beiden Autobiografien Margaret Thatchers können trotz ihres beträchtlichen Umfangs (Vol. I: 914 Seiten, Vol. II: 656 Seiten) nur einen begrenzten Ausschnitt des von ihr selbst verfassten oder autorisierten Textmaterials repräsentieren. Diese Werke sind sowohl eine objektivierte Chronik als auch eine subjektive Bilanz der Innen- und Außenpolitik Großbritanniens zwischen 1979 und 1990 und damit auch Memoiren. Die Textsorte Memoiren erweist sich in diesem Kontext als Konglomerat von Erinnerungsberichten aus der Ich-Perspektive mit emotionalen Erlebnisschilderungen einerseits wie auch von sachbetonter Darstellung und Bewertung gesellschaftlicher Vorgänge andererseits. Die beiden Bände vermitteln eine Lebensinventur der Premierministerin als Summe ihrer subjektiven Erfahrungen und der objektiven Verhältnisse.

Die inhaltlichen Schwerpunkte des Rückblicks haben die Rhetorik und die Wahl der Stilmittel Margaret Thatchers beeinflusst, wenn sie aus zeitlichem Abstand über ihr Regierungsamt reflektiert. Im Unterschied zu den Monografien Wolfgang Mieders über die Rhetorik der historischen Persönlichkeiten Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Martin Luther King, Barack Obama und Winston Churchill steht in der vorliegenden Untersuchung nicht ausschließlich die “proverbial rhetoric” Margaret Thatchers im Mittelpunkt –

die Verwendung von Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten, worauf sich traditionell das Hauptaugenmerk der Parömiologie richtet –, sondern auch Randerscheinungen werden berücksichtigt, auf die gerade die Phraseologie als Komplementärdisziplin der Lexikologie den Blick lenkt, wie Übergänge zwischen idiomatisierten Wendungen in Wort- und Satzfunktion, Clichés, Aphorismen, Losungen und Sprichwortgut in weiterem Sinne.

Auch der Begriff Rhetorik hat in dieser Untersuchung einen erweiterten Umfang und steht nicht nur für das Resultat, sondern auch den Prozess der Textbildung. Dabei kommt den authentischen Aussagen Margaret Thatchers über ihre Zusammenarbeit mit ihren *speech writers* eine besondere Bedeutung zu.

Für eine Gesamtdarstellung der “proverbial rhetoric” der britischen Premierministerin müsste jedoch ein weitaus größeres Textkorpus herangezogen werden. Die mediale Aufmerksamkeit, die Margaret Thatchers pointierten Formulierungen in den Würdigungen ihrer Persönlichkeit in zahlreichen Nachrufen erfahren haben, sind aber ein Beweis für den Stellenwert solcher Aussprüche in der Rhetorik dieser britischen Politikerin.

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“PARABASIS IN NIKOLAY GOGOL’S *THE INSPECTOR GENERAL*: THE PROVERBIAL MEDIUM

Abstract: While not attached to the original 1836 text of his play, *The Inspector General*, Nikolay Gogol appended the famous proverb-epigraph “Don’t grumble at the mirror if your [own] puss is distorted” to the 1842 edition of his comedy, which he recognized as the final and definitive version. Fond of the pithy folk language of both Russia and his native Ukraine, it is not surprising that he would do so. In addition, this proverb-epigraph captures the moralistic message that Gogol clearly intends to impart to his readers, a message that the Mayor blasts to his audience in the closing scene of Act Five. In light of his fondness for Aristophanic Comedy, however, Gogol may have had another purpose in mind as he opened the 1842 version of his play with this famous Russian proverb. The Russian literary critic Vyacheslav Ivanov first called attention to this aspect of Gogol’s play early in the last century, when he made an argument for the Mayor’s outburst at the close of Act Five as a *parabolic* statement in the style of the Old Comedy of fifth-century Greece (B.C.). While acknowledging the genius of Ivanov’s analysis of the play, the present article departs from his conclusion that this outburst represents the central *parabolic* moment in the play. Instead, a case is made for considering the proverb-epigraph that opens Gogol’s play as either the main *parabasis* or, at least, as one that is parallel, perhaps a prequel to the Mayor’s famous address to his audience at play’s end.

Keywords: Russian proverb; Nikolay Gogol; 19th-century Russian Comedy; Russian satire; Vyacheslav Ivanov; Old Comedy of fifth-century B.C. Greece; Aristophanes; *parabasis*.

In one of the more perceptive analyses of Nikolai Gogol’s nineteenth-century comedy masterpiece, *The Inspector General*, the Russian Symbolist poet and literary critic, Vyacheslav Ivanov (1866-1949), made a compelling argument for similarities between the nineteenth-century Russian playwright’s comedy and the Old Comedy of Aristophanes (fifth-century B.C.).¹ The unusual originality of this essay is not surprising in light of

Ivanov's thorough training as a classicist, which eventually led to a professorship of Greek at the University of Baku.² To a considerable degree his views on art and culture had been heavily influenced by the ancients, and he often applied these views to his analysis of Russian literature.

The main argument advanced by Ivanov in his article on *The Inspector General* and the comedy of Aristophanes relates to his view that the action of Gogol's play "is not limited to a circle of personal relationships, but, rather, presents these relationships as components of a collective life and embraces a whole social microcosm, self-contained and self-sufficient, which stands symbolically for any social confederation, and of course reflects, as in a mirror, just that social confederation to whose entertainment and edification the comic action is directed." Ivanov follows up this view by observing parenthetically, "As the epigraph to *The Inspector General* has it: 'There's no grumbling at the mirror if your [own] puss is crooked.'"³ In his analysis Ivanov continues to argue for more of a social message intended for Gogol's audience rather than a satirical attack against specific characters or types of characters, noting that rather than a personal or domestic intrigue that accounts for the underlying action of the play, Gogol focuses on the depiction of an entire town. In fact, Ivanov holds that Gogol does not present individual, isolated characters or their private domestic affairs so much as the "town" as a collective persona.

This idea of a collective self-awareness is reflected as well in Ivanov's treatment of "*parabasis*," or the "coming forward" of the Greek chorus during an intermission in a play's action, when at a fixed moment in the comic action members of the chorus and, occasionally, the actors themselves appeared before the audience out of character to deliver the author's views on various matters treated in the play. Accompanied by a sounding of flutes in the background, chorus and actors, marching in military cadence descended aggressively upon the first few rows of spectators spewing in their faces the searing verses of the abusive *parabasis*. Ivanov links this Old Comedy vision of universal laughter acting in collective judgment to Gogol's own play, *The Inspector General*, whose *parabatic* moment Ivanov sees culminating at the end of the play in the mayor's outburst directed not so much at his fellow actors on the stage, but at the members of

the audience itself: "I can't see a thing. I can see what looks like pig-snouts instead of faces, and nothing else.... Now look, just look, all the world, all good Christians: see what a fool they've made of the mayor.... And everybody will grin and clap their hands.... What are you laughing at? You're laughing at yourselves! Oh, you...."⁴

As original and convincing as Ivanov's analysis is, the present essay will propose another candidate for consideration as a parallel form of *parabasis* in Gogol's play, that is, the proverb-epigraph to the play itself: "На зеркало нечего пенять, коли рожа крива/Don't blame the mirror for your own ugly mug." It can be argued that similar to the original practice of the Old Comedy of fifth-century Greece, this proverb-epigraph, which opens Gogol's play, functions as a sort of authorial choral message intended for the edification of the Russian audience. Unlike the original *parabasis* of Greek Comedy, the *parabatic* moment I am positing does not occur at the traditional midpoint in the play, nor does it involve a choral descent into the front rows of the audience. I do feel, however, that the proverb-epigraph that opens this play can be viewed as performing a function similar to the original Aristophanic period of comedy to which Ivanov refers. In addition, readers should be aware that the proverb-epigraph of Gogol's play is not to be confused with the medieval French and Elizabethan practice of the "proverb-play," in which playwrights constructed an entire play around a given proverb for purposes of explicating the very message of the proverb.⁵ Gogol's use of this Russian proverb in his epigraph seeks to shed light on the meaning of the play itself, and not *vice-versa*. Furthermore, while Gogol depicts the manners and mores of mid-century Russia, he never moralizes nor engages in direct authorial indictments of the characters in his play, as often intimated in both Aristophanic comedy as well as later medieval and Elizabethan proverb drama. As Janko Lavrin notes, Gogol "does not even pretend to swing the whip in his own hands, but makes his characters whip themselves without knowing it, as it were, especially when they talk of their own abuses with a kind of childlike innocence."⁶

To advance this argument, let us consider some of the main characteristics of proverb use in literary works. By the very nature of their being uttered, proverbs have provided timeless ad-

vice and warning intended for listeners and readers alike. Their moral didactic message has remained a constant feature in spoken proverbs as well as those used in literature, with the simplicity of their native folk wisdom communicating well to readers and listeners alike. Similarly, their pithy wit and wisdom provided a clear yet entertaining appeal for authors wishing to encapsulate moral and ethical advice to their readers. Gary Saul Morson goes so far as to say that on occasion a proverb can function not so much as “a statement *in* the story,” but as a “statement *about* the story,” a particularly apt role for Gogol’s play.⁷ Structurally speaking, proverbs can provide the perfect opening to a scene, as in the opening sentence to Part One of Tolstoy’s *Anna Karenina* or, in the case of Gogol’s play, they can encapsulate the intended authorial message to his readers and audience. Owing to the power and expressiveness of proverbs, their use—especially in the form of a proverb-epigraph—enables readers to penetrate the falseness and shallowness of the characters whom they encounter in a play like Gogol’s *The Inspector General*. As detailed in V. M. Mokienko’s recent compilation of Russian proverbs, the first formal listing of the folk proverb that opens Gogol’s play dates back to S. M. Snegirev’s 1848 study, *Русские народные пословицы и притчи/ Russian Folk Proverbs and Sayings*.⁸ We know that this proverb opening did not appear in the first draft of Gogol’s play, but did surface, however, in a later version in 1842, which was considered by Gogol himself as well as literary scholars to be the authentic and complete version of the play. As a moral lesson for readers and theatergoers alike, this proverb-epigraph succeeds in capturing both the personalities of the main characters in the play as well as the moralistic lesson to be learned by play’s end. Let us look, therefore, at the now famous characters of Gogol’s play to consider how it is that the proverb-epigraph previews the foibles of their personalities as well as underscores the meaning of the play itself.

The *dramatis personae* of Gogol’s play present a broad circle of varying inept and corrupt provincial government officials and their cronies in a remote Russian backwater somewhere to the southeast of Moscow. The local mayor, Anton Antonovich Skvoznik-Dmukhonovsky, one of the central characters in the play, succinctly characterizes the town, stating that “you ride a

horse for three years and you won't reach another state."⁹ In the introductory notes to his play, Gogol informs his audience that the Mayor is a man fond of bribes (взяточник) who occasionally conducts himself, however, somewhat respectably. According to the local merchants, the Mayor celebrates two birthdays each year on each occasion of which they are expected to provide him with presents. In addition to ordering the postmaster to intercept letters containing complaints and denunciations from the townspeople, the Mayor routinely pilfers anything his family needs or wants from the town's merchants. Those who stand in his way or fail to meet his demands are commissioned off to the ranks of the army as recruits. Over the course of the play, readers also learn that he has misappropriated government funds that he requested for the construction of a new church in town. To cover up this act, he plans to submit a claim that the church burned down.

As the play opens Anton Antonovich has assembled the local town dignitaries at his home to announce the imminent arrival of an inspector general from the capital, St. Petersburg. Like the Mayor, each of the town's representatives has ample cause to feel uneasy at this news as their respective corruption or venality is only outdone by their glaring incompetence. The local judge, Lyapkin-Tyapkin, an avid hunter and quasi-freethinker in spite of having read only five-six books in his life is adequately defined by the meaning of his comical name—Slip-Shod: geese must be driven out of his waiting room and the courtroom is littered with his laundry. Instead of the fair-minded and traditionally blindfolded statue of Justice to adorn his courtroom, a whip stands in the corner over a document cabinet. During the course of the play, Zemlyanika reveals that the Judge is engaged in an affair with Dobchinsky's wife. The Curator of the town's Charitable Institutions, Zemlyanika (Strawberry), a corpulent, sluggish and lumbering man runs the affairs of the hospital rather complacently and reveals himself throughout the play as an intriguer and swindler. Patients under his charge lie in filthy hospital rooms and are deprived of their medicine. In order to improve the impression of health care statistics, he succumbs to the Mayor's order to release certain patients. Further adding to the comicality, if not criminality of this rural backwater, the town doctor, Christian Hübner, is an inept German unable to speak a word of Russian and capable only of producing a nondescript

sound ranging somewhere between “i” and “e.” Out of pure curiosity (and boredom?), another of the town’s officials, the Postmaster, Shpekin, a simple-minded civil servant finds absolutely nothing questionable about his routine practice of opening and reading the mail that passes through his office. On occasion, he even retains those letters that he finds of special interest. Luka Lukich (a pun on the Russian word for onion) Khlopov, the Superintendent of Schools, embarrasses easily and admits that his own education has left him unduly disposed to yield to authority. In Act I he complains, furthermore, of the vulnerability of his position: “God preserve anyone from serving in education! You’re frightened of everything; everyone interferes, everybody wants to show that he too is an educated man.”¹⁰ Other officials conduct their duties with equal disregard: the town’s streets are in desperate need of cleaning, garbage must be removed, and a rickety old fence needs to be torn down. Characteristically, Gogol does not paint the town officials nor the local merchants and townspeople as abysmally corrupt and evil, but more so as amiably venal and hopelessly inept. A decade later the author would write that his intention in this play was “to collect into one heap all that I knew to be bad in Russia” and to expose it to laughter.¹¹

Soon after the Mayor has announced news of the imminent arrival of an Inspector General, two local landowners, Bobchinsky and Dobchinsky come to the Mayor’s home with news that, indeed, a mysterious young newcomer named Khlestakov has already taken up residence at the local inn. To make matters worse, Dobchinsky informs everyone that the newcomer has already dwelled in the town for two weeks, news of which concerns the Mayor even more since during this time he has had the wife of a noncommissioned officer flogged and recalls that prisoners in the local jail have not received any food. Dispatching the others to set their affairs at their respective departments in order, the Mayor decides that he must visit this young visitor at the town’s hotel in order to determine the potential damage both he and the town officials are likely to incur. The opening of Act II reveals the supposed Inspector General in reality to be a visiting ne’er-do-well, who has gambled away all the money his father has given him and now finds himself and his servant, Osip, lodging in a provincial hotel for which he has neither money nor

ability to pay for food and lodging. More nincompoop than charlatan, Khlestakov is too self-centered and stupid to appreciate the awkwardness and potential peril of his situation. Vladimir Nabokov best characterized the essence of Gogol's protagonist: "Khlestakov's very name is a stroke of genius...for it conveys to the Russian reader an effect of lightness and rashness, a prattling tongue, the swish of a slim walking cane..."¹² Viktor Erlich similarly puts his finger on the pulse of Khlestakov's personality: "Khlestakov is a phony rather than a fraud, an almost unwitting beneficiary of a totally unearned windfall rather than a schemer who sizes up a situation.... He is not smart enough to be a schemer: it takes him nearly two acts to understand the situation in which he finds himself."¹³ The exchange between the Mayor and Khlestakov early in Act II reveals the stupidity of each as neither recognizes the essence of this case of mistaken identity. The former fawns obsequiously and caters to the ego of the latter who, in turn, avails himself of the situation. When Khlestakov complains of the inedible food at the hotel, the Mayor offers to put him up at another apartment; taking this to mean a jail cell, Khlestakov responds indignantly: "How do you dare?...Why now I...I serve in Petersburg." Hearing this response the Mayor immediately intuits that the new arrival has learned of the Mayor's proclivity for bribe-taking and overall malfeasance in running the town. Realizing that the townspeople no doubt have denounced him already, the Mayor responds to Khlestakov's suggestion that he be given a loan of two-hundred rubles by casually slipping him, instead, with four-hundred. Having secured what he thinks to be the Inspector General's goodwill, the Mayor further plays up to Khlestakov by offering to put him up more comfortably in his own home.

Acts III and IV continue in a similar vein with dialogue and action further delineating character as well as preparing for the climax to come in Act V. Fearful that the person they take to be an Inspector General will inevitably uncover their corruption, malfeasance, and ineptitude, the various town dignitaries find ways to slip their own bribes into the hands of Khlestakov. At first slow to suggest that they provide him with "loans," he gradually becomes quite comfortable in doing so and by the final meeting with one of the civil officials proves himself quite comfortable in demanding their bribes. Individual officers embody in

varying degree the aptness and wisdom of the proverb-epigraph. Artemy Filipovich Zemlyanika, for example, reflects the limitless bounds of an arrogance of stupidity in explaining to Khlestakov that the beds in the hospital under his supervision are nearly empty because almost all the patients have been cured: "Ten are left, no more; the rest have all gotten well. It's been arranged that way, that's the setup. Since I took command, it may even seem incredible to you, they all get well like flies."¹⁴ Only the ignorance of the Mayor and Khlestakov could manage somehow to ignore the malapropism of Zemlyanika's statement.

Not only the various town officials, but the Mayor's own wife and daughter, as well, reflect the venality suggested by the *parabolic* reflection of the proverb-epigraph. Both the wife and daughter (respectively, Anna Andreyevna and Marya Antonovna) demonstrate their ego-inflated personalities and simplemindedness by priming and fawning before Khlestakov in vying with one another for his favor. Following the latter's claim to be on a first-name basis with the poet Pushkin and a long line of inebriated boasting of setting his dinner table at home with 700 rubles worth of watermelon and serving soup that he has purchased directly from Paris and claiming that he is about to be promoted to the rank of Field Marshal, Anna Andreyevna naively responds: "Oh how fine! I love young people like that terrifically! I'm simply head over heels in love. And I must say he liked me a lot..."¹⁵ Thereupon mother and daughter continue to argue over whom Khlestakov prefers of the two. Later in the act Anna Andreyevna will reveal her utter stupidity and impermanent devotion to her husband by responding to Khlestakov's declaration of love: "But let me note: I'm in a certain sense...I'm married."¹⁶ Clearly, as the proverb-epigraph suggests, Gogol's play is intended more as social satire than as political commentary. Even the two landowners, Dobchinsky and Bobchinsky, who do not hold any public office, are lampooned for their ignorance and simplemindedness. The former, for example, having paid Khlestakov a healthy bribe desires to have his illegitimate elder son be permitted to take on the family name. Equally as pathetically, Bobchinsky makes a plaintive request: "I most humbly beg you, when you get back to Petersburg, to tell all the different nobles there, the senators and admirals, that you know...there lives in such-and-such a town one Pyotr Ivanovich

Bobchinsky. Just say that: there lives one Pyotr Ivanovich Bobchinsky."¹⁷

Finally, the behavior of the merchants and townspeople themselves tends to reflect, as in a crooked mirror, the ugly mugs of a simple and venomous provincial populace. One of the leading merchants begins the heated rant by complaining to Khlestakov that the Mayor is starving the tradesmen by billeting soldiers in their homes and demanding that they provide his wife and daughter with free goods from their shops. In hopes of securing the Inspector's favor, the merchants are only too happy to offer him a bribe: not the 300 rubles that Khlestakov suggests, but 500. [Following their scalding accounts of how the Mayor has mistreated and abused them, these same merchants and townspeople later in the play will attempt to ingratiate themselves once again with the Mayor once they learn that he is about to become the father-in-law of the man they mistakenly take to be the Inspector General.] After the merchants' departure two of the town's local women intrude with their own complaints. The Locksmith's wife explains how her husband was unlawfully conscripted out of turn by the Mayor, who had received a healthy bribe from the tailor's father in order to spare his son's being enlisted into army service. Next a Non-Commissioned Officer's (N.C.O.'s) wife describes how the Mayor mistakenly has had her publicly flogged on the street following arguments and scrapping by other women in the town. While she complains that nothing can be done to undo the public humiliation, the N.C.O.'s wife feels that a fine on the part of the Mayor could partially recompense her: "I got no reason to turn down my good fortune, and the dough'd come in real handy right now."¹⁸ In a tawdry and insincere attempt to dispel the allegations the townspeople have lodged against him, shortly before the end of Act IV the mayor will respond to the indignant complaints of his townspeople: "I swear on my honor, not half of what they said is true. They themselves swindle the people and cheat them. The non-commissioned officer's wife lied straight to your face, pretending I'd flogged her. She's lying, honest to God, she's lying. She flogged herself."¹⁹

Act V of the play continues the depiction of greed, corruption and envy on the part of the Mayor and his family along with the merchants, local townspeople, and city officials. Emboldened

by the prospects of becoming the father-in-law to the person whom he takes to be a high-ranking Inspector General from St. Petersburg, the Mayor lashes out at the merchants who had informed on him to the supposed Inspector General in Act IV. Similarly, his wife, Anna Andreyevna, shares his dream of moving to the capital and assuming a new life in society. Each reveals their shallowness and vengefulness in wishing to abandon the lifelong provincial life that has informed their lives. The Mayor assumes, for example, that he will be appointed to the rank of general with the sole goal of having others—couriers and adjutants—race ahead of him when traveling to prepare others for his arrival. Anna Andreyevna, on the other hand, has more immediate plans for their supposed future: “You must remember that we have to change our life completely, that your friends aren’t going to be some kind of an old dog-lover judge who you go out and poison rabbits with...”²⁰ Their posturing changes radically, however, with the arrival of the Postmaster, who informs all the assembled that he has unsealed and read a letter that Khlestakov has sent to a friend in which he ridicules the Mayor, local officials and townspeople for their corrupt ways and ignorance in taking him for an Inspector General instead of the itinerant down-and-out small time official he is. Each of the officials and their Mayor come in for ridicule as Khlestakov describes them to his friend: the Postmaster, for example, is described as drinking like a fish; the Supervisor of Charitable Institutions, Zemlyanika, is referred to as “a pig in a yarmulka;” the Superintendent of Schools, Luka Lukich, is accused of smelling of onions, and Judge Lyapkin-Tryapkin is labeled a boor to the worst degree.

It is at this point in the concluding moments of Act V that the Mayor turns to the audience to utter his famous accusation, which Ivanov describes in his article as the *parabatic* moment in the play: “Just look, look, all you world, all Christianity, all of you just look how the Mayor’s been made fool of!...What’re you laughing for? You’re laughing at yourselves!”²¹ It is difficult to argue with Ivanov’s analysis that the Mayor’s address functions as a form of Old Comedy *parabasis*. After all, while this *parabatic* choral moment typically occurred in the middle of the Greek play’s action following the prologue and *parados* (entrance song) and *agon* (formal debate), there were exceptions to

the rule. Aristophanes's *Lysistrata*, for example, has an unusual double chorus and his final two plays have no *parabasis* at all. In addition, Aristophanes regularly would play directly to his audience and involve them in his action. In his *Frogs*, for example, Dionysus engages in a comical exchange with the Priest of Dionysus sitting in the front row of the audience.²² Finally, it will be recalled that the opening monologues/ soliloquies of several Old Comedy plays were directed to the audience. Is this not, arguably, the function of the proverb-epigraph that opens Gogol's *Inspector General*? While not attached to the 1836 text of the play, Gogol added it to the 1842 revision, which has remained the standard text of the play. Like the Mayor's address that appears in the closing moments of the play, this Russian proverb operates as a "prequel" to the message Anton Antonovich directs to his audience in Act V. He chides them for "laughing at themselves" at play's end echoing the wisdom of the proverb-epigraph: "Don't grumble at the mirror if your [own] puss is crooked." Is this proverb not an authorial "choral message" designed to edify Gogol's audience and to prepare them for the social comedy that follows? Unlike the Mayor's address to the audience at the end of the play, this proverb contains the simplicity of moral and ethical advice by way of a preview to the play but, rather than take the form of a tirade or outburst, the proverb comes in the form of timeless folk wisdom of which Gogol was so fond. In Morson's formulation it is not a statement *in* the story but, rather, a statement *"about"* the story.

In his "Leaving the Theater after the Performance of a New Comedy," which Gogol wrote by way of a commentary on the play following its opening performance in 1836, he noted that the ideal comedy should embody an all-inclusive collective sense of life on the stage so that the spectators would feel included as well as implicated in what they are laughing at: "Comedy should cohere spontaneously, in all its mass, into one great, inclusive knot. The plot should embrace all the characters, not one or two—and touch upon the things that stir all of them, to whatever degree."²³ No one better than Gogol would recognize that this "all-inclusive collective sense of life" is best represented and conveyed in the collective wisdom of the folk as presented in the timeless form of the Russian proverb. While it is impossible to document that the proverb-epigraph to his play was intended by

Gogol to function as a type of *parabasis*, similar to the Mayor's address at the end of the play, we do know that he considered the classical model of Aristophanic Comedy to be a source of important inspiration to him.²⁴ In addition, in light of his profound interest in and fascination for Russian and Ukrainian folklore, what better vehicle to convey both the moral as well as the social message of a didactic author, like Gogol, than the proverb?

Notes

¹Translated as "Gogol's *Inspector General* and the Comedy of Aristophanes," in *Gogol from the Twentieth Century*, ed. Robert Maguire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

²Ivanov was appointed to the professorship of Greek Studies at Baku University in 1921, where he remained for three years until his departure from the Soviet Union to Italy, where he lived for the rest of his life writing, translating, and teaching.

³*Ibid.*, 201.

⁴Н. В. Гоголь: *Собрание сочинений в 7 томах*, под общей редакцией С. И. Машинского, Н. Л. Степановв, М. В. Храпченко, (Москва: Издательство «Художественная литература», 1967), том 4, *Драматические произведения*, 103. The initial version of *The Inspector General* was completed and staged in St. Petersburg in 1836.

⁵For more discussion on this distinction, see Clarence D. Brenner, *The French Dramatic Proverb* (Berkeley, California: Privately printed, 1977).

⁶*Nikolai Gogol* (New York: Collier Books, 1962), 81.

⁷"Tolstoy's Absolute Language," in *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 74 (1981), 667-687.

⁸*Большой словарь русских пословиц*, В. М. Мокиенко, Т. Г. Никитина, Е. К. Николаева (Москва: ОЛМА Медиа групп, 2010), 373. Snegirev's book was published in Moscow.

⁹Н. В. Гоголь: *Собрание сочинений*, IV, 12/238. English translation appears in F. D. Reeve, *An Anthology of Russian Plays* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), I, 41. All subsequent quotes from Gogol's play will come from these two volumes with the Russian page reference given first, followed the the page number of the English translation.

¹⁰*Собрание сочинений* IV, 14/241.

¹¹*Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow, 14 volumes, 1937-1952), VIII, 440.

¹²*Nikolai Gogol* (New York: New Directions, 1944), 55.

¹³*Gogol* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), 104.

¹⁴*Собрание сочинений в 7 томах*, IV, 48/268.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 55-56/274.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 83/296.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 71-72/287.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 85/297.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 79/293.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 91/302.

²¹*Ibid.*, 103/313.

²²The author gratefully acknowledges Classics Professors Mark Usher (University of Vermont) and James Svendsen (University of Utah) for their helpful comments in the preparation of this article.

²³Cited from *The Theater of Nikolai Gogol*, ed. Milton Ehre, translated by Milton Ehre and Fruma Gottschalk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 181.

²⁴*Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, V, 143.

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WOLFGANG MIEDER

“KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE PRIZE”: CONGRESSMAN
JOHN LEWIS’S PROVERBIAL ODYSSEY FOR CIVIL
RIGHTS

Abstract: While this is a scholarly study of the proverbial language in John Lewis’s (born 1940) three books *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* (1998), *Across that Bridge: Life Lessons and a Vision for Change* (2012), and *March: Book One* (2013), it is also a somewhat personal laudation of this U.S. Congressman from the state of Georgia, who is the last surviving member of the six major leaders of the American civil rights movement of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. He was the chairman of SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) that played a significant role in getting students and others from the North and the South of the United States actively involved in the slow process of desegregation and the advancement of civil and human rights for African Americans and the population at large. His impressive sociopolitical rhetoric is informed by the traditional sermonic style of Baptist preachers and by the rhetorical prowess of his idol and friend Martin Luther King. Lewis’s language is replete with proverbs from the Bible, quotational proverbs from the American democratic tradition, and folk proverbs as well as proverbial expressions. Numerous examples are cited in context accompanied by interpretive comments, showing that this proverbial language is part and parcel of his highly informative and emotive style. In fact, his autobiography *Walking with the Wind* with its proverbial title is not only a classic personal account of the experienced civil rights movement but also an extremely well written document due in large part to its numerous proverbial metaphors. Following a bibliography is a complete index of the 742 proverbial text included in the three books.

Keywords: African American, America, autobiography, Bible, civil rights, desegregation, human rights, John Lewis, politics, proverb, proverbial expression, rhetoric, segregation

There is an old American folk song called “Gospel Plow” with the alternative titles of “Hold on” and “Keep Your Hands on that Plow”, with the latter being an allusion to the Bible passage “And Jesus said unto him [a man], No man, having put his hand to the

Variants of the song have been registered in John and Alan Lomax's famous collection *Our Singing Country* (1941), in Cecil James Sharp's and Olive Campbell's *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* (1917: II, 292), and in Newman Ivey White's *American Negro Folk-Songs* (1928: 115). It is generally assumed that the song had its origin in the African-American diaspora, with part of the lyrics stating:

Got my hands on the gospel plow,
 Wouldn't take nothin' for my journey now.
 Keep your hands on that plow, hold on.

Hold on, hold on
 Keep your hands on that plow, hold on

(Lomax 1941: 44-45)

The song probably originated from the African-American gospel tradition, and it is thus not surprising that an adaptation of this popular song of hopeful struggle by African Americans towards equal human rights became a battle hymn of the civil rights movement during the middle of the twentieth century. In fact, one Alice Wine is usually credited with having changed the lyrics during the early 1950s to express in an even stronger way that the fight for equality must go on despite strong opposition. There might have been others at work on creating the lyrics of the modern adaptation, but Wine changed the title of the old song to "Keep Your Eyes on the Prize" that perhaps is an allusion to the Bible passages "I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Jesus Christ" (Philippians 3:14) and "Keep your eyes on those who live as we do" (Philippians 3:17). The names of Paul and Silas in the song calling for the continuation of the struggle for equality and liberty are also an allusion to their survival in the face of adversaries in the Bible (Acts 16:19-16). But here is the song from the civil rights movement that helped to keep its participants focused on the ultimate goal of equal civil rights:

Keep Your Eyes on the Prize
 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), hold on (hold on)
 Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on
 Hold on (hold on), hold on (hold on)
 Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on

Paul and Silas began to shout
 Doors popped open, and all walked out
 Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on
 Hold on (hold on), hold on (hold on)

Well, the only chains we can stand
 Are the chains of hand in hand
 Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on

Got my hand on the freedom plow
 Wouldn't take nothing for my journey now
 Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on

Hold on (hold on), hold on (hold on)
 Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on
 Hold on (hold on), hold on (hold on)
 Keep your eyes on the prize, darling

Hold on (hold on), hold on (hold on)
 Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on
 Hold on (hold on), hold on (hold on)
 Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keep_Your_Eyes_on_the_Prize)

With the song being an inspirational battle hymn of sorts to keep “plowing” along towards the ultimate “prize” of liberation and freedom, it is little wonder that its leitmotif of “Keep your eyes on the prize” became a proverbial slogan for the civil rights movement (Williams 1987). As John Lewis recalls in his book *Across that Bridge. Life Lessons and a Vision of Change* (2012), this song kept him and other civil rights proponents going as they found themselves jailed as Paul and Silas had been centuries ago:

Soon, the cells all around me were full of [freedom] riders, and we began to sing songs of freedom to remind us of our purpose and keep our spirits high. We sang: “Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on,” and “This little light of mine, I’m going to let it shine.” We sang “Woke up this

morning with my mind stayed on freedom,” and many other songs that reminded us of our faith. The songs seemed to aggravate prison officials who ultimately took away our Bibles, our toothbrushes, and even our mattresses and bedding, leaving us to sleep on steel cots, all to snuff out the joy in our hearts. (B36; all references from this book will be cited with the letter B followed by the page numbers)

Later in this book, John Lewis returns to the proverb “Keep your eyes on the prize” that can also be employed as the proverbial expression “To keep your eyes on the prize” in a telling paragraph about the nonviolent civil rights struggle of which he was one of the great leaders:

Even though we had been rejected by society, we believed that all people had the capacity to be good. We believed not only we, but the perpetrators of violence, were victims as well, who began their lives in innocence but were taught to hate, abuse, and draw distinctions between themselves and others. We held no malice toward them and believed in the power of the truth to penetrate that negative conditioning and remind people of their innocence once again. We focused on the end we hoped to see and kept our eyes on that prize. We could not waste time harboring bitterness or resentment. We knew that our focus had to be on what we hoped to create, not the indignities we were pressing to leave behind. Hating our aggressors was like looking back when we wanted to move forward. We had to use our energy to manifest our dreams, and entertaining animosity would have given more power to the status quo. (B105-106)

1. The proverbial Congressman John Lewis from Georgia

But who then is this John Lewis who has made the nonviolent struggle for civil and human rights his mission as a fellow citizen and as a longtime Congressman of the United States of America? And how does this modest, courageous, and forceful small man tower above others in simple language and benevolent deeds? As will become clear, his humanitarian philosophy is deeply grounded in his religious faith and his simple and poor upbringing that is void

of any signs of grand standing or intellectual snobbism. In fact, he expresses his thoughts and opinions in ordinary language that is accessible to all, and he enhances his rhetoric like other great civic leaders before him with plenty of proverbs and proverbial expressions from the Bible and folk speech.

Three relatively short biographies for juvenile readers have appeared, to wit Christine Hill's *John Lewis. From Freedom Rider to Congressman* (2002), Ann Bausum's *Freedom Riders. John Lewis and Jim Zwerg on the Front Lines of the Civil Rights Movement* (2006), and Jim Haskins' and Kathleen Benson's *John Lewis in the Lead. A Story of the Civil Rights Movement* (2006). While these books present a vivid account of John Lewis as a poor sharecropper's son in rural Alabama who became a leading activist in the civil rights movement and who since 1987 serves as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the state of Georgia, they cannot possibly measure up to the informed authenticity of John Lewis's detailed autobiography *Walking with the Wind. A Memoir of the Movement* (1998). This is not the place to trace the fascinating life of John Lewis in the detail that such an account would deserve. Suffice it to say that he was born on February 21, 1940, at Troy, Alabama, into a family of sharecroppers with ten children. After High School he attended the American Baptist Theological Seminary in the hope of becoming a preacher. He subsequently attended Fisk University, also located in Nashville, Tennessee, where he majored in philosophy and religion. Already as a student he became very interested in the philosophy of nonviolence as he participated in sit-ins at Nashville that brought about the desegregation of lunch counters in that city. In 1961 he became one of the first Freedom Riders (six blacks and seven whites) who rode a bus from Washington, D.C. to New Orleans to uphold the new law that forbade segregation on interstate bus travel. Together with others he was beaten and jailed, but he continued to push forward on his non-violent mission for civil rights. From 1963 to 1966 he was the influential chairman of SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), and at the mere age of twenty-three he was one of the speakers on August 28, 1963, at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., where his hero Dr. Martin Luther King delivered his unforgettable "I Have a Dream"-speech. In fact, his speech was quite aggressive in comparison to those of the older civil rights icons. Using the proverbial expression "To pay the price for something",

he declared that the civil rights revolution must move forward no matter how high the price might be:

To those who have said, "Be patient and wait," we have long said that we cannot be patient. We do not want our freedom gradually, but we want to be free now! We are tired. We are tired of being beaten by policemen. We are tired of seeing our people locked up in jail over and over again. And then you holler, "Be patient." How long can we be patient? We want our freedom and we want it now. We do not want to go to jail. But we will go to jail if this is the price we must pay for love, brotherhood, and true peace.

I appeal to all of you to get into this great revolution that is sweeping this nation. Get in and stay in the streets of every city, every village and hamlet of this nation until true freedom comes, until the revolution of 1776 is complete. We must get in this revolution and complete the revolution. [...]

We will not stop [...] We will march with the spirit of love and with the spirit of dignity that we have shown here today. By the force of our demands, our determination, and our numbers, we shall splinter the segregated South into a thousand pieces and put them together in the image of God and democracy. We must say: "Wake up America! Wake up!" For we cannot stop, and we will not and cannot be patient.

(<http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/lewis-speech-at-the-march-on-washington-speech-text/>)

And on Lewis marched with thousands of others, gaining even more prominence as one of the most eminent civil rights advocates when on March 7, 1965, he led hundreds of marchers across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, on the march to Montgomery. As they reached the end of the bridge, they were brutally beaten by Alabama state troopers, making this day the "Bloody Sunday" of the civil rights movement. Even though Lewis had his skull fractured, he continued on his nonviolent crusade with Martin Luther King as his guidepost. King has remained his idol to

this day, as can be seen from remarks he made on November 13, 2006, at the King Memorial groundbreaking ceremony at Washington, D.C. He used the proverbial expressions “To get in the way of something”, the proverb “All men are created equal”, and Martin Luther King’s own proverbial quotations “We must learn to live together as brothers and sisters or perish together as fools” and “A threat to justice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere” to express the need to continue the work of the civil rights movement:

Martin Luther King Jr. inspired me and thousands of other Americans to get in the way. He inspired us to get in trouble, but it was good trouble, necessary trouble.

It seems it was only a few years ago that I stood with Martin Luther King Jr. and eight other leaders of the Civil Rights Movement as he spoke just a short distance from here on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. And in that now historic speech, that included the words, “I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal.”

In that speech when he said, “I have a dream today, a dream deeply rooted in the American dream,” Martin Luther King, Jr., the moral leader of the nation, transformed those marble steps into a modern day pulpit. He spoke to the conscience of us all telling us that the way of peace, the way of love, the way of non-violence is a better way, a more excellent way.

He spoke to the noble idea that we must learn to live together as brothers and sisters or perish together as fools. Through his life and through his actions, he moved the mountains of our faith by declaring that a threat to justice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

[...] this monument will inspire generations yet unborn to get in the way. It will help them see that one human being can make a difference.

(<http://johnlewis.house.gov/press-release/november-13-2006-rep-john-lewis%E2%80%99s>)

John Lewis is one of those human beings who has been making a difference all of his life! After he left SNCC, he had various jobs until he was elected to the Atlanta City Council in 1981. Five years later he made the jump into national politics by becoming a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, an elected position that he began on January 3, 1987 and has maintained ever since. While he has been called the “conscience of Congress” (Kemper 2006), he also acts as an esteemed and acclaimed voice of the struggle for world-wide human rights in front of young people. In speeches on university campuses, he often makes use of his repertoire of proverbs and proverbial expressions to bring his views across effectively, to wit the following remarks of August 26, 2005, to the students of the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, Virginia. With the power of proverbial rhetoric, he advises the students “to get in the way”, and he tells them that he kept his eyes on the prize throughout his life, and then he adds the two proverbs “Keep your eyes on the prize” and “Walk with the wind” as wisdom of an engaged life. The message is that the students should focus on achieving a positive end result in their pursuits and that they should move with the wind of change for a better world:

So I say to you students, lead us into the 21st century. Find a way to get in the way. Find a way to get in trouble. Find a way to make some noise, to make our country and our world a better place. [...]

When I got in trouble, I began to accept nonviolence as a way of life, as a way of living. I got arrested a few times and went to jail, was beaten and left bloody and unconscious at the greyhound bust station in Montgomery in May of 1961, got a concussion at the bridge in Selma 40 years ago, March 7, 1965. But I didn’t give up. I didn’t give in. I kept the faith. I kept my eyes on the prize.

And I say to you, never give up. Never, ever, consider giving in. Keep your eyes on the prize, keep the faith and walk with the wind.

(<http://web.wm.edu/news/archive/?id-5125>)

It has been my good fortune to have been present at one of these incredible speeches that Congressman John Lewis has delivered on numerous campuses and elsewhere. It so happens that he was our special commencement speaker on May 20, 2007, at the University of Vermont in Burlington. After receiving an honorary doctorate degree, he spoke to a spell-bound audience of students, faculty, staff, parents, relatives, and friends, and I recall vividly that he touched me so deeply with his wise words that I had tears in my eyes. Once again he employs several proverbial phrases to encourage the graduates to embark on a life of civic engagement:

The most pressing challenge in our society today is defined by the methods we use to defend the dignity of humankind. But too often we are focused on accumulating the trappings of a comfortable life—the big house, some new clothes, and a shiny, new car. But, if you want a better, more just, more fair society then you have to get in the way. You cannot wait for someone else to create change. [...]

What it is you care about—whether it's getting to the truth about the war in Iraq, global warming, shrinking economic opportunities for the middle class, or the injustice of poverty—you have to find your passion and make your contribution. [...]

The journey through life is difficult, but it is more meaningful when it is fueled by a vision, a dream, a determination to make life better for someone other than yourself. You have the power to change the social, political, and economic structures around you. You have the power to lead. Just find a way to get in the way and make your voices heard. So with that I say to you walk with the wind, and let the Spirit of History be your guide.

(http://www.uvm.edu/~cmnmcmt/commencement2007/?Page=commencementaddress_lewis)

When I finished my book *"Making a Way Out of No Way"*. *Martin Luther King's Sermonic Proverbial Rhetoric* (2010) three years later, I included part of this address in my preface (x-xi) and then went on to say that it is a great honor to dedicate my study to this

special person who has told thousands of people to find a way to get in the way of injustice and inequality:

Just as his friend Martin Luther King had before him, John Lewis explained to us [at the University of Vermont] what is meant by the African American proverb “Making a way out of no way” [Doyle, Mieder, and Shapiro 2012: 102] standing in front of us as the epitome of dedicated and unselfish service in the cause of others.

It is, then, my distinct honor to dedicate this book to John Lewis in recognition and admiration of his commitment and dedication to create a better world based on civil and human rights. He is a model of courage and dignity for us all, and it is my sincere hope that John Lewis will help guide humanity for many years to come by his exemplary insights and actions.

(Mieder 2010: xi-xii)

And one of my great personal treasures is a letter of June 10, 2011, from Congressman John Lewis that has left a lasting impression on me as I continue my scholarly work on proverbial rhetoric. I have reread his kind words many times, and they have become a guiding light in my small contributions to a kinder world:

Dear Professor Mieder:

First and foremost, I was deeply touched that you dedicated your most recent book, *“Making a Way Out of No Way”: Martin Luther King’s Sermonic Proverbial Rhetoric* to me. I was surprised and delighted to see that you also included parts of my 2007 commencement speech at the University of Vermont in the text.

You have researched the phenomenon that is ingrained in African American culture, especially in the pulpit. I will never forget sitting in the congregation when Dr. King was preaching at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. His father, who co-pastored the church with him at that time, would be sitting in the audience, and when the spirit began to move, Daddy King would say, “Make it plain, son. Make it plain.” The way he, and other Baptist ministers did that, was by telling the stories, using the sayings and

language that people used everyday to discuss religious principles and ideas. The proverbs you have so lovingly researched help us even today to make it plain.

Besides our love of good public speaking, you and I also have something else in common. You began as a visitor to this country, and I actually visited your homeland last year just about this time. I had a chance to meet some activists there [in Germany], and I was deeply moved by their devotion to Civil Rights history. They knew so much about the movement. I was very impressed and deeply moved.

Thank you, Professor Mieder for the signed copy of your book and for keeping the language of freedom and justice alive. I wish you all the best with your future academic endeavors and literary publications.

Keep the faith!
John Lewis
Member of Congress

Taking out the time from his busy schedule as a Congressman to write such a kind and meaningful letter to a professor in Vermont shows that John Lewis is indeed a considerate and compassionate person who knows how to bring his message across in plain words filled with emotional strength.

This can best be seen in his inspirational autobiography *Walking with the Wind. A Memoir of the Movement* (1998) in which he tells two stories. The one recounts his personal Odyssey from childhood in the segregated South of the United States to respected and admired Congressman, and the other represents the experienced account of the civil rights movement. When I read this moving personal and historical biography, I was immediately struck by its accessible and plain language informed by a richness of proverbs and proverbial expressions. But while the book received much deserved praise in numerous journalistic and scholarly reviews, this colorful metaphorical language is hardly ever mentioned. At least Jon Meacham remarked in *Newsweek* that "The strength of Lewis's powerful new book is not only the witness he bears but also the simplicity of his voice" (1998: 69), Mary McGrory called the book "a literary event, for sure" (1998: C1) in

The Washington Post, William Chafe of *The New York Times* declared that Lewis had written a “powerful memoir [and] compelling account” (1998: 14), Zachary Dowdy paid Lewis the compliment that his autobiography “is superbly written, with Lewis’s searing honesty showing through” (1998: D4) in the *Boston Globe*, and Joseph Dolman considered the book “beautifully written” (1998: 20) in *The New Leader*. Jack Nelson of the *Los Angeles Times* even prophesized that this book would become a “classic in civil rights literature” (1998: 8), and it has in fact reached this status. But what do these general accolades from the mass media mean as far as John Lewis’s expressive rhetoric is concerned?

The more scholarly reviews from journals also do not go beyond superficial statements, if they mention the language or style of the memoir at all. Thus Garry Wills, Kathryn Nasstrom, and Bill Whit say nothing about the language of the book in their reviews (1998, 1999 and 2000). Mike Miller speaks at least of a “powerful narrative” and acknowledges Lewis’s “strength of character and conviction as he tells this tale” (1998: 46) but says nothing about how the tale is told. John Salmond calls the book an “at times intensely moving and always lively memoir” (2000: 167), and Enrique Rigsby ends his insightful review with the following paragraph: “As a witness of history, Lewis reminds the reader that the civil rights movement was rhetorical. Scholars of public affairs should drink deeply from his book. John Lewis is an American treasure; and few such treasures remain who can offer a rich personal perspective on some of the most important years in United States history” (2000: 681). Indeed, John Lewis by now is the only surviving major leaders of the civil rights movement, but since Enrique Rigsby published his review in the *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* journal, it would have been welcome if he had commented on the sociopolitical rhetoric and ethical rhetoric that distinguishes John Lewis as a reformer whose political language is informed by proverbs and proverbial expressions (for proverbs in politics in general see Louis 2000, Mieder 1997, 2004: 137-139, 2005, and 2008, Nichols 1996). As will be shown, he is part of a tradition of African American politicians who have used proverbial speech to enhance their expressive and at times sermoniac rhetoric, to wit the well-documented linguistic prowess of Frederick Douglass, Martin Luther King, and Barack Obama (Mieder 2001, 2009, and

2010). With the respect and admiration that John Lewis feels for Martin Luther King, with whom he also shares his religiously informed language, it should not be surprising that he echoes his friend's proverbial rhetoric in particular.

It is not possible to comment in detail on all of the proverbs, proverbial expressions, proverbial comparisons, and other types of phraseologisms contained in John Lewis's three books, i.e., his voluminous autobiography *Walking with the Wind. A Memoir of the Movement* (1998), his small philosophical book *Across that Bridge. Life Lessons and a Vision for Change* (2012), and his graphic novel for juvenile readers *March. Book One* (2013; two more volumes are planned). All proverbial references are listed in their basic paremiographical form in the attached "Index of Proverbial Texts". While his first book contains 654 proverbial texts on 503 pages (1 per 0.8 pages), the second book includes only 71 on 180 pages (1 per 2.5 pages), and the third book features but 17 texts on 121 pages (1 per 7.1 pages) due to its graphic nature with little text. Clearly Lewis's autobiography is of special interest as far as his proverbial rhetoric is concerned. In fact, the phraseologisms included in the graphic novel for the most part are repetitions from the memoir. However, there are some proverbs and proverbial expressions that appear only in his small philosophical treatise, and some of these will be included in the following discussion that deals primarily with the rich proverbial rhetoric of John Lewis's autobiography. While most proverbial texts occur only once or twice, some have multiple occurrences, as for example "To get down to business", "To throw down the gauntlet", "To be in the middle of nowhere", "To get (see) the big picture", "To roll up one's sleeves", "To be a team player" (all 3 times); "To strike a chord", "To be dead set against somebody or something", "To take into one's own hands", "To play by the rules", "To be the last straw" (4 times); "To hold (stand) one's ground", "In the long run" (5 times); "To be in the air", "The rank and file", "To take someone to task", "To rub someone the wrong way" (6 times); "To open someone's eyes" (7 times), "To draw the line" (8 times); "To work behind the scene" (9 times), and "To put on the line" (11 times). In the following two sections, especially relevant Bible proverbs, folk proverbs and proverbial expressions will be discussed in their context, showing that this proverbial rhetoric

plays a major role in the books and speeches about civil and human rights by Congressman John Lewis.

2. *Biblical proverbs and proverbial expressions*

Before John Lewis became involved in the civil rights movement as a student, he had envisioned himself to become a preacher. He certainly went to church with his parents, he preached to his flock of chickens, he delivered a sermon as a youngster, he studied religion and philosophy at college, and he has remained to this day a deeply religious person with a social conscience that led the preacher to be into politics. It should not be surprising that he is well-versed in the Bible and that he relies on its proverbial wisdom to express basic human issues. He does so without becoming overly didactic but rather compassionate, as when he explains why his parents were not at all pleased about his turn towards revolutionary social changes. The following paragraph merely alludes to the Bible proverb “Straight is the gate, and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life” (Matthew 7:14) to describe the simple but poor existence of his sharecropper parents who were filled with anxiety about their young son’s intent to turn the world upside down, as Lewis comments proverbially:

Change, as I learned back when I was growing up, was not something my parents were ever very comfortable with. And who could blame them? They, like hundreds of thousands—no, *millions*—of black men and women of their generation, worked harder than seemed humanly possible, under circumstances more difficult than most Americans today could possibly imagine, to carve out a life for themselves and their children in a society that saw them as less than fully human. Theirs was, as the Bible says, a straight and narrow way. There was little room for change in the world my parents knew, and what change there was was usually for the worse. It’s not hard to understand at all the mixture of fear and concern they both felt as they watched me walk out into the world as a young man to join a movement aimed, in essence, at turning the world they knew upside down. (9)

In his book *Across that Bridge* Lewis includes a similar paragraph in which he describes how he somewhat deviously pursued his

strong desire to get an education, with his parents being caught between the proverbial rock and a hard place in trying to understand his drive while needing his labor in the field. The proverbial phrase certainly adds much metaphorical emphasis to their ambivalent situation:

Sometimes when I was needed in the fields to help my parents pick cotton, peanuts, or corn, I would get up very early. I would get dressed and then hide under the front porch until the school bus stopped at my house. Then I would hop on the bus without my parents knowing. They were always angry when they discovered I was gone, as most parents would be, but they never punished me for going to school. We were all victims of the narrow limitations our society had proscribed for us. They were trapped too, between a rock and a hard place that required them to pit their survival as sharecroppers against the education of their children. (B129)

In yet another telling passage replete with proverbial language, Lewis explains that while he understood his parents' resigned attitude of not actively fighting against the injustice of segregation, he could not accept that many of the Baptist ministers did nothing to fight against this social evil. As so often in his autobiography, he amasses proverbial language to add metaphorical color to his discourse, to wit the twin formula "right and left", the Bible proverb "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" (Exodus 21:24), and the proverbial expressions "To be a pie in the sky" and "Between the cradle and the grave":

My parents' attitude toward injustice didn't bother me nearly as much as the attitude I saw among the ministers at church. Our minister at Macedonia Baptist lived in Montgomery and traveled out to preach to us once a month. It always bothered me that he knew, as we all did, how sharecroppers were cheated by our landlords right and left, underpaid and overcharged every year, but not once did he ever speak about this in his sermons. Sunday after Sunday he'd talk about an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, how the soul must be saved by and by for that pie in the sky after you die, but hardly a word about *this* life,

about *this* world, about some sense of salvation and righteousness right *here*, between the cradle and the grave. It also did not escape my notice that that minister arrived and departed in a pretty nice automobile, and that he went back to a very comfortable home in Montgomery, more comfortable than the homes any of us lived in. (44)

Regarding the infamous proverb from Exodus, it expresses a vindictive philosophy that John Lewis with his uncompromising commitment to nonviolence could not possibly agree with. In fact, when the peaceful civil rights movement came under attack by more aggressive forces led by Malcolm X, Lewis cites the Bible proverb to voice his strong opposition to militant action:

I respected Malcolm. I saw him as a very articulate, very forceful spokesperson for what he believed in. But I never accepted his ideas. I didn't—and I don't—have any sympathy with black nationalism, separatism, the attitude of an eye for an eye or violence of any sort. I can respect a person and understand what he's saying and still not be sympathetic to it. As far as I was concerned, Malcolm was not a civil rights leader. Malcolm was not part of the movement. The movement had a goal of an integrated society, an interracial democracy, a Beloved Community. What Malcolm X represented were the seeds of something different, something that would eventually creep into the movement itself and split it apart. He was not about integration, not about an interracial community, and he was not nonviolent. To his credit, he preached personal independence and responsibility, self-discipline and self-reliance. But he also urged the black man to fight back in self-defense—"by any means necessary," as he famously put it. And I just could not accept that. (205-206)

Later in the autobiography, Lewis returns to the more militant advocates of the civil rights movement, notably H. (for Hubert) "Rap" Brown who in 1967 "grabbed headlines with quotes like 'Violence is as American as cherry pie'" (395). He varied the standard proverbial comparison "As American as apple-pie" during a SNCC press conference on July 27, 1967 (Shapiro 2006: 107), perhaps changing the apples to cherries since the red color

fits well to the violence (blood) that he was talking about. It is interesting to note that Lewis quotes this proverbial “slogan”, having no choice but to agree with this unfortunate characterization of American society:

I would actually agree with this statement. Violence has always been endemic to American culture. Dr. King said the same thing. We are, and have always been, a very violent society. But that doesn't mean we have to accept it. It doesn't mean that we have to respond to the worst of America with the worst of ourselves. We have something better to offer. I have always believed that. I have always believed it is possible to show ourselves a different way, a better way to solve our problems. This is what Gandhi tried to do in India. It is what Dr. King tried to do here, and it goes far beyond civil rights alone. It extends to all of the conflicts we face among ourselves and among other nations. There are simply other and better ways to solve our differences than through violence. (395)

No wonder that Lewis's disapproval of the Old Testament “eye for an eye”-proverb of forceful retribution becomes a leitmotif in his nonviolent struggle for equal rights, as can be seen from yet another powerful paragraph in which he argues against the ills of uncontrolled riots by also questioning the proverbial claim “Anything goes” and the equally proverbial insistence on “to let it all out”:

That's what a riot is—just letting it out. Nothing is held back. Anything goes. Burning. Looting. Killing. Even one another. Part of the movement was to tame the madness of men, to take the beast that lives in all of us and turn it toward love, to show humankind a different way, to teach the way of compassion, of connection and community, of peace and nonviolence. Yes, we are human, and yes, there is a savage side in all of us. The first impulse of man has always been to react like an animal, to respond to attack in like manner. If someone hits you, strike back. If someone bombs you, bomb back. But there have been teachers, men and women throughout history, who have stood and said, No, you can't take an eye for an eye. If you do, we

will all be blind. At some point we have to lift ourselves to a higher plane. And it is possible. Men have shown throughout history that it is possible. (409)

And Lewis is consistent in his view against this ill-conceived wisdom from the Old Testament, as can be seen from its dual appearance in his more recent book *Across that Bridge. Life Lessons and a Vision for Change*:

For those who could not find their dignity in the actions of nonviolent resistance, especially after the assassination of leaders like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. [...], black power or the ideas of self-defense grew in popularity. They were advocated as quicker paths to self-respect and an appreciation of one's self-worth through retaliating against the wrongs brought against us. It may have worked for some people. I would never question the value of affirming oneself, or recognizing and utilizing collective strength to make our voices heard. However, I would say that the danger of matching threat for threat, violence with violence, resistance with force, is that it has the potential to create the same spiritual deficit the victim is struggling against within him or herself. The notion of an eye for an eye, though biblical, only lowers an individual to the level of his or her attacker. (B155-156)

In his final condemnation of this Bible proverb, Lewis even adds the related proverb "Blood asks (for) blood" (Genesis 9:6) to it, scolding all those "who want to spill blood for blood, ravage an eye for an eye, or rip out a tooth for a tooth" (B176).

It is obvious that a nonviolent person would argue against these Biblical proverbs, but Lewis also feels himself forced to cite positive Bible proverbs to show that their humane messages are unfortunately not adhered to by those who preach them in the segregated South. A good example are his thoughts about the proverb "Love thy neighbor as thyself (Matthew 22:39) that he had studied as a student of religion and philosophy at American Baptist Theological Seminary and Fisk University in Nashville:

I had never heard anything like this [the enlightening lectures]. Except for Dr. King's speeches. I had never been exposed to religion beyond the bounds of the Good Book.

Now my brain was crackling as it strained to assess and absorb these new ideas [of Plato, Socrates, St. Augustine, Kant, Hegel, etc.]. Now I saw philosophical and theological underpinnings for what I'd sensed and deeply felt all my life—that there was a contradiction between what was and what ought to be. This contradiction extended even to training people to preach the Gospel. For the most part, white Southern Baptist churches didn't even want black people to step inside their buildings. Yet within these very institutions, people were being taught that Jesus Christ says to love thy neighbor as thyself. How could that be? How could people reconcile that belief with the way they lived? It was illogical. It was contradictory. I was more convinced than ever that Dr. King was right and the white South was wrong. (63-64)

Again and again in his writings and speeches, Lewis returns to his mentor and friend Martin Luther King, whom he met in 1957 at the young age of seventeen. In 1955, the young John Lewis had heard a sermon by King on the radio that “set him on fire” proverbially speaking and influenced him from then to now:

This was the first time I had ever heard something I would learn was called the social gospel—taking the teachings of the Bible and applying them to the earthbound problems and issues confronting a community and a society. I was on fire with the words I was hearing. I felt that this man—his name was Martin Luther King Jr.—was speaking directly to me. This young preacher was giving voice to everything I'd been feeling and fighting to figure out for years. (45-46)

Later in his autobiography, Lewis writes this touching testimonial about King and uses the proverbial expression “To open someone's eyes” to indicate that King showed him the way of the social gospel. The short paragraph is a touching indication of how two of the greatest Americans of the modern age were soul-mates in their struggles:

Dr. King was my friend, my brother, my leader. He was the man, the one who opened my eyes to the world. From the time I was fifteen until the day he died—for almost

half my life—he was the person who, more than any other, continued to influence my life, who made me who I was. He made me who I *am*. To this day I owe more of myself to him than to anyone else I have ever known. It's difficult to express in words. I have never believed in any man as much as I believed in Martin Luther King. When he was killed I really felt I'd lost a part of myself. (412-413)

King, just as Mohandas Gandhi, is for Lewis the epitome of non-violence. Giving hope for a better life to disadvantaged people by turning the social gospel of the New Testament into nonviolent action is always present, as can be seen in the following comments with that hopeful proverb “Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth” (Matthew 5:5):

Dr. King would often say that we've got to love people no matter what. Most of all, he would say, we must love the unlovable. Love the *hell* out of them, he would say. And he meant that literally. If there is hell in someone, if there is meanness and anger and hatred in him, we've got to *love* it out.

I had no doubt that this could be done. Gandhi showed it could be done. This one little man [like John Lewis!], armed with nothing but the truth and a fundamental faith in the response of human society to redemptive suffering, was able to reshape an entire nation without raising so much as a fist. And he did it not by aiming high, at the people in power, but by aiming low, at the downtrodden, the poor, the men and women and children who inhabited the streets and the fields of his country. It is an ancient theme, as old as the Christian Bible: “Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth. ... Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” (78)

It is perhaps somewhat surprising that John Lewis does not cite the so-called golden rule of the proverb “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you (Matthew 7:12) that is part and parcel of all the major religions of the world (Hertzler 1933-1934; Griffin 1991: 67-69; Burrell 1997: 13-27; Templeton 1997: 8-12).

Other social reformers like Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, Martin Luther King, and Barack Obama all made use of it as the most basic law of human life. But Lewis does at least refer to it in a rather intriguing way when he recounts the story of the first thirteen Freedom Riders of 1961, of whom he was one:

There was [also] Albert Bigelow, a big, rugged-looking guy from New England who looked as if he belonged on a sailing ship a century ago. In fact, he *had* been a sailor, a Navy captain during World War II, and that experience had turned him into a committed pacifist—so committed that he was arrested in 1958 for steering a skiff he called *The Golden Rule* into a nuclear testing zone in the South Pacific as a protest against the use of the atomic bomb. (131)

In any case, Lewis certainly employs the proverbial triad “Faith, hope and love (1 Corinthians 13:13) as yet another underlying Biblical principle of the civil rights movement, altering it slightly to indicate that courage was a major component for its participants as they confronted brutal force:

Faith, hope and courage—these were all essential ingredients for the work SNCC was doing in the Deep South in those early years. And anger, too. Yes, there was anger among us in SNCC, but it was good anger, a healthy anger, at least in that early stage. It was a positive, constructive type of anger. We were rebels, absolutely. We were all about rebellion, but it was a rebellion against an evil thing, the whole system and structure of segregation and racial discrimination. If the old guard leadership of our own black community was holding us back, then we were rebelling against them, too. (188)

And Lewis also cites the Biblical proverbial phrase “To be a thorn in the flesh” (2 Corinthians 12:7) to describe the positively rebellious SNCC which he expanded into a massive organization of young blacks and whites pushing for desegregation: “We were created, in a way, to be a thorn in the flesh of the American body politic and of the established, traditional civil rights movement” (284).

Being not only a “preacher” by nature but also a natural teacher, Lewis is quick to call on Biblical phrases in support of his inspirational “Life Lessons and Vision for Change” (Arthurs 2003). In the introduction to the book that carries this statement as its subtitle, he cites the expression “To have the scales fall from one’s eyes (Acts 9:18) to stress the importance for people of all walks of life to be wide awake and keep their eyes open at all times so that the social revolution never ceases:

This book is for the people. It is for the grassroots leaders who will emerge not for the sake of fame or fortune, but with a burning desire to do good. It is for all those willing to join in the human spirit’s age-old struggle to break free from the bondage of concepts and structures that have lost their use. It is for the masses of people who with each new day have the chance to peel the scales from their eyes and remember it is they alone who are the most powerful agents of change. It is for anyone who wants to reform his or her existence or to fashion a better life for the children. It’s for those who want to improve their community or to make their mark in history. This book is a collection of a few of the truths that I have learned as one who dreamed, worked, and struggled in America’s last revolution. (B2-3)

And finally then, he draws on the Biblical phrase “To be a voice crying in the wilderness” (Matthew 3:3) to warn people that standing up for social change can be a lonely business, but it must be faced in a courageous, informed, and nonviolent way with faith, hope, and love for all people:

It is only through examining history that you [people] become aware of where you stand within the continuum of change. you may find you are the “voice crying in the wilderness” who will have to walk alone. Or you may find only a few devotees who will join you throughout the whole period of your activism. This does not mean your work is not important. It means the part you must play is simply different than those leaders who stand at the front lines of a mass movement. Every contribution is important to the work of change, and it is only when you

study the history of activism that you can perceive what your role may be and how others managed in the same kind of position years and decades before. It is through study and preparation that you can increase the power of your work. (B70)

Indeed, much can be learned through study as especially the highly educated Martin Luther King showed in his sermons, speeches, writings, and actions. This can be seen from his integration of the three proverbial quotations “Truth crushed to the earth, will rise again” (William Cullen Bryant), “No lie can live forever (Thomas Carlyle), and “The arc (arm) of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice” (Theodore Parker), the Bible proverb “As you sow, so shall you reap” (Galatians 6:7) as well as the folk proverb “The truth is marching on” into one powerful paragraph in one of his most important speeches on March 25, 1965 at Montgomery, Alabama. It was a high point of civil rights rhetoric at the time, and its repetition by Lewis in his autobiography is not only a tribute to King but also a central message that he wants to give to his readers:

I [Martin Luther King] know some of you are asking today, “How long will it take?” I come to say to you this afternoon however difficult the moment, however frustrating the hour, it will not be long, because truth pressed to the earth will rise again.

How long? Not long, because no lie can live forever.

How long? Not long, because you will reap what you sow.

How long? Not long, because the arm of the moral universe is long but it bends toward justice.

How long? Not long, because mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord, trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored. He has loosed the faithful lightning of his terrible swift sword. His truth is marching on.

Glory hallelujah! *Glory hallelujah!* (360; the entire speech in Washington 1986: 230)

In the final chapter of his book *Across that Bridge*, John Lewis reminds his readers that the proverb “All men are created equal”

and the proverbial triad “Life liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” from the Declaration of Independence should forever be the social compass with its message deeply ingrained in the minds and hearts of citizens (see Aron 2008: 91-96):

The Declaration of Independence expresses the purposes of human community by affirming this [basic freedoms] as a fundamental root of our founding: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Inalienable means that no law, no man, no woman, no child, no power can separate us from this divine quest. (B170)

Towards the end of his autobiography, Lewis says something quite similar, stressing that the country must pay special attention to instill in its young poor and often black people the belief in a better existence for all. As he continues, he broadens his uplifting little “sermon” to include the disadvantaged of all age groups, urging them proverbially that they must think about how their lives can improve “in the long run”:

I truly believe that if we don’t invest more in our young people, we are headed for disaster. And this is where the [modern] revolution must begin. A revolution of values. A revolution of attitude. A revolution that instills the sense of *possibility* in these young people’s minds and hearts, a belief that this nation does indeed offer to them the opportunities of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The people, young and old alike, in these [poor and largely black] communities need to organize, to form a movement, a movement fueled not just by anger and rage, but by moral *authority*, by a sense of human righteousness fueled by the spirit. First, however, that spirit must be kindled within and among these communities—in these homes, in these neighborhoods, among the poor and the outcast themselves. I have been poor. I know what it is like. And I know that it is possible to pool our interests, to gather our resources, as cant as they might seem. And I

am not talking just about money. I am talking about courage and strength of character, about stepping back and deciding what is important and valuable about life in the long run, not just how to make ourselves happy today, or maybe tomorrow. [...]

Replace them [elected officials] with people who will do what is demanded, what is needed. People are too quiet, too patient. In the great words of a nineteenth-century civil rights fighter, Fredrick Douglass, we need to “agitate, agitate, agitate.” (488)

I am surprised that John Lewis does not cite Douglass's other dictum here, namely “If there is no struggle, there is no progress” that he stated in a powerful abolitionist speech of August 3, 1857:

Let me give you a word of philosophy of reform. The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims, have been born of earnest struggle. The conflict has been exciting, agitating, all-absorbing, and for the time being, putting all the tumults to silence. It must do this or it does nothing. If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, and it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. (Blassingame 1985-1992: III, 204; Mieder 2001: 456-457)

I took the liberty of shortening Douglass's proverbial quotation to “No Struggle, No Progress” for the proverbial title of my book *Frederick Douglass and His Proverbial Rhetoric for Civil Rights* (2001), hoping that it might catch on as a new proverb in time.

But to return to our proverbial mutttons, it should be noted that at the beginning of his book *Across that Bridge*, John Lewis also refers to the lesser known proverbial quotation that follows the proverbial triad of “Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”, namely “No just government can be formed without the consent of

the governed". He might have done well to point out that this truth was penned by Thomas Jefferson as well in the Declaration of Independence, but be that as it may, Lewis as the humanitarian politician did well with the following statement, echoing the repeated us of it by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in their struggle for women's rights in the nineteenth century (see Mieder 2013):

Nothing can stop the power of a committed and determined people to make a difference in our society. Why? Because human beings are the most dynamic link to the divine on this planet. Governments and corporations do not live. They have no power, no capacity in and of themselves. They are given life and derive all their authority from their ability to assist, benefit, and transform the lives of the people they touch. All authority emanates from the consent of the governed and the satisfaction of the customer. Somehow it seems leaders have forgotten this fundamental principle, and we must right ourselves before the people withdraw their support. (B6-7)

In a later chapter on "Truth" in this book, Lewis appears to be creating a string of pseudo-proverbs based on the fourteenth-century proverb "Familiarity breeds contempt" (Mieder, Kingsbury, and Harder 1992: 198). They all maintain the simple structure of "X breeds Y", giving Lewis a multitude of ways to show how people get drawn into a downward spiral of disrespect and hate:

What will it take for each of us to learn from the lessons of segregation and separation and apply them liberally to our own lives? If we are truly to learn the lessons of the Civil Rights Movement, the Holocaust, or the conflict in Northern Ireland, we must concede that discomfort breeds dislike, dislike breeds disdain, disdain breeds contempt, and contempt breeds hate. We cannot afford to relegate the victories in the struggle between love and hate to one group or another, whether they happen on American shores or not. The truth is, as long as we see life in terms of its duality, instead of its commonality, our lives will always demand we overcome. (B101)

John Lewis is well aware of the fact that the United States like any other country has its problems and faults, but there is hope for improvement, as is implied by his quotation of Bill Clinton's dictum "Mend it, don't end it" that causes Lewis to also employ the proverbial expression "To throw the baby out with the bathwater" that first appeared in a satirical literary work in Germany in 1512 and subsequently was translated into English in the late nineteenth century to express the idea of getting rid of the good together with the bad (Mieder 1993: 224):

To all these determined critics of affirmative action [and other important civil rights legislation for that matter]: I agree with President Clinton. I say, "Mend it, don't end it." Yes, there are problems with some aspects of affirmative action programs. Adjustments can be made. Solutions can be found. But we should not end affirmative action simply because the system has problems. Its principles are sound. They are healthy. We should not throw the baby out with the bathwater. (492)

Lewis also cites Mother Teresa's "To keep a lamp burning, we have to keep putting oil in it" (501) to keep people's spirits up and to take care of those less fortunate:

Talk is fine. Discussion is fine. But we must respond. We must act. Mother Teresa acted. She reached out to those who were left behind—the forsaken, the poorest of the poor, the sickest of the sick.

And where did she find her strength, her focus, her fuel? She was asked that question back in 1975, for that *Time* magazine story on "living saints" [of whom John Lewis was one!]. Her answer was succinct. The fuel, she explained, is prayer. "To keep a lamp burning," she said, "we have to keep putting oil in it."

Prayer. (501)

Of course, this type of "prayer" does not imply only a *vita contemplativa* but rather a *vita activa* filled with words turned into action, or, as the folk proverb going back to the early seventeenth century has it: "Actions speak louder than words" (Mieder, Kingsbury, and Harder 1992: 7). Actually, John Lewis says all of this

much better in the very last paragraph of his classic autobiography, citing a piece of traditional African wisdom:

There is an old African proverb: “When you pray, move your feet.” As a nation, if we care for the Beloved Community, we must move our feet, our hands, our hearts, our resources to build and not to tear town, to reconcile and not to divide, to love and not to hate, to heal and not to kill. In the final analysis, we are one people, one family, one house—the American house, the American family. (503).

The proverb is also cited as a separate piece of wisdom at the end of the chapter on “Faith” in *Across that Bridge: “When you pray, move your feet.—African Proverb”* (B39). It should be observed, however, that the African origin of this proverb has not been established. The earliest printed reference found thus far is from 1936, indicating a probable Quaker source, even though “in recent times, it is regularly referred to as an African or an African American proverb” (Doyle, Mieder, and Shapiro 2012: 84-85).

Clearly all people have their responsible roles to play on the world’s stage, as John Lewis states by borrowing the proverbial wisdom of William Shakespeare in his treasure of personal life lessons:

What Shakespeare wrote in *As You Like It* is not only poetic and beautiful, it also expresses a profound truth: “All the world’s a stage,” he says, “and all the men and women merely players.” Life is like a drama, and any person who is truly committed to an ideal must believe in the authority of a divine plan. Not a rigid, micromanagement of human behavior that predicts every step of every individual, but a set of divine boundaries that governs the present, the past, and the future—a set of principles humankind does not have the capacity to override, no matter how far we attempt to stray from its dictates. (B20-21)

To add even more proverbiality to this at the end of this discussion of Bible proverbs and a few quotational proverbs as well, it can be stated that what is needed for all people is to keep their eyes on the prize and to struggle towards it with optimistic hope while keeping the golden rule ever in mind.

3. *Folk proverbs and proverbial expressions*

This section too can start with a reference to John Lewis's family. He is well aware that he broke away from his parents and siblings who remained in the rural South, but he assures his readers that he remains humble despite his political successes that have brought him into close contact with members of Congress, the presidents and vice presidents since John F. Kennedy, other American politicians, and also foreign dignitaries. He returns to his native Troy, Alabama, as often as he can when he is home from Washington, D.C. in Atlanta, Georgia. He loves these large family gatherings, valuing all of his relatives as they try to deal with his accomplishments and fame. The proverb "There is nothing like family" amply describes his allegiance to the clan:

It's quite a crowd when we all get together, along with our spouses and children. The energy, the closeness, the comfort —there really is nothing in the world like family. When I come home like this, I'm not a congressman anymore making speeches on national television. Nor am I a civil rights warrior quoted in history books. Or a "living saint," as *Time* magazine once called me years ago, to the unending amusement of my closest friends. No, by the time I step onto my mother's front porch, all those labels have faded away and I'm just plain Robert [his middle name] again, third oldest of Eddie and Willie Mae Lewis's ten children. (8-9)

As he explains the hardships that his poor family as sharecroppers endured working in the hot sun with the proverbial comparison "the air as still as death" adding colloquial expressiveness to the misery, he mentions that they lacked almost all modern amenities but were happy just the same. After all, as the proverb says, "It is hard to miss what you have never had (known)":

There is really no way to describe how hot and heavy the summer months get in a place like south Alabama. You work all day, outside, under that broiling sun, the air as still as death, then you come home to a house that is hardly cooler inside than out, even with the shade, even at nighttime. We had no fans; we had no electricity. Air-conditioning would have sounded like something out of

science fiction—if we had even heard of it, which we had not. Still, again, it’s hard to miss what you have never known. What might sound like hardship today still holds a happy, sentimental place in my memory. (20)

Once John Lewis left his home for American Baptist Theological Seminary in 1957, he became involved in a string of sit-ins that succeeded in desegregating the city of Nashville. In his memoir he describes a visit at that school almost forty years later, where an older student pays Lewis a compliment by using the relatively new African American proverb “If you want to talk the talk, you’ve got to walk the walk” whose earliest written record comes from 1967 (Doyle, Mieder, and Shapiro 2012: 250):

He [the student Mike Flippin] admitted he didn’t recognize my name at first, but he knew about the movement that had begun here four decades before.

“I don’t know if we today would *have* that kind of courage,” he said. “We might talk the talk, but people like you all, you walked the *walk*.” (60)

Recalling his first reluctant and then unsuccessful attempt to run for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1977, Lewis in a bit of self-analysis returns to this proverb:

I still had several reservations [about running for national office], several reasons to wonder if I was really ready for this. First, I had no background or experience whatsoever in politics at any level, not at a school board, not on a county commission, not on a city council—nothing. And I was not charming or charismatic [...]. I always preferred to walk the walk rather than talk the talk. But politics is about walking and talking. Give me the room to talk, to actually spend some time with people—whether it’s making a speech or having a real conversation—and I can make the points and have the effect I desire. But the same qualities that can come through so strongly in that kind of setting—earnestness, sincerity, substance—can come across in ten-second sound bites on the evening news as just plain dull. And as everyone knows, modern political

campaigns are, unfortunately, steered largely by sound bites. (441)

John Lewis has walked the walk determined to make a difference for many decades, but by staying away from opportune sound bites, his voice has become recognized as one of compassionate reason stressing “the essence of the nonviolent way of life—the capacity to forgive” (77). Perhaps recalling Martin Luther King’s triadic warning “Hate begets hate, violence begets violence, and toughness begets a greater toughness” (King 1958: 87; Mieder 2010: 337-338) that King might well have based on the structure of the common proverb “Money begets money”, Lewis talks of the evil of violence, hate, and anger with words that are anything but mundane or “just plain dull”:

And it [nonviolence] is a way of life. [...] It is not something you turn on or off like a faucet. This sense of love, this sense of peace, the capacity of compassion, is something you carry inside yourself every waking minute of the day. It shapes your response to a curt cashier in the grocery store or to a driver cutting you off in traffic just as surely as it keeps you from striking back at a state trooper who might be kicking you in the ribs because you dared to march in protest against an oppressive government. If you want to create an open society, your means of doing so must be consistent with the society you want to create. Means and ends are absolutely inseparable. Violence begets violence. Hatred begets hatred. Anger begets anger, every minute of the day, in the smallest of moments as well as the largest. (77-78)

Lewis returns to the proverbial wisdom “Violence begets violence” when he describes how nonviolent behavior eventually had positive results during the confrontational sit-ins in Nashville. The phrase “To egg someone on” adds a colloquial element to this description, and one almost wishes that Lewis would have added the proverbial expression “To have egg on one’s face” to it to describe how the violent segregationists lost out in this situation:

I got back on my stool [at the lunch counter] and sat there, not saying a word. The others did the same. Violence does beget violence, but the opposite is just as true. Hitting

someone who does not hit back can last only so long. Fury spends itself pretty quickly when there's no fury facing it. [...] They continued trying to egg us on, but the beating subsides. (99-100)

It is of interest to note here that Lewis has kept parts of this proverbial paragraph in his graphic novel *March. Book One* that by its nature uses only minimalistic prose with its illustrations: "Violence does beget violence, but the opposite is just as true. Fury spends itself pretty quickly when there's no fury facing it" (M100-101).

The nonviolent students of Nashville had every reason to be proud of their accomplishment, but as Ella Baker from the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) told them, this really was only the beginning of a much larger struggle to desegregate the South. As John Lewis describes her caveats, he seems to quote her as stating that the young people should stay focused on the prize, i.e., "Keep it pure" and "Keep it real". If in fact Baker did say "Keep it real" in 1960, this proverb would be fifteen years older than the 1975 first documented use of it in the *Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* (Doyle, Mieder, and Shapiro 2012: 132), or is Lewis's linguistic memory playing a trick with him here. Of course, "Keep it real" could well have been in oral use by 1960. But no matter, here is the actual account from the memoir:

[Ella] Baker herself, in a speech titled "More Than a Hamburger," praised our success so far but warned that our work had just begun. Integrating lunch counters in stores already patronized mostly by blacks was one thing. Breaking down barriers in areas as racially and culturally entrenched as voting rights, education and the workplace was going to be much tougher than what we had faced so far. She had another warning as well [...] Don't let anyone else, especially the older folks, tell you what to do. Think and act for yourselves. Hold onto your energy and your vision. Keep it pure. Keep it real. (108)

She might just as well have added "Keep your eyes on the prize", and that is, of course, exactly what John Lewis and students did in the years to come. It should also be noted that John Lewis has a good ear and memory for proverbs used by others. Thus he recalls

one of the SNCC members of having used the proverb “A bird needs two wings to fly” (180) as a fitting metaphor for the two sections of that organization, the one going primarily after voter registration, the other sticking with the drive for desegregation.

Lewis agreed to this two-prong approach as a compromise even though he firmly believed that they “needed to push and push and not stop pushing” (180). His political pragmatism is indeed impressive, but so is his non-flamboyant leadership style in the civil rights movement. He never minded taking a back seat, he did not push himself into the glaring limelight, and he didn't care about getting credit. These three proverbial expressions plus the proverb “Here today and gone tomorrow” and the proverbial phrase “To be a flash in the pan” used to characterize those who do things only for the sake of getting attention without having staying power are a clear indication of the rich proverbial rhetoric of Lewis's autobiography. The following five paragraphs certainly exemplify his lively and authentic style that makes his account such an invaluable experience for the readers:

From the beginning, people were coming at me from all sides, trying to force me into a more politically active role, to be more conscious and forceful in dealing with other civil rights organizations. [Jim] Forman and Marion Barry kept pushing and saying, “Take on this person, take on that organization.” Infighting and one-upmanship was the game, they told me. “Don't take a back seat,” they'd say.

When I returned from that July meeting in New York, Forman took me aside and pointed at a newspaper photo where I'm at the end of the group, almost out of the frame. “You've got to get out *front*,” he said. “Don't let King get all the credit. Don't stand back like that. Get out *front*.”

I just never thought that way. Trying to get out front and worry about who's getting the credit, that's just never been my concern. Let's get the job done—that's how I feel. That's how I've always felt. Don't worry about the lime-light. Get the job done, and there will be plenty of credit to get around.

I realize that attitude has sometimes—some would say often—resulted in my being overlooked now and then through the course of my life. I’ve never been the kind of person who naturally attracts the limelight. I’m not a handsome guy. I’m not flamboyant. I’m not what you would call elegant. I’m short and stocky. My skin is dark, not fair—a feature that was still considered a drawback by many black people in the early ’60s. For some or all of these reasons, I simply have never been the kind of guy who draws attention.

And I’m thankful for that. It’s always seemed to me that the people who are fed by and who focus on visibility and notoriety and getting the credit don’t have what you might call staying power. They rise and fall in the public eye, here today and gone tomorrow. Too often they become flashes in the pan, winding up in those “Where Are They Now?” columns. It’s sad. Dr. King used to talk about this. He said individuals who fall in love with public attention are not worthy of it. People who hunger for fame don’t realize that if they’re in the spotlight today, somebody else will be tomorrow. Fame never lasts. The work you do, the things you accomplish—that’s what endures. That’s what really means something. (211)

Wish that such humility could be found in more public figures. If as a paremiologist I will ever have the honor of meeting John Lewis in person, I would have three proverbs at hand to tell him that he is one of the best politicians of this time: “Handsome is as handsome does”, “Black is beautiful”, and “Good things come in small packages”. And I would also tell him that his speeches and writings win the prize any time when it comes to the political rhetoric of today.

There are other such paragraphs in this moving book, of which one more must be cited here. It is where John Lewis draws on the proverbial expression “To stand on the shoulders of giants” that goes back to Isaac Newton (Deutscher 2006; Mieder 2011: 4-5) to express with sincere humility that every new generation is indebted to the accomplishments of the previous one and that there are many unsung heroes who paid their dues to bring about positive social change:

We have problems. We will always have problems. A free and open society—a democracy—is by definition an eternal work-in-progress. [...] Each generation stands on the shoulders of the previous one. This is the way we move ahead, as individuals, as families and as a nation. Without the years of struggle of the civil rights movement, without people like Dr. King, without the unsung heroes of the movement, without the people who came before them and the people who came after, we would not be where we are today. The barriers that have fallen down would still be up. (494-495)

And yes, there will always be problems and there were plenty of them even among and within the various civil rights organizations! As with most organizations, SNCC had its share of infighting, causing John Lewis plenty of anguish and anxiety especially when he returned from a trip to Africa in the fall of 1964. Members of the inner circle accused him of having been away too long in his role as the chairman. Lewis remembers the pain of management meetings and the accusatory use of the folk proverb “While the cat’s away, the mice will play” by some of the top SNCC members:

As soon as I got back [from Africa], my friends—people like Charles Sherrod, Bill Hansen, Bob Mants, Laverne Baker and Julian [Bond]—rushed to let me know what had happened while I was gone. They chastised me, telling me I had stayed away too long. I should have been more savvy, they said, more politically astute. “While the cat’s away, the mice will play”—all that. I shouldn’t have been so naive, they said. I shouldn’t have been so trusting. But there was no other way I could be. There is no other way I can be. I always begin with an attitude of trust. I assume that your word is good until you show me otherwise. I refuse to be suspicious until I have *reason* to be. Yes, this sets me up to be burned now and then, but the alternative is to be constantly skeptical and distanced. I’d rather be occasionally burned but able to connect than always safe but always distant. “A circle of trust”—that’s what it is all about. (308)

As the civil rights movement faded in the 1970s, old SNCC friendships also faltered over time. This certainly happened between Julian Bond and John Lewis, with the latter citing the proverb “Out of sight, out of mind” to explain their drifting apart that eventually led to them vying for the same seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in the election of 1986:

And Julian? He was different now, too. Our relationship was different. During the time I was in Washington, something of a gap grew between us. Part of that was the geographic separation—out of sight, out of mind. But we had grown apart in other ways as well. We had always been different in our lifestyles and personalities, but that had never affected our friendship. In fact, our differences were part of what we appreciated in each other, part of what attracted each of us to the other. Now that we were in the same line of work, however—politics—the differences in how we saw our own roles as elected officials—how we approached our *jobs*—could not be ignored. (461)

The campaign between the two friends became rather unpleasant, with John Lewis, while trying to take the high road, also being drawn into aggressive rhetoric as he tried to differentiate himself from Julian Bond. It got especially confrontational during a televised debate between them, with Bond accusing Lewis of having accepted two small campaign contributions that supposedly represented a conflict of interest. As the latter recalls it in his memoir, Bond employed the modern proverb “If it looks like a duck, walks like a duck, and quacks like a duck, it’s a duck”, with the year 1948 being its earliest written recording thus far (Doyle, Mieder, and Shapiro 2012: 64), in an accusatory fashion. It was a decisive moment during the event, as can also be seen from Lewis’s use of the proverbial phrase “You could have cut it with a knife”:

“If it looks like a duck,” he deadpanned, “and quacks like a duck and waddles like a duck, then it must be a duck.”

I [John Lewis] was stunned. I could not believe he [Julian Bond] was questioning my integrity, of all things. And he *knew*, he *knew* this was not true. [...]

It's not in my nature to let my emotions rise up. It's not in my nature to strike out. But this was a time when it happened. This was the time when I hit back.

"Mr. Bond," I said. "My friend. My brother. We were asked to take a drug test not long ago, and five of us went and took that test. Why don't we step out and go to the men's room and take another test?"

The room was dead silent. You could have cut the tension with a knife.

"It seems," I went on, "like *you're* the one doing the ducking."

Julian was flabbergasted. (477)

What an incredible come-back by Lewis in the heat of an emotionally and metaphorically charged debate. It is difficult to retort to a proverb well placed, but he succeeded in doing so splendidly by turning the "duck"-metaphor around and accusing his opponent of "ducking" a drug test. A bit of linguistic mud-slinging, yes, but it gave Lewis the upper hand in this case and there was no way to stop him from winning the election to Congress in due time.

On a higher note, Lewis includes a paragraph from a campaign speech that deserves to be cited here not only because of its important message, but also because of the inclusion of the two proverbial phrases "To have come a long way" and "To have a long way to go". I would conjecture here once again that Lewis is remembering a great speech from his hero Martin Luther King. Actually, King used both expressions numerous times (Mieder 2010: 527-533), but it was in his speech with the title "A Long Way to Go" that he delivered on April 27, 1965, on the campus of the University of California at Los Angeles, that stands out. Not only does the speech have a proverbial title but the two phrases as individual and combined leitmotifs (always with the emphatic double use of "long") inform the structural and rhetorical mastery of this address. The two folk metaphors are part of the dual structure of the lecture that talks about how far the civil rights struggle had come but how far it also still had to go. As expected from this rhetorical genius, King began his memorable speech with a skillful juxtaposition of the proverbial phrases to set the stage for their

repeated use to make his dual point of successes obtained and challenges to face:

Many of you want to know, are we making any progress? That is the desperate question, a poignant question on the lips of millions of people all over our nation and all over the world. I get it almost every day. It is a question of whether we are making a real progress in the area of race relations. And so I'm going to try to answer that question and deal with many of the issues involved using as a subject from which to speak, the future of integration.

Now there are some people who feel that we aren't making any progress; there are some people who feel that we're making overwhelming progress. I would like to take what I consider a realistic position and say that we have come a long, long way in the struggle to make justice and freedom a reality in our nation, but we still have a long, long way to go. And it is this realistic position that I would like to use as a basis for our thinking together. (for the text of the speech see Smith and Robb 1971: 183-204; for its interpretation see Mieder 2010: 175-180)

But here is John Lewis's profound and inclusive statement that he made during his first congressional campaign that includes his unshakable belief in the "Beloved Community" that Martin Luther King used to speak about and which Lewis defines in his book *Across that Bridge* as "a society based on simple justice that values the dignity and the worth of every human being" (B11):

We have come a long way in recent decades in terms of our treatment of blacks and women and gays in America—and Hispanics, and Native Americans, and the poor. But we still have a good way to go. And we must not tolerate the kind of backlash that has gathered in recent years against each of these movements—the attempts to repeal affirmative action, the hard-heartedness of wholesale welfare reform, the rising complaints of that newly emerging "oppressed" class of Americans, white males. Those complaints might well be, to a certain extent, justified. But there is a difference between fixing something and throwing it out. We must never lose sight of the distance

we have traveled in recent decades in pursuit of a just, fair and inclusive Beloved Community, and we must not let the kinks in the programs we have created along the way blind us to the worthiness of what those programs aim to achieve. (468)

It is noteworthy that Lewis changes “a long way to go” to “a good way to go” even though it might be argued that they mean pretty much the same thing. Nevertheless, I would argue that it fits John Lewis’s entire being and philosophy of life to employ the “good”-adjective because the necessary way ahead is a good one, a humane one, a compassionate one, and an ethical one. And John Lewis is willing to walk the whole way; he even literally declined to climb into a long white limousine that was supposed to take him to his election celebration: “We needed to *walk*. [...] This was the best. I was walking with the wind” (479).

The last chapter of the autobiography is appropriately entitled “Onward” as it describes Lewis’s work ever since beginning his dedicated service in the U.S House of Representatives in early 1987. As he describes his beliefs and activities, he again and again relies on proverbs and proverbial expressions to add metaphorical power to his statements. To describe the beginning of his regiment to “at least a twelve-hour day” (480) of concentrated work for his Georgian constituents, he turns to the proverbial phrase “To hit the ground running”:

[When I arrived at Washington, D.C. as a newly elected Congressman] I hit the ground running, attending every caucus meeting and every briefing session, accepting every invitation to speak, and never, not once, missing a vote during that first term. I was one of only twelve out of the 435 members of the House to compile a perfect voting record that session, and I’ve continued close to that pace during the ensuing decade, casting my vote more than 95 percent of the time. My constituents might not agree with every vote I make, but I make them. I’m there. And they appreciate that fact. (481)

On a more philosophical level, stressing that Americans represent one giant whole, he relies on the phrase “To be all together in something” to express this important claim:

The struggle for such [human] rights is a global one, and we must approach it that way. Just as we must recognize that as Americans we are all part of a connected community, so must we see that America is inextricably linked to the rest of the world as part of a global community. Simply put, we are all in this together. The principles we apply to ourselves we must apply to others—including the principles of nonviolence. (482)

In yet another telling paragraph, he repeats this positive expression at the very end after he cites the proverb “Every man for himself” as well as the proverbial phrases “To have a stake in something”, “To turn one’s back on somebody or something”, and “To circle the wagons” to explain the challenges on the way towards broader human rights:

The poor, the sick, the disenfranchised. We cannot run away from them. We’re all living in this house. When we move away from community and connection and live instead in a climate of “every man for himself” we are sowing the seeds that will lead to the destruction of American society as we know it. If we are not going to become divided and balkanized, like Northern Ireland or Lebanon or Rwanda or so much of Eastern Europe, we must push and advocate and make real the policies and decisions that can pull us together, that recognize our dependence on one another as members of a family. If we continue to allow hundreds of thousands of young people—black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, white—to grow up without a feeling that they have a stake in this society. if we let them come into young adulthood without ever holding a meaningful job, without any sense of hope, I think we are asking for trouble. We can’t retreat from them. We can’t turn our backs on them. We can’t circle the wagons in suburban developments with armed guards at the gates and believe that we are safe. The people, the masses, will eventually arrive at those gates, angry and upset, and then it will be too late. We must reach out to one another *now*. We must realize that we are all in this together. Not as black or white. Not as rich or poor. Not even as Americans or “non”-Americans. But as human beings. (486)

Surely this is proverbial rhetoric at its best, and if Lewis had wanted to avoid his second use of “To be all together in something”, he might well have chosen the classical proverbial expression “To be in the same boat” that goes back to Cicero’s “In eadem es navi” from 53 B.C. (Mieder 2005: 199-200). After all, he used it twice as an expression of solidarity at the beginning of his autobiography as “We were all in the same boat” (14, 34). Also, since Lewis refers to the “house”-metaphor, it is somewhat surprising that he does not quote the Bible proverb “A house divided against itself cannot stand” (Mark 3:25) here that became Abraham Lincoln’s proverbial leitmotif as he struggled to keep the young nation to drift into the Civil War, to wit his famous “A House Divided”-speech of June 16, 1858, at Springfield, Illinois:

If we could first know *where* we are, and *whither* we are tending, we could then better judge *what* to do, and *how* to do it.

We are now far into the *fifth* year, since a policy was initiated, with the *avowed* object, and *confident* promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation.

Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, *not ceased*, but has *constantly augmented*.

In *my* opinion, it *will* not cease, until a *crisis* shall have been reached, and passed.

“A house divided against itself cannot stand.”

I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*.

I do not expect the Union to be *dissolved*—I do not expect the house to *fall*—but I *do* expect it will cease to be divided.

It will become *all* one thing, or *all* the other.

(Basler 1953: II, 461-462; for an interpretation see Mieder 1998: 63-74; and Mieder 2000: 10-18)

Besides Lincoln, such political figures as Frederick Douglass, Barack Obama, and others made repeated use of this secularized Bible proverb (Mieder 2001: 287-288; Mieder 2005: 90-117;

Mieder 2009: 245), and it seems strange that it does not appear to belong to John Lewis's active proverb repertoire. It also does not play a part in King's rhetoric either, even though both civil rights leaders were steeped in Biblical metaphors.

Just as Martin Luther King, John Lewis believes with all his heart and might in the African American proverb "God will make a way out of no way" and its secular variant "Making a way out of no way". Its earliest appearance in print is in Coe Hayne's *Race Grit: Adventures on the Border-Land of Liberty* from 1922: "God can make a way out of no way. Pray to him, and he will open a way" (Hayne 1922: 109). It has predominantly been found in the sermonic literature and secular speech of African Americans (Daniel 1973; Daniel, Smitherman-Donaldson, and Jeremiah 1987; Prahlad 1996), and it might possibly have started as an allusion to the Biblical passage "I [God] will even make a way in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert (Isaiah 43:19; Doyle, Mieder, and Shapiro 2012: 102).

Interestingly enough it is Barack Obama, in his book *Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream* (2006), who offers convincing proof of this proverb playing a significant role in African American church services:

I was drawn to the power of the African American religious tradition to spur social change. Out of necessity, the black church had to minister to the whole person. Out of necessity, the black church rarely had the luxury of separating individual salvation from collective salvation. It had to serve as the center of the community's political, economic, and social as well as spiritual life; it understood in an intimate way the biblical call to feed the hungry and clothe the naked and challenge powers and principalities. In the history of these struggles, I was able to see faith as more than just a comfort to the weary or a hedge against death; rather, it was an active, palpable agent in the world. In the day-to-day work of the men and women I met in church each day, in their ability to "make a way out of no way" and maintain hope and dignity in the direst of circumstances, I could see the Word made manifest. (Obama 2006: 207; Mieder 2009: 337)

To be sure, King's predilection towards this proverb helped to establish it beyond African American parlance. Here is but one example from a chapter on "Desegregation at Last" from his acclaimed book *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (1958) that Lewis without any doubt has read. King speaks here of God being part of the struggle during the bus boycott at Montgomery and that it is the faith in God's omnipotence that will give participants the strength to carry on. So when King writes "We must believe that a way will be made out of no way," the hidden subject of this sentence in the passive mode is in fact God Almighty who can find a way out of no way, as the proverb has it:

The evening came, and I mustered up enough courage to tell them [the boycotters] the truth. I tried, however, to end on a note of hope. "This may well be," I said, "the darkest hour just before dawn. We have moved all of these months with the daring faith that God was with us in the struggle. The many experiences of days gone by have vindicated that faith in a most unexpected manner. We must go out with the same faith, the same conviction. We must believe that a way will be made out of no way." But in spite of these words, I could feel the cold breeze of pessimism passing through the audience. It was a dark night—darker than a thousand midnights. It was a night in which the light of hope was about to fade away and the lamp of faith about to flicker. We went home with nothing before us but a cloud of uncertainty. (King 1988: 158-159)

This statement bears witness to how King's proverbial rhetoric gave hope to thousands, with his typically optimistic message being enhanced by the allusion to the folk proverb "The darkest hour is just before dawn" (for a discussion of King's other uses of the "way"-proverb see Mieder 2010: 181-186).

John Lewis's rhetoric is, of course, equally footed in the sermonic art of Baptist preachers with their rhetorical use of Biblical passages, proverbs, leitmotifs, and anaphora (see McKenzie 1996; Rosenberg 1970). Even though the proverb "Making a way out of no way" does quite surprisingly not appear in *Walking with the Wind*, it is present in his *Across that Bridge: Life Lessons and a Vision for Change* that was published six years after Barack

Obama's *Audacity of Hope*. I can imagine that Obama's book might well have influenced Lewis in writing his small volume, but no matter what, these two treatises bear wonderful witness to their continuation of Martin Luther King's dream of an America and a world based on human rights in which "the better angels of our nature" (Basler 1953: IV, 271; last words of Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural address of March 4, 1861) make us live together in peace as brothers and sisters.

In the introduction to his book of hopeful wisdom, Lewis writes with compassion and empathy about people who have not been as fortunate as he has been. As he does so, he remembers his own impoverished and underprivileged youth in the segregated South, declaring proverbially "We made a way out of no way to free ourselves":

I understand the sense of helplessness and hopelessness that can surround a people who feel thwarted at every turn. I could not have been further away from the halls of Congress or the chambers of the Supreme Court as a small boy in Alabama. Back then I could not choose my seat on a bus or sit down at a lunch counter to eat, and blacks certainly didn't have the access to vote. No provision had been made for me and others like me to communicate the dictates of our conscience to the leadership of a nation. We had to build that road ourselves. We made a way out of no way to free ourselves from oppression and bring an American society one step closer to realizing its pledge: "one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." (B12)

Not surprisingly, the proverb "Making a way out of no way" becomes a threefold repeated leitmotif in his chapter on "Faith" that has as its motto the Bible passage "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" (Hebrews 11:1). It appears twice in a paragraph in which Lewis explains how he and other young students broke away from the status quo of their suppressed parents with the proverb becoming their verbal compass for the absolutely necessary and long overdue struggle against segregation and all the ills that came with it:

In the [civil rights] movement, we had very little money, no political influence, no military force, and very few in the society around us believed in our capacity to contribute even the most basic of human gifts—to think with any clarity, to learn new things, to invent or create, to understand the world around us, or even to stand up to defend ourselves. We had no safety net, no one to turn to. We were born into the unfair circumstances that most people find themselves facing only temporarily at some point in their lives. We began stripped down to the bare minimum. We started out our lives dangling by a tenuous thread, so many of us came to the work of change already deeply experienced in the transformative power of faith. Our mothers and fathers had prayed us through the dire circumstances of living in the Deep South—poverty, hunger, grinding debt, a system of sharecropping stacked against us, illiteracy, limited educational opportunity, not to mention the terrorism of the nightriders and mob violence. So many of our parents stayed on their knees and made sure we leaned to pray that we were already familiar with the power of the divine grace that would meet us in our darkest hour and somehow, somehow seemed to stretch the span of our universe to make two short ends meet. This was so much part of our everyday lives that we had a name for it. We called it “making a way out of no way.” So when we were standing in protest facing police dogs and fire hoses, we knew without any doubt that somebody who was greater than us all would make a way out of no way and protect the defenders of the truth. (B30-31)

The two proverbial expressions “To hang on a thin thread” and “To make ends meet” do indeed help to underscore the tenuous situation the young protestors found themselves in as they moved forward with the faith that God would help to make a way out of no way. The deeply religious John Lewis believes in the transformative power of the faith in God (see B38), but he realizes on a more secular level that people must pray by moving their feet, i.e., they must actively work on making a way out of no way with faith, hope, and love giving them strength. The old folk proverb “God helps them who help themselves” comes to mind here. But

the last proverbial word belongs to the secular saint John Lewis, as he addresses his readers directly in his last paragraph on “Faith”—not just religious faith but a belief in the goodness of humankind as it strives to continue its walk towards universal civil and human rights:

You will discover that no government, no teacher, no abusive parent or spouse, not even torture or terror has the power to define you. Once you find within you the true ability to define yourself according to the dictates of your conscience and your faith, you have come a long way down the path that can lead to social transformation. Faith will be the lifeblood of all your activism, and it has the power to make a way out of no way. You may be in your darkest hour, it may be darker than ten thousand nights on your path to lasting change, but there is something in you that keeps you moving, feeling your way through the night until you can see a glimmer of light. That is the power of faith. (B39)

Index of Proverbial Texts

The following list of proverbial texts alphabetically arranged according to keywords registers all 742 occurrences in the three books by John Lewis:

Walking with the Wind. A Memoir of the Movement. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998. New York: Harvest Book, 1999 (paperback edition). Page numbers without any preceding letter refer to this book written with the assistance of Michael D’Orso.

Across that Bridge. Life Lessons and a Vision for Change. New York: Hyperion, 2012. The letter B with a page number refers to this book written with the help of Brenda Jones.

March. Book One. Mariette, Georgia: Top Shelf Production, 2013. The letter M with a page number refers to this graphic novel produced together with Andrew Aydin and Nate Powell.

A

- To have an **agenda** 498
- To be in the **air** 90, 128, 154, 184, 246, 412
- Violence is as **American** as cherry pie (H. [for Hubert] “Rap” Brown) 395
- To run **amuck** 274
- To be on the side of the **angels** 460
- Anything** goes 301, 409
- The **arc** (arm) of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice (Theodore Parker; later Martin Luther King) 360
- To kick (whip) someone’s **ass** 147, 169
- To kiss someone’s **ass** 383, 383, 383

B

- To throw the **baby** out with the bathwater 492
- To do something on someone’s **back** 493
- To stab someone in the **back** 290
- To turn one’s **back** on somebody or something 276, 383, 486, 488
- To work behind someone’s **back** 308
- To **backpedal** on something 124
- To be left holding the **bag** 331
- To have something in the **bag** 470
- To get (grab) someone by the **balls** 361, 361, 383
- To begin (start) with a **bang** 373
- To keep one’s part of the **bargain** 121
- To be an uphill **battle** 442
- To get the **best** of someone B105
- For **better** or for worse 500
- A **bird** needs two wings to fly 180
- To be a strange (rare) **bird** 387, B2
- To be as restless as a **bird** B131
- To be like a **bird** in a cage B130
- To chomp at the **bit** 117
- To have **bite** 227
- Blood** asks (for) blood (Genesis 9:6) B176
- To be in one’s **blood** 431
- To do something on one **blow** 254
- To **blow** someone away 224
- To appear (come) out of the **blue** 469, 474
- To be in the same **boat** 14, 34

To rock the **boat** 279
 To throw someone off the **boat** 366
 Over someone's dead **body** 226
 To feel something in every **bone** of one's body 22
 To make no **bones** about something 182
 To be on the **books** 253, 313
 To be at the **bottom** of the barrel 236
 We must either learn to live together as **brothers** or we are all going
 to perish together as fools (Martin Luther King) B145
 To shoot the **bull** 65
 To be built like a **bulldog** 463
 To get beyond the **bullshit** 474
 To shoulder the **burden** 47
 To be on the front **burner** 365
 To be (have) **business** as usual 488, B99
 To get down to **business** 133, 249, 475
 To work one's **butt** off 442
 To have **butterflies** 99

C

To put (all) one's **cards** on the table 178, 178
 To show one's **cards** 178
 To roll out the red **carpet** B71
 To turn **cartwheels** over somebody or something 180
 While the **cat's** away, the mice will play 308
 To play **catch-up** 34
 To send through the **ceiling** 222
 To be a **chance** in a lifetime 293, 294
 To be a big **cheese** 309
 To be **chicken** 99
 To have a **chip** on one's shoulder 81, 216
 To strike a **chord** 239, 295, 324, 403
 To come **clean** with someone 474
 To do something around the **clock** 145
 To turn back the **clock** B115
 To have a clear **conscience** 460
 To get out of **control** 426
 To be shaken to the **core** 47
 To be right around the **corner** 196, 373
 To turn the **corner** 90, B144

To set the **course** 210
 To stay the **course** 42, 68, 326, 403
 Between the **cradle** and the grave 44
 To drive someone **crazy** 348
 To get all the **credit** 211, 211, 212, 214, 214, 249
 To take one's share of the **credit** 256
 The **customer** is king 86

D

Day in and day out 80, 249, 275
 To live to fight another **day** B2
 To be **dead set** against somebody or something 93, 120, 130, 330
 To be a done **deal** 478
 To scare someone to **death** 59
 To have the **deck** stacked against someone B12
 To roll the **dice** 466
 To be as **different** as night from day 171
Divide and conquer 185
Do unto others as you would have them do unto you (Matthew 7:12) 131
 To keep the **door** open 379, 379
 To open a **door** 272, B130
 To slam the **door** into someone's face 291
 To be a **double-crosser** 292, 292
 To march to someone's **drummer** 495
 If it looks like a **duck**, walks like a duck, and quacks like a duck, it's a duck 477
 To pay one's **dues** 461

E

To give (lend) someone an **ear** 370
 To play it by **ear** 337
 To fall on deaf **ears** 326
 To go over the **edge** 312
 To have an **edge** 227
 To send someone over the **edge** 428
 To **egg** someone on 100
 To have **egg** on one's face 104
 To be in one's **element** 320
 To make **ends** meet 391, 447, B30

An **eye** for an eye, a tooth for a tooth (Exodus 21:24) 44, 205, 409, B156, B176

To catch someone's **eye** 261, 402

To give someone the evil **eye** 465

To keep an **eye** on somebody or something 263

To see **eye** to eye 316

To close one's **eyes** to something 485

To have (keep) the **eyes** on the prize 282, B36, B106

To open someone's **eyes** 91, 205, 295, 297, 412, M36, M73

To set one's **eyes** on something 447

F

To be written over one's **face** 214

To fly in the **face** 408

To get into someone's **face** 225

To look someone in the **face** 340

Faith, hope and love (1 Corinthians 13:13) 188

Familiarity breeds contempt B101

There is nothing like **family** 8

Fast like the wind 249

To turn on or off like a **faucet** 77

To be **fed up** with somebody or something 179, 379

To get a **feel** for something 36

To drag one's **feet** 198, 215

To get one's **feet** wet 316

to speak with one's **feet** 48

To be on both sides of the **fence** 455

To sit on the **fence** 284

To have a **field day** 387

To fight the good **fight** 435

He who **fight**s and runs away may live to fight another day 349

To not raise a **finger** 138

To point one's **finger** at someone or something 305, 498

To shake one's **finger** at someone 225

To work one's **fingers** to the bone 21

To be (rain) **fire** and brimstone (Psalms 11:6) 64

To be on **fire** 45, 82, 397

To catch **fire** 330, 381

To do something with **fire** and spit 389

To go through **fire** 159, 200

To have **fire** 227
 To hold someone's feet to the **fire** 3
 To light a **fire** under someone 82
 To stoke the **fire** of something 196
 To be on the **firing line** 377
 To take to something like a **fish** to water 63
 To be a (no) quick **fix** B56
 To **fix** someone up with someone else 400, 401
 To put out the **flames** 311
 To be a **flash** in the pan 211
Flesh and blood 248
 To go with the **flow** 420
 To have a **foot** in something 314
Free by 63 (civil rights slogan) 72
 To have a short **fuse** 317

G

To do something until **Gabriel** blows his trumpet (1 Thessalonians 4:16) 378
 To be a **gamble** 466
 To be early in the **game** 178
 To play the **game** 291, B104
 To talk a good **game** B103
 Straight is the **gate**, and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life (Matthew 7:14) 9
 To pass (run) through the **gauntlet** B54
 To throw down the **gauntlet** 183, 195, 317,
 To **go** all out 443, 467
 To **go** nowhere 225
God will take care of his children (saying of John Lewis's mother) 14
 To be a **godsend** 183
 The **golden rule** (Matthew 7:12) 131
 To take the **good** with the bad 472
 To deliver the **goods** 457
 No just **government** can be formed without the consent of the governed (Thomas Jefferson, Declaration of Independence) B6
 To hear through the **grapevine** 46
 To come to **grips** with something B149
 To get off the **ground** 403

To hit the **ground** running 481
 To hold (stand) one's **ground** 165, 192, 192, 458, 466
 To be caught off **guard** 144, 377
 To grab someone in the **gut** 133

H

To go **hand** in hand 469
 To do something with one **hand** tied behind one's back 249
 To lose the upper **hand** 347
 To try one's own **hand** at something 440
 To get one's **hands** around something 398
 To get one's **hands** dirty (messy) 462, 487
 To play into someone's **hands** 323
 To take into one's own **hands** 4, 220, 488, 500
 To throw up one's **hands** 319
 As **hard** as steel 234
 To be (stay) in for the long **haul** 243
 Cut off the **head** and the body will follow M109
Head over heels 318, 401
 To come to a **head** 180
 To hang over one's **head** 470
 To make **headlines** 11
 To butt **heads** with someone 149
 To break one's **heart** (to be heart-breaking, heart-broken) 27, 31,
 70, 417, 449, 473, B74, M29, M72
 To close one's **heart** to something 485
 To have a heavy **heart** 277
 To hold close to one's **heart** 478
 To open one's **heart** B111
 To speak from one's **heart** 354
 With **heart** and soul 167
 To be in the **heat** of the battle 377
 To turn up the **heat** 237
 To be in **heaven** 41, M49
 To be made in **heaven** 463
 To be (go) through **hell** 172, 187
 To have all **hell** break loose 142, 145, 340
 To **hell** with something 277
 To scare the **hell** out of someone 177
 To tan someone's **hide** 41, M53

To do something (up) to the **hilt** 320
Hit and run 124, 314
 To have something **hit** someone hard 406
 To be **hogwash** 81
 To get (put) in the **hole** 6
 To bring something **home** 64
 To come **home** to 101, 101
 To hit (strike) close to **home** 51, 198, 370
 To be **hot** 226

I

To be the tip of the **iceberg** 182
 To have no **idea** 256
 To add **insult** to injury B60
 To **iron** something out 143

J

To be like **Jonah** in the belly of the whale (Jonah 1:17) B37
 To jump for **joy** B98

K

To **keep** on keeping on 277, 311
 To **keep** someone down B3
 To have a **knee-jerk** reaction (response) B108
 You could have cut it with a **knife** 477

L

To follow like a **lamb** 159
 To lead someone like a **lamb** to (the) slaughter (Isaiah 43:7) 251,
 251
 To keep a **lamp** burning, we have to keep putting oil in it (Mother
 Teresa) 501
 To be a **land** flowing with milk and honey (Exodus 3:8) 65
 To win by a **landslide** 287, 377
 It's **later** than you think 367
 To keep a tight **leash** on someone 270
 To be a (living) **legend** 188, 233
 To teach someone a **lesson** 474
 To **let** it all out 409, 409, 409
 To **let** someone down 497
 No **lie** can live forever (Thomas Carlyle; later Martin Luther King)
 111, 360, M120

- Life** and death 272
Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness (Thomas Jefferson, Declaration of Independence) 488, B170
 To be bigger than **life** 68
 To take on a **life** of its own 164, 165
 To get (give) the green **light** 314
 To see in a new **light** 37
 To get out on a **limb** 432
 To be in the **limelight** 211, 211, 445
 To be on the **line** 141, 180, 181
 To draw a **line** in the sand B100, B107
 To draw the **line** 46, 195, 320, 383, 442, 469, 498, 498
 To get out of **line** 34, 227
 To keep in **line** 316
 To put on the **line** 10, 66, 91, 101, 107, 167, 175, 194, 272, 348, B84
 To walk the **line** 193
 Too **little** too late 219, 227
 To bear (carry) one's **load** 31, 47
 To be on the **lookout** for somebody or something 261
 To have nothing to **lose** 93
 To cast one's **lot** with someone 331
- M**
- Every **man** for himself 486
 One **man**, one vote 218, 219, 238
 To get (give, offer) **marching orders** B14
 To miss the **mark** 230
 To not be a laughing **matter** 322
 To be the **means** to an end 194, 496, 498
 Blessed are the **meek**, for they shall inherit the earth (Matthew 5:5) 78
 All **men** are created equal (Thomas Jefferson, Declaration of Independence) B170
Mend it, don't end it (Bill Clinton) 492
 To be in the **middle** of nowhere 150, 168, 264
 To be a **milestone** B8
 To blow one's **mind** 79, 206
 To speak one's **mind** 11
 It is hard to **miss** what you have never had (known) 20

To shake **money** out of a tree 466
 To set in **motion** 291
 To be on the **move** 181
 To make a (one's) **move** 272, 272, 402, 402
 To be **music** to one's ears (soul) 63

N

To not have a penny to one's **name** xv
 To stick one's **neck** out 120
 Love thy **neighbor** as thyself (Matthew 22:39) 63
 To strike a **nerve** 179, 388
 To be the **nitty-gritty** of something 119, 431, 441, 481
 To have one's **nose** in the book 60
Nothing stands still 63, 63
 To be nuttier than a **nut** 60
 To be the **nuts** and bolts 302

O

To rise to the **occasion** 360
 To be at **odds** with somebody or something 348
 To take the **offensive** 472
 To be (have) a pecking **order** 12
 To be on one's **own** 427

P

To have a **parachute** 466
 To do (play) one's **part** 66, B70
 To put out to **pasture** 385
 To get (see) the big **picture** 290, 349, 349
 To be a **pie** in the sky 44
 To get (have) a piece of the **pie** 500
 To take the **pill** 385
 To not hear a **pin** drop 328
 To be a bottomless **pit** 31
 To have a **platform** 498
 To **play** it smart B103
 To be in someone's **pocket** 284, 450, 457
 To be the turning **point** 291, 292
 To get right to the **point** 206
 To stir the **pot** 61. B15
Practice what you preach 75

When you **pray**, move your feet 503, B39

Pros and cons 289

To go up in a **puff** of smoke B3

To **pull** together 188

To be a knockout **punch** 293

To be **puppy** love 62

To control (have) the **purse strings** 384

Q

To be no **question** about something 331

To be out of the **question** 373

To be the million-dollar **question** 110

To call something into **question** 300

R

To run like a **rabbit** 141

The **rank** and file 205, 291, 318, 379, 385, 409

Keep it **real** 108

To pick up the **reins** 144

Right and left 44

To take the long **road** 42

To take the **road** less traveled 495

Roads (streets) paved in gold 45, 65

To be (stuck) between a **rock** and a hard place 117, B129

To play a **role** 454, 495, B78

To shake at its **roots** 300

To **rub** someone the wrong way 61, 163, 227, 410, 462, B104

To sweep something under the **rug** 180

To play by the **rules** 99, 291, 292, 292

In the long **run** 178, 179, 465, 488, B55

S

To play it **safe** 472

To be the **salt** of the earth (Matthew 5:13) 301, 318

To have the **scales** fall from one's eyes (Acts 9:18) B2

To be **scared** shitless 166

To work behind the **scene** 285, 293, 302, 308, 364, 380, 384, 394,
457

To get **screwed** 378

To burst at the **seams** xvii

To take a back **seat** 211

- To **see** someone or something through 69, 464
 The **seed** of the righteous shall be delivered (Proverbs 11:21) 464
 To sow one's **seeds** 272
 To have **seen** it all 81
Separate but equal (segregation doctrine) 106, M54
 To shake off the **shackles** B8
 To be beyond a **shadow** of a doubt 326, B51
 To get (have, want) a fair **shake** 495
 To **shape** up or ship out 367
 To jump **ship** 452, 459
 To give the **shirt** of one's back 202
 The **shit** hits the fan 377
 To live on a **shoestring** 66, 66
 To be a **shoo-in** 461
 To be one's best **shot** 466
 To look over someone's **shoulders** 451
 To stand on someone's **shoulders** 494
 To run the **show** 210
 To have some **show-and-tell** 116
 To be **sick** and tired 276, 276, 276
 To be (sit, stand, stay) on the **sidelines** 66, 90, 120, 331
 Out of **sight**, out of mind 461
 To **sit** something out 256
 To take something **sitting** down 469
 To climb out of one's own **skin** 302
 To save one's **skin** 367
 To chase **skirts** 62
 To be a **slap** in the face 292
 To **sleep** like a baby 25, 350
 To wear something on one's **sleeve** 402
 To roll up one's **sleeves** 442, 466, 471
 As **slick** as ice 40
 To be a **slip** of the tongue 316
Sooner or later 99
 As you **sow** so shall you reap (Galatians 6:7) 171, 360
 To have **sparks** fly 401
 To put a **spin** on something 180
 To be a hot **spot** 213
 To step into the **spotlight** 251, 497
 To set the **stage** 237, B37

To be at **stake** 410
 To have a **stake** in something 486
 To be high **stakes** 144, 410
 To raise the **stakes** 89, 99, 123
 To know where one **stands** 459
 To take a **stand** 48, 290, 290, 376
 To pick up **steam** 473
 To take the **steam** out of something 180, 215
 One **step** forward and two steps back 10
 To **stick** to something 80
 As **still** as death 20, 25
 To put a **sting** into something 216, 216, 230
 To pull out (all) the **stops** 402
 To be the same old **story** 314
 As **straight** as a ruler 29
 To be **straight** with someone 474
 To be the last **straw** 292, 348, 388, 450
 To have (no) **strings** attached 236
 With the **stroke** of a pen 124, 198
 To come on (too) **strong** 279

T

To be on the **table** 188, 383, 383
 To be under the **table** 457
 To bring to the **table** 210
 To put on the **table** 473
 If you want to **talk** the talk, you've got to walk the walk 60, 441
 To be just **talk** 48
 To take someone to **task** 108, 378, 471, 472, 475, 475
 To be on the same **team** 190
 To be a **team player** 450, 458, 458
 To add **teeth** to something 218
 To have **teeth** 227, 361
 To **tell** it like it is 271
 To stand the **test** of time 231, B115
 To be in the **thick** of something 285
 To be the right **thing** to do 460
 To do one's (own) **thing** 82, 303
 To turn **things** upside down B137, B140
 To **think** long and hard about something 371

- To be a **thorn** in the flesh (2 Corinthians 12:7) 284
 To hang on a thin **thread** 388, B30
 To stem the **tide** 288
 The **time** has come to (for) 48
 To be ahead of one's **time** 11
 To waste no **time** 133
 Here **today** and gone tomorrow 211
 To dip one's **toes** in(to) the water 86
 To step on someone's **toes** 314, 314
 To be all **together** in something 193, 482, 486, M83
 To take its **toll** 26, 326, 372, M25
 To set the **tone** 61
 To be (say) **tongue** in cheek 171, 481
 To push over the **top** 479
 To be a **toss-up** 120
 To go off the beaten **track** B111
 To take another **track** 277
 To stop dead in one's **tracks** 95
 To do the **trick** 9, 469
 To pull the **trigger** 319
 The **truth** marches on B114
Truth be told 80
Truth crushed to the earth, will rise again (William Cullen Bryant;
 later Martin Luther King) 360
 You cannot kill the **truth** B114
 To be a **tug** of war 317, 502
 To be in **tune** with 376
 To be the young **Turks** 119
- U
- To be the **underdog** B78
- V
- Violence** begets violence. Hatred begets hatred. Anger begets anger
 (cf. Money begets money) 78, 100, M100
 To be a **voice** crying in the wilderness (Matthew 3:3) B70
- W
- To circle the **wagons** 486
 To be of every **walk** of life 318
 To be an easy **way** out 203

- To be (get, stand) in someone's **way** 314, M36, M54
 To go all the **way** 103, 467
 To have a long **way** to go 468
 To have come a long **way** 468, B39, B115
 To look the other **way** 7
 To make (Making) a **way** out of no way B12, B30, B31, B39
 To not know which **way** to turn 446
 To stand in someone's **way** 314
 To have something both **ways** 347
 To carry **weight** 200
 To throw one's **weight** around 209
 To take the **wheat** with the chaff 472
 To reinvent the **wheel** B82
 To **whitewash** somebody B89
 To go **wild** 471
 To spread like **wildfire** B84
 To get **wind** of something 226
 To walk with the **wind** 479
 To hit someone like a **windstorm** 348
 To be dyed in the **wool** 316
 To get the **word** out M116
 To hang on every **word** 227, 406, B99
 To spread by **word** of mouth 46
 To **work** one's butt off 249
Work and put your trust in God (saying of John Lewis's mother)
 14
 All the **world's** a stage, and all the men and women merely players
 (William Shakespeare) B20
 To not miss something for the **world** 298
 To turn the **world** upside down 9, 43, M53
 To get **worse** before getting better 182, 198
- Y**
- To be **young**, gifted and black 463

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“ROOT, HOG, OR DIE”: A REPUBLICAN PROVERB

Abstract: The American proverb, “root hog or die,” though popular in the early nineteenth century, gained widespread use after President Lincoln used it at the Hampton Roads Conference. Newspapers across the country then published contradictory anecdotal accounts of how Lincoln had used the proverb, incensing the citizenry of both Northern and Southern states. The proverb then became a contentious political rallying cry used frequently in the racially charged rhetoric of the Reconstruction Era.

Keywords: American Proverbs, Abraham Lincoln, U.S. Civil War, Reconstruction Era, Political Rhetoric, Wellerisms, Folksong, Broadside, Minstrelsy

Though the *Dictionary of American Proverbs* lists *The Narrative of the Life of David Crockett* as the first recorded instance of the proverb “Root, hog, or die,” Crockett remarked that by 1834, the year his autobiography was published, this was already an “old saying” (Mieder et al. 1992, 500; Crockett 1834, 117). Until recently, the earliest discovered instance had come from Crockett’s (supposed) autobiography, first noted in the *Dictionary of American English* (Cragie and Hulbert 1938-44, 4:1971); the revised *OED*, however, presents a version from a Delaware periodical of 1828, in the form “Root, little hog, or die” (s.v. *root* verb.2). The first reference work to enter “root, hog, or die” was the third edition (called the fourth) of John Russell Bartlett’s *Dictionary of Americanisms*, 1877 (537), and versions appear in most proverb dictionaries that cover the time period for America (Stevenson 1948, 1147; Whiting 1952, 425; Taylor and Whiting 1958, 184 and 284; Brunvand 1961, 70; Whiting 1989, 310; Mieder et al. 1992, 303; Bryan and Mieder 2005, 389). Although not so commonly heard today, the proverb was very much alive in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It certainly seems apt that such an adage should arise in the United States, a country that claims to

value hard work, self-sufficiency, and (in 1834, anyway) puritanical austerity above all other things. In the two decades between 1850 and 1870, the proverb gained widespread use and became inextricably enmeshed in the racial and political tensions between the Northern and Southern states.

Regardless of when and where “Root, hog, or die” originated, by 1852 it was current enough to have been the basis for a welleristic jest in the form of minstrel show stump speech, a genre that mixed the high-flown language of political rhetoric with Southern black dialect to mock the (at the time) ludicrous notion that African-Americans could ever become politicians. This speech, attributed to the fictitious politician, “Dick Daily,” read, “Go it Porky---root, hog, or die. As Shakepeel said when Caesar stabbed him in the House ov Representatives” (“Dick Daily’s Stump Speech” 1852). Mieder and Kingsbury cite a slightly different version of this “speech” from the magazine *Yankee Notions* (1994, 62). I won’t attempt to explain *all* the humor at play here, but “Dick Daily” seems to be referring to the point in *Julius Caesar*, when, just after the conspirators have murdered the emperor, Casca urges Brutus to “Go to the pulpit” (3.1.84). So, even at this early date, “Root, hog, or die” had begun to take on some complex racial and political dynamics, not to mention the ironic foreshadowing of the assassination of the head of state who would later use the term and bring it to the forefront of the country’s dialogue on Reconstruction and reconciliation.

“Root, hog, or die” was also the title of a popular 19th century folksong, or rather, a refrain upon which were built a great number of folksongs and broadsides. Mieder cites one such ballad from 1856 that recounts the hardscrabble life of a bullwhacker:

I’m a lonely bull-whacker
 On the Red Cloud Line,
 I can lick any son-of-a-gun
 Can yoke an ox of mine.
 If I can catch him
 You bet I will or try,
 I’ll lick him with my ox-bow,
 Root, hog, or die.

Well, it’s out upon the road
 With a very heavy load,

With a very awkward team
And a very muddy road,
You may whip and holler,
If you cuss it's on the sly,
Then it's whack the cattle on, boys,
Root, hog, or die. [etc.]

(Mieder 1989, 202-203)

The listed author of this song, Richard J. McGowan, seems to have found “root, hog, or die” a highly productive refrain and composed at least four different versions during his lifetime, three of which he wrote specifically for performance in black-face minstrel shows, though all three of these are essentially variations on the following [Figure 1]:

The greatest old Nigger that ever I did see,
Looked like a sick monkey up a sour apple-tree.
It don't make a bit of difference to either you or I,
Big pig, little pig, root hog, or die.

CHORUS.

Chief cook and bottle washer, captain of the waiters,
Stand upon your head while you peel a bag of taters.
Jog along.

I come from old Virginy with a pocket-full of news,
I am worth four shillings, standing in my shoes,
Doesn't make a bit of difference to either you or I,
Little pig, big pig, root hog, or die.

Chief cook, &c.

The Broadway niggers look so mighty grand,
Shanghai coats and gloves upon the hand,
A big standing collar, standing away up to the sky,
Little pig, big pig, root hog, or die.

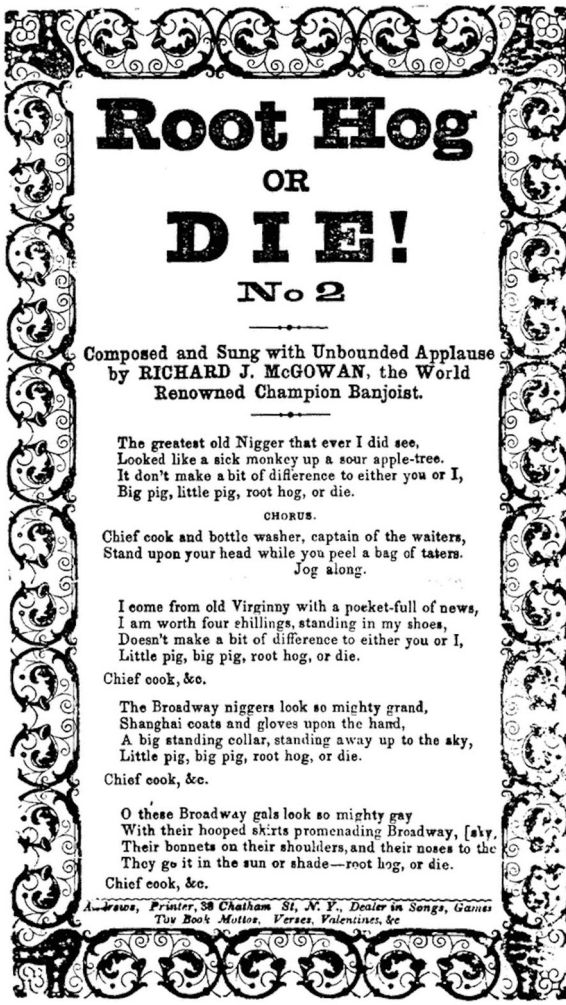
Chief cook, &c.

O these Broadway gals look so mighty gay
With their hooped skirts promenading Broadway,

Their bonnets on their shoulders, and their noses to the
 sky,
 They go it in the sun or shade--root hog, or die.
 (McGowan)

Soon enough, other New York printers took up this wildly popular piece “composed and sung with unbounded applause by Richard J. McGowan, the world renowned champion banjoist” rendered their own imitations of McGowan’s song for use in *Minstrelsy* (*ibid.*). Perhaps the most prolific of these printers was H. De Marsan of Chatham St. (also associated with Andrews of Chatham St.), whose wide array of minstrel song sheets offers an authentic “Ethiopian” minstrel experience. The illustrative woodblock border on De Marsan’s texts depicts an “Ethiopian” attired in a sort of renaissance costume, complete with jerkin and leggings, but rather than a lyre, he plays a banjo. Though the border—which also presents an image of drum-playing black women and cherubim—sports an almost art nouveau visual aesthetic, the lyrics are quite predictably racist, telling the story of a runaway slave going to New York “just to have a spree” (Root Hog or DIE! no. 3). [Figure 2] Over the next few years, De Marsan and other New York printers would manufacture quite a few more broadsides with this refrain, many of them concerned with events current and historical, such as the American Revolution, the Great Police Riot of 1857, John Brown’s raid on Harper’s Ferry, the rise of the “Plug Uglies” in Boston, and eventually the American Civil War.

De Marsan used the aforementioned woodblock to frame yet another broadside that employed the “root, hog, or die” refrain, one entitled “Jeff Davis and His Uncle,” a union fight-song that calls out by name Davis, of course, but also John Floyd, referring to the latter Union traitor as “head devil.” [Figure 3] Perhaps as a direct reply to De Marsan’s broadside, in 1861 T.W. Crowson of Galveston, Texas, penned a broadside entitled “Run, Yank, or Die.” [Figure 4] Crowson printed this early Confederate fight-song with a sketch of two roosters above the lyrics, one of them standing fully erect, marked “R.E. Lee,” and the other submissive, marked “Old Abe,” both with cartoon speech-bubbles issuing from their beaks with the words “As usual, Victorious,” and



Root Hog
OR
DIE!
No 2

Composed and Sung with Unbounded Applause
by RICHARD J. MCGOWAN, the World
Renowned Champion Banjoist.

The greatest old Nigger that ever I did see,
Looked like a sick monkey up a sour apple-tree.
It don't make a bit of difference to either you or I,
Big pig, little pig, root hog, or die.

CHORUS.

Chief cook and bottle washer, captain of the waiters,
Stand upon your head while you peel a bag of taters.
Jog along.

I come from old Virginy with a pocket-full of news,
I am worth four shillings, standing in my shoes,
Doesn't make a bit of difference to either you or I,
Little pig, big pig, root hog, or die.

Chief cook, &c.

The Broadway niggers look so mighty grand,
Shanghai coats and gloves upon the hand,
A big standing collar, standing away up to the sky,
Little pig, big pig, root hog, or die.

Chief cook, &c.

O these Broadway gals look so mighty gay
With their hooped skirts promenading Broadway, [sky,
Their bonnets on their shoulders, and their noses to the
They go it in the sun or shade—root hog, or die.

Chief cook, &c.

A. Kraus, Printer, 38 Chatham St., N. Y., Dealer in Songs, Games,
Tux Boot Mottos, Valentines, &c.

Figure 1

Root Hog
OR
DIE!
No. 3

I am a jolly nigger as ever you did see,
I come from Alabama jus for to have a spree,
I tought I come to York, dey do things up so high,
Bound to have a spree, boys—root, hog, or die.

CHORUS.
New York gals—day are so mighty tender,
Have to put on hoops when dey go out on a bender.
Jog along.

I jumped upon de boat as she started from de lebbey
Dey put me in de hole in something of a hurry,
De coal dey made me shovel, O how dey made me fly
Dat's de way I come, boys—root, hog, or die.
New York gals, &c.

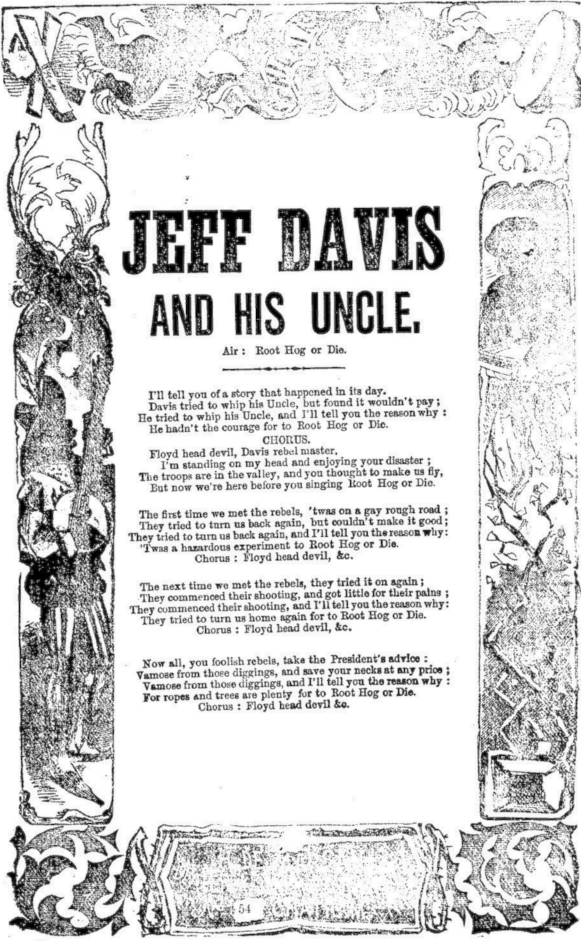
You talk about your niggers dat grewed up in de Nor?
Can't compete wid dis one dat sprouted in de South,
Dey call me Blind Dick, kase I've only got one eye,
Dat's not my name, boys—root, hog, or die.
New York gals, &c.

When I take a walk I look so mighty gay,
All de gals I draw from over cross de way,
Wid my long-tail coat mustache to de eye,
Dat's what dey like, boys—root, hog, or die.
New York gals, &c.

I'll go back to Alabama wid a head full of nollige,
And tell de folks dare I jis cum from college,
Dey'll take me for a lord or sumthin else, I'm thinkin,
I'ee a mighty smart nigger, but I do my owndrinkin.
New York gals, &c.

H. DE MARSAN,
DEALER IN SONGS, TOY BOOKS, &c.
No. 38 CHATHAM, N.Y.

Figure 2



**JEFF DAVIS
AND HIS UNCLE.**

Air: Root Hog or Die.

I'll tell you of a story that happened in its day,
Davis tried to whip his Uncle, but found it wouldn't pay;
He tried to whip his Uncle, and I'll tell you the reason why;
He hadn't the courage for to Root Hog or Die.

CHORUS.
Floyd head devil, Davis rebel master,
I'm standing on my head and enjoying your disaster;
The troops are in the valley, and you thought to make us fly,
But now we're here before you singing Root Hog or Die.

The first time we met the rebels, 'twas on a gay rough road;
They tried to turn us back again, but couldn't make it good;
They tried to turn us back again, and I'll tell you the reason why:
'Twas a hazardous experiment to Root Hog or Die.
Chorus: Floyd head devil, &c.

The next time we met the rebels, they tried it on again;
They commenced their shooting, and got little for their pains;
They commenced their shooting, and I'll tell you the reason why:
They tried to turn us home again for to Root Hog or Die.
Chorus: Floyd head devil, &c.

Now all, you foolish rebels, take the President's advice:
Vamoose from those diggings, and save your necks at any price;
Vamoose from those diggings, and I'll tell you the reason why:
For ropes and trees are plenty fur to Root Hog or Die.
Chorus: Floyd head devil &c.

Figure 3

Allen's Lone Star Ballads--Galveston & Houston.

Confederate

Abolitionist

RUN, YANK, OR DIE!

Composed by T. W. CROWSON, of the Alabama Hickories.
A. G. "Lost, Hog, or Die!"

Now if you all will let us add a few facts
About the case of freedom you're here to expect,
Old Abe tried to enslave us, but soon it was too late;
O, Liberty for Southern boys—Run, Yank, or die!

Chorus—Hurrah for Slavery, for Southerners are the boys,
For singing and fighting, and stopping Yank's
noise!

The young Confederacy is getting on quite spry,
He's a big Yank—hide Yank!—Run, Yank, or die!

The finest looking mortal that ever I did see,
He had John Brown to a white oak tree,
To see him tie the rope, you ought to stand by,
I was done with Cheek's cotton—Run, Yank, or die!

Chorus—Hurrah for Slavery, &c.

There's old Andy Johnson, of Miss Tennessee,
He's gone and paid the price to set the negro free,
But when he undertakes to, it's sure for to set him,
He'll look from the Southern boys—Run, Yank, or die!

Chorus—Hurrah for Slavery, &c.

The little Northern Yankees are getting very sick,
They don't like medicine because it is so thick,
And when they go to take it, its sure to hurt their eye,
They don't like the Southern pills—Run, Yank, or die!

Chorus—Hurrah for Slavery, &c.

We're going out to Richmond to get all the news,
We're coming back by Washington to get old Lincoln's
shoes!

And as we walk the streets, the Yankees they will fly,
They'll hollow out it's Southern boys—Run, Yank, or die,

Chorus—Hurrah for Slavery, &c.

Old General Scott is a mighty great sinner,
He never comes to fight us but he is sure to bring his dinner!

When he saw the boys coming, it was time for to fly,
For Jeff was after him—Run, Yank, or die.

Chorus—Hurrah for Slavery, &c.

The little Northern Yankees are getting very grand,
They brought down their dinner and sat it on our land!

They had all kinds of spees mixed up in pie,
But the Southern boys eat it up—Run, Yank, or die.

Chorus—Hurrah for Slavery, &c.

There were the Northern ladies, no doubt they looked fine,
Standing round the table with demijohns of wine;
But when they saw us coming, they made their shoes dry,
Twas no place for women folks—Run, Yank, or die.

Chorus—Hurrah for Slavery, &c.

Old Abe's head is now a getting gray,
He asked General Davis for a ninety days' stay:
He had to have money, he wanted time to try,
But Jeff wouldn't grant it to him—Run, Yank, or die.

Chorus—Hurrah for Slavery, &c.

(Telegraph Print.)

Figure 4

“I’ll change my base and free the negroes,” respectively (Crowson). The ballad, with its chilling chorus of “Hurrah for slavery,” celebrates the hanging of John Brown, Northern soldiers’ dying of malaria, and the anticipated moment when the Confederate army would harry women out of the Northern cities.

On February 3, 1865, President Lincoln, along with Secretary of State Seward, met with vice-president of the Confederacy, Alexander Stephens, and Confederate senator Robert Hunter in an attempt to work out the terms of an armistice. By all accounts, this meeting, known as the Hampton Roads conference (even though it took place aboard the steamboat *River Queen*), was informal, cordial, even affable, and Lincoln informed the rebel peace commission that the U.S. Congress had adopted the Thirteenth Amendment; at this point, however, the several narratives diverge somewhat. The Confederate story insists that Hunter asked Lincoln “something about the inhumanity of leaving so many poor old negroes and young children destitute, by encouraging the able-bodied negroes to run away, and asked, what are they, the helpless, to do?” (Stephens 1865). F.B. Carpenter claimed that Stephens said (though Charles Coffin later attributed the same quote to Hunter), “slaves, always accustomed to an overseer, and to work under compulsion, suddenly freed [...] would precipitate not only themselves but the entire Southern society into irremediable ruin. No work would be done, nothing would be cultivated, and both blacks and whites would *starve*” (“Abraham Lincoln: Personal Impressions and Recollections” 1865). Carpenter further reports that Lincoln then gave over to his penchant for homilies and replied,

I can only say in reply to your statement of the case that it reminds me of a man out in Illinois by the name of Case, who undertook a few years ago to raise a very large herd of hogs. It was a great trouble in feeding them, and how to get around this was a puzzle to him. At length he hit on the plan of planting an immense field of potatoes, and, when they were sufficiently grown, he turned the whole herd into the field, and let them have full swing, thus saving not only the labor of feeding the hogs, but also that of digging the potatoes. Charmed with his sagacity, he stood one day leaning against the

fence counting his hogs, when a neighbor came along. 'Well, well,' said he, 'Mr. Case, this is all very fine. Your hogs are doing very well just now, but you know out here in Illinois the frost comes early, and the ground freezes for a foot deep. Then what are they going to do?' This was a view of the matter Mr. Case had not taken into account. Butchering time for hogs was away on in December or January? He scratched his head, and at length stammered, 'Well, it may come pretty hard on their snouts, but I don't see but that it will be 'root, hog, or die!' (*ibid.*)

On the other hand, Stephens maintained that Lincoln's punchline was simply "let 'em root." Owing to these discrepancies in the first-hand accounts, Don and Virginia Fehrenbacher determine that Carpenter's story constitutes "a quotation about whose authenticity there is more than average doubt" and conclude that Stephens' version of the event is "perhaps more reliable than this long-drawn narrative," which merely points up the dubious nature of both versions (1996, 89). Further compounding the murkiness of this tale, is the fact that "root, hog, or die" absolutely does not appear in Lincoln's own works (Mieder 2002).

In his thoughtful biography of Jefferson Davis, Robert Penn Warren writes, "it is truly a pity that we cannot know the expression on Lincoln's face and in his voice—cynical detachment or outraged sarcasm—when he uttered this all too astute prediction," but Lincoln's words were no less open to interpretation in 1865 than they are today (Warren 1980, 42). Perhaps what Lincoln *actually* said is irrelevant, because, over the next few months, dozens of newspapers on either side of the Mason-Dixon Line reprinted both versions of this little anecdote, and "root, hog, or die" became Reconstruction's chameleonic rallying cry, a proverb used by virtually anyone openly discussing the nation's uncertain future. Southerners, perhaps choosing to ignore the obvious disingenuousness of Hunter's professed concern for the plight of Freedmen, saw Lincoln's use of "root, hog, or die" as an emblem of the North's callousness toward Southerners of both races, while Northerners, conversely, took it to mean that "the southern people can go to work like honest people or starve" ("Stories of the Peace Conference" 1865).

The public discourse over the economic future of freed African-Americans and the creation of the Freedmen’s bureau quickly became nothing short of editorial volleys of “Root, hog, or die.” The *Star of the North*, a Democratic paper, printed a story concerning a group of Massachusetts officers who brought their servants, Freedmen, back from the war and then left them to shift for themselves, strangers in a strange land, as it were, but the story ended with the commentary: “In this treatment of their servants they exemplify the true Abolition spirit. They give them ‘freedom’ and then say to them ‘root hog, or die!’” (*Star of the North* 1865). Republicans soon proved that Hunter’s fears had been, if not sincere, at least warranted, when anti-philanthropic sentiment in the North began to manifest itself with a widely quoted column from the *New York Daily Tribune* stating, “You do not benefit any human being—whether black, white, or yellow—by contriving that he shall live idly on the products of others’ labor; on the contrary, you do him very great injury. ‘Root, hog, or die!’ that is nature’s mandate: whatever opposes it or seeks to evade it is atheism and must result in evil” (*Daily Ohio Statesman* 1865). Though this statement belies a somewhat selective reading of the New Testament, echoing the epistles of Saint Paul (*KJV Gal. 6:7*) rather than the Gospels (*John 4:38*), creative misreadings of the Old Testament soon lent the proverb some darkly racist undertones in bantering exchanges such as this:

A Foolish Question Wisely Answered

Shall the negro live by the sweat of the white man’s face? ---*Louisville Democrat*

No sir-ee, he is going to live upon cornodgers and ham; and as he won’t have any master to feed him whether he works or not, it will be “root, hog, or die” with him. We guess he’ll prefer the former. ---*Louisville Journal*

(“A Foolish Question Wisely Answered” 1865)

The *White Cloud Kansas Chief* reprinted the above article on July 27 of the same year, this time, however, slyly italicizing “ham,” hinting at the spurious biblical justification for slavery, that Africans were the “sons of Ham” and therefore destined to be the “servant of servants[...]unto his brethren” (*Genesis 9:25*).

Despite the fact that slavery had been legally abolished, this brief passage from Genesis (wherein Ham is cursed for having accidentally glimpsed his father Noah's naked body while the old man is drunk and unconscious after a bout of postdiluvian tippling) was still used by preachers of a certain ilk both as biblical evidence for racial superiority and to rationalize the continued mistreatment of Freedmen. In an extremely sardonic retort to this kind of wordplay, the *Ashtabula Weekly Telegraph* questioned racist theologians, "Does the great law of Ham form the original precedent for the custom of the whole hog or none, or develop in its operation the great principle of root, hog, or die? Does the great law of Ham include Bacon? [...] Was Ham bred under the great law, or only mustered?" ("Great Law of Ham" 1865). While this article seems at first humorous, it then continues the conceit, describing the disturbing admittance records to the Freedmen's hospital in Montgomery, Alabama: "Does the great law prescribe that Ham shall be cured after this fashion: Luther Jones—beard and chin cut off? Or that Ham shall be peppered in this manner: Washington Booth—shot in the back with a load of buckshot while returning peaceably from his work?" and so on.

During the Reconstruction years, the "Grand Old Party," scarcely a decade old, was still a bumptious young upstart. The Republicans had come to power on an anti-slavery, pro-Union platform and, having achieved those goals in a relatively short time, sought to maintain relevancy and power by advancing the economic ideals of classical liberalism. Though they ostensibly espoused free markets and deregulation, the economy in former Confederate states was regulated quite heavily, and economically crippling policies foisted upon the South during Reconstruction effectively placed its citizenry under colonial rule, an arrangement under which "taxation without representation" became the *de facto* mode of governance. The resentment engendered by such a system, wholly lacking in empathy, was expressed thus: "It is a bitter mockery to put a ring in the nose of a hog, or a grinding despotism over a section of our common country, and say to either, 'Root, hog, or die!'" ("Root, Hog, or Die!" 1868). Without a doubt, many Southerners, white and black alike, did actually starve during and after the Civil War, but the data are tenuous.

In the more than 150 years since the end of the Civil War, the Republican Party’s insistence on the justice of social Darwinism may not have waned much, but the currency of the proverb “Root, hog, or die” surely has. In a recent informal survey, not one person under the age of fifty claimed to recognize it. Rural flight and the factory farming system have distanced Americans from the origin of their food, creating the illusion that bacon comes from the grocer’s cooler. Sadly, this old American proverb has failed to root and met the consequences.

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INSIGHTS FROM THE MIDDLE OF NOWHERE:
PROVERBIAL LANGUAGE AND INTERTEXTUALITY IN
GARY LARSON'S *THE FAR SIDE*

Abstract: This paper examines proverbs in the work of the popular cartoonist Gary Larson, creator of the daily panel *The Far Side*. It looks particularly at Larson's use of the literalized metaphor as a way to suggest reversed hierarchies and thus open the way for social criticism. In this way, it suggests a connection between Larson's work and the centuries-old tradition of World Upside-Down art, which also featured literalized proverbs. It recognizes, however, that such cartoons frequently inhabit the border between sense and nonsense, making outright social criticism less likely than a general lampooning of social norms and ideals. Through close analysis of many *Far Side* cartoons, it reveals many of Larson's intertextual strategies, and concludes that Larson is arguably one of the greatest proverb illustrators of all time. An index of proverbs and proverbial phrases in *The Far Side* is included.

Keywords: Animals, art, cartoons, iconography, intertextuality, language play, literalized proverbs, metaphor, nonsense, world upside-down.

As I have tried to show in previous papers, popular culture genres such as the film (Winick 2013) and the advertisement (Winick 2011) exploit the proverb's inherent potential for manipulating intertextual gaps. Now, let us turn our attention to a cartoonist who is a master at playing with these gaps: Gary Larson, creator of the popular and unusual daily cartoon panel *The Far Side*.¹ Like the advertisements and films I've discussed before, Larson's cartoons exploit the inevitable ambiguities that arise when proverbs are spoken. More than this, he uses these ambiguities to create a complex mix of nonsense and social commentary.

Larson differs from film and ad writers in several important respects. One is his concentration above all on one specific ambiguity, one specific semantic gap, to create most of his proverb

cartoons: he relies on the literalization of metaphor. Larson's typical proverbial cartoon is a more-or-less "straight" picture of the proverb as a literal event occurring in the world. Examples of this type of cartoon in the *Far Side* oeuvre include the following comedic riffs on proverbs:

Time is money (Larson 1986:33): Einstein proves that, mathematically and physically, time and money are the same. [Figure 1]

Shoot first, ask questions later (Larson 1986:13): a gunslinger, after killing his opponent, begins interrogating him with trivia questions.

The left hand doesn't know what the right hand is doing (Larson 1993:138): while Stuart's left hand juggles innocently, his right hand composes a memo vowing to destroy it.

Laughter is the best medicine (Larson 1986:174): a group of doctors gather around a patient, pointing at him and laughing. They are attempting to cure him by the application of laughter.

Damned if you do, damned if you don't (Larson 1986:152): the Devil offers an inmate of hell a choice of two doors. One is marked "Damned if you do," the other "damned if you don't."

When the cat's away, the mice will play (Larson 1986:183): a group of mice are hard at work on various projects, until one of them points out that the cat is away.

Every dog has his day (Larson 1986:44): a ticker-tape parade is thrown for Rex.

Larson also offers similar takes on many proverbial phrases:

To be only half-baked (Larson 1986:73): God takes the Earth out of his oven, but decides it is "only half-baked."

To have a brush with death (Larson 1986:130): On a crowded corner, Irwin is accidentally jostled by the Grim Reaper.

Not to know which way is up (Larson 1986:162): A professor attempts to explain the concepts of “top” and “bottom” to his class.

Another mouth to feed (Larson 1988:23): The speaker is distressed to find that he has grown a second mouth, and will now have to feed it.

To go to hell and back (Larson 1984:174): a couple’s vacation slides include Helen posing with the Devil.

Cartoons like these are part of a long-standing tradition going back to medieval times of artists doing relatively simple literal illustrations of proverbs. Wolfgang Mieder (1987:119-126) has documented this tradition extensively, and shows it to span five centuries of art, from simple drawings and woodcuts, to Pieter Bruegel’s magnificent painting *The Netherlandish Proverbs*, and beyond to many modern cartoonists and illustrators (Mieder and Sobieski 1999; Mieder 2004). Interestingly, the early examples of this genre were often included under the rubric of “De Verkeerde Wereld,” “Le Monde à l’Envers” or “The World Upside-Down,” although David Kunzle (1978:71) believes proverb illustrations to be essentially a separate genre. Later in this chapter I will suggest some reasons why the literalized proverb might be included in the World Upside-Down type along with more obviously subversive drawings. In contrast to the scholarly attitude toward World Upside-Down, however, most proverb scholars treat humorous literal proverb illustrations like Larson’s as a somewhat obvious, uninteresting, or meaningless use of the proverb. For example, in studying innovative proverb cartoons, Mieder has written:

Often, the cartoonist simply draws a humorous sketch of the literally interpreted expression.... But the images and captions of more serious cartoons depict in a satirical tone the wide range of problems of modern life (Mieder 1987:124).

Although in this passage Mieder implies that the simple act of literalizing the proverb is a less radical move than what occurs in other cartoons, he certainly realizes that these literal proverb illustrations can range from the funny to the satirical and even the

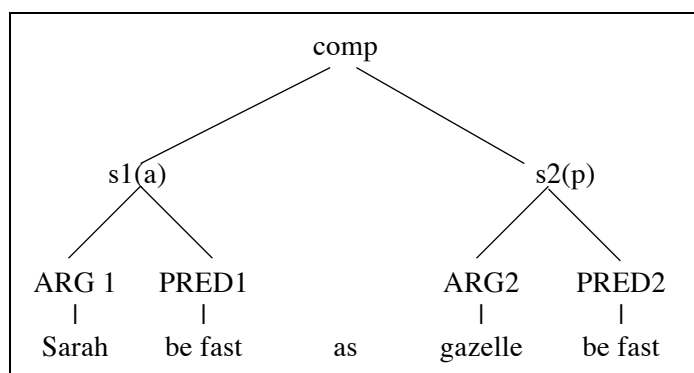
downright grotesque; making a proverb literal may be the first step in making it strange, in truly innovating in the use of a proverb. This in turn can be the first step toward a new critical interpretation of the proverb that does touch on the problems of life.

Proverbial Ambiguity, Metaphor and Nonsense

As many writers have pointed out, there are various forms of ambiguity, or “denotative indefiniteness,” that are inherent in many proverbs, and clever writers can exploit these to great effect. Proverbs that contain pronouns are always ambiguous; it is always theoretically possible that the pronoun is replacing something totally unexpected.² In a previous paper (Winick 2011) I discussed ads that used “when it rains, it pours” and “use it or lose it,” for example, which both took advantage of the ambiguity of “it.” Proverbs can also be ambiguous because they contain individually ambiguous nouns, verbs or adjectives; “leave not the mark of the pot upon the ashes” suggests very different meanings depending on whether “pot” refers to a cooking vessel or to marijuana!

These types of ambiguity also affect many sentences that are not proverbs; since all words are echoes of previous utterances, and contain an accretion of multiple meanings, all discourse is ambiguous to some degree. However, proverbs are particularly likely to be ambiguous because they so often use analogy or metaphor to achieve the generality necessary to apply to a wide range of concrete situations. This type of ambiguity, labeled “analogic ambiguity,” has been studied at length by Michael Lieber (1984). Lieber is mainly concerned to show that, since the proverb is an inherently ambiguous genre, the proverb’s ability to disambiguate situations constitutes a paradox. But there are other consequences, even other paradoxes, arising from analogic ambiguity. One paradox in particular is important for our purposes: in many cultures proverbial statements are seen as the embodiment of pure common sense, but as metaphorical tropes, proverbs and proverbial expressions always teeter on the edge of pure nonsense. For example, when I say “the pot calls the kettle black,” I use the rhetorical trope of personification, asserting that cooking vessels can speak. This is clearly a nonsensical suggestion, but paradoxically I can say this proverb in a way that makes such perfect sense it seems self-evidently true.

This dynamic between sense and nonsense is part and parcel of the proverb's metaphorical and rhetorical nature. The essence of metaphor is a comparison between things that do not seem alike at first, but the operation of metaphor frequently obfuscates the fact that an analogic comparison is even taking place; as Walker Percy (1958:81) points out, a metaphor baldly "asserts of one thing that it is something else." For example, "Barry's a real workhorse" doesn't tell us that Barry is *like* a workhorse, which would make the sentence clearly comparative. It rather tells us that he *is* one, in much the same way it might tell us that he is a carpenter. Thus, this traditional metaphor *seems* to assert that the two unlike entities (Barry and a horse) are actually the same, resulting in the kind of nonsense that Rudolf Carnap (1955:47) calls "conceptually absurd." One useful explanation of this process is offered by Dorothy Mack. She posits an underlying "deep structure" of comparison from which items are "deleted" to form the surface structure of metaphor. Hence, the statements "Sarah is as fast as a gazelle," "Sarah is like a gazelle" and "Sarah's a real gazelle" may all have the same deep structure of arguments and predicates, namely:



Comparative Structure of Metaphor (cf. Mack 1975:241)

In the first instance, only one term (the second "be fast") is deleted from the surface structure, and this is only due to everyday grammar making it implied when not stated. In the second in-

stance, the term “be fast” is deleted altogether, while in the third, the term “be fast” and the comparative marker are deleted.

The important thing, as regards both analogic ambiguity and the potential for nonsense, is that the deep structure is not entirely recoverable from the surface structure. As Mack (1975:241) puts it, “deleted compared Predicates or Manner items create ... a multiplicity of possible meanings.” “She’s a real gazelle” is a possible surface structure for any number of complex analogies from which the other terms have been deleted. Thus to say someone is a “gazelle” can mean that she is fast, delicate, nervous, that she eats grass, etc. (see Mack, 1975:241-242 for examples). This is the essence of analogic ambiguity.³

Obviously, the inherent ambiguity of metaphorical language can affect proverbial utterances that employ metaphors. Theoretically, the utterance “my aunt Jenny is a mother hen” can mean anything from “my aunt Jenny acts toward people the way a mother hen acts toward her chicks” (the conventional, proverbial meaning) to “my aunt Jenny is actually a chicken,” with no change at all in surface structure. A perfectly sensible proverbial phrase and a perfectly nonsensical utterance have the exact same surface structure and are indistinguishable as isolated utterances.

This explains how proverbs come so close to being nonsense; as metaphors, they always flirt with the edge of sense. How, then, do they come to embody common sense? For most of us in most situations, some manner of context allows us to resolve the analogic ambiguity and interpret the metaphor properly. As Susan Stewart has written:

Metaphor is rescued from nonsense by contextualization. Thus in everyday life and the fictions of realism, which share a certain set of interpretive procedures directed towards situational contexts, a metaphorical expression like ‘he thought that the sun rose and set on her’ makes perfect common sense.... Metaphors make “common sense” so long as they are taken as metaphors and contextualized as such. (Stewart 1980:35)

In the same way, it is the context—either the direct situational context or, more often, the general cultural context—that allows us to decode common proverbs and proverbial phrases. We know what qualities of a “mother hen” somebody possesses because

the culture around us has pre-selected certain possible meanings of a metaphor as traditional. In the case of old, canonical proverbs, each metaphor has one or more traditional proverbial meanings; what we have referred to as the “standard” or “social” meanings. These contextualized meanings serve to resolve analogic ambiguity through intertextuality, by suggesting what the proverb has meant in the past.⁴

The importance of intertextuality to metaphorical folk speech goes beyond this, however. For Kristeva, intertextuality is a dialogic interaction not between subjects but between texts (Kristeva 1980:66) or sign systems (Kristeva 1974:59-60). Susan Stewart (1980:15) uses intertextuality to mean an interaction between different “universes of discourse,” which would seem to be quite similar to Kristeva’s “sign systems.” It will be seen, then, that proverbial metaphor is itself a kind of intertextuality, in which two different universes of discourse are brought together in comparison. One of the most complete theories of metaphor that has been elaborated in the context of proverb studies is Seitel’s formulation, whose distilled essence is that “metaphor in the most general sense is the relationship which obtains between entities of separate domains by virtue of the relationships each has with entities in its own domain” (Seitel 1972:29). Seitel believes that all proverbs are metaphorical, and that non-metaphorical statements like “where there’s a will, there’s a way” are aphorisms or apothegms, not proverbs. Under this system of proverbiality, making the proverb literal threatens its very nature as a proverb.⁵

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.

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. Thus, doing something without first thinking of the consequences is like leaping without looking, and making plans based on future events is like counting chickens before they are hatched. Note that Seitel sees as central to proverbial metaphor the idea of comparison, essentially agreeing with Mack and other "metaphor as simile" (Basso 1976:96) theorists. Indeed, Seitel argues that, in the "average" or "normative" proverb utterance, "the speaker asserts that the relationship between things in the proverb situation is analogous to the relationship between things in the context situation" (Seitel 1972:147).

The main problem with Seitel's theory of the proverb is that it does not take into account the fact that proverbs can have general metaphorical meanings that are socially shared and independent of context. This is consistent with his position as a proponent of the ethnography of speaking, which would tend to foreground the meaning of the proverb in specific interactional situations. However, Seitel does recognize elsewhere that proverbs embody core meanings, particularly when he quotes Kenneth Burke (1957:296-297) to the effect that "proverbs are strategies for dealing with situations. Insofar as situations are typical and recurrent in a given social structure, people develop names for them and strategies for handling them." Given that he recognizes that the proverb contains an analogic meaning independent of a given context situation—pertaining instead to the level of "recurrent, typical" situations, or abstractions of real-life events—it is problematic that this is not represented in his analogic model.

This problem was solved by another proverb theory based on analogy, this one advanced by Pierre Crépeau. For Crépeau (1975:288), the first analogy obtains between what he calls the "denotative and connotative planes" of the proverb's meaning. The denotative plane is the plane of what the proverb literally says, while the connotative plane is the plane of the socially shared meaning of the proverb. Thus, for the proverb "where there's smoke, there's fire" the denotative plane is the plane of smoke and fire, the connotative plane is the plane of rumor and basis in fact, and the analogy can be expressed as:

smoke:fire::rumor:basis in fact

where the “analogic key” is one of dependence of the second term on the first. Out of this “double articulation” (i.e. denotative and connotative), Crépeau argues, comes a “general idea” of the proverb, which is an abstraction of the proverb’s meaning. This “general idea” is then applied to various real-life situations, by the application of another analogic leap. “All of the art of the proverb is here,” he writes. “Proverbial creativity manifests itself above all in the perception of new situational contexts adapted to the utterance” (Crépeau 1975:297; my translation). In Crépeau’s theory, then, the proverb situation and the context situation are related by a double leap of analogy; the proverb’s traditional analogy and the extension of that analogy to include a given real-life situation.⁶ Crépeau’s way of explaining the proverb is more felicitous in this regard. Obviously, proverbs often do have one or more cores of traditional meaning, or Crépeau could not articulate the meaning of “where there’s smoke, there’s fire” without reference to a specific context situation. Indeed, the fact that proverbs “name recurrent situations,” which has been noted by many proverb scholars, implies that they really name recurrent *abstract* situations (since no concrete situation is ever recurrent, at least not in linear time), and thus manifest a “general idea,” which is exactly what Crépeau claims.

What Crépeau’s model makes clear is that the process of interpreting a proverb is a complex one, more complex even than Seitel’s model suggests; the reader is called upon to make several interpretive leaps. The speaker must see a situation in the real world, recognize it as a special case of a recurrent abstract situation, and call to mind (or invent) the cultural name for that situation, its proverb. The hearer must understand the proverb to be metaphorical, must be familiar with the recurrent abstract situation to which it refers, and must recognize how the situation being commented upon can profitably be viewed as a specific instance of that general situation. For this reason, proverbs are particularly demanding as a dialogic and intertextual activity.

Gary Larson is quite aware of this complexity and the potential for error inherent in moments of proverbial performance. In “Simmons has lost his marbles” (Larson 1993:142), Larson takes a quirkily analytical perspective, showing what can happen when

an utterance that is meant metaphorically gets taken literally. In this cartoon, Mr. Wagner, the boss at Ace Marbles, Inc., bursts from the office when he hears the cry, "Simmons has lost his marbles!" Obviously, Mr. Wagner means to admonish Simmons for losing company property. Instead he is shot, because the cry was metaphorical; Simmons has gone insane ("lost his marbles"), and is standing in the hallway with a rifle picking off his fellow employees. Unfortunately for Mr. Wagner, the general cultural context, in which "marbles" is a metaphor for "mind," was overshadowed by his occupational context, in which "marbles" were a commodity handled by employees. This cartoon demonstrates the potential for both silly and serious consequences of the kinds of miscommunication that traditional metaphors make at least theoretically possible.

Since the process of creating and interpreting proverbial utterances is so complex, Larson's cartoons, and others that "literalize" metaphors or concentrate on their material strata, have a strong effect on readers; they collapse the entire structure of analogy and comparison that readers expect to undergo, pulling the proverbial rug out from under them. In a cartoon where chickens are counted before they are hatched (Larson 1986:176), or one in which someone shoots his opponent and then asks him questions (Larson 1986:13), the proverb situation and the context situation are shown to be identical. It is therefore unnecessary to refer to any general idea or to interpret the proverb in light of a complex analogy drawn among the three situations. However, the reader is still left with the cultural reflex of that interpretation, and the humor results in the conflict between what should be strongly metaphorical but is in fact merely referential.

Indeed, the tendency toward an intertextual interpretation of the proverb is not eliminated by making the proverb literal; it is intensified. The hearer must recognize what the usual course of interpretation would be—she must recognize the proverb as being a metaphor and understand what that metaphor means. At the same time, she must recognize that that course of interpretation is inapplicable to this specific situation. This causes a collision of different processes of intertextual interpretation. As Stewart (1980:37) has noted:

The “literalizing” of metaphor in nonsense ... can be seen as the clash of two levels of abstraction, as an intertextual contradiction. Much humor derives from such intertextual contradictions, from the collision of two or more universes of discourse, and the humor of nonsense often comes from the contradictions that arise when the abstract and systematic nature of discourse is brought to the fore.

Like Stewart, Seitel employs the concept of “foregrounding” in discussing metaphor. Seitel in turn takes the concept from Bohuslav Hravaneck, who defined foregrounding as “the use of the devices of a language in such a way that this use itself is perceived as uncommon ... such as a live poetic metaphor” (Hravaneck 1955; quoted in Seitel 1978:49). It is interesting that Hravaneck singles out the “live” metaphor as an example of foregrounding. Canonical proverbs and proverbial expressions, by reason of their familiarity, are for the most part dead metaphors. In other words, they are familiar enough that they do not call to mind a vivid image. When I say that something is “quick as a wink” or “straight as an arrow” or call someone a “mother hen” or a “workhorse,” or admonish someone to “look before you leap,” I do not call up a vivid image for most speakers of English. For this reason, the proverb will often not be understood as “uncommon.” Thus, it is incorrect to say (as Seitel, incidentally, says) that the metaphors embodied in proverbial speech are producing a strong foregrounding effect in most situations.

Dorothy Mack has also pointed this out, in different terms. In her analysis, dead metaphors, including proverbs and proverbial phrases, constitute “shortcuts,” in that they function to convey information in a pre-formulated way. “*dead as a doornail* is *really dead*,” she writes, “and if a hearer gets distracted into thinking about *doornails*, the speaker has failed in his intentions” (Mack 1975:244). Similarly, we might add that “curiosity killed the cat” is a shortcut, and if the hearer feels sad about the death of the cat, then communication has probably gone awry. Mack contrasts these shortcuts with what she calls “freshcuts,” which are new metaphors. A freshcut provides a vivid image, and “forces the hearer to become involved in active interpretation, to find meanings, and to accept or reject [them]” (Mack 1975:245).

In what we think of as its normative contexts, the tried and true proverb or proverbial phrase is a shortcut. Literalization in a cartoon, however, transforms it into a freshcut. What would ordinarily be a quick figure of speech is in this context a visual image that encourages the reader to look for meanings. Literalization breathes new life into the proverb's metaphor and gives it a new, unusual meaning. Literalization enhances the proverb's ability to foreground, rescuing the metaphor and making it vivid again. For this reason, literalized proverbs in cartoons can color our interpretation of the proverbs involved for years to come.

Intertextuality, Meaning, and The Far Side's Proverb Cartoons

Although in some senses the cartoons I described near the start of this paper are simple, they do involve the reader in a number of different layers of intertextual interpretation, which allows them to develop complex nuances of meaning. For example, most of Larson's cartoons contain a picture and a caption, neither of which would make much sense without the other; the relationship of caption to drawing must be negotiated by the reader. This relationship becomes especially important to Larson's proverb cartoons when the proverb, or some version of it, is the caption. In these cases, the drawing is a "context" in which the proverb might humorously be employed.

In "Hanging by a Thread," (Larson 1986:67) a woman has fallen out the 49th floor window of a sewing supply company and is literally hanging by a single sewing thread while her co-worker calls for help. "You better hurry," the colleague explains, "she's hanging by a thread!" In "Curiosity Killed these Cats," (Larson 1986:167) police are investigating a grisly scene in which dead cats lie strewn around a laboratory, having apparently died while in the midst of complex investigations into the nature of the universe. "Notice all the computations, theoretical scribblings, and lab equipment, Norm," the hardboiled detective says. "Yes, curiosity killed these cats." [Figure 2]

In both of these cartoons, and many more like them, Larson writes the proverb or proverbial phrase into the caption and illustrates it in literal terms. In other words, the proverb is shown in an environment where the proverb situation and the context situation are identical.⁷ As I explained above, the humor derives

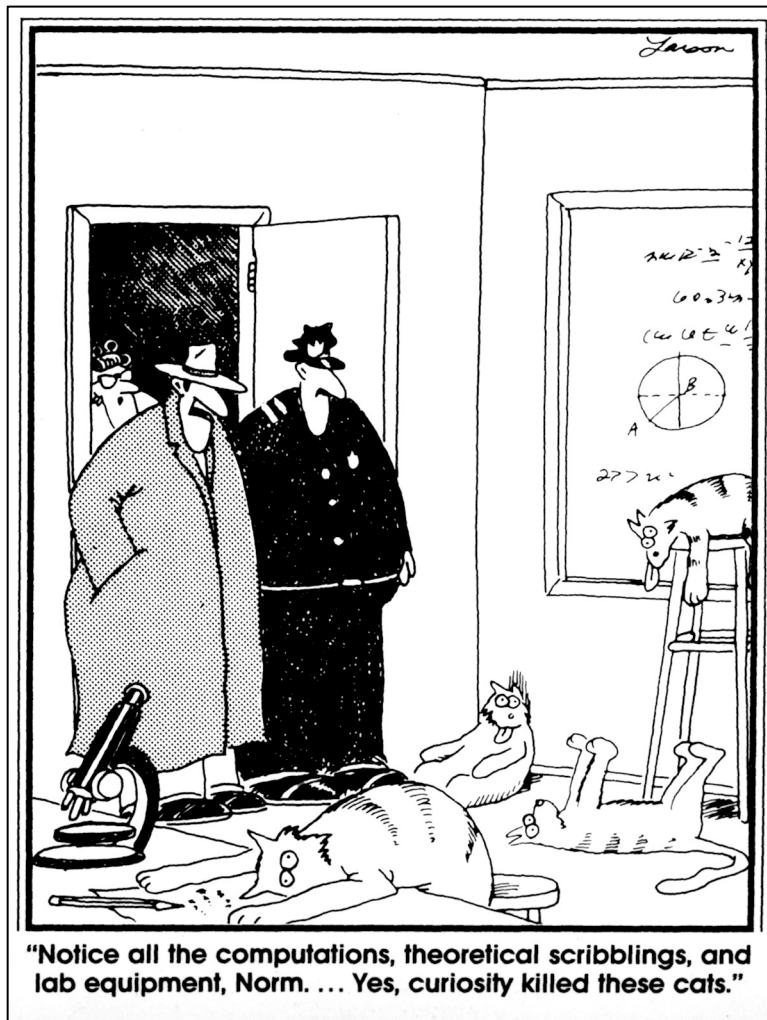


Figure 2

from the reader's negotiation of two levels of meaning: the metaphorical meaning that the proverb usually evokes, and the new, strange literal meaning.

The new meanings taken on by literalized proverbs are funny, but they also have an effect on our understandings of the proverbs they illustrate. As I said above, literalization shows us the proverb's image in a fresh and vivid way to which we are entirely unaccustomed, and this can have a lasting effect. The cartoon on "laughter is the best medicine," for example, points out ways in which laughter and medicine are *not* alike: the former must come from within, while the latter is administered from without. After seeing the spectacle of the doctors laughing at the poor sick patient, the reader is not likely to see the proverb's comparison as apt anymore. [Figure 3]

Besides decoding the relationship between the caption and the drawing, the reader of Larson's proverbial cartoons must make other contributions to meaning as well. Sometimes, not all of the words of the proverb are located in the caption; signs, letters, maps, speech balloons, books, and other writings often appear in Larson's cartoons and supply missing words. Much of the meaning of a given *Far Side* cartoon can thus come from words located outside the caption, and the reader must often contribute to putting the proverb together.

A mistake that Larson noted in his *Prehistory of the Far Side* makes this particularly clear. In one drawing, there is a large sign at the top identifying the building as "Acme HAYWIRE and supplies." When an old man on the phone complains of the factory running amok and says that things are, "you know ... " he is obviously hinting at the proverbial phrase "to be (or go) haywire." However, in cropping the cartoon to fit its comics pages, Larson's hometown newspaper left out the all-important sign and made the cartoon unintelligible (Larson 1989:133). Without all the ingredients, the reader's task of text-building is sometimes impossible.

On the other hand, the proverb is sometimes left incomplete on purpose; some part of it appears, and the rest must be inferred. The reader must then draw on his or her outside knowledge of proverbs to complete the utterance and understand the cartoon. This kind of incompleteness is a normal part of proverbial usage in oral contexts. As Mieder (1993:8) has pointed out,



Figure 3

“If we want to remind someone that ‘the early Bird Catches the Worm,’ we might choose simply to state something like ‘you know “the early bird,”’ or ‘Don’t forget about “the early bird.”’” This common behavior in oral contexts is one of the ways in which proverbs are routinely transformed into new utterances. It highlights the role of intertextuality and dialogic meaning in daily life, for, as Volosinov would point out, the listener has to make a considerable contribution to the meaning of the utterance.⁸

Larson’s work combines this tradition of partial proverbs with the tradition of literalized proverbs for a host of interesting illustrations. In his cartoon on the proverb “You can lead a horse to water but you can’t make him drink,” (Larson 1984:23) Larson pictures two men in a saloon, one of whom has a horse with him. His companion comments, “sure, but can you make him drink?” In this cartoon, the last part of the proverb, “you can’t make him drink” has been altered into a challenge and the first part omitted, although it is suggested by the drawing. The result is that the reader has to draw on previous proverbial competence to reconstruct the proverb and get the joke. Similarly, Larson’s cartoon about “Two wrongs don’t make a right” (Larson 1993:107) captures a moment in time just after someone has used the proverb; “I know that,” one scientist exclaims. By proving that “four wrongs squared, minus two wrongs to the fourth power, divided by this formula, *do* make a right,” the scientist reveals indirectly what the proverbial utterance of his colleague must have been, but only to those of us who know the proverb. At the same time, he literalizes in reversed form the central idea of the proverb, namely that “wrongs” and “rights” do not stand in a mathematical relationship to one another, that one cannot be substituted for the other.

In some cases, piecing together the proverb and interpreting its meaning can even reveal deep and hidden truths about the proverb and the whole sign system in which it is embedded. One of Larson’s most interesting creations in this regard uses one proverbial expression in the caption to comment on another that the reader must piece together from texts within the drawing. In the cartoon, a couple is driving. While her husband drives, the woman is consulting a map, across the top of which is written,

“NOWHERE.” Through the windshield, we see a sign that reads “ENTERING THE MIDDLE.” The woman’s comment is, “well, this is just going from bad to worse” (Larson 1993: 12). [Figure 4]

As with many of his other proverb cartoons, Larson does not quote one of the proverbial phrases directly; “in the middle of nowhere” is left unsaid. Instead, Larson shows us the words “NOWHERE” and “THE MIDDLE,” and the objects map and roadside sign, and the situation of a car trip, and encourages us as readers to construct the phrase from the picture. Like so many of Larson’s proverb cartoons, this one is a collaborative effort; the audience has to contribute directly to its meaning, even to its existence as text.

This cartoon is most interesting, however, for the light it sheds on the phrase’s meaning, and thus on the common-sense world of discourse. Normally, “in the middle of nowhere” is a proverbial phrase that simply means “isolated.” Here, however, “nowhere” is taken to be a place, and “the middle” is taken to be a particular part of that place. The incongruity that creates the humor, of course, is that “nowhere” is not a place. Even more than that, “nowhere” is the *negation* of place—in logical terms, it is place’s “proper not.” To actually have a map of nowhere, or to be physically located in the middle of it, is by definition impossible, because anything that can be mapped and that has a middle is automatically not nowhere.

Thus Larson’s cartoon, in presenting the expression in literal terms, makes the proverb strange. It makes the shortcut “in the middle of nowhere” into a freshcut by pointing out a paradox lurking at the heart of the phrase. Interestingly, the paradox is always present in the expression; “the middle of nowhere” is always a logical impossibility. However, the nonsensical nature of this expression usually remains unnoticed when it is used metaphorically, precisely because the expression is canonical, and therefore a shortcut.

Larson intensifies the paradox of “the middle of nowhere” by adding the caption “well, this is just going from bad to worse.” Like “the middle of nowhere,” “going from bad to worse” is a proverbial expression that includes a spatial metaphor—in this case one of travel. This is quite appropriate to the picture, which is also

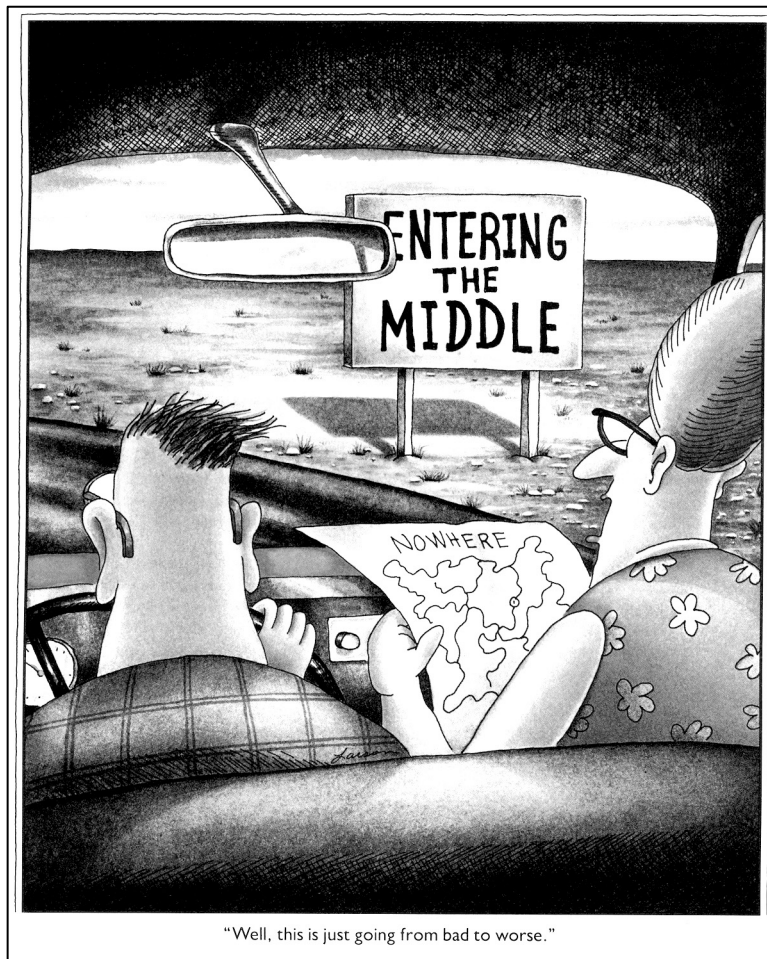


Figure 4

about travel, about going from point a to point b. The couple is “going from bad to worse,” while they enter the “middle” of “nowhere,” clearly suggesting that being nowhere is bad, but that being in the middle of nowhere is even worse. This makes the paradox starker by dwelling further on the idea of “Nowhere” as somewhere.

I mentioned above the idea of getting from point a to point b, and Larson (1995:30) has given us a cartoon that deals with this expression as well. In that cartoon, as in “the middle of nowhere,” the proverbial expression itself, “getting from point A to point B” is never mentioned. Instead the cartoon shows a long, winding road with two road signs, one of which says “Point A” and the other of which says “Point B.” A family driving a car near the “Point B” sign have just asked directions of an old farmer. The farmer’s reply, which forms the caption of the cartoon, reads “Well, lemme think ... you’ve stumped me, son. Most folks only wanna know how to go the other way.”

Like the “middle of nowhere” cartoon, this one comments on the absurdities of the statement itself; its satire is directed at the saying. What it points out is the arbitrary nature of the expression: why doesn’t anyone ever want to go from point B to point A? In this way, the element of foregrounding is reintroduced to the proverbial phrase. In ordinary usage, “going from point A to point B” is not at all “unusual,” precisely because, as the old man would point out, most folks want to do it. But in the cartoon, in which most people are really going from a place called “Point A” to a place called “Point B” the proverb’s unusual, metaphorical and therefore foregrounded essence is revealed.

“Point A to point B” also manages to call into question such common sense ideas as alphabetical order, which is shown to have little validity in the real, spatial world of travel, where order is always reversible. In this way, its satire is not directed entirely at the saying, but also at aspects of the wider sign system in which the saying is embedded. Like the best of nonsense, the “Point A to Point B” cartoon thus makes the commonsense world of discourse seem strange and new by pointing out the partial nature of its reality. As Stewart has written:

Common sense, which throughout everyday life is assumed to be something natural, given and universal and

thereby characteristic of a pervasive world view, becomes, when juxtaposed through nonsense with alternative conceptions of order, an only partial reality, an ideology (Stewart 1980:49).

“The middle of nowhere” and “Point A to point B” both use words primarily outside of the caption to suggest their proverbial phrases. Two other cartoons use a similar technique, but bring the verbal allusion to the proverbial phrase down to its lowest level. In one, two bulls are shopping in a store that sells china. One store clerk says to another, “I got a bad feeling about this, Harriet.” (Larson 1984:40) Clearly, the proverbial expression “a bull in a china shop” is being referred to, but with almost no recourse at all to words—only the single word, “china,” which appears twice in the cartoon, serves to remind us of the phrase. In a very similar case, one of Larson’s cartoons features a fly working at the Acme Ointment co. His boss says, “I have a bad feeling about this new guy!” (Larson 1993:124) Once again, the reference is to a well-known proverbial phrase (a fly in the ointment), with only one word (“ointment,” featured in the Acme ointment company’s logo) making direct reference to the proverb.

Finally, in at least one cartoon, there is no verbal reference to the proverb at all—the picture does all the work. This is a drawing based on the ancient proverb “Big fish eat little fish” (Larson 1984:147). As Mieder (1987 178-228) has shown, this proverb might well go back all the way to the ancient Sanskrit and be a traditional statement common to all Indo-European peoples. It also has analogues in Turkish, Chinese, and some African languages. Perhaps because of its great familiarity among Europeans in general, the proverb has become a very common source for works of visual art, starting in the twelfth century. Hieronymus Bosch, Pieter Breughel, and other renowned artists have contributed to the considerable number of “big fish eat little fish” woodcuts, paintings and cartoons.

In Larson’s cartoon version, the proverb is present in a literalized form; big fish are eating little fish, as in the classic iconographic rendering of this proverb. But Larson also makes a social point by showing a group of smaller fish ganging up on the biggest one. Like other of Larson’s proverb cartoons, this argues

for “the little guy” and demonstrates his general tendency to reverse commonsense social hierarchies, which I will discuss further below.⁹

So far we have dealt with Larson’s literalized proverbs and proverbial expressions, the main part of his proverbial *oeuvre*. But Larson has other types of proverbial cartoons that deserve mention as well. In a tiny minority of cases, a proverbial expression is used normally—that is to say, with its normal metaphorical meaning. One cartoon combines a literalized proverbial expression with a properly metaphorical one; a rat is in jail talking to his cellmate, and says “I would have gotten away Scot free if I had just gotten rid of the evidence. But shoot—I’m a packrat” (Larson 1995:118). Here we see that the rat is perfectly capable of using metaphors like “Scot free” correctly, but that he is also prone to using metaphorical speech literally, when he describes himself as a packrat.

Like Larson’s literal proverb cartoons, some of the metaphorical ones indicate by intertextual means the arbitrariness and absurdity of accepted discourse. In one of Larson’s several “Lewis and Clark” cartoons, for example, Clark’s mother warns him that he’d better get journalists to stop mentioning Lewis’s name first, or “you’ll be playin’ second fiddle in the hist’ry books!” (Larson 1995:113). This cartoon, like “point A to Point B” emphasizes the absurdity of non-reversible discourse in a reversible world; Americans refer to “Lewis and Clark,” but why not “Clark and Lewis?” Why does Clark “play second fiddle?”

In another cartoon, a caveman buying a club doesn’t like the one with spikes on it because it has “too many bells and whistles” (Larson 1995:115). This one draws its absurdity from an anachronism—obviously, bells and whistles had not been invented yet when the club was a standard accessory for the well-dressed caveman.¹⁰ It does the opposite of what “Lewis and Clark” does: it points to a system that in the real world is not reversible (time) and shows that in the world of discourse it can be reversed—in a cartoon, a caveman can talk about bells and whistles.¹¹ Aside from these rare cases of proverbial speech used metaphorically, Larson has a few other common approaches to proverbs and proverbial expressions. The most frequent of these involves changing one or more terms in the proverb or proverbial phrase to fit a new speaker or an unusual situation. Thus, while

young humans taunt their playmates who wear glasses with the epithet "four-eyes," three-eyed space aliens who wear glasses are cruelly referred to as "six-eyes ... (Larson 1986: 117) Tarzan complains that Jane's perfume smells like a "French primate house," (Larson 1988:35) and a dog speaks of a "you-scratch-me-behind-my-ears-I'll-scratch-you- behind-yours" arrangement. (Larson 1988:115) A single-celled organism accuses another of pulling his flagellum (Larson 1988:49), and Bedouins on camels are plagued by "back-hump drivers" (Larson 1988:174). A buffalo reporter in a "Herd Report" helicopter calls the traffic "noses-to-derrieres" (Larson 1988:139), while an amoeba is accused of being "thick-membraned" (Larson 1988:119).

As in the case of the literalized proverb, these variants of proverbial phrases (again similar in some ways to "perverted proverbs" or "anti-proverbs") require a complex intertextual decoding on the part of the reader. Without knowing the proverb "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours" and the expressions "to smell like a French cathouse," "to pull someone's leg," "backseat drivers," "bumper-to-bumper traffic," and "thick-skulled," a reader can have no hope of understanding the cartoons. More importantly, the technique of changing one or more words or terms in the proverb has an effect similar to literalizing it. On the most obvious level, the proverb is frequently literal within its own illustrated context; the protozoan version of "there's other fish in the sea" becomes "there's other protozoa in the lower intestine" (Larson 1993:105). Since the speakers are protozoa, the statement is literal, while the human version speaks metaphorically of fish.

This variant form of literalization is fairly common in Larson's cartoons; one features two Native Americans who have buried a white man up to his neck. One of the Natives is squatting nearby, staring directly at the white man's head. His companion admonishes: "a watched head never gets eaten by ants" (Larson 1995:67). In another cartoon, two South Pacific islanders, wearing grass skirts, feathers and bones through their noses, are arguing. Around them are placed a few small houses, made of grass. A spear protrudes from the wall of one of the houses. .. That does it!" one native exclaims. "Those who live in grass houses shouldn't throw spears" (Larson 1993:42). In these cases, the new proverbs are literal, while both of their models, "a

watched pot never boils” and “those who live in glass houses should not throw stones” are generally applied metaphorically.

Similarly, Larson’s cartoon about “life on cloud eight” (Larson 1986:106) depicts a couple living on a cloud, hearing the sounds of revelry from their upstairs neighbors. The neighbors, of course, are “on cloud nine.” While this cartoon does use a substituted word (“eight” for “nine”), the cartoon image encourages the reader to mentally reconstruct the proverbial phrase. In the context of the cartoon, that phrase is literal; people are actually living on a series of sequentially numbered clouds.

Just as the literalized proverb cartoon rescues the metaphor by bringing the image back in a very direct way, the proverb with changed terms makes us reflect on the image of the proverb by showing us that different images are possible—that the traditional image is just one of many possible choices, none of which makes more logical sense than any other. Thus, these altered proverbs, like literalized proverbs, demonstrate Stewart’s point that nonsense renders common sense vulnerable to interpretation. After reading the cartoons, it becomes apparent that a “backseat driver” or a “cathouse” is an ethnocentric notion, and that “pulling one’s leg” “four-eyes” and “you scratch my back, I’ll scratch yours” are inevitably tied up with the physical properties of our particular species. None of these “common sense” ideas is independent of the specific material conditions of our existence; none is applicable outside one limited cultural or biological context.

Finally, Larson draws a few cartoons in which he exploits the more banal ambiguities I mentioned early in this paper: double meanings within the words of a given proverb. In “Let Sleeping Dogs Lie” (Larson 1995:85), a man is about to wake his dog from a dream when he is admonished by a friend, who uses the proverb. But the dog is not just sleeping, he is also talking, letting out a stream of bravado about his abilities: he can outrun a greyhound, drive his master’s car, bark in seven languages...in short, he is lying. In another cartoon, a woman walks through the forest with an upright vacuum cleaner. The caption explains that “the woods were dark and foreboding, and Alice sensed that sinister eyes were watching her every step. Worst of all, she knew that Nature abhorred a vacuum” (Larson 1995:26). In the first of these cartoons, the word “lie,” can mean both “lie down” and “tell a lie.” In the normal sense of the proverb, the former mean-

ing is intended, but Larson shows us a situation in which the second is appropriate, producing a humorous situation and also a fresh approach to the metaphor. In the second, both "vacuum," which in physics refers to the total absence of matter, and "nature," which means the universe in general, are shown to have double meanings. "Nature" is how we often refer to unspoiled wilderness areas like the forest; we "get back to nature" by going, paradoxically, "into the outdoors." "Vacuum of course, is shorthand for "vacuum cleaner."

The effect of finding a double meaning, like that of literalizing a metaphor, is often to highlight the metaphorical nature of the original proverb and increase its ability to "foreground," that is, to appear fresh. Indeed, both of the proverb cartoons mentioned above create a strong intertextual foregrounding effect, making us reconsider the image of the original proverb by showing that it can be interpreted in more than one way.

This is an even clearer effect when a phrase that has not typically been considered metaphorical is altered in this way. In "Thag Anderson becomes the first fatality as a result of falling asleep at the wheel" (Larson 1993:61), we see a caveman who has fallen asleep while carving out what we may presume to be the first wheel. A saber-toothed tiger approaches from the foreground. We do not usually think of "falling asleep at the wheel" as a proverbial statement, partly because we don't think of "at the wheel" as a metaphorical notion. But in the context of the phrase, "at the wheel" really means "while driving." If I were to pull off the road and take a nap in the driver's seat, I would still be "at the wheel," but I would not be considered a person who "fell asleep at the wheel." Moreover, the steering wheel is only one possible meaning of the word "wheel." This cartoon shows quite clearly that the phrase "to fall asleep at the wheel" has many possible meanings, based on both the multiple meanings of the word "wheel," and the analogic application of the term "at the wheel." In doing so, it opens the phrase up to interpretation and points out its metaphorical nature. As a result, we recognize that a phrase that most have not considered "proverbial" or "metaphorical" fits most recognized definitions of these terms.

When “the Word Comes to Swallow the World”: The Reversal of Hierarchies, World Upside-Down, and The Far Side

The fact that literalized proverbs and their analogues (proverbs altered to fit new situations and proverbs illustrated based on a secondary meaning of one or more words) create nonsensical worlds that require complex intertextual interpretations connects them to the tradition of World Upside-Down woodcuts, prints, drawings and paintings from the late middle ages and after. While many scholars of this genre of art have recognized that literalized proverbs are sometimes examples of reversed hierarchies, however, few elucidate the logical connection between literalized metaphors on the one hand and reversed social hierarchies on the other.¹² Indeed, David Kunzle, after surveying a century of scholarship, goes so far as to deny such a logical connection. Like many scholars before him, Kunzle (1978:53) notes that some proverb illustrations are examples of World Upside-Down proper, mentioning such motifs as the blind leading the sighted and the lame carrying the healthy. To these we might add such proverbial notions as the cart leading the horse or the oxen, and the ass being master to the man. Even the tail wagging the dog, if it were to be illustrated, would satisfy Kunzle’s notions of World Upside-Down. But Kunzle rejects most literalized proverbs as examples of what he calls “WUD” because they do not explicitly contain within their imagery the notion of role reversal. He calls the application of the name “World Upside-Down” (and its various translations) to proverb prints and woodcuts a “misnomer,” and points out that the only image they share, besides the few isolated cases of proverbs that contain hierarchical reversals, is the inverted globe, which appeared in both WUD and proverb prints (Kunzle 1978:72).

It must be said, however, that the inverted globe is in fact the central image, the world upside-down itself, and it seems odd to treat it as though it were an unimportant detail. It is, apparently, an indication that the creators of medieval illustrations of literalized proverbs did consider them to be examples of the World Upside-Down. Why, then, should they make this connection? Looking at Larson’s cartoons as well as at early modern examples of literalized proverb art, it is obvious that these works are “topsy-turvy” in a certain way: what was metaphorical has become literal, with absurd results. Alan Dundes and Claudia Stib-

be (1981:167) have noted this connection, writing of Breughel's proverb painting that "the literalization of metaphor can constitute a ritual reversal and in this sense, the entire painting represents a scene of countless reversals."

What sort of reversals do we find in World Upside-Down art, and how are they related to the literalization of metaphor? The role reversals that Kunzle (1978:41) isolates in WUD prints are human-human, human-animal, animal-animal, animal-element, animal-object, object-object, and human-object. But, to expand on Dundes's observation, another type of role reversal occurs when proverbs are literalized: word-world. In word-world reversals, conventions of speech become actual events in the material world; the word becomes the world. It is important to realize, as some creators of World Upside-Down prints did, that this is as serious, as absurd and as topsy-turvy as any of the other kinds of inversion.¹³

Indeed, it can be argued that word-world inversion, and its extension, the art-world inversion, are at the root of all nonsense, including the true role-reversals that Kunzle sees as the *sine qua non* of World Upside-Down art. It is only in words and in art that an ox can butcher a man, or a mouse can eat a cat, or a tail can wag a dog, not in the real world. Moreover, it is through language that these situations can most easily be constructed and imagined. Before these role reversals can be put into images, then, the word-world reversal usually takes place, and it is for this reason that the literalized proverb and the reversed hierarchies of World Upside-Down are so closely related. As Stewart writes, "the beginning of nonsense [is] language lifted out of context, language turning on itself, language as infinite regression...." This occurs, she tells us, when "the word comes to swallow the world" (Stewart 1980:3).

And That's the Hand That Fed Me...

Both literalized proverbs and reversed hierarchies, the two hallmarks of World Upside-Down, are central to *The Far Side*. One of Larson's funniest proverb cartoons features both these subversive moves. In it, a dog is showing his dog friend a wall of mounted, stuffed trophies. The trophies include heads of chickens and cats. Also included is a human hand, stuffed and mounted on a plaque like the other trophies. The dog is gesturing toward the

hand, telling his friend, "...and that's the hand that fed me." (Larson 1988:47; color version in Larson 1989:225) [Figure 5]

This cartoon is particularly fascinating in light of Larson's whole *oeuvre*. It takes the proverbial phrase "to bite the hand that feeds you," and literalizes it, with a new twist: the dog not only bites the hand, but also severs and mounts it. In presenting this literalized and extended metaphor, the cartoon also resonates with many other metaphorical possibilities with which Larson has played in the past. As is only appropriate for a cartoonist whose work is so intertextually rich, Larson has given us a cartoon that can only be fully interpreted in light of other Gary Larson cartoons. In particular, Larson's practices of representing animals engaging in human behavior ("animals as people"), animals attacking or revolting against people (animals vs. people) and people acting cruelly towards animals (people vs. animals) all inform this cartoon and transform its meaning. Let us look in turn at each of these tropes.

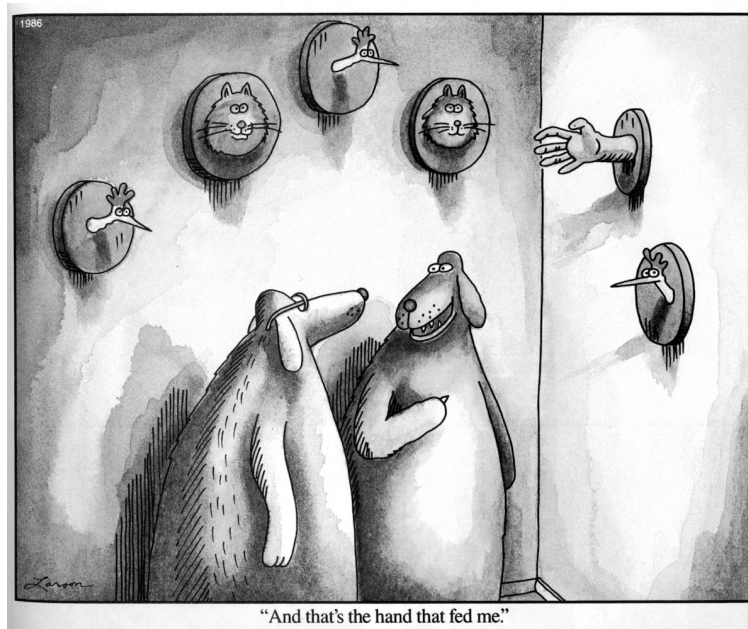


Figure 5

Dogs Playing Poker and Tethercat: Animals as People

Larson's cartoons frequently anthropomorphize animals. In a sense, this is inevitable. All cartoon animals who speak and interact with humans are given language and other exclusively human behaviors. But Larson's animals are more subversive than many cartoon animals; like the animals in fables, in medieval World Upside-Down prints, and indeed in proverbs, Larson's animals are frequently used to show the silliness, or even the cruelty, of human behavior.

The animals Larson most frequently portrays as human-like—dogs, cows and chickens spring to mind most readily—are all domesticated animals, familiar to homes and farms. In a sense, these animals are already “intertextual” in that they inhabit the interstices between the human and the animal worlds. Everything about them, down to their genetic codes, has been altered and constructed by humans toward fulfilling certain purposes. They are, in this way, perfect representatives of the junction between nature and culture.

Larson clearly recognizes the dog as one of the traditionally anthropomorphized animals: in one cartoon he portrays a starving artist trying to sell his paintings of giraffes, elephants, and other animals playing poker. It is not until he thinks of the idea of “dogs playing poker” that his success is guaranteed (Larson 1995:79). In many other cartoons, Dogs are shown engaging in a mix of human and dog behavior. In one example, dogs in business suits are gathered at a meeting, but “Mr. Sparky” appears more interested in cleaning himself (Larson 1995:121). In another, a dog excuses himself to “go to the neighbor's yard,” and then calls back asking “We got any magazines?” (Larson 1986:71).

One of Larson's cartoons mixing human and dog behavior, “Tethercat” (Larson 1989:158), is particularly telling in light of public response. “Tethercat” shows a pair of dogs toying with an unfortunate cat in a way that mixes dog and human behaviors. The public response to “Tethercat” shows that it is precisely the mix of human behavior with animal behavior that is at the root of the cartoon's seriousness and its humor.

Clearly, the behavior of the dogs in “Tethercat” is not pure dog behavior. While the cartoon draws on the traditional hatred between dogs and cats, even this “natural” behavior is more a

product of human “common sense” than of the “natural” world; we all know cats and dogs who get along fine. More importantly, the cartoon shows the dogs torturing the cat in a very undoglike way: they tie it up and make a tetherball game out of it. This is clearly humanlike, not doglike, behavior, and it was this aspect of the behavior, the human aspect, that bothered many readers.

When Larson published the cartoon “Tethercat” he received a lot of mail questioning his morality and his mental health, demanding that he refrain from such cruel and inhumane cartoons in the future. Some examples of these letters were published in *The Prehistory of The Far Side*:

“This is sick, sick humor! As a teacher, I know what TV has done to children’s behavior and cartoons like this are in bad taste.”

“With so many sick people in the world today, it doesn’t take much to give them ideas.”

“No doubt some stupid mixed-up weirdo will see the cartoon and get some poor cat and try to emulate this cartoon.”

(Larson 1989:159)

Larson (1989:160) calls this style of letter “the familiar ‘the-children-will-be-corrupted-doctrine.’” Interestingly, though, it is not only children, but also “sick people” and “stupid mixed-up weirdos” that readers fear; precisely the kinds of marginal people for whom Susan Stewart (1980:5) points out that “nonsense becomes appropriate...to...everyday discourse”: “those on the peripheries of everyday life: the infant, the child, the mad and the senile, the chronically foolish and playful.”

What this shows us is that Larson’s dog behavior in “Tethercat” is not disturbing as dog behavior, it is disturbing as human behavior. It is not that dogs hate cats and sometimes attack them that bothers people, and it is not in its purely ludic state that the cartoon offends. It is rather the unsavory suggestion made by the cartoon that people might do such a thing in the real world. The fact that some sick people actually do torture animals in this way, of course, adds to the seriousness of this cartoon.

The power of intertextuality is particularly salient here. The argument being made by Larson’s outraged readers is that the

cartoon actually changes the world through the possibility of an ostensive intertextual reference. The true danger of nonsense, that it might overflow its boundaries and invade the world, that the topsy-turvy dog-as-human world might no longer be confined to a ludic sphere of paper and ink, is here at the forefront of people's concerns. What is important for us in Larson's animal-as-human trope is essentially the same thing: by depicting animal behavior in a nonsense world, it points out the absurdities or shortcomings of *human* behavior in the *real* world, and thereby suggests criticisms of humans and the world we have made.

"I Never Met a Man I Didn't Bite": Animals vs. People

Even when they are not highlighting human cruelty, Larson's animals-versus-people cartoons reveal a basic antagonism between humans and animals. Some of these use proverbs and proverbial phrases to make their points. A shark in a tuxedo saying "I'm dressed to kill" (Larson 1986:17) calls to mind other Larson cartoons, in which sharks are always seen eating or trying to eat people, not fish or seals (cf. Larson 1984:136, 1986:41, 1986:51, 1986:77, 1986:112, 1986:115, 1986:137, 1988:66, 1988:134, 1988:184, 1995:108). An alligator on trial says "well, of course I did it in cold blood, you idiot! I'm a reptile!" (Larson 1984:166). Since he is being tried in a human court, it is safe to assume that the animal is on trial for killing a human, not a chicken. Both of these use literalizations of their proverbial phrase's root metaphor to create nonsense; both also suggest that humans and animals are enemies, and reverse the usual hierarchy of "common sense" culture, which places humans at the top of the animal kingdom and of the food chain.

A very telling cartoon remained unpublished in Larson's sketchbook until *The Prehistory of the Far Side*. It shows four different animals, each with one of its favorite sayings. The "sayings" are all adaptations of proverbs. The snake says "slither softly but carry a lot of venom," clearly derived from "Speak softly and carry a big stick." The dog adapts the famous phrase of Will Rogers, who never met a man he didn't like, by saying "I never met a man I didn't bite." The bee states "sting first, ask questions later," and the shark says "a swimmer in the water is worth two on the beach," derived from "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" (Larson 1989:107).

It is interesting that the animals' proverbs show a basic hostility toward people regardless of the intention of the human proverbs from which they are derived. Hence, while the bee keeps close to the sense of the original, emphasizing an antagonistic relationship between himself and humans, the dog completely reverses Rogers's friendly sentiment to arrive at his proverb. The shark's saying is another form of reversal. The original proverb on which he draws has people using animals (birds) as food. The reversed proverb has animals using humans as food, a reversal of the proverb and of what we perceive to be the natural order of things. Like "dressed to kill" and "in cold blood," these proverb adaptations clearly suggest an antagonism between people and the rest of the animal kingdom. To heighten the sense of antagonism, Larson has drawn many cartoons in which domestic animals revolt against people. Most of these cartoons suggest to some extent that the animals have been mistreated. As an example, consider another cartoon containing a literalized proverbial expression. It shows a mob of angry chickens carrying pitchforks and baseball bats toward the door of the farmer. One of them is addressing the others, saying: "Again? Why is it that the revolution always gets this far and then everyone just chickens out?" (Larson 1993:71). The fact that the chickens refer to their struggle as a revolution suggests (albeit barely) that they are being oppressed by the farmer; it makes explicit, however, that there is a social hierarchy, and it suggests that that hierarchy can be reversed.

The other animals that are shown revolting against humans are cows; indeed, many of Larson's cartoons suggest that a bovine insurrection is inevitable. In one, a few cows are plotting some nefarious attack on farmer Bob while gathered around a chalkboard on which their maneuver is displayed in a diagram (Larson 1986:103). In another, one cow informs a herd that the "revolution" has been postponed (Larson 1984:36), while in a third two cows discuss the great Chicago fire, claiming that "Agent 6373 has accomplished her mission" (Larson 1984:41).¹⁴

Two of Larson's cow cartoons make the cruelty of humans—from the animals' point of view, at least—more explicit. One shows a group of cows (or steer) gathered around a picture of the farmer, dividing it up into "cuts" the way a butcher will someday divide up the cows (Larson 1986:54). Another shows

cows approaching the Farmer's house with an automatic milking machine, bent on revenge (Larson 1995:98). A similar cartoon involving a chicken was never published in the newspapers; it shows a giant chicken eating a plate of scrambled babies (Larson 1989:174). These cartoons all suggest that, from the animal's point of view, the human is a cruel predator that feeds on the misfortune of innocent animals; the use of the milking machine as a torture device and the emphasis on the similarity between a human eating scrambled eggs and a chicken eating scrambled babies are particularly effective at making humans seem vicious, even grotesque, in their consumption of animals' bodies.

The reversal of the food chain shown in these cartoons is part of the topsy-turvy world of nonsense. It has been a common motif in art since ancient Egyptian times (Wright 1875: 6),¹⁵ and is thus one of the very earliest recorded forms of nonsense art. Interestingly, it was also a prominent part of World Upside-Down art; indeed, a far more graphic and bloody version of Larson's "cattle butchering their master" cartoon was common throughout Europe in the Renaissance and after. Kunzle (1978:44, 46, 54) gives three different versions from Italy, the Netherlands and Russia; Coupe (1967: plate 126) gives one from Germany; Odenius (1954:157) gives one from Sweden; and Ashton (1996/1882:270) one from England.

Chartier and Julia (1976:50), writing of the French *Monde Renversé* tradition, point out "one of the most obsessive motifs, in which the man is decapitated, carved up, roasted, or turned on a spit by his usual victims." They give an example that pictures pigs butchering a man and hares spit-roasting a man. Similarly, Helen Grant (1973:123) points out:

All those gruesome fish catching men; hares hunting and shooting men; oxen butchering men and selling their flesh ... is a distant reflection of a very ancient theme, especially popular in the middle ages but constantly revived in different forms in writing and paint: the hunter hunted, or the revenge of the animals, and the 'under-dog.'

Grant also provides a Catalan woodcut (Grant 1973: plate 4) that contains several different animals butchering their masters.¹⁶ As I will argue below, these *Far Side* cartoons, like the World Up-

side-Down art from which they draw themes, may well be suggesting something serious about the social order.

Contempt for the Rights of Wildlife”: People vs. Animals

One of the most obvious features of “and that’s the hand that fed me” is the presence of trophies, mounted and stuffed body parts from hunting’s unwitting victims. Once again, *The Far Side* as a whole offers a backdrop against which to view this facet of the cartoon. When hunting is portrayed in *The Far Side* (and it is portrayed surprisingly frequently), it often uses anthropomorphized animals whose human qualities make the hunters appear to be murderers.

In one such cartoon, a deer attempts to understand why the hunter is pursuing him. “He’s trying to kill me, all right,” the deer says. “Do I know this guy? I’ve got to think!” Commenting on this cartoon, Larson writes that “the deer ... is any one of us caught in the situation where some maniac, having entered our home, is trying to hunt us down and kill us” (Larson 1989:52). The leveling of the common sense hierarchy that places humans above other animals is salient here, and Larson’s precise wording is fascinating. The deer, Larson says, is “...one of us.” The hunter, on the other hand, becomes a “maniac,” a dangerous other trying to hunt down and kill an innocent victim with whom we identify.

Another *Far Side* cartoon explores this theme further, with the animals being even further humanized. A policeman checks a hunter’s license after the hunter has apparently barged into a deer’s home and shot him with a rifle. The deer’s widow is addressed by the policeman, who is checking the hunter’s license: “I’m sorry ma’am, but his license does check out, and after all your husband was in season...” (Larson 1988:180). The deer in this cartoon live in a house with furniture, watch TV, and have an altogether human lifestyle. While the nonsense flags clearly go up, making this cartoon “just a joke,” it nonetheless retains its serious subtext: the hunter appears as a ruthless murderer, as “cold-blooded” as any reptile. A very similar cartoon features a duck in his own household (also a normal, suburban, human-style dwelling), walking innocently across the floor, while a hunter prepares to shoot him from a duck blind set up unobtrusively in the corner (Larson 1993:113). In addition to these, Lar-

son provides a cartoon in which a group of deer take a hunter hostage and swap him for a deer being held by the hunters (Larson 1989:223); one in which deer watch a horror movie that includes mounted deer heads, mutely staring while an unwitting deer enters the killer's house (Larson 1989:239); and even one in which a woman is dating a deer and worries that her father, who has three deer heads prominently displayed on his wall, will kill her boyfriend (Larson 1989:188). All of these foreground an unusual equality between human and deer, a leveling of hierarchical roles that is at once ludic and potentially critical of established hierarchies. At the same time, they portray humans wantonly killing the humanized animals.

A similar tactic is employed by the *Far Side* cartoon that shows a space ship hurtling through space with two aliens inside. A car is tied to the top of the spaceship. Inside the car are the skeletons of two men dressed as deer hunters. A deer skeleton is tied to the top of the car (Larson 1995:148). While this cartoon does not directly reverse or level the man/animal hierarchy, it does effect a reversal: man, who is at the top of the earthly hierarchy, is shown to also be at the bottom of another hierarchy. Instead of an inversion, we have boundary play in which the hierarchy is shown to extend up far beyond the merely human. Similarly, the cartoon with the caption: "abducted by an alien circus company, Professor Doyle is forced to write calculus equations in center ring" (Larson 1995:74), is clearly a critique of humans' treatment of animals; the alien "tamer" threatens Doyle with a whip in much the same way that a lion tamer threatens a lion. Although no animals are present in the cartoon, it is clearly a metaphor for human treatment of animals. Both cartoons, in fact, emphasize the point that, from an extraterrestrial perspective, humans *are* animals—which indeed we are.¹⁷

If *The Far Side's* portrayal of hunters is less than flattering, its portrayal of those who hunt for trophies is even worse. Several cartoons besides "and that's the hand that fed me" are specifically about stuffed and mounted animals. In one four-frame cartoon, a bear is peacefully drinking water out of a mountain lake, with a look of blissful and childlike innocence on its face. In the second frame a hunter shoots the bear from a hiding place in the bushes. The hunter shoots the bear from behind, and the animal's expression turns to one of shock, horror and pain. In the third

frame, the bear dies, its tongue lolling pathetically from its mouth. The fourth frame shows the bear mounted and stuffed. It is standing on its hind legs, its paws raised to attack. Its eyes are open wide in fierce anger, and its mouth shows rows of long, pointed teeth (Larson 1989:60). The cartoon emphasizes the innocence of the bear through its facial expressions while it was alive. It also emphasizes the cowardice and duplicity of the hunter, who shoots the bear from behind but who later makes it look like the bear had been attacking him.

In another cartoon, a man and woman walk into a room filled with unusual animal trophies; they are all well-known cartoon animals like Rocky and Bullwinkle, Bugs Bunny and Daffy Duck. The woman has a look of horror on her face, but the man is not bothered. "Oh, for heaven's sake, Miss Carlisle," he says, "They're only cartoon animals!" (Larson 1989:71) This cartoon is another example of boundary play, or frame-breaking; the people in it are cartoon people, yet they recognize the existence of "cartoon animals." The exact ontological status of the "cartoons-within-a-cartoon" is hard to establish given the conflicting messages we receive about them. From the perspective of the man in the cartoon, those cartoons are on a different level of reality, they are "only cartoon animals." They are, however, real enough to kill, stuff and mount. For Miss Carlisle, too, they are real enough—she is upset. Furthermore, from the perspective of the reader, from a higher level of abstraction, they are all cartoons, the people and the animals. A cartoon person saying "they're only cartoon animals" is like a real person saying "they're only animals." From this point of view, the man is acting callously toward the animals, not to mention poor Miss Carlisle.

Some *Far Side* cartoons about trophies omit people altogether—the only actors are animals. These cartoons continue to suggest the cruelty of the practice of trophy mounting by humanizing the animals. In one rather horrifying example of this type, two bears look in through the windows of a house and see the mounted, stuffed head of a third bear. "It's Vince, all right," one of them says, "It's his nose, his mouth, his fur ... but his eyes—there's something not quite right about his eyes" (Larson 1993:120). As Jane Goodall (1995:7) has pointed out, the very fact that these animals have names—this bear is called Vince—

changes the nature of the cartoon. Vince is not any bear, he is a bear with a life, with friends who recognize and worry about him, and the hunter who kills him, although absent from the cartoon, seems to us like a murderer.

A final *Far Side* about trophy hunting was unaccountably rejected for publication in some newspapers, but later included in several of Larson's books. It brings us back to the comic role-reversal of humanized animals, showing an elephant standing erect like a person, but using a crutch because one of his legs is missing. He is standing on a grassy plain with zebras in the background, in a phone booth, talking on the phone with an unseen party, and clearly upset. He is saying "What? They turned it into a *wastebasket*?" (Larson 1989:183).

Larson's commentary on the cartoon shows that he believes human practices of trophy hunting are cruel. It also shows that he feels as we do the conflict between *The Far Side*'s openly nonsensical outlook and its potential for serious criticism. He writes:

I've always found it appalling that the demand for ivory has caused these magnificent animals to be continuously poached—but the ultimate act of contempt for the rights of wildlife has got to be represented by the elephant's-foot wastebasket. And that's the point I was striving for in this cartoon—not that I was hoping to make a profound comment of any sort (the cartoon is really pretty inane, I think), but just who *wouldn't* be upset to find out something like this had been done to a former part of their anatomy? (Larson 1989:183)

Interestingly, in the middle of a sentence, he switches from telling us the profound comment he was "striving for" to denying that he ever was trying to make such a comment, and using the cartoon's silliness as a shield. Clearly, the cartoon is silly, and its humor is largely derived from the representation of the elephant as humanized. Only humans walk on crutches and use the phone—and, of course, a real elephant whose leg has been poached is dead, not hobbling around on a crutch. This cartoon would not have been funny without the human-animal role reversal. But that does not mean that this reversal is without "serious" implications.

The Hand That Fed Me Revisited

The reversal of hierarchies, the placement of animals with or above people, is at the heart of the animals-as-people, the animals-versus-people, and the people-versus-animals tropes of the *Far Side* universe. Their genealogy stretches far into the past, and includes the iconography of the World Upside-Down and comic utopia, as well as the topsy-turvy time out of time experienced during carnival. They are, indeed, examples of the carnivalesque, for as Bakhtin (1968:251) writes, “in the world of Carnival all hierarchies are canceled. All castes and ages are equal.”

Bakhtin’s example of the cancellation of hierarchies in the Carnival, which derives from Goethe’s description of Carnival in Rome, is particularly interesting: “During the fire festival a young boy blows out his father’s candle, crying out Death to you, sir father!” (Bakhtin 1968:251). Although Bakhtin felt this interjection needed no further comment, it would not be amiss to note two things. First, that the boy uses the term “signor padre,” “sir father,” signaling the existence of the hierarchy in the same moment that he cancels it. Second, that the boy, by wishing his father dead, is calling for a reversal of the hierarchy, symbolically pushing his father down; the hierarchy, then, is not merely leveled, it is at once established, leveled and reversed. Many of Larson’s cartoons achieve the same effect. “Big Fish Eat Little Fish,” mentioned above, shows both the common scene of big fish eating little ones and the less common though well-established role reversal of small fish attacking bigger ones. In much the same way, “And that’s the hand that fed me” indicates the former relationship of master to pet, levels it by showing the pet engaged in human behavior, and reverses it by showing the master’s comeuppance. Many scholars, including Bakhtin, Kristeva and Stewart, point out that such hierarchical reversals can embody real criticism of the hierarchies being reversed. Showing the animals on top at least implies that the common-sense world of people on top, or the lawful world of intact social hierarchy, is in fact only one of many possible worlds. By showing an alternative to the common-sense world, *The Far Side* automatically opens it for debate by highlighting its ideological nature. This, in fact, was part of the social function of nonsense art in past societies, especially the World Upside-Down art that *The Far Side* often so closely resembles; Kunzle and Scribner have both

shown that the World Upside-Down motifs became prominent in Germany largely because of the Lutheran Reformation movement and the subsequent peasant revolts, and Grant suggests that the motif may well have become popular in Italy after the 1524 Peasants' Revolt; In other words, serious criticism of social hierarchies seems to have been encoded into the ludic, nonsensical and carnivalesque images.¹⁸

While the World Upside-Down art of the late middle ages through the eighteenth century was based on disaffection with the established hierarchy of human over human, Larson's carnivalesque drawings and proverb cartoons often seem directed at the hierarchy of human over animal.¹⁹ This is not surprising considering Larson's history: he began his career as a quirky nature cartoonist, and *The Far Side's* original title was *Nature's Way*. His constant focus in *The Far Side* on animal issues and animal research has won him admirers like the primatologist Jane Goodall, the zoologist and paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould, and the entomologist Dale Clayton. He is, in other words, notoriously pro-animal. Larson's leveled hierarchy, in which humans and animals compete on equal terms, shows that humans and other animals are, after all, just animals; a biological truth that nonetheless violates cultural common sense. It shows that humans' appropriation of animals' bodies and habitats is not a natural order, but a cultural one, not the only possible reality, but an ideology. The cartoon in which bears wearing hard hats erect a sophisticated pipeline to dump their waste in a person's living room (Larson 1993:80) is a clear use of nonsense and role-reversal to make this point.

Many scholars have commented on the subversive potential of carnivalesque reversal. Bakhtin is particularly clear on this point, writing that "for thousands of years the people have used these festive comic images to express their criticism, their deep distrust of official truth, and their highest hopes and aspirations" (Bakhtin 1968:269). Similarly, Larson's cartoons clearly have the potential to make us think that the natural order, as we have been conditioned to accept it, may be wrong. As Goodall (1995:7) has written, "Gary [Larson] starts us thinking, and then gets us to go on thinking, 'hey, there are other critters out there too. They have names and feelings. They matter too.'"

Revisiting the proverb cartoon, “and that’s the hand that fed me,” let us look at the cartoon again in light of this potential for social criticism. What is being criticized in the cartoon? The animals-versus people, animals-as-people and people-versus-animals tropes are almost always used by Larson to criticize human behavior. The obviously recognizable human behavior in this cartoon is that of hunting and trophy mounting, a human behavior that he has lampooned in other cartoons and even written about directly. “The hand that fed me,” like the three-legged elephant cartoon, can be seen as a comment upon this activity. Hunting for trophies, the cartoon seems to be saying, is “biting the hand that feeds us,” an act of spiteful malice carried out against the natural world, on which we depend for sustenance.

In the end, “and that’s the hand that fed me” is an example of how a literalized metaphor can nudge a reader toward a new critical interpretation—even a metaphorical one. Ordinarily, we do not think twice about “short cuts” like this, but in this case, the literal nature of the proverb—there is really “hand that fed me” present—makes us re-examine and re-evaluate the proverb. In doing so, we note that “the hand that fed me” is severed and mounted like the heads of the other animals, and that there is therefore a strong association being drawn between this particular type of behavior and the proverb. And here, the metaphorical nature of the proverb reemerges in our interpretation; killing for sport is metaphorically “biting the hand that feeds us,” just as the dog’s activity was literally harming that hand.

Literalizing a proverb, then, is hardly an insignificant or minor adaptation. It focuses attention on the material stratum of the proverb and away from the proverb’s “common sense,” “general” or “social” meaning. In so doing, it revitalizes the metaphor by giving it a direct sensory realism it otherwise lacks, and enhances the metaphor’s ability to foreground certain facets of a situation. By effecting a kind of ritual reversal, literalization opens the way for social criticism. More generally, by clearing away the established and often banal metaphorical meanings of a proverb, literalization makes possible a re-interpretation, a fresh approach to the proverb in its particular context of use. Gary Larson’s ability to do all these things with his proverb cartoons makes him one of the greatest proverb artists of the twentieth century, and arguably one of the greatest of all time.

Index of Proverbs in The Far Side

Note: For easy reference, the phrases below were sought in some of our most useful dictionaries of proverbial speech. If they were not found, their connection to the proverb tradition was established using online full text databases or by common sense.

Citations below are by page number, except where the dictionaries use an indexing system, in which case the dictionary's number is used.

The dictionaries used were:

- Mieder et al: *A Dictionary of American Proverbs*
- Partridge: *A Dictionary of Catch Phrases* (Cp)
- Partridge: *A Dictionary of Cliches* (Cl)
- Rees: *Dictionary of Catchphrases*
- Simpson: *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*
- Spears: *NTC's American Idioms Dictionary*
- Stevenson: *The Macmillan Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases*
- Titelman: *Random House Dictionary of Popular Proverbs and Sayings*
- Whiting: *Modern Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*
- Wilkinson: *Thesaurus of Traditional English Metaphors*

Please see the bibliography for full citations.

- Remember the **Alamo** (Larson 1988:134) Partridge CP 182
- You scratch my **back**, I'll scratch yours (Larson 1988:115)
Whiting B22
- Backseat** driver (Larson 1988:174) Wilkinson E5D
- To go from **bad** to worse (Larson 1993:12) Whiting B29
- Off the **beaten** path (Larson 1989:57), (Larson 1993:105)
Wilkinson G10a
- Busy as a **beaver** (Larson 1988:65) Whiting B130
- None of your **bee's** wax (Larson 1988:91) Wilkinson E30j
- Beginner's** luck (Larson 1986:62) Whiting B168
- Bells** and whistles (Larson 1995:115), Wilkinson 187a
- To eat (drink) like a **bird** (Larson 1995:92) Whiting B245
- The early **bird** catches the worm (Larson 1986:26), (Larson 1995:64), (Larson 1988:66) Whiting 8236
- A **bird** in the hand is worth two in the bush (Larson 1989:107) Whiting B229

- To take one's **blinders** off (Larson 1995:143) Wilkinson E16k [Wilkinson uses the word blinkers, which is synonymous with blinders.]
- The **bluebird** of happiness (Larson 1988:29)
- Brain**-storming (Larson 1995:141) Wilkinson D5
- To be bigger than a **breadbox** (Larson 1995:40)
- To have a **brush** with death (Larson 1986:130) cf Spears 161: have a brush with something.
- To kick the **bucket** (Larson 1995:116) Whiting B444
- Bull** in a china shop (Larson 1984:40) Whiting B462
- Bumper** to bumper (Larson 1988:139)
- To push someone's **buttons** (Larson 1995:37)
- To open a **can** of worms (Larson 1988:140) Whiting C22
- When the **cat's** away, the mice will play (Larson 1986:183) Whiting C115
- To **chicken** out (Larson 1993:71) Wilkinson E28c
- Don't count your **chickens** until they're hatched (Larson 1986:176) Whiting C166
- To get up with the **chickens** (Larson 1988:23) cf. Whiting 8242, C168, L43
- Too many **chiefs**, not enough Indians cf. Whiting C171; see: Too many scientists, not enough hunchbacks
- City** slickers (Larson 1986:141)
- Too **close** for comfort (Larson 1986:189) Spears 371
- To be on **cloud** nine (Larson 1986:106) Whiting C258
- It's a free **country** (Larson 1995:107) Whiting C355
- Curiosity** killed the cat (Larson 1986:167) (Larson 1988:103:2) Whiting C449
- Damned** if you do, damned if you don't (Larson 1986:152) Stevenson 537
- To raise the **dead** (var. of wake the dead) (Larson 1993:59) Wilkinson J66A
- Dear** john letter (Larson 1988:34) Whiting D82
- At **death's** door (or knocking on death's door) (Larson 1988:175) Whiting D102
- Vive la **difference!** (Larson 1984:22) Partridge CP 232
- You can't teach an old **dog** new tricks (Larson 1995:65) (Larson 1995:140) Whiting D251
- (A **dog** is) man's best friend (Larson 1989:110) Whiting D218

- To be **dog** tired (Larson 1988:189) Whiting D209
 Every **dog** has his day (Larson 1986:45) Whiting D222
 To put on the **dog** (Larson 1995:65) Whiting D248
 Let sleeping **dogs** lie (Larson 1995:85) Whiting D228
 The **dogs** of war (Larson 1988:59) Partridge C1 131
Dressed to kill (Larson 1986:17) Whiting K17
 To get the **drop** on someone (Larson 1984:160) Wilkinson
 C10b
Dumb bunny (Larson 1995:21)
 To eat **dust** (Larson 1993:124)
 To keep one **eye** on something (Larson 1993:91) Spears 165
 To be just a **face** in the crowd (Larson 1995:50)
 To **fall** for a trick (Larson 1993:141) Wilkinson K44
 To buy the **farm** (Larson 1995:116) Wilkinson E7a
 To play second **fiddle** (Larson 1995:113) Whiting F84
Fish or cut bait (Larson 1988:51) Whiting F154
 Big **fish** eat little fish (Larson 1984:147) Simpson 21
 There are more **fish** in the sea (Larson 1993:105) Whiting
 F146
 To sleep with the **fishes** (Larson 1995:119)
 To **flirt** with death (Larson 1989:105)
A fly in the ointment (Larson 1993:124) Whiting F200
 To be a **fly** on the wall (Larson 1993:154) Wilkinson G37a
Four eyes (Larson 1986:117)
 To **freeze** up (Larson 1993:94) Cf. Wilkinson G16c
 Forbidden **fruit** is the sweetest (Larson 1993:166) Mieder et
 al 242
Give someone the heebies, the creeps, the willies, the jitters
 (Larson 1986:22)
 People who live in **glass** houses should not throw stones
 (Larson 1993:42) Mieder et al 252
 The **grass** is greener on the other side (Larson 1993:162)
 Whiting G173
 To be only **half-baked**, (Larson 1986:73) Wilkinson I62b
 To bite the **hand** that feeds you (Larson 1988:47) Whiting
 H51
 Left **hand** doesn't know what the right hand is doing (Lar-
 son 1993:138) Whiting H46
 To go **haywire** (Larson 1993:62) Wilkinson E32e

- To have a good **head** on one's shoulders (Larson 1995:122)
Spears 162
- Go to **hell** (Larson 1988:85)
- To be **hell** on wheels (Larson 1986:112) Whiting H179
- To be left **high** and dry (Larson 1995:116) Whiting H207
- Not to know what **hit** you (Larson 1995:16)
- To be in **hog** heaven (Larson 1988:18)
- A **hole** in the wall (Larson 1993:51) Whiting H247
- To have a **hole** in one's head (do I look like I got a hole in my head?) (Larson 1995:52) Wilkinson I35e
- Angry as a **hornet** (Larson 1993:116) Whiting H301
- Horse** sense (Larson 1993:154) Whiting H336
- You can lead a **horse** to water, but you can't make him drink (Larson 1984:23) Whiting H316
- Wild **horses** couldn't drag me away (Larson 1993:134) Whiting H334
- To add **insult** to injury (Larson 1995:64) Whiting 141
- To **kill** in cold blood (Larson 1984:166) Wilkinson I26c
- To **laugh** at death (Larson 1995:17)
- Laughter** is the best medicine (Larson 1986:174) Mieder et al 362
- To come out of **left field** (Larson 1995:96)
- To pull someone's **leg** (Larson 1988:49) Whiting LID3
- Give me **liberty** or give me death (Larson 1993:73) Mieder et al 370
- I never met a **man** I didn't like (Larson 1989:107)
- No **man** is an island (Larson 1988:113) Titelman 251
- To lose one's **marbles** (Larson 1993:142) Whiting MB8
- The real **McCoy** (Larson 1993:47) Whiting M115
- To be in the **middle** of nowhere (Larson 1993:12) Spears 196.
- Mountain** must come to Mohammed (Larson 1995:91) Whiting M276
- Another **mouth** to feed (Larson 1988:23)
- Nature** abhors a vacuum (Larson 1995:26) Whiting N22
- To look for a **needle** in a haystack (Larson 1995:11) Whiting N50
- Never** say never (Larson 1995:73) Mieder et al 428
- To be a **packrat** (Larson 1995:118) Wilkinson C17h
- To get (go, etc.) from **point a** to point b (Larson 1995:30)

- A watched **pot** never boils (Larson 1995:67) Whiting P303
 To look like a drowned **rat** (Larson 1988:37) Whiting R50
 To **rattle** someone's cage (Larson 1995:78) Wilkinson C17i
 Not to be a **rocket** scientist [to be no rocket scientist] (Larson 1995:57)
Say it, don't spray it (Larson 1989:76), (Larson 1995:73) Rees CP 168.
 The whole **schmeer** (Larson 1984:14)
 Too many **scientists**, not enough hunchbacks (Larson 1988:70) [cf. too many chiefs, not enough Indians Whiting C171]
 To get away **Scot** free (Larson 1995:118) Wilkinson C21e
Ships that pass in the night (Larson 1995:130) Wilkinson J24
Shoot first, ask questions later (Larson 1986:13) (Larson 1989:107:1) Rees CP 172
 To **sleep** with the fishes (Larson 1993:34)
Smart ass (Larson 1995:21)
 To **smell** like a French cathouse (Larson 1988:35)
 I've heard that **song** before (Larson 1988:68) [cf. I've heard that one before Partridge CP 128]
 To barely **squeak** by (Larson 1986:185) Spears 335
 Walk (speak) softly, but carry a big **stick** (Larson 1989:107) Mieder et al 556
 To be a lucky **stiff** (Larson 1993:91)
 To be a **stranger** in these parts (Larson 1988:53)
 To **string** someone up (Larson 1984:131)
 To stick something where the **sun** don't (doesn't, does not) shine (Larson 1986:171)
 To be **thick-skulled** (Larson 1988:119) Wilkinson I21c
 Hanging by a **thread** (Larson 1986:67) Wilkinson J3a
 To know what makes 'er **tick** (Larson 1995:115) Wilkinson ASC
Time is money (Larson 1986:33) Whiting T145
Today is the first day of the rest of your life (Larson 1984:147)
 The oldest **trick** in the book (Larson 1993:141)
 To have an itchy **trigger-finger** (Larson 1993:84) [cf. Wilkinson I18f]

- Water** off a duck's back, like (Larson 1986:44) Whiting W38
 There's more than one **way** to skin a cat (Larson 1989:91) Whiting W74
 Not to know which **way** is up (Larson 1986:162) Whiting W81
 To be **wet** behind the ears (Larson 1995:53) Wilkinson I2g
 To fall asleep at the **wheel** (Larson 1993:61)
Wolf in Sheep's clothing (Larson 1986:95), (Larson 1986:123), (Larson 1989:109) Whiting W253
 To cry wolf/boy who cried **wolf** (Larson 1986:104) Whiting W254
 It's a **wrap** [filmmaker's slang for IIit's over, II based on the phrase lito wrap something Upll] (Larson 1988:49) cf. Wilkinson I87a
 Two **wrongs** don't make a right (Larson 1993:107) Whiting W347
 To catch some **Z's** (Larson 1995:105)

Notes

¹There have been several studies of the use of proverbs in cartoons, most notably by Wolfgang Mieder (1987:119-134; 1989:277-293; 1993 58-71; 2004:219-229). Few, if any, have concentrated on proverbial rhetoric and images in the work of a single cartoonist. While studies of proverbs in novels, short stories, poetry and even paintings often focus on a single creative artist, cartoons as a genre of art and/or literature are still regarded as too marginal for such treatment. This is a pity, because the juxtaposition of words and pictures found in a cartoon allows the artist to play with proverbs in ways that the purely verbal or purely visual artist cannot.

²Kapchan (1993:316) provides a wonderful example of pronoun play in proverbial speech. She recounts the use of a traditional rhetorical question, "aren't we all Muslims?" by a woman vendor in a Moroccan marketplace. Because the "we" in this proverbial question does not usually include women, its use by a woman changed the boundaries of the pronoun and added a hint of subversive novelty to the proverb.

³The idea that metaphors are comparisons disguised as non-comparative sentences is not original to Mack; on the contrary, it is one quite standard explanation of metaphor. Likewise, the idea that metaphor causes multiple meanings is widely accepted. Basso (1976:96-98) provides a discussion of "metaphor as simile" theories, including those of Richards (1938, 1948), Urban (1939), Black (1962) and Brown (1958), all of whom have discussed these features of metaphor.

⁴Social meanings are in fact the results of intertextual reference. We understand the meanings that our culture has selected for a metaphor not because of a set of explicit rules that were taught to us, nor because of instinct, but because we have

heard the metaphor used before, and have been able to learn the meanings from these interpretive experiences; as Abrahams and Babcock pointed out, a “carryover” of meaning occurs from a multiplicity of previous speech acts.

⁵The question of metaphor has been connected to proverb theory at least since Aristotle's *Poetics*. There has therefore been much discussion of metaphor and its importance for interpreting proverbs. One important and wide-ranging discussion is to be found in Honeck 1997:44- 85. Honeck looks at metaphor from the points of view of psychology, linguistics and rhetoric. He connects it to other tropes such as simile and metonymy, and gives a good introduction to the problems involved in theorizing metaphor. However, he does not provide a strong model of his own on the question of how either traditional or new metaphors contribute to proverb meaning; he is rather concerned with proverb cognition, leaving aside dialogic meaning for a more individual, psychological argument.

⁶The double analogy inherent in Crépeau's model—and its superiority to the direct proverb-context analogy propounded by Seitel—was first recognized by Peter Grybzek (1987). Grybzek also achieved an interesting synthesis of Crépeau's and Seitel's models.

⁷The production of cartoons like this would seem to follow a clear pattern, related to the one that Raymond Doctor (1995) observed for the shaggy dog story's “perverted proverbs”; in both shaggy dog stories and proverb cartoons, the creator starts with the proverb and thinks up the context, reversing the usual order of affairs. In the case of perverted proverb, some phonological change in a canonical proverb results in a new statement which requires a situation—thus a story contextualizing “people who live in grass houses should not stow thrones” or “if the foo shits, wear it.” Similarly, the proverb drawing changes the proverb by making it literal, and the drawing is the imaginary context, which often proves to be bizarre.

⁸Neal Norrick (1985:45) has termed the smallest recognizable unit of a proverb the “kernel,” and has stated that uttering the kernel is sufficient to invoke the proverb. In cases where the kernel has been omitted (e.g. the “haywire” example above), text-building is impossible. In the “early bird” example, on the other hand, “early bird” is itself the kernel, and so the proverb can be reconstructed. This is a useful addition to proverb theory, but it is a little strong to say that each proverb has one “kernel”; while Norrick identifies as “kernels” such phrases as “early bird,” “rolling stone” and “stitch in time,” the proverbs can be evoked without uttering these exact phrases: “you'd better get up early if you want to catch the worm,” “keep on rolling and you'll gather no moss” or “one word in time can save you nine” are all imaginable and recognizable invocations of these proverbs. The field of proverb innovation, as we have seen, is wide open to creative manipulation, and difficult to describe using hard and fast rules.

⁹Mieder (1983:267 n141) mentions a cartoon, which Alan Dundes saw in the *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1980, and which sounds very similar to this one. Since the *Chronicle* was the first paper to carry *The Far Side*, and since *The Far Side* started in 1980, and since this is a very early *Far Side* cartoon, it seems likely that this is the cartoon in question. Larson and *The Far Side* were not at all famous at the time, and it is therefore not surprising that Dundes did not remember the author or the title of the cartoon.

¹⁰The discovery in recent decades of Neanderthal flutes, horns and perhaps even bagpipes makes the idea of a caveman whistle less absurd than one might

think. Nonetheless, the bell, and of course the phrase “bells and whistles” are profoundly anachronistic in the caveman context.

¹¹Notice that the issue of reversibility is being applied to different aspects of the expressions at hand: like “Lewis and Clark,” “bells and whistles” is not reversible in itself; the caveman couldn’t say “whistles and bells,” or at least, if he did, the meaning of the joke would change.

¹²The literature on World Upside-Down imagery and literalized proverb drawings is vast and international. The best summary in English is Malcolm Jones’s 1989 article. Röhrich’s 1959 survey article (in German) is very useful, and Mieder’s 1977 review article (also in German) is even more detailed and specific (see now also the 378 annotated bibliographical entries in Mieder and Sobieski 1999). Other important treatments of World Upside-Down include Odenius 1954, Deruelle 1958, Cocchiara 1963, Kenner 1970, Cherchi 1971, Grant 1973, Chartier and Julia 1976, Kunzle 1978, Scribner 1978. Literalized proverbs in visual art are given general treatments by, among others, Bolte 1915, Frank and Miner 1937, Lebeer 1939-1940, de Meyer 1962 & 1969, Coupe 1966 [vol. 1:189-204], Brednich 1975. There is also extensive scholarship on Breughel, Bosch, Goya, and other famous artists who illustrated proverbs. Several scholars have noted that inverted hierarchies and literalized metaphors are both examples of the absurd, and practically all recognize that some proverbs explicitly exemplify reversed social hierarchies. However, few have connected the literalized proverb and the reversed hierarchy in any more general logical terms.

¹³The traditional connections between word-world reversals and hierarchical reversals go beyond World Upside-Down prints and paintings, and beyond *The Far Side*; they often emerge in depictions of comic utopia in folklore and popular culture. Hal Rammel (1990) has pointed this out in various ways. One of his examples, in fact, connects the idea of leveled or reversed hierarchies directly with images shared by two of Larson’s proverb cartoons; this is the song “That’s What I Like About Nowhere” by Red Ingle, which provides both the starting point and the ending point of Rammel’s excursion.

Ingle’s entire song is a protracted riff on the idea of “Nowhere” as a place. Furthermore, Ingle says that “when you’re livin’ there, you’re on cloud eight.” In Ingle’s song, these two word-world inversions (later to reappear in *The Far Side*’s “Middle of Nowhere” and “Life on Cloud Eight” cartoons) are placed within a locale where hierarchy doesn’t matter, where the narrator can with equal ease call up “the President, the King of Norway, and a little guy called Max,” where taxes and “mother-in-laws” and the subjugation of ordinary people to their jobs and their bosses (as symbolized by the need for money and alarm clocks) are entirely absent. In this song, as in World Upside-Down and *The Far Side*, word-world inversion and the reversal of hierarchies coexist as equally nonsensical, topsy-turvy ideas that seem somehow to depend on one another.

Larson understands the deep connection between the utopian and the absurd. In his frequent allusions to the song “Home on the Range,” one of our least absurd utopian songs, Larson uses both literalization and inversion to reveal hidden silliness. In one cartoon, a herd of buffalo show up at someone’s house to “just sort of roam around for a while” (Larson 1986:69); this shows how ridiculous it is to wish for “a home where the buffalo roam.” In another cartoon, which appeared both as a *Nature’s Way* (Larson 1989:32) and as a *Far Side* (Larson 1986:145), the danger

inherent in that wish is revealed when a cowboy singing the song is on the verge of being trampled by a herd of buffalo. Still another reverses one of the song's images, and provides a picture of deer and antelope carrying picks and pushing wheelbarrows, with the caption "where the deer and the antelope work" (Larson 1995:42). Finally, another cartoon depicts an irate cowboy telling his friends that "Simmons here just uttered a discouraging word!" (Larson 1993:60) All of these cartoons serve to undercut the song's idyllic imagery, showing it to be a little silly and even potentially absurd.

¹⁴This alludes, of course, to the historical theory that the fire was begun by Mrs. O'Leary's cow.

¹⁵It is fascinating the extent to which Larson's animals-as-people and animals-versus-people tropes can be seen to descend directly from some of the earliest surviving human art. Thomas Wright is worth quoting on this point. In discussing ancient Egyptian caricatures, he writes:

The practice having been once introduced of representing men under the character of animals, was soon developed into other applications of the same idea—such as that of figuring animals employed in the various occupations of mankind, and that of reversing the position of man and the inferior animals, and representing the latter as treating their human tyrant in the same manner as they are usually treated by him (Wright 1875:6-7).

¹⁶The panel I have interpreted as an ox butchering a man appears as number 32 in the Catalan woodcut given by Grant; however, the animal is quite hairy and may possibly be a sheep. Panel number 36 appears to show two sheep butchering a man, while number 35 shows a sheep spit-roasting a man. Number 31 shows what appear to be two pigs butchering and sticking a man. In a uniquely Iberian touch, number 23 depicts a bullfight in which the bull carries the flag and the sword!

¹⁷Hunting, too, was satirized in medieval World Upside-Down prints, but in a more direct and shocking way. Just as the cattle who butcher the man were popular figures, so were the rabbits who boil the hounds and roast the hunter. The Flemish folklorist Maurits de Meyer (1962:425) called this "the oldest and best-loved World Turned Upside-Down Motif." The closest Larson comes to this direct hunter-animal reversal is the hostage-swap cartoon mentioned above, in which the deer capture but do not kill the hunter, and of course "the hand that fed me." Also interesting is one of Larson's early *Nature's Way* cartoons, in which a rabbit wears a human foot around his neck "for good luck" (Larson 1989:28).

¹⁸Drawing on a long international chain of scholarship on festival behavior and World Upside-Down, Natalie Zeman Davis (1975:97) and Peter Burke (1978:202) both point out that the traditional view of the serious criticism embodied in such carnival imagery is that it acts as a social "safety valve," venting the hostilities that build up during the non-festive year, thus aiding in the preservation of the status quo. However, both go on to show that this safety-valve theory is only partly adequate, and that at times the festive reversal inherent in carnival and World Upside-Down leads to the opposite; to riots, destabilization, and ultimately social change.

¹⁹It is generally accepted that the World Upside-Down art of earlier centuries comments on human hierarchies. Helen Grant (1973:123-124), however, has sug-

gested that “perhaps there lies a genuine feeling for animals exploited by humans behind those endless cuts.” Whether this was true before the eighteenth century is hard to say, but Larson certainly feels for the animals in his cartoons.

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Aspekte der historischen Phraseologie und Phraseographie. Ed. by Natalia Filatkina, Ane Kleine-Engel, Marcel Dräger, and Harald Burger. Germanistische Bibliothek 46. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2012. Pp. 327.

Dieser Sammelband bietet vierzehn Aufsätze (neben einer Einleitung) von einer gleichnamigen Tagung in Granada (2010). Unterstützt wurde die Veröffentlichung finanziell durch das Historisch-Wissenschaftliche Forschungszentrum (HKFZ) Trier. Vier Aufsätze erscheinen in englischer Sprache. Jeder Beitrag enthält eine willkommene deutsche und englische Zusammenfassung (abstract). Harald Burger liefert wie gewohnt eine reich dokumentierte Übersicht, zugleich eine Einführung in die Thematik, nämlich die Einsicht, dass die historische Philologie [sic] gegenüber weniger streng wissenschaftlichen Bemühungen genauere und ergiebigere Kenntnisse phraseologischer Einheiten erbringt. Man muss nämlich zeitgerechte phonologische, semantische, morpho-syntaktische und nicht zuletzt textlinguistische (pragmatische) Kriterien einsetzen, um zu einer Beurteilung einer Formulierung als phraseologisch zu gelangen, um sie dann infolge solcher Einsichten im Kontext des Textes und des historischen Umfelds zu deuten. Interessanterweise zieht Burger Theodor Fontane in die Diskussion ein, um an einem neuzeitlicheren Autor ein Beispiel zu zeigen, dass sich ein jeder Autor etwa für die Anwendung von paarigen Ausdrücken entscheiden kann, die (noch) nicht als Idiome, aber dennoch als rhetorische Elemente fungieren. Vor allem die historische Betrachtungsweise lässt klar erkennen, dass sich die phraseologischen Einheiten, insbesondere Sprichwörter, durch Variation/Modifikation dargestellt haben und in der Gegenwart immer noch auszeichnen. In diesem Zusammenhang wäre auf die zahlreichen Arbeiten von Wolfgang Mieder zum Antispruchwort hinzuweisen.

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Die Aufsätze hat man in vier Gruppen eingeteilt. Zum Thema Historische Phraseologie in älteren deutschen Texten trägt Filatkina mit einem Umriss der Arbeit der Forschungsgruppe Historische Formelhafte Sprache und Traditionen des Formulierens (HiFoS, Trier) vor, wie man im internationalen interdisziplinären Kontext Texte bis circa 1700 Daten erschließt und bereitstellt. Dabei sollen neben akribischer Analyse ein möglichst breites Spektrum an Text(sort)en herangezogen werden, um auch zu genrespezifischen Merkmalen zu gelangen. Als Beispiel werden formelhafte Redewendungen aus Thomas Münzers *Schelmenzunft* untersucht. Im breiteren Kontext werden auch Bilder aus der Überlieferungsgeschichte des Werks herangezogen, die die Idiome aus einer anderen künstlerischen Perspektive darstellen. In jedem Fall wird das Bild als Interpretation des Textes (einschließlich des intendierten Lesekreises) ausgelegt. Abbildungen zeigen u.a. die methodologische Erfassung der Daten auf der HiFoS-Dateibank.

Der zweite Beitrag zur historischen Phraseologie (durch Monika Hanauska) befasst sich mit dem Gebrauch von Routineformeln im althochdeutschen Otfrid und dem altsächsischen *Heliand*. Die gewonnenen Einsichten lassen die Texte in ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden vor allem im Bereich der Pragmatik besser begreifen. Hier sieht Hanauska in der Form des Endreims (Otfrid) ferner Gründe, weshalb der *Heliand*-Dichter freier mit den Formeln umgehen kann. Zwar mag dies bei Routineformeln zutreffen, bei anderen – etwa stabreimenden – wäre diese These zu prüfen. In diesem Sinne sollen ja weitere Sammlungen und Untersuchungen zu einzelnen phraseologischen Elementen – seien sie in anderen Gattungen und/oder in denselben Texten – deren Funktionen erhellen. Ähnlich sieht es übrigens Andrea Schindler (in ihrer wertvollen Rezension desselben Bandes, *Beiträge zur Namensforschung* 48 [2013], 369-372, hier 370). In der von Hanauska zitierten Literatur zum *Heliand* vermisst man Hinweise auf wertvolle Arbeiten von G. Ronald Murphy.

Carina Hoff stellt ihr Dissertationsvorhaben vor: Formelhafte Sprache in den südwestdeutschen dominikanischen Nonnenviten des 14. Jahrhunderts. Hier werden Hinweise gesucht, dass sich eine Formelsprache innerhalb des Genres Schwesternbuch gebildet habe. Dabei sucht man diachronische Variation und Einfluss aus anderen Textgattungen. Es sollen innerhalb der Unter-

suchung neben formalen Aspekten Semantik und enger sowie breiter aufgefasste Kulturgeschichte wichtige Rollen spielen.

Die zweite Gruppe greift Historische Philologie in anderen Sprachen auf. Alexander Bierich erläutert die Entwicklung der russischen Phraseologie im 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Anhand von circa 5.000 Einheiten stellt Bierich fest, dass viele im Laufe der Jahrhunderte aus der Sprache verschwunden sind. Gründe sind sowohl lexikalische als auch semantische Entwicklungen, die das gesamte Phrasem oder aber einzelne Elemente eines Phrasems betreffen. Abnehmende Toleranz der Variation gegenüber und die Reduktion einzelner grammatischer Komponente tragen zum idiomatischen Verlust bei. Seine 39 Beispiele werden mit deutschen Übersetzungen in den meisten Punkten auch für die Russisch-Unkundigen nachvollziehbar. Bettina Bock zieht das Hethitische heran, um für die Berücksichtigung alter, ja auch untergegangener Sprachen zu plädieren, lassen sich ja europaweit belegte Phraseologismen (neben Gesten und Handlungen) nachweisen. In manchen Fällen kann auch das Fehlen eines Idioms auf kulturhistorische Zusammenhänge deuten. Interessanterweise zeigt Bock Beispiele aus dem Bereich Macht und aus dem Bereich Untertan; bei letzterem spielt die Zahl sieben eine auffällige Rolle, was auf außerindoeuropäische Verhältnisse weisen kann. Ane Kleine-Engel trägt anhand ihrer Arbeit am Luxemburgischen vor, weshalb eine historische Vorgehensweise auch für noch nicht standardisierte Sprachen ertragreich ist. Forschung zu den Mundarten und benachbarten Sprachen sollen ja gerade bei einer multisprachlichen Gemeinschaft die ja letztendlich lexikographische phraseologische Arbeit fördern. Die historischen Komponenten werden gewissermaßen ergänzt durch Robert Clees in seinem unter Historische Phraseographie erscheinenden Aufsatz, in dem er Unterschiede in der dokumentierten luxemburgischen Phraseologie des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts gegenüber dem heutigen Sprachgebrauch feststellt. Wolfgang Mieder liefert eine wie gewohnt einsichtsvolle Darstellung des Gebrauchs von Sprichwörtern in der berühmten 'I have a dream'-Rede (1963) von Martin Luther King, Jr. Mieder zeigt, wie sich die mündlichen Traditionen mit schriftbiblischen Anspielungen bzw. Zitaten in den unterschiedlichen Texten von King vermengen, dies in der Art und Weise eines Predigers vor einem Publikum, das den Sprichwortschatz kennt und darauf reagiert.

Die Verbindung von volksnahem und gelehrtem Inhalt zeigte und zeigt noch heute ihre Wirkung. Elisabeth Piirainen schließt den Teilbereich 'andere Sprachen' mit einem Bericht über fünf europäisch verbreitete Idiome, die anhand von Arbeit an circa 70 Sprachen dokumentiert sind. Dabei stellt Piirainen fest, dass weitere 70 europäische Sprachen, einige davon im Abnehmen, noch zu erfassen seien. Hier muss die Forschung auf Variantenreichtum achten, die auch auf unterschiedliche kulturhistorische Zusammenhänge zurückzuführen und zu erklären sind.

Neben dem oben genannten Beitrag von Clees zum Luxemburgischen befassen sich drei weitere Arbeiten mit der Historischen Phraseographie. Interessant in diesem Kontext ist die Tatsache, dass gerade die Lexika für die sprachhistorische Erfassung von Redewendungen benutzt wurden und werden, obwohl ihre jeweilige Entstehungsgeschichte ihre Nützlichkeit (einschließlich Verlässlichkeit) mitbestimmt. Marcel Dräger führt die Ansätze vor, die er für unabdingbar bei der Arbeit mit historischen Phraseologismen hält. Zum Teil wären Lücken innerhalb des Forschungsfeldes auf die relativ junge Geschichte der Phraseologie/Phraseographie zurückzuführen. Volkssprachliches Interesse an und verbreitete Irrtümer in Hinblick auf die Etymologie mancher Ausdrücke können Anstöße sein, solche Fälle zu untersuchen. Dräger unterscheidet zwischen einer Phase, in der sich Phraseme entwickeln, und der späteren Phase, in der sie als feste Größe fungieren. Dräger lässt die Frage offen, inwieweit und inwiefern die computerunterstützte Erfassung von Texten (Korpuslinguistik) im Bereich der historischen Phraseologie zu werten sein wird. Eine historische Phraseographie kann ja nur aufgrund zuverlässiger philologischer Arbeit entstehen. Dabei muss die Forschung bereits gewonnene Erkenntnisse berücksichtigen, gegebenenfalls berichtigen. Nicht nur Sprache (nach Coseriu) ist historisch Gewordenes, sondern auch die Wissenschaftsgeschichte selbst. Probleme – gerade bei der Bestimmung der Formelhaftigkeit – sind für ältere Sprachstufen kennzeichnend. Dräger sucht gerade den phraseologischen Wandel zu begreifen, indem er unterschiedliche Ebenen als Untersuchungsgegenstand auffasst: eine semantische, eine formal-strukturelle und eine wort-, sach- und kulturgeschichtliche. Mittels einer graphischen Darstellung soll man diese Ebenen als auf einander bezogen auffassen und deren jeweiligen Verlauf sichtbar werden lassen. Hat man in der

Vergangenheit zu sehr auf Anfang und Ende der Geschichte eines Idioms geachtet, ist zu hoffen, dass man mit Hilfe der Korpuslinguistik die zahlreichen Zwischenstufen ermitteln und erklären kann. Es ist dennoch zu betonen, dass der jeweilige Beleg philologisch gedeutet werden muss. Zwei Aufsätze behandeln lexikographische Hilfsmittel, die im Internet benutzbar sind. Das *Deutsche Rechtswörterbuch* stellt Stefaniya Ptashnyk vor. Zahlreiche Paarformeln (mehr dazu hier unten) treten in den Vordergrund. Ihre jeweilige Deutung (etwa als volkssprachig oder als von der lateinischen Rhetorik beeinflusst) wäre allerdings noch innerhalb und außerhalb der Literatur des Rechts zu klären. Hier, wie im folgenden Beitrag, hat die Forschung mit der Tatsache zu rechnen, dass sich die begriffliche Erfassung von Redewendungen keinesfalls einheitlich gestaltet. Ptashnyk führt vor, wie man manche Probleme umgehen kann. Diana Stantcheva diskutiert die lexikographischen Angaben im *Deutschen Wörterbuch*, wobei sie zu der Erkenntnis gelangt, dass die Behandlung im Laufe der ja hundert Jahre ungleichmäßig ausfällt. Das entspricht der Geschichte der Phraseologie im ganzen, wie Klaus Dieter Pilz (*Phraseologie*, 1978) vor allem für die deutsche Gegenwartssprache schon dargelegt hatte. Stantchevas Aufsatz ist weitestgehend mit einem aus dem gleichen Jahr (in der Festschrift Korhonen, hier unten) identisch.

Zwei computertechnologisch ausgerichtete Arbeiten beschäftigen sich mit Datenerhebung und Korpusarbeit in der historischen Phraseologie. Andreas Bürki erklärt und bewertet Versuche korpusgeleiteter Extraktion von Mehrwortsequenzen anhand von deutschsprachigen Daten, wobei Hürden wie beispielsweise eine uneinheitliche Rechtschreibung, variable Wortfolge und N-Grammlisten überhaupt genommen werden müssen. Versuche haben zu erfolgversprechenden Ergebnissen geführt. Der letzte Aufsatz, von Britta Juska-Bacher, führt in den oben angesprochenen Bereich Wörterbücher zurück. Lexika dienen für die Erforschung des Neuhochdeutschen am besten im Zusammenhang mit neuen Beleg-sammlungen, Korpusanalysen, Befragungen von Informanten und schließlich mit den Einsichten der Forschenden. Ergebnisse schließen ein, dass auch im Deutschen Phraseologismen aussterben und dass sich andere im Laufe der Zeit ändern. Es bedarf schließlich in sämtlichen Fällen, die in diesem Band angesprochen werden, ein Mehr an Forschung. Möge der Band dazu anreizen.

Zu jedem Aufsatz hat man eine eigene Liste zitierter Literatur erstellt, was zu vielfacher Wiederholung führte. Die Angabe 1987 (ein Nachdruck, ohne sie so zu nennen) zu Wanders *Sprichwörter-Lexikon* (1867-1880) ist wenig hilfreich. Im Übrigen ist das Lexikon auf der Webseite <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/> (ebenfalls die Universität Trier, Kompetenzzentrum für elektronische Erschließungs- und Publikationsverfahren in den Geisteswissenschaften) erreichbar.

Ein wie immer willkommener Index schließt den Band ab. Leider wurden manche ja in den Aufsätzen verwendeten Termini – oder entsprechenden Querverweise – unterlassen, so etwa binomial (engl.), Doppelformel, Wortpaar, Zwillingsformel. Zum Index hätte gut ein Verzeichnis der behandelten Phraseme gepasst, wie in manchen phraseologischen Veröffentlichungen üblich. So hätte man einerseits die Redewendungen finden können, andererseits wäre man zu Stellen geführt, wo ohne explizite Nennung beispielsweise eine stabreimende Paarformel (bzw. Zwillingsformel, binomial, Wortpaar) behandelt wird: *mit Kind und Kegel, fex (fix) a fäerdeg* (luxemb.), *time and tide* (engl.), *dët an dat* (luxemb.), *Haus und Hof, mit Huf oder Horn, mit Spitze oder Schneide, wunn und weid, haut und har, recht und redlich, tagen und teidigen, Wort und Werk, lieb und leid, wasser und weid, Eigen und Erbe, in Gewalt und Gewehr, noch meten noch malen* (niederdt.), *mit lügen und mit listen* (Teil eines Sprichworts). Andererseits scheint der Eintrag *Phraseografie* direkt vor *Phraseographie* um einen überflüssig zu sein. Unter *idiom* erscheint kein Hinweis auf vier Einträge zu *widespread idiom* (unter <w>). Die Erstellung eines zweckdienlichen Registers ist keine leichte Aufgabe, kann aber ein sehr wertvolles Werkzeug darstellen. Manche der hier angeführten Aufsätze versprechen und/oder hoffen auf elektronische Suchprogramme der Zukunft, die (fast) alle Registerwünsche (natürlich nur bei elektronischen Texten) erfüllen werden. Es hat sich allerdings (Besuch am 13.10.2013) seit fast anderthalb Jahren nichts auf der Webseite des Projekts Oldphras getan.

Es tut sich derzeit sehr viel um die historische Phraseologie (und Phraseographie). Mit diesem Band lässt sich einiges entdecken und besser verstehen. Es sei in diesem Zusammenhang hingewiesen auf: *Idiome, Konstruktionen, "verblümete rede": Beiträge zur Geschichte der germanistischen Phraseologieforschung*, Hg. Michael

Prinz und Ulrike Richter-Vapaatalo [Festschrift Jarmo Korhonen]
sowie *Formelhaftigkeit in Text und Bild*, Hg. Natalia Filatkina,
Birgit Ulricke Münch, Ane Kleine-Engel, beide auch 2012.

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Functions and Formal Stylistic Features of Kafa Proverbs. By Mesfin Wodajo. Saarbrücken, Germany: LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing Group, 2012. Pp. 112.

This collection and study of 130 Ethiopian proverbs is welcome as the very first publication analyzing the proverbs from a language of the Omotic language family. The only other proverb publication from Omotic is a collection of Wolaitta proverbs translated into Amharic, *Wolaytāto Lemsuwa* by Getachew and Tsägaye (1987 Ethiopian calendar).

The author is a native speaker of the Kafa language, which is spoken by over 800,000 people in southwest Ethiopia. The book contains a long introduction to the Kafa people, the study of folklore, and a review of proverb study, reflecting the pattern of Ethiopian scholars writing broad introductions. The book also gives the circumstances in which certain proverbs were recorded, such as an elder cautioning a youth not to antagonize a rich man (p. 57); this makes the book so much more than simply a list of proverbs.

The author is to be congratulated for the first published discussion of poetic features of proverbs in any Ethiopian language. He cites examples of rhyme at the beginning and end of couplets, also alliteration of consonants and even whole syllables. Combinations of poetic art are seen in examples such as *Ittonaa ittoona kechee kechiye wone* “‘Respect and stew come out of a house,’ it is said” (p. 106). Note also “Bushecho girecho / bunecho nuushesho” ‘Hen drinks what has to be eaten/ and eats what has to be drunk’ (p. 85). Note also the word initial nasal consonants (m and n) in the following: *Mame ne maacooyich / nallibe na magooyich* ‘Eat for your stomach, judge for your house’ (p. 69). Note also the multisyllabic similarities of the final word in each clause.

The author clearly believes that Kafa proverbs reflect the society’s values. He organized them under categories, such as atti-

tudes toward agriculture and forestry, righteousness and wisdom, and kinship solidarity. For example, laziness is condemned by the proverb “[while] Waiting for others’ oxen, do not forget your hoe.” The value of “righteousness” is seen in “Going on the right road never makes one’s mother to be insulted.” Such proverbs are used to “reflect”, “correct”, and guide”.

Kafa proverbs lead us to think about what constitutes a “wellerism”. Kafa has examples of standard wellerisms, e.g. “‘Fearful [one] has many sticks,’ said the dog” (p. 112). However, many more Kafa proverbs consist of a quotation without a specified speaker, e.g. “‘Though the cock crows, it cannot open the door,’ said someone.” Some, the author explains as passive (“it is said”), but he classifies all as wellerisms (p. 90). How should such quotation proverbs be classified?

Twelve of the 25 proverbs under “Social criticism” (p. 98, 99) have such an unspecified speaker. For example, “‘Regret and tail are at the back”, it is said”. In a society that does not favor open confrontation, “Social criticism” is often best served by proverbs that reflect the wisdom of broader society, rather than individuals seen as openly asserting their own views.

A proverb from a former social context is still in use today, but with a different meaning: “The ox that tills the land eats straw/ the dog eats bread.” This metaphor originally referred to feudal landlords who collected taxes and labor from tenant farmers up until the 1974 revolution. “But it is not exclusively historical, because still the Kafa people use it to criticize” greedy people (p. 83).

Kafa people are still creating new proverbs. For example, “‘One who is lucky turned his hair gray, one who hid himself fathered children’ it was said” (p. 56). This refers to a time in the 1980’s when young men were rounded up for the civil war. Those who hid survived, later fathering children.

Collections such as this allow readers to study Kafa proverbs for content. For example, I found approximately twice as many proverbs about chickens (including cock, hen, chick) as proverbs about any other animal. Cattle (ox/cow) and dog came second. As has been found in other languages, animal proverbs mention animals that are common in people’s lives. The characteristics of common animals are used symbolically (p. 90), e.g. chickens are generally weak and troublesome. This is the first collection of

Ethiopian proverbs I have read that did not include any about donkeys or hyenas, though both are common in Kafa areas.

The book contains much that is fascinating and useful for proverb studies, but other material also. Ethiopian proverb scholars should look for a wider variety of models.

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WOLFGANG MIEDER

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEW AND
REPRINTED PROVERB COLLECTIONS

For Edward Zellem

During the past year I have been able to add 90 proverb collections to my International Proverb Archives at the University of Vermont at Burlington, Vermont. Some of them are collections located in scholarly journals that appeared decades ago, then there are small books intended for the popular book market, but this bibliography also includes numerous incredibly important and valuable reprinted or new collections in various languages. All of these publications are a sign of the diligent paremiographical activities throughout the world.

I was especially excited when I received the massive first complete Italian translation of Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Adagia* (Milano: Bompiani, 2013) from Emanuele Lelli with its 3011 pages. Other special collections that I might mention are Damiana L. Eugenio, *Philippine Folk Literature: The Proverbs* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2002); Jonathon Green, *Green's Dictionary of Slang*, 3 vols. (London: Chambers, 2010); and Hans Schemann, Carmen Mellado Blanco, Patricia Buján, Nely Iglesias, Juan P. Larreta, and Ana Mansilla, *Idiomatik Deutsch-Spanisch / Diccionario Idiomático Alemán-Español* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 2013). Of utmost significance is also the completion of Frederick G. Cassidy and Joan Houston Hall (eds.), *Dictionary of American Regional English*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985-2013). These large six volumes with a total of 6316 pages with two densely printed columns on each page are of great value for paremiologists, as I have explained in my laudatory comments "Language and Vernacular Culture: Why Folklorists Should Read the *Dictionary of American Regional English*," *Journal of Folklore Research*. 59 (2012), 107-112.

PROVERBIUM 31 (2014)

As always, I would like to thank those colleagues and friends who have sent me their paremiographical publications. I realize that some of the collections are quite expensive and I certainly don't expect to receive them as presents. I am more than happy to pay for them, and if you let me have about 250 copies of an advertisement, I will be glad to include them in the next mailing of *Proverbium*.

Finally, by dedicating this annual bibliography to him, I wish to thank Edward Zellem for sending me copies of his splendid collection *Afghan Proverbs Illustrated*. Illustrated by the students of Marefat High School, Kabul, Afghanistan (Lexington, Kentucky: CreateSpace, 2012) that has appeared in several languages with other translations planned. It is an informative and beautifully produced volume of Afghan proverbs that Edward Zellem collected in Afghanistan during his time of service there as Captain of the United States Navy. His collection represents a treasure of the proverbial wisdom of that country and serves as an example of the commonality of life that ties humanity together all over the world.

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WOLFGANG MIEDER

INTERNATIONAL PROVERB SCHOLARSHIP:
AN UPDATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

For Elena Arsenyeva

The annual harvest of paremiological and phraseological studies is once again most impressive with its 407 titles in a multitude of languages. Obtaining and registering these publications from around the world keeps me plenty busy, and I would like to express my gratitude to our departmental secretary Brian Minier, who as the Managing Editor of *Proverbiium* is of great help to me. He is especially good at finding publications on the internet, and I so much appreciate his expertise in this area.

Let me mention a number of books that I have been able to add to my International Proverb Archives at the University of Vermont during this past year that are of special value, to wit Jean-Claude Anscombre and Salah Mejri (eds.), *Le figement linguistique: La parole entravée* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011); Elena Arsenyeva (ed.), *Frazeologija v mnogojazychnom obščestve*, 2 vols. (Kazan': Kazanskii Federal'nyi Universitet, 2013); Riad Aziz Kassis, *The Book of Proverbs & Arabic Proverbial Works* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Pedro Mogorrón Huerta, Daniel Gallego Hernández, Paola Masseur, and Miguel Tolosa Igualada (eds.), *Fraseología, Opacidad y Traducción* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013); Marlene Mussner, *Jedem Tierchen sein Pläsierchen. Phraseme mit Tierbezeichnungen im Komponentenbestand im Vergleich zwischen den Sprachen Deutsch, Französisch und Italienisch* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012); Frank Nuessel, *Studies in Proverbial Language* (Mineola, New York: Legas, 2013); Rui J.B. Soares, Rui J.B. and Outi Lauhakangas (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixth Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Proverbs, 4th to 11th November 2012, at Tavira, Portugal* (Tavira: Tipografia Tavirense, 2013); Joanna Szerszunowicz, Bogusław Nowowiejski, Katsumasa Yagi, and Takaaki Kanzaki (eds.), *Research on Phraseology in Europe and Asia: Focal Issues*

of *Phraseological Studies* (Białystok: University of Białystok Publishing House, 2011); Grzegorz Szpila, *Idioms in Salman Rushdie's Novels. A Phraseo-Stylistic Approach* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012); and Harry Walter Harry et al., *Lebt denn der alte Bruegel noch? Peter Bruegels "Die niederländischen Sprichwörter" (1559) im heutigen Europa* (Greifswald: Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald, Institut für Slawistik, 2013). Of course, there are many invaluable articles and book chapters listed in this bibliography that all indicate the truly impressive scholarly activity by paremiologists and phraseologists.

As always, I would like to thank all of you who have sent me your publications during the year. Please continue to supply me with these treasures as they appear, and if it is a matter of books, I will most certainly be glad to purchase them from you. Also, if you have advertisements of your new books, please send me about 250 copies and I will gladly include them in my yearly mailing of *Proverbium* to help spread the good news.

Finally, let me dedicate this year's bibliography to my dear friend Elena Arsentjeva in Kazan'. I will never forget when she spent several weeks here in Burlington, Vermont, working in my archives. We had such a wonderful time, and one of my greatest regrets is that I was unable to travel to Kazan's last year to attend the international conference she had organized in Russia (see the two volumes edited by her mentioned above). In any case, we enjoy helping and supporting each other, and it is good to see that all of us make a congenial family of scholars dedicated to proverb scholarship. Being in touch with each other and maintaining our friendships makes our work even more special and meaningful. After all, it is the collaborative work of international scholars that help us to advance both paremiology and phraseology.

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