

PROVERBIUM

Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship



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WOLFGANG MIEDER

PREFACE

Another year has passed with numerous paremiological and phraseological conferences having taken place in a number of countries. Their proceedings have appeared in various exciting volumes, and there is no doubt that the international community of proverb scholars has been very busy once again. It is good to see that paremiology is well and alive throughout the world, as can be seen from the two annual bibliographies at the end of this volume. It is amazing to realize that this is the twenty-ninth consecutive volume of *Proverbiolum: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship*. It has been a true honor and a great privilege for me to act as the editor for almost three decades by now, and I certainly hope that I will be able to fill this role for a few more years to come.

As some of you will recall, our long-time managing editor Janet Sobieski has retired from the University of Vermont. She and her husband Bill moved to Boise, Idaho, where they are closer to their two children. With Ms. Sobieski's departure the Department of German and Russian had to look for a new administrative assistant, and I am happy to report that Mr. Brian Minier has taken on this important position. He is now also our new managing editor, and I am very excited indeed to have him join our associate editor Prof. Galit Hasan-Rokem, our production editor Ms. Hope Greenberg, and me as founding editor. The four of us are eager to produce future *Proverbiolum* volumes for proverb scholars everywhere. Brian Minier will be your contact person for your subscription renewals, your payments, your address changes, etc. Manuscripts should be submitted to me as usual. There is no need to provide hard copies of your manuscripts. It is perfectly acceptable to send your manuscripts as an e-mail attachment. Please try to put your articles and book reviews into the format that you know from previous volumes of *Proverbiolum*. Also, try to remember that your articles should contain an abstract and a list of keywords.

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This brings me to the vexing problem of finances. The production cost of *Proverbium* has pretty much stayed the same during the past few years, but it is the postage that is getting ever more expensive. The many packages that we mail abroad cost close to \$25 each, and as you know, we only charge individuals \$40 and libraries \$45 per volume. You can see that the subscriptions do by no means cover the actual costs of producing the *Proverbium* volume and the two volumes of the supplement series that you receive each year free of charge. So I am constantly raising money from other sources, such as relatives, friends, colleagues, and other philanthropists as well as the bookstore and the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Vermont. In addition to the subscription payments, I have to raise about \$12,000 each year. This is no easy task, as you can well imagine. If you were to be in a position to send more than \$40 to help us out, we would very much appreciate your generosity. But do not worry, we will carry on somehow in the hope of satisfying all of you each year with both *Proverbium* and the two traditional volumes from the supplement series.

The present volume with its almost 550 pages once again reflects my commitment to making *Proverbium* a truly international publication. We accept articles from around the world, and we are willing to publish in a number of foreign languages. The articles may be of any length, and we also welcome reports and book reviews. If you wish to submit a review, simply contact me, and I will be glad to let you know whether the book in question is already being reviewed by someone else. If not, we will be delighted to publish your review so that the international community of proverb scholars remains informed of the newest publications.

Let me close these short prefatory remarks by thanking all of you for your continued interest in and support of *Proverbium*. Together with Galit Hasan-Rokem, Brian Minier, Hope Greenberg, and the good people at Queen City Printers I wish you the very best for your paremiological work during the coming year. We look forward to receiving manuscripts from you and other proverb scholars so that exciting proverb scholarship may be distributed throughout the world.

Wolfgang Mieder

ELENA ARSENTEVA AND ALBINA KAYUMOVA

TRANSLATION POSSIBILITIES OF OCCASIONAL
CONTEXTUAL MODIFICATIONS OF
PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS

Abstract: The article is devoted to the problem of translation of modified phraseological units including proverbs. A short review of works of European scientists concerning the difficulties that translators face is presented. Some interesting examples of modified idioms and proverbs taken from the novels “The Moonstone” and “The Woman in White” by W. Collins serve as good illustrations of the challenge that translators have to accept. The training algorithm is put forward that beginners should follow in order to avoid typical mistakes while translating modified idioms and proverbs.

Keywords: phraseological units, proverbs, occasional modifications or transformations, context, translation, training algorithm.

The problem of interlanguage counterparts of phraseological units (PUs) is analyzed in the majority of comparative works. At the same time when used in context some phraseological units are subjected to different types of reorganizations, or, using the terminology of some researchers, transformations or modifications, which in its turn may cause some difficulties in their translation.

In W. Mieder’s “International Bibliography of Paremiology and Phraseology”, published in 2009 and containing a short description of more than 10 000 works of researchers from Europe, North and South America, Asia, Africa and Australia including New Zealand, we find an extremely limited number of works devoted to this problem (Mieder 2009), among them the articles of P. Mrazović, S. Mohr-Elfadl, I. Tanović and E. Rechtsiegel (Mrazović 1998; Mohr-Elfadl 2004; Tanović 2007; Rechtsiegel 1990).

In the article “Phraseologismen als Übersetzungsproblem in literarischen Texten” P. Mrazović speaks about three groups of German writers, with the division being based on the peculiarities of using phraseological units in their literary works. The first

group of writers (H. Böll, F. Kafka) avoids using such units as they consider them to be ready-made clichés and, consequently, unsuitable for the author's individual style. The second group of writers (B. Brecht, H. Kant) successfully uses stable expressions in the description of their characters. And only the third group of writers (T. Mann, G. Grass) modify them in the creative way, thus producing nearly unsolvable problems for translators.

The author of the article, while examining several examples of the authors' modifications of phraseological units in the works of T. Mann, B. Brecht and G. Grass, namely, phraseological pun, contamination and phraseological reiteration, comes to the conclusion that there are substantial losses in rendering them from one language into another. In fact, as P. Mrazović points out, modified PUs remain the stumbling block for interpreters and translators ninety-nine times out of a hundred.

The article of S. Mohr-Elfadl is devoted to the analysis of irony created by modified phrasemes in literary texts (Mohr-Elfadl 2004). The author also comes to the conclusion that there is a great difficulty in rendering all components of phraseological meaning (denotational and connotational) of French stable expressions into English. Sabine Mohr-Elfadl is quite sure that some types of authors' modifications of phrasemes create very complicated difficulties in translation.

Even the title of the article of I. Tanović "Hard Difficulties in Translation of Phraseological Units (based on the translation of Ivo Andrić's works into Russian)" is again a good witness of the importance of this problem (Tanović 2007). While analyzing some cases of semantic and stylistic equivalence of phraseological unit translation into Russian, I. Tanović points out the occasional author's usage of a number of PUs. "Andrić in his works uses different types of modified phraseological expressions, based on semantic and structural transformations of PUs: separability, figurativeness, different levels of transformations' transference of meaning of the components of phraseological units" (Tanović 2007:554-555)*.

The stylistic effect of transformations is based on the change of the lexical structure of PUs by means of contamination, enlargement or reduction of PU components and their paraphrasing. The conclusion is made that incorrect translation (dephraseologi-

sation of phraseological units) is the direct result of incorrect phraseme identification in the original language. To prove this conclusion I. Tanović resorts to S. Vlahov and S. Florin's words that the cause of PU unsuccessful translation can often be their "non-recognition by sight" (Tanović 2007:555). Unfortunately there are no examples of translation of modified phraseological units into Russian.

In the article "Individuelle Modifikationen fester phraseologischer Verbindungen in der Translation" E. Rechtsiegel presents five types of occasional variants (occasional modifications) of phraseological units: morphological and syntactic change of separate components, substitution of some component, quantitative changes of componential structure (enlargement, reduction), contamination, combination of different modifications (Rechtsiegel 1990). The author gives some examples of nominative group addition, change of PU Plural number into Singular, substitution of components, contamination, and the ways of translation of these PU modifications from Polish into German. At the end of the article E. Rechtsiegel speaks about the decoding possibility of these transformations in translation if we take into account five translation possibilities: purposeful language imitation of the initial language transformation, purposeful individual language transformation of the PU equivalent which serves as the basis of modification, descriptive translation with the help of separate lexical elements of the original text, translation without due regard for author's transformation, word for word translation.

The researchers from the so-called Kazan linguistic school (Russia), the founder of which was a well-known Professor of Kazan university Boduen de Courtene, are also engaged in the investigation of this problem.

The third chapter of R. Ayupova's dissertation is devoted to the translation of transformed phraseological units in W. Shakespeare's works into Tatar (Аюпова 2001). The author found out that only 14 units under analysis were subjected to different types of the author's transformations: insertion, addition, deletion, substitution or replacement of PU component/components, phraseological pun and some intermediate complicated cases.

Nearly all transformed Shakespearean phraseological units were recognized by Tatar translators, only 2 units out of 14 were not rendered into Tatar. Four out of fourteen PUs were translated

with the help of Tatar phraseological counterparts, seven – with the help of descriptive translation, and one – with the help of translation-loan. R. Ayupova considers that the wide popularity of the descriptive way of translation is dictated by the fact that contextual PU transformation enlarges its complicated phraseological meaning and makes it unable to use the lexical way of translation.

It is stated that both translators, G. Shamukov and N. Isanbet, not only preserved all types of phraseological unit transformations in translation but were also able to transfer the function of these transformations in each case.

In the majority of cases the influence of Russian as the mediator language was felt rather vividly. On the whole, such influence is characterized as a positive one as it helped Tatar translators to discern all the subtleties of Shakespeare's PU transformations and to choose the best way of their rendering into Tatar. At the same time such influence may become negative in case when Tatar translators were blindly copying Russian descriptive translation and neglecting existing Tatar phraseological equivalents.

The fact that the creative essence of poetry as regards phraseological units is best revealed when poets use such transformations as extended metaphor, ellipsis, substitution and reduction of a component/components, allusion, contamination, PU distribution violation, complicated transformation, etc. is stressed in the dissertation of Yu. Medvedev (Медведев 2007).

It was found out that in the majority of cases translators resorted to contextual means of rendering transformed phraseological units from English into Russian. Two main principally different types of contextual translation were singled out: in the first case the sense which the PU acquired in the original text was rendered without distortion, in the second case the construction in the translated text developed some additional, contextually stipulated senses as a result of compression of the original text units in the process of translation. In such a case the main aim of the translator wasn't the exact reproduction of the author's transformation but the aspiration for rendering the idea expressed in the original text with the help of such transformation.

The analysis of several works of researchers indicates the great significance of this problem in the theoretical aspect and the necessity of finding the most adequate ways of translation of PU

occasional modifications (using another term, transformations) for practical purposes. Unfortunately, we haven't found separate works devoted to the problem of translation of modified proverbs. On the other hand, we are inclined to think that the same way of translation typical of modified phraseological units may be applied in case of modified proverbs.

In this article we demonstrate the difficulty of translating contextually transformed phraseological units by comparing phraseological units (including proverbs) taken from Wilkie Collins's novels *The Woman in White* and *The Moonstone* and their functional equivalents in the Russian translation.

We studied the whole novels in the original and put down every phraseological unit which was contextually transformed by the author.

The choice of the novels was not random. Both novels have a unique structure. In the preface to the first edition of *The Woman in White*, Wilkie Collins focuses on his decision to play with multiple narrative: "An experiment is attempted in this novel, which has not (so far as I know) been hitherto tried in fiction. The story of the book is told throughout by the characters of the book. They are all placed in different positions along the chain of events; and they all take the chain up in turn, and carry it on to the end" (Collins 2006:618). This type of narrative is called polyphonic (the concept was introduced by M. Bakhtin).

The Woman in White is narrated by eleven people, while *The Moonstone* by nine. The narrators have different social, cultural, educational and religious background. We listen to doctors, solicitors, sergeants, housemaids, cooks, etc. This polyphonic narrative caused the diversity of phraseological units used in the novels.

Stylistically they range from neutral literary expressions (e.g. *at first hand*) to jargon ones (e.g. *it is all over with smb.*). Bookish expressions (e.g. *bring smb back to the fold*) and obsolete phraseological units (e.g. *say smb nay*) are also present. The divergence in terminological characterization is clearly seen: the author skillfully uses legal (e.g. *travel out of the record*) and parliamentary terminology (e.g. *private bill*). Even the territorial origin of the phraseological units is different, for example, among dominating English expressions there is an Irish saying *you might as well be whistling jigs to a milestone*.

Some narrators seldom use phraseological units, some do it very often.

One of the narrators of *The Moonstone* is Gabriel Betteredge, a faithful steward, or “not an interesting object” and “a sleepy old man” as he introduces himself, loves enriching his speech with proverbs:

- It’s an ill bird that fouls its own nest.
- When things are at the worst, they’re sure to mend.
- Many men, many opinions.

Also, Gabriel Betteredge enthusiastically quotes Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, for instance:

- Today we love what tomorrow we hate.
- Fear of danger is ten thousand times more terrifying than danger itself.

And, he readily shares with the reader his own words of wisdom, for example:

- A drop of tea is to a woman’s tongue what a drop of oil is to a wasting lamp.
- Whatever happens in a house, robbery or murder, it doesn’t matter, you must have your breakfast.
- Every human institution (Justice included) will stretch a little, if you only pull it the right way.

Unfortunately, a number of Betteredge’s proverbs were not translated at all since the translator of the novel omitted some parts of the text for unknown reasons.

Some narrators eagerly play with the form and meaning of PUs.

We found 235 contextually transformed phraseological units in the novels.

Then we turned our attention to the Russian translation and picked out functional equivalents of the selected phraseological units. To our surprise approximately 60 % of functional equivalents turned out to be of non-phraseological origin, i.e. phraseological units were translated with the help of words or phrases. More-

over, in almost 30% of cases contextual transformations were omitted (neglected or simply overlooked).

Among the most difficult (from a translator's point of view) patterns of instantial stylistic use of phraseological units in discourse we find phraseological pun, extended metaphor, ellipsis, and phraseological saturation.

However, we singled out one more uncommon pattern that should be mentioned.

Professor Pesca, the hero of *The Woman in White*, is one of those caricatures of foreigners in fiction, who often misuse idioms or overuse them. From the novel we learn that he left Italy "for political reasons". He is obsessed with the idea to show gratitude to Great Britain for affording him "an asylum". Therefore he starts to turn himself into an Englishman, e. g. having picked up some colloquial English expressions, "he scattered them about over his conversation whenever they happened to occur to him, turning them, in his high relish for their sound and his general ignorance of their sense, into compound words and repetitions of his own, and always running them into each other, as if they consisted of one long syllable" (Collins 2006:56).

For example:

- Now mind! I teach the sublime Dante to the young Misses, and ah!—**my-soul-bless-my-soul!**—it is not in human language to say how the sublime Dante puzzles the pretty heads of all three! (*Part I, The Story Begun by Walter Hartright, Ch.3*)
- **My-soul-bless-my-soul!** when I heard the golden Papa say those words, if I had been big enough to reach up to him, I should have put my arms round his neck, and pressed him to my bosom in a long and grateful hug! (*Part I, The Story Begun by Walter Hartright, Ch.3*)
- Can your friend produce testimonials—letters that speak to his character?' I wave my hand negligently. 'Letters?' I say. 'Ha! **my-soul-bless-my-soul!** I should think so, indeed!' (*Part I, The Story Begun by Walter Hartright, Ch.3*)
- Is four golden guineas a week nothing? **My-soul-bless-my-soul!** only give it to me—and my boots shall creak like the golden Papa's, with a sense of the overpowering

richness of the man who walks in them! (*Part I, The Story Begun by Walter Hartright, Ch.3*)

- “**My-soul-bless-my-soul!**” cried the Professor, in a state of the extremest bewilderment. (*Part III, The Story Begun by Walter Hartright, Ch.5*)

and:

- Ha! my good dears, I am closer than you think for to the business, now. Have you been patient so far? or have you said to yourselves, ‘**Deuce-what-the-deuce!** Pesca is long-winded to-night?’ (*Part I, The Story Begun by Walter Hartright, Ch.3*)
- <...> Walter, my dear good friend—**deuce-what-the-deuce!**—for the first time in my life I have not eyes enough in my head to look, and wonder at you! (*Part I, The Story Begun by Walter Hartright, Ch.3*)
- ‘**Deuce-what-the-deuce!** how can I help you, Walter, when I don’t know the man?’ (*Part III, Walter Hartright’s Narrative Continued, Ch.5*)

We deal with phraseological reiteration, i.e. the repetition of the whole phraseological unit. However, this technique doesn’t come isolated. It is intertwined with a set of techniques. The base forms of the phraseological units are **bless my soul** and **what the deuce**. In the instantial form we observe (a) reduplication of one (two) component(s) of the phraseological unit, (b) hyphenation of the components.

This kind of instantial stylistic use of phraseological units has not been reflected in any works on idioms in discourse yet. Though, it can be foreseen because the transformation of the phraseological units **bless my soul** and **what the deuce** goes against existing English rules of word building.

A similar type of instantial stylistic use was mentioned by Chitra Fernando in the book *Idioms and Idiomaticity*. The author introduces the term ‘permutation’ and sees it as a change of a phraseological unit into a compound word, e.g. break the ice > ice-breaker, open smb’s eyes > eye-opener (after the analogy of turning a free word combination with the structure Verb + Object into

a compound word, e.g. write a letter > letter-writer) (Fernando 1996).

The uniqueness of this transformation causes the uniqueness of Pesca's speech. It is obvious that the overuse of incorrect PUs produces humorous effect. It is doubtless that the translation of them is a challenge to a translator's skills.

According to Anita Naciscione there are three major elements, which serve as preconditions to producing a novel instantial form of a phraseological unit. These are: (1) knowledge of phraseology and stylistic patterns, (2) stylistic discursal skills, (3) a certain element of imagination and creativity (Naciscione 2001).

Then, a translator (like author) is supposed to fit these preconditions as well but in a target language.

Unfortunately, the Russian translator didn't manage to render Pesca's beloved expressions properly.

Russian translation of the expression **My-soul-bless-my-soul!** (which appears five times in one and the same form) is always different. Moreover, the translator uses base forms of synonymic PUs:

- Я преподаю дочкам язык божественного Данте. И, **помилуй меня господь**, нет слов, чтобы передать, как труден божественный Данте для этих трёх хорошеньких головок!
- **Клянусь честью!** Когда я услышал эти слова, я был готов броситься к нему на шею, если бы мог до неё достать, чтобы прижать его к сердцу!
- «Может ли ваш друг представить рекомендации?» Я небрежно помахал рукой. «Рекомендации?! – говорю я. – **Господи боже**, ну конечно.
- Разве четыре гиней в неделю не деньги? **Господи боже ты мой!** Дайте их мне, и мои сапоги будут скрипеть так же, как у Золотого папы, который подавляет всех своим богатством.
- **О святой боже!** – вскричал профессор, крайне озадаченный. – В чем дело?

The expression **Deuce-what-the deuce!** (which was used three times) is translated with the help of different PUs in their base forms as well:

- А вы, наверно, уже сказали про себя: «**Громы небесные!** Песка никогда не кончит!»
- Ну, Уолтер, дружище, **черт побери**, впервые в жизни мои глаза так и лезут на лоб от удивления!
- **Черт возьми!** Чем я могу помочь, Уолтер, когда я даже не знаю этого человека?

As a result, the author's intention to make Pesca's speech sound unusual was not perceived by the translators.

Another peculiarity of Pesca's speech is that he usually introduces his English expressions by exclamations like "English phrase", "English phrase again—ha!", or "English proverb", for instance:

- "Go, my friend! **When your sun shines in Cumberland** (English proverb), **in the name of heaven make your hay**". (*Part I, The Story Begun by Walter Hartright, Ch.3*)

In this very example (1) two parts of the original proverb, i.e. "make hay" and "while the sun shines", appear in the inverted order, (2) three extra components are inserted into the proverb structure: '*in Cumberland*', '*English proverb*', and '*in the name of heaven*' (the latter is a PU itself).

The translation of the extract contains new components '*in Cumberland*' (в Кумберленде) and '*in the name of heaven*' (**ради создателя**); however, the exclamation '*English proverb*' and the inverted order of the proverb were neglected:

- Поезжайте, дружище, **ради создателя!** Куйте железо, пока в Кумберленде горячо!

The indifference towards the exclusivity of Pesca's speech made a well-depicted image of the Italian professor rather flat.

Having analyzed the mistakes made by the translators we classify them into three types:

mistakes on the semantic level, i.e. failure to identify the PU (as well as proverb) and its meaning, which can lead to: (a) translation of the PU as if it were a free word combination and vice versa, (b) omission of the PU, (c) distortion of the PU's meaning, etc. (see Влахов 1980: 179-181; Nacisone 2001: 189-199).

mistakes on the stylistic level, i.e. failure to identify instantial use that leads to the reduction of the stylistic potential of the PU.

mistakes on the pragmatic level, i.e. failure to understand that small changes in the surface structure of the PU can modify the message of the context and sometimes of the text itself.

In conclusion, we put forward the algorithm that beginners should follow in order to avoid typical mistakes.

First, scan the text thoroughly in order to identify PUs (including proverbs). Use a dictionary or several dictionaries. Check whether you deal with a PU or a free word combination (sentence).

Second, compare the form of the PU used in the context and the base form fixed in the dictionary.

Third, if the PU appears in the form that is different from the base form try to figure out why the author uses this very instantial form of the PU. The change in structure should not be neglected. Identify its role.

Fourth, if you do not see any changes in the structure, the author can play with the meaning of the PU (proverb). Be aware of phraseological pun.

Fifth, and the last, translate the PU (proverb) and, please, be creative.

Notes

* The citation was translated by the authors of the article themselves.

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WOMEN AGAINST WOMEN: THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF HAUSA PROVERBS

Abstract: Proverbs are widely known to be sayings which convey the feeling of the inner mind in some metaphoric presentations. This study discusses Hausa proverbs (in rivalry) from the feminist and sociolinguistic perspectives. Ten Hausa proverbs are presented, translated into English and analysed using sociolinguistic parameters of when, where, why and who uses the proverbs. Women in polygamous homes are rivals to one another. Their rivalry originates from the fact that they owe their loyalty to the same man. Each wife sees the other as a block to the “total” pleasure she desires from “their” husband. Even though they may have accepted the situation of sharing the man, they still find ways to express their inner feelings of pains against each other by employing the use of proverbs, which is a metaphoric way of expression, without realising they also puncture the image of the entire female gender, the image which women should all guard jealously.

Keywords: Africa, co-wife, co-wifeness, feminism, Hausa, husband, indirection, language, marriage, oppression, proverb, polygamy, rivalry, sociolinguistics

Introduction

Proverbs are metaphoric expressions presented with some hidden meanings, and are given to convey some feelings or ideas. Proverbs embellish speech and give weight and more meaningful presentation to the expression. Various scholars have attempted definitions of the word proverb. Krikmann (1994:123) defines it that “proverbs are metaphorical descriptions of certain situations”. In his own definition, Mieder (1985: 119) says:

A proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorizable form and which is handed down from generation to generation.

Mieder also refers to a proverb as “a short sentence of wisdom”. Each of the definitions above pertinently expresses the proverb as a conveyer of messages in very apt form and loaded with wisdom.

This paper discusses the use of proverbs by women against women in the Hausa community of Nigeria. The Hausa community is well known to be polygamous in nature. This makes it possible for women to be together as co-wives in marriage. Co-wives because they are married to a common husband to whom they all owe their loyalty, love and faith in marriage. When women are together in this condition, certain issues crop up between them. Some of such may be positive, while others may be negative. The negative ones may lead to quarrels or hatred for one another. In the course of quarrels, or even in times of discussions, the tendency is for the woman to issue statements in metaphors to convey some message of her inner mind.

The Hausa language is spoken in many cities in Nigeria, most commonly in the Northern areas. It is a language that is also spoken in other parts of Africa outside Nigeria. Furniss (1996: 2) reports that:

The Hausa language is spoken by more than 50 million people in Nigeria, Niger, Northern Ghana and in communities from Kaolack in Senegal, to Kano, Katsina and Sokoto (generally North-Central and North Western Nigeria) and the South strip of the Republic of Niger, with Hausa communities and minority groups in Northern Ghana and many towns and cities from Senegal to Sudan.

In most Hausa speaking areas, the dominant population is of the Islamic religion. Since Islam is a religion that allows for up to four wives for a man at a time, most women in Hausa communities find themselves as wives to one man. Being wives to the same man makes such women rivals to one another. The usual practice is for the man who is the husband to the wives to treat them with equality, giving equal attention being of paramount pride for himself. This responsibility assumed by a husband is well acknowledged in Idoma land too where a wife is expected to derive the necessary comfort and attention from the husband as conveyed in

some Idoma proverbs. One of such proverbs is presented by Amali (2000: 17):

*Idoma: Ito do kanoo lebe ebe buje
Anoo lotu k anoo ce ta
Uhugbo onya ano.*

English: The porcupine says:
I have every part of my body in thorns
But I have left open my chest
Because of my wife.

The clear chest of the porcupine for the sake of its wife despite all the thorns on its body emphasizes the importance attached to a wife in the life of the man. Love, however, cannot be equally shared among wives. There's the natural tendency for a husband to love one wife more than the other. So each wife sees the other as a rival and someone who deprives her of the total love and attention she desires to enjoy from the husband just as the porcupine gives to its wife. The husband may wish to create an atmosphere of equal treatment to each of them, and promote peaceful living, but the inner feeling of rivalry between the wives may only be natural. Where there is more than one wife in a Hausa home, there is usually an agreement reached in carrying out household chores. This includes cooking for the husband and having to spend the night with him. The period for each wife on these duties may be as agreed upon on consensus by the wives and their husband. Since these are women now brought under the same roof by one man, the sane thing to do is for them to appreciate and be loving to each other. However, this is most often not the case. The women merely tend to tolerate one another to keep their stay together on a slim interaction. They therefore find ways of attacking each other directly or indirectly. This is a point where the usage of proverbs comes into play. Women are generally viewed as "axis of evil". This opinion is also present in some areas of Yorubaland as Oyesakin (1982:19) attests:

A woman according to Ifa is an embodiment of evil-rivalry, jealousy; avarice, witchcraft and insinuation are part and parcel of a woman. The tragedy of it all is that women do easily succeed in the devilish devices.

If the statement above is something to go by, it is therefore easy for women to evolve various approaches to carrying out their plans. Since women are not known to be good fighters in the physical use of arms, their main weapon is the word of the mouth. Rivalry, it would seem is a natural phenomenon in women. The idea of sharing one man as co-wives to him may not go down well with them. As such, proverbs are employed by women against women. Remarks are made by one wife to upset the other. Amali, (1984: 32) aptly puts it that:

Proverbs as an expression of idea in lucid and thoughtful language are charged with various interpretations. In this case, it is a linguistic matter, the ability to express ideas in clothed language.

The idea is for one to say what is intended without going at it directly. In this light, expressions are coined with hidden meanings. The meanings of each proverb have to be sought in deep thinking. They can be used to criticize one another. This point is similarly observed by Dathorne (1966: 70) when he says of the proverb and the riddle:

The riddle presents a mental problem. The proverb is a criticism of life. Both are products of the popular mind and therefore both reflect prevalent attitudes. But while the riddle is hardly more than a form of entertainment, the proverb is more serious and has didactic intention.

The use of proverbs in speech can therefore not be overemphasized. For the effectiveness of proverbial expressions, Amali (1984:32) says that “proverbs also illuminate complex and crucial problems”. In a situation where women go against women as co-wives to the same man, certain Hausa proverbs put in a good fight for the user. It is a known fact that proverbs may be used as either positive or negative expressions. As such where a woman goes against another woman, the tendency is to use proverbs, which may have negative effects on the mind of the addressee. This observation is well put by Grobler (1994:94) thus:

Proverbs are used with the intention to create a favourable relationship between addresser and addressee regarding a

given matter. Negative proverbs, on the other hand, may be used with the intention of reprimanding or reproving, or even insulting: it thus signals a negative relationship between addresser and addressee.

Speech is a major communication medium. It enables us to express our feelings and emotions. Where it requires being strong and carrying more weight in meaning, proverbs may then serve as a good tool. Norrick (1994: 20) can be said to hold a similar view when he says: "Like any other utterance in a language, a proverb conveys an attitude or feeling along with the statement it makes".

We present ten Hausa proverbs in this paper which are used by women against women as co-wives. Each proverb is presented in Hausa and translated into English. They are analysed bringing out the sociolinguistic parameter of each, highlighting the when, where and how of usage.

Theoretical framework

There are diverse viewpoints on feminism perspectives. This is mainly so due to the nature of and position of women in different societies. For example Karl Marx's feminist theory believes that capitalist economy focuses upon the institutionalized forms of inequality between men and women within the society. Radical feminists believe that man is enemy to woman because patriarchy as a system favours the male, ignoring the female. To support this view, Lovenduski (1993:7) assert "that gender is the fundamental division in society and the major determinant of power relations". The liberal feminists believe in the existence of physiological and biological differences between the sexes but do not consider these as hindrances to equality between the sexes. The liberal feminists (as a group of women) are out to create awareness within societies on the need for women to have the freedom to choose their roles. The socialist feminists struggle for women's liberation, which they believe, is essential to the liberation of all oppressed people. The conservative feminists (mostly women) desire to preserve their traditional institutions, badly affected by inertia. The Amazon feminists reject the idea that certain characteristics are inherently masculine or feminine and therefore uphold and explore a vision of heroic womanhood.

On the opposite side of the above mentioned feminists' studies are Gracia (1962), Nkere-uwem (1997), Chinwezu et al. (1990), and Mohammed (2004), who believe that women hold so much powers to make a difference in any society. This group of feminists, predominantly those accepting the Amazon feminist theory, rejects the idea that women are passive, weak and helpless. According to Chinwezu (1990:9), woman's power is the "invisible six-seventh of an iceberg compared to the visible one-seventh which is the man's". The Amazon feminists believe that since women hold so many powers, they can very easily effect a change to their own lives. In fact, scholars like Mohammed (2004) hold the view that because women have so much powers, they oppress their fellow women.

This study aligns with the two extremes of feminists' studies; that women are oppressed by men and that women oppress fellow women. However, another important aspect that this paper reveals through the study of Hausa proverbs is that women in polygamy are passive-aggressive in nature who transfer patriarchal domination onto their co-wife as a form of challenge.

The passive-aggressive nature of co-wives revealed through the use of proverbs and some sociolinguistic parameters say no speech is entirely free of its situation, because part of its meaning will be implicit, supplied by the background knowledge of the participants (Edwards,1976). The real linguistic fact is the full utterance within its context or situation, that is who says what, when, where, why and to whom (Bashir 1997).

Data presentation and analysis

It is pertinent at this point for us to present the co-wife Hausa proverbs, their English translations and analysis. These proverbs were collected from some women elders within the Hausa community in the course of discussion with them for the purpose of collecting data.

1. *Tawa ta same ni, kishi da gala-gala.*
I am finished, co-wifeness is like one legged jogging.

This proverb can be effectively used where a woman has been an only wife to her husband. The husband then marries an additional wife to join the first wife in the house. Co-wifeness generally is

seen as a threat to womanhood in a home so where a wife finds herself in co-wifeness, she is threatened and sees herself as losing favour from the husband as presented in the metaphoric use of the “one-legged jogging”. In her lamentation, she expresses the whole idea as finding herself in troubled waters just as others elsewhere may have been experiencing. When used, the proverb clearly declares to the other wife her unwanted presence and presents her as evil. Jogging is regarded as an unserious event, so where a person jogs on one leg, it is even more unserious and imbalanced. Co-wifeness here is related to jogging on one leg. The co-wife sees herself as imbalanced to face the challenges of co-wifeness in marriage. This proverb can also be used in a hopeless situation because co-wifeness is also seen as a bad or a hopeless situation.

2. *Iya sauka lafiya, uwar kishiya ta hau kura.*
“Good luck”, a co-wife’s mother takes a ride on a hyena.

A wife wishes the mother to a co-wife a safe journey on a hyena ride. A hyena is a dangerous cannibal and so definitely cannot give anybody a safe ride. Where a person has climbed on its back, it is certain that she would be eaten up by it. The death of the mother would definitely be painful to her daughter, who incidentally is a co-wife to another woman. Since there’s rivalry in co-wifeness, a co-wife derives pleasure in the pains experienced by her co-wife. The proverb may therefore be used where a co-wife feels she has given good riddance to an evil thing, person or situation in her home. Such a situation or evil thing is one she is comparing to the co-wife.

3. *Ba kuka na ba, uwar kishiya ta mutu.*
It is none of my business when the mother of a co-wife dies.

Even in the death of a co-wife’s mother, the other wife is not bothered and sees the issue as none of her business but rather a blessing. A co-wife may present this proverb in the course of making the other wife know that their stay together as co-wives is of no significance to her. It may also be used when she wants to make it known to the co-wife that she has no business what so ever with her in whatever situation. Another instance where it can be used is in a discussion where a woman feels that the issue being

discussed has nothing to do with her. Having nothing to do with her is juxtaposed with not being affected by the death of a co-wife's mother.

4. *Zama da kishiya sal tilas.*
Only compulsion can make one live with a co-wife.

Living with a co-wife is seen as arising only by compulsion. This refers to a bad case. The proverb is used when a woman finds herself in a difficult situation and refers to such as having to stay with a co-wife. Again, this reminds us of the issue of women being against each other in rivalry as co-wives, with bad situations or happenings likened to being in co-wifeness.

5. *Saduada, shawara da uwar kishiya.*
Total submission, a close discussion with a co-wife's mother.

Where there's a problem and you have no hope, you give up in face of the situation. Discussions or advice-seeking can only be done with a loved one who, it is assumed is in a position of giving proper advice genuinely. Where a woman finds herself in a needy situation and no other is available for her to consult, she ends up with her co-wife's mother as a last resort. This last resort may not yield her the desired result because a co-wife's mother is not referred to as a loved one. This proverb may be used in discussions to indicate the extent of the hopelessness of a given situation.

6. *Kishikumallon mata, in ya matsa sci an harar.*
Co-wifeness is nauseatic, once it churns, it must be vomited.

Co-wifeness is something that is very much detested by women, it is only tolerated. The hatred attached to it is obvious and anything detested is likened to co-wifeness. Where a woman is angry over something, she may use the proverb above to describe her hatred or anger for it.

7. *Ba zafi barkonon taro a idon Kishiya.*

It is not hot to blow a penny's worth of pepper into the eyes of a co-wife.

Due to the hatred for a co-wife, there is lack of feeling or emotions for her. Even a small particle of pepper is very painful to the eye, so it is expected that a penny's worth of pepper would be much more painful. Yet in co-wifeness, it is seen not to be painful. The proverb above can be used where there's no feeling for any pain that someone you do not like or love may be undergoing.

8. *Yaya na iya da abinda ya gagari wuta inji kirshiryar konanniya.*

What can I do to what has defied fire,
says a co-wife to a burnt partner.

Fire is hotter than co-wifeness, yet a co-wife defies it and gets some burns but is not burnt to death. So if a co-wife can defy fire, what else can be done about co-wifeness. This proverb clearly portrays the tolerance with which co-wifeness is taken. The proverb can be used when a person finds herself in a hopeless situation; she resigns to that fate because she has no other way.

9. *Da zaman banzar gwamma aikin Kishiryar ko tsine maka aka yi ka samu.*

It is better to help with a co-wife's work than stay idle,
even if you are cursed, at least one has some reward.

Anything done to tolerate co-wifeness is not appreciated. This proverb equates any work done in co-wifeness as a curse but goes further to state that it is better than to remain idle. Though the work is unappreciated, there would be some reward in the hereafter. The proverb may be used in a discussion where one finds a situation to be better than nothing.

10. *Allah ya suturi bukui inji Kishiryar mai Kusumbi.*

God forbids (does not like) the one with a protruding back,
says a co-wife to a hunch-backed mate.

This proverb is used as sarcasm to a co-wife who is hunch-backed. It can be said by one co-wife to the other or by another individual in favour of one co-wife against another co-wife. The proverb po-

sitions the user as being in a better condition than that of the co-wife. It also belittles the co-wife who is hunch-backed. This proverb may also be used where a co-wife deems herself better in social, economic or any well being. She uses it to tell the co-wife she's better off.

Summary

The use of proverbs in co-wifeness is an important area where women constantly oppress their own kind. Women oppression therefore begins in the home. In all the ten Hausa proverbs analysed, it is clear that they are used to constantly bring pain and misery upon the lives of other women. The theme of hatred is very glaring as in examples (2) and (7). The choice of words shows aggression and oppression as in examples (8) and (10), situations where a co-wife is accused and abused over a thing she cannot change – the co-wife has been burnt (8) but is it her fault? She is accused of being a hunch-back (10), is it her fault?

There is also the theme of disgust as in examples (4) and (6). Co-wifeness is nauseatic (6) and only compulsion can make one to live with a co-wife (4). Hopelessness as a theme keeps on occurring in the proverbs as in examples (5) and (10), where discussion with a co-wife's mother entails losing hope (5), while helping a co-wife leads to being cursed (10).

The passive nature of women runs through all the proverbs – where the struggle is to win the love of the husband by subjecting the co-wife to all evils. Rather than take revenge on the husband for whatever harm he does or shows, women turn their revenge on their fellow women. Is it the co-wife's fault that they have to live together? A notion of women in polygamy is to be "better" than their co-wives.

Conclusion

From the above discussion and the proverbs analysed, it is clear that the battle of women against women particularly in a polygamous home is a continuous one. It is reflected in many sectors of our daily living. This paper has presented the battle from the point of co-wifeness with Hausa proverbs as the weapon in the battle. A co-wife may not necessarily be engaged in a quarrel with her co-wife, but a battle exists, as she is unhappy with having a co-

wife. She employs the use of proverbs to charge at her partner, insult, challenge, belittle her or direct sarcasm at her.

It would seem that it is a man's world; women are on the losing side. This notion builds some worry in the women so when they find themselves together as co-wives, they seek to fight the problem. They are antagonistic to each other and there's suspicion on all fronts. This study finds proverbs about co-wifeness to be an unfortunate tool in the violence of women against women.

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HRISZTALINA HRISZTOVA-GOTTHARDT AND
ZOLTÁN GOTTHARDT

SPRICHWÖRTER IM BULGARISCHEN NATIONALEN KORPUS

Abstract: Der vorliegende Beitrag präsentiert die Methoden und Ergebnisse einer korpusbasierten Untersuchung zur Vorkommenshäufigkeit bulgarischer Sprichwörter in der geschriebenen Gegenwartssprache. Im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung wurden mit Hilfe eines Suchalgorithmus Texte des Bulgarischen nationalen Korpus nach Sprichwörtern durchsucht. Dabei wurden nicht nur jene Sprichwörter ermittelt, die am häufigsten im Korpus vorkommen, sondern auch ihre Varianten und Verfremdungen. Es konnte festgehalten werden, dass die Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung im Wesentlichen mit den Resultaten zweier früherer korpusbasierter Untersuchungen korrespondieren und daher erste Rückschlüsse auf die tatsächliche parömiologische Situation in Bulgarien zulassen.

Keywords: bulgarische Sprichwörter, Bulgarisches nationales Korpus, geschriebene Gegenwartssprache, Vorkommenshäufigkeit, PERL

1. Einleitung

Bis zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt wurden keine empirischen Untersuchungen durchgeführt, die es zum Zweck hatten, die aktuelle parömiologische Situation in Bulgarien zu ermitteln. Das heißt, es liegen keinerlei Daten über den aktuellen Gebrauch bulgarischer Sprichwörter in der geschriebenen und der gesprochenen Sprache vor. Das zeichnet sich besonders deutlich in den modernen parömiographischen Werken ab, die ausschließlich auf früheren Sammlungen aufbauen und dementsprechend oft zahlreiche veraltete und nicht mehr gebräuchliche Sprichwörter aufzeichnen. Aus diesem Grund werden diese Werke von einzelnen Parömiologen als „Datenfriedhöfe“ bezeichnet (vgl. Baur / Chlosta 1996: 92). Das trifft bedauerlicherweise auch für die bulgarischen Sammlungen zu. Sogar die in dem neuesten bulgarischen Sprichwörterbuch aufgelisteten Texte stammen laut Quellenverzeichnis alle aus

Bänden, deren Erscheinungsjahr über mehrere Jahrzehnte zurückliegt (s. Stojkova 2007: 19).

In diesem Sinne erweist es sich als dringend nötig, erste Schritte in Richtung Ermittlung der aktuellen parömiologischen Situation in Bulgarien einzuleiten. Es können dabei zum einen empirische Untersuchungen zur Bekanntheit von Sprichwörtern durchgeführt werden. Darunter versteht man jene Felduntersuchungen, die mittels des Teilpräsentation-Verfahrens auf die Ermittlung der bekanntesten Sprichwörter einer Sprachgemeinschaft abzielen (s. Permjakov 1988, Grzybek 1991, Baur / Chlosta 1996 und Tóthné Litovkina 1996). Zwar liefern solche Untersuchungen Informationen darüber, welche Texte gerade die bekanntesten sind und in welcher Form sie bekannt sind, sie sagen aber eher wenig über ihre aktive Verwendung und ihre Vorkommenshäufigkeit in der Sprache aus. Zur Beantwortung der letzteren Frage wird ein anderes Herangehen angewendet, nämlich die Korpusanalyse. Dabei werden umfangreiche Korpora der geschriebenen Sprache auf die Gebrauchsfrequenz von Sprichwörtern geprüft, indem nicht nur ihr reales Vorkommen, sondern auch ihre konkreten Kontexteinbettungen, Verwendungssituationen und ihre Abwandlungs- und Transformationsfähigkeit untersucht werden (können) (vgl. Čermák 2003; Ďurčo 2006).

An diesen korpuslinguistischen Ansatz anknüpfend, führte Hrisztova-Gotthardt zwischen 2008 und 2009 eine Pilotuntersuchung durch, in deren Rahmen sie erste Erkenntnisse über die Verwendung und Vorkommenshäufigkeit bulgarischer Sprichwörter in zeitgenössischen Zeitungstexten gewinnen konnte (s. Hrisztova-Gotthardt 2010). Das Korpus der Untersuchung bildeten Artikel aus der bulgarischen Tageszeitung *Стандарт* [Standart], die zwischen dem 4. Januar 2000 und 3. August 2008 in der elektronischen Ausgabe von *Стандарт* erschienen waren. Die Texte wurden mit Hilfe eines für die Zwecke der Untersuchung entwickelten Suchalgorithmus nach 2.301 Sprichwörtern¹ durchsucht. Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung wurden in einer Tabelle zusammengefasst, in der alle 225 im Korpus vorkommenden Texte absteigend nach Zahl der Treffer aufgelistet wurden. Es wurden dabei nicht nur die exakten Treffer verzeichnet, sondern auch zahlreiche qualitative und quantitative Varianten sowie sehr viele Verfremdungen (Antisprichwörter).

2011 wurde eine weitere Untersuchung in die Wege geleitet. Dieses Mal diente das WWW als Korpus. Unter Zuhilfenahme eines speziellen Programms und der Suchmaschinen *Google* und *Bing* ermittelten Hrisztova-Gotthardt und Gotthardt erste Daten über den Gebrauch bulgarischer Sprichwörter in diversen Internet-texten. Nach der Bearbeitung der Trefferlisten stellte sich heraus, dass die Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung große Ähnlichkeiten mit den Resultaten der ersten Studie aufzeigen: die Texte mit den meisten Treffern im *Стандарт*-Korpus kamen auch in den WWW-Texten am häufigsten vor (vgl. Hrisztova-Gotthardt/Gotthardt 2011).

In diesem Zusammenhang stellt sich logischerweise die Frage, ob eine gezielte Suche nach Sprichwörtern im Bulgarischen nationalen Korpus ähnliche Ergebnisse erbringen wird. Dementsprechend setzt sich der vorliegende Beitrag zum Ziel, diese Frage zu beantworten. Im Rahmen dieser Arbeit werden die Methoden und Ergebnisse einer weiteren Untersuchung dargestellt, bei der die Texte des Bulgarischen nationalen Korpus nach Sprichwörtern durchsucht wurden. Dabei steht nicht nur die Bestimmung der am häufigsten gebrauchten Texte im Mittelpunkt der Untersuchung, sondern auch die Ermittlung ihrer möglichen Varianten und Verfremdungen (Antisprichwörter).

2. Das Korpus der Untersuchung

Wie bereits weiter oben erwähnt, wurden im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung die Texte des Bulgarischen nationalen Korpus² näher unter die Lupe genommen. Das Korpus wurde zwischen 2001 und 2009 von Mitarbeitern des Instituts für bulgarische Sprache an der Bulgarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften aufgebaut und wird seitdem ständig um neue Texte erweitert. Mit seinen ca. 320.000.000 Korpuswörtern (Token) gilt das Korpus als relativ groß (s. Scherer 2006: 7 und Lemnitzer / Zinsmeister 2010: 110). Da die gespeicherten Texte alle nach 1945 entstanden sind und möglichst viele Genres und Textsorten abdecken, steht das Korpus repräsentativ für die moderne geschriebene bulgarische Sprache.

Das Korpus kann frei für wissenschaftliche Zwecke benutzt werden, es wird lediglich eine Registrierung benötigt. Da alle Texte tokenisiert und lemmatisiert³ wurden, kann im Korpus nicht nur nach wörtlichen Entsprechungen, sondern auch nach sämtlichen Flexionsformen eines Wortes gesucht werden. Die lexikalisch-

semantische Annotation der Lemmata ermöglicht des Weiteren die Suche nach Synonymen, Hyponymen und Hyperonymen eines bestimmten Wortes⁴.

Es besteht außerdem die Möglichkeit, nach Phrasen zu suchen, deren Komponenten je nach einem bestimmten Kriterium variieren dürfen. Zum Beispiel kann man als Suchbedingung angeben, dass an Stelle einer bestimmten Komponente einer Phrase ein anderes Wort einer beliebigen Wortart stehen darf. Es kann auch nach Phrasen gesucht werden, zwischen deren „festen“ Komponenten eine bestimmte Anzahl von ebenfalls „beliebigen“ Wörtern vorkommen darf. Natürlich stehen dem Benutzer auch weitere Such- und Restriktionsmöglichkeiten zur Verfügung, die jedoch an dieser Stelle nicht alle behandelt werden können⁵.

3. Die Methode der Untersuchung

Die im Rahmen der ersten Untersuchung zur Vorkommenshäufigkeit bulgarischer Sprichwörter in der geschriebenen Gegenwartssprache zusammengestellte Liste mit 2.301 tokenisierten Sprichwörtern wurde auch bei diesem Projekt eingesetzt. Die Suche nach den in der Liste verzeichneten Texten verlief in folgenden Schritten:

- Mit Hilfe eines zum Zwecke der früheren Untersuchungen erstellten PERL-Programms wurde das Korpus nach exakten Treffern für die 2.301 Texte durchsucht. In dieser ersten Phase der Untersuchung startete das Programm eine Suchanfrage an die Korpus-Suchmaschine, indem es die 2.301 tokenisierten Sprichwörter als einzelne Suchbegriffe eingab. Es wurde nach Texten gesucht, die zu 100% mit den vorgegebenen Suchbegriffen übereinstimmen: weder die Flexionsformen der einzelnen Konstituenten noch ihre Reihenfolge durften auch die kleinste Abweichung aufweisen. Die Anzahl der Treffer für die einzelnen Suchbegriffe (Sprichwörter) wurde vom Programm gespeichert. Auf diese Weise wurde die Zahl der exakten Treffer ermittelt.
- In der zweiten Phase der Untersuchung wurde eine weitere, verfeinerte Suche gestartet. Im Rahmen dieser Suche wurde das Korpus nach Varianten und Verfremdungen jener 10 Sprichwörter durchsucht, die in der ersten Phase die meisten exakten Treffer erzielt hatten (s. dazu 4. Ergebnisse der Untersuchung).

- Zum einen wurde nach Texten gesucht, in denen die Konstituenten des traditionellen Sprichwortes in einer anderen Flexionsform vorkamen, z.B. im Plural statt im Singular. Außerdem durften in den Treffern zwischen den einzelnen Komponenten (maximal 5) weitere Wörter vorhanden sein.
- Zum anderen wurden jene Texte ermittelt, in denen an Stelle jeder einzelnen Konstituente des traditionellen Sprichwortes ein anderes Wort stand. Dieses Wort sollte allerdings derselben Wortart angehören wie die ursprüngliche Konstituente. Z.B. durfte die Stelle eines Nomens nur durch ein anderes Nomen eingenommen werden.⁶ Auch in diesem Fall durften zwischen den einzelnen Konstituenten maximal 5 weitere Wörter vorhanden sein.

Mit Hilfe des weiter oben dargestellten Suchalgorithmus wurden zahlreiche Varianten und Verfremdungen der traditionellen Sprichwörter ermittelt, beziehungsweise auch Texte, in denen man auf bestimmte Sprichwörter angedeutet hat, ohne die vollständigen Texte wörtlich zu zitieren. Alle Texte, die das Programm als Treffer aufgelistet hatte, mussten manuell durchsucht werden, um die tatsächlichen Varianten, Verfremdungen und Andeutungen bzw. Hinweise auf Sprichwörter von den irrelevanten Hits zu trennen.

Im Endergebnis wurde eine neue Liste zusammengestellt, die alle gefundenen Varianten, Verfremdungen und die eventuellen Andeutungen bzw. Hinweise auf Sprichwörter verzeichnete.

- In der dritten Phase der Untersuchung wurden mit Hilfe des PERL-Programms die neu ermittelten Varianten und Verfremdungen in die Korpus-Suchmaschine als Suchbegriffe eingegeben. Dieses Mal wurde lediglich nach exakten Treffern gesucht. Auf diese Weise wurde die genaue Anzahl der im Korpus vorkommenden Varianten und Verfremdungen der 10 häufigsten Sprichwörter festgestellt (dazu s. 4. Ergebnisse der Untersuchung).

Im Laufe der Untersuchung sind wir auf gewisse Schwierigkeiten gestoßen, was die Suche im Korpus anbetrifft. So zum Beispiel war es nicht möglich, nach einer Phrase über die Satzgrenzen hinweg zu suchen. Das erwies sich als Hindernis besonders dann,

wenn wir auch jene Treffer berücksichtigen wollten, in denen nicht das vollständige Sprichwort zitiert wird, sondern darauf lediglich angedeutet wird. So eine Andeutung bzw. so ein Hinweis können nämlich auch über die Satzgrenze hinaus gehen und werden dementsprechend von der Korpus-Suchmaschine außer Acht gelassen.

Zum anderen haben der Bindestrich und der Gedankenstrich den Status von selbstständigen Wörtern (Token) im Korpus. Bei einer wörtlichen Suche kann das die Suchergebnisse negativ beeinflussen. Die Suchmaschine schließt Phrasen mit einem Binde- bzw. Gedankenstrich als mögliche Treffer automatisch aus, zumal sie ein „Extrawort“ enthalten und dementsprechend mit dem Suchstring nicht hundertprozentig übereinstimmen. Um diese Unzulänglichkeit zu umgehen, haben wir in unserem Suchstring an Stelle des Binde- bzw. des Gedankenstrichs ein beliebiges Wort zugelassen, z.B.:

всяко зло – за добро → всяко зло <beliebig> за добро

Somit waren die exakten Treffer vollzählig, allerdings sollten die kompletten Suchergebnisse durchgelesen werden, um die wörtlichen Entsprechungen von Varianten, Verfremdungen etc. zu trennen.

4. Ergebnisse

Im Folgenden werden die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung kurz dargestellt und erläutert.

Die Suche nach wörtlichen Entsprechungen für die bulgarischen Sprichwörter hat ergeben, dass von 2.301 Sprichwörtern 657 im Korpus vorkommen. Die 10 Sprichwörter mit den meisten exakten Treffern sind wie folgt:

	Sprichwort	Exakte Treffer	Deutsches Äquivalent/ deutsche Übersetzung
1.	<i>Всяко зло за добро.</i>	179	Nach jedem Übel kommt auch etwas Gutes. (Übers.)
2.	<i>Нищо ново под слънцето.</i>	127	<i>Es gibt nichts Neues unter der Sonne.</i>
3.	<i>Целта оправдава средствата.</i>	108	<i>Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel.</i>
4.	<i>По-добре късно, отколкото никога.</i>	108	<i>Besser spät als nie.</i>
5.	<i>Съединението прави силата.</i>	106	<i>Einigkeit macht stark.</i>
6.	<i>Всяко чудо за три дни.</i>	77	Jedes Wunder dauert (höchstens) drei Tage lang. (Übers.)
7.	<i>Око за око зъб за зъб.</i>	89	<i>Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn.</i>
8.	<i>Кръвта вода не става.</i>	95	<i>Blut ist dicker als Wasser.</i>
9.	<i>Времето не чака.</i>	62	Die Zeit wartet auf niemanden. (Übers.)
10.	<i>Времето е пари.</i>	54	<i>Zeit ist Geld.</i>

Diese Liste zeigt große Ähnlichkeiten mit den Ergebnissen der Untersuchungen, bei denen Artikel aus der Tageszeitung *Стандарт* bzw. das WWW nach Sprichwörtern durchsucht wurden. Man kann deutliche Übereinstimmungen erkennen, was die Top-10-Liste der gebräuchlichsten bulgarischen Sprichwörter anbetrifft (s. dazu Hrisztova-Gotthardt 2010 und Hrisztova-Gotthardt/ Gotthardt 2011).

Die verfeinerte Suche, die in der zweiten Phase der Untersuchung ausgeführt wurde, hat gezeigt, dass die traditionellen (kodifizierten) Sprichwörter nicht nur wortwörtlich im Korpus enthalten sind, sondern auch in Form von qualitativen und quantitativen Varianten und Verfremdungen. Des Weiteren wird an mehreren Stellen auf das ursprüngliche Sprichwort hingewiesen, indem nur Teile davon zitiert werden. Diese Art von Treffern ist ebenfalls enorm wichtig für die Ermittlung der bekanntesten und gebräuchlichsten Texte. Die Tatsache, dass ein Sprichwort mehrere Varianten hat, oft modifiziert wird, beziehungsweise dass man gelegentlich auf seine Botschaft verweist, spricht bereits dafür, dass es mit

großer Wahrscheinlichkeit über einen hohen Bekanntheitsgrad verfügt. Aus Platzgründen werden an dieser Stelle nicht alle Varianten und Verfremdungen der Top-10-Treffer angeführt, es wird nur die Anzahl der Treffer je nach Kategorie angegeben:

		Exakte Treffer	Varianten	Verfrem- dungen	Hinweise	Gesamt- treffer
1.	<i>Всяко зло за добро.</i>	179	29	0	2	210
2.	<i>Нищо ново под слънцето.</i>	127	46	10	4	187
3.	<i>Целта оправдава средствата.</i>	108	11	27	18	164
4.	<i>По-добре късно, отколкото никога.</i>	108	1	15	6	130
5.	<i>Съединението прави силата.</i>	106	9	12	3	130
6.	<i>Всяко чудо за три дни.</i>	77	33	4	2	116
7.	<i>Око за око зъб за зъб.</i>	89	12	5	0	106
8.	<i>Кръвта вода не става.</i>	95	2	2	2	101
9.	<i>Времето не чака.</i>	62	6	0	11	79
10.	<i>Времето е пари.</i>	54	2	7	15	78

Wie aus der Tabelle zu entnehmen ist, übertrifft die Anzahl der exakten Treffer deutlich die Anzahl der Varianten. Das gilt nicht nur für die so genannten Top 10, sondern auch für alle 657 Texte, die im Korpus vorkommen. Das heißt, die Sprichwörterformen, die wir im Rahmen der Untersuchung als Grundformen der jeweiligen Sprichwörter betrachtet haben, weisen tatsächlich eine höhere Vorkommenshäufigkeit im Vergleich zu ihren Varianten auf und wurden mit Recht in den Sammlungen als Nennformen (Lemmata) kodifiziert.

Immerhin sind wir bei der Auswertung der Ergebnisse auf einen Text aufmerksam geworden, der zuerst als Variante von *Времето не чака* [Die Zeit wartet auf niemanden] kategorisiert wurde. Unsere Recherche hat ergeben, dass *Времето и приливът не чакат никого* [Die Zeit und die Flut warten auf niemanden] eigentlich die bulgarische Entsprechung für *Time and tide wait for no man* ist. Zwar wurde das Sprichwort bis dahin in keiner einzigen Sammlung kodifiziert, hat sich aber neunmal im Korpus auf-

gefunden. Es kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass sich das Proverb langsam auch in der bulgarischen Sprache einbürgert und demnach nicht als Variante, sondern als vollwertiges Sprichwort bezeichnet werden kann.

5. Zusammenfassung und Ausblick

In dieser Arbeit wurden die Methoden und Ergebnisse der bereits dritten korpusbasierten Untersuchung zur Vorkommenshäufigkeit von Sprichwörtern in der modernen geschriebenen bulgarischen Sprache präsentiert. In Bezug auf die Frage nach den gebräuchlichsten Sprichwörtern haben alle drei Untersuchungen überraschend ähnliche Resultate hervorgebracht. Es hat sich dabei um drei – ihrer Größe und ihrer Zusammensetzung nach – ganz unterschiedliche Korpora gehandelt. Diese Tatsache lässt uns darauf schließen, dass die Übereinstimmungen in den Ergebnissen keineswegs zufällig sind und dass die Sprichwörter mit den meisten Treffern in den drei Korpora tatsächlich zu den bekanntesten und gebräuchlichsten Proverbien gehören und sehr hohe Chancen als Kandidaten für einen Platz im bulgarischen Sprichwortminimum haben. Dazu gehören unter anderem Texte wie: *Всяко зло за добро* [Nach jedem Übel kommt auch etwas Gutes], *По-добре късно, отколкото никога* [Besser spät als nie], *Съединението прави силата* [Einigkeit macht stark], *Нищо ново под слънцето* [(Es gibt) nichts Neues unter der Sonne], *Кръвта вода не става* [Blut ist dicker als Wasser] etc.

In naher Zukunft sollen mit Hilfe des im Rahmen dieser Arbeit dargestellten Suchverfahrens weitere korpusbasierte Untersuchungen durchgeführt werden. Das Ziel dieser Untersuchungen wird es sein, nicht nur die bekanntesten und gebräuchlichsten bulgarischen Sprichwörter zu ermitteln, sondern auch Informationen über ihre Varianten, Bedeutungen, pragmatischen Funktionen etc. Diese Daten sollen später systematisiert und in Form eines Wörterbuchs der modernen bulgarischen Sprichwörter erscheinen.

Anmerkungen

¹ Die 2.301 Texte entstammten zwei phraseologischen Sammlungen, die in der Anfangsphase der Untersuchung immer noch als die „neuesten“ galten: Grigorov / Katarov 1986 und Vlahov 1996.

² Mehr zum Bulgarischen nationalen Korpus unter: http://www.ibl.bas.bg/en/BGNC_en.htm.

³ Der Terminus *Tokenisierung* wird in der Computer- und Korpuslinguistik verwendet und bezeichnet die Segmentierung eines Textes in kleinste Einheiten der Wortebene, auch *Token* genannt. Dabei werden bei der Zerlegung nicht nur Wörter im gängigen Sinne, sondern auch Zahlen, Satzzeichen, Klammern, Anführungsstriche und andere Symbole als Token identifiziert, die (meist) von Leerzeichen begrenzt sind (vgl. Carstensen 2004: 408f.; Lemnitzer / Zinsmeister 2010: 64f.). Unter *Lemmaisierung* wird eine Annotation auf der Wortebene verstanden, bei der die Token morphologisch analysiert und auf ihre Grundform zurückgeführt werden, d.h. Worteinheiten, die sich nur in ihren Flexionsmerkmalen unterscheiden, werden unter dem Begriff *Lemma* zusammengefasst (s. Haß 2005: 75ff.; Scherer 2006: 33).

⁴ Die Idee zur lexikalisch-semantischen Organisation von Wörtern wurde zum ersten Mal in der lexikalischen Datenbank *WordNet* an der Princeton University realisiert (<http://wordnet.princeton.edu/perl/webwn>). Nach dem Beispiel des Englischen wurde der Wortschatz weiterer Sprachen semantisch strukturiert, darunter auch der Wortschatz des Bulgarischen (http://dcl.bas.bg/BulNet/wordnet_en.html).

⁵ Mehr zur Suche im Korpus: http://www.ibl.bas.bg/en/BGNC_search_en.htm.

⁶ Angesichts dieser Einschränkung musste hier ein gewisser Grad an Informationsverlust in Kauf genommen werden. Dennoch haben wir uns für diese Einschränkung entschieden, und zwar aus folgendem Grund: Eine Testsuchanfrage, bei der eine Sprichwort-Konstituente durch ein beliebiges Wort ersetzt werden durfte, hat nämlich gezeigt, dass eine uneingeschränkte Suche eine Vielzahl von irrelevanten Treffern erbringt. Diese Treffer sollen alle manuell durchsucht werden, was wiederum einen enormen Zeitaufwand bedeutet. Im Vergleich dazu ist der befürchtete Informationsverlust bei einer Einschränkung der Suchbedingungen eher unwesentlich.

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BARBARA KOMENDA-EARLE

WANN HÄTTE MAN EINEM EIN BAD ZURICHTEN KÖNNEN?
– ZU PROZESSEN DER ENTSTEHUNG UND DES
SCHWUNDES VON REDENSARTEN

Abstract: The paper discusses the idiomatic paradigm of the German proverbial expression *jdm. ein Bad zurechten* which includes the formal, semantic and cultural analysis of idioms and proverbs with the same figurative meaning. The diachronic analysis starts from the oldest collocations and phrases with the component *Bad* like *jdm. das Bad aufgießen*, *jdm. ein Bad rüsten/bereiten/ zurechten* etc. and shows their development in meaning and form from the beginning (15th century) till nowadays. The most important mechanism of the semantic changes are metonymy and metaphor, the formal factors are the lexical exchange of the verbal component, the reduction of the lexical variations and the context of use. The paradigm shows a high liveliness from the start till nowadays. Despite passing of the proverbial expressions *jdm. ein Bad zurechten*, *jdm. das Bad (ge)segnen* new units like *baden gehen*, *das Bad in der Menge*, *ein Bad in der Menge nehmen* appearing show the agility of the paradigm and mean its revitalization.

Keywords: culture history, demotivation, idiomatic paradigm: development, reduction, agility and revitalization, metaphor, metonymy, idiom, idiomatization and lexicalization, lexicography, motivation, proverbial expression, reality, traditionality, unical components

1. Die Kulturgeschichte des Badens

Die Kulturgeschichte und Symbolik des Bades¹ reichen in die römischen und griechischen Zeiten und werden in das Volksleben des Mittelalters übernommen.

Die Badekultur bildet einen festen Bestandteil der mittelalterlichen Sittlichkeit.

So ist es die erste Pflicht des Hausherrn, dem Gaste ein Bad bereiten zu lassen.

Die Handwerklehrlinge und -gesellen sind z.B. verpflichtet, allwöchentlich zu baden; die Gesellen erhalten dazu rechtzeitig samstags Feierabend und ein Badegeld (den sog. „Badepfennig“).

Man badet gewöhnlich samstags und betrachtet die körperliche Reinigung als Vorbereitung zur kirchlichen Feier des Sonntags (vgl. DITTRICH 1975: 23, RÖHRICH 2004: 477).

Auch in ganz anderen Zusammenhängen gibt es konventionell geregelte Bäder: Hochzeits- und Märzenbäder, Eh- und Heilbäder. Es heißt sogar sprichwörtlich: *Man soll den Badetag halten wie den Sonntag* (vgl. RÖHRICH 2004: 477).

Der Deutsche benutzt sicher frühzeitig das warme **Wasserbad**, bis Ende des 15. Jh. ist dennoch das **Dampfbad** populär, besonders als Reinigungsbad des Volkes.

Der Dampf wird durch Begießen glühend gemachter Steine mit Wasser erzeugt, der Körper wird mit dem Badequast oder -wedel, also einer aus meist Birkenzweigen oder anderem Laub gebundenen Rute, gepeitscht. Im Dampfbad reibt man den Körper vor dem eigentlichen Bade, also vor dem Schwitzen, mit Lauge, einer Pottasche- (Kalium carbonicum-) Lösung ab, die durch Übergießen der Holzasche in einem Sack mit heißem Wasser hergestellt wird.

Die Realien der Badepraxis sind in der Bedeutung des althochdeutschen Verbs *bāen* ‘durch Umschläge wärmen, in feuchte Wärme bringen’ (9./10. Jh.) enthalten, auf welches das heutige Verb *baden* zurückgeht (vgl. DWDS, PFEIFER ²1993/2011, Stichwort *Bad*).

Büßende, Fastende und besonders fromme Personen baden im Mittelalter nie. Das Bad gilt eben zuerst als Vergnügen. In den mittelalterlichen Städten sind die Badestuben öffentliche Anstalten zur Unterhaltung. Eine Stadt wie München hat schon im 15. Jahrhundert mindestens vier öffentliche Bäder und Ulm 1489 bereits 168 Badestuben (vgl. RÖHRICH 2004: 477).

Seit dem Ende des 15. Jh. nimmt das Dampfbad in Deutschland und Skandinavien wegen des damals ansetzenden Holzmangels und des Auftretens des Syphilis, großen Seuchen und Kriege allmählich ab. Die öffentlichen Badestuben werden wegen der großen Ansteckungsgefahr, gegen die man sich damals noch nicht zu schützen wusste, immer mehr gemieden.

An Stelle des Dampfes tritt **Heißluftbad**, das mit dem ausgehenden 18. Jh. wieder verschwindet (vgl. BÄCHTOLD-STÄUBLI 1927: 798, 851).

Zu Beginn der Neuzeit wird das Baden in den öffentlichen Badestuben auch wegen vielfach beanstandeter Unsittlichkeit eingeschränkt (vgl. RÖHRICH 2004: 477).

Bis in den Anfang des 17. Jh. ist die Benutzung von sowohl **warmen wie kalten Bädern** ganz allgemein (vgl. BORCHARDT et al. 1888/⁷1954: 47).

Heilende Funktion des Bades verbindet sich mit der großen Hitze (vgl. SPALDING 1959-2000 I: 179), worin auch die Metaphorik der Redensart *jdm. ein Bad zurichten* am stärksten verwurzelt ist. Hinzufügen ist, dass das Bad im Mittelalter sich nicht nur auf ein Sitzen im Wasser beschränkte, es war noch mit verschiedenen anderen **kosmetischen Handlungen** verbunden, so wurde z.B. das Scheren des Haupthaars und Bartes im Bade vorgenommen, was unter mittelalterlichen Umständen nicht immer ein reines Vergnügen war (vgl. WANDER 1867-1880: 888, Anmerkung zu Eintrag 21).

Auch **die dunkle Seite des Mittelalters** darf dabei nicht vergessen werden: in den Badestuben wurde nicht für jede Person das Bad gerichtet, es mussten mehrere Menschen in demselben Bottich baden, der Letzte hatte dann das schmutzige Wasser hinauszutragen und den Bottich zu putzen (vgl. DITTRICH 1975: 23).

Das Rasieren (Barbieren) und das Kopfwaschen, auf das besonderer Wert gelegt wurde, geschah nicht immer in sanfter, wohlthuender Weise, sondern – um der vielen geringen Leute willen – war **die unsanfte Behandlung** häufiger (vgl. SCHRADER ⁷1912: 299).

Zu erwähnen ist schließlich die spätmittelalterliche **Folterpraktik**, „bei der die Deliquenten in einem von außen beheizbaren Raum schwitzen mussten, bis sie gestanden“ (RÖHRICH 2004: 478).

Für die Zurichtung der öffentlichen Bäder sorgten die in Zünften zusammengeschlossenen **Bader** (vgl. RÖHRICH 2004: 477).

Die Aufgabe der Bader war nicht bloß das Ausleeren des Baderbeckens und das Wegtragen des Badewassers, weil damit in größeren Bädern Baderknechte (Badewaschel) und Bademägde beschäftigt waren. Die Bader waren auch Barbieri und Wundärzte, oft Inhaber von Badestuben, die die Badenden bedienten, sie zur Ader ließen (nahmen ihnen Blut zur Heilbehandlung ab) und ihnen die

Haare schneiden (vgl. DWDS, PFEIFER ²1993/2011, Stichwort *Bad*, *Bader*, GÖHRING 1937: 15) .

Anfang des 19. Jh. ändert sich die Badepraxis, indem das Baden immer häufiger auch zu Hause vorgenommen wird.

Darüber berichtet ausführlich KRÜNITZ 1773-1858 (Stichwort *Bad*), indem er zuallererst das Baden zur Körperpflege dem Heilungsbad gegenüberstellt:

Diejenige Art des Badens, welche am meisten gewöhnlich ist, geschieht der Reinlichkeit wegen; denn man badet sich auf diese Weise bloß zum Vergnügen, und wenn man vollkommen gesund ist; daher haben viele reiche und zärtliche Leute gemeinlich in ihren Wohnungen solche Zimmer, welche bloß zu diesem Zweck bestimmt sind, und daher **Badezimmer** genennet werden. (...)

Bevor das Baden zu Hause zur Alltäglichkeit wurde, war es mit vielen Umständen verbunden: die Bedienung der ersten Wassererhitzer war recht kompliziert und zeitraubend, danach, zu Hause in dem heißen Wasser badend, blieb man im geheizten Raum abgeschlossen:

Es giebt aber sehr viele Leute, welche nicht zu dem Bader gehen, wenn sie sich baden wollen, sondern es in ihren Wohnungen verrichten. Weil sie aber hier nicht die Bequemlichkeit so gut haben, das Wasser heiß zu machen, und es in dem gehörigen Grade der Wärme zu erhalten, so hat man seit einigen Jahren hierzu eine sehr bequeme Maschine erfunden, welche aber zugleich sehr gefährlich ist, wenn man sie nicht recht gebrauchet. Man nennet sie den Cylinder (...). Diese ganze Maschine füllet man mit glühenden Kohlen an, und setzet sich alsdenn in das Wasser, in welchem man sich baden will. Die Luftlöcher sind die beiden vorgedachten Röhren, und durch diese haben die Kohlen den Zug, weil man sonst besorgen müßte, daß sie verlöschen mögten; zugleich aber dienen sie, den Dampf heraus zu laßen. Wenn man nun mit dieser Maschine das Wasser so gewärmt hat, als es nöthig ist, so nimmt man sie wieder heraus, und setzt sich hinein. Zuweilen setzt man sie nur bloß in eben dem Zimmer zur Seite, wo man sich badet,

und welches mehrentheils sehr verschlossen ist, weil man sich während dem Baden gemeiniglich vor der frischen Luft fürchtet. (...)

Aus der etwa 150 Jahre zeitlich zurückliegenden Beschreibung wird nicht nur ersichtlich, wie umständlich das Baden zu Hause war, bevor es das verdiente Großvergnügen bereitete, sondern auch dass es noch im 19. Jh. in nicht seltenen Fällen in Lebensgefahr auslief:

Zu allem Unglücke befürchten diejenigen Personen, welche eben keine sonderliche Kenntnis von dergleichen Sachen haben, ihre schreckliche Wirkung, oder vornehmlich den Dampf nicht, welcher von den eingeschlossenen Kohlen herrührt, und keinen Ausgang findet. Ob nun gleich die übeln Folgen gar wohl bekannt sind, welche diejenigen vielfältig erfahren haben, die in ihre Schlafkammern glühende oder erstickte Holz- und vornehmlich Steinkohlen gesetzt, und sich daselbst schlafen gelegt haben, um für der Kälte gesichert zu seyn, weswegen denn dergleichen Leute, wenn sie nicht gleich schleunigen Beistand erlanget, des andern Tages früh im Bette todt gefunden worden sind (...) denn derjenige Kohlendampf, welchen man mit der Luft in die Lunge ziehet, indem man Athem hohlet, vermischt sich mit dem Blute, und hemmet nach und nach dessen Umlauf dergestalt, daß man zuletzt in den Todesschlaf verfällt. (...)

2. Vom mittelalterlichen Baden zur Redensart „jdm. ein Bad zurichten“ – Entstehung, Motivation und Metaphorik der Redensarten um das Baden im 15.- 18. Jh.

2.1. Etymologie

Vor den Hintergründen der mittelalterlichen Badekultur, die sich von Brauchtum und Sitte über Körperhygiene und Unterhaltung bis Randerscheinungen der Gewalt erstrecken, überrascht nicht die große Anzahl von festen sprachlichen Formulierungen, die darauf zurückgehen.²

Die Etymologie der anvisierten Redensart wird auf das Benennungsmotiv der großen bis unerträglichen Hitze im alten Bad oder das Motiv eines Bades mit (zu) scharfer Lauge zurückgeführt (vgl. BORCHARDT et al. 1888/⁷1954: 47).

SPALDING (1959-2000 I: 179) gibt bei *jdm. ein Bad einzurichten* als zwei voneinander getrennte Etymologien das Motiv der

Wehrlosigkeit des unbewaffnet und unbeschützt Badenden, tradiert durch das antike Motiv Agamemmons Todes und unabhängig davon die große Hitze in medizinischen Heilbädern (in Anlehnung an ein Zitat aus LUTHER) an. RÖHRICH (2004: 478) geht in seiner Interpretation der Redensart einen Schritt weiter – nach ihm liegt das Benennungsmotiv in einer spätmittelalterlichen Folterpraktik, nach der die Delinquenten durch das qualvolle Schwitzen in einem von außen beheizbaren Raum zu Geständnissen gezwungen wurden. KRZYŻANOWSKI (1970 II: 339) versucht dagegen die Motivation der analogen Redewendung im Polnischen (poln. *sprawić komuś łaźnię*) bloß auf die Tätigkeit des sich-Beschlagens mit Weidenstöcken zwecks besserer Durchblutung zurückzuführen.

Der bis heute durchaus geläufige Ausdruck *etwas ausbaden müssen* ‚die unangenehmen Folgen von etwas tragen müssen‘ leitet sich kulturgeschichtlich möglicherweise von einer mittelalterlichen, im 16. Jh. durch Hans Sachs überlieferten, Baderegel her: von mehreren Personen, die in einem Wasser nacheinander gebadet hatten, musste die letzte die Wanne leeren und reinigen, dies konnte auch Aufgabe des Badeknechts oder der Bademagd sein. Zunächst bedeutete *ausbaden* nur ‚zu Ende baden‘, später (2. Hälfte des 15. Jh.) hat das Verb den Sinn ‚ausgespielt haben‘ erhalten (vgl. PFEIFER ²1993/2011, Stichwort *Bad, ausbaden*, BORCHARDT et al. 1888/ ⁷1954: 48, HETZEL 1896: 35, KÜPPER 2004: 2075, RÖHRICH 2004: 482-483). Eine andere Etymologie von *etwas ausbaden müssen* hängt mit dem alten Hochzeitbrauchtum zusammen, wo *Ausbad* (15./16. Jh.) die Bezeichnung der kostspieligen Mahlzeit (Schlußschmaus) für diejenigen Hochzeitsgäste war, die nach dem Brauch die junge Frau ins Bad begleiten durften (vgl. HETZEL 1896: 35, PUTZFELD 1937: 13, KÜPPER 2004: 2075, hierzu auch die aus Baden und dem schweizerischen Aargau belegte Redensart *zu tun haben wie die Braut im Bad* ‚sehr beschäftigt sein‘, RÖHRICH 2004: 485).

Jdm. das Bad segnen geht auf die alte Grußformel der Bader *Gesegnet's Bad!* (verkürzt aus: *Gott gesegne das Bad!*) zurück, mit der sie den Badenden ein angenehmes und sicheres Bad zu wünschen pflegten. Zur Entstehung der Redensart hat direkt die ironische Anwendung im 19. Jh. durch Friedrich Schiller beigetragen (vgl. BORCHARDT et al. 1888/ ⁷1954: 48, DITTRICH 1975: 23).

Eine der ältesten Formen im besprochenen Korpus stellt *das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütten* dar – eine Allegorie auf die Verwerfung des Guten mit dem Schlechten.³ Als bildliche Redensart findet sie sich in Thomas MURNERS *Narrenbeschwörung* und ist dann bei Martin LUTHER als Sprichwort *Man soll das Kind nicht mit dem Bade ausschütten* (vgl. MIEDER 1993: 193-194) belegt. Aufgrund des wiederholten Gebrauchs der Formulierung im 16. Jh. vermutet die Forschung, dass sie keine Prägung MURNERSs war, sondern bereits im Volksmund zum festen redensartlichen Bestand gehörte (vgl. DuRe ⁷2002: 410, BORCHARDT et al. 1888/ ⁷1954: 49, RÖHRICH 2004: 486).

2.2. Semantische und strukturelle Vorläuferformen. Entstehung der Redensarten

Die semantischen Vorläufer der späteren Redensart *jdm. ein Bad zurichten* sind seit dem 15. Jh. schriftlich belegt.

Die Wortverbindung *jdm. das Bad aufgießen* erscheint in den „Fastnachtspielen“:

der in (*ihnen*) aufgegossen hat das pad. *fastn. sp.* 1123;
(zit. nach GRIMM-DtWb 1854-63 I, Sp. 1069-1070,
Stichwort *Bad*)

Die negative Bedeutungsentwicklung des Substantivs *Bad* lässt im 15. Jh. die Hölle metaphorisch als heißes Bad der höchsten Stufe darstellen – so gebraucht Sebastian Brandt im *Narrenschiff* (Ende des 15. Jh.) die Wortfolge *von eim bad in das ander führen*:

Die tüfel sint gewiß der sel
Vnd tunt mit wüst triumphiren
Von eim bad in das ander füren,
Von itel kelt inn itel hitz.
(zit. nach RÖHRICH 2004: 479)

Auf den Anfang des 16. Jh. fällt auch die idiomatische Verwendung der Wortverbindung *jdm. ein Bad rüsten* in Thomas Murners *Narrenbeschwörung*:

Guck für dich, an wem du bist,
 Sunst wirt dir ein badt gerist („zugerüstet“)
 (zit. nach BORCHARDT et al. ⁷1954: 47).

Das Motiv des Bades im Sinne der Strafe, durch die das Leiden durch die Wirkung der Laugen zugefügt wird, erscheint im 16.Jh., belegt bei Kirhhof (Wortfolge *in ein Bad führen*), Reutter (*in einem Bade baden*) und Ringwald (*jdm. ein Bad stiften*):

damit mancher armer gefangner durch freche unverstendige schreier nicht in ein weiter bad geführt und verkürzet werde. (Kirchhof)

dann einer der laster verschweiget und einer der falsch urtheil spricht, die werden beide zugleich in einem bade baden. (Reutter)

hat dis betrübt bad gestift. (Ringwald)

(zit. nach GRIMM-DtWb 1854-63 I, Sp. 1069-1070, Stichwort *Bad*)

Auf lebensbedrohende Aspekte des heißen Bades verweist mehrmals Martin LUTHER: zum mittelalterlichen Baden gehört die Lässigkeit der Hitze (*und das bad ist heisz genug geheizet, wem es gilt, der wird schwitzen müssen*) sowie die Isolation und Wehrlosigkeit des Badenden (*hie wil ich, sprach der bock, den münch im bad ergreifen und ehre einlegen*, zit. nach GRIMM-DtWb 1854-63 I, Sp. 1069-1070, Stichwort *Bad*)

LUTHER gebraucht auch als metaphorische Wendungen die Wortfolgen *jdm. ein Bad zurichten*, *jdm. das Bad bereiten*:

wenn die lieben engel nicht weren gewesen, solt dir der teufel ein bad haben zugericht.

es musz also sein, das sie inen selbs das bad in der hölle wol bereiten. 3, 291^b;

(zit. nach GRIMM-DtWb 1854-63 I, Sp. 1069-1070, Stichwort *Bad*)

Eine andere – wegen der ausgeprägten Bedeutung ‚Strafe‘ – nicht unwichtige Kollokation ist bei LUTHER *bad und lauge*:

got gebe gnade e. ch. h., das sie mir auch einmal solchen oder dergleichen brief oder botschaft lasse zukomen, der mich betreffe, so solt e. h. bad und lauge kriegen.

(zit. nach GRIMM-DtWb 1854-63 I, Sp. 1069-1070, Stichwort *Bad*).

Im 16. und 17. Jh. begegnet man ohne Schwierigkeit zahlreichen halbidiomatischen Gebrauchsweisen der Wortfügung *das Bad zurichten*, so bspw. bei Jacob Böhme in Kollokationen: *das höllische Bad zurichten*, *ein höllisch Bad machen* und bei Andreas Heinrich Buchholtz: *ein wunderliches Bad zurichten*:

Nun in dieser Qualität hat ihm König Luzifer recht das höllische Bad zugerichtet. Er darf nicht sagen, daß ihm Gott habe die höllische Qualität erbauet und zugerichtet, sondern er selber. Dazu hat er die Gottheit beleidiget und aus den Kräften Gottes ein höllisch Bad gemacht, ihm zu seiner ewigen Behausung. (BÖHME)

Höret mein schöner Herr; wie ist euch schon entfallen / daß ihr uns mit Leib uñ Gut woltet verfallen seyn / wofern ihr in eurer Träue wanken würdet? geschwinde / und bedenket euch eines bessern / oder euch dürffte ein wunderliches Bad zugerichtet werden. Attalus erseuffzete hoch / und sagte: Ey meine Herren / es ist alles auff Fr. Agathen / nichts auff diese von mir geredet worden; Zeigete weiter an / wie er diese vor Kleanders Wittibē gehalten / und würde Fr. Euphrosyne ihm das Zeugniß geben / daß er ja bald anfangs um dieselbe und umb keine andere die Anwerbung getahn hätte. (BUCHHOLZ)

Die Gebrauchsweisen der genannten Wortverbindungen im 16.-17. Jh. sind metaphorischer und bereits halbidiomatischer Art: sie betreffen nicht das wortwörtliche Baden zwecks Reinigung des Körpers, sondern sind in abstrakte Kontexte wie Schilderungen der Hölle oder der Strafe verflochten.

Das Motiv des heißen, unerträglichen bis strafenden und bedrohenden Bades ist in späteren literarischen Ausformulierungen im 19. Jh. vorhanden:

das dem feind verkundschaft ward,
das im bereitet war das bad.
(Soltau)

der baron verklagte den haushofmeister und glaubte ihm
ein rechtes bad angerichtet zu haben. (Göthe)

wol kein solcher unberufner, welches bad er durch seine
wahrheitsverrätherei allen hofbedienten bis zur garderoben-
jungfer herab bereitet. (J. Paul)

Benedict tet dem Hauser kund:
das bad wär im zu heisze (*bei einer belagerung*).
(Uhland)
(zit. nach GRIMM-DtWb 1854-63 I, Sp. 1069-1070,
Stichwort *Bad*)

Seit dem 16. Jh. wird auch – bereits mit der idiomatischen Be-
deutung – das Formativ *jdm. das Bad segnen* schriftlich überlie-
fert, vgl.

der teufel sprach, ich gsegn dirs bad.
(Hans Sachs)

da lief ich frisch hinzu, so wie ich war,
und mit der axt hab ich ihms bad gesegnet.
(Schiller)

Seine anderen formalen Realisierungen sind das bad wird ausgehen
über jdn., das bad über jdn. ausgießen, das letzte bad ausgiessen:

aber das bad wird ausgehen über sie (*die rache wird sie
treffen*) (Luther)

und über mich wird stets das bad
von neid und misgunst ausgegossen.
(Günther)

und weil die unschuld stets das letzte bad ausgeuszt?

(zit. nach GRIMM- DtWb 1854-63 I, Sp. 1069-1070,
Stichwort *Bad*)

Die erste beachtenswerte lexikographische Verzeichnung der
Redensarten mit dem Benennungsmotiv des mittelalterlichen Bades

findet im 18. Jh. statt: in dem *Teutsch-Lateinisches Wörterbuch* trägt Johann Leonard Frisch (1741/ 1977: 47) als idiomatische Wendungen: *einem ein schlimmes Bad zurichten* ‚einen in Noth bringen‘, *einen in ein Bad führen* (ohne Bedeutungserklärung), *man sollte ihn im ersten Bade ersüft haben* und *du wirst das Bad austragen müssen* ‚du wirst allein büßen müssen‘ ein.

2.3. Metaphorisierung und Idiomatisierung

Mit der **Metaphorisierung** und **Idiomatisierung** der Wortfolgen *einem ein schlimmes Bad zurichten*, *einen in ein Bad führen* wird das Benennungsmotiv des mittelalterlichen Bades sprachhistorisch zu festen Redensarten umgesetzt.

Die erste idiomatische Bedeutung von *jdm. ein Bad zurichten* ist ‚jdm. eine (körperliche) Strafe auferlegen‘ und resultiert direkt aus den mittelalterlichen Realien, in denen das Baden unter Hitze und unter Einsatz von Laugen zur Strafe und auch zur Folter wird.⁴

Die Übertragung des Motivs des heißen, äußerst lästigen bis u.U. schmerzhaften oder auch tödlichen Bades auf die feste Wortverbindung erfolgt also **zuerst metonymisch** in der Relation Prozess/Erscheinung – Eigenschaft. Der metaphorische Gebrauch ist dann die nächste Etappe der Verfestigung der Wendung im Laufe der Tradierung.

Das wesentlichste Moment der **Idiomatisierung** ist die kulturgeschichtlich begründete Metonymisierung und Metaphorisierung der sinntragenden Komponente. Weniger bedeutend für die Idiomatisierung ist die spätere Reduktion der lexikalischen Varianten.

Abschließende Etappe der Idiomatisierung ist die Lexikalisierung, also Entstehung einer neuen Mehrworteinheit.

Die Idiomatisierung von *jdm. ein Bad zurichten* vollzieht sich im 16.Jh. **durch Bedeutungsverschiebung** und Konkretisierung. Die wörtliche Bedeutung der Wortfolge wandelt sich infolgedessen zu ‚jdm. eine (körperliche) Strafe auferlegen‘ (die Bedeutung ändert sich dann wieder im 19. Jh. durch Bedeutungsverbesserung zu ‚jdm. etwas (Schlimmes) anstellen, jdm. etwas Unangenehmes zuziehen‘ und bleibt konstant).

Vor der Idiomatisierung der Wendung mit der Bedeutung ‚(körperliche) Strafe‘ (15./16. Jh.) tritt mehrfach der metaphorische Vergleich der Hölle mit dem Bad, wo eindeutig das Motiv der Hitze und der Qual durch die Hitze hervorrage. Dasselbe Bild des qual-

vollen Bades dient demnächst der aussagekräftigen Darstellung von Rache und Strafe (16.-17. Jh.).

Die Redensart *jdm. ein Bad zurichten* ist strukturell und semantisch auf die Kollokationen *von ein bad in das ander führen, jdm. ein Bad rüsten* (15.-16. Jh.), *das höllische Bad zurichten, ein höllisch Bad machen* (16.-17. Jh.) zurückzuführen, weitere sinnverwandte Kollokationen lauten zu dieser Zeit *das bad ist heisz genug geheizet, bad und lauge, bad und lauge kriegen, ein bad zurüsten, jdm. das pad stiften, in bad führen, jdm. ein Bad zurichten*.

Die Bedeutungen der Vorläuferformen sind durch halbmetaphorische Gebrauchskontexte (der Hölle, dann Rache, Strafe) mitbestimmt und gestatten halbidiomatische Anwendungen der Wortfolgen, was den sprachlichen und zugleich außersprachlichen Hintergrund der sprachshistorischen Entwicklung der Redensarten darstellt.

Das der Metapher zugrunde liegende Benennungsmotiv des grausamen Bades wird auch in literarischen Texten des 19. Jh. thematisiert und ist da in anderen literarischen Ausformulierungen vorhanden, vgl. *jdm. ein rechtes Bad anrichten/ bereiten, jdm. ist/wäre das Bad zu heiß*.

Die idiomatische Form *einem ein schlimmes Bad zurichten* wird seit 18. Jh. lexikographisch verzeichnet.

Die Wortfolge zeichnet sich durch großen Reichtum der austauschbaren verbalen Teile aus, vgl. *einem das bad rüsten/ bereiten/ aufgiessen/ zurichten/ stiften*. Eine der lexikalischen Abwandlungen der späteren Redensart bildet die Form *einen in ein Bad führen*. Parallel dazu verfestigen sich Formen *das Bad austragen müssen* und *jdm. das Bad segnen*, die zu dieser Zeit bereits in idiomatischen Bedeutungen gebraucht werden.

3. Die Entfaltung des Paradigmas im 19. Jh.

Im 19. Jh. kommen weitere lexikale Variationen der Redewendungen *jdm. ein schlimmes Bad zurichten* und *das Bad austragen müssen* hinzu, mit idiomatischen Bedeutungen werden Formen wie *ausbaden müssen, jdm. das Bad segnen* lemmatisiert, parömiologische Sammlungen verzeichnen mehrere sinnverwandte Sprichwörter, das Paradigma wird bereichert um die neue idiomatische Einheit *baden gehen*.

CAMPE (1807-1811 I: 361) nennt *einem ein schlimmes Bad zurichten* ‚ihm etwas Unangenehmes zuziehen‘ und *das Bad austragen müssen* (ohne Bedeutungsangabe) als „die uneinheitlichen Redensarten des gemeinen Lebens“ und HEINSIUS (1819-1822 I: 354): *einem ein schlimmes Bad zurichten* ‚ihm etwas Unangenehmes zuziehen‘ und *ein Bad austragen müssen* ‚für andere büßen müssen‘.

Einem ein schlimmes Bad zurichten lemmatisiert in der idiomatischen Bedeutung auch ADELUNG 1811 (Stichwort *Bad*) mit der Bedeutungsangabe „figürl[ich] und im gemeinen Leben, ihm etwas Böses zubereiten“.

Mehrere fixierte Wortverbindungen listet GRIMM-DtWb (1854 -1963) auf: *einem das bad richten/ rüsten/ bereiten/ anlassen/ aufgiessen* und versieht sie mit der gemeinsamen Bedeutungserläuterung, die ihren Inhalt weitgehend aus kulturellen Kontexten schöpft:

jdm. das bad aufgiessen, hat oft den übeln sinn von einem nachstellen, fälle legen, einen in gefahr stürzen, weil der nackte, wehrlose überfallen, erschlagen werden kann, oder das bad zu heisz gemacht wird. Synonymisch wird bei GRIMM die Einheit *das bad heisz machen* verwendet.

Darüber hinaus gibt GRIMM-DtWb Formen an: *das bad bezahlen lassen, austragen, aussaufen, austrinken* (mit Verweis auf *ausbaden*).

WANDER (1867-1880, Stichwort *Bad*, Einträge 33, 35, 36, 40, 41, 54- 58) verzeichnet weitere Redewendungen mit zum Teil modifizierten Formen und Bedeutungen: *einem das Bad überthun* ‚einem einen schweren Handel oder eine böse Sache auf den Hals tun‘, *einem ein sauberes Bad bereiten* ‚ihn in schlimme Händel verwickeln‘, *sie gehören in ein Bad* ‚verdienen dieselbe Behandlung, dieselbe Strafe‘, *auf solchen Bad taugt solche Laugen, einem das Bad richten*, die antonymische Formulierung *einen aus dem Bade ziehen* ‚ihn retten‘, unter älteren und dialektalen Formen: *das Bad austappe(n) müssen, ein Bad vberhencken, einem ein Bad einheizen, einen zum Bade schicken, er ist ins Bad gereist* ‚büsst eine Gefängnisstrafe ab‘.

Das Paradigma vertreten bei WANDER mehrere Variationen der Form *das Bad austragen müssen* (Einträge 28-31): *das Bad (allein) austragen müssen* ‚für einen anderen büßen müssen‘, *das Bad für alle bezahlen müssen, das Bad muss jeder austrinken* und

Sprichwörter (Einträge 42, 43, 51): *Das Bad kan Gott leicht heiss genug hitzen, wenn es dem gilt, der muss schwitzen, Es wird einem oft das Bad heiss genug gemacht, er mag schwitzen, wenn er will, Zu einem guten Bade gehört ein guter Trunk.*

Negative Ausprägung hat zu GRIMMs und WANDER s Zeiten auch die bis Ende des 19. Jh. gebräuchliche Redensart *jdm. das Bad gesegnen*:

einem das bad gesegnen: wol bekomme das bad! prosit balneum! *rief man einsteigenden zu. häufig aber auch in schlechter bedeutung: es übel bekommen lassen* (GRIMM-DtWb 1854-63 I, Sp. 1069-1070, Stichwort *Bad*)

Zum Paradigma gehören neben redensartlichen Formen auch zahlreiche **Sprichwörter**: Gott segne ihr das Bad in jener Welt!, Wer viel ins Bad kommt, der wird viel gewaschen, Krätzig ins Bad und rüdig wieder heim, Bade genug, oder sitze nicht ein, Nach Bad warm, nach Läufe kalt, Nach dem Bad warm, nach der Ader kalt, Wer ertappt wird, Kein Bad hilft am Raben, baden wendet nicht allen Schaden, Man soll das Kind nicht mit dem Bade verschütten, Wer etappt wird, muss das Bad austragen (vgl. EISELEIN 1840/1980: 50-51, SIMROCK 1846/2003: 57, KÖRTE 1861: 32)

Weitere lexikalische Varianten von *jdm. ein Bad zurichten* lemmatisiert Sanders (1869 I: 67) *einem ein Bad rüsten/ bereiten/ (an-, zu-) richten/ heizen*, außerdem Formen: *ausbaden, jdm das Bad gesegnen* (oft ironisch), *das Bad austragen/ ausgießen/ ausschütten/ austrinken/ aussaufen müssen* ‚für andere (mit)büßen‘

Ausführliche Einträge widmen den Redensarten Autoren idiomatischer Wörterbücher und Sammlungen BORCHARDT et al. (1888/ ¹1954: 47-49), RICHTER (²1893: 9-11), HETZEL (1896: 35, 105), LEINWEBER (1897: 145). Die Redensarten *jdm. ein (schlimmes) Bad zurichten* und *ausbaden müssen* werden jeweils samt zahlreichen sinn- und formverwandten Wendungen und Sprichwörtern beschrieben und mit sorgfältigen etymologischen Erläuterungen versehen.

Die Beiträge lauten im Einzelnen:

BORCHARDT et al. (1888/ ¹1954: 47-49): *einem ein schlimmes Bad anrichten* ‚ihn mit Absicht in eine unangenehme und schwierige Lage bringen‘, *einem das Bad segnen* ‚ihn tüchtig durchprü-

geln‘, *das Bad austragen/ ausgießen/ bezahlen müssen* (gelegentlich derb: *das Bad austrinken/ aussaugen müssen*) ,die Folgen einer unangenehmer Angelegenheit tragen, für andere, für andere büßen müssen‘,

RICHTER (²1893: 9-11): *ausbaden müssen* ,büßen, die Folgen oder die Kosten auf sich nehmen müssen‘, *jemand ein Bad bereiten/ anrichten/ zürüsten, einem das Bad segnen*.

Unter den älteren und zu seiner Zeit nicht mehr fortlebenden Formen nennt RICHTER:

Satzidiome: Der letzte muss das Bad austragen (spätere Variante: Der letzte macht die Türe zu),

Sprichwörter: *Wer zuerst einsteigt, badet zuerst* ,ist zuerst fertig‘ (als Vorläuferform des späteren *Wer zuerst kommt, mahlt* (zu RICHTERs Zeiten: *mählt*) *zuerst*,

Zurufe: *Wohl bekommen dir’s Bad!* (ursprünglich Glückwunschoformel, dann im 19. Jh. unter Einfluss Schillers mit der Bedeutung ,übel bekommen‘,

HETZEL (1896: 35, 105): *Er muss das Bad ausgießen* ,muss die Folgen, die Kosten tragen‘, *einem ein Bad anrichten* ,ihm schlimmes Bereiten‘, *das Bad gesegnen* als ironisch markiert ,es ihm übel bekommen lassen‘, darunter Sprichwörter: *Man soll das Kind nicht mit dem Bade ausgießen*, *Das Bad muss jeder austrinken* ,sterben müssen wir alle‘, *Mancher reißet kräftig ins Bad und kommt rüdig wieder heim* ,Geflickt geht er fort, zerrissen kommt er in den Ort‘, *Ein warmes Bad reinigt mehr als ein kaltes* ,ein vom Herzen kommander Tadel [nützt] mehr als einer ohne Herz‘

LEINEWEBER (1897: 145): *etwas ausbaden* ,für etwas aufkommen, Folgen und Ende von etwas auf sich nehmen‘ sowie im eigentlichen ursprünglichen Sinne ,zuletzt baden und somit die Verpflichtung haben, für Ausleerung des Badewassers zu sorgen‘, *eines andern Wut ausbaden* ,dafür leiden oder büßen müssen‘.

Im späten 19. Jh. kommt der Ausdruck der Ablehnung *geh baden!* auf und zu Anfang des 20. Jh. bekommt das Verb *baden gehen* die idiomatische Bedeutung ,Misserfolg erleiden, Bankrott machen‘ (vgl. auch engl. *to take a bath* ,Bankrott machen‘, Ausdruck der Börse und Aktienmärkte, auch KÜPPER 2004: 2566⁵)

Zu dieser Zeit ist das Paradigma von *jdm. ein Bad zurechten* am reichsten und weist u.a. die attribuierte Form *einem ein schlimmes Bad zurechten* ‚einen in Noth bringen‘, die antonymische Form *einen aus dem Bade ziehen* ‚ihn retten‘, lemmatisierte lexikalische Variationen: *einen in ein Bad führen*, *einem das Bad überthun*, *einen zum Bade schicken*, *in ein Bad gehören* und *du wirst das Bad austragen/ aussaufen/ austrinken müssen*, *jdm. das Bad gesegnen* ‚jdm. es übel bekommen lassen‘ auf. Die Variation der verbalen Teile von *jdm. ein Bad zurechten* nimmt noch mehr zu, vgl. *einem ein Bad rüsten/ bereiten/ (an-, zu-) richten/ heizen anlassen/ aufgieszen/ einheizen*.

An dieser Stelle ist allerdings zu vermerken, dass die formale und semantische Abwandlung der Redensarten und Idiome immer dynamisch und nicht statisch betrachtet werden muss – der Reichtum an Formen in Wörterbüchern des 19. Jh. bedeutet nicht schlechthin, dass alle diese Ausformulierungen auch zu diesem Zeitpunkt aufgekommen sind, sondern es konnten auch früher gebrauchte Formen erst verzeichnet werden.

4. Der Wandel des Paradigmas im 20. - 21. Jh.

Im 20. Jh. wird die Redensart *jdm. ein Bad bereiten/ anrichten/ zurechten* langsam im Schwinden begriffen.

Während zu Anfang des 20. Jh. HEYNE (²1905-1906 I: 268) noch die Form *einem ein bad zurechten* ‚etwas (Schlimmes) anstellen‘ registriert und Trübners DtWb (1939 I: 216) *einem ein Bad bereiten* (synonymisiert durch *einem einheizen*) verzeichnet, wird die Redensart in idiomatischen Wörterbüchern weggelassen (vgl. GÖHRING 1937, PUTZFELD 1937).

In der Nachkriegszeit kommt die Redensart *jdm. ein Bad zurechten* offensichtlich aus dem Gebrauch.

Bevor die Einheit neueren Datums *das Bad in der Menge*, *ein Bad in der Menge nehmen* auftaucht, ist das Paradigma im Wesentlichen auf die Einheiten *etwas ausbaden müssen* ‚für andere büßen müssen, für etwas aufkommen müssen‘, *das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütten* ‚eine Angelegenheit überteilen‘ begrenzt (vgl. GÖHRING 1937: 15, PUTZFELD 1937: 12-13, FRIEDERICH ¹1966: 91, 60, 404, FRIEDERICH ²1976: 37, 40, WEBER 1961: 15).

DITTRICH (1975: 23), der noch die veralteten Einheiten *das Bad austragen müssen* = *etwas ausbaden müssen* ‚die Schuld eines anderen büßen müssen‘, *jdm. das Bad segnen* ‚ihn durchprügeln‘ einträgt, verzeichnet auch *baden gehen* ‚abhandenkommen, verschwinden‘, imperativisch als *geh baden!* ‚scher dich fort‘ und als *baden gehen mit einer Sache* ‚Misserfolg damit haben‘.

In den 80-er Jahren werden Formative *jdm. ein Bad bereiten/ anrichten/ zurichten* nicht mehr lexikographisch eingetragen (vgl. DuGWS 1976-1981, BW 1980 I: 489, WGD 1980-1982⁶).

In den 60-70-er Jahren des 20. Jh. kommt aus der politischen Szene in die Allgemeinsprache der bildliche Ausdruck *ein Bad in der Menge nehmen* ‚vor zustimmender Menge sprechen; unmittelbar mit der Bevölkerung in Berührung kommen (die Berührung suchen)‘ (vgl. KÜPPER 2004: 2554, RÖHRICH 2004: 487, area 2007: 33)

DuRe (²2002: 77, 88, 410) registriert neben den altüberlieferten Wendungen *etwas ausbaden müssen, das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütten* neuere Bildungen: *Bad in der Menge* ‚unmittelbarer Kontakt mit einer (wohlmeinenden) Menschenmenge‘ und (*bei/ mit etw.*) *baden gehen* (salopp) ‚keinen Erfolg mit etw. haben; mit etw. hereinfliegen, scheitern‘.

Die neuste Bildung verzeichnet auch area (2007: 33) *ein Bad in der Menge nehmen* ‚sich in eine Menschenmenge begeben‘.

Baden gehen wird bei MÜLLER (2005: 38, 42) und KRÜGER-LORENZEN (2006: 27-29) berücksichtigt.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass das Paradigma im 21. Jh. aus den längst tradierten Einheiten *etwas ausbaden müssen, das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütten* und den neueren Bildungen *baden gehen* (seit Ende des 19. Jh.) und *das Bad in der Menge, ein Bad in der Menge nehmen* (seit der 2. Hälfte des 20. Jh.) besteht.

4. Linguistische Mechanismen und außersprachliche Faktoren des Schwundes von Redensarten und Idiomen. Auffrischung von Paradigmen

Die **Idiomatizität** als kennzeichnende semantische Eigenschaft der sprachlichen Wendungen, nicht (oder mindestens nicht vollständig) aus dem wörtlichen Sinn der linearen Abfolge ihrer Einzelkomponenten erklärbar zu sein, entsteht einerseits durch die diachron bedingte Isolierung des wendungsexternen Sprachgebrauchs,

zum anderen durch die Auffüllung der Wortfolge durch den figurativen Gehalt (vgl. MUNSKE 1993: 513).

Bei sprichwörtlichen Redensarten, die durch den kulturell und sozial verbindlichen Charakter ihrer figurativer Gehalte (vgl. Bausinger 1968/ ²1980: 98, Schmidt-Hidding 1956: 105-108, Röhrich 2004: 66-91), Idiome besonderer Art darstellen, kommt noch das wesentliche Moment der **Tradierung**, also der starken kulturellen Verfestigung hinzu.

Während bei der **Motivation** der Idiome stets zwei Vorgänge zu beachten sind: zum einen die Nomination eines Denotats und zum anderen die mehr oder weniger unzureichende Charakterisierung des Objekts aufgrund der Motivationsbedeutung (vgl. MUNSKE 1993: 511), verlaufen diese Prozesse bei der **Demotivation** in umgekehrter Reihenfolge: die durch die idiomatische Motivation per se unzureichende Charakteristik des Denotats verwischt sich noch mehr, während das Denotat durch andere (bis keine) Eigenschaften als bei der ursprünglichen Nomination charakterisiert wird. Dadurch verdunkelt sich auch der figurative Gehalt des Ausdrucks, weil der Spielraum zwischen der wörtlichen und idiomatischen Bedeutung seinen ursprünglichen Zusammenhalt verliert. Die Metapher wird zu **einer toten Metapher**.

Sobald die Komponenten des Idioms semantisch nicht mehr verstanden werden oder weitgehend anders verstanden werden, bricht die morphologisch-semantische Motiviertheit zusammen, die primäre (diachron-historische, kausal-genetische) Motivation erlöscht, der wörtliche Gebrauch wird immer mehr isoliert, spricht: veraltet, stirbt aus.

„Wo immer sich die sprachlichen und situativen Gegebenheiten so gewandelt haben, daß diese ursprüngliche Motiviertheit nicht mehr nachvollzogen werden kann“ (MUNSKE 1993: 511), wird von Demotivation des Idioms gesprochen.

Der Verlust der metaphorischen Qualität durch das Verblässen der Bildlichkeit liegt im Wesen der Idiomatik, determiniert sogar die Entstehung des Idioms – so würde man zumindest behaupten, wenn man die Idiomkonzeption auf völlig demotivierte Mehrworteinheiten einschränken würde.

Innersprachliche Gründe des Schwundes von Idiomen lassen sich durch die Art der Änderungen in der inneren Struktur des Idioms rekonstruieren (vgl. auch BIERICH 2005: 214-219 und

BUTTNER 1989 in Bezug auf Sprichwörter), wobei folgende Prozesse beobachtet werden:

- i. Eine Komponente des Idioms stirbt als freies Lexem aus, vgl. *jdm. etwas zum Angebinde geben* (*Angebände* früher: ‚Geschenk‘), *jdm. den Fehdehandschuh hinwerfen/ vor die Füße werfen* (heute *bildungssprachlich*, dazu Ausdrücke der alten Rittersittlichkeit: *Fehdehandschuh* ‚als Zeichen der Herausforderung hingeworfener Handschuh‘, *Fehde* ‚Feindschaft‘), *jdn. in die Fiedel spannen* (*Fiedel* früher: ‚Geige, Violine‘), *den Gecken scheren* (*Geck* früher: ‚Narr‘), *die Nagelprobe machen* (*Nagelprobe* ‚alter Zecherbrauch beim Gesundheits-trinken‘)
- ii. Eine Komponente des Idioms verliert als freies Lexem ihre Bedeutung, die an der Konstitution des Idioms beteiligt war, vgl. *jdm. ein Bad einrichten*, *jdm. den Bocksbeutel anhängen/anhängen* (*Bocksbeutel* früher: ‚Nachlässigkeit‘, heute: ‚Weinflasche von bauchig-runder Form, auch: Weinmarke‘, *einer Sache Eintrag tun* (heute nur *gehoben*, *Eintrag* früher rechtsprachlich: ‚Einwurf, Einreden‘),
- iii. Zwei semantisch eng verwandte Idiome konkurrieren miteinander, was zur Eliminierung des einen führen kann, vgl. *einen Freibrief besitzen/ haben/ erhalten/ bekommen* heute geläufig, dennoch auch ersetzt durch *einen Persilschein haben* (*Freibrief* früher ‚Privileg, Pass‘).⁷

Außersprachliche Gründe des Schwundes von Idiomen liegen in den Änderungen der außersprachlichen Realien und können in zwei Unterbereiche aufgeteilt werden (vgl. BIERICH 2005: 220-222, BUTTLER 1989):

- i. Die Realien, Erscheinungen des alltäglichen bzw. gesellschaftlichen Lebens, die als Bildspender für Idiome dienten, sind veraltet bzw. nicht mehr aktuell, vgl. *jdn./ etwas in Acht und Bann tun/ erklären* (früherer Akt der Bestrafung durch Reichsacht und Kirchenbann), *fechten gehen* (früherer Brauch der Handwerker, durch Vorzeigen der Fechterkünste, Geld zu verdienen), *das Fell versaufen* (alter Brauch des Alkoholkonsums nach der Beerdigung), *mit jdm. eine Lanze brechen* (vs. das heute gebräuchliche *für jdn. (etwas) eine*

Lanze einlegen/ brechen, bildliche Ausdrücke für einen Kniff des mittelalterlichen Turnierwesens), *die Nagelprobe machen* (alter Zecherbrauch beim Gesundheitstrinken),

- ii. Die Realien, Erscheinungen des alltäglichen bzw. gesellschaftlichen Lebens haben sich gewandelt, haben an der gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung verloren, bzw. einige ihrer Eigenschaften, die als Bildspender für Idiome dienten, gingen verloren, vgl. *das Abendmahl auf etwas nehmen, jdm. zur Ader lassen, sich Asche aufs Haupt streuen, jdm. Weihrauch streuen*.

Wenn eine Komponente als ganze oder in ihrer Bedeutung wendungsextern untergeht bzw. einen erheblichen Bedeutungswandel erfährt, wie es im Fall von dem Substantiv *Bad* in der Redensart *jdm. ein Bad zurichten* geschehen ist, entstehen im Idioms die **unikalen Elemente** (vgl. MUNSKE 1993: 498, 512, HÄCKI BUHOFER 2002: 430).

Weder das Vorhandensein von unikalenen Elementen in der Struktur des Idioms noch das Auftauchen von neuen idiomatischen Einheiten, die durch idiomatische Synonymie das Idiom im Sprachsystem ablösen, entscheiden unmittelbar über seine weniger häufige Verwendung, bzw. seinen Schwund.

Unikale Elemente (anders: idiomatisch gebundene/isolierte Elemente⁸), morphologische, vgl. *viel/ kein Aufheben(s) von etwas machen, nicht viel Federlesens machen, das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütten, einen Streit vom Zaune brechen* und syntaktische Anomalien, vgl. *zu Buche schlagen, frei Haus, auf gut Glück, sich bei jdm. lieb Kind machen, um gut Wetter bitten, guter Dinge sein, auf Messers Schneide stehen, auf Schusters Rappen reisen, in (des) Teufels Küche kommen, um des Kaisers Bart streiten, des Pudels Kern, aus aller Herren Länder⁹* haben ihren Anteil an vielen geläufigen Idiomen¹⁰.

Eine sehr große Gruppe bilden dabei idiomatische Einheiten, die **trotz vollständiger Änderung der außersprachlichen Realien** bis heute nicht an der Gebrauchshäufigkeit verloren haben, vgl. *jdm. eine Abreibung erteilen/ geben/ verpassen, ein großes Aufheben / viel Aufheben(s) von etwas machen, etwas auf die lange Bank schieben, jdn./ etwas auf die Folter spannen, jdn. unter die Haube bringen, einen in Harnisch bringen, das geht über die Hutschnur,*

etwas auf dem Kerbholz haben, jdn. an den Pranger stellen, den Spieß umdrehen, über jdn. den Stab brechen, jdm. die Stange halten, jdm. den Stuhl vor die Tür setzen, mit offenem Visier kämpfen, etwas vom Zaun(e) brechen, die Zeche (be)zahlen müssen, auf keinen grünen Zweig kommen.

Dies trifft auch auf Idiome mit (teilweise oder ganz) **verdunkelter Metaphorik**, vgl. *jdn. ins Bockshorn jagen, Fersengeld geben, am Hungertuch nagen, jdm. den Kopf waschen, jdm. einen Korb geben, Maulaffen feilhalten* zu, die den Kriterien der **Durchsichtigkeit** (vgl. Soehn 2006: 35), **Lebendigkeit** (vgl. Dobrovol'skij/ Piirainen 1994: 450-457, 462-471) und „psychologischen Realität“ (Verständlichkeit, Möglichkeit der imaginalen Verarbeitung und Erschließung der Bedeutung, im Sinne von HÄCKI BUHOFER 1989) standhalten und sich als remotivierbar erweisen (vgl. HÄCKI BUHOFER 1989, MUNSKE 1993: 509).

Das Idiom *jdm. ein Bad zurichten/anrichten/ einrichten* ist teils historisch motiviert gewesen, teils ist es noch heute objektiv motiviert und deswegen immer noch semantisch durchsichtig. Die **Remotivation** ist durch das Verständnis der negativen Bedeutung der Verben *zurichten/anrichten/ einrichten* möglich. Durch den gedanklichen Zusammenhang wird auch die Teilkomponente *Bad* als negativ bedeutend mit verstanden und die ursprüngliche Motivation der toten Metapher klingt auf die Weise im Idiom noch an.

Zugleich heißt es, dass der Begriff der **toten Metapher** nur als ein gradueller angesehen werden darf: jeweils handelt es sich bei toten Metaphern um längere Prozesse, die nicht einfach mit „ja“/ „nein“ abgehakt werden können. Tote Metaphern bilden eher Kontinuen, die sich auf mehrere Faktoren (u.a. Verständnisstützen in der ganzen Struktur des Idioms sowie individuell bedingtes Wissen der Sprechenden) zurückführen lassen.

Die **Auffrischung** des besprochenen Paradigmas durch Ausdrücke *baden gehen, Bad in der Menge, ein Bad in der Menge nehmen* mag über die inhaltlichen Bezüge ‚große Menschenmenge‘, ‚Unzuträglichkeit‘ den Schein wahren, die alte Symbolik des Bades bliebe lebendig. Zwischen dem mittelalterlichen Baden in geselligen Badestuben und dem gegenwärtigen sich-Einmischen in die Menschenmenge besteht dennoch sprachhistorisch kein sachlicher Zusammenhang.

Der Schwund von Idiomen und die Erneuerung ihrer Paradigmen durch andere Elemente ist ein natürlicher Prozess. – Die ur-

sprüngliche historische Motivation des Idioms *jdm. ein Bad zurichten* ist mit dem Untergang der mittelalterlichen Realien unwiderruflich verloren gegangen. Die Symbolik des Paradigmas hat sich jedoch gemäß gegenwärtigen außersprachlichen Gegebenheiten gewandelt: *das Bad in der Menge* geht auf eine öffentliche Geste von Vertretern des modernen öffentlichen Lebens zurück, wie es RÖHRICH (2004: 487) anschaulich beschreibt:

die – oft zum Verdruß der Sicherheitsbeamten – sich im Glücksgefühl des Umjubeltwerdens unter die umstehenden Mengen, um in Form von Händeschütteln, Schulterklopfen etc. unmittelbare körperliche Kontakte mit dem ›Mann aus dem Volke‹ herzustellen. Mit dieser Geste versuchen vor allem Politiker, ihre Beliebtheit im Volke zu steigern; seltener ist es spontaner Ausdruck solcher Beliebtheit, wie z.B. bei John F. Kennedy.

und DuRe (²2002: 88) mit einem plausiblen Zitat belegt:

Johannes Paul ... wird sich dem Bad in der Menge seiner Landsleute nicht entziehen können (Spiegel 23, 1979, 118).

Anmerkungen:

¹ Zur Tradition und Rolle des Bades bei unterschiedlichen Völkern vgl. BÄCHTOLD-STÄUBLI 1927: 798-850, REICKE/ ROST 2004: 767-768.

² Die Etymologie der Wendungen um das Baden beschreiben mit unterschiedlichen zusätzlichen Details u.a. BORCHARDT et al. 1888/ ⁷1954: 47-49, HETZEL 1896: 35, LEINWEBER 1897: 145, SCHRADER ⁷1912: 299, Stichwort Kopf, PUTZFELD 1937: 13, GÖHRING 1937: 15, DITTRICH 1975: 23, KÜPPER 2004: 2075, RÖHRICH 2004: 477-489, SPALDING 1959-2000 I: 179.

³ Sebastian FRANCK (1541) versteht die Wortfolge das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütten bereits mit der Erläuterung: „ Wenn man den rechten Brauch und Mißbrauch miteinander aufhebt und ein Gespütt daraus macht, das heißt Zaum und Sattel mit dem Pferd zum Schinder führen, das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütten. Das Kind soll man baden und von seinem Wüste säubern, darnach das Bad ausschütten und das Kind aufheben und einwickeln.“ (zit. nach BORCHARDT et al. 1888/ ⁷1954: 49).

⁴ Die spätmittelalterliche Umsetzung des Motivs des Bades zur Strafe und Folter kann ebenso als eine (grausame) semiotische Metapher angesehen werden.

⁵ Zusätzliche Bedeutungen nach KÜPPER (2004: 2566) von baden gehen ‚im Kartenspiel verlieren‘ (20. Jh., 1920 ff.) und ‚in der Prüfung versagen‘ (20 Jh. 1945 ff.), dazu die Erläuterung der Bildlichkeit von DuRe (²2002: 88): ‚mit ‚baden gehen

war ursprünglich gemeint, dass eine Unternehmung oder Veranstaltung im Freien im wolkenbruchartigem Regen endet’.

⁶ Unter allgemeinen Wörterbüchern auf veraltete Formen verlässt sich alleine MACKENSEN (¹²1986: 120), bei dem Einheiten jdm. ein Bad anrichten ‚Böses anstiften‘, das Bad bezahlen ‚Schaden haben‘, das Bad austragen ‚Schaden haben‘ (sowie das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütten ‚mit dem Schlechten das Gute abtun‘) ohne zeitliche und stilistische Angaben registriert werden.

Die Formen das Bad aussaufen ‚die Folgen tragen‘ als Vergröberung von das Bad ausgießen (ursprünglich ‚den Badezuber leeren‘, 18. Jh.) werden auch (mit diachronen Kommentaren) bei KÜPPER (2004: 2075, 2554) verzeichnet.

⁷ Ein weiterer intersprachlicher Grund des Schwundes von Idiomen kann auch das Veralten und die Isolierung (vgl. auch MUNSKE 1993, HÄCKI BUHOFFER 2002, BUTTLER 1989) der in ihnen realisierten morpho-syntaktischen Strukturen sein.

⁸ Zu Kriterien der Isoliertheit, Gebundenheit und Unikalität sowie zu morphologischen Besonderheiten in Idiomen mit unikalen Elementen vgl. HÄCKI BUHOFFER 2002: 430-431, DOBROVOL`SKII/ PIIRAINEN 1994: 454-457, SOEHN 2006: 12-14).

⁹ Zu weiteren Beispielen der grammatischen Anomalien bei Idiomen vgl. FLEISCHER 21997: 47-48, Soehn 2006: 11, 16.

¹⁰ Bei DOBROVOL`SKII 1988 beträgt die Zahl der untersuchten Einheiten mit gebundenen Komponenten 319 (modifiziert von ursprünglich 547), bei DOBROVOL`SKII/ PIIRAINEN 1994 beläuft sich die Zahl der lebendigen Idiome mit idiomatisch gebundenen Elementen auf 188 (von insgesamt 600 gebräuchlichen).

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Illustrationen:



Einem das Bad segnen. Holzschnitt aus der Schweizer Geschichte des Zürichers Johannes Stumpf, 1548, Bern, Historisches Museum. (aus: RÖHRICH 2004: 489)



In ein Bad gehören. Spätmittelalterliche Illustration zu ›Wolfdietrich‹, Aus: Nacktheit und Scham, Frankfurt a.M. 1988, S. 25. (aus: RÖHRICH 2004: 489)



Jemanden zur Ader lassen. Aderlaß des Robin Hood, durch den er getötet wurde, aus: A true Tale of Robin Hood, in: John Ashton: Chap-Books of the eighteenth Century, New York 1970, S. 359. (aus: RÖHRICH 2004: 224)



Maulaffen feilhalten. Olaus Magnus: *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, deutsche Ausgabe Basel 1567, Kapitel 16. (aus: RÖHRICH 2004: 4011)

ANNA KONSTANTINOVA

PROVERBS IN AN AMERICAN MUSICAL: A COGNITIVE-DISCURSIVE STUDY OF “THE FULL MONTY”

Abstract: In this article I present the results of the cognitive-discursive study into the way Anglo-American proverbs function in an American musical. “The Full Monty” was selected as the material for my analysis. First, I look at some characteristic features of the American musical discourse relevant to the study. Next, I distinguish the functions proverbs fulfill in “The Full Monty” discourse. Last, I compare how proverbs are used both in the musical and the eponymous British movie.

Keywords: Anglo-American proverbs, paremia, precedent texts, musical, movie, discourse, cognitive-discursive function, “the Full Monty”.

The present study deals with the way Anglo-American proverbs function in the musical discourse. This drama and music genre was formed in the USA at the turn of the 20th century, its development reaching its peak by the 1950s. At present the musical enjoys popularity all over the world. What makes this genre unique is the combination of dramatic, choreographic, vocal and music arts elements with the expressive means of modern popular/rock music being effectively exploited. Another salient feature is commercialization of the genre which makes its creators immediately respond to the changes in tastes and preferences of the audience.

My own findings have confirmed M. Bauch’s conclusion that the musical is “almost neglected in research and studies on American Literature”; however, “it is certainly the most interesting and the most popular genre of American theatre and drama” (Bauch, 2003: v). There exists a plethora of works studying the history of its formation and development (Lewis, 2002; Knapp, 2005; Jones, 2003). It is most regretful that there are no studies into how proverbs are employed in musicals considering the fact that already in 1986 W. Mieder spoke about their abundance in popular music and called for paremiological studies (Mieder, 1989: 195; see also Bryan 1999).

Thus, the musical is a rather young, complex and manifold genre, that is why, probably, its peculiarities have not been properly studied yet. Before looking at how proverbs function in the modern American musical let us consider some unquestionable features of this drama and music genre. Structurally it is made up of the following:

- drama element;
- music element;
- vocal element;
- text element (librettos, lyrics, and in some cases characters' dialogues/monologues, which are optional);
- dance/choreographic element;
- technical element (staging, costumes, setting etc.)

The musical is intended to entertain the audience which constitutes its other distinctive and most important characteristic. Musicals are to give pleasure to spectators, which can supposedly attract an audience willing to pay for the entertainment offered, and, eventually, bring big profits.

As the recognized American theatre and cinema scholar J. Kenrick points out, the basic constituents of a successful musical are:

- **Brains** – intelligence and style,
- **Heart** – genuine and believable emotion,
- **Courage** – the guts to do something creative and exciting (Kenrick).

It should be noted that ancient Greeks, who are known to implement song elements in their plays, employed social and political satire as well as sexual humor on stage. As has been said above, musical creators largely rely on pop music trying to tell a present day story through lyrics and dialogues (usually of humorous nature).

As for the themes and topics of the American musical, scholars argue that:

- they depend on commerce, fashion, and the taste of the audience;

- they resemble the change in mentality determined by social aspects, so there is a relation between reality and the themes and topics of the American musical;
- the American musical is intertextual. By referencing a number of authors (James Bean, Siegfried Schmidt Joos) M. Bauch states that “adaptations of literary sources are also a characteristic feature” of the genre (Bauch, 2003: 3-10).

Cinematographic communication is often described as having a “plurimedial nature”, which, in my opinion, *partly* applies to theatrical communication as well. This reservation is necessary as theatrical communication means are limited compared to those of cinema (special effects, computer graphics, camera movements, 3-D format, etc.). Nevertheless, the musical, being a drama and music genre at the same time, possesses a number of communication channels (spoken scenes, vocals, music, dance, actors’ play, etc.) The aesthetics of the genre is, therefore, predetermined by the synthesis of arts. Thus, music, speech, mimics, dance, and plastics are indispensable from the main plot line of the play, and help fill a musical with action, the depicted events being essential to the characters’ fate. This task is especially acute in connection with the existing time limits. A musical lasts 2-4 hours, so its creators have to keep the attention of the audience throughout the performance. It should also be stressed that the main object of the musical, however “light” and entertaining its nature can be, is not the external action, but rather the character with his/her inner world filled with emotions and sensations.

The musical “The Full Monty” chosen for this case study possesses all the characteristics of a modern successful musical. It is based on the overwhelmingly popular British movie of the same name (1997) nominated for four Oscars. Having adapted the plot of the hit movie, D. Yazbeck (score and lyrics), J. O’Brien (director), and T. McNally (libretto) produced their own theatrical version which was both criticized and acclaimed.

“The Full Monty” premiered on Broadway in 2000 starting a row of new successful performances. Carolyn Albert, a theatre critic, argues that success of a musical greatly depends on the story (Albert). In the musical under discussion the main narrative

conflicts were preserved despite of some slight changes required by the genre and the technical process.

The movie is set in industrial Sheffield once known for its steel production. The six friends Gaz, Dave, Guy, Lomper, Gerald, and Horse become unemployed after their steel mill is shut down. They quickly run out of money and feel desperate trying to find a job, their financial problems bringing great psychological discomfort and stress. Gaz, unexpectedly inspired by the success of the Chippendale male strip tease show, convinces his friends to form their own strip tease act for a single performance, which, as he believes, could provide them with a round sum of money. While rehearsing, the characters have to fight their psychological complexes, especially when they face the perspective of going full Monty on stage.

The theme of unemployment chosen by the screenwriters and librettist serves as a background for exploring human psychological limitations, people's ability to overcome dire straits in life and makes the movie and the musical ever up-to-date for virtually any person. That is why, perhaps, after its Broadway performances stopped, musical theatres abroad and in some USA states still offer their versions of the musical to local audiences.

The action in the "The Full Monty" musical is relocated to Buffalo, New York, where (like in Sheffield) a steel mill is shut down leaving many male workers unemployed. The main character Jerry Lukowski is short of money and is no longer able to make child support payments, so he is facing the frightening possibility of losing the custody of his teenage son Nathan. The urge to find cash in order to continue seeing his kid brings him to a bold idea of giving a one-night strip tease performance in a Buffalo night club. While trying to make the musical highly entertaining and attractive to large audiences, the authors, nonetheless, highlight the characters' trials and tribulations which take place at the time of unemployment. Thus, all the dialogues and lyrics are humorous (and the melodies are catching) which does not prevent personal dramas from developing and being solved on stage.

The Broadway musical under discussion has an idiomatic expression "The Full Monty" as its title referring to the main story conflict – will the characters risk it? Proverbs are used both in the lyrics and spoken scenes. It is worth mentioning, that although

dialogues/monologues are considered optional elements of the musical, in “The Full Monty” they make an essential discursive component explaining the characters’ actions and, therefore, serve as internal discursive interpretation clues and help smoothly introduce the music numbers.

The study of the way proverbs function in “The Full Monty” musical narrative discourse showed that they play an important role on the level of structure and content. They help create a certain frame whose elements mark the key narrative conflicts, themes and stages in the plot line. I should stress, however, that some of these frame elements are not proverbs but popular aphorisms, quotations, jokes that can be called “precedent” texts¹. These phrases accompany proverbs supporting their meanings and, thereby, the most important ideas in the whole text/discourse.

Thus, many Buffalo male citizens are going through hard times. In some families women have taken the place of their husbands by becoming the sole breadwinners. In the quest for entertainment the ladies head to Tony Giordano’s night club to watch a professional male strip tease show. Opening the first act, Georgie Bukatinski – the wife of Jerry’s best friend Dave, appears onstage. Mrs. Bukatinski organized the whole event and that is what she says:

Georgie

Welcome to Girls’ Night Out. Who says Buffalo doesn’t rock? (*Big cheers*)

Hi, I’m Georgie Bukatinsky from the Florsheim Outlet at the Miracle Mall over on Route 11. Let’s hear it for the gals who work! (*Big cheers*) I told my husband, Davie (he’s home doing the dishes) I said, “Big man, **gals who work like to play!**” Was I right? (*Big cheers*) All right, let’s play!

In her monologue Georgie uses the traditional proverbial juxtaposition “work” vs. “play” found in such Anglo-American parremias, as, e. g. “Work before play”, “Work while you work and play while you play”, “All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy”. In my opinion, her phrase ‘I said, “Big man, **gals who work like to play!**” alludes to the latter proverb as it stresses the necessity of alternating hard labor with entertainment to keep one’s spirits high – the thing the ladies are intent on doing after having

been burdened with the responsibility of supplying their families' livelihood. It is remarkable that the folklore name "Jack" is substituted by the noun "gals". This change is especially meaningful as it enables the speaker to concisely present the essence of the situation in which women found themselves superior to their men who (as it is the case with Dave Bukatinski) started performing women's work about the house. So, in the given context the allusion to the proverb fulfills the function of semantic highlighting of important information.

While women are having a great time in the night club, their angry husbands gather for a meeting with the union leader and express their dissatisfaction with the situation. Tired of futile promises, the unemployed are anxious to hear answers to burning questions. Here is an extract from their discussion:

(Lights come up on Reg Willoughby, a union leader. He is facing an angry group of unemployed mill workers)

Reg

All right, all right! Quiet down! One at a time!

Gary Bonasorte

When they closed the plant it's like they threw us out with the garbage.

Marty

I've been out of a job eighteen months. I got a mortgage and four kids.

Reg

Your union hears you, gentlemen!

Jerry

What is our union *doing* (sic!) about us?

<...>

Reg

Instead of grouching about what your union is gonna do for you, think about what you can do for yourself. That goes for all of you. What do *you* (sic!) want? <...>

In the extract cited the union leader resorts to a well-known phrase taken from J. F. Kennedy's inauguration speech (1961) "Ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country", which has already acquired the status of a prov-

erb. Reg Willoughby modifies this modern paremia in his reply. The correlation “country ↔ individual” (the country for an individual vs. an individual for the country) in the traditional phrase is replaced by a different opposition (the union for an individual vs. an individual for himself/herself). This lexical substitution transforms the proverb in such a way that it now marks a turn in the characters’ lives: the union disclaims responsibility and shifts it to the shoulders of the unemployed workers, supporting their act by the powerful call of the 35th USA president. It becomes evident that the men have to depend solely on themselves from now on, which further complicates their condition. Thus, the proverb fulfills the function of semantic highlighting.

Feeling upset, Jerry and Dave find themselves in Tony Giordano’s night club, and watch excited girls lining up outside and willing to pay quite a lot to see the strip tease show. Here is their discussion:

Dave

I told Georgie I’d finish the dishes before she got back.

Jerry

Last week I caught you vacuuming. This is not a good trend, Davie.

Dave

You do housework.

Jerry

That’s different. I’m divorced, I have to. Where is Georgie anyway?

Dave

In there.

Jerry

With those male strippers! You let her go?

Dave

Jer, she organized it.

Jerry

This is not good at all. All right, this is what you’re gonna do! We’re gonna walk in that club and you’re gonna haul Georgie out of there. Show her **who wears pants in your family**.

As we see, Jerry is quite worried about the fact that his best friend obediently does all the housework asked by his wife while

she is enjoying herself in the club. The situation seems to be insulting to Jerry, even threatening to his sense of manhood. That is why he appeals to Dave to take Georgie home, and, thus, restore his lost authority. In order to persuade his friend he employs metaphorical language: the popular saying “wear pants in the family” used in the imperative sentence “Show her who wears pants in your family” makes his speech sound emotional and inspirational. In the given context the proverbial saying fulfills the function of emotional highlighting as it helps render the character’s negative attitude to the present situation.

In the meantime the party is in full swing; the ladies are celebrating their superiority over the men. They perform a song claiming it’s a woman’s world:

Song (“**It’s a Woman’s World**”)

Georgie
Who's got power?
Who's got juice?
Who's got the money?
All

It's a woman's world <...>

The anti-proverb “It’s a woman’s world” denying the traditional idea embedded in the modern paremia “It’s a man’s world” is used in the title and the chorus. Thereby, the hard times for Buffalo and some of the social changes once again come to the fore, the anti-proverb fulfilling the function of semantic highlighting.

Having made up their mind to sneak into the night club, Jerry and Dave hide themselves in the ladies’ bathroom, and accidentally overhear Georgie, Pam (Jerry’s ex-wife), and their girl-friends talking. The ladies compare their hubbies to the male strippers on the stage, whom they really admire. When the ladies leave, there appears the leading male dancer Keno who mistakes Jerry for a new stripper in his show and the stout Dave for his producer. Indignant at this awkward situation, Jerry starts arguing with Keno. Nevertheless, this skirmish makes the main character conceive the idea of forming his own strip tease act featuring *real* men (Jerry believes real men to look nothing like the perfectly shaped Keno!). Jerry asks Keno the following question:

Jerry

How do you get to be sexy?

Keno

The same way **you get to Carnegie Hall: practice, lots of practice.**

Trying to sound sarcastic, Keno uses the phrase alluding to the widely known precedent text – a popular joke about show business². This dialogue is significant for the plot line as it indicates Jerry's determinedness and gives a hint about the long and uneasy way to success the characters will have to take.

Another topic introduced with the help of proverbs in the musical is the topic of Buffalo's economic decay. Closed plants and absence of work places make many locals leave their homes and move to other more attractive places. It is discussed in the conversation of two minor characters, Reg and Marty, who used to work at the steel mill as well:

Marty

Woke up to another "for sale" sign this morning. This one was right next door.

Reg

The Carlucci's? Dan and Louise? They're third generation Buffalo.

Marty

Moving to Raleigh, as soon as they sell.

Reg

They should make a bumper sticker. Buffalo: **Love it and leave it.**

Marty

What happened? This used to be a great town.

Reg

It will be again. You know the saying: **The grass is always greener.**

The quoted conversation presents two possible attitudes to the problem. On the one hand, what Marty says indicates people's low spirits and lack of enthusiasm. On the other hand, Reg expresses optimism and strong belief in his town's bright future. His speech is marked by the use of two popular proverbs that add emotions and support his point of view. His suggestion to put the proverb

“Love’em and leave’em” on the bumper stickers of those who decided to leave Buffalo is a means to condemn the weak ones, who easily gave in to the situation. This modern American proverb reveals the consumer attitude to life some people have, and their inability to maintain long lasting relationships. Thus, the paremia serves to show the character’s negative attitude, fulfilling the function of emotional highlighting.

The other widespread proverb found in Reg’s speech is “The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence”. In my opinion, this paremia demonstrates his enthusiasm which is not at all groundless, but in this case is well supported by the popular observation.

Another topic treated in “The Full Monty” musical is the one of friendship and mutual help. As has been shown, financial problems make many people break down and leave their homes. Some Buffalonians are in the state of distress and utter desperation. The psychological state of Malcolm MacGregor (one of the main characters) is so grave that he even attempts suicide. A former mill worker, he has been left at the plant as the night security guard, which cannot bring him moral satisfaction. His feeling of solitude (Malcolm lives with his sick mother and has no friends at all) worsens his state. That is why he decides to lock himself up in the car filled with exhaust fumes. In the meantime Jerry and Dave happen to be jogging by (trying to get fit for the show). So, the friends save the “unlucky” suicide and inspire him with the idea of them being friends from now on. Moreover, having learnt that Malcolm has got the position of the night guard at the closed plant, Jerry unexpectedly gets a wonderful rehearsal site:

Jerry

Much better, Malcolm! <...> Now don’t ask too many questions. Remember, tomorrow night, eight o’clock sharp, practice at the plant.

Malcolm

I’m not supposed to let anyone in there.

Jerry

Malcolm, we’re friends. **Friends don’t say no to friends.**

It now becomes clear that Jerry is seriously intent upon bringing his bold project into life. That is why in order to persuade

Malcolm to let the men rehearse at the plant he resorts to the phrase “Friends don’t say no to friends”, which can be treated as a pseudo-proverb. It is based on the paremiological pattern, as in the modern proverb originated from a social campaign slogan “Friends don’t let friends drive drunk”, parodied in a number of anti-proverbs “Friends don’t let friends vote Republican/Democrat”, “Friends don’t let friends die”, “Friends don’t let friends forget where they come from”, “Friends don’t let friends drink and tweet”. Moreover, this dictum contains the traditional proverbial concept of mutual help existing between real friends (*Cf.* e.g., “A friend in need is a friend indeed”, “To have a friend, be one”).

This is how the group of unemployed Buffalonians begins to be formed. Now that the men have a rehearsal site Jerry realizes the importance of professional guidance – they need a person who could teach them how to move to music in the shortest time possible. Jerry, his teenage son Nathan and Dave make their way to the dance school looking for a teacher, and they spot their former boss Harold Nichols there. Jerry makes up his mind to share his idea with Harold who has recently lost a well-paid job at the mill. His wife Vicki got accustomed to designer clothes, jewelry and travels for once they could afford it. Harold is afraid to tell Vicki the truth about his job, so he has been hiding the fact from her for half a year. Every morning he “goes to work” as before, spending the days searching for a decent new place to work. The following conversation happens between the characters in the ball room:

Harold

<...> She doesn’t know. She doesn’t know.

Jerry

What do you mean she doesn’t know?

Harold

That I was let go, too. You gotta cover for me, please

Jerry

It’s not about the plant, Mrs. Nichols. This is more of a social visit.

Vicki

That's a relief. You caught us brushing up our Latin dancing before Harold takes me to Puerto Rico next month. Have you been? Daiquiris to die for? Of course, Bali is our dream destination. **See Bali and die, n'est-ce pas?**

Dave

That's what I always say.

Feeling relieved at hearing the good news about her husband's job, Vicki informs the young men about their prospective holiday in Puerto Rico, mentioning, though, that her dream is to go to Bali. For this purpose she modifies the proverbial saying "See Paris and die" by substituting the name of the destination. The paremia in this case expresses the quintessence of the character's dreams, her deep emotional involvement. But the whole situation is ironic, for the people she is talking to and the audience know that these plans are not to be realized in the nearest future. Thus, the proverbial saying employed by Vicki means the crashing of the dream (without her knowing that!)

Persisting with the conversation, Jerry turns to Harold for help and gets his negative response marked by the use of two proverbs:

Jerry

We need your help, Mr. Nichols.

Harold

I'm sorry but at this point in my life I'm trying to help myself. It's **sink or swim** time and I'm drowning. **It's every man for himself.**

Mr. Nichols's reply, consisting of only three sentences, contains two traditional proverbs, which creates a phraseologically saturated context. The first paremia "Sink or swim" is lexicalized (used as an adjective) and helps give the character's perspective on the situation. Thus, it fulfills the function of semantic highlighting of important information.

The same function is fulfilled by the second paremia "Every man for himself" used as a weighty folk support for this take on life. Thus, the two proverbs help highlight the seriousness of the situation and formulate the character's individualistic position,

which, as is shown later, is useless and even destructive in the time of hardships.

The feeling of desperation and Jerry's blackmailing hints make Harold succumb. Now the group of four has a daunting task of finding two more "brave hearted" men who would dare take part in the striptease act. The men prepare flyers inviting candidates to auditions, and Nathan goes outside to distribute them. One of the shortest scenes in the musical features the following conversation between the boy and two passers-by:

(Two men are reading Nathan's flyers)

Other Man

Does your father know what you're doing, kid?

Nathan

Yeah, he organized it. You coming to tryouts?

Other Man

Get outta here!

Other Man

What is Buffalo coming to?

Man

Desperate times take desperate measures.

Regardless of its shortness, this scene has much significance for the plot line because Jerry's plan is made public and gets the first response from outside. Having learnt about the "project" and flabbergasted at the involvement of a teenage boy, one gentleman in the street is upset about the moral decay in Buffalo ("What is Buffalo coming to?"). The second man, however, evaluates the situation employing the traditional proverb "Desperate times take desperate measures / Desperate diseases must have desperate remedies", which, as I believe, although not used for its approval, expresses understanding on the part of the passer-by. The proverb, being the closing phrase of the scene, serves as its resume and highlights the idea that there is always a solution to the problem at hand, however unbelievable or unlikely it may seem.

One significant change made in the musical adaptation of "The Full Monty" movie is the introduction of Jeanette Burmeister's flamboyant character. This piano player of indeterminate years, who knows show business from inside out, is a lively and enthusiastic lady serving as a source of inspiration and optimistic

take on life for some from the adventurous four. After a series of failed tryouts, Jerry feels desperate as the show is due in two weeks, and they still have not found the right men. This is what Jeannette says to raise his low spirits:

Jeanette

<...> you're offering these guys more than a job. You're offering them hope. I'll tell you this: *my* (sic!) heart beat a little faster when I heard about this gig. I said to my husband, Lou <...>, I said, "Lou, wake up! I'm tired of sitting and rocking, aren't you? We may be retired and living in Buffalo (which is probably an oxymoron) but **I haven't milked my last cow yet**. Some boys from the old mill are putting on a show. Send me my mail there."

Without using a proverb in its usual wording, Jeannette expresses the traditional proverbial idea about the positive impact of hope on an individual, contained in such paremias, as e.g. "Hope inspires action, the true way to success", "Hope is grief's best music", "Hope is the blossom of happiness", "Hope keeps the heart from breaking". Besides, in order to articulate her active life position, the woman employs the elements of the proverbial image "The world is your cow, but you have to do the milking". Thus, the phrase "I haven't milked my last cow yet" refers to the proverb teaching that one must try hard to succeed and formulates the *right* approach to life advocated in the musical.

Eventually, the men choose two more dancers for the show and start rehearsing, which turns out to be an uneasy process. After having failed to keep the rhythm and synchronize their movements, the men feel quite discouraged. The cheerful Jeannette gives her evaluation of the situation in her song number:

"Jeanette's number"

Jeanette

Let's face it. We suck!

Men

We're deep down in the ditch, man.

Jeanette

This showbiz is a bitch, man.

Things could be better.

Men

We could be better.

Jeanette

*Things could be better 'round –
..here.*

Being selective in her speech (“*Things could be better*” she admits), Jeannette explains their failure by the peculiarities of show business. She creates the anti-proverb “Showbiz is a bitch” on the basis of the traditional proverbial pattern “Payback is a bitch/ Life is a bitch”. Thus, it serves to mark the first difficulty the men came across on their way to success. Treated in a broader context, it can be said to mean that this path is not at all easy, and sometimes failures can discourage people or make them abandon their plans and aspirations.

The next step, a far more frightening one for the six friends, is to take their clothes off in front of one another. Harold ventures on gathering the group at his home for that purpose. Feeling greatly ashamed, the men took off their shirts:

(They all have their shirts off now)

Jerry

That wasn't so hard, was it?

Harold

Speak for yourself.

Jerry

One small step for a man; one enormous step for *Hot Metal*.

Ethan

What's *Hot Metal*?

Jerry

We are. Nathan came up with it. And now your pants. Gentlemen, the day of reckoning has come.

The allusion to Neil Armstrong's famous words after his having landed on the moon in this context sounds ironic, but at the same time it conveys the significance of the moment. The nonce modification of the phrase signals that the characters make their first successful attempt at getting free from their psychological limitations. The occurrence of the group's new name *Hot Metal*,

created by Nathan, is of great importance as well, for the characters are presented as a team for the first time in the musical.

Their physical nakedness reveals the men's secret complexes and fears. They all are ordinary men, who cannot boast of perfect looks. In this connection special attention is paid to Dave who takes his overweight problem to heart:

Horse

My Aunt Claudia has a weight problem. She wraps herself in Saran Wrap, Dave.

Dave

Saran Wrap? I'm not a drumstick. Saran Wrap yourself.

Harold

Fat, David, is a feminist issue.

Dave

What is that supposed to mean if you're a man?

Harold

It's supposed to mean that fat or thin, you're beautiful.

Dave

Do you believe that?

Harold

No, and I don't know anyone who does. **You are what you look like.** Ask Vicki.

On seeing how upset Dave is, his friends try to encourage him. Harold, for example, resorts to the widespread statement "Fat is a feminist issue" that gained popularity with the publication of the book "Fat is a feminist issue" by Susie Orbach. Trying to tell Dave that his issue is only a women's problem, Harold admits that he himself does not believe in his own words, concluding his lines with the anti-proverb "You are what you look like" (from "You are what you eat"). This paremia, synonymous with such traditional proverbs, as "Clothes make the man", "Appearances go a great ways" expresses a well established social stereotype that people are judged by their appearances. Thus, this anti-proverb marks a significant event – the characters realize that while on stage they are going to be critically assessed by hundreds of female spectators. This discovery may seem so frightening that the show is at risk of being canceled.

This, however, does not happen. This fact is also heralded by a proverb in the scene that follows. During the rehearsal two repo men enter Mr. Nichols's house as he is no longer capable of paying his bills. The six friends, led by Dave, feeling determined not to let them take away his things, rush into the room half naked, which fills the repo men with awe:

(The Gang appears in their underwear. Dave leads them, terribly impressive in all his big-bellied splendor. The Repo Men look terrified.)

Repo Man #2

What the hell?

Dave

Put it down and fuck off. That's telling 'em! **A man's home is his castle**, am I right?

(They congratulate themselves. This stripping is gonna be all right!)

It is rather symbolic that it is Dave who utters the proverb "A man's home is his castle", for the loss of men's dignity and self-esteem issue is investigated in the musical by way of his example. At this crucial moment Dave rediscovers self-confidence which is passed on to the rest of the group.

It is also noteworthy that this proverb finishes a kind of proverbial gradation which schematically represents the way this topic unfolds in the musical (**Gals** who work like to play! → It's a **woman's** world → **A man's home is his castle**). The fact that the proverb is used in its original form (the element "man" is preserved) while the other two proverbs in the gradation undergo nonce substitution of this lexeme ("man" → "gals" and "man" → "woman") is also suggestive. Such spontaneous self-expression by the characters heralds a successful outcome of their enterprise, and, in case with Dave, marks the first step on the way to self-respect restoration. The proverb here fulfills the function of semantic highlighting.

Another character having a tough time because of his looks is Noah (Horse) Simmons. In the scene where he first makes his appearance he is introduced as "the big black man", therefore, he is afraid not to live up to his nickname and the expectations of the female audience. The wise Jeannette lends him a hand:

Jeanette

<...> Now quit worrying. Come the moment of truth, nobody's gonna be thinking of anybody's size but his own. Besides, they didn't hire you because you were big. They hired you because you were good.

Horse

Thank you, Jeanette. Sometimes you need to hear something like that. It's not easy being a big black man.

Jeanette

You're gonna show these **boys it's not a man's size but what he does with it that matters.**

Horse

Woman, where have you been all my life?

In this frank conversation Jeannette teaches Horse a lesson which in her speech is embodied in the anti-proverb "It's not a man's size but what he does with it that matters" built on the basis of the traditional paremia "It's not what you have but how you use it". This anti-proverb is used in the function of semantic highlighting of important information in the discourse. These words greatly encourage Horse. Despite of its significance for the scene, it is possible to determine the role the anti-proverb plays in the whole musical. Regardless of the comic and extravagant content of the play, the authors investigate the serious problems of human will, hope and ability to face up to challenges, and try to dispel the "the way you look is important" myth created by showbiz. In my opinion, the anti-proverb "It's not a man's size but what he does with it that matters" encapsulates one of the messages of the musical.

Another remarkable psychological test awaiting the six friends is the dress (or rather undress!) rehearsal, which Dave decided to miss for he is overwhelmed with fear. In this scene they have to perform before the real audience – a group of senior ladies. Here is an extract from the conversation between Jeannette and Jerry right before the men go on stage:

Jerry

<...> Let's get going. Jeanette!

Jeanette

I don't know why I'm nervous. Who's gonna be looking at me?

Jerry

We who are about to die salute you!

(Jerry comes out to meet their audience)

Jerry marks his appearance on stage with a well-known Latin phrase "Hail Caesar! We who are about to die salute you!" / Lat. "Avē Imperātor (Cæsar), moritūri tē salūtant". This precedent text is usually used before a significant or stressful event or a challenge, and in this context it fulfills the function of emotional highlighting, as it conveys the characters' emotional state of anxiety.

The theme of love and family relationships is also scrutinized in the musical. Fear nurtured by inner complexes induces Dave and Harold to lie to their wives, which, eventually, comes out and they have to make their confessions. Georgie and Vicki, who truly love their husbands, understand their turmoil, and having appreciated their efforts they perform the emotional ballad "You Rule My World":

Song Reprise: You Rule My World

Georgie

You're like the morning sun to me
But twice as bright

Vicki

I'll never let you go

Georgie

And **what I see is what I get**

Georgie&Vicki

And it's everything I want
You rule my world
You rule my world

Georgie

You're everything I need

It is Georgie who expresses a very important truth which, in her opinion, is the essence of love. For that purpose she employs the modern proverb "What you see is what you get". The paremia serves to highlight important information in this context. This kind

of support on the part of their beloved sets Dave and Harold free from their fears and finally restores their self-confidence.

On their big day the six friends (quite expectedly) are feeling nervous before going on stage. Ethan, who always seems reserved, is now overwhelmed with anxiety, too:

Ethan

Guys, when I get nervous there's a lot less glimmer.

Horse

(Fatherly advice)

Happens to the best of us, Ethan.

Malcolm

You'll be fine, Eth. Let's go!

Horse

Lord, thank you for taking this burden from me and giving it to that poor white boy!

The now experienced Horse resorts to proverbial language to support his friend ("It happens to the best of us"). At such a crucial moment this powerful folk observation can serve as a source of consolation and encouragement. The spectators, however, recalling the recent conversation between Horse and Jeannette, realize the comic effect from this proverb use.

The most unexpected event of the musical is, probably, Jerry's refusal to perform with the group. Harold presents the frightened man with an ultimatum, using a modern proverb for this purpose:

Jerry

Let a thousand strangers look at me without my clothes on?

Dave

I believe that's the general idea in a strip club.

Harold

Guys, it's places! **You're either in or you're out**, Lukowski.

Jerry

I'm out.

The use of the paremia "You're either in or you're out" makes Harold sound rather categorical as he offers tough terms to Jerry, and helps demonstrate his determinedness.

As has been stated above, Dave and Harold's spouses (for whom the men actually took this risk) become the source of confidence in their right actions. For Jerry it is obviously his son Nathan who keeps his faith in himself, especially, when he touchingly supports him, saying how much he loves and believes in his dad. Jerry, the author of the project, eventually goes on stage, and at the turning point, when his friends are waiting for his signal, he appeals to them:

Let It Go

Jerry

Gentlemen - **we only live once.**

Men

Let it go, let it go
Loosen up, yeah, let it go
Let it go, let it go
It's all right
Let it go, let it go
Shake it up now, let it go.

One more proverb – “We only live once” – appears in the closing scene of the musical. At the point of the highest dramatic tension the use of folk wisdom is quite natural and reasonable. When spectators hear excited female voices and applause, everyone understands that the men have overcome their inner limitations and did what they promised – they went full Monty.

As a part of my cognitive-discursive study of how paremias function in “The Full Monty” musical, I would now like to look at the original movie script in order to reveal any similarities or differences in the proverb use in both works. The quantitative analysis showed that far more proverbs are used in the musical (18:7). While sticking to the main plot line, its authors completely rewrote the text with one exception; the key proverbs (or proverbial ideas) significant for the content and themes of the movie/musical were preserved:

The musical

The movie

All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy

Gals who work like to play!

↔ But it's not all hard work for
the people of Steel City.

It's not what you have but how you use it.

It's not a man's size but what he does with it that matters. ↔ <I>'s not their bodies. It's what they do with them that counts.

You're either in or you're out

You're either in or you're out. ↔ Now, are you in or are you out?

We only live once / It's now or never

We only live once ↔ It's now or never.

The first and the last proverbs appear in strong positions of the text, i.e. at the beginning and the end of the works. The promotional movie “The City on the Move” (1971), documenting the Steel City in its “boom and bust” era, appears at the start of “The Full Monty” film. That is what the voice-over is telling the viewers:

The city's rolling mills, forges, and workshops employ some men and state-of-the-art machinery to make the world's finest steel – from high-tensile girders to the stainless cutlery that ends up on your dining table. But **it's not all hard work** for the people of Steel City. They can spend the day lounging by the pool, watching one of our top soccer teams or browsing in the shops. But when the sun goes down, **the fun really starts** in the city's numerous nightclubs and discotheques. Yes, **Yorkshire folk know how to have a good time** <...>

Like in the opening scene in the musical, the background theme of human desire to alternate work and play is introduced in the movie with the help of the easily recognized proverb element “all (hard) work”. I believe this theme to be the main one because it serves as a background for the development of the story itself and other topics.

The final parts of the movie and musical feature two synonymous proverbs “It's now or never” and “We only live once” that serve as a powerful support and a call to accomplish what has been planned at the moments of the highest tension. Unlike in the

musical, where the proverb “We only live once” is the final line of the text, in the movie the proverb “It's now or never” is used by the owner of the night club right before the men must go on stage, when they are still having doubts about that:

The bar owner: Lads, I can't hold them <women> any longer. **It's now or never.**

Dave: Here we go. We're bloody on.

Thus, both in the musical and the movie these synonymous paremias contain a powerful message about the importance of pulling oneself together, being smart and brave, becoming aware of one's complexes and accepting oneself the way he/she is in the face of a challenge or a hardship.

One more proverb undergoing nonce transformations in the movie and the musical is “It's not what you have but how you use it”. In the film it appears in a talk between some women discussing the Chippendale strippers:

Bee: Poor them, bloody muscles.

Jean: No, no, **it's not their bodies, Bee. It's what they do with them that counts.**

In the conversation quoted the literal meaning of the proverb comes to the fore, thereby it characterizing one concrete situation without conveying any additional nuances of the meaning. As has been mentioned above, this proverb plays a far more significant role in the musical.

The proverb “You're either in or you're out” in the form of a question is employed in different scenes of the movie and the musical. However, these scenes are united by the fact that the characters have to discover determination and be prepared to take risks and support their friends. In the movie this paremia is employed by Gaz (Jerry's prototype) when he is trying hard to encourage the men to go full Monty during the performance:

Horse: Excuse me? No one said anything to me about the full monty.

Gaz: But you heard 'em. We got to give 'em something your average stripper don't.

<...>

Gaz: And by closing time, every bugger in Sheffield is going to know it's us whether we do it or don't. We can either forget it, go back to fucking Jobclub or do it and just maybe get rich. And I tell you folks don't laugh so loud when you've a grand in your back pocket. Now, **are you in or are you out?**

In conclusion, it should be stated that “The Full Monty” musical discourse is marked by frequent proverb use. The present study shows that proverbs serve as plot-building elements in it, as they introduce and support the major and minor themes and conflicts (in some cases it is done with the help of precedent texts). Some proverbs appear in the eponymous movie as well, but their number is considerably smaller (7::18). Such proverb density in the musical can be accounted for by its orientation to entertainment and spectacularity necessary for attracting large audiences and holding their attention throughout the performance.

Proverbs appear in the strong positions of the movie discourse – its opening and closing parts. The authors of the musical preserved these proverbial ideas in the same positions of the text. One more proverb loaned from the movie, but fulfilling a more significant role in the musical, is the paremia “It’s not what you have but how you use”, which, to my mind, encapsulates the message of the play: it is always possible to find a solution to the problem, and sometimes extraordinary measures can be more efficient.

In “The Full Monty” musical discourse proverbs make the meaningful spots in songs and dialogues for they fulfill the function of semantic highlighting (indicate the most important pieces of information in the discourse) and the function of emotional highlighting (convey the characters’ psychological states). Thus, the authors of the musical skillfully focus the spectators’ attention on the most important ideas and attitudes/states.

Due to these distinguished functions, I can form the following proverb/precedent texts frame of “The Full Monty” musical:

Gals who work like to play! (The theme of unemployment, the conflict “ladies wanting entertainment”)



Instead of grouching about what your union is gonna do for you, think about what you can do for yourself. (The theme

of unemployment, the conflict “absence of social support”)

↓

Show her who wears pants in your family. (The theme of unemployment, the conflict “interchange of family roles (Dave ↔ Georgie)”)

↓

It's a woman's world <...>. (The theme of unemployment, the conflict “interchange of family roles, women’s superiority over men”)

↓

How do you get to be sexy?
The same way you get to Carnegie Hall: practice, lots of practice. (The theme of perseverance and hope)

↓

Buffalo: Love it and leave it. (The theme of unemployment, the conflict “admittance of defeat and refusal to try again”)

↓

The grass is always greener. (The theme of unemployment, the conflict “admittance of defeat and refusal to try again”)

↓

Friends don’t say no to friends. (The theme of friendship)

↓

See Bali and die, *n’est-ce pas*? (The theme of unemployment, the conflict “crashing of a dream”, Harold ↔ Vickie)

↓

It’s sink or swim time <...>. It’s every man for himself. (The theme of unemployment, a possible approach to the solution of the problem)

↓

Desperate times take desperate measures. (The theme of unemployment, a possible approach to the solution of the problem)

↓

I haven’t milked my last cow yet. (The theme of unemployment, a possible approach to the solution of the problem)

↓

This showbiz is a bitch, man. (The theme of perseverance and hope)



One small step for a man; one enormous step for *Hot Metal*. (The theme of perseverance and hope)



Fat, David, is a feminist issue. (The theme of perseverance and hope, the conflict “worries about one’s looks”)



You are what you look like. (The theme of perseverance and hope, the conflict “worries about one’s looks”)



A man’s home is his castle. (The conflict “interchange of family roles (Dave ↔ Georgie)”)



It’s not a man’s size but what he does with it that matters. (The theme of perseverance and hope, the conflict “worries about one’s looks”)



We who are about to die salute you! (The theme of perseverance and hope)



What I see is what I get. (The theme of perseverance and hope, the conflict “worries about one’s looks”)



Happens to the best of us. (The theme of perseverance and hope, the conflict “worries about one’s looks”)



You’re either in or you’re out, Lukowski. (The theme of perseverance and hope, the conflict “worries about one’s looks”)



We only live once (The theme of perseverance and hope)

Notes

¹ Precedent texts are the texts that an average member of a given linguo-cultural community will easily recognize.

² According to some sources, Arthur Rubenstein, a prominent pianist, when approached by a stranger in the street who inquired about the way to Carnegie Hall, gave this outstanding recommendation:

- "Pardon me sir, how do I get to Carnegie Hall?"

- "Practice, practice, practice!"

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SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES IN IRISH-LANGUAGE
PROVERBS

Abstract: In recent years, linguistic studies into the concept of ‘proverbi-ality’ have provided paremiologists with a more comprehensive understanding of the form and function of proverbial markers in a wide range of languages. Unfortunately, the Irish language has, until now, not featured in any of these linguistic analyses. This paper seeks to re-address this imbalance and to bring the unique structure and style of Irish-language proverbs to the attention of the international community of paremiologists for the first time. This research study applies the general methodology adopted by such scholars as Mahgoub (1948), Silverman-Weinreich (1978) and Arora (1984), to a corpus sample of Irish proverbs and provides both a qualitative and quantitative account of the most salient syntactic structures contained in Irish-language proverbs. Proverbial patterns as well as the collocation of proverbial markers are also discussed.

Keywords: Irish Language; Syntax; Style; Emphatic Word Order; Clefting; Parallelism; Parataxis.

1. Introduction

One of the key areas of international paremiological scholarship in modern times has been the analysis of proverbial markers and the concept of ‘proverbiality’ (Arora, 1984). Many scholars have directed their attention to questions of ‘proverbial style’ in order to identify which internal and external markers distinguish the proverb from its surrounding discourse, and to analyse how these devices operate in different world languages. Of these markers, it is universally agreed that proverbial ‘style’ incorporates, to varying degrees, poetic devices, such as parallelism, ellipsis, alliteration and rhyme, and also semantic devices such as metaphor, personification, paradox, and hyperbole (Mieder, 2004:7). The major works of the paremiological canon in the English language, including Taylor (1931), Whiting (1932), and Mieder (2004), have

provided a synoptic overview of these devices, but language-specific studies have also contributed to our overall understanding of proverbial style through detailed examinations of structure and style in various languages throughout the world, including Ancient Greek, Ancient Egyptian, (Cairene) Arabic, English, American English, Esperanto, French, Hebrew, Hungarian, Igbo, Italian, Latin, Russian, Spanish, Tamil, Welsh, Yoruba, and numerous other African languages.¹ Inevitably such studies of style, particularly those dealing with poetic features, have also featured in structuralist treatments of the illusive issue of proverb definition.² In spite of such pioneering scholarship, the fact remains that, unfortunately, there has been no comprehensive examination of the style and structure of Irish-language proverbs, and while Robinson (1945) and De Bric (1976) have provided cursory examinations of Irish proverbs, and touched upon general questions of structure and proverbial formulas, there has been no thorough treatment of the material. This paper, being the first section of a more comprehensive, detailed analysis of proverbial style and structure in the Irish language, seeks to begin to readdress this imbalance by providing a linguistic description and analysis of the most salient aspects of syntax in Irish-language proverbs.

2. Methodology

The aim of this research was to investigate the frequency and form of syntactical proverbial markers in Irish-language proverbs. The general approach to the study took inspiration from the corpus-based methodology implemented by Mahgoub (1948), Silverman-Weinreich (1981) and Arora (1984), but was developed and adapted to suit the specific research questions relating to Irish proverbs. The main methodological questions and the responses to them are described below.

2.1 Population or Sampling Frame

From a methodological perspective the first question we had to answer is what data set was required for a statistical examination of the proverbs. There were two distinct options in this regard: firstly, there was the option of examining the 'total population' (Freund, Williams and Perles, 1993:336) which, in our example, would consist of the entire corpus of proverbial material in

modern Irish; or, secondly, the option of sampling, in which an overview of the syntactic structures of the total population might be gained by analysing a representative sample. From a research perspective, it is, of course, not always practical to analyse the entire population (Spiegel and Stephens, 1999:1) and the absence of any published comprehensive national collection of Irish-language proverbs highlighted this fact. It was decided, therefore, for the purposes of expediency and manageability of data, that sampling methods would be used to provide data from which we could infer conclusions relating to Irish proverbs in general.

2.2 *Specification of Sampling Frame*

The first step in the process was to create a sampling frame containing the various units of the target population that we intended to sample. The lack of a published comprehensive proverbial dictionary or corpus meant that a sampling frame had to be created from those published collections of Irish proverbs which were viewed to be the most authentic, accurate and representative of the Irish proverbial canon. As it stands, a substantial body of proverbs is to be found in three dialectal publications of the early to middle twentieth century, which broadly cover the main dialects of Modern Irish over the period 1856-1952. (It should be noted that, besides proverbs, all of these publications contain a variety of other fixed expressions: proverbial phrases, proverbial comparisons, *blason populaire*, blessings, curses and weather beliefs). The first of these is *Seanfhocla Uladh*, literally *The Proverbs of Ulster*, (Ó Muirgheasa 1907; 2nd Edition, 1936; 3rd Edition, Ed. Ó hUrmoltaigh, 1976) which, when first published in 1907, was the largest printed collection of proverbial material in Irish and included over 1600 entries.³ The second collection, *Seanfhocail na Muimhneach*, literally *The Proverbs of the Munstermen*, (Ó Siochfhradha 1926; 2nd Edition, *Seanfhocail na Mumhan*, (ed.). Ua Maoileoin, 1984) was published in 1926 and contained over 2000 entries; and, finally, the most comprehensive of all, the two-volume *Sean-fhocla Chonnacht*, literally *The Proverbs of Connacht* (Ó Máille 1948 and 1952; 2nd Edition, *Seanfhocla Chonnacht*, (ed.). Donla Uí Bhraonáin, 2010), which was originally published in 1948 and 1952 respectively, and contained over 5000 entries.

Archer Taylor (1931) identified the myriad difficulties in the collection and study of proverbs and, as is common in many other languages, these older Irish proverb collections did not have the benefit of modern approaches to questions of definition, classification or arrangement. This is particularly the case with the terminological and classificatory inconsistencies that are found in all three, for what we now consider 'proverbs' are referred to by a variety of terms without any differentiation: *seanfhocail* 'old sayings, proverbs', *seanráite* 'old sayings, aphorisms', *cainteanna* 'expressions', and *natháin* 'pithy proverbial sayings, adages, aphorisms.'⁴ In addition, it is also unfortunate that, although most of the material was gleaned from oral tradition, the editors omitted systematic ancillary details of sources; illustrations of contextual use or semantic explanation, and information regarding currency. These are all common complaints of the modern paremiologist retrospectively examining the work of others from a different age,⁵ but these three dialectal compilations of proverbial material represent the closest thing in print to a published authoritative, comprehensive, representative corpus of Irish proverbs in the modern age, and as a result, were chosen as the sampling frame from which a data sample could be extracted.

2.3 Sample Size

Sykes and Hoinville (1985) have claimed that the sample size depends more on the researchers' judgement and goals than it does on any mathematical calculation, but the sample size must have some rationale, and a comparative analysis with other work in the field is useful as a yardstick in such matters. Unfortunately, similar work in the field does not provide any clear indication of rationale. In spite of the numerous scholarly studies in proverb stylistics that we have mentioned, only a handful of scholars – Mahgoub (1968), Levin (1968), Silverman-Weinreich (1981) and Tóthné Litovkina (1990) – provide any indication of sample size, Mahgoub choosing 900, which were viewed to be in currency in modern day Egypt, Levin choosing a representative sample of 1400 from a Russian collection, Silverman-Weinreich selecting 300 from published collections of Yiddish proverbs, and Tóthné Litovkina selecting 317 Hungarian proverbs with which to compare Russian equivalents. Taking into account the total number in

the sampling frame for Irish it was decided that, in order to achieve a comparable standard and range of results, one thousand randomly-chosen items would be sufficient data for an analysis of Irish material.

2.4 The Sampling Method / Process

The sampling process involves the selection of a sample of proverbial material from the sampling frame. There are various methods of sampling but ‘simple random sampling’ was viewed to be the most suitable for this research, as each proverbial expression has an equal non-zero probability of being selected for the sample (Francis, 2004:6), and, in addition, the level of biases is least in simple random sampling compared with other methods of random sampling (Owen and Jones, 1994:304). The difference in the size of the collections had also to be considered to prevent any bias or unfair representation of one dialect over another. In our case, each proverb from the dialect in the sampling frame was allocated a number and then an electronic true random number generator⁶ was used to select proverbial entries until the sample was complete. Exactly one third of the total sample (333 expressions) was chosen from each dialect of Irish: Connacht, Munster and Ulster, so that there would be a representative, equal distribution which would balance potential biases in the dialectal sample that may have affected the final results (an additional randomly chosen proverb was added to simplify the mathematical equation, i.e. $n = 1000$). The relatively small size of the frame meant that sampling with replacement (from an infinite population) was used so that each item would have the same probability of selection, and thus, the covariance between the two items would be zero. Quantitative statistics were used to calculate the frequency of various syntactic markers in the randomly selected corpus and these results were entered into tabular form and analysed (See Appendices).

3. Examination of syntax and syntactical proverbial markers

3.1 Sentential and Phrasal Structures

Amongst the numerous attempts at defining a proverb, the characteristic of brevity and the claim that the proverb is a sentence are amongst the most frequently attributed to the form.

‘An incommunicable quality tells us this sentence is proverbial and that one is not.’ (Taylor, 1931:3)

‘That proverbs are short and traditional is a generally accepted feature of definition.’ (Seitel, 1969:144)

‘A proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk...’ (Mieder, 1985:119)

‘Proverbs are brief (sentence-length) entextualized utterances... (Winick, 2003:595)

There are difficulties with these characteristics, however. Firstly, the adjective ‘short’ is quite subjective, and it is difficult to quantify what qualifies as a ‘short’ proverb, or when a ‘short’ proverb becomes a ‘long’ proverb.⁷ Secondly, the term ‘sentence’ relates to grammatical language units that comprise a minimum sense of unity and completeness (Greenbaum and Quirk, 1990:12), but this is not an entirely accurate description of proverbs, as some proverbs take the form of an ungrammatical phrasal unit, in which semantic relations must be inferred. In this section of the paper I wish therefore to investigate the ‘shortness’ of Irish proverbs by examining the mean number of words, and to also shed light on the types of sentential and phrasal constructions that are found in the corpus.⁸

The simple sentence, which contains one single independent clause, is the most commonly occurring type of sentence in our corpus, with over one half of the proverbs based on this structure (57%). It is the proverb structure *par excellence* in Irish, and, as Tóthné Litovkina (1990:244) has shown, the same is true of both Hungarian and Russian proverbs. The mean number of words in a simple sentence proverb is 6.5, and based on Dundes’ (1975) topic-comment thesis, they are generally declarative and non-oppositional:

1. *Glacann drochbhean comhairle gach fir ach a fir féin.*
(RA:§343)
A bad wife takes advice from every man but her own husband.
2. *Bhuailfeadh an tubaiste le duine i lár an bhóthair.*
(SC:§3267)
A person could meet with misfortune in the middle of the road.

Many examples also follow Taylor's assessment that they developed from simple maxims (1931:5) and '... consist merely of a bald assertion which is recognized as proverbial only because we have heard it often and because it can be applied to many different situations.' These take the form of literal statements that do not usually exhibit poetic devices, except in the case of certain architectural comparative formulae (See '3.3.3 Emphasis in classificatory copulative sentences'), and in terms of subject matter, a large number have emanated from observances of daily life in a rural, agricultural community:

3. *Chan é lá na gaoithe lá na scolb.* (SU:§536)
The day of the wind is not the day of the scollops.
4. *Is deacair a huan a bhaint den tseanchaora.* (SM:§2176)
It is difficult to take an old sheep's lamb.

There are other proverbs that follow the same syntactic patterns that are found in gnomic wisdom literature of the Old Irish period (500-900AD). Three distinct structural formulas were used for these three-word maxims, according to Ireland (1999: 10-11): (i) verb + nominative + accusative, in other words, the normal sentence pattern in Irish; (ii) noun + genitive + nominative; (iii) '*ferr*' [= better] + nominative + dative. It is interesting that these formulas are still found in Modern Irish proverbs. It should also be noted that these maxims had recurring alliterative patterns and that 'more than seventy-five per cent of all three-word maxims alliterate on the same consonant, or on the initial vowel, between the second and third words' (Ireland, 1999:11). Examples in Modern Irish not only replicate these syntactic patterns, but also show the same attachment to alliteration as described by Carney, with some even showing the use of *epizeuxis* (No. 6). Of particular note is the comparative structure, although not always using the comparative adjective '*fearr*' (better), which is found in nearly one in five of the simple sentences (17%). It is difficult to say, however, if these are literary maxims that were included in the collections, or if they are modern formulations of an ancient structure:

Verb + nominative + accusative

5. *Gnóthaíonn taithí tarcaisne.* (SM:§1633)
Experience acquires scorn.

6. *Aithníonn ciaróg ciaróg eile.* (SU:§266)
A beetle recognizes another beetle.
Noun + genitive + nominative
7. *Íde gach oilc an t-ól.* (SU:§681)
The source of every evil (is) drink.
'Ferr' [= better] + nominative + dative.
8. *Is fearr béasa ná breáthacht.* (SM:§254)
Better manners than beauty.

The simple sentence is also the favoured structure of metaphorical proverbs as alluded to by Ezejideaku and Okeke (2008, 80-81) and there are numerous examples of the direct linguistic metaphor in which there is both reference to a topic domain by a vehicle term, and also a clear incongruity between these domains (Cameron, 1999:118):

9. *Sé gearrán na hoibre an bia.* (SC:§492)
Food is the workhorse.
10. *Is maith an scoil é an saol.* (SC:§3618)
Life is a good school.

Complex sentences, containing one main clause and at least one sub-clause, are found in over one quarter of the corpus (27%). These sentences are by their very nature more syntactically dense than the simple sentences discussed above and tend to be 'longer', with a mean sentence string of 10.4 words. A particular stylistic feature of these proverbs is the inversion of subclauses to sentence-initial position for the purposes of emphasis, but this will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.3.2. In addition, a comparison of single subclauses versus multiple subclauses in complex sentences shows that the single subclause is the commoner structure:

11. *Ní breac é go mbíonn sé ar an bport.* (SM:§1683)
It is not a trout until it is on the riverbank.
12. *Ní bhíonn íseal ná uasal ná bíonn thíos seal is thuas seal.* (SM:§1376)
There is no lowly or noble person that is not up for a time and down for a time.

13. *Síleann an óige mar a bhíonn sí gan chéill go ndéantar a pósadh má pógtar a béal.*
(SC:§3483)
Youth without sense thinks that a marriage is made if a mouth is kissed.

The combined occurrence of other sentence types is only 9%. The compound sentence, in which a coordinator (*and, but, or*) joins two independent clauses, is found in less than one in ten proverbs (8%). It is significant that, although it has more clauses than the simple sentence, it is on average shorter and contains on averages 5.8 words. In terms of word length, it is also the shortest of all the other types of sentential and phrasal structures. Numerous examples are based on a formulaic structure featuring an imperative in the initial clause and a statement of consequence in the subsequent one (cause and effect) as can be seen below:

14. *Buail sa tóin í agus titfidh sí.* (SM:§263)
Hit her at the bottom and she will fall.
15. *Coinnigh an chnámh agus leanfaidh an madra thú.*
(SM:§2099)
Keep the bone and the dog will follow you.

The compound-complex structure is rarely found in the proverbs, possibly to the fact that the syntax is more complicated due to the multiplicity of clauses and subclauses (1%). Evidence shows that these sentences are generally longer on average 10.3 words per proverb, almost double the number found in simple and compound proverbs. The paucity of instances of this type of proverbs means that we can easily identify formulas, and there are two main types (i) sentences with imperative command in initial position in both main clauses, and (ii) inversion of the adverbial or conditional subclause(s) to sentence initial position and followed by the main clauses:

16. *Déan mar a déarfais an sagart ach ná déan mar a dhéanfais sé.* (SC:§2040)
Do as the priest says but do not do as he does.
17. *An áit a mbíonn mná bíonn caint agus an áit a mbíonn géanna bíonn callán.* (RA:§333)

Where there are women there is talking and where
there are geese there is cackling.

Proverbs containing phrases are found in 7% in total, and, of all the structures, they are generally the longest containing on average 13.4 words. Although this may seem incongruous, in that there is no explicit grammatical connection between these phrases, it should be remembered that other factors facilitate an extended structure, particularly syntactical repetition, (often together with syntactical and lexical parallelism), parataxis, and ellipsis of redundant verbal constructs. We will examine these issues in greater detail in later sections:

18. *Seanbhróg smeartha bróg nua.* (SM:§1034)
A polished old-shoe, a new shoe.
19. *Bean ar meisce, bean in aisce.* (SC:2859)
A drunk woman, a free (=gratis) woman.

3.2 Parallelism

Structural or syntactic parallelism⁹, frequently occurring with semantic parallelism, is a rhetorical device for the purpose of emphasis or foregrounding, which involves structural symmetry between sections of a text, in the case of this study – the proverb. Items such as nouns, phrases, clauses, and sentences, are juxtaposed contiguously through syndetic coordination (the conjunctions ‘and’, ‘or’, ‘but’) or asyndetic coordination (conjunctions absent) in order to suggest analogies and comparisons between opposing constituents.¹⁰

Linguistic studies on the form of proverbs, by scholars such as Taylor (1931:143)¹¹, Mahgoub (1968:37), Silverman-Weinreich (1981:77)¹² and Arora (1984), have shown that parallelism, both structural parallelism and semantic parallelism, is one of the most significant and frequently occurring internal devices in proverbs. Maghoub, in particular, has identified its presence in just less than one third of proverbs (31.7%) in her sampling of Cairene Arabic. Both Robinson (1945) and De Bric (1976) have made general comments that syntactic parallelism is extremely common in Irish proverbs, especially the previously mentioned formula ‘Is fearr X ná Y – Better X than Y’ (Robinson, 1945:4), – which, incidentally, Dundes (1975) has identified as one of the five most common

architectural or proverbial compositional formulas in English – and that parallelism, in general, features frequently in Irish folkloric items. De Bric (1976:35) goes on to say that it is also used in conjunction with both contrast and alliteration to assist its mnemonic and interpretative functions in proverb performance. There is no quantitative evidence to support such claims about Irish proverbs, however, so in this section of the paper the frequency of parallelism is discussed, and the various forms are analysed in conjunction with other types of proverbial marker.

Syntactic parallelism is found in over one quarter (27%) of the proverbs in the Irish sample corpus, and has the highest frequency value of all the formal devices examined in this paper, and it is worthy of note for comparative purposes that this figure is quite similar to its frequency in Cairene proverbs (31.7%). Syntactic symmetry is to be found between individual lexical items, phrases, and sentences, in both syndetic and asyndetic coordination. As can be seen in the following examples, Rothstein's (1968:279) claim that parallelism is the basis for comparison and antonymy is vindicated in our corpus, especially with regard to syndetic coordination, but there are also asyndetic examples in which a synonymous relationship is implied as in No. 23 where 'wisdom' comes with 'maturity'.

Syndetic coordination

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------|
| 20. | <i>Is túisce deoch ná scéal.</i> (SM:§486)
A drink is readier than a story. | Noun |
| 21. | <i>Is fearr súil le béal na con ná súil le béal na huagha.</i> (SM:§1700)
[It is] Better to expect hope from the hound's mouth than from the grave's mouth. | NP |
| 22. | <i>Théid focal le gaoth agus théid buille le cnámh.</i> (RA:§130)
A word goes with wind (=unheeded) and a blow goes to bone. | Sentence |

Aysndetic coordination

- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| 23. | <i>Crínneacht, cinnteacht.</i> (SM:§278)
Maturity, certainty. | Noun |
|-----|--|------|

24. *Mac an duine shona, ábhar an duine dhona.* (SM:§1562) NP
The son of the happy person, the ‘makings’ of the bad person
25. *(Is) Neantóg a dhóigh mé, (Is) cupóg a leigheas mé.* (SC:§3398) Sentence
(It is) A nettle that stung me, (It is) a dock that cured me.

In Irish, the emphatic comparative copula structure has a syntactic structure that automatically generates parallel items – [COP ADJ-COMP X than Y] – and, as a result, is the source of much of the parallelism in our examples (10%). If we examine the lexical components in these proverbs in terms of the formal elements (*f*-elements) and content elements (*c*-elements) (Krikmann, 2009: 22-23), it is clear that in cases of two single words or simple phrases in parallel, there are limited possibilities for assigning poeticality to the *c*-elements.¹³ However, on further inspection, it can be seen that there are optional poetical devices, such as rhyme, alliteration or lexical repetition, in all comparative proverbs, which would suggest that they have been intentionally designed as a poetic creation as opposed to being naturally occurring structures. These poetical devices also fulfil a mnemonic function to assist acquisition and recall of the proverbial material. The following example No. 26 highlights the poetic style of such proverbs with end rhyme between *madaidh* (madi:) and *magaidh* (magi:), and also lexical repetition of the noun phrase headword *fuíoll* (fi:l).

26. *Is fearr fuíoll madaidh ná fuíoll magaidh.* (SU:1564b)
Better the dog’s leavings than mockery’s leavings.
(is f’a:r fi:l madi: na: fi:l magi:)

Phonic markers such as these are especially common in proverbs containing parallelism, with rhyme to be found in over a quarter (28%) and alliteration in almost two-thirds (39%). As often happens, both rhyme and alliteration are sometimes used in the same proverb (9%):

27. *Is fada an lá, is gearr an phingin, is tarraing do lámh go fada righin.* (SU:§802)
 Long is the day, short is the penny and draw your hand long and slowly.
 (is fadə ən laː, is g'a:r ən f'ɪ'ən', is tarəŋ' də la:v gə fadə ri:n')
28. *Taise le trua agus troid le tréan.* (SC:§1325)
 Compassion for the weak and battle for the strong.
29. *Deireadh ceatha ceo agus tosach catha gleo.* (SC:§4135)
 Fog is the end of a shower (or rain) and noise is the start of a battle.
 (d'er'u: k'ahə k'o: agəs tosəx kaha g'l'o:)

There are also examples of the repetition of lexical items in reverse order in the latter half of the parallel structure, as in the formula (AB:BA). This rhetorical device, known as *chiamus*, both adds to the rhythmic pattern and emphasises the contrast (Talyor, 1931:140; Norrick, 1991:121):

30. *Glacfaidh gach dath dubh ach ní ghlacfaidh an dubh dath.* (RA:180)
 Every colour will take black but black will not take (every) colour.
31. *Is fearr eolas an oilc ná an t-olc gan eolas.* (SC:§2108)
 Better the knowledge of misfortune than the misfortunate without knowledge.

In many of our examples, antonymic lexical items are placed in opposition for purposes of contrast as can be seen with the lexical equivalence sets 'praise' versus 'condemn' and 'avoid' versus 'frequent' (No. 32), and with 'cold' versus 'hot' and 'summer' versus 'winter' (No. 33):

32. *Mol an mhónadh is seachain í; cáin an choill agus taithigh í.* (SU:§952)
 [Imperative Verb + Article + Noun + Conjunction + Imperative Verb + Pronoun] X2
 Praise the moor and avoid it; blame the wood and frequent it.

33. *Teallach fuar sa samhradh, teallach te sa gheimhreadh.*
 (SC:§3838)
 [Noun Phrase {Noun + Adj} + Simple preposition +
 Noun] X2
 A cold hearth in the summer, a warm hearth in the
 winter.

Lexical parallelism is not always antonymic however, and in some examples lexical items show a thematic similarity for the purpose of semantic equivalence. In No. 34 there is an analogous relationship between the metonymic use of the body parts ‘mouth and head’ to signify ‘speech and intelligence’, but no established similarity or opposition between the qualifying adjectives ‘closed’ versus ‘wise’. The organisation of the proverb along these symmetrical lines, and the choice of semantically-associated elements creates what Rothstein (1968:269) has termed ‘syntactic crystallization’ through which the elements are joined as a cohesive unit. The meaning emerges as a result – an intelligent person does not speak (too much):

34. *Béal druidte, ceann críonna.* (SM:§421)
 [Noun + Adjective] X2
 A closed mouth, a wise head.

Often in cases of syntactic parallelism there exists medial ellipsis, or what we may term ‘gapping’ (Greenbaum and Quirk, 1990:279; Fabb, 1997:147), within the second or subsequent element of the proverb. The omission of an element in the latter section of the proverb occurs as a result of its presence being tacitly understood from the initial corresponding symmetrical structure. Gapping is to be found in a number of proverbs containing asyndetic coordination as can be seen in the following example, where both the relativized form of the verb ‘gets’ [*a fhaigheann*] and the object ‘cold’ [*fuair*] are both present in the first sentence, whilst they are absent, yet implicitly understood, in the subsequent conjoin (No. 35). In the second proverb, No. 36, the negative imperative particle ‘don’t’ [*ná*] is absent.

35. *As a ceann a fhaigheann an bhean fuacht; as a chosa an fear.* (SM:§168)

[Out of her head rel GET-PA the woman cold; out of his feet *rel GET-PA* the man *cold*]

Out of her head the woman gets cold; out of his feet the man.

36. Ná labhair go deo nó smaoinigh fá dhó. (SC:§658)
[NEG IMPER-speak never or *NEG IMPER* think twice]
Don't speak ever or don't think twice.

3.3 Parataxis

Parataxis ('equal' *para* 'arrangement' *taxis*) describes the linking of equipollent constructions – constructions of the same grammatical and semantic rank (Lakoff, 1971) – through juxtaposition or punctuation, as opposed to any form of explicit coordination or subordination by the use of a conjunction, or what may be termed hypotaxis ('beneath' *hypo* 'arrangement *taxis*).¹⁴ As a result of this juxtaposition and positional contiguity, the subtle yet implicit connection between lexical items, phrases or clauses is inferred through various other means: logical, temporal and causal sequential linkages, or through manner (Wales, 2001:285). The overall effect of paratactic coordination is, therefore, to challenge the addressee to connect and interpret the grammatical and semantic relationships between adjacent constituents and to infer an overall unified meaning.¹⁵ The most oft-quoted example of parataxis (asyndetic coordination) is Caesar's now proverbial use of hendiatriis in the expression '*veni, vidi, vici* ('I came, I saw, I conquered'), in which three verbal phrases of equal weight and grammatical rank are juxtaposed for dramatic effect.

Parataxis is extremely common in ordinary speech and, by implication, in forms of oral literature including proverbs. The most significant studies of proverbial style have shown that parataxis is found in a range of international proverbs including, Ancient Greek, Arabic, Czech, English, French, German, Latin, Polish, Russian, Spanish, Yiddish.¹⁶ Yet, in spite of its occurrence in these languages, often in conjunction with syntactic and semantic parallelism, and contrast, both Maghoub (1968:37) and Silverman-Weinreich (1981:76) in their statistical analyses do not view it as an important stylistic device in the overall hierarchy of proverbial markers. Irish proverbs concur with this observation and, in my own sampling, parataxis occurs in just 6% of the corpus and

thus it may be viewed as being one of the most infrequently-occurring stylistic devices. From these limited examples, however, some general conclusions may be drawn about its nature and form in Irish proverbs.

Firstly, from a syntactic point of view, it is significant that phrases are by far the most commonly juxtaposed element in the corpus (84%); in these examples simple noun, adjective, and adverbial phrases are set in juxtaposition using punctuation marks, such as the comma and semi-colon, as integrating links.

37. *Troid na mbó maol, troid gan aon dochas.* (SC:§4157)
The fight of the hornless cows, a fight without any hope.

These phrases are not examples of elliptical constructions as the rules of Irish syntax exclude any form of verbal linkages on grounds of indefiniteness in the second phrase. Ellipsis of the verb, however, is a common feature of paratactic proverbs (Maghoub, 1968:37), especially the verb 'to be'. In Irish, as a VSO (Verb Subject Object) language, the potentially redundant verb does not occupy a central syntactic position separating parallel structures as occurs in English, for example, 'first come [is] first served'. Instead of this, we have the case in which the copula is placed in sentence initial position in identificatory sentences and followed by definite noun phrases [copula + pronoun/definite noun + pronoun/definite noun]. Some proverbs containing this sentence type demonstrate ellipsis of the initial copula and the subsequent concatenation of the two adjacent phrases by means of punctuation (in transcription, the punctuation mark, usually a comma, indicates a *pausa* in the utterance):

38. [Is é] *Fear an bhóthair, fear an allais.* (SC:§1542)
The man of the road, [is] the man of sweat.

There is also evidence of the asyndetic coordination of simple sentences (4%), whilst compound sentences are not found in any examples. The other syntactically intricate sentence-types, the complex sentence and the compound-complex sentence, do not exhibit paratactic structures at all, as they are based on a subordinated or hypotactic clause relationship between the main clause(s) and var-

ious subclauses. Below is an example of juxtaposed simple sentences:

39. *Chan dual sagart gan cléireach; chan dual Domhnach gan aifreann.* (SU:§85)
It is not natural to have a priest without an altar-boy;
it is not natural to have a Sunday without a mass.

Hauser's (1980:26) general contention that there is a lack of 'conspicuous links' between juxtaposed constituents is not applicable to Irish proverbs, however, as they are highly adorned with other stylistic and poetic devices that serve to imply a correlation between the constituents. Such devices to signal noun phrase or clause relations include lexical repetition and parallelism, grammatical parallelism, and phonic devices such as rhyme and alliteration.

Lexical repetition usually occurs in Irish proverbs for contrastive purposes for, as Hoey (1991:20) points out, repetition creates a framework that focuses the addressee's attention on the new constituents that appear in the subsequent clause, or, in the case of the vast number of Irish proverbs, the subsequent phrase. We can see the repetition of the initial *fear gan* 'a man without' in No. 40, together with a single paradigmatic substitution of lexical item in the object i.e. *caint* 'chat' > *airgead* 'money'. In many of these short proverbs, the final lexical element is the focal point of the expression for, in spite of the high level of syntactic predictability, until the final element is revealed the addressee cannot connect the entire semantic unity of the utterance:

40. *Fear gan chaint, fear gan airgead.* (SC:§4378)
A man without chat, a man without money.

In other examples, the effect of lexical repetition for contrastive purposes is buttressed by the use of antonymic adjectives and nouns in each phrase. These bring the addressee's attention to the salient differences between the phrases, and create a more complete arresting image. This can be seen in No. 41, where there are two clear examples of antonyms: '*pleasant* versus *morose*' and '*outside* versus *inside*'.

41. *Suairc an taobh amuigh, duairc an taobh istigh.*
(SU:1006)

Cheerful on the outside, gloomy on the inside.

Syntactic parallelism (or, for purposes of rhetoric, ‘isocolon’) is also a collocational feature of these proverbs, as it is this symmetry that signals a semantic correlation between constituents. It is also of note that these structures also contain other forms of poetic embellishment such as stress and rhythmic equivalence.¹⁷ A prototypical example of such a literary creation can be seen below in which the two phrases not only possess the same syntactical structure of *Noun + Adjective + Noun in Genitive + Noun*, and the same initial lexical items i.e. *The end of every...* [*Deireadh gach*], but they are also based on an identical initial consonantal pattern of *D-G-C-S*:

42. *Deireadh gach cumainn scaoileadh, deireadh gach cogaidh síoth.* (SC:§1679)
The end of every relationship separation, the end of every war peace.

Phonic markers are one of the most characteristic devices of paratactic proverbs in Irish with rhyme occurring in nearly two-fifths of the examples (34%), as in No. 43, and alliteration found in well over one-half of the proverbs (59%), see No. 44. It is no surprise with these high frequencies that there are examples in which both rhyme and alliteration are found e.g. No. 45. These phonic markers occur in conjunction with varying degrees of lexical repetition and syntactic parallelism, and identify the proverbs as salient utterances that are quite distinct from normal original speech patterns.

43. *Fear gan bhean gan chlann fear gan bheann ar aoinne.* (SM:§339)
A man without a woman or a family, a man without care for anyone.
44. *Bean gan leithscéal- bean gan phíopa gan pháiste.* (SU:157b)
A woman without an excuse--a woman without a pipe or a child.
45. *Teanga bheadaí, tóin teasaí.* (SC:4996)
A conceited tongue, a warm behind.

3.3.1 Relationship between juxtaposed phrases/clauses.

Phrasal proverbs demonstrate asyndetic juxtaposition in which the addressee is led to infer the meaning by means of some form of association between the first phrase and the second phrase. These associations are not always clear, especially when proverbs are presented in decontextualized form as in the printed collections, yet the use of other stylistic devices as outlined above, and knowledge of proverb performance enables the identification of distinct semantic relationships. It appears that there are three types of association implicit in the Irish corpus (i) Equality or Identification; (ii) Cause and Effect; and (iii) Antonymy or Contrast.

(i) Equality or Identification [X=Y]

The first category contains constructions determining equality or identity between the two phrases, in which the first phrase is equal to, or similar to, the second phrase, as in No. 46 where 'country without a language' is the same as or equal to 'a country without a soul'. The association between these proverbs may be schematically paraphrased by the formula [X = Y] as can be seen in the examples below:

46. *Tír gan teanga, tír gan anam.* (SM:§1044)
A country without a language, a country without a soul.
47. *Tine gan teas, tine gan mhaith.* (SC:§5002)
A fire without heat, a fire without goodness (=useless).
48. *Sagart balbh, sagart dealbh.* (SC:§2053)
An inarticulate priest, a destitute priest.

(ii) Cause and Effect

Secondly, there are also proverbs in which a causal linkage is found and which loosely contains the 'cause and effect' or 'cause-consequence' sequence relationship (Boyle, 1996:118); the realization of the first phrase renders the second phrase a natural consequence. In No. 49 we can see that if the mother is light-footed then, as a logical consequence, we may presume that her daughter will also inherit the same quality. These proverbs may be read by

the closely-associated formulae [If there is X, then there is Y] or [If one has A, then one gets B]:¹⁸

49. *Máthair choséadrom iníon choséadrom.* (SM:§93)
A lightfooted mother, a lightfooted daughter.
50. *Duine gan dinnéar beirt chun suipéir.* (SM:400)
A person without dinner, two people for supper.
51. *Teanga bheadaí, tóin teasaí.* (SC:§4996)
A conceited tongue, a warm behind.

(iii) Contrast and Antonymy

The final category contains a contrastive or antonymic function whereby the first phrase or sentence is set against the second for the purposes of contrast and comparison. The effect is to enhance the overall meaning of the two separate noun phrases by placing them in parallel to one another, so that meaning of the entire proverb is more important than the sum of the overall equal noun phrase constituents. For example, in No. 52, the first element, when taken alone, is quite innocuous, that, depending on our own reading of human interaction, the first year (of a relationship) is characterised by amorous displays of physical affection. The second half of the proverb, when taken in isolation, is not as transparent because the term ‘second year’ requires some form of antecedental reference for interpretation yet, from a literal perspective we may interpret that some form of physical abuse occurs in the second year. When the phrases are juxtaposed, however, and as a result of the syntactic and the antonymic lexical contrast of ‘*first* versus *second*’, and ‘*kisses* versus *fists*’, we are presented with a much fuller and, indeed, depressing interpretation of the breakdown of human relationships. These contrastive proverbs are the most stylised and lyrical and are based on bipartite and quadripartite syntactical repetition:

52. *An chéad bhliain, bliain na bpóg, an dara bliain, bliain na ndorn.* (SM:§330)
The first year, the year of kisses, the second year, the year of fists.
53. *Lá brónach dá phósadh, lá deorach dá chur.* (SC:§683a)

A sad day for one's marriage; a tearful day for one's burial.

54. *Suí mhic i dteach a athar, suí leathan socair; Ach suí an athar i dteach a mhic, suí cruinn corrach.* (SU:§103)
A son's sitting in his father's house, a long comfortable sit; but a father's sitting in his son's house, a short, restless sit.
55. *Fear dubh dána, fear fionn glibiúil, fear donn dualach, fear rua scigiúil.* (SM:§6)
A black-haired man bold, a fair-haired man disheveled, a brown-haired man twisted, a red-haired man mocking.

3.3 *Emphatic Word Order*

In her seminal study on the concept of 'proverbiality', Arora (1984:11) identifies 'emphatic word order' as one of the most salient grammatical differentiators of proverbs from 'ordinary' linguistic utterances and says that when combined with other proverbial markers it may highlight a particular sentence as being 'proverbial'. The degree to which 'emphatic word order' registers on the hierarchy of proverbial markers will, of course, vary from language to language but, in the main, those scholars involved in analysing the stylistic and poetic devices used in proverbial expression have concurred with this general statement, albeit with various types of qualification. A comparison may be made between Yiddish and Cairene Arabic to demonstrate this difference. Silverman-Weinreich (1981:75) in her study of the formal characteristics of Yiddish proverbs has stated that emphatic word order is one of the most commonly-occurring 'optional' grammatical markers, and may be combined with other primary syntactic patterns such as conditional and comparative sentences, imperatives, riddle patterns, and rhetorical questions. She also notes that emphatic word order and syntactic parallelism appear to be mutually exclusive in the Yiddish material, even though both may be termed optional markers. In contrast, Mahgoub's (1968:32) quantitative and qualitative analysis of linguistic devices in Cairene proverbs does not verify the importance of emphatic structures or, as she terms it, 'inverted word order', as the device appears in only one single proverb from a corpus of 900.

The Irish language does not permit the emphasis or focusing of a constituent part of a sentence by prosodic means, yet it is possible to achieve this ‘foregrounding’ of a certain constituent by re-arranging the normal word order and by using emphatic structures@uvm.edu or what we may, for the sake of consistency, term ‘emphatic word order’ (see Mac Eoin, 1986). Emphatic word structures take a number of different forms in Irish, and they are found frequently in the proverb samples gleaned from the corpus. The following discussion will highlight the use of these emphatic structures in proverbs.

One of the most frequent deviations from the normal word order in Irish (VSO) is that of fronting, in which the equivalent of cleft sentences in English is used to front constituents such as subject, object, adjective, verbal noun complement, as well as prepositional, adjectival and adverbial phrases. In a cleft sentence the focussed constituent is raised to the subject complement position of the sentence, where it is fronted by the copula and then followed by a relative clause. Emphatic, contrastive and exclamatory functions are the main motivations for generating such cleft constructions (Stenson, 1981:99). In Nos. 57-59 we can see how various constituent parts (Noun Phrase, Temporal Adverb, Prepositional Phrase) of the unmarked basic simple sentence, as in No. 58, are emphasised by clefting:

56. *Chuaigh Seán go Baile Átha Cliath inné.*
Seán went to Dublin yesterday on the bus.
57. *Is é [Seán] a chuaigh go Baile Átha Cliath inné.* (NP)
It is SEÁN who went to Dublin yesterday.
58. *Is [inné] a chuaigh Seán go Baile
Átha Cliath.* (TEMP ADV)
It is YESTERDAY that Seán went to
Dublin.
59. *Is [go Baile Átha Cliath] a chuaigh Seán inné.* (PP)
It is TO DUBLIN that Seán went yesterday.

Cleft sentences in which emphasis or focus is applied to a particular constituent element are extremely common in Irish proverbs (13%). In the large majority of these proverbs, a simple sen-

tence (containing one clause) is re-structured to draw attention to one particular constituent element by presenting it at the beginning of the sentence directly after the copula. It should be noted that the copula is negated in only an extremely small number of examples (1.6%) of these cleft sentences. This, of course, reinforces the surface structure of the proverb and aids memorability, as it is generally accepted that a proverb is acquired and processed as a fixed lexical string (see Cram, 1983):

Noun Phrase

60. *Is é a leanbh féin a bhaistear an sagart ar dtús.* (SU:§79a) [COP +]
It is HIS OWN CHILD that the priest baptizes first.
61. *Ní hí an áilleacht a chuireann an corcán ag fiuchadh.* (SM:§255) [COP -]
It is not BEAUTY that puts the pot boiling (=boils the pot).

Adverb/Adverbial phrase

62. *Is minic a bhí fear maith i seanbhríste.* (SM:§13) [COP +]
It is OFTEN that a good man is in old trousers.
63. *Ní gan ábhar a théigheas na caoirigh chuig an abhainn.* (SC:§2341) [COP -]
It is not WITHOUT REASON that the sheep go to the river.

Not all constituents are subject to high levels of fronting, however, and Stenson (1981:99-100) claims that there is a particularly low level of adjectival fronting in Irish because not all adjectives can be clefted freely, and because, on the whole, those that may be clefted are usually found in interrogative or exclamatory forms.¹⁹ Ó Siadhail (1989:237), on the other hand, says that adjectival fronting is restricted to a contrastive function, as adjectives in fronted positions would demand a straight copula sentence as opposed to a cleft construction, see No. 64. These claims are borne out by our corpus sample in that adjectival fronting is extremely

rare (0.2%). This can be seen in No. 65, which clearly demonstrates a declarative function:

64. *Is glas iad na cnoic i bhfad uainn.*
(SU:§998) [COP +]
It is GREEN that the hills in the distance are.²⁰
65. *Is sásta a bhíonn an bhó nuair a bhíonn an lao lena chois.* (SM:258) [COP +]
It is CONTENT that the cow is when the calf is beside it.

In Irish, as in many other languages, ellipsis is used to remove predictable elements of the sentence for purposes of emphasis, style and economy. The copula, being a highly-predicable verbal element in sentence-initial position in cleft sentences, may be ellipsed freely.²¹ In spite of this, ellipsis of the copula is only found in a small number of cleft sentences. Below are examples showing the ellipsed copula in proverbs and, as can be seen in No. 68, there may be cases of multiple ellipsed copulae due, in part, to the parallel syntax in a compound complex sentence:

66. *[Is é] Uireasa a mhéadaíonn cumha.* (SM:§124)
[It is] ABSENCE [that] increases loneliness.
67. *[Is] In am na cearra aithnítear an cara.* (RA:§324)
[It is] IN THE TIME OF INJURY [that] the friend is recognized.
68. *[Is é] neart a ritheann agus [is é] mire a léimeann.*
(SM:§233)
[It is] STRENGTH that runs and [it is] MADNESS that jumps.

It should be mentioned at this point that the initial copula is often ellipsed in proverbs containing identificatory copula sentences. This, however, is the typical syntactical structure (copula + pronoun/definite noun + pronoun/definite noun) for expressing the identity of two nouns/pronouns, and does not relate to the grammatical process of clefting for the purpose of emphasis:

69. *[Is é] An chuid is lú den ól an chuid is fearr.* (SC:§3199)
The smallest part of the drink [is] the best.

70. *[Is é] An fear óg an fear.* (SM:§2)
The young man [is] the man.

3.3.1 *Left-dislocation and topicalization*

There are two other major syntactic devices for focussing or foregrounding a constituent element in a sentence: (i) left-dislocation and (ii) topicalization. Although similar in structure, there are differences in the type of clefting that occurs in these two constructions. In left dislocation (No. 71) the constituent element of the sentence is placed in sentence initial position, and an anaphoric element such as a pronoun, prepositional pronoun or lexical noun phrase is placed in its canonical position within the main clause that immediately follows. In topicalization, however, (No. 72), the focussed constituent of a sentence is placed in sentence-initial position through clefting so that it functions as ‘topic’, thus leaving a gap in the main clause which it can be construed as filling (Gregory & Michaelis, 2001:1665).

71. *An fear a bhain an duais, chonaic mé inniu é.*
The man that won the prize, I saw him today.
72. *Cos ní chorródh sé.*
Foot NEG would-move he
He wouldn’t budge. (Mc Closkey, 1996:80)

Left-dislocation is commonly used in spontaneous or narrative style, and also in cases where the topic contains a lengthy relative clause and where, as a result, the sentence meaning is confusing or ambiguous. Ó Siadhail (1989:213) demonstrates a typical source of such confusion in example No. 73 where it is unclear to what the adverbial clause ‘this morning’ refers – does it relate to ‘I saw’ or to ‘the man who broke the window? To avoid such confusion, clefting may be used to clarify the meaning as shown in the example below where there is initial absolute topic with pronominal repetition (No. 74).

73. *Chonaic mé an fear a bhris an fhuinneog ar maidin.*
I saw the man who broke the window this morning.
74. *An fear a bhris an fhuinneog, chonaic mé ar maidin é.*
The man who broke the window, I saw him this morning.

Repetition of the topic through left dislocation is one of the most salient variations in basic word order in Irish and, as Ó Siadhail (1989:212) previously pointed out, is commonly found in proverbs, or what he terms ‘maxim’ type sentences beginning with *an té* ‘he who’:

75. *An té nach mbíonn críonna, ní mhairfidh sé i bhfad.*
He who isn’t cunning, [he] won’t survive long.

Evidence from the corpus sample shows a high-level of topic repetition through left dislocation (9%) and the particular example, alluded to above, of the ‘maxim’ type sentence beginning *an té* (he who) is found in more than one third of the total cohort (eg. Nos. 76-78). In these sentences the absolute topic is placed in initial position with nominal repetition in the main clause. Some examples are shown below:

76. *An té a bhíos idir dhá stól, gabhfaidh sé go hurlár.*
(SC:§65)
He who is between two stools, [he] will go to the floor.
77. *An té ná hólann ach uisce ní bhíonn sé ar meisce.*
(SM:488)
He who only drinks water, [he] will not be drunk.
78. *An té a luíonn leis na madraí, éireoidh sé leis na dreancaidí.* (SU:204)
He who lies with the dogs, [he] will rise with the fleas.

The large majority of these examples containing the *an té* (he who) structure are complex sentences containing one independent clause and at least one sub-clause, but there are two examples of compound complex sentences in which there is also a second syntactically parallel structure which contrasts the semantic message of the initial structure. This rhetorical method of antithetic poetic parallelism contrasts the first and second sentence by setting the two in syntactic and semantic opposition through the fulcrum conjunction ‘and’. Through the juxtaposition of sentences meaning is determined through the identification of key words and comparison to their antonyms. For example in No. 79 we see two clear

antonyms (i) *up* versus *down* and (ii) *to drink a drink on someone* (= to toast someone) versus *to lay a foot on someone* (= to oppress).

79. *An té a bhíonn suas óltar deoch air is an té a bhíonn síos luítear cos air.* (SM:§1383)
 He who is up has a drink drunk on him (= is toasted)
 and he who is down has a foot laid on him (= is oppressed).
80. *An té atá bacach bíodh agus an té atá tuirseach suíodh.* (SM:§238)
 He who is lame, let him be and he who is tired, let him sit.

The corpus sample also contains examples of three other structures, similar to *an té* ‘he who’, that are used recurrently as a base formula in sentences with left dislocation of this kind: *an áit* ‘the place where’ (4%), *an ní* ‘the thing that’ (4%) and *an rud* ‘the thing that’ (31%). Once again, in these proverbs, the constituent element to be foregrounded is placed in the initial left position of the sentence and contains an anaphoric pronominal reference in the main clause that follows:

81. *An áit a mbeidh an diabhal caithfidh an deamhan a bheith ann.* (SC:§4544)
 The place where the devil will be, the demon must be.
82. *An ní a deir gach uile dhuine, caithfidh sé bheith fíor.* (RA:§531)
 The thing that everyone says, it must be true.
83. *An rud is beag ag fear is mór ag leanbh é.* (SM:§119)
 The thing that a man does not appreciate, a child appreciates it.

Of course, there are also more specific examples of fronted noun phrase subjects containing a relative clause:

84. *An capall a phreabas is é a éimhíos.* (RA:575)
 The horse that kicks, it is it that refuses (to jump).
85. *An grá nach bhfuil sa láthair fuaraíonn sé.* (SC:2528)
 The love that is not present, it grows cold.

86. *An síol a bhíonn caoch sa chré ní thagann sé.* (SM:1804)
The seed in the clay that is blind (=lacking a growing point), it does not sprout.
87. *An olann a bhíonn ag briseadh sa tsníomh bíonn sí righin sa tseol.* (SM:1206)
The wool that breaks in the spinning, it is tough in the loom.

One feature that should be noted in relation to proverbs is Stenson's (1981:47) claim that simple NP subjects are incapable of being fronted in Irish sentences. Her view is that such fronting would be 'decidedly weird' and that it is restricted to complex NPs, perhaps just to relatives.²² Evidence from the sample corpus shows, however, that this is not the case and that there are examples of left-dislocation and fronting of simple NPs. This type of fronting does not contain either a sentence-initial copula or relative clause in the post-frontal position. Once again, such proverbs have the hallmarks of a literary proverb with embellishment of both alliteration and syntactic parallelism for the purposes of memorability.

88. *Leanbh gan mháthair, ní binn é a ghol agus ní geal é a ghaire.* (SM:§109)
A child without a mother, its cry is not sweet and its laugh is not happy.
89. *Moladh roimh ré, ní moladh é.* (SC:§2975)
Prior praise, it is no praise.
90. *Duine le Dia, b'fhearr leis bia ná bean.* (SU:§93)
A person with God (=pious person), he would prefer food to a woman.

3.3.2 Fronting of subclauses

There are also numerous examples of the fronting of subordinating clauses in Irish proverbs (15%), especially in conditional clauses. Conditional clauses have two forms in Irish: the particle *má* (negative form *mura*) is used to introduce a plausible conditional clause, or *realis* condition, whilst hypothetical conditional clauses, or *irrealis* conditions, follow are introduced by *dá* (nega-

tive form *mura*). The protasis is placed at sentence initial position and followed by the apodosis in 3.7% of the proverbs:

realis Condition

91. *Má ghránn tú an t-aoileach ní fheiceann tú dúradán / dúlagán ann.* (RA:563)
If you are fond of the dung, you do not see a mote in it.
92. *Má bhíonn tú tanaí, lig ort bheith ramhar.* (SC:1603)
If you are thin, pretend that you are fat.

irrealis Condition

93. *Dá mbeadh síoda ar ghabhar, is gabhar i gcónaí é.* (SC:1962)
If a goat were to wear silk, it is still a goat.
94. *Dá mbeadh spré ag an chat is minic a phógfaí a béal.* (SC:3423)
If the cat had a dowry, it is often that its mouth would be kissed.

The complementary subordinating particle *nuair* (when), which takes the form of the direct relative clause, is found in 35 of the proverbs. It is of interest that the sub-clause is fronted in over three-quarters of the total (77%), which suggests that this emphatic word order is commoner in proverbs that take the form of complex sentences:

Normal word order

95. *Labhair leis an donas nuair a thioctas sé.* (SU:524)
Speak to misfortune when it arrives.

Fronting

96. *Nuair a bhíonn an leabhar againn ní bhíonn an léann againn.* (SM:1621)
When we have the book, we do not have learning.
97. *Nuair a bhíos an cupán lán, is fusa a dhoirteadh.* (SC:252)
When the cup is full, it is easiest spilled.

3.3.3 *Emphasis in classificatory copulative sentences*

In classificatory copula sentences in Irish (copula + classificatory indefinite noun + pronoun/definite noun e.g. *Is fear é* [COP + man + he]) it is possible, for the purposes of emphasis, to front an adjective that qualifies a noun by placing it after the copula and then making the noun definite:

98. *Is fear mór é.*
He is a big man.
99. *Is mór an fear é.*
(COP big the man he)
He is a BIG man.

The use of fronting for emphasising an adjectival qualifier in a classificatory copula sentence is a stylistic device used in 1.9% of the proverbs. What is of interest in these examples is that the majority are metaphorical proverbs containing some incongruity of tenor and vehicle domain. Not only that, but the qualifying adjective *maith* (good) is used in the majority of these proverbs, suggesting that this may be a common proverbial formula. In example Nos. 100-101 the quality of 'its being good' is emphasised:

100. *Is maith an scáthán súil charad.* (RA:323)
A friend's eye is a GOOD mirror.
101. *Is maith an scéalaí an aimsir.* (SM:1946)
Time is a GOOD storyteller.

The final category contains the pattern in which the abstract noun denoting degree is used for purposes of comparison:

102. *Dá dhonacht gabhaltas bíonn oidhre dó.* (SC:2718)
However bad the holding there is an heir for it.
103. *Dá fhaid é an lá is é dán na hoíche teacht.* (SM:1988)
However long the day is it is the fate of the night to come.
104. *Dá fheabhas an t-ól is fearr an t-ithe.* (SC:446)
However good the drinking the eating is better.
105. *Dá mhéad an lán mara tráigheann sé.* (SU:1246)

However great the high tide, it subsides.

3.3.4 Comparative Copulative Structures

The copula is found in over a half of the corpus (53%) and it is significant that it is used in this form of emphatic comparison in 21% of these proverbs. The emphatic copulative structure is derived from the unmarked base form containing the substantive verb (BÍ):

106. *Tá X níos fearr ná Y*
(X is better than Y) (6.3%).

107. *Is fearr X ná Y*
[COP + COMP ADJ +] (10% of corpus sample).

The comparative structure, or what Thompson (1974:40) terms the 'value comparison', is highly proverbial due to its attachment to the bible and has been widely found in wisdom literature of the Middle East (see Humbert, 1929). Robinson (1945:4) concurs with the pervasiveness of the comparative structure in Irish and identifies the structure *Is fearr X ná Y* (Better X than Y) as one of the most salient syntactical structures in Irish-language proverbs since earliest times. It is of note that this particular construction was found in 10% of our present sample, whilst a negated form was also found in three examples (eg. No. 112). The comparative structure, of course, also means that syntactic parallelism occurs in nearly all those with adjectives, nouns, noun phrases being compared. Of interest, however, is that these expressions contain many other proverbial markers, which would indicate that these are highly stylized expressions. Key features of these proverbs are phonological devices such as rhyme and alliteration, semantic contrast and semantic parallelism, and, of course, syntactical symmetry:

108. *Is fearr an tsláinte ná na táinte.* (SM:134) [Rhyme]
Better health than wealth.

109. *Is fearr sona ná saibhir.* (SU:759) [Alliteration]
Better happy than wealthy.

110. *Is fearr orlach gasúir ná troigh
chailín.* (SU:116) [Semantic parallelism]

Better an inch of a boy than a
foot of a girl.

111. *Is fearr madra beo nó leon
marbh.* (SM:2087) [Antithetical parallelism]
Better a living dog than a
dead lion.
112. *Ní fearr luathlámhas ná léireacht.*
(SM:1283) [Alliteration]
Dexterity is not better than clearheadedness
(accuracy)

Although this ‘Better X than Y’ formula has a high frequency within the corpus sample, there are some other examples based on the syntactical structure but with various other comparative adjectives:

113. *Is buaine clú ná saol.* (RA:183)
Fame is more enduring than life.
114. *Is fusa scaipeadh ná cruinniú.* (SU:774)
Scattering is easier than collecting.
115. *Is airde fear céachta ar a chosa ná duine uasal ar a
ghlúine.* (SM:1790)
A ploughman on his feet is taller than a nobleman on
his knees.
116. *Is faide a rachas an fíor ná an bhréag.* (SC:2403)
The truth goes further than the lie.
117. *Is measa na mná ná an t-ól.* (SC:4316)
The women are worse than the drink.
118. *Ní measa pisreog ná cat.* (SC:46a)
A superstition is not worse than a cat.

4. Conclusion

By means of summary, we can say that Irish proverbs are nearly always based on some form of sentence structure, although a small percentage (of around one in every ten) take the form of a phrasal construction. Irish permits the use of phrasal proverbs,

which is at odds with other languages in which the proverb must be a complete grammatical sentence e.g. Igbo proverbs (see Ezejideaku and Okechukwu, 2008). The simple sentence is the proverbial structure *par excellence* in Irish, (57%) although the complex sentence is also common (27%). Compound structures are found in only a small minority of proverbs (8%). In terms of length, Irish proverbs are generally quite ‘short’ (the mean length of an Irish proverb is 6.5 lexical items) as a result of the high frequency of simple sentences and phrasal structures, although there are exceptions, which echoes Whiting’s (1994:80) claim that ‘It is usually short, *but need not be...*’.

In terms of syntactic devices and style, parallelism is one of the most frequently occurring aspects of Irish proverbs with over one in four proverbs containing structural parallelism, through either syndetic or asyndetic coordination (27%). Structural parallelism is inevitably accompanied by semantic parallelism in which both synonymous and antonymic relationships are also found between contiguous constituents. Euphonic markers are particularly common in parallel structures also, with rhyme found in over a quarter (28%) and alliteration in nearly two-fifths (39%). The distinct patterns of syntactic relations, repetition of consonantal patterns, and the presence of elaborate euphonic markers, indicate that many of the proverbs are based on formulaic poetical structure and may have originated as what Taylor (1931) has termed ‘literary’ proverbs.

Paratactic structures are not overly common in Irish proverbs and are only found in a small percentage of proverbs (6%). In spite of this, there are clear patterns associated with this device. Irish proverbs tend to favour the juxtaposition of phrases as opposed to any sentence structure constituents (94%), although simple sentences are also found in a small minority (6%). The three relational classifications between constituents are (i) equality or identification, (ii) cause and effect, (iii) contrast and antonymy. These proverbs are also adorned with rhyme (34%) and alliteration (59%), and stylistically tend to violate the usual rules of speech in that, due to the poetical aesthetic, they appear ‘out-of-context’ (Seitel, 1973: 124). The highly mnemonic nature of such adornment assists in their perpetuation and re-use.

Emphatic word order, in its various manifestations, is a frequent characteristic of Irish proverbs for the purposes of fore-

grounding and contrast. Clefting of constituents to sentence initial position is common (13%) and, on occasion, ellipsis of the initial copula occurs due to redundancy. Left dislocation is another frequent syntactic device (9%) and there are several architectural formulae that belie these proverbs including relative clauses beginning ‘*An té...* (He who...), *An áit...* (Where there is...), and *An rud/ní...* (The thing...). There are also numerous examples of regular fronted noun phrases that do not follow these patterns. Irish proverbs also demonstrate the fronting of subclauses, particularly conditional and adverbial clauses (‘if’ and ‘when’) (15%), as opposed to normal word order. Fronting of adjectival qualifiers in classificatory copulative sentences, although not common (1.9%), is the norm for metaphorical proverbs containing incongruity between topic and vehicle domains.

APPENDICES

Table 1. Frequency and distribution of sentences / phrases in corpus sample.

Sentence / phrase type	Distribution	
	n	%
Simple sentence	565	57%
Compound sentence	81	8%
Complex sentence	274	27%
Compound complex sentence	11	1%
Phrase(s)	69	7%
Sum	1000	100%

Table 2. Word length in sentences / phrases in corpus sample.

Sentence / phrase type	Total words	Average word
	in proverb type	length
Simple sentence	5876	10.4
Compound sentence	470	5.8
Complex sentence	2823	10.3

Compound complex sentence	114	10.4
Phrase(s)	295	13.4
Sum	9578	9.6

Table 3. Frequency of syntactic devices in the sample corpus.

Syntactic device	n	%
Syntactic parallelism	265	27%
Parataxis	56	6%
Cleft sentences	130	13%
Left dislocation	92	9%
Subclausal fronting	152	15%

Table 4. Distribution of phonic markers in proverbs containing syntactic parallelism.

Proverbial marker	Syntactic parallelism	
	n	%
Rhyme	74	28%
Alliteration	103	39%

Notes

¹ Kilimenko (1946) [*Russian*], Mahgoub (1968) [*Cairene Arabic*], Rothstein (1968) [*aspects of Russian, French, Latin*], Levin (1968) [*Russian*], Thompson (1974) [*Hebrew, Arabic*], Silverman-Weinreich (1978) [*Yiddish*], Hasen-Rokem (1982) [*Hebrew*], Russo (1983) [*Ancient Greek*], Arora (1984) [*Spanish*], Sorrentino (1989) [*Tamil*], Tóthné Litovkina (1990) [*Hungarian, Russian*], Norrick (1991) [*English*], Tóthné Litovkina and Csábi (2002) [*American English*], Valdaeva (2003) [*English*], Osoba (2005) [*Yoruba*], Agozzino (2007) [*Welsh*], Ezejideaku and Okechukwu (2008) [*Igbo*], Fidler (2010) [*Esperanto*] and Grandl (2010) [*Ancient Egyptian*].

² Milner (1969), Dundes (1975) and Barley (1974).

³ The industrialist and antiquarian, Robert MacAdam, had originally published six hundred proverbs in the *Ulster Journal of Ulster Archaeology* between 1858-1862 (Ser. 1, Vol. VI, pp. 172-83, 250-267, 1858; Vol. VII, pp. 278-87, 1859; Vol. IX, pp. 223-36, 1861-2), and these were subsequently included in *Seanfhocla Uladh*. Fionnuala Carson Williams has published a critique of this work entitled 'Six Hundred Gaelic Proverbs Collected in Ulster by Robert MacAdam.' *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Prov-*

erb Scholarship. Vol. 12, (1995) pp. 343-55. MacAdam's collection has been edited and reprinted together with an introductory chapter on his 'life and times' by A. J. Hughes (1998) *Robert Shipboy MacAdam: his life and Gaelic proverb collection*.

⁴ See Mac Coinnigh (2005) for an examination of proverbial sub-types in the Irish language.

⁵ See Mac Coinnigh (2007) for an analysis of Irish paremiography in the 19th and 20th centuries, focussing on these three dialectal collections, and suggestions for future desiderata in the field.

⁶ See www.random.org 'RANDOM.ORG offers true random numbers to anyone on the Internet. The randomness comes from atmospheric noise, which for many purposes is better than the pseudo-random number algorithms typically used in computer programs. People use RANDOM.ORG for holding drawings, lotteries and sweepstakes, to drive games and gambling sites, for scientific applications and for art and music. The service has existed since 1998 and was built and is being operated by Mads Haahr of the School of Computer Science and Statistics at Trinity College, Dublin in Ireland.'

⁷ Chenevix Trench (1905) in his pioneering study of proverbs also contests the use of 'shortness' in relation to proverb definition, and suggests that 'conciseness', i.e. cut down to the fewest possible words; condensed quintessential wisdom, would be a more suitable term. Once again, however, this is not always the case and many common proverbs could be reduced further by the omission of redundant verbs or parallel elements.

⁸ According to Ó hAnluain (1985:18-19), there are four types of sentence structure to be found in the Irish language (i) Simple sentences; (ii) Compound Sentences; (iii) Complex Sentences, and (iv) Plural Sentences (often referred to as Compound-Complex Sentences).

⁹ Fabb (1997:145) make the distinction between structural and syntactic parallelism stating that the latter involves structural identity in terms of classes of words and phrases, grammatical and thematic relations to the predicator, and word order in each section.

¹⁰ Rothstein (1968:269) has argued that parallelism fulfils three main functions in proverbs: (i) the aesthetic function of organizing the proverb along symmetrical lines; (ii) the semantic function of suggesting analogies and comparisons through syntactic juxtaposition, and (iii) a kind of syntactic crystallization, with which to unite the elements of the proverb as a cohesive whole.

¹¹ 'A rhetorical trait which is found in parallelism of structure with its almost inevitable accompaniment, contrast' (Taylor, 1931:143).

¹² 'Ellipsis of the verb (usually accompanied by other stylistic features such as parallelism or contrast) is another important grammatical clue (of proverbiality)' (Silverman-Weinreich, 1981:77).

¹³ 'We treat the proverb text as internally heterogeneous and try to divide its lexical components into "content elements" (c-elements) and "formal" elements (f-elements)...the essence of this approach is that it does not assign poeticalness to the proverb text as a whole – poeticalness is assigned only to some elements of it, e.g., to c-elements.' (Krikmann, 2009: 22-23).

¹⁴ It should be noted that some scholars, including De Vries (2008), Fowler (1996) and Turner (1973) include co-ordination within the definition of parataxis whilst others, particularly Short (1996), and Wales (2000), adhere to the belief that this does not fit within the paratactical matrix. In this study I have taken parataxis as fulfilling the latter function.

¹⁵ ‘The lack of conspicuous links between the parts presents the audience with disjointed and seemingly unrelated elements, causing the audience to ask questions and use its imagination in an attempt to fill the gaps and relate the adjacent members to one another. As a result of its search, the audience comes to see that the elements which initially seem to exist independently of one another, or even to clash, are in fact part of a more basic unity which lies behind all the parts.’ (Hauser, 1980:26).

¹⁶ See Arora (1981); Mahgoub (1968); Rothstein (1968); Russo (1983); and Silverman-Weinreich (1981).

¹⁷ O’Rahilly (1920) has identified the provenance of many of these expressions, stating that they were originally poetic constructions of the Early Modern period, and that they were composed by professional poets of the bardic class. He classifies them under the term ‘dánfhocail’ – or epigrams based on syllabic verse.

¹⁸ For a broader examination of parataxis in fixed expressions, proverbs and sayings in English, including many productive examples, see Culicover, Peter W. (2010). *Parataxis and Simpler Syntax*. In Marie José Béguelin, Mathieu Avanzi, Gilles Corminboeuf, eds., *Actes du 1^{er} Colloque International de Macrosyntaxe*, Vol. 2. Peter Lang.

¹⁹ *Nach dána atá tú!* Aren’t you BOLD!

²⁰ EXCLAMATORY USAGE. 10.3.2 (i) Here we have COPULA + ADJECTIVE + PRONOUN / DEFINITE NOUN. The range of adjectives permitted here is extremely limited. Only adjectives describing a permanent quality and expressing a subjective estimation are allowed. Once more the ‘é, í, iad insertion rule’ applies here. The rule operates in Munster and Connacht. The insertion rule is not found in Donegal. (Ó Siadhail, 1989:229)

²¹ Ó Siadhail points out that ellipsis of the copula is not possible in all constructions: ‘(the copula) may not normally be deleted when marked for mood, tense, negation, interrogation or when embedded in a sentence.’ (1989:244)

²² ‘Sentences like (81) are decidedly weird: (81) * *Na Sasanaí, tháinig siad go hÉirinn sa mbliain 1172*. (the-PL English, come-PA they to Ireland in-the year 1172) ‘The English, they came to Ireland in 1172’ (Stenson. 1981:47).

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“THINK OUTSIDE THE BOX”: ORIGIN, NATURE, AND
MEANING OF MODERN ANGLO-AMERICAN PROVERBS

Abstract: This article is a much longer version of a keynote address that I delivered at the “Colloque International de Parémiologie” on July 2, 2011, at the University of Paris-Diderot, at Paris, France. While the shorter lecture will appear in due time in the proceedings of this exciting conference under the editorship of Jean-Philippe Zouogbo, the present article will make it available to *Proverbium* readers throughout the world who will doubtlessly be interested in the inclusion of many more textual examples. The paper is based on the Anglo-American proverbs contained in the new *Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2012) compiled by Charles Clay Doyle, Wolfgang Mieder, and Fred R. Shapiro. It begins with a short history and description of this joint project that took about four years to complete. This is followed by lexicographical matters dealing with the organization of the proverbs and their many variants. Syntactical and structural aspects are discussed, delineating the appearance of certain structural patterns. Proverbs in the form of indicative sentences, imperatives, interrogatives are presented, and the different lengths of these modern proverbs is commented upon as well. There are also considerations relating to counter-proverbs, anti-proverbs, followed by an analysis of proverbs originating from known individuals, motion pictures, songs, advertisements, etc. A discussion of the realia contained in these proverbs is also included, especially regarding animals, somatisms, sports, technology, business, gender, sexuality, scatology, etc. It is concluded that modern Anglo-American proverbs are perhaps less metaphorical than traditional proverbs, that they tend to be shorter, and that they do at least in part reflect modern mores and the worldview of the modern age.

Keywords: Advertisement, American, Anglo-American, anti-proverb, business, collection, counter-proverb, dictionary, gender, imperative, interrogative, length, lexicography, metaphor, modernity, motion picture, origin, paremiography, pattern, realia, sexuality, scatology, somatism, song, sports, structure, syntax, technology, variant, worldview.

Among modern proverb scholars it has become almost proverbial to call for the collection and study of proverbs that have been coined in more recent times. Far too long have paremiologists and paremiographers looked backwards at traditional proverbs without paying much attention to what modernity has contributed to the treasure trove of proverbial wisdom. Archer Taylor, the doyen of 20th-century paremiology, lamented this unfortunate situation in an invaluable article on “The Study of Proverbs” (1939), calling for new collections that would be “made as complete as humanly possible, showing not only old proverbs and variations of old ones that are still current, but also new ones that have come into use, thus giving a complete cross-section of the proverbs of our time” (1939 [1975]: 62-63 [46], see also Taylor 1969). Following my revered mentor in this plea, I observed some fifty years later in my “Prolegomena to Prospective Paremiography” (1990b) that “paremiography cannot remain a science that looks primarily backwards and works only with texts of times gone by. Modern paremiographers can and should also assemble proverb collections that include the texts of the twentieth century [and beyond]” (1990B: 142, see also 2000: 16). Such calls have not remained unheeded for English language proverbs, as my survey “‘New Proverbs Run Deep’: Prolegomena to a Dictionary of Modern Anglo-American Proverbs” (2009a, see also Sevilla Muñoz 2009) has shown.

This overview was a direct result of a contract for a new *Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* that my friends Charles Clay Doyle, Fred R. Shapiro, and I signed on September 21, 2007, with the prestigious Yale University Press of New Haven, Connecticut. Even before signing the contract, we had already more or less independently begun to assemble modern Anglo-American proverbs, i.e., proverbs for which no references before the year 1900 can be found. Doyle had published about 200 such texts in his invaluable compilation “On ‘New’ Proverbs and the Conservativeness of Proverb Dictionaries” (1996 [2003], see also Doyle 2001 and 2007b), Shapiro had included a list of 104 “Modern Proverbs” in his invaluable *The Yale Book of Quotations* (2006: 526-530), and I had amassed about 300 texts that qualified as modern proverbs during the four decades of establishing my International Proverb Archives. After combining these three sets of modern

proverbs, of which many quite expectedly proved to be duplicates, we examined six major and eighteen minor proverb collections published during the past few decades for possible modern proverbs, among them Nigel Rees, *Sayings of the Century. The Stories Behind the Twentieth Century's Quotable Sayings* (1984), Bartlett Jere Whiting, *Modern Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings* (1989), Nigel Rees, *Bloomsbury Dictionary of Phrase & Allusion* (1991), Wolfgang Mieder, Stewart A. Kingsbury, and Kelsie B. Harder, *A Dictionary of American Proverbs* (1992), David Pickering, Alan Isaacs, and Elizabeth Martin, *Brewer's Dictionary of 20th-Century Phrase and Fable* (1992), Anne Bertram and Richard Spears, *NTC's Dictionary of Proverbs and Clichés* (1993), Linda and Roger Flavell, *Dictionary of Proverbs and Their Origins* (1993), Nigel Rees, *Phrases & Sayings* (1995), Anna T. Litovkina, *A Proverb a Day Keeps Boredom Away* (2000), Adrian Room, *Brewer's Dictionary of Modern Phrase & Fable* (2000), David Pickering, *Cassell's Dictionary of Proverbs* (2001), Gregory Titelman, *Random House Dictionary of Popular Proverbs and Sayings* (2000), Martin H. Manser, *Facts on File Dictionary of Proverbs* (2002), Wolfgang Mieder, *English Proverbs* (2003), George B. Bryan and Wolfgang Mieder, *A Dictionary of Anglo-American Proverbs & Proverbial Phrases Found in Literary Sources of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (2005), Stan Nussbaum, *American Cultural Baggage[i.e., Proverbs]. How to Recognize and Deal with It* (2005), Susan Ratcliffe, *Oxford Dictionary of Phrase, Saying, and Quotation* (2006), Nigel Rees, *A Word in Your Shell-Like: 6,000 Curious and Everyday Phrases Explained* (2006), and Jennifer Speake, *The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs* (2008). In addition, we looked through about seventy publications that in one way or another also cite some modern proverbs, as for example Richard Jente, "The American Proverb" (1931-1932), Frances M. Barbour, "Some Uncommon Sources of Proverbs" (1963), Kenneth L. Higbee and Richard J. Millard, "Visual Imagery and Familiarity Ratings for 203 Sayings" (1983), Jess Nierenberg, "Proverbs in Graffiti: Taunting Traditional Wisdom" (1983 [1994]), Robert R. Hoffman and Richard P. Honeck, "Proverbs, Pragmatics, and the Ecology of Abstract Categories" (1987), Wolfgang Mieder, *American Proverbs: A Study of Texts and Contexts* (1989a), Wolfgang Mieder, *Proverbs Are Never Out of Season: Popular Wisdom in the Modern Ages* (1993a), Chris-

toph Chlosta and Peter Grzybek, “Empirical and Folkloristic Parremiology: Two to Quarrel or to Tango?” (1995), Kimberly Lau, “‘It’s about Time’: The Ten Proverbs Most Frequently Used in Newspapers and Their Relation to American Values” (1996 [2003]), Roumyana Petrova, “Language and Culture: One Step Further in the Search for Common Ground (A Study of Modern English Proverbs)” (1996), Sw. Anand Prahlad, *African-American Proverbs in Context* (1996), Stephen D. Winick, *The Proverb Process: Intertextuality and Proverbial Innovation in Popular Culture* (1998), Anna Tóthné Litovkina, “An Analysis of Popular American Proverbs [found in the Folklore Archive at UC Berkeley] and Their Use in Language Teaching” (1998), Paul Hernadi and Francis Steen, “The Tropical Landscape of Proverbia: A Crossdisciplinary Travelogue” (1999 [2003]), George B. Bryan, “An Unfinished List of Anglo-American Proverb Songs” (2001), Charles Clay Doyle, “Collections of Proverbs and Proverb Dictionaries: Some Historical Observations on What’s in Them and What’s not” (2007b). After pooling all of these references we eventually had the impressive database of not quite 700 modern Anglo-American proverbs (for more details see Mieder 2009a).

For all these texts we undertook the laborious task to prove that they in fact were not older than the 1900 cut-off year. Many of our sources did not provide any dates of occurrences, and we consequently had to use various databases (Google, Google Books, Google News, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Newspaperarchive, America’s Historical Newspapers, 19th Century U.S. Newspapers, LexisNexis Academic, JSTOR, etc.) to find the earliest citation possible (Chlosta and Ostermann 2002, Colson 2007, Kleinberger Günther 2006, Lauhakangas 2001, Rittersbacher and Mösch 2005, Umoreva 2005, and Winick 2001). But not just that, for as I have said in my earlier description of this vexing and time-consuming task: “Texts alone no proverbs make, and as with all folklore genres, it takes currency and traditionality, usually also variants, [...] to decide whether a text is in fact in more or less general use beyond being a mere one-day wonder!” (2009a: 257). In other words, we felt compelled to establish the proverbiality of each and every text, thus going far beyond all previous background material accumulated on these proverbs. But our work did not stop there, for we clearly were not satisfied with just about 700

modern proverbs! Many contenders to be included eventually had to be dropped because we were able to establish that they were already in use before 1900 (Stevenson 1948, Wilson 1970), among them such surprises as the following (our dictionary includes a much longer appendix with additional texts):

Business before pleasure.

Buy low, sell high.

The **camera** cannot lie.

You are what you **eat**.

An **elephant** never forgets.

The **future** is already here.

Behind every great **man** there's a great woman.

The second **million** (dollars) is always easier (than the first).

Money isn't everything.

There is nothing to fear but **fear** itself .

It pays to **advertise**.

Records are set to be broken.

Safety first.

You can prove anything with **statistics**.

First **things** first.

The best **things** (in life) are free.

No **tickee**, no washee (shirtee). (Arora 1988, Mieder 1996 [1997])

Use it or lose it. (Doyle 2009)

But the sixty-four thousand dollar question was and remains: How do we find ever more modern proverbs? Our own reading, relatives, friends, colleagues, and above all our students were of great help. We also continued gathering possible proverbs from literature, the mass media, films, songs, advertisements, speeches, and oral communications of all types (Mieder and Sobieski 2006), and as our *Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* is scheduled to be published by May 2012, we have submitted a final manuscript of 1422 modern proverbs, of which 731 had not been registered before! The voluminous e-mail correspondence among the three of us living relatively far apart in Athens, Georgia (Charles Doyle), New Haven, Connecticut (Fred Shapiro), and my Burlington, Vermont, is a telling testimony for the wondrous excitement in discovering one proverb after another during about four years of

enthusiastic and rewarding work on this fascinating project. We have done our very best throughout to establish the earliest possible reference for each proverb, citing this reference in its context with precise bibliographical information. We also include variants and, where necessary, some explanatory comments regarding linguistic, cultural, and semantic matters. We checked every proverb for its currency and frequency, with most proverbs garnering some tens of thousands of raw Google hits (we are obviously aware of duplications and errors in these electronic searches). The hits in Google Books and Google News are significantly less “raw”, but even there the results are not always reliable. Of course, Google also shows deceptively low numbers for proverbs that became obsolete by mid-century, or that are extremely recent in their coinage.

Have we found and included all possible modern Anglo-American proverbs in our *Yale Book of Modern Proverbs*? Of course not! We will have missed plenty new proverbs and also those that are presently being created (Honeck and Welge 1997 [2003]), and it is for this reason that we have included the address of a website so that readers can hopefully draw our attention to numerous additional texts. Obviously this project will be ongoing, and we hope in due time to bring out an updated and expanded version of our proverb dictionary. But we do want to stress once again that the identification of modern proverbs is extremely difficult and is in need of as much help as possible from people interested in the proverbial wisdom of the modern age. But having completed our task for the time being, we can now finally draw some conclusions about the nature, origin, and meaning of these modern Anglo-American proverbs. What follows is my attempt to draw some general conclusions from our 1422 truly modern proverbs regarding such matters as variants, form, syntax, structure, length, poetics, metaphor, origin (authorship, attribution, anonymity), semantics, etc. I will also comment on how these proverbs reflect on modern social, political, economic, psychological, and sexual matters, showing that some of the major sources of the proverbs are advertising slogans, so-called “laws” of modernity, songs, motion pictures, the world of business, sports, technology, and sexuality (also obscenity and scatology). It will also be shown that animal and somatic metaphors are quite prevalent, but clearly

there are also numerous proverbs concerned with religion (God), beauty, love, success, and other matters. As has always been the case with traditional wisdom, modern proverbs also show themselves to be observations and generalizations about basic human behavior and the trials and trepidations of human life (Mieder 1987 [1993] and 2004).

Following the lead of some of the major proverb collections already mentioned, we have alphabetized the proverb entries according to the first noun in each proverb. If the text has no noun, then the first finite verb serves as the keyword, using bold face print in both cases to mark the keywords. For cases in which variants of a given proverb have differing keywords, cross-references are included with a “See” indicator followed by the standard variant of the proverb showing the user where to find more information about it. Each entry begins with the proverb itself with some principal variants shown in parentheses. Then, introduced by its date, follows the earliest contextualized reference with precise bibliographical information. Usually further dated examples of the text in context follow, especially if the earliest reference cited leaves some doubt as to its proverbiality, if the proverb is not well known or has not been recorded in any proverb collection before, if important variants need to be illustrated in actual use, or if additional textual references shed further light on the origin, attribution, evolution, or meaning of the proverb. Where it seemed necessary to us, we have also added further brief comments. Finally, all of this is augmented by precise references to those proverb collections and other sources in which 691 of the 1422 proverbs have been registered before.

As all paremiographers know, it is at times quite difficult to decide on the precise wording of the lemma for a particular proverb, especially since many proverbs are current in various degrees of variation. It is for this reason that quite a large number of lemmas contain principal variants in parentheses, as for example:

Free **advice** is worth (exactly) what you pay for it.
 No matter how (thin) you slice (cut) it, it’s still **baloney**.
 Don’t take (tear) down a **fence** (wall) unless you are sure
 why it was put up.
Flattery will get you everywhere (anywhere).
 If **life** hands (gives, throws) you scraps, make a quilt.

You are only as good as your last (latest) **mistake**.
 It is (is always, must be) five (six) **o'clock** somewhere (in the world).
 There are no **problems**, only opportunities (challenges).
 Tough (Hard, Difficult) **times** call for tough (hard, difficult) decisions (choices).
Tragedy (Every tragedy) is an opportunity.
Trust is (must be) earned.

In those cases where the variants are more substantial (i.e., having a different keyword), we do list the variant as a separate entry followed with a “See” and the standard proverb lemma where the variant is to be found. Scholarly proverb dictionaries need to include such cross references so that their users do not miss those proverbs that, as all verbal folklore, exist in considerable variants.

Almost doesn't count. See “CLOSE doesn't count.”
 Never trust a skinny **cook**. See “Never trust a skinny CHEF.”
Grow where you are planted. See “BLOOM where you are planted.”
 Never ask (You don't want to know) what's in a **hotdog**.
 See “Never ask what's in a SAUSAGE.”
 When all else fails, read the **instructions**. See “When all else fails, read the DIRECTIONS.”
 If **life** isn't one thing, it's another. See “If it isn't one THING, it's another.”
Nearly is not good enough. See “ALMOST is not good enough.”
 There will always be another **streetcar**. See “There will always be another BUS.”
 Think big **thoughts**. See “THINK big.”
 The older the **violin**, the sweeter the tune. See “The older the fiddle, the sweeter the tune.”

Turning to syntactical matters it can be stated that most modern proverbs are straight-forward indicative sentences, with 61 of 1422 or 4.4% following the pattern “A(n) / noun / verb / ...”, as for example:

A **boy** cannot do a man's work.

A **candle** loses nothing by lighting another candle.

A **chip** on the shoulder is a good indication of wood higher up.

A **crisis** is an opportunity.

A **diamond** is (Diamonds are) forever.

An **expert** is only a fool a long way from home.

A **handicap** is what you make it.

A **man** is no better than his horse.

A **woman's** place is any place she wants to be.

Another 33 proverbs or 2.3% expand the pattern by a descriptive adjective, i.e., "A(n) / adjective / noun / verb ...", as can be seen from the following examples:

A clear **conscience** is (usually) a sign of (usually comes from) a bad memory.

An old **dog** barks sitting down.

A boiled (fried, cooked) **egg** won't hatch.

A wise **head** is better than a pretty face.

An empty **pot** does not boil over.

A live **soldier** is better than a dead hero.

A good **start** often means a bad finish.

A kind **thought** is never lost.

A rising **tide** lifts all boats (ships).

As one would expect, quite a few proverbs (namely 67 or 4.7%) follow the indicative pattern "The / noun / verb ...":

The **future** is not (is no longer) what it used to be.

The **hand** will not reach for what the heart does not long for.

The **joy** is in the journey.

The **life** you save may (could) be your own.

The **mountains** are calm even in a tempest.

The **nail** that sticks out gets pounded (hammered down).

The **rush** (Sometimes the rush) is worth the risk.

The **sun** will come out tomorrow.

The **world** (Everyone) hates a quitter.

The same pattern expanded by a modifying adjective is not quite as prevalent, but the collection does contain 39 (2.7%) texts based on "The / adjective / noun / verb ...":

The unaimed **arrow** never misses.
 The first **casualty** of war is truth (Truth is the first casualty of war).
 The same **knife** cuts the sheep and the goat.
 The longest **mile** is the last mile home.
 The second **mouse** gets the cheese.
 The best (easiest, safest) **place** to hide is in plain sight.
 The worst (kind of) **ride** is better than the best (kind of) walk.
 The best **way** to kill time is to work it to death.
 The squeaking (squeaky) **wheel** gets the grease.

In addition to these quite similar syntactical patterns totaling 200 (14.1%) texts, a considerable number of proverbs, 57 or 4.0% to be precise, follow the pattern “You can’t (cannot) verb ...”, thereby continuing an established proverbial way of expressing the impossibility of a situation or action:

You can’t put the **bullet** back in the gun.
 You cannot herd **cats**.
 You cannot tell the **depth** of the well by the length of the handle on the pump.
 You can’t unscramble **eggs**.
 You can’t go **home** again.
 You can’t **know** where you’re going unless you know where you’ve been.
 You can’t be (There is no such thing as) a little (bit) **pregnant**.
 You can’t fix **stupid**.
 You can’t put **toothpaste** back in the tube.

Somewhat related to the sentiment expressed by way of the “You can’t” impossibility marker are the messages contained in those proverbs (68 or 4.8%) that state their messages by way of the “Don’t (Do not) / verb ...” imperative, which certainly is a well-established proverbial formula:

Do not (You cannot) compare **apples** and oranges.
 Don’t **believe** everything you think.
 Don’t **fall** before you’re pushed.
 Don’t draw a **gun** unless you’re going to use it.

Don't **judge** yourself by others.
 Don't **knock** it till you've tried it.
 Don't get caught with your **pants** (trousers, britches)
 down.
 Don't **try** to be someone you are not.
 Don't **worry**, be happy.

Another 30 (2.1%) proverbs follow the formula "Never / verb ...", once again expressing their advice in the form of an imperative:

Never miss a **chance** to sit down and rest your feet.
 Never work with **children** or animals.
 Never **give** anything away that you can sell (Why give something away when you can sell it?).
 Never argue with a **fool**; people might not know the difference.
 Never (You don't) bring (take) a **knife** to a gunfight.
 Never play **leapfrog** with a unicorn.
 Never (Don't) **let** them see you sweat.
 Never try to teach a **pig** to sing; it wastes your time, and it annoys the pig.

Altogether then there are 98 (6.9%) proverbs that state their message in the form of an imperative, not a particularly high number to be sure. Perhaps this is due the fact that people today are less willing to be told directly what to do or not to do. In other words, the obvious didactic nature of many traditional proverbs appears to be on the decline.

Proverbs in the form of humorous, ironic, or sarcastic interrogatives have never been especially numerous, and this is also true for modern proverbs. In fact, in some of the 14 (1%) texts the interrogative is merely a variant of the standard proverb. Nevertheless, these proverbs in the form of a question add some rhetorical spice to the intended message:

A **bird** may love a fish, but where would they live (build a home, build a nest)?
Birds sing after a storm (so why shouldn't we?).
 Who cares if a **cat** is black or white as long as it catches mice?
 Never **give** anything away that you can sell (Why give something away when you can sell it?).

Where does a 500-pound (800-pound, etc.) **gorilla** sit?
 Why go out for **hamburger** (for a hamburger, for fast food) when you can get steak at home?
 Nobody ever said **life** is fair (Who ever said life is fair?).
 Other than that, Mrs. **Lincoln**, how did you like the play?

Concerning prevalent structures, it certainly comes as a surprise that the well-established pattern of “Where there is X, there is Y” does not at all appear among these modern proverbs. This can perhaps be taken as a sign that some of the traditional structures are not necessarily of great importance in the formulation of new proverbs any longer. The most dominant structure in our corpus is “If you X, (you) Y” with 62 (4.4%) proverbs, as for example:

If you don’t believe in **cooperation**, watch what happens to a wagon (car) when one wheel comes off.
 If you can **dream** it, you can do it (be it, have it).
 If you can’t be **good**, be careful.
 If you can’t stand (don’t like) the **heat**, get out of the kitchen. (Mieder and Bryan 1997: 59-61)
 If you can’t ride two **horses** at once, you shouldn’t be in the circus.
 If you (can) **make** it here, you can make it anywhere.
 If you keep your **mouth** shut, you won’t put your foot in it.
 If you want something done, ask a busy **person**.
 If you are not at the **table**, you may be on the menu.

But this is really the only structure that has at least somewhat of a claim for being of considerable frequency. The number of texts based on other structures falls off rather drastically, showing once again that by far the majority of modern proverbs are rather straight-forward indicative sentences with little formulaic or poetic characteristics. Here then are the examples for eleven structures, with nine groups of texts not even reaching 1% of the corpus:

“X is Y” (24, 1.7%; definitional proverbs)

Age is just a number.
 Old **age** is hell.
Beauty is only skin.
Black is beautiful.

History is bunk.

Life is a funny (strange) old dog.

Politics (All politics) is local.

The **sky** is the limit.

The **world** is a place. (Mieder 2009b: 56-57, 2010c, 2011: 24-26)

“X is better than Y” (16, 1.1%)

The **chase** (hunt) is better than the kill.

Fame is better than fortune (Better fame than fortune)

A **friend’s** frown is better than a foe’s smile.

A wise **head** is better than a pretty face.

A bad **professional** is better than a good amateur.

The worst (kind of) **ride** is better than the best (kind of) walk.

Second best is better than nothing (at all).

A live **soldier** is better than a dead hero.

Once seen is better than a hundred **times** heard.

“It’s not X, it’s (but) Y” (9, .63%)

It’s not the **crime** but the cover-up.

It’s not what you’ve **got**, it’s what you do with it.

It’s not how many **times** you get knocked down that matters but how many times you get back up.

It’s not the **years**, it’s the mileage (miles).

“When you X, (you) X(Y)” (9, .63%)

When you pray, move your **feet**.

When you’re **good**, you’re good.

When you are in a **hole**, stop digging.

When you’re **hot**, you’re hot (and when you’re not, you’re not).

When you have **nothing**, you have nothing to lose.

“Better X than Y” (8, .56%)

Better to **cheat** than repeat.

Better a good **cow** than a cow of a good kind.

Better a big **fish** in a little pond (puddle, pool) than a little fish in a big pond (mighty ocean).

Better **Red** than dead. (Barrick 1979)

Better to burp (belch) and bear the **shame** than swallow the burp (belch) and bear the pain.

“No X, no Y” (8, .56%)

No **brain**, no pain.

No **guts**, no glory. (Prahlad 1994 [2003])

No **harm**, no foul.

No **pass**, no play.

No **victim**, no crime.

“X is (are) X” (7, .49%, tautologies)

Bosses are (will be) bosses.

A **deadline** is a deadline.

Good enough is good enough.

A **kiss** is just a kiss.

“There is no such thing as X” (7, .49%)

There is no such **thing** as a definitive study (text, edition, etc.).

There is no such **thing** as a free lunch (There is no free lunch).

There is no such **thing** as bad publicity (press, P.R., ink).

There is no such **thing** as bad weather, only the wrong clothes.

“He who Xs, Ys” (6, .42%)

He who has the **gold** makes the rules (Whoever has the gold rules).

He who marries for **money** earns it.

He who dies with the most **toys** still dies.

“There are no X, only (just) Y” (6, .42%)

There are no bad **children**, only bad parents.

There are no bad **dogs**, only bad owners.

There are no **problems**, only opportunities (challenges).

There are no bad **students**, just bad teachers.

“One man’s X, is another man’s Y” (4, .28%)

One **man’s** floor is another man’s ceiling.

One **man’s** terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter
(One man’s freedom fighter is another man’s terrorist).

One **man’s** trash is another man’s treasure.

From this dearth of proverbs based on repeated structures we can move on to an analysis of the length of proverbs. Taking all 1422 proverbs without variants, the total word count is 10,225 words, resulting in an average length of 7.2 words per proverb. This corresponds very much to the length of traditional Anglo-American proverbs in general (Grzybek 2000). As one would expect, our corpus includes texts that consist of the minimum of two words required for a *bona fide* proverb (Dundes 1975 [1981]). Old proverbs like “Time flies” and “Money talks” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1973 [1981]) easily come to mind, but considering the predisposition of modern speakers for short sound bites, it is surprising that our collection contains but 11 (.77%) two-word proverbs. The range of messages clearly goes from the didactic boy-scout motto “Be prepared” via the slang proverb “Life sucks” all the way to proverbs based on scatological and sexual images:

Question **authority**.
Life sucks.
Manners matter (much).
Be prepared.
Sex sells.
Shit (Stuff) happens.
Speed kills.

The group of proverbs consisting of three words comprises 39 (2.7%) texts, of which about a fifth are definitional proverbs of the structure “X is Y” already listed above. Some texts are simple imperatives like “Just do it” or “Just say no”, while others are very short statements expressing some basic generalizations about modern life and behavior:

Everyone **finds** someone.
Gentlemen prefer blondes.
 Just **do** it.
 Just say *no*.
Money never sleeps.
Nothing grows forever.
Publish or perish.
Signs don’t vote.

The group of proverbs consisting of four words is expectedly much larger with its 150 (10.5%) texts. There is a predominance

of monosyllabic words in these texts, making them very short pieces of rather directly expressed insights that often lack any metaphorical element. However, many of them follow a parallel structure with or without rhyme. Regarding rhyme, it should however be noted that this proverbial marker does not play a major role in modern proverbs (about 51 texts or 3.6%), among them “Your ego is not your amigo”, “Move your **feet**, lose your seat”, “Drive for **show**, put for dough”, “If you don’t **speculate**, you can’t accumulate”, and “Different **ways** for (on) different days”: A few more rhymed proverbs are included in this list of four-word proverbs:

Get your **act** together.
 No **beauty** (There is no beauty) without pain.
 No **brain**, no pain.
 Think outside the **box**.
 The **buck** stops here. (Mieder and Bryan 1997: 62-65)
 Close but no **cigar**. (Cohen 1989)
 Been there, **done** that.
 Everyone can’t be **first**.
 Go with the **flow**.
Garbage in, garbage out. (Winick 2001)
 Last **hired**, first fired.
 Make **love**, not war.
 You can’t fix **stupid**.

Of course, there are also proverbs of a much greater length, reaching as many as 23 words. Some of them have parallel structures, others begin with a statements that is elaborated in the second part (often beginning with the conjunction “but”), and there are also those texts that simply state a truism in a somewhat wordy way. Owing to their length and perhaps to the problem of memorability, these texts do not belong to those of frequent use. If they are used, they are most likely only cited partially, assuming that people will be able to complete them in their own minds:

15 words:

If you always **do** what you’ve always done, you’ll always
 get what you’ve always gotten

Men are only good for one thing – and sometimes they aren't even good for that.

16 words:

Be nice to **people** on your way up because you'll meet them on your way down.

17 words:

The **toes** you step on today may be attached (connected) to the ass you have to kiss tomorrow.

Worry is like a rocking chair: it gives you something to do but doesn't get you anywhere.

18 words:

When you're up to your **ass** in alligators, it's hard to remember you're there to drain the swamp (it's too late to start figuring out how to drain the swamp). (Dundes and Pagter 1987)

A **government** big enough to give you everything you want is big enough to take everything you have.

19 words:

You can take a **boy** (man, girl, etc.) out of the country, but you can't take the country out of a boy (man, girl).

It is better to be thought a **fool** than to open your mouth and let the world know it.

20 words:

It is better to be a big **duck** in a little puddle (pond) than a little duck in a big puddle (pond).

21 words:

You can't keep **birds** (crows) from flying over your head, but you can keep them from building a nest in your hair (on your head).

It's not the **size** of the dog in the fight that matters; it's the size of the fight in the dog.

23 words:

When a **lady** says *no*, she means 'perhaps'; when she says *perhaps*, she means 'yes'; when she says *yes*, she is no lady.

The **caribou** and the wolf are one; for the caribou feeds the wolf, but it is the wolf who keeps the caribou strong.

As has been shown, a considerable number of modern proverbs are based on traditional structures, giving them a familiar appearance albeit with new contents. This is also the case with two special types of new proverbs, namely so-called counter-proverbs and anti-proverbs. According to Charles Doyle, who coined the term *counter-proverb* in 1972, “a *counter-proverb* is simply an overt negation or sententious-sounding rebuttal of a proverb, an explicit denial of the proverb’s asserted truth. A counter-proverb does not typically aim for any ironic effect, other than calling into doubt whatever wisdom it is that proverbs are supposed to encapsulate. For example, in the twentieth century we find, with some frequency, ‘One rotten apple does not spoil the whole barrel,’ rebutting the very old proverb ‘One rotten apple will spoil the whole barrel.’ Sometimes [especially when both texts are modern] it is impossible to determine which is the original proverb and which the counter-proverb: ‘Good enough is not good enough’ seems to be about the same age as ‘Good enough is good enough’; the sayings ‘Life is just a bowl of cherries’ and ‘Life is not a bowl of cherries’ are contemporaneous” (quoted from the introduction of our collection manuscript). Just as such traditional contrasting proverb pairs as “Absence makes the heart grow fonder” and “Out of sight, out of mind”, these counter-proverb pairs mirror the contradictions of life itself. Since proverbs are not a logical system, such opposing bits of wisdom are perfectly legitimate. But be that as it may, our collection only includes 11 (.77%) counter-proverbs. In the following list the counter-proverb is cited with the date of its earliest recording but without contextualized references. After that I cite the original proverb on which the new counter-proverb is based:

Bigger is not always (necessarily) better. 1928. [...] The proverb perhaps originated as counter-proverb responding to “The bigger the better.”

You cannot fight **fire** with fire. 1917. [...] The proverb perhaps originated as a counter-proverb rebutting the very

old “Fight fire with fire” or “You’ve got to fight fire with fire.”

Flattery will get you everywhere (anywhere). 1926. [...] The proverb probably originated as a counter-proverb rebutting “FLATTERY will get you nowhere” – or else “FLATTERY will get you nowhere” rebuts “FLATTERY will get you everywhere.”

Life is not a bowl of cherries. 1931. [...] Presumably the proverb originated as a counter-proverb rebutting “LIFE is a bowl of cherries.” – or vice versa.

The **plural** of *anecdote* is not *data* (*evidence*). 1982. [...] Presumably the proverb originated as a counter-proverb responding to the waggish “The plural of *anecdote* is *data*” – or vice versa.

Not all **publicity** (press) is good (publicity). 1915. [...] The proverb perhaps originated as a counter-proverb rebutting “Any PUBLICITY is good publicity” – or vice versa.

Size does matter. 1964. [...] The proverb, with the emphatic auxiliary verb *does*, probably originated as a counter-proverb rebutting the proverb “SIZE doesn’t matter.”

Our collection also includes a considerably larger number of anti-proverbs (Litovkina and Lindahl 2007, Litovkina and Mieder 2006), namely 118 (8.3%). I had coined the term *anti-proverb* in 1982, with an anti-proverb being “an allusive distortion, parody, misapplication, or unexpected contextualization of a recognized proverb, usually for comic or satiric effect. Anti-proverbs occur frequently in commercial advertising, on greeting cards, in the captions of cartoons, and as the punch lines of ‘shaggy dog’ jokes. Sometimes they pass into oral tradition as proverbs in their own right (Valdaeva 2003): for example, ‘Absence makes the heart go wander’; ‘Beauty is only skin’; ‘No body is perfect’; ‘Do unto other before they can do unto you’; ‘Dynamite comes in small packages’” (cited from the introduction of our collection manuscript). In the following selection of examples, I cite first the anti-proverb with the date of its earliest recording, once again leaving our all contextualized references. This is followed by the traditional proverb upon which the anti-proverb was formulated:

Don't **believe** everything you think. 1948. [...] The proverb originated as an anti-proverb based on "Don't believe everything you hear (read, see)."

You **booze**, you lose. 1986. [...] The rhyming proverb may have originated as an anti-proverb based on "You SNOOZE, you lose."

Do unto others before they (can) do unto you (before they do you). [...] The proverb originated as an anti-proverb based on the golden rule (Matt. 7:12) "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." (Mieder 2010b).

Expudence is the best teacher. 1966. [...] The proverb originated as an anti-proverb based on "Experience is the best teacher."

A **ms.** (miss) is as good as a male. 1942. [...] The proverb originated as an anti-proverb based on "A miss is as good as a mile."

Love thy **neighbor**, but don't get caught. 1967. [...] The proverb is an anti-proverb based on the Jesus's advice to "love thy neighbor as thyself."

People who live in glass houses should (always) wear clothes. 1904. [...] The proverb originated as an anti-proverb based on "People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones."

Somewhat related to counter-proverbs and anti-proverbs are what we have called reincarnations of older proverbs, i.e., modern proverbs based on the general wording, metaphor (if there is one), and meaning of an older proverb. Such pairs of texts may coexist, of course, but usually the more modern one will win out in the struggle for dominance. A few truncated examples will illustrate this phenomenon:

You **break** it, you buy (bought, own) it (If you break it, it's yours). 1957. [...] Sometimes, in recent years, the proverb is called "the Pottery Barn rule." Cf. the older proverb (and legal maxim) "He who breaks pays."

You never get a second **chance** to make a first impression. 1952. [...] Cf. the older proverb “First impressions are lasting.”

Don’t shit on your own **doorstep**. 1967. [...] Cf. “Don’t SHIT where you eat [sit]” and the older “A bird does not foul its own nest.”

The older the **fiddle** (violin), the sweeter (finer) the tune (melody, sound). 1909. [...] Cf. the older proverb “There’s many a good tune played on an old fiddle.”

Only dead **fish** go with the flow. 1989. [...] Cf. the older proverb “A dead fish can float downstream, but it takes a live one to swim upstream.” The modern variant (among other implications) satirizes – and sometimes retorts to – the proverbial advice “Go with the FLOW.”

Nobody ever said **life** is easy (Who ever said life is easy?). 1965. [...] Cf. the older proverb – from which this one perhaps evolved – “Life is not meant to be easy.”

A good **man** is hard to find. 1918. [...] The proverb is the twentieth-century incarnation (or equivalent) of the older proverb “Good men are scarce.” (Doyle 2007a)

Modern proverbs also are consciously created by individuals as so-called “laws” summarizing life’s trials and tribulations that appear to repeat themselves. Usually these insights have the name of their originator attached to them, and there are entire books on such (in)famous laws. Some of them have clearly become proverbial, and our collection includes 15 (1.1%) of them (Bloch 1979, 1982a, 1982b). A few are listed here with their date and the name of the person who (supposedly) coined them. Our actual entries provide much more material, as can be seen from this one complete text for perhaps the most famous of these laws:

If anything can **go wrong**, it will (Anything that can go wrong, will go wrong., Anything that can possibly go wrong usually does). 1908 Nevil Maskelyne, “The Art in Magic,” *The Magic Circular* (June) 25: “It is an experience common to all men to find that, on any special occasion, such as the production of a magical effect for the

first time in public, everything that *can* go wrong *will* go wrong. Whether we must attribute this to the malignity of matter or to the total depravity of inanimate things, whether the exciting cause is hurry, worry, or what not, the fact remains” (italics as shown). 1951 Anne Roe, “Child Behavior, Animal Behavior, and Comparative Psychology,” *Genetic Psychology Monographs* 43 (May) 204: “As for himself he realized that this was the inexorable working of the second law of the thermodynamics which stated Murphy’s law ‘If anything can go wrong it will.’ I always liked Murphy’s law.” 1955 Lee Corey, “Design Flaw,” *Astounding Science Fiction* 54 (Feb.) 54: “‘Reilly’s Law,’ Guy Barclay said cryptically. ‘Huh?’ ‘Reilly’s Law,’ Guy repeated. ‘It states that in any scientific or engineering endeavor, anything that can go wrong *will* go wrong” (italics as shown). [references to collections are deleted here and elsewhere]. In popular legend, Murphy’s Law originated in 1949 at Edwards Air Force Base in California, coined by project manager George E. Nichols after hearing Edward A. Murphy, Jr., complain about a wrongly-wired rocket-sled experiment. However, there is no documentation of that connection until 1955. The idea embodied in Murphy’s Law (less often, “Reilly’s Law” or “O’Reilly’s Law”) has appeared in numerous forms, in reference to a variety of activities, from antiquity forward (see the cross-references at the *YBQ* entry). For example: 1878 Alfred Holt, “Review of the Progress of Steam Shipping during the Last Quarter of a Century,” *Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers*, 51: 8: “It is found that anything that can go wrong at sea generally does go wrong sooner or later.” 1941 George Orwell, “War-Time Diaries,” in *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters*, edited by Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968) 2: 400-01: “Iraq, Syria, Morocco, Spain, Darlan, Stalin, Raschid Ali, Franco—sensation of utter helplessness. If there is a wrong thing to do, it will be done, infallibly. One has come to believe in that as if it were a law of nature.” The term “Murphy’s law” has come to designate a range of seemin-

gly reasonable but often paradoxical or absurd-sounding propositions.

But here then are a few more laws in much truncated form to save space. They make clear that at times they are simply attributed to a person, with Edward A. Murphy winning the prize as the supposed coiner of such laws of which but a few have become proverbial:

When you are in a **hole**, stop digging. 1911 *Washington Post* 25 Oct.: “Nor would a wise man, seeing that he was in a hole, go to work and blindly dig it deeper, as [William Jennings] Bryan did when he shifted ground and assailed the integrity of the President and the Judges.” [...] 1984 *New York Times* 11 Sep.: “There is a Law of Holes that says, when you are in one, stop digging. That is a law Congress finds it almost impossible to observe.” [...] In British publications, the “Law of Holes” is often referred to as “Healey’s Law,” after the statesman Denis Healey, a popularizer of the expression in the later 1980s.

Everything (always) **takes** longer than it should (it does, it takes, you expect). 1900 Florence Converse, *The Burden of Christopher* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin) 139: “To be sure, we’re still profit sharing, we have n’t gone into real coöperation yet; but then, things always take longer than you think they will ...” [...] Especially in absurdly-worded forms like “Everything takes longer than it takes,” the proverb is often given as one of “Murphy’s Laws.”

You can never do merely (just, only) one **thing**. 1963 Garrett Hardin, “The Cybernetics of Competition,” *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 7, no. 4 (Autumn) 80: “The moral of the myth [a narrative of the magically-granted three wishes] can be put in various ways. One: wishing won’t make it so. Two: every change has its price. Three (and this one I like the best): we can never do merely one thing. Wishing to kill insects, we may put an end to the singing of birds. Wishing to ‘get there faster,’ we insult our lungs with smog.” [...] In *Living within Limits* (New York: Oxford UP, 1993) 199-201, Hardin traces the tradition and background of the principle that the proverb en-

capsulates, which came to be called “Hardin’s Law” – but Hardin himself prefers to think of it as the “First Law of Ecology.”

Work expands to fill the available (allotted) time. 1955. “Parkinson’s Law,” *The Economist* 177: 633 (the reference is to C. Northcote Parkinson): “It is a commonplace observation that work expands so as to fill the time available for its completion ... Before the discovery of a new scientific law – herewith presented to the public for the first time, and to be called Parkinson’s Law – there has, however, been insufficient recognition of the implications of this fact in the field of public administration.”

These examples show that the actual authorship of some of these proverbial laws is not at all certain. This is quite naturally also the case with the other proverbs in our corpus. To be sure, some modern proverbs have simply been attributed to certain well-known persons, just as this has been done in previous times (Taylor 1931: 34-43). Detailed research on our part has shown that such attributions can usually not be proven, even though people will cling to these claims when citing such proverbs. What it takes to come to terms with such attributions can best be seen from our discussion of the internationally disseminated modern proverb “A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle” (Mieder 1982):

A **woman** without a man is like a fish without a bicycle (A woman needs a man like a fish needs a bicycle). 1976 *Corpus Christi [TX] Times* 5 May (quoting Barbara Hower): “... [A] feminist said recently an independent woman needs a man like a fish needs a bicycle. That’s horse feathers, at least for me. I like what I’m doing but I’d like someone to scratch and giggle with” (credited to *Chicago Daily News*). 1976 *Seattle Times* 5 Jun.: “Sign in a (feminist?) dress shop in Seattle, Wash.: ‘A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle.’” 1976 *People* 6, no. 4 (26 Jul.) 20 (photo caption): “Gloria Steinem (left) planned to wear a shirt that said, ‘A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle,’ but, like Candy Bergen, arrived unlettered at a [Democratic Party]

women's fund raiser." 1976 Mary Murphy, "Superstar Women and Their Marriages," *New York Magazine* 9, no. 32 (9 Aug.) 26: "[Gloria] Steinem sums it up: 'Today a woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle.'" 1979 Deborah Goleman Wolf, *The Lesbian Community* (Berkeley: U of California P) [vi] (epigraph): "'A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle.' (Graffiti in the women's lavatory, Student Union, University of California Berkeley, 1975, attributed to Flo Kennedy)" (italics as shown). 1976 *Seattle Times* 5 Jun. "Sign seen in a (feminist?) dress shop in Seattle, Wash.: 'A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle.'" [...] The proverb perhaps originated as an anti-proverb patterned after "A woman without a man is like a handle without a pan" (or other old similes suggesting uselessness or absurdity). Steinem, in *Time* 156, no. 15 (9 Oct. 2000) 20, disclaimed credit for originating the feminist expression: "Irina Dunn, a distinguished Australian educator, journalist and politician, coined the phrase back in 1970 ..." The image of a fish without (or not needing) a bicycle has had a life of its own. Cf. "A MAN without faith is like a fish without a bicycle" and "A MAN without a woman is like a fish without a bicycle" and "A WOMAN without a man is like a fish without a net."

Here are but a few more examples of this phenomenon, once again stripped of many additional contextualized references:

Old **age** is not for sissies. 1969 Eugene P. Bertin, "Ravelin's: Threads Detached from Texture," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 17: 546 (in a series of witty sayings commemorating Senior Citizen Month, May): "Old age is not for sissies." [...] The proverb's origin is often attributed to the actress Bette Davis.

Float like a **butterfly**, sting like a bee. 1964 *New York Times* 19 Feb.: "'Put the poison on him,' yelled Drew (Budini) Brown, Clay's spiritual adviser and assistant trainer. 'Float like a butterfly, sting like a bee. Oh, beautiful, Cassius, you should see yourself.'" [...] The saying

has generally been attributed to Mohammed Ali (*né* Cassius Clay) himself.

It's (The game is) not **over** till it's over. 1921. Roy Sahn, "It Is Believed Rotarians Won," *The Delta of Sigma Nu Fraternity* 38: 667: "It is said the score was 23 to 21 in favor of Rotary, they having tied the score in the seventh. They passed Kiwanis in the eighth and held Kiwanis in the ninth. all of which goes to prove that a ball game's never over until it's over" (credited to the *Indianapolis News*). [...] Often, the saying is apocryphally attributed to Yogi Berra. Cf. the older expression "When it's over, it's over," which has a different meaning.

Trust but verify. 1966 Michel Tatu, "Soviet Reforms: The Debate Goes On," *Problems in Communism* 15, no. 1 (Jan.-Feb.) 31: "Supplemented by the Khrushchevian motto, 'Trust but verify' (*dovierat no provierat*), this attitude leaves agricultural producers [in the USSR] very little freedom of action." [...] Ironically, the proverb is often attributed to Ronald Reagan, even though Reagan himself stated that he had learned it (as a Russian proverb) from Mikhail Gorbachev.

A **week** is a long time in politics. 1961 Richard Cox, "Nyerere Sees a Middle Way for Africa," *New York Times Magazine* (3 Dec.) 121: "He [Prime Minister Julius Nyerere] will undoubtedly find it difficult to negotiate federation when it comes to the details, but as the weeks pass—and a week is a long time in African politics—it seems more and more likely that he will succeed." [...] The proverb is commonly attributed to Prime Minister Harold Wilson; however, no record of his using it can be found from earlier than 1968, and Wilson himself is on record saying he cannot remember when he first uttered it.

All of this is not to say that our collection does not contain modern proverbs for which we know precisely who originated it when and where. Such original citations by known persons begin basically as statements in books, articles, speeches, motion pictures, songs, etc. As they are repeated, they become quotations and with ever

more frequent use, eventually often without any awareness of the originator, these memorable texts can become proverbs. Sometimes quite similar statements precede such a quotation that for various reasons caught on and thus became proverbial. This is well illustrated by one of John F. Kennedy's most famous statements:

Ask not what your **country** can do for you – ask what you can do for your country. 1960. The saying (often slightly misquoted) entered oral tradition as a proverb from President John F. Kennedy's inaugural address, 20 Jan. 1960. An 1884 speech by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., is sometimes cited as a prototype of Kennedy's wording, since it anticipates the (commonplace) idea and the parallel phrasing, the chiasmus: "... [W]e pause ... to recall what our country has done for each of us, and to ask ourselves what we can do for our country in return." A closer prior analog: 1922 Isaac Doughton, *Preparing for the World's Work* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons) 4: "But as good citizens you are not so anxious to know what your country does for you as you are to know what you can do for your country." The eeriest anticipator of both Holmes's and Kennedy's wording occurred in 1858 – except that the writer, one Rev. M. Thomson, was engaging in satire, proffering ironic advice – and thus inverting the clauses – in "Our Youth: Their Principles and Prospects," *Ladies' Repository* 18: 285: "Fetter the noblest powers and impulses of the soul; turn all your genius into cunning; prefer your wages to your work; study not what you can do for your country, but what your country can do for you." [...] (Mieder 2005c: 172-173).

But here then are a few shortened examples from our collection that are in fact rather straight-forward regarding their first appearance in a written or oral communication by a known person of considerable consequence:

He who **can** does; he who can't teaches (Those who can do; those who can't teach). 1903. The saying entered oral tradition as a proverb from George Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman* (the appended "Maxims for Revolutio-

nists”). [...] The proverb has acquired various codas: “... he who can’t teach teaches others to teach”; “... he who can’t teach, administrates”; etc.

If it (If the glove) doesn’t **fit**, you must acquit. 1995. The saying entered oral tradition as a proverb from its use as a mantra by the defense lawyer Johnnie Cochran, Jr., in his closing argument at the murder trial of O. J. Simpson (27 Sep.). [...] The proverb means “You must reject, abandon, or discard a belief or plan that does not ‘fit’ with realities, goals, or purposes.” The proverb is less commonly applied jurisprudentially. (Winick 2003: 587-588, Prahlad 2006: II,1026).

You can’t go **home** again. 1940. The saying probably entered oral tradition as a proverb from the title of Thomas Wolfe’s novel, published posthumously (Wolfe died in 1938). [...]

Love means never having to say you’re sorry. 1970. The saying entered oral tradition as a proverb from Erich Segal’s best-selling novel *Love Story* (New York: Harper & Row), which first appeared (somewhat condensed) in *Ladies Home Journal* 87, no. 2 (Feb.) 124: “She cut off my apology, then said very quietly, ‘Love means not ever having to say you’re sorry.’” In the popular motion picture, “never” replaces “not ever.” The novel was written after Segal’s screen play but published before the release of the movie in Dec. 1970. [...]

Pain is (Tough times are) temporary; failure (quitting) is forever. 2003. Lance Armstrong (with Sally Jenkins), *Every Second Counts* (New York: Random House) 3-4: “But the fact is I wouldn’t have won a single Tour de France without the lesson of illness. What it teaches is this: pain is temporary. Quitting lasts forever.” [...]

Speak (Talk, Walk) softly and carry a big stick. 1900. Theodore Roosevelt, letter to Henry Sprague (26 Jan.): “I have always been fond of the West African proverb: ‘Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far.’ If I

had not carried the big stick the organization would not have gotten behind me ..."; *Letters*, edited by Elting E. Morison (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1951-54) 2: 1141. On several occasions Roosevelt uttered the saying, without the last clause and without the West African connection. In oral tradition, the proverb often varies the first verb. [...] An interesting prior analog: 1882 C. H. Spurgeon, "Colportage a Want of the Age," in *Booksellers and Bookbuyers*, by Spurgeon et al. (London: Passmore and Alabaster) 12: "Amid abundant laughter, our friend [an evangelist] declared that he had not fought wild beasts at Ephesus, but ... he had found it well to trust in God *and carry a big stick*" (italics as shown).

War will cease when men refuse to fight. 1933. Albert Einstein, *The Fight against War*, edited by Alfred Lief (New York: John Day) 37 (excerpted from Einstein's interview with George Sylvester Viereck, Jan. 1931): "I am not only a pacifist but a militant pacifist. I am willing to fight for peace. Nothing will end war unless the peoples themselves refuse to war [sic]." [...] Cf. "Some day they will give a WAR and nobody will come."

It has long been established that advertising slogans have given rise to new proverbs (Mieder and Mieder 1977 [1981], Prahlad 2004, Winick 2011), but the 17 (1.2%) texts in our collection are certainly not an overwhelming number. Many slogans are simply too specifically oriented towards a certain product to take on the nature of a general proverb. In addition, over time the association with the original advertising campaign is lost, making it difficult to establish clear-cut connections. In other words, proverbs starting as advertising slogans have a tendency of becoming anonymous traditional sayings, as is, of course, the very nature of real proverbs. The complexity of all of this, including variants building on such slogans, can readily be seen from this one reference from our collections cited in its entirety:

What happens (goes on) in **Las Vegas** stays in Las Vegas. 2002 *Las Vegas Review-Journal* 25 Nov.: "The Las Vegas Visitors and Convention Authority, meanwhile, continued its saucy come-to-Vegas-baby advertising campaign

with six new spots filmed over a three-day period last week. Depicting the theme ‘what happens in Las Vegas stays in Las Vegas,’ the national commercials, produced by Hungry Man Productions, feature Vegas visitors indulging fantasies in locations ranging from a limousine to a tattoo parlor.” 2002 Kellye M. Garrett et al., “Everything the Top Football Stars Can’t Live Without,” *Vibe* Nov. 62 (quoting the football player Adam Archuleta): “Favorite city: Las Vegas ... You party and have a good time with your friends. What happens in Vegas stays in Vegas.” Whether the advertising campaign originated the saying or merely employed an existing proverb, “What happens in Las Vegas stays in Las Vegas” has become, by far, the most common of the popular sayings that follow the formula; it is widely assumed to be the prototypical version, and currently it can be uttered (figuratively) in reference to any site of conduct that calls for non-disclosure. However, it was anticipated – at least as early as the 1970s – by parallel sayings about secrecy or discretion of various sorts: “What’s said (What happens) at home stays at home,” an expression sometimes used to lament the secrecy of child abuse or spousal abuse; the clinical or psychotherapeutic adage “What happens in the group (at the meeting, at the session) stays ...”; the professional baseball maxim “What happens in the clubhouse stays ...” Even in the dissipated-vacation usage, other versions are apparently older: 1996 *San Antonio Express-News* 13 Nov.: “But there was one condition. Drill sergeants told them repeatedly: ‘Whatever happens in Mexico stays in Mexico.’” 1998 *Orlando Sentinel* 30 Mar.: “‘What happens in Daytona, stays in Daytona,’ he tells the others.”

But here then are once again a few shortened examples of advertising slogans turned proverb, with only one text actually maintaining the name of a company (Delta Airlines). Nevertheless, a certain amount of cultural literacy and knowledge about the commercial world belong at least in part to the proper understanding of some of these texts (Mieder 1992 [1994], see also Haas 2008):

Where is the **beef**? 1984. The saying entered oral tradition as a proverb from an advertising slogan for Wendy's hamburgers. [...] In the proverb, the word *beef* is understood to mean 'substance' in various senses. (Barrick 1986).

It's what's up front that **counts**. c1957. The saying entered oral tradition as a proverb from an advertising slogan for Winston cigarettes – playing on the older proverb "It's what inside that counts." [...]

Delta is ready when you are. 1969. The saying passed into oral tradition as a proverb from an advertising slogan of Delta Airline. [...] The proverb means "If you are dissatisfied in the place where you are, you should leave."

Say it with **flowers**. 1917. The saying entered oral tradition as a proverb from an advertising slogan of the Society of American Florists. [...]

Number two tries harder (When you're number two, you try harder). 1962. The proverb probably entered oral tradition from an advertising campaign for Avis: "We're Number Two. We try harder" (Avis was second to Hertz in the car-rental business).

Reach out and touch someone. 1970. Eliot Tiegel, "Reach Out and Touch Someone," *Billboard* (15 Aug.) 26; the title of the review of a live performance by Diana Ross presumably alludes to Ross's song "Reach Out and Touch Somebody's Hand." [...] Beginning in 1978 the proverb was featured in an advertising campaign for AT&T's long-distance phone service. [...]

Have it your **way**. 1973. The saying entered oral tradition as a proverb from the advertising slogan of Burger King. It asserts that a consumer should demand to be accommodated by commercial establishments or agents. [...] The invention of the slogan – or its popularity as a proverb – might have been influenced by Frank Sinatra's famous song "My Way" (1969; lyrics by Paul Anka), with the refrain "I did it my way."

You've come a long **way**, baby. 1968. The saying probably entered oral tradition as a proverb from an advertising campaign for Philip Morris cigarettes, which promoted the liberating effects of smoking for women. [...] a1978 Hallmark greeting card (purchased in Burlington VT): [front] "You've come a long way, baby ..." [inside] "... from Adam's rib to 'Women Lib'" (ellipsis dots as shown). [...]

As can be seen from two of these examples, proverb-like one-liners from the world of advertising and popular music can actually work hand in hand in creating and spreading new proverbs. With music playing such a large role on the modern entertainment scene, it should not be surprising that songs have given rise to ample modern proverbs, with our collection containing 65 (4.6%) texts. It should be noted, however, that this is nothing new as far as the creation of proverbs is concerned (Bryan 2001, Mieder 1988). Religious hymns, anonymous folksongs, operettas, and musicals have long given rise to proverbs, with the song texts of Gilbert and Sullivan being prime examples in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Bryan 1999). Nothing in this regard has changed on the modern scene, as can be seen by country songs, blues, reggae, or rap music (Folsom 1993, Prahlad 2001, Taft 1994). In fact, songs by famous lyricists and musicians like the Beatles, Bob Dylan, and Bruce Springsteen have led to new proverbs. But in order to illustrate once again the complexity of locating the earliest recording of a proverb in a song, its subsequent use, and its later incorrect attribution to a famous person, let me cite one entry from our collection almost in its entirety:

Old **soldiers** never die (they just fade away). 1916 Bruce Bairnsfather, *Bullets & Billets* (London: Grant Richards) 52-53: "Occasionally, in the silent, still, foggy mornings, a voice from somewhere in the alluvial depths of a miserable trench, would suddenly burst into a scrap of song, such as – Old soldiers never die, / They simply fade away. – a voice full of 'fed-upness,' steeped in determination." In the same book (202) appears a drawing of a singing "Tommy" in a trench, holding a raised umbrella; over the umbrella appears a line of music with the words "old sol-

diers never die, they simply fades [sic] a-way.” Snippets of the song (said to be to the tune of “Kind Words Can Never Die”) appear in other reminiscences of World War I, with slight variations (“they fade away”; “they always fade away”). In 1920 the song was copyrighted by one J. Foley, but there is no good evidence that he was the actual author. The proverb is now popularly associated with its use by General Douglas McArthur in his farewell address to Congress in 1951. The proverb has given rise to a cycle of parodic jokes, which are anti-proverbs (“Old doctors never die, they just lose their patients”; “Old golfers never die, they just lost their balls”). [...]

But here then are at least a few examples from the treasure trove of proverbs stemming from popular songs. Of course, let me also state for the record that lyric poets also employ traditional proverbs and formulate lines that later become proverbs, as can be seen from many such proverb poems (Sobieski and Mieder 2005):

There’s no **business** like show business. 1946. The saying entered oral tradition as a proverb from the title and first line of a song by Irving Berlin. [...]

Diamonds are (A diamond is) a girl’s best friend. 1949. The saying entered oral tradition as a proverb from the title and refrain of a song by Leo Robin. [...]

It’s not **easy** being green. 1970. The saying entered oral tradition as a proverb from a song by Joe Raposo, sung by the character Kermit the Frog of the Muppets. It applies to the difficulty of efforts to save the environment and perhaps to other kinds of figurative “greenness.”

Everybody wants to go to **heaven**, but nobody wants to die. 1950. The proverb originated with – or gained popularity from – the title of Tommy Dorsey’s song “Everybody Wants to Go to Heaven (But No One Wants to Die).”

A **kiss** is just a kiss. 1931. The song “As Time Goes By,” lyrics by Herman Hupfeld (in the musical *Everybody’s Welcome*), contained the lines “A kiss is still a kiss, / A sigh is just a sigh”; the saying entered oral tradition (and

many performances of the song itself) with the lines conflated: “A kiss is just a kiss.” [...] More recently, the song has been featured in the BBC television series *As Time Goes By* (1992-2005). [...]

Life is (just) a cabaret. 1966. The saying entered oral tradition as a proverb from the featured song in the musical *Cabaret*, lyrics by Fred Ebb (music by John Knader). [...] The proverb updates the venerable Elizabethan commonplace of the world as a stage (and men and women merely players).

All you need is **love**. 1967. The saying passed into oral tradition as a proverb from the title and refrain of the Beatles’ song (lyrics by John Lennon).

It takes **two** to tango. 1952. The saying entered oral tradition as a proverb from the song “It Takes Two to Tango,” by Al Hoffman and Dick Manning. [...] The proverb may have originated as an anti-proverb based on “It takes two to quarrel.” (Mieder and Bryan 1983, Mieder 1985: 151-154)

Motion pictures are not surprisingly also a fruitful ground for spreading laconic insights to large segments of the population who in turn help to distribute them by frequent repetition as new proverbs of the folk. Our collection assembles 19 (1.3%) such proverbs whose origin can be traced back to popular films:

If you **build** it, they will come (Build it and they will come). 1979. The saying probably entered oral tradition as a proverb – or at least gained popularity – from W. P. Kinsella’s story “Shoeless Joe Jackson Comes to Iowa” and the motion picture based on it, *Field of Dreams* (1989). [...]

Keep your **friends** close and (but) your enemies closer. 1974. The proverb probably entered oral tradition from a speech in the motion picture *The Godfather, Part II*: “There are many things my father taught me here in this room. He taught me: Keep your friends close, but your

enemies closer.” Occasionally it is referred to as an ancient Chinese proverb.

If (When) you’ve **got** it, flaunt it. 1968. The saying may have entered oral tradition as a proverb from the motion picture *The Producers*: “That’s it, baby! When you got it, flaunt it!” (or the character in the movie may have been uttering a proverb). Most frequently the proverb refers to the display of an individual’s sexuality.

Life is like (is just) a box of chocolates (chocolate). 1994. The saying entered oral tradition as adapted from the motion picture *Forrest Gump*: “Life is a box of chocolates, Forrest. You never know what you’re going to get.” The proverb sometimes intends to *satirize* the sententious utterance of Forest Gump’s mother.

Life is too short (to wait) for *someday*. 1969. *On Her Majesty’s Secret Service* (motion picture). “[FATHER:] ‘Bond – he’s in love with you?’ [DAUGHTER:] ‘That may come too, someday.’ [FATHER:] ‘Life’s too short for someday, Tereza.’” [...] (Krummenacher 2007: 145).

There are no **rules** in a knife fight. 1969. The entered oral tradition as a proverb, garbled, from dialog in the motion picture *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*: “[Butch:] ‘No, no, not yet. Not until me and Harvey get the rules straightened out.’ [Harvey Logan:] ‘Rules? In a knife fight? No rules!’” (at which instant Butch kicks Harvey in the groin). [...]

Turning now to the realia of modern proverbs, it is perhaps surprising that various animals continue to appear with considerable frequency. Obviously the modern age still relates well to animals, especially such domesticated animals as cats, cows, dogs, horses, and pigs. But wild animals as birds, elephants, fish, frogs, monkeys, and others are also employed to express human behavior and attitudes via animal metaphors. There is, of course, also the telling modern proverb “All animals are (created) equal, but some are more equal than others” that entered oral tradition from George Orwell’s *Animal Farm* (1945), expressing in metaphorical wording an unfortunate aspect of human life. In any case, our proverb

collection contains 116 (8.2%) so-called animal proverbs, among them:

A **bird** may love a fish, but where would they live (build a home, build a nest)?

Cats look down on you, dogs look up at you, pigs look at you as equals.

If you can't run with the big **dogs**, stay on (under) the porch.

If it looks like a **duck**, walks like a duck, and quacks like a duck, it's a duck.

It is possible to swallow (You can eat) an **elephant** – one bite at a time.

You have to kiss a lot of **frogs** (toads) to find a prince.

When you hear **hoofbeats**, think horses, not zebras (When you hear hoofbeats, don't look for zebras). (Dundes, Streiff, and Dundes 1999)

Always ride the (your) **horse** in the direction it's going (it wants to go).

You can put **lipstick** on a pig but it's still a pig (A pig wearing lipstick is still a pig).

Only **monkeys** work for peanuts (If you pay peanuts, you get monkeys).

The second **mouse** gets the cheese.

Old **rats** like cheese too.

Just as animal metaphors have not disappeared from modern proverbs, the same is also true for somatisms, with such nouns as ass (behind), eye, hand, head, heart, mouth, and nose being the most frequent among the 49 (3.4%) texts.

Your **arms** are too short (not long enough) to box (fight, spar) with God.

If you're too open-minded, you **brains** will fall out.

Every shut **eye** is not asleep.

It is better to die on your **feet** than to live on your knees.

If you want **good**, your nose must run.

Busy **hands** are happy hands.

You can't measure **heart**.

Never take more on your **heels** than you can kick off with your toes.

A **moment** (minute) on the lips, a lifetime (forever) on the hips.

A closed (shut) **mouth** gathers (catches) no feet.

Keep your **nose** clean.

Everyone puts his (All men put their) **pants** on one leg at a time (the same way).

The **toes** you step on today may be attached (connected) to the ass you have to kiss tomorrow.

Today's preoccupation with business, finance, and more specifically money has left its mark on modern proverbs as well, with 47 (3.3%) texts showing up in our corpus. They all reflect the pecuniary aspects of modern life, stressing the importance of business, the power of money, the rights and expectations of customers, the hope for prosperity, etc.:

Buy the **best** and you only cry once (If you buy quality, you only cry once).

Business goes where it is invited and stays where it is well-treated.

The **customer** is always right. (Taylor 1958)

Another **day**, another dollar.

Never **give** anything away that you can sell (Why give something away when you can sell it?).

Put your **money** where your mouth is.

You **pay** now (You can pay) or pay later (with interest).

If you have to ask the **price** (the cost, how much it costs), you can't afford it.

No one ever went bankrupt (went broke, lost money) taking (making) a **profit**.

Prosperity is always just around the corner.

The best **way** to make money is to save it (is not to lose it).

Speaking of modern preoccupations, it certainly comes as no surprise that at least 39 (2.7%) proverbs relate to the ever-present and fascinating world of sports. There are several more general proverbs referring to games as such or balls, but it is indeed striking that the majority of sports proverbs are based on the American

national sport of baseball (Frank 1983). While these proverbs relate literally to that very sport, their figurative meanings are, of course, much broader and can be applied to situations far removed from the actual game of baseball. Yet popular as these proverbs might be especially in American folk language, they are also the ones that will give people not acquainted with the lingo of this sport certain comprehension difficulties. But here then are a few striking examples:

You can't hit the **ball** (get a hit) if you don't swing (the bat).

You can't score unless you have the **ball**.

Nobody **bats** 1000.

You can't steal **first base**.

It isn't whether you win or lose (that counts); it's how you play the **game** (It's not winning that counts, it's playing the game).

You can't hit a **home run** every time.

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

If you have two **quarterbacks**, you don't have one (any).

You can't **score** if you don't shoot.

You can't steal **second base** while your foot is on first base (if you keep one foot on first).

You miss 100 per cent of the **shots** you don't take.

Three **strikes** and you're out.

In comparison to the importance of sports for the origin of modern proverbs, it is surprising that our corpus includes but 24 (1.7%) texts that exhibit at least some relationship to technology by way of certain words. It is here where we might want to look for new proverbs in the future. Of course, there are some modern proverbs like "Garbage in, garbage out" that come from the world of computers, but they do not show by the choice of words any immediate relationship to technology. Our entry with its contextualized references makes this connection perfectly clear:

Garbage in, garbage out. (Often abbreviated with the acronym *GIGO*.) 1957 Ernest E. Blanche, "Applying New Electronic Computers to Traffic and Highway Problems," *Traffic Quarterly* 11: 411: "When the basic data to be

used by a computer are of questionable accuracy or validity, our personnel have an unusual expression – GIGO – to characterize such information and the answers the computer produces. It simply means ‘garbage in – garbage out.’” 1959 B. A. Wilson, “Operations Research and Management,” *Business Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (Winter) 215: “The attempt to use existing records and data in O.R. studies may eventually indicate the inadequacy or inconsistency of existing data, but any results derived from using such data can be no better than the basic data. As one consultant puts it, ‘Garbage in, Garbage out.’” [...].

In any case, here are some additional proverbs that indicate that technology is playing at least a small role in the creation of modern proverbs, with more to be found or to come in the foreseeable future:

You never forget how to ride a **bicycle**.
 There will always be another **bus** (streetcar).
 Nobody washes (We don’t wash) a rental (rented) **car**.
 You can’t judge a **car** by its paint (job).
Dot-com, dot-bomb.
Drinking and driving do not mix.
Dynamite comes in small packages.
Gasoline and whiskey (Alcohol and gasoline, etc.) do not mix.
 A **ring** on the finger is worth two on the phone.
Speed kills.
 You cannot tell which way the **train** went (is going) by looking at the tracks.
 Sometimes (Some days) you’re the **windshield**, and sometimes you’re the bug (bird).

Even though our collection has no texts that indicate by certain word choices that they were coined in Australia, Great Britain, or elsewhere where English is spoken, there are 16 (1.1%) modern proverbs in our collection that refer explicitly to American matters, with a text like “What is good for General Motors is good for America” needing an explanatory comment:

What is good for **General Motors** is good for America (the country). 1953. The proverb originated as a misquotation from US Senate testimony of Charles E. Wilson (former president of General Motors): “For years I thought what was good for our country was good for General Motors, and vice versa. The difference did not exist.” [...] The proverb most often satirizes the concept that the well-being of giant corporations is inextricably and benevolently connected with the welfare of the nation and its populace.

Such comments are also added to some of the following proverbs that might not necessarily be clear to non-native speakers of American English:

Never (Don't) sell **America** short.
 The **business** of America is business.
 As **California** goes, so goes the nation.
 Thank **God** for Mississippi.
 There is no **law** west of the Pecos.
 Other than that, Mrs. **Lincoln**, how did you like the play?
 Only **Nixon** could go to China.
 Don't mess with **Texas**.

The meager number of proverbs referring to American matters is a clear sign that our collection is in many ways a compilation of texts that is in general use in the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and elsewhere. This is, of course, also true for those proverbs that have very common keywords. The most popular word is “life”, and it is hardly surprising that modern humankind has much wisdom about existence. Altogether 46 (3.2) proverbs contain “life” as a keyword, with most of them following the structural and definitional pattern “Life is X”. While some of them in two or four words refer to life being problematic, i.e., “Life sucks” and “Life is a bitch”, others look at life much more positively, as for example “Life begins at forty” and “If life hands you lemons, make lemonade”. Some additional representative examples are:

Life **comes** at you fast.
Life deals us each a hand.
Life is a journey, not a destination.

Life is a party.
Life is a picture; paint it well.
Life is not a spectator sport.
Life is what happens while you are making other plans.
 To lengthen your **life**, lessen your meals.
 You get out of **life** (the world, something, anything) what
 you put into it.

Next in high-frequency keywords is “man/men”, with 34 (2.3%) dealing positively or negatively with the male species. Some texts also contrast men with women, of course, and there are some texts that use this keyword in its generic meaning, thus somewhat inflating this group of “male” proverbs:

A **man** who kicks his dog will beat his wife.
 Every **man** to his own poison (To every man his own poison).
Men are from Mars, women are from Venus.
 No **man** is above the law, and no man is below it.
 Old **men** make wars, and young men fight them (pay the price).
 Stand by your **man**.
 The best **man** for the job may be a woman.
 The bigger a **man's** head gets, the easier it is to fill his shoes.
 The **man** most down on a thing is he who is least up on it.
 The **man** who reads is the man who leads (He who reads leads).

Proverbs with “woman/women” as the keyword are smaller in number with but 8 (not even .56%), but do notice that none of them refer to men as well. As wisdom about women, they are pretty much split between positive and negative characterizations, quite in keeping with traditional proverbs that often express misogynous generalizations (Kerschen 1998, Schipper 2003):

A **woman** should be (kept) barefoot and pregnant (barefoot, pregnant, and in the kitchen).
 A **woman** without a man is like a fish without a net (A woman needs a man like a fish needs a net).
 A **woman's** place is any place she wants to be.

Never run after a **woman** or a streetcar (Girls are like buses); if you miss one, another will come along soon.
 Well-behaved **women** rarely (seldom) make history.
Women and elephants never forget.

But here are a few more lists for a number of relatively high-frequency keywords, with “God”-proverbs perhaps reflecting the religious preoccupation of parts of the American society. Proverbs about friends, time, age, love, beauty, knowing, pain, success, children, luck, and winning are nothing new as far as Anglo-American proverbs and those of other languages and cultures are concerned, but there are now texts that contain references that identify them as proverbs that could only have originated in more recent times, such as the drug-related “A friend with weed is a friend indeed” as an anti-proverb to the traditional “A friend in need is a friend indeed” or “Act your age, not your IQ” with its reference to the score of an intelligence test. Above all, it should be noticed that most of these modern proverbs are rather literal statements of basic truths of modern life without couching them into expressive metaphors. Folklorists obviously will delight in the proverb “Every beauty needs her beast” which is a proverbial allusion to the fairy tale of “The Beauty and the Beast”:

God (19)

God can make a way out of no way. (Mieder 2010a: 171-186)
God doesn't love ugly.
God doesn't make junk (trash).
God doesn't play dice.
God is good, but don't dance in a small boat.
God is in the details.
God sends no cross that you cannot bear.
 Kill them all, and let **God** sort them out. (Russell 1999)
 Let go; let **God**.

friend (15)

A (true, good) **friend** walks in when (all) others walk out.
 A **friend** with weed is a friend indeed.
 A **friend's** frown is better than a foe's smile.

A true **friend** is one who knows all your faults and still loves (likes) you.

Fast pay (payment) makes (for) fast **friends**.

If you want a **friend**, get (buy) a dog.

Little **friends** may prove (become) great friends.

Make **friends** when you don't need them (before you need them).

You cannot use your **friends** and have them too.

time (11)

It's not how many **times** you get knocked down that matters but how many times you get back up.

Once seen is better than a hundred **times** heard.

Time flies when you're having fun.

Time spent wishing is time wasted.

Time you enjoy wasting is not (always) wasted time.

To win, you only have to get up one more **time** than you fall down.

Tough (Hard, Difficult) **times** call for tough (hard, difficult) decisions (choices).

age (8)

Act your **age**, not your IQ.

Act your **age**, not your shoe size.

Age (Old age) is a high price (too high a price) to pay for maturity (Maturity is a high price to pay for growing up).

Age is just a number.

Old **age** (Getting old) is better than the alternative (Old age sucks, but it's better than the alternative).

Old **age** is hell.

love (8)

If you **love** something, let it go (set it free); if it comes back to you, it is yours.

Love is where you find it.

Love it or leave it.

Make **love**, not war.

The **love** you take is equal to the love you make.

beauty (7)

Beauty does not buy happiness.

Beauty is pain.

Beauty may open doors but only virtue (strength, etc.) enters.

Every **beauty** needs her [a] beast.

know (7)

If you don't **know** what it is, (then) don't mess with (fool with, touch, eat) it.

You can't **know** where you're going unless you know where you've been.

You have to **know** when to hold them [cards] and know when to fold them.

You never **know** what you have till it's gone.

pain (7)

Don't tell me about the **pain** (labor pains); just show me the baby.

Pain (Fatigue) is nature's way of telling you to slow down (you need a rest).

Pain is the price of glory.

success (7)

Success (Victory) has many (a hundred) fathers, but failure (defeat) is an orphan.

Success is always preceded by preparation..

Success is never final (and failure is never fatal).

children (5)

Children (Our children, The children) are our future.

Children should be seen and not had.

Teach your (Parents must teach their) **children** to walk then to walk away.

luck (5)

Luck (Good luck, Bad luck) does not just happen.

Luck is when (what happens when) preparation meets opportunity.

You can't trust **luck**.

win (5)

You can't **win** if you don't play.

You can't **win** them all if you don't (unless you) win the first one.

You have to be (get) in it to **win** it (You can't win it unless you are in it).

Proverbs from these groups organized according to various dominant keywords perhaps show at least in a generalized way some of the preoccupations of modern society. People at times appear to be obsessed with matters of age, beauty, love, luck, success, winning, and of course also the element of time (Lau 1996 [2003]). While it is problematic to deduce the worldview of masses of people from different countries by way of a corpus of proverbs (Dundes 1972 [2007], White 1987), there is no way of denying that there are some themes that permit us to draw some tentative conclusions about the nature of modern proverbs. Continuing along these lines, it can then also be said that people are concerned about pain and anxieties of various types, that they look for friendships in an ever more segmented and chaotic modern life, and that they continue to find solace in knowing that God might assist them in coping with modernity.

With this said, we can turn to one last major group of 83 (5.8%) proverbs that belong to the realms of sexuality, obscenity, and scatology. Looking at earlier proverb collections, one might well get the impression that the folk has no so-called "dirty" proverbs. Even though paremiographers usually have included at least some such proverbs, they have in general been reluctant to collect them or their publishers did not consent to publish them. And yet, some specialized collections have been published along these lines separately from major collections. Thus Ignace Bernstein in Poland followed his massive collection *Jüdische Sprichwörter und Redensarten* (1908 [1969]) up with a published manuscript of *Proverbia Judaeorum Erotica et Turpia. Jüdische Sprichwörter erotischen und rustikalen Inhalts* (1918 [1971]). And Edwin Miller Fogel augmented his important collection *Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1929 [1995]) by a privately distributed *Supplement to Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1929) which I had the audacity of including in the reprint of the major collection in 1995. Numerous smaller collections of obscene proverbs have been published in books, journals, and above all in three serial publications dedicated explicitly to taboo folkloric matters,

i.e., *Anthropophyteia* (1904-1913), *Kryptadia* (1883-1911 [1970]), and *Maledicta* (1977-2004). Today, with a more open attitude, popular collections of erotic proverbs and proverbial expressions are more readily available, to wit Marinus A. van den Broek's *Erotisch Spreekwoordenboek. Spreekwoorden en zegswijzen* (2002).

In any case, we have not shied away from including suggestive or obscene proverbs of which some are rather explicit and literal, while others are metaphorical and figurative to the point that many native speakers might have difficulty understanding them. But the fact remains that these proverbs exist, and they are part and parcel of the proverbial speech among the initiated, as our Google searches have proven beyond any doubt. They are part of the world of slang, graffiti, latrinalia (Dundes 1966 [2007]) and the so-called “vulgar tongue”, with Francis Grose's *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785 [1931, 1992]) in the eighteenth century having set the stage for a rich tradition of compendia dealing with obscenities of the underworld and “upperworld”. Proverbs deal with all aspects of life, and they certainly have always commented on such basic issues as sexuality. It should then not be surprising that in an age that is dealing quite openly with sex in particular that proverbs will be involved as well. Of course, it is exactly the way that proverbs comment on sexuality in a metaphorical way that makes these texts especially interesting.

The word “shit”, less taboo in fine society than in former times, is quite prevalent in this type of proverbs. But this scatological term does not really refer to feces as such in most of these proverbs but rather to something bad or unpleasant. This is also the case for the slang term “bullshit” (often cited in its abbreviated form as B.S.) with the meaning of “nonsense, lies, or exaggeration”. A few examples, with the short proverb “Shit happens” (Rees 2005) and its clean variant “Stuff happens” being very popular indeed, will illustrate this:

If you can't dazzle them with **brilliance**, baffle (blind) them with bullshit (B.S.).

Bullshit can get you to the top, but it won't keep you there.

Life is a shit sandwich: the more bread you have, the less shit you eat.

Shit (Piss) or get off the **pot**.

Don't **shit** where you eat.

If you stir (up) **shit**, it will stink (you raise a stink).

Shit flows (runs, rolls) downhill.

Shit (Stuff) happens.

Shit rubs off.

You can't kill **shit** (Shit never dies). (Winick 2004)

You can't sprinkle **sugar** on shit (bullshit) and make (call) it candy (dessert, a treat, etc.).

A few other proverbs dealing with urination, flatulence, and feces (i.e., turds) are clear indications that people at least at times rely on this more or less crassly expressed wisdom as a summary of some of the unpleasant aspects of human interaction:

When you've got to **go**, you've got to go [reference to defecation].

The **one** who smelt it dealt it.

It's better to be **pissed** off than pissed on.

Opinions are like assholes (armpits) – everybody's got one (and they all stink).

Nobody minds the **smell** of his own farts (Everyone likes to smell his own farts;

Don't eat yellow **snow** [reference to urine].

Don't kick a (fresh) **turd** on a hot day.

You can't polish (gild) a **turd**.

Male genitalia, i.e., testicles and the penis, appear in various slang transmutations, with "balls" in the two proverbs listed below usually not being thought of as testicles by speakers. In other words, the metaphorical proverb legitimizes a slang word so that the proverb "Take the bull by the balls" with the meaning of taking charge of a situation becomes quite innocuous.

Grab them (If you've got them) by the **balls**, their hearts and minds will follow.

Take (Grab) the **bull** (life, the world) by the balls.

Big **car**, small dick (prick).

Chicks [girls] before dicks.

Don't let your **meat** loaf (meatloaf).

Big **mouth**, small pecker (dick, prick).
All **prick** and no pence.

As can be seen from these texts, males showing off with big cars or a big mouth are quickly ridiculed by the claim that their apparent wealth and boisterousness is but a psychological cover-up for a small penis size that in this case serves as a weakening of their masculinity. The proverb “All prick and no pence” expresses the reverse, i.e., the macho man with his big penis has nothing else to show in the way of money or brains. But only the proverb “Don’t let your meat loaf” actually has a sexual meaning in that it gives the advice that a man ought not to let his meat (penis) be inactive. Of course, it is a well known fact that males as well as females have had their questions about the matter of penis size, and this concern has found its way into modern proverbs as well. As sex surveys have shown, the feeling about the importance of penis size for sexual satisfaction differs considerably, and this is mirrored in the conflicting proverbs about this topic as well:

It’s not the **meat**, it’s the motion.
It’s not the **size** of the boat (ship) but the motion of the ocean (that matters).
Size does matter.
Size doesn’t matter (it’s what you do with it, it’s how you use it).

In any case, sexual intercourse appears to be the talk of the town everywhere, with some of the proverbs dealing with this matter being quite crude. But not just that, for they also show that their male originators unfortunately at times express an aggressive or even violent attitude toward women seen as mere sex objects:

Old enough to **bleed**, old enough to breed (butcher, stick, etc.).
Close (Shut) your **eyes** and think of England (the Empire, the queen, Old Glory, etc.).
You don’t fuck the **face**.
Fuck them (Find them, fuck them) and forget them.
If there’s **grass** on the field [woman’s pubic area], (you can) play ball.
Hit it and quit it [short sexual act].

Wham (Slam), bam – thank you, **ma'am**.
 If she **smokes**, she pokes [fornicates].
 Won't **tell**, won't swell [get pregnant], grateful as hell.

Much more positive are the two related proverbs “The blacker the berry (meat), the sweeter the juice” and “The blacker the **meat**, the sweeter the bone (piece)” that are part of the rich African American proverb tradition (Daniel, Smitherman-Donaldson, and Jeremiah 1987, Prahlad 1996). While they are clearly sexual metaphors, they do look positively at black women, as we documented in the following entry:

The blacker the **berry** (meat), the sweeter the juice. 1929 *Chicago Defender* 2 Mar.: “They tell me that ‘The blacker the berry, the sweeter the Juice:’ is that so?” 1929 Wallace Thurman, *The Blacker the Berry* (New York: Macaulay) [3]; an epigraph to the novel gives the full form, presented as verse: “The blacker the berry / The sweeter the juice” – identifying it as a “Negro folk saying.” 1934 Zora Neale Hurston, *Jonah's Gourd Vine* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott) 234: “Ah could uh married one uh dem French women but shucks, gimme uh brown skin eve'y time. Blacker de berry sweeter de juice.” [...] Cf. “The blacker the MEAT, the sweeter the bone.” The proverb praises blackness, usually in regard to sexual desirability. (Prahlad 1996: 209-210)

Little wonder that modern Anglo-American proverbs also include cautionary texts that warn against sex at an early age, advocate safe sex, and also declare that people have the right to refuse a sexual encounter:

Keep your **dress** down and your panties (drawers) up.
 No glove, no **love**.
No means ‘no.’

And what is the proverbial wisdom on sex in general, with the short word “sex” finally also appearing in a proverb collection? Once again we have conflicting attitudes, and the proverb “Everybody lies about sex” most likely has a solid truth claim to it:

If it exists, there is **porn** of it.
 Bad **sex** is better than no sex (Any sex is better than no sex, The only bad sex is no sex).
 Everybody lies about **sex**.
 No **sex** is better than bad sex.
Sex sells.
 There is no such **thing** as bad sex (a bad fuck, a bad piece).

As the extremely short proverb “Sex sells” states, sexuality has become a commodity in the modern world obsessed with this topic. These sexual games have little to do with love about which many traditional proverbs comment much more positively without forgetting that love has its problems too (Mieder 1989b).

In conclusion, let me reiterate that Charles Doyle, Fred Shapiro, and I have done our level best to register as many modern Anglo-American proverbs as possible. We have assembled 1422 richly annotated proverbs, of which 731 (51.4%) have never been recorded in paremiographical or paremiological publications before. Regarding the other 691 (48.6%) proverbs, they were located text by text in numerous collections and scholarly books and articles. We have thus unearthed and registered an impressive proverbial corpus for the first time in one and the same place in our *Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* (to be published in May 2012), and we hope that other proverb scholars will follow suit by compiling collections of modern proverbs for their languages and cultures. Regarding our collection, I can offer two more statistics that might be of considerable interest. Regarding the distribution of our 1422 texts over the eleven decades from 1900 to 2010, it can be stated that the number of new proverbs appearing on the scene is quite constant, albeit with a noticeable drop-off during the two most recent decades:

1900-1909:	155 proverbs
1910-1919:	169
1920-1929:	152
1930-1939:	149
1940-1949:	124
1950-1959:	139
1960-1969:	154

1970-1979:	152
1980-1989:	116
1990-1999:	86
2000-2009	26
(2010/11)	0
total	1422

With time and more research, I would imagine that more proverbs will be identified for the period from 1990-2010, and since proverbs will surely be created as time goes on, the immediate presence will also yield proverbs that will be discovered in due time. And here then is the last statistical information with the caveat that it is at times difficult to decide whether a certain proverb is metaphorical or not. But keeping such questionable cases in mind, 676 (47.5%) of our 1422 proverbs are clearly metaphorical, with slightly more than half of our corpus (746, 52.5%) being literal statements. In order to draw definitive conclusions from this data, statistical information concerning the metaphorical – non-metaphorical dichotomy of traditional proverbs would have to be obtained. For now, it is reasonable to state that modern Anglo-American proverbs might well be less metaphorical than the proverbs from earlier periods. But that is not to say that such eminently American proverbs as “Different strokes for different folks” (McKenzie 1996, Mieder 1989a: 317-332, 2006), “The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence” (Mieder 1993b [1994]), and “A picture is worth a thousand words” (Mieder 1990a [1993a], 2005a) with their international dissemination in English or loan translations are not as metaphorical as proverbs usually come (Mieder 2005b, 2005c)! One thing is for certain, proverbs are well and alive in the modern age (Mieder 1993a), and as folk wisdom they express the attitudes, beliefs, mores, and values of the people who use them. As such they are indeed “monumenta humana” (Kuusi 1957: 52) and warrant the attention of paremiographers and paremiologists throughout the world who, in order to identify and interpret them, must, to speak proverbially, “Think outside the box.”

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GEORGE MONTEIRO

ARCHER TAYLOR TO A YOUNG LITERARY FOLK-
LORIST: AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS

Abstract: After having seen a collection of Portuguese proverbs in *Western Folklore* in 1963, Archer Taylor initiated a correspondence with the young folklorist George Monteiro who had put together the collection. They exchanged eleven letters over the next decade, the last one mailed by Taylor only weeks before his death in 1973. From this correspondence there emerges a portrait of the senior folklorist's kind and eager willingness to encourage the younger man's efforts by offering him specific and detailed advice about contacts, as well as suggesting places and opportunities for collecting.

Keywords: Portuguese proverbs, "Good fences make good neighbors", religious parodies, correspondence, folklore, *Proverbium*, *Revista Lusitana*, *Western Folklore*, Teófilo Braga, Victor de Guinzbourg, Matti Kuusi, Leite de Vasconcelos, Fernando de Castro Pires de Lima.

My interest in sayings, I am certain, antedates, my coming to know that there was a categorical name for such common expressions. Growing up in a Portuguese emigrant family, I heard these sayings at home and outside in the neighborhood. Door-to-door peddlers of fruits, vegetables, bread, and fabrics used them. So, it was not surprising to me, that later, when in graduate school working toward a degree in English literature, I took time out from my work toward a degree in English, to set down the proverbs I remembered from my youth and to think that I might begin to collect proverbs from members of my family and Portuguese friends. This collecting came to a head early in the 1960s when I prepared my collection of proverbs, garnered mainly from Portuguese-speaking natives of mainland Portugal who had settled in New England.¹ In the course of that preparation I ferreted about in search of scholarly materials pertaining to the collection and study of proverbs. Thus, right off, I came upon *The*

Proverb (1931). Thirty years after its publication, Archer Taylor's classic work was a revelation to a newcomer to the world of proverb study.

It would not have surprised his colleagues in scholarship, I imagine, that my collection, published in *Western Folklore*, caught Archer Taylor's attention or that he promptly wrote to me. It was the first of eight letters I received from him, the last one dating from the "summer of 1973" (as I recorded in the margin)—just before his death on September 30th of that year.

These letters to a hopeful scholar he did not know and would never meet, offer ample evidence of his readiness to extend a helping hand by way of offering advice and useful information to persons sharing his devotion to proverb scholarship. My "other" side of this correspondence has been included as an aid to rounding out the context for Archer Taylor's letters.

1.

University of California
Department of German
Berkeley 4, California

5 February 1963

Dear Professor Monteiro:

Your Continental Portuguese Proverbs are extremely interesting,—and some of them are obscure, even when translated.

I venture to suggest that the three men most interested in them are

Lt.-Col. Victor de Guinzbourg, Military Staff Committee, United Nations, New York.²

Look him up when you are in New York. He is charming.

Professor Fernando de Castro Pires de Lima, Rua Faria Guimarães, Porto, Portugal.³

Look him up, too, when you are in Porto. He is founding a new journal (I don't know the title, since no. 1 is printing), that will interest you.⁴

Professor Matti Kuusi, Runeberginkatu 29 B, Helsinki, Finland.⁵

He has complained to me more than once about the rarity of Portuguese collections. He has the Refraneiro you cite.⁶

He is the man most interested in international proverbs.

They would appreciate and use reprints, if you have any.

Our set of *Revista lusitana* is defective, and knowing that I haven't got round to see whether we have the portion that PdeL told me contains Leite de Vasconcelos's article or historical collection of Portuguese proverbs.⁷

Cordially
Archer Taylor

2.

February 12, 1963

Dear Professor Taylor:

Thank you so much for your kind letter on my Continental Portuguese proverbs. I shall of course send reprints to the three people whose names and address you helpfully gave me.

Since I have continued to collect all kinds of Portuguese folklore in the United States, I hope to be able to print in the near future a supplementary collection of proverbs. I have already gathered some seventy-five or so which are on the current list. Incidentally, I shall also print some riddles when I have added to the twenty-five I have now.

You mentioned in your letter that some of the proverbs in my article are obscure. I may be able to eliminate some this obscurity if you will be so kind as to send me a list of the numbers of those in question. Even if I cannot immediately account for all of them myself, I am certain that I can discover their meaning by checking them specifically with my informants.

Enclosed are reprints of some of my folklore publications. Thank you again for your considerate word.

Cordially,
George Monteiro

3.

University of California
 Department of German
 Berkeley 4, California

20 Feb. 63

Dear Mr. Monteiro:

I noted these proverbs that might call for comment:

- 6. Cape?
- 7. A bit dark to me.
- 12. Application? I would say without hesitation, "He has his roots in R. I."
- 16. Is a superstition involved?
- 18. This escapes me.
- 41. Don't we say "Better bend than break"? The difference is curious.
- 49. "Drags"? Drags them on the scene?
- 50. Just a little beyond me.
- 59. Very curious, but not altogether clear.
- 62. How applied?
- 100. This one inspired my comment. "I don't get it."
- 114. i.e., he's dead and we aren't?
- 116. The cobbler's wife (children?) is ill-shod? I quote inaccurately from memory.
- 139. Just a bit beyond me.
- 144. If it's Virgin, then perhaps I understand. If it isn't then I don't. The Portuguese suggests virgin.
- 156. Cf. Save a thing for seven years and you will find a use for it.
- 193. "If it's a question of dying?"
- 258. "at the brook" There is probably an explanation, but it would be hard to find.
- 321. ?
- 384. wind up?
- 389. ?
- 412. Mafra? I was there, a pretty place. There's an allusion here, but what?
- 419. ?

426. Is Lapa a place? Why italicized?

I suspect occasional American influences. This collection is, I repeat, very, very choice and extremely interesting. I am happy to have the reprint.

The men to whom you sent reprints will enjoy your collection. I haven't seen a collection of 457 genuine proverbs from oral tradition, the real stuff, "since Hector was a pup."

I was in Portugal three times between 1959 and 1962. I couldn't understand anything, but got the impression that it was the Promised Land for collecting. And it is a delightful country. I have yet to see Coimbra (through [which] I passed) and Evora. Pires de Lima said he would take me out in the country for two or three days, should I come again, but I wouldn't impose on his good nature to that extent. Go over and see him. He is delightful. His French is as bad as mine (that is saying a great deal), and he has no English, but we get on. In fact, the "contact" is better than when his nephew, a medical student who speaks good English, is present. If I were twenty years younger, I should find some way to get back into the mountains and collect tales.

P.S. and N.B. You know that if you fly to Europe, the return via Madrid and Lisbon costs perhaps \$12.00 more. Of course if you fly only to London, then it may be more, perhaps \$40.

Yours
Archer Taylor

Give Leicester Bradner my best when you pass him.⁸

4.

June 10, 1963

Dear Professor Taylor:

I have held off answering your letter until such time as I might be able to answer some of your questions on specific proverbs that you were kind enough to send me. In fact, if I ever reprint this collection (and since I have over two hundred additional items gathered more or less casually from just three or four informants, it appears probable that my collection may someday become substantial enough to merit doing so), I shall

make a number of changes in my translations which will reflect your comments.

Here are such explanations as I have been able to put together—

6. Cape?
A capa e a merenda nunca fez má companhia.
A mantle (or cloak) and a lunch are never poor company.
7. A culpa morreu solteira, porque ninguem a quis.
Exp. No one ever willingly accepts or “espouses” blame or guilt.
12. A gente não tem raiz na terra.
Application. Human beings have to eat, unlike trees and plants which gain nourishment by putting roots into the earth.
16. A mim não-me fazes o ninho na orelha, porque eu já passei no mar.
I do not know whether a superstition is involved here. One explanation, however, may be that only those who are inexperienced will allow a bird to build its nest in their ears.
18. A morte sempre deixa desculpa.
Exp. A cause (excuse) for anyone’s death can always be determined, even though death needs no excuse.
41. Antes quebrar que tercer.
The Portuguese proverb, unlike ours, is intended to suggest stubbornness, resolution, defiance; usually said about another.
49. As madrastas, o diabo as arrasta.
The devil himself belabors and abuses stepmothers.
50. As mulheres são umas no pano e outras na mostra.
Exp. Women are often treacherous, for their outward appearance is misleading.
59. Até para a morte há remédio, é estender a perna.
This proverb suggests the futility of finding a cure when the disease is death itself.

62. Besta grande, cavalo de pau.
Application is vague: As I understand it, it is usually said about a person large in size, but who has no ability.
100. Depois do burro morto, cevada ao rabo.
Exp. Ignoring a person when alive, but lamenting him and generally making a fuss over him after his death.
114. Ele pagou, e nós devemos.
Cf. Henry IV, I, each man owes God a death. Hence the dead have paid, but we, the living, are still in debt.
116. Em casa de ferreiro, espeta de pau.
Your suggestion: “The cobbler’s wife (children?) is ill-shod.”
139. Falaste tu que não estavas lá? Assim falou ele.
The times I have heard this one, its application was merely to report and to point up how evasive or embarrassed some third person (not present) had been when asked a question or when he should have taken initiative in a conversation. The meaning, then, is ironic: he spoke as readily and loudly as you did (but of course you weren’t there at all.)
144. Fia-te na virgem, e não corras, verás o tombo que apanhas.
You are quite right; it should be “Virgin.” The idea here is something like that of the Emily Dickinson poem: “Faith is a fine invention / For gentlemen who see; / But microscopes are prudent / In an emergency!”
156. Guarda o que não presta, encontrareis o que precisas.
Your suggestion “Save a thing for seven years and you will find a use for it” is appropriate. Perhaps I could give it: “Save what appears to be useless and therein you will in the future find what you will need.”
193. Morrer por morrer, môrra meu pai que é mais velho.

“If it’s a question of dying” is much better than my “Dying for dying.” Hence: “If it’s a question of dying, let my father die; he’s older (than I am).”

258. O Fevereiro enganou a mãe no ribeiro.
Your question “at the brook”? Since weather is most changeable (hence treacherous) in February, the mother (of a family, not, I think, February’s mother) was betrayed into going to the brook or stream to do her laundry. This proverb may be one of a connected series, but I do not have enough on it at this moment to work it out fully.
321. Quando a raposa anda ós grilos, mal para os pais, pior para os filhos.
When the fox is after such slim fare as crickets, it bodes ill for parents and worse for children. This suggests, of course, the paucity of foodstuffs in a given year.
389. Quem têm cu têm medo.
Exp. It is as natural for a man to possess fear as it is for him to have backsides.
384. Quem se veste de ruím pano, veste-se duas vezes no ano.
Please read: “Those who dress in poor fabric, end by clothing themselves twice a year.”
412. São como as obras de Mafra, que nunca têm fim.
You are quite right. The allusion is, as my informant explains, to great architectural projects—convents and palaces—planned and begun at Mafra but not yet finished. The expression now suggests endlessness and futility.
419. Se queres ver teu corpo desmancha o teu porco.
This is a statement, of course, of the physiological and anatomical similarity between the human body and that of the pig. (Fetal pigs are still used for dissection in introductory courses in biology at Brown.)
426. Srs. Da Lapa, quem boa vida leva boa fome rapa.

Again you are right. Lapa *is* a place and it should *not* have been italicized.

Since writing last, I have heard from Dr. Pires de Lima. Besides sending me copies of two of his recent works and asking me to contribute to his new journal, he has invited me to the International Congress of Ethnography to be held at Santo Tirso in July of this year. Although I seriously considered attending, it finally became clear that I could not go at this time. I have been trying to visit Portugal for five years, but have not yet succeeded in bringing time and money together. I should like nothing better than to get into the mountains to collect folktales, as you suggested. In fact, my father was a native of Trás-os-Montes and I still have two or three cousins, whom I have never seen, living in Freixo de Espada à Cinta. By next spring I shall have completed my dissertation on the poetry of Edward Taylor⁹; after that I shall probably be free to collect Portuguese folklore more systematically, both in New England and at some future time in Portugal.

Thank you again for your many kindnesses.

Cordially,
George Monteiro

Dept. of English

5.

15 June 1963

Dear Professor Monteiro:

Thank you for your very interesting letter. My three visits to Portugal in 1959, 1961, and 1962 have left me with such a warm feeling for the country that I am always glad, even with my scanty knowledge of the language, to read something about Portuguese things. You will find Pires de Lima a prince and I am happy that you have joined company with him. I shall keep your notes for future use.

I asked PdeL whether there was a historical dictionary of Portuguese proverbs. He referred me to some collectanea by Braga in *Revista lusitana*.¹⁰ Francis Very (assoc. prof. Spanish at Northwestern) found them for me and xeroxed them. Braga's collection is not very long, is arranged in the most inconvenient manner imaginable, i.e., according to the author and the se-

quence of the works, and stops in the vol. of Rev. lus. for 1924. I believe Braga died in that year. At any rate the amount of material is not large. Woodbridge, here, suggests that a collection should include all down to and through Gil Vicente.¹¹ Perhaps I can dangle Braga's collection in front of him and tempt him. Very also Xeroxed a study of proverbs by Adrião, but this doesn't seem to contain too much from a time before Gil Vicente.¹² And, I am indebted to him for something like \$27, more or less. The moralizing proverbs look pretty blind to me. Rev. lus. is here, although fragmentary, and I have not verified how much duplication there may be in what I have. At any rate I shall be mulling over this stuff during the summer.

With an additional two hundred proverbs you have a sizable collection and should good luck bring you more all the better. In any case you would have something very nice some day for PdeL's journal.

I do hope your chance for a month or two in Portugal comes and I shall be envying you when you start out for your good luck.

Cordially
Archer Taylor

6.

University of California
Department of German
Berkeley 4, California

18 February 1964

Dear Mr Monteiro:

Your collection of parodies is admirable.¹³ I did not know that so much had been printed. My only note is a text that isn't precisely a parody:

At the graveside where a notorious individual was being interred there was a silence after the coffin had been laid in the grave. No one could think of a word to say. Finally, someone spoke up and said, "We should have a prayer at this time." Another came forward and suggested the Lord's Prayer. And a third

volunteered to repeat it and began: "Now I lay me down to sleep..."

I am delighted to see that you hold to folklore interests. We need more good workers in the field. Thank you!

Cordially
Archer Taylor

7.

February 26, 1964

Dear Professor Taylor:

Thank you for your kind note, and particularly for your text. If not precisely a parody, the lines are made parodic through context; or effect, at least, depends upon something parodic. I shall have to think about this.

If you are not unwilling, I should like to use your text at some time in the distant future in a follow-up note. I have already received a half-dozen texts from people kind enough to write after having seen my note, and I have collected another three or four since reading proof for the JAF note.

Incidentally, may I tell you how much I learned from your delightful (and impressive) review-essay in the first issue of Pires de Lima's journal.¹⁴

Cordially,
George Monteiro

8.

2 March 1964

Dear Professor Monteiro:

Thank you for your good letter. I hasten to say that you may make any use you like of my little gible. It was sent to encourage you and I am glad to hear that others felt the same way. By all means do a more extensive job with it.

Thank you for the kind words about my article for Pires de Lima. It was done in haste, since notice was short and I wished to send something because I wasn't sure that he could get materials for an issue quickly. The second no. of his journal is here. It has a decided folklife-ish look. That's natural enough, since he is

director of a folklife museum. I'm not quite certain what region it serves, probably Douro-Litoral rather than Porto. He is also, as I may have said, something like a doctor (M.D.) of the city of Porto. I don't know how he does all the things he does. I felt much complimented that he should take me out in the country—, perhaps a dozen miles—to see his mother in the eighties, I suppose. Since my Portuguese is non-existent, I got along with him in very bad French (and his wasn't much better, but different). His nephew is studying medicine and speaks excellent English,—a very pleasant young man.

Cordially
Archer Taylor

9.

University of California, Berkeley
Department of German
Berkeley, California 94720

18 March, 1969

Dear Professor Monteiro:

It is a pleasure to hear from you and to have so substantial a contribution on proverbs.¹⁵ Portuguese proverbs have been often in my mind in the last couple of years because I have been corresponding with Professor Mac E. Barrick, 94 Channel Drive, Carlisle, Pa. 17013 (Professor of Romance Langs. Dickinson College).¹⁶ I have never met him but find him very well informed about proverbs generally. He is working on a historical dictionary of Portuguese proverbs (the Spanish field, which is his actual profession, seemed somewhat crowded in students of proverbs and dictionary makers). I am sure he would appreciate a reprint since he is in no way likely to see the *Revista*.

The *Revista* brings up memories of Porto and the editor Pires de Lima, who has been very kind to me on the two or three visits I have made to his city (now, according to the news report) as badly flooded as Florence was a couple of years ago.

I have an article, as chance has it, in the same number of the *Revista*—on “Let them eat cake,” said Marie Antoinette.¹⁷ I shall send you a reprint when they come.¹⁸

I am sending you a copy of Proverbium under separate cover. I hope this will interest you enough to write up some subject of general interest for it. The steering committee—that is, the committee that provides the funds—was very anxious that Proverbium should not give space to mere collections. I do not sympathize with this, but that's the way things are. What proverbs survive crossing the Atlantic, what do not? What changes occur in oral tradition in proverbs? This latter question might prove difficult to collect material for study.

I might say a word more about Barrick. I think his interest does not extend down beyond the 16th century, which seemed to make a division convenient to handle. But he intends to add comparative notes.

Cordially
Archer Taylor

10.

University of California, Berkeley
Department of German
Berkeley, California 94720

8 April 1969

Dear Professor Monteiro:

Kuusi has just published the 7th and next to last volume of a history of Finnish literature (647 pp.) and is starting the 8th (much comes from collaborators). He is chief of a foundation for scholarship (humanities) with 200 beneficiaries that takes one day a week. He tries to give one day a week to his Ovambo proverbs.¹⁹ And he has a professorship. That gives some notion of why he doesn't write quickly about editorial matters. He came back from Rome about a year ago. I have heard from him twice since he returned. I have no doubt that he has your note ready to use, when it fits.

Lt. Col. Victor de Guinzbourg, 32 Garden Place, Brooklyn Heights, N. Y.—I failed to note the zip code—has retired from the UN, has not been well, has also been depressed for various reasons (moving, the state of the world, and the like). In brief, he would much appreciate something from you. He also writes about as frequently as Kuusi. No, he writes less often. He still

has an urge to do something with proverbs and has the best private library that I know.

I got off an article for *Proverbium* on "Leave No Stone Unturned" and have sent a couple of supplements.²⁰ I am toying with the notion of finding a proverb that has a good number of variants, preferably in one language, to use as a basis for a discussion of the nature of variation in proverbs. I haven't really put my mind on this, to be sure.

With best wishes,

Yours
Archer Taylor

11.

University of California, Berkeley
Department of German
Berkeley, California 94720

[Summer 1973]

Please address me:

6000 Redwood Road, Napa, California, 94558.

Dear Mr Monteiro

Please note my new address. The reason for asking you is the university rule that causes departmental clerks and others who handle mail to either return mail not addressed to a departmental mailbox or to throw it in the wastebasket. The rule is followed with glee.

I write to thank you [for] the reprint on *Fences*.²¹ I am glad to see that you have this contact in Portugal. I have been to Porto at least three times to see the editor of the *Revista*, and owe him a letter and an article for his journal. The unfortunate situation is that I slipped and fell on this steep hillside six or eight months ago and broke my left leg in two places. It was nailed together and is healing satisfactorily. Your article is one that I have tried again and again to get a friend to write. Jente told me that he had considerable collections twenty years ago and needed to see a French collection, but he died before he wrote the article.²² I can't remember the name of the author. A man in UCLA refused

two or three times to write the article. And a third man also refused. The book should not be used as a source of English proverbs. Or if it is so used, one should express qualification. I send a few prints, for what they may be worth. I assume that you are receiving *Proverbium* and ask you to send an article there. I am much worried by the editor's long delay in getting out a number. I have a couple of reviews to write and an article for the Portuguese *Revista*, which is long overdue. I am toying with the notion of writing on what should an edition of a proverb contain.

With my greetings and warm thanks

Yours
Archer Taylor

Notes:

¹ "Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases of the Continental Portuguese," *Western Folklore* (Jan. 1963), 22: 19-45.

² Victor S. M. de Guinzbourg (1906-1976), who served the United States with the 307th Counter Intelligence Corps during World War II, was the author of *Wit and Wisdom of the United Nations: Proverbs and Apothegms on Diplomacy* (New York: Privately printed, 1961), and *Wit and Wisdom of the United Nations or The Modern Machiavelli Supplement* (1965).

³ Fernando de Castro Pires de Lima (1908-73) doubled as an M.D. and as the Director of the Museu de Etnografia e História in Porto, Portugal. Among his many publications was *Adagiário português* (1963).

⁴ Pires de Lima founded the *Revista de Etnografia* in 1963 and edited the journal until his death in 1973, when it ceased publication.

⁵ Matti Kuusi (1914-98), Professor of Folklore in the University of Helsinki (1959-77), edited *Proverbium* (1965-75).

⁶ The reference is to Pedro Chaves, *Rifoneiro Português* (Porto, 1928; rev. ed. [1945]).

⁷ José Leite de Vasconcelos Cardoso Pereira de Melo (1858-1941), the founder and first director of the Natural Museum of Archeology in Portugal, was the founder and editor of *Revista Lusitana* (1887-1943).

⁸ Leicester Bradner (1899-1989), a specialist in Renaissance Studies, was a long-time member of the Department of English at Brown University (1926-1968).

⁹ A funny thing happened on my way to the doctorate and I changed my topic from Edward Taylor to Henry James.

¹⁰ An ex-president of the First Portuguese Republic, Joaquim Teófilo Fernandes Braga (1843-1924) published several installments of his "Adagiário português" in *Revista Lusitana*, beginning in 1914.

¹¹ Benjamin Mather Woodbridge, Jr. (1915-2007) taught Portuguese at the University of California, Berkeley.

¹² Gil Vicente (c. 1465-c. 1536), a playwright and poet who wrote in Spanish, as well as Portuguese, was sometimes referred to as the "Portuguese Plautus."

¹³ "Parodies of Scripture, Prayer, and Hymn," *Journal of American Folklore* (Jan.-Mar. 1964) 77: 45-52.

¹⁴ "An Armful of New Books:... 'Proverbs,' ...," *Revista de Etnografia* (1963), 1: 219-22.

¹⁵ "As Palavras São Como as Cerejas: Umas Puxam as Outras," *Revista de Etnografia* (July 1968) 11: 33-68.

¹⁶ Mac E. Barrick (1933-91), who became best-known for his collections of central Pennsylvania folklore, compiled and edited the volume *German-American Folklore* (1987).

¹⁷ "And Marie Antoinette said...," *Revista de Etnografia* (July 1968) 11: 245-60.

¹⁸ Although he did not send me an offprint of this article, over the years he sent me others: (1) "The Place of Folklore," *PMLA* (Feb. 1952) 67: 59-66; (2) "The Buried Lover Escapes," *Studies in Medieval Literature: In Honor of Professor Albert Croll Baugh*, ed. MacEdward Leach (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), 209-18; (3) "A Few Additional Nineteenth-Century American Proverbs," *North Carolina Folklore* (Special Issue: *Studies in Honor of Arthur Palmer Hudson*) (1965) 13: 37-38; (4) "A Tentative Comparison of Studies in Folktale and Folksong," *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (1970) 19: 347-51; (5) "As Light as a Feather," *Folklore Research Center Studies* (1970) 1: 95-96; and (6) "The Anecdote: A neglected Genre," *Medieval Literature and Folklore Studies*, ed. Jerome Mandel and Bruce Rosenberg (New Brunswick, N J: Rutgers University Press, 1970) 223-28, 368-70.

¹⁹ Matti Kuusi published *Ovando Proverbs with African Parallels* in 1970, followed by *Ovambo Riddles* in 1974.

²⁰ "'Leave No Stone Unturned' or an Afternoon with a Historical Dictionary of Proverbs," *Proverbium* (1971) 16: 553-56.

²¹ "'Good Fences Make Good Neighbors': A Proverb and a Poem," *Revista de Etnografia* (Jan. 1972) 26: 83-88.

²² Richard Jente (1888-1952) taught in the German Department at the University of North Carolina.

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“ROTER FADEN”:
SPRACHGESCHICHTLICHE ANMERKUNGEN

Abstract: Der Beitrag befaßt sich aus sprachwissenschaftlicher Perspektive mit dem Ausdruck „roter Faden“, wie ihn Goethe in seinem Roman *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* zuerst gebraucht hat. Er untersucht seine lexikographische Beschreibung und die Verwendungsweisen in anderen Texten. Außerdem diskutiert er, in Hypothesenform, die Hintergründe des „roten Fadens“ in Märchen, Sagen und Volkstum.

Keywords: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, Sprachwissenschaft, Phraseologie, Wortforschung, „roter Faden“

Man soll ja, in Gesprächen zumal, den Faden nicht verlieren, insbesondere damit dem Partner der *Geduldsfaden* nicht reißt. Generell möchte man, etwa bei Referaten, Romanen und schriftlichen Ausarbeitungen, „den roten Faden erkennen“; es sollte „ein roter Faden sich durchziehen“ bzw. „ein Leitfaden wahrnehmbar sein“ (wo nicht, ist „der Faden wieder aufzunehmen“). Das schlichte Substantiv *Faden* allein, das ja mehrdeutig ist und nicht nur auf die uralte Kulturtechnik des Spinnens und Webens weist („Nadel und Faden“ waren allgegenwärtig), wird seit alters auch übertragen gebraucht, was die Wörterbücher nachzeichnen („oft bildlich“, heißt es z. B. im „Grimm“). An den *Lebensfaden*, den die Parzen Atropos, Clotho und Lachesis spinnen bzw. durchschneiden, muß nicht eigens erinnert werden. Im *Handwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*¹ wurde dies seinerzeit knapp so ausgedrückt: „übertr., mit Bezug teils auf das Winzige, teils auf das geläufige Bild des An- und Fortspinnens, des Webens, teils auf Mythologisches“.

Der phraseologische Ausdruck *roter Faden* im Sinne von ‘verbindender, durchgehender Gedanke’, ‘Grundgedanke’, ‘Leitlinie, Leitmotiv’ wird gewöhnlich auf Goethes Roman *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (1809) zurückgeführt. Und dies mit Recht. Zitiert sei

beispielhaft aus Lutz Röhrichs inhaltsreichem *Lexikon der sprachwörtlichen Redensarten* (Freiburg/Br. 1991)²:

Die Redensart vom *roten Faden*, der sich durch alle Ausführungen eines Redners hindurchzieht und den eigentlichen Grundgedanken meint, der alles zusammenhält, ist dagegen nicht volkstümlichen Ursprungs, sondern ein viel gebrauchtes und deshalb anonym gewordenes Zitat aus Goethes 'Wahlverwandtschaften' (2. Teil, Kapitel 2). Bevor Goethe sie dort zum ersten Mal anwendet, muß er einen Hinweis auf ihre Herkunft einfügen: 'Wir hören von einer besondern Einrichtung bei der englischen Marine. Sämtliche Tauwerke der königlichen Flotte, vom stärksten bis zum schwächsten, sind dergestalt gesponnen, daß ein roter Faden durch das Ganze durchgeht, den man nicht herauswinden kann ohne alles aufzulösen, und woran auch die kleinsten Stücke kenntlich sind, daß sie der Krone gehören. / Ebenso zieht sich durch Ottiliens Tagebuch ein Faden der Neigung und Anhänglichkeit, der alles verbindet und das Ganze bezeichnet.' Der hier geschilderte Brauch besteht tatsächlich seit 1776 in Englands Flotte. Goethe zitiert den 'roten Faden' noch einmal in den 'Wahlverwandtschaften' (2,4) zur Einleitung eines Stücks von Ottiliens Tagebuch: 'Manches eigene von innigstem Bezug wird an dem roten Faden wohl zu erkennen sein.' Vgl. französisch 'fil conducteur': Leitfaden.

Das hier von Goethe gebrauchte sprachliche Bild des *roten Fadens* im übertragenen Sinne³, prägnant und eingängig, war anscheinend bald von Einfluß, wurde im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts gewissermaßen literatur- und bildungssprachlich geläufig. Aufgenommen, zitiert, und gedeutet wurde es bereits von E. T. A. Hoffmann in seinen *Serapionsbrüdern* (erschieden 1819–1821), bezeichnenderweise im Kapitel „Der Zusammenhang der Dinge“:

'Ich weiß nicht,' erwiderte Euchar lächelnd, 'ich weiß nicht, Freund Ludwig, wie du auf einmal zu dieser fatalen, längst veralteten mechanistischen Idee kommst und Goethes schönen Gedanken vom roten Faden, der sich durch unser Leben zieht, und an dem wir, ihn in lichten Augen-

blicken gewahrend, den über uns, in uns wallenden höheren Geist erkennen, so entstellen darfst.’ ‘Das Gleichnis,’ sprach Ludwig weiter, ‘das Gleichnis ist mir anstößig, weil es von der englischen Marine entnommen. Durch das kleinste Tau ihrer Schiffe, ich weiß es ja eben aus Goethes ‘Wahlverwandtschaften’, zieht sich ein roter Faden, der es als Staatseigentum bezeichnet.’ [...]

Ergänzend seien drei andere Literaturstellen angeführt. Gottfried Keller nimmt in der Novelle *Die mißbrauchten Liebesbriefe (Die Leute von Seldwyla. Zweiter Teil)* direkt auf Goethes Formulierung Bezug: „Sie stellten einläßliche Vergleichen an und suchten den roten Faden, der durch all dergleichen hindurchgehe [...]“. Friedrich Hebbel spielt in der Widmung seines bürgerlichen Trauerspiels *Maria Magdalene* bezeichnenderweise auf den Ariadnefaden an, vermischt also die beiden Sprachbilder: „[...] Doch, wenn er lange so den roten Faden / Aus sich hervorspinnt, der ihn führen kann, / So wird er plötzlich durch den Geist geladen: / Nun lege ihn in der Geschichte an!“⁴ Kurt Tucholsky wendet im Feuilleton *Affenkäfig* (alias Peter Panther: *Die Weltbühne*, 1924) das geflügelte Wort kritisch an: „‘Mama!’ sagt ganz laut ein Kind, ‘was ist das für ein roter Faden, den der Affe da hat –?’ Mama sagt es nicht. ‘Mein liebes Kind, es ist der rote Faden, der sich durch die ganze Weltgeschichte zieht.“⁵

Ein Kennzeichen für die Bekanntheit (auch) dieser Goethe-Stelle kann man in entsprechenden Einträgen von allgemeinen und speziellen deutschen Wörterbüchern und Lexika sehen. Am Anfang steht wohl die Notiz im *Deutschen Wörterbuch* der Brüder Grimm⁶, wo als Quelle auf Goethes Roman hingewiesen wird. Dabei wird indessen die allgemeine bzw. verallgemeinernde Erklärung „ein roter faden dient als merkmal“ gegeben, das heißt, *roter Faden* wird wohl mit Blick auf den Goetheschen Text gesehen (somit wie ein Zitat betrachtet), aber doch in einen größeren Zusammenhang gestellt. So wird außer dem Hinweis auf eine Stelle des *Alten Testaments (1. Mose 38, 28)*, wo ein um das Handgelenk gebundener roter Faden den einen neugeborenen Zwilling vom anderen unterscheiden soll, noch angeführt: „die braut trug und trägt in einigen gegenden einen roten faden um hut und stirn gewunden, ein rotes band durch den zopf geflochten, einen roten seidenfaden um den

hals u. ähnl. [...]“. Auf die früheren und in der Bedeutung andersartigen Verwendungsweisen von *roter Faden* ist noch einzugehen.

Was Wunder, daß Georg Büchmann in seiner weitverbreiteten und oft aufgelegten Sammlung *Geflügelte Worte* (zuerst 1864) schon bald Goethes *roten Faden* als Stichwort mit Bezug auf die *Wahlverwandtschaften* (II, 2 und 4) aufnahm.⁷ Einen Kommentar oder eine Erläuterung fügt er nicht hinzu, wohl aber eine sachliche Ergänzung in der 16. Auflage, und dieses Detail (das in der Sekundärliteratur öfter zur Sprache kommt) sei hier nicht unterschlagen:

Einer Bemerkung Lothar Buchers in der *National-Zeitung* vom 8. Juli 1855, jener Faden „sieht in Wirklichkeit gar nicht rot aus, sondern gelb“, wird entgegnet: „Das war aber damals nur bei den in Chatham angefertigten Tauen der englischen königlichen Marine der Fall, während die aus Portsmouth rot, die aus Plymouth blau und die aus Pembroke grün gekennzeichnet wurden. Jetzt ist der rote Faden allein üblich, was zu Goethes Zeit sich ebenso verhalten haben wird. Seit 1776 besteht der Brauch in Englands Flotte.“

Grimms und Büchmanns Grundmuster der lexikographischen Darstellung des Goetheschen *roten Fadens* wurden, wenn ich richtig sehe, danach mehrfach aufgegriffen, nicht so sehr von K. F. W. Wander im *Deutschen Sprichwörter-Lexikon*⁸ – hier nämlich mit semantischer Deutung –, als später u. a. von Paul Fischer, der in seinem Goethe-Lexikon wohl näher auf den Gebrauch des Wortes *Faden* durch Goethe eingeht, indem er allgemein bemerkt: „Mehrfach steht das Wort bildlich“, und danach die Verwendungsbeispiele *den Faden ergreifen* (z. B. beim Gespräch, im Sinne von ‘das Thema festhalten/wieder aufgreifen’) sowie *aus dem Faden kommen* (‘den Zusammenhang verlieren’) nennt, allerdings zur festen Verknüpfung *roter Faden* weder weitere Verweise noch einen Kommentar gibt, sondern lediglich die Ottilie-Stelle aus den *Wahlverwandtschaften* zitiert: „daß ein roter Faden durch das Ganze durchgeht“.⁹ Entsprechend das noch im Erscheinen begriffene *Goethe-Wörterbuch*.

Zur Sache seien zwei Einträge aus den älteren Konversationslexika¹⁰ nachgetragen (welche übrigens ebenfalls in der Folgezeit mehrfach Nachfolge fanden):

Roter Faden, in Goethes ‘Wahlverwandtschaften’ (II, 2) zuerst verwendetes und erklärtes Bild für einen durchgehenden, das Ganze zusammenhaltenden Grundgedanken, nach dem Roten Faden, der in alles Tauwerk der britischen Flotte als Eigentumszeichen der Krone eingesponnen ist.

Roter Faden, roter, in alles Tauwerk der königlich englischen Marine eingewebter Faden, welcher die Entwendung desselben hindern soll, vergleichsweise von Goethe in den ‘Wahlverwandtschaften’ angewandt und seitdem allgemein [!] gebraucht für dasjenige, was durch die Teile eines Ganzen als gemeinsames und charakteristisches Merkmal hindurchgeht.

Im 19. Jahrhundert also hatte sich *roter Faden* Goetheschen Sinnes im Sprachgebrauch weithin etabliert, und generell erweist sich wieder die Feststellung des Sprichwortforschers Wolfgang Mieder als berechtigt:¹¹

Es besteht kein Zweifel darüber, daß Goethe der meistzitierte deutsche Dichter ist. Viele seiner Aussprüche sind zu geflügelten Worten geworden, manche sogar durch unzählbare Wiederholungen zu allgemein akzeptierten Sprichwörtern. Allein Georg Büchmanns große Zitatensammlung *Geflügelte Worte* (Berlin ³²1972) widmet Goethe 47 Seiten.

Goethe war, wie es scheint, (auch diesmal) sprachproduktiv, was im „Büchmann“ 1877 gewürdigt wird: Goethe gebühre „das Verdienst, unsere Sprache [...] mit dem schönen Bilde des *roten Fadens* bereichert zu haben.“¹² Englische Wörterbücher und phraseologische Lexika kennen eine Phrase wie „red thread“ m. W. nicht.¹³ *Thread* wird wohl, wie im Deutschen, vielfach übertragen gebraucht, so etwa *thread of life*; auch sagt man im Englischen u. a.: „the thread in/of something“, „he lost the threads of his story“ oder „to gather up the threads“; zudem *thread* tritt als Verb auf: z. B. „one spirit threads the whole“ ... Eine direkte Entsprechung kommt im Englischen allerdings nicht vor. Keith Spalding vermerkt denn auch in seinem Lexikon *An Historical Dictionary of German Figurative Usage*:¹⁴

[...] coined by Goethe, Wahlverw. (1809) reporting on a British institution going back 1776: [...] This was taken up

by others [...; G. Keller; siehe oben] and established itself, even though it was pointed out by some that Goethe had made a mistake and that the thread in question was yellow.

Über die Farbe des besagten englischen Fadens sei nichts weiter gesagt, wohl aber sei ein anderes markantes Detail erwähnt: „In den ‘Mitteilungen über Goethe’ (Berlin 1841. Bd. 2, S. 608) berichtet Riemer, der englische Oberwundarzt Joh. Frohes habe, angeregt durch die Romanstelle, 1813 ein Stück englischen Schiffstau an Goethe gesandt.“¹⁵

Diese Miszelle sei beschlossen mit dem Hinweis darauf, daß der feste Ausdruck *roter Faden* schon lange vor Goethes Zeit, schon seit Jahrhunderten im Deutschen nachweisbar ist, wie überhaupt der *Faden* seit der Antike bzw. in der Mythologie (siehe oben) eine bestimmte Rolle spielt. *Rot* hat als auffällige Farbe, als Grundfarbe seit jeher eine bestimmte, dabei (wie andere Farben auch) wechselnde Bedeutung und spielt farbsymbolische eine wichtige Rolle (Blut, aber auch Feuer liegen zugrunde); J. Chr. Adelung erläuterte in seinem klassischen Wörterbuch¹⁶: „Am gewöhnlichsten ist roth der Nahme einer einfachen hohen Hauptfarbe“ und sprach dabei auch von einer „lebhaften Farbe“. Der *Faden* nun ist seit alters „allgemein Symbol der Verbindung“; und: „Die bindende Funktion des Fadens begründet seinen rechtssymbolischen, magischen und kultischen Gebrauch.“¹⁷

Ein *roter Faden* schließlich ist insbesondere im (deutschen) Aberglauben bzw. Volkstum sowie in Märchen und Sagen vielfach belegt. Einige ausgewählte Beispiele mögen dies veranschaulichen.

Das *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, dem viele Hinweise entnommen werden können, zeigt, daß ein roter Faden (übrigens durchaus mehrdeutig) Liebessymbol sein und einfach Glück bedeuten kann (man denke z. B. an Hochzeitsbräuche), daß er insgesamt als bedeutungsvolles Zeichen, als Erkennungszeichen auftritt – schon die alttestamentlichen Zwillinge wurden (wie schon erwähnt) nach *I. Mose 38* auf diese Weise unterschieden. Die Volkskunde kennt namentlich den „hegenden Faden“, der Schutz und Hilfe verheißt.¹⁸ Einem an Bräune Erkrankten ist ein roter Faden, mit dem eine Kreuzotter erwürgt wurde, um den Hals zu legen; in der Schweiz schützt eine rote Schnur gegen den Fuchs; in Schottland wehrt der rote Faden den bösen Blick ab; bei Kropf hilft ein

roter Seidenfaden, der einem Toten durch die Hand gezogen wurde; Gewinn bringt es, wenn man das Herz einer Fledermaus mit einem roten Faden um den linken Arm bindet ... Aber zugleich gilt z. B.: Zeitlebens muß ein Verurteilter einen roten Faden um den Hals tragen; eine Amselfeder, an einem roten Faden aufgehängt, läßt die Hausbewohner nicht schlafen ...

Im Märchen – deutscher Provenienz wie in dem mehrerer anderer Länder (u. a. China und dem Orient) – kommt der rote Faden gleichfalls als belangvolle Auffälligkeit und Besonderheit öfter vor. So etwa in *Von dem Machandelboom* und in *Ferenand getrü un Ferenand ungetrü*. Zu ersterem wird von den Grimms ergänzt, „daß das Schwesterchen die Knochen an einem rothseidenen Faden zusammenreihet“, und zu letzterem heißt es in ihren Anmerkungen: „Der rothe Faden am Hals des wieder lebendig gemachten ist sagenmäßig.“¹⁹ Was Sagen betrifft, so wäre abschließend noch z. B. an *Das versunkene Kloster*²⁰ zu erinnern, wo ein roter (rotseidener) Faden als eigentümliches Erkennungszeichen vorkommt. In eine andere Richtung deutet dieser norddeutsche Brauch²¹: „Wenn zum erstenmal das Vieh ausgetrieben wird, legt man entweder einen roten Faden oder ein Stück Stahl [...] vor die Schwelle, über welche die Kühe gehen.“

In all den zuletzt skizzierten Fällen (Aberglaube, Märchen, Sage), und das Vorkommen in der Mythologie ist hinzuzunehmen, wird der rote Faden als besonderes Zeichen eingesetzt – und hat als textiles Element doch eine konkrete, reale Existenz, was auf den ins Tauwerk eingewebten Roten (farbigen) Faden der königlich englischen Marine ja ebenfalls zutrifft.

Die Bedeutungsübertragung, wie sie an den zitierten Stellen der *Wahlverwandtschaften* vorgenommen ist, die Wendung vom realistischen Detail zum gedanklichen Moment, zeigt sich nun ganz als Goethes sprachkünstlerische Erfindung²² – die indessen einerseits an den traditionellen übertragenen, bildlichen Gebrauch von *Faden*, andererseits an den Kontext des *roten Fadens* in Aberglaube, Märchen und Sage wenn nicht anknüpft, so doch immerhin erinnert, auf dieser vielfältigen Tradition also quasi ruht und sie voraussetzt. Die Popularität des Goetheschen Sprachbildes *roten Fadens* und seine Geläufigkeit bis heute²³, als „geflügeltes Wort“ und als Zitat, dürfte hiermit zusammenhängen.

Anmerkungen

¹ Von Daniel Sanders. Bearbeitet von J. Ernst Wülfing; Leipzig 1910.

² Sinngemäß z. B. bei Lutz Mackensen, *Zitate, Redensarten, Sprichwörter*; Brugg/Stuttgart/Salzburg 1973; Heinz Küpper, *Illustriertes Lexikon der deutschen Umgangssprache*. Band 2; Stuttgart 1983, und in *Trübners Deutschem Wörterbuch*. Band 2; Berlin 1940. Auch die Nachschlagewerke der Dudenredaktion haben diese Erklärung aufgenommen, vgl. etwa *Deutsches Universalwörterbuch A–Z*; Mannheim etc., ⁷2011, *Das große Buch der Zitate und Redewendungen*; Mannheim etc. ²2007; desgleichen das *Deutsche Wörterbuch* von Wahrig; Gütersloh/München ⁸2006.

Kurz und knapp, doch erschöpfend heißt es bei Wolfgang Pfeifer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen*; ²1993: „roter Faden ‘durch eine Erzählung oder Darstellung hindurchgehende Leitlinie, Leitmotiv’, bildliche Verwendung (Goethe 1809) in Anlehnung an den roten oder überhaupt farbigen Faden, den die britische Flotte (seit 1776) als Eigentumszeichen in das Tauwerk eindrehen läßt“.

Die Goethe-Zitate bei Röhrich habe ich, geringfügig korrigiert, nach der Artemis-Ausgabe wiedergegeben; siehe *dtv-Gesamtausgabe*, Band 19; München 1963, S. 115, 128.

³ Hier ist ja ausdrücklich keine literaturwissenschaftlich-interpretatorische Untersuchung zu Goethes Roman beabsichtigt, doch wenigstens eine Stelle der Sekundärliteratur, die dem *roten Faden* gilt, sei zitiert: „So umschreibt das Gleichnis vom roten ‘Faden der Neigung’ [...] die eigentümliche Einheit eines Tagebuchs [= Ottiliens] als ein Archiv des verstummten Lebens.“ Siehe *Goethe-Handbuch*. Band 3: *Prosaschriften*. Hrsg. von Bernd Witte und Peter Schmidt †; Stuttgart/Weimar 2004, S. 162.

⁴ In einer Glosse in der *Zeitschrift des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins*, Jg. XVII (1902), Sp. 103, wurde ein solcher Sprachgebrauch bemängelt (gezeichnet: Eb. Nestle): „Kaum ein Bild Goethes hat mehr Anklang gefunden, als das vom roten Faden, der sich durch etwas hindurchzieht. [...] Wie gedankenlos wird nun aber dieses Bild heute gebraucht! [...]“

⁵ Georg Büchmann teilte in seinen *Geflügelten Worten. Der Citatenschatz des deutschen Volkes*; Berlin: ¹⁰1877, S. 39, und ¹²1880, S. 98, mit, daß H. Chr. Andersen sich jene Goethe-Stelle in *Die beiden Baronessen* und *Meine Lebens-Abenteuer* „zu Nutzen gemacht“ habe.

⁶ Band 3 und 14; Leipzig 1862 bzw. 1863.

⁷ Schon z. B. die 8. Auflage, vor 1867 erschienen, enthielt, wie aus Wanders Sprichwörterlexikon (s. Anm. 6) hervorgeht, jenen Eintrag. Mir lagen die 10., 12. und 16. Auflage, Berlin 1877, 1880 und 1889, vor; siehe S. 38, 97 und, wie zitiert, S. 117 f. – Vgl. hier Anm. 5.

⁸ Band 1; Leipzig 1867: „*Es geht ein rother Faden hindurch* [...]. Quelle und Erklärung: Goethe’s Wahlverwandtschaften II, Kap. 2, Büchmann, 8. Aufl., 39. / Um zu sagen, dass sich eine Sache durch ein gewisses Merkmal charakterisire, sodass sie dadurch einheitliche Gestaltung und Färbung erhält und ein streng festgehaltener Grundgedanke überall hindurchschimmert.“

⁹ P. F., *Goethe-Wortschatz. Ein sprachgeschichtliches Wörterbuch*; Leipzig 1929. – *Goethe-Wörterbuch*. Band 3; Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln 1998. Es zitiert die genannte Stelle

aus den *Wahlverwandtschaften* ebenfalls karg und ohne Umschweife (dies unter b: „der einzelne Faden im Gewebe, Strang in seiner bes. Qualität, Funktion“, „auch der rote F[aden]“); interessant und weiterführend sind indessen die Belege, welche aufzeigen, daß und wie oft Goethe das Wort *Faden* im übertragenen Sinne verwendet, z. B. „den Faden (fort)spinnen“, „am Faden der alten Ordnung hängen“, „Faden, den man nur hier [in Rom] spinnen lernt“. – Ganz nüchtern und auf die erste Textstelle in den *Wahlverwandtschaften* beschränkt gibt sich der Eintrag bei Richard Döbel, *Lexikon der Goethe-Zitate*; Zürich/Stuttgart 1968. Ähnlich das *Metzler Lexikon Goethe. Personen – Sachen – Begriffe*, hrsg. von Benedikt Jeßing u. a.; Stuttgart/Weimar 2004, S. 371 f.

¹⁰ *Der Große Brockhaus*. Bd. 16; Leipzig ¹⁵1933. Sinngemäß schon in Band 13, ¹⁴1898 von *Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon*. – *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*. Bd. 14; Leipzig/Wien ⁵1896. In der 1860 erschienenen Ausgabe, Band 13, von H. J. Meyer: *Neues Konversations-Lexikon für alle Stände* [...]; Hildburghausen/New-York, wurde die Sprachfügung noch lediglich auf jenen in das Tauwerk der königlich englischen Marine eingewebten Faden bezogen.

¹¹ „Nach Zitaten drängt, am Zitate hängt doch alles!“ *Zur modernen Verwendung von Goethe-Zitaten*; in: *Muttersprache*, 92. Jg. (1982), S. 76.

¹² *Geflügelte Worte*, a. a. O., ¹⁰1877, S. 38.

¹³ Vgl. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Second edition. Vol. XVII; Oxford 1989; *Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary*. Created in Cooperation with the Editors of Merriam-Webster; Springfield, Mass. 2002.

¹⁴ Vol. 2; Oxford 1967, p. 707. Zum letzten Aspekt, ob Goethe einen Fehler gemacht habe, siehe oben.

¹⁵ Zitiert nach Jürgen von Esenwein/Harald Gerlach, *Johann Wolfgang Goethe. Zeit, Leben, Werk*. CD-ROM-Ausgabe; Berlin etc. 1999, Anmerkung zu den *Wahlverwandtschaften*.

¹⁶ *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hoch-deutschen Mundart*. Band 3; Leipzig 1798.

¹⁷ So sprechen bereits die *Upanischaden* von einem Faden, der die diesseitige mit der jenseitigen Welt und alle Wesen untereinander verbindet; auch die Zeit und das Leben werden vielfach mit einem Faden verglichen (siehe den griechisch-mythologischen *Ariadnefaden*, welcher Theseus den Weg aus dem Labyrinth heraus anzeigte). Vgl. Udo Becker, *Lexikon der Symbole*; Freiburg/Basel/Wien 1992; Hans Lamer/Paul Kroh, *Wörterbuch der Antike mit Berücksichtigung ihres Fortwirkens*; Stuttgart ⁷1966. Siehe auch Dieter Harmening, *Wörterbuch des Aberglaubens*; Stuttgart 2005, S. 142. Dieser Autor erläutert auch die Polyvalenz der Farbe Rot (S. 365), die „[...] allgemein [...] als kräftige, energische, ernste, würdige, aufregende und erwärmende, dann als schönste Farbe überhaupt empfunden“ werde; im Volksglauben herrsche sie als Zeichen des Ominösen vor.

¹⁸ Hanns Bächthold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*; Berlin und Leipzig 1927–1942, u. a. Band I: 1927, Sp. 373, 1521; Band II: 1929/1930, Sp. 1114 ff.; Band V: 1932/1933, Sp. 372; Band IX: 1938–1941, Sp. 779. Siehe auch J. D. H. Temme, *Die Volkssagen von Pommern und Rügen*; Berlin 1840, S. 311 („Der Beamte mit dem rothen Faden um den Hals“); A. Kuhn/W. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche* [...]; Leipzig 1848, S. 433, 522 (zum Motiv Hochzeit); Franz Schönwerth, *Aus der Oberpfalz*. Band 2; Augsburg 1857–1859, S. 222: *roter*

Seidenfaden; ein solcher kommt auch in Märchen anderer europäischer Länder vor, wie auch im Märchen öfter ein *goldener Faden* anzutreffen ist.

¹⁹ Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Dritter. Band; Göttingen 1856, S. 77, 208.

²⁰ Ludwig Bechstein, *Deutsches Sagenbuch*; Leipzig 1853, Nr. 59. „Der rothe Faden, an dem du mich emporziehst, ist mein Lebensfaden [...]“

²¹ Karl Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Meklenburg*. Bd. 2; Wien 1879/1880, S. 141.

²² Albert Richter hielt in *Deutsche Redensarten. Sprachlich und kulturgeschichtlich erläutert*; Leipzig 1893, S. 39, denn auch fest: die häufig gebrauchte Wendung vom *roten Faden* stamme „nicht aus unmittelbarer Beobachtung seitens des Volkes“, sie sei „vielmehr erst durch gelehrte Vermittlung dem Volke bekannt geworden“.

²³ Der Ausdruck ist auch in Titeln zu finden, z. B.: *Der rote Faden*: Revue von Rudolf Nelson (1878–1960), *Der Rote Faden auf dem Weg durchs Horoskop*; *Der rote Faden zum Unternehmenserfolg*; *Lehrbuch der Dermatologie und Venerologie: Ihr roter Faden durchs Studium nach der neuen ÄAppO*; *75 Jahre BERNINA. Der rote Faden in der Welt des Nähens*. Ein Prosaband Christoph Meckels trägt den Titel *Ein rote Faden* (1983), zudem ein Feuilleton Robert Walsers (1926/27), indem es anfangs prototypisch heißt: „Durch die Weltgeschichte [...] zieht sich gleich einem roten Faden [...] gleichsam das Lösungswort: ‘Ich will’ [...]“

In der kulturhistorischen Abhandlung Andreas Furgers *Der rote Faden. Von der Redensart zum Geschichtsbild*; Zürich 1995, wird in der „Einführung“ (S. 7) der sprachliche Ausdruck erwähnt. Auf diesen Titel wies mich dankenswerterweise Wolfgang Mieder hin.

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“GESAGT IST GESAGT”
DIE SPRICHWÖRTER IM WERK VON MAX FRISCH

Abstract: Max Frisch (1911-1991) is arguably one of the greatest German speaking writers of the 20th century. Many of his novels and plays, but also his diaries and speeches, have earned him worldwide acclaim and a large number of studies exist that look at his work from seemingly all angles. However, one aspect – his usage of proverbial language – has not yet been recognized in any detail. While some of his well-known contemporaries, for example, Bertolt Brecht, Günter Grass, or Christa Wolf, have been regarded as “proverbial” to some degree based on existing studies, Frisch’s works have not been scrutinized in the same way. This is unfortunate, because, upon careful reading of his collected works, a fairly large number of proverbs can be found in every phase of the 50 years of writing that are under review here (1931-1981). This paper attempts, therefore, to fill the existing gap by highlighting some of the roughly 300 proverbs (more than two thousand proverbial expressions are not considered in this study) that can be found in his oeuvre. It will become clear that Frisch used proverbs in many forms and contexts, both employing such phrases in their well-known original format and playing with the traditional wording. Frisch, who would have turned 100 this year (2011), undoubtedly deserves the scholarly attention from this particular perspective. His creative and extensive usage of proverbs makes this study necessary, and his stature as a writer makes it overdue.

Keywords: Max Frisch, proverbs, tautologies, proverbial expressions, Swiss, German, literature, diary, journalism, intertextuality, context, function.

Max Frisch (1911-1991) ist nicht bekannt als ein sprichwortreicher Autor. Man kennt den Schweizer Autor, der in diesem Jahr (2011) 100 Jahre alt geworden wäre, als einen der bedeutendsten deutschsprachigen Schriftsteller des letzten Jahrhunderts, der als kluger Beobachter, großartiger Fabulierer, nicht immer und nicht allen bequemer Wortmelder, und als unermüdlicher Fragesteller sein Publikum mit wichtigen Themen und oft neuartigen literari-

schen Formen und Inhalten beeindruckt hat. Tatsächlich sind Sprichwörter in seinem Werk nicht sehr auffällig, und es scheint fast leichter zu sein Gründe dafür zu finden, warum es in den Texten Frischs eben *nicht* sehr viele Sprichwörter zu vermuten gibt. Vordergründig passen sie nicht besonders gut in seine Sprache hinein. Redensarten können das schon besser, und diese lassen sich dann auch weitaus häufiger in seinem Werk nachweisen.¹ Sie sind leichter dahingesagt, sie lassen sich besser in den individuellen Sprachrhythmus einbauen, sie gehen auf – und manchmal unter – im Text und sie ordnen sich dem Zusammenhang bequemer unter. Sprichwörter hingegen haben oft ein Gewicht, das den Satz zu sehr in eine bestimmte Richtung lenken würde, und Frisch tut dies lieber mit eigenen, wohlbedachten Formulierungen. Sprichwörter können manchmal wie eine Wand mitten im Gedankengang des Autors stehen; ihre Tradition und die überlieferten Denk- und Handlungsmuster, die in ihnen häufig zum Ausdruck kommen, beenden den persönlichen Redefluss zu abrupt. Was sie aussagen ist oft klar und eindeutig vorbestimmt, sie lassen weniger Raum für Interpretationen, und all dies will Frisch eben meistens so nicht gelten lassen, weil er seine Texte offen halten will: nicht etwas beenden mit einer vorgegebenen Lösung, sondern etwas beginnen für mögliche Varianten. Frisch will fragen und den Leser zum Weiterdenken anregen, wenn möglich sogar zum Übertragen auf das eigene Dasein, und dazu sind vorgeformte und allgemein gültige Muster – besonders wenn „Tradition“ im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes auch noch (zu) „alt“-hergebracht bedeutet – oft nicht sinnvoll. Der Text soll eben nicht festgelegt sein im Sinne eines „so ist das“, wie es von vielen Sprichwörtern suggeriert wird, sondern ganz im Gegenteil: „so könnte es sein“. Mit kreativen Veränderungen von traditionellen Sprachformeln ist natürlich in modernen Texten schon mehr möglich, und Derartiges finden wir dann bei Frisch tatsächlich häufiger, wie gezeigt werden wird, aber solche Anpassungen oder Andeutungen fallen dann nicht mehr unbedingt sofort als Sprichwort ins Auge, zumindest nicht ins ungeübte oder unvorbereitete Auge. Ausserdem war Frisch, der seine Worte oft auf die sprichwörtliche Goldwaage legte, „sehr mißtrauisch gegenüber allen Klischeevorstellungen“,² wie Hans Bänzinger sagt, der sich sehr intensiv mit dem Werk des Schweizers auseinandergesetzt hat, und da machen sich die meisten Sprichwörter sicherlich schuldig. All dies mögen

Gründe dafür sein, warum Max Frisch nicht als sprichwortreicher Autor bekannt ist, aber das bedeutet eben nicht, dass es bei ihm keine derartigen Sprachformeln nachzuweisen gibt. Ganz im Gegenteil: bei genauem Lesen erkennt man erstaunlich viele traditionelle Belege in seinem Werk und ebenso manche gekonnte Umformung oder Eigenbildung, bei denen überlieferte Wortfolgen den Ursprung bilden. Aber nicht nur Frequenz und Kreativität sind auffällig, sondern ebenso ihr Wert für die Aussage, die Frisch anstrebt. Alles in allem gibt es neben einigen vermeintlichen Gründen gegen ein solches Vorhaben also gleichzeitig viele gute Argumente dafür, die Sprichwörter bei Frisch als einen durchaus bemerkenswerten Teil der Sprache dieses so vielgelesenen Autor hervorzuheben.

Die Texte Frischs sind auch deshalb besonders aufmerksam zu lesen, weil seine Sprache immer auf Aussage gezielt und auf bestimmte Wirkung bedacht ist. Wir wissen, dass er das Geschriebene mehrmals überarbeitet hat, um es in die möglichst optimale Form zu bringen, und das heißt bei ihm oft – besonders im späteren Werk – kurz und prägnant. Verständlichkeit war ihm ein wichtiges Anliegen, aber nicht immer stehen die Worte ohne Interpretationsbedarf vor dem Leser: „das Weiße zwischen den Worten“ (WaII/2, 378)³, wie Frisch es selber einmal genannt hat, ist in seinen Texten ein wichtiger Bestandteil, den man zwar nicht unbedingt sofort erkennt, den man aber seiner Meinung nach zum Gesamtverständnis braucht. Sprache war für ihn das Werkzeug zur Verständlichmachung der Welt und zur Darstellung seiner eigenen, ganz persönlichen Geschichte. Die Sprache in Frischs Werk ist in der Forschung deutlich weniger betrachtet worden als der Inhalt, und dass Frisch formelhafte Sprache verwendet hat ist im Grunde bisher so gut wie nicht gewürdigt worden.⁴ In der Sekundärliteratur zu seinem Werk habe ich einen direkten Hinweis auf Sprichwörter jedenfalls nicht finden können, auch nicht in der wohl detailliertesten Sprachuntersuchung von Walter Schenker.⁵

Das „Weiße zwischen den Worten“ – und dazu könnte man die Sprichwörter mit ihrer idiomatischen Dimension und dem traditionellen Gewicht zählen – wird allerdings bereichert, wenn man die formelhafte Sprache Frischs einmal genauer unter die Lupe nimmt. Im Rahmen der vorliegenden Arbeit soll deshalb eine beispielhafte Auswahl von Sprichwörtern in Verbindung mit dem jeweiligen Text vorgestellt werden. Es geht hier nicht um eine Interpretation des Inhalts, denn dies ist für das Werk Max Frischs in ausgiebigs-

tem Masse bereits geschehen, sondern vielmehr um das Betrachten einer ganz konkreten sprachlichen Besonderheit, nämlich der Verwendung von Sprichwörtern. Hierdurch werden gleichzeitig neue Blickwinkel auf das Werk angeboten, und vielleicht sogar zusätzliche, oder einmal aus ganz neuer Sichtweise mögliche Interpretationen angeregt. Es ist eine erfreuliche Erkenntnis, dass es selbst für Autoren, über die alles bereits gesagt zu sein scheint, immer wieder Aspekte zu finden gibt, die das Werk in einem anderen Licht erscheinen lassen oder die interessante neue Aussagen zulassen.

Beim Blick auf die verwendeten Sprichwörter werden wir viele der wichtigsten Themen Frischs wiederfinden: Suche und Sehnsucht nach Liebe und nach einem erfüllten Leben; die Frage der Identität des Einzelnen; das Problemgebiet Ehe; die Schuld sich ein Bildnis gemacht zu haben; der Ausbruch aus Beziehung und Gesellschaft; Vergänglichkeit, Älterwerden und Tod. Was die Form seiner Sprichwörter betrifft, so entdecken wir bei Frisch oft den traditionell überlieferten Wortlaut, aber ebenfalls häufig kreativ abgewandelte Eigenbildungen oder stark verkürzte Originalbelege als Andeutung. Bevorzugt hat er ganz offensichtlich Sprichwörter nach der einfachen Bauart *A ist A*, die er mit Abstand am meisten einsetzt und für die er viele eigene Varianten erfindet.⁶ Sprichwörter, die auf Zitaten beruhen, kommen oft von Shakespeare, aber weitaus am häufigsten aus der Bibel. Die Positionierung im Text, die sich der Autor sehr wohl überlegt zu haben scheint, erfolgt meistens am Ende einer Überlegung, um das Gesagte kurz und bündig zusammenzufassen, oder um es auf einen bestimmten Punkt bringen zu können. Es wird deutlich werden, dass Inhalt, Form und Platzierung der Sprichwörter von Frisch nicht beliebig gewählt, sondern meistens klug festgelegt sind.

Als Gliederung dieser Arbeit habe ich mich für die Chronologie entschieden, damit besser gezeigt werden kann, dass sich in Frischs Werk durch alle Schaffensphasen hindurch Sprichwörter finden lassen.⁷ Diese Tatsache hebt ihn im Vergleich zu bestimmten anderen Schriftstellern seiner Zeit zwar nicht heraus, aber sie fügt ihn dieser Gruppe hinzu, weil er im Gegensatz zu schreibenden Zeitgenossen wie z.B. Bertolt Brecht, Heinrich Böll und Günter Grass – oder Christa Wolf⁸ – bei denen die Forschung eine gewisse Sprichwörtlichkeit bereits gezeigt hat,⁹ bisher nicht als „sprichwortreicher Autor“ angesehen worden war. Aus Platzgründen werden

wir uns in der vorliegenden Arbeit vor allem auf das Zitieren beispielhafter Belege mit kurz gehaltenem Textzusammenhang beschränken müssen, also an dieser Stelle vor allem das Wo und das Was betrachten, und dann an anderer Stelle das Wie und das Warum genauer untersuchen.¹⁰

Die folgende Tabelle soll eine grobe Übersicht zur ungefähren Verteilung der Sprichwörter im Werk von Max Frisch geben:

Phase	Zeit-Periode	~Σ Jahre	~Σ Seiten	~Σ Sprichwörter	Frequenz
Früh	1931 – 1944	15	1400	60	23
Reife	1944 – 1954	10	1100	85	13
Höhe	1954 – 1964	10	1350	90	15
Spät	1965 – 1982	15	1850	65	28
Summe	1931 – 1981	50	5700	300	19

Man sieht an diesem groben Zahlenwerk, dass der Autor in allen Phasen seines Schaffens Sprichwörter verwendet hat, dass aber eine geringere Frequenz (d.h. auf jeder wievielten Seite im Durchschnitt ein Sprichwort zu finden ist) in den früheren Texten und im Spätwerk nachzuweisen ist. Die sprichwortreichste Zeit betrifft demnach die Jahre, in denen Frisch seine großen Welterfolge geschrieben hat.

Die Sprache Max Frischs in der frühen Phase seines schriftstellerischen Wirkens unterscheidet sich beträchtlich von den Arbeiten, die ab etwa Mitte der 40er Jahre entstanden sind. Das zeigt sich auch in der Anzahl der Sprichwörter, die erst in späteren Texten zunimmt. In seinen ersten schriftstellerischen Versuchen – damals noch stärker unter dem Einfluss Albin Zollingers stehend, den der junge Autor hoch verehrte – hat Frisch häufig rhythmische und poetische Sätze geschrieben, in denen eine festgelegte Sprachformel den Sprachfluss störend unterbrechen würde. Lange Beschreibungen von Orten oder Menschen werden oft mit sehr freizügiger Auslegung grammatikalischer Forderungen nach Punkt und Komma immer weiter vorangetrieben, weil die Beobachtung noch nicht beendet ist und weil es andauernde Empfindungen gibt, die der Autor vermitteln möchte. Dies sind dann manchmal Beschreibungen, bei denen man atemloser werdend weiterliest, manchmal sogar mit beginnender Gänsehaut – besonders wenn man als Jugendlicher ergriffen der Mutter laut vorliest über Orte in der Welt, die man nie-

mals zuvor auf diese Art beschrieben gesehen oder selber erfahren hat – und diese können dann oft kein vorgefertigtes Sprichwort gebrauchen, und eben eigentlich nicht einmal einen den Sprachfluss beendenden Punkt.

Und dennoch, auch in dieser frühen Phase – und zu dieser gehören seine ersten drei romanhaften Erzählungen (*Jürg Reinhart*, *Antwort aus der Stille* und *J'adore ce qui me brûle oder Die Schwierigen*) – findet sich eine beachtenswerte Anzahl von Sprichwörtern. Die frühesten veröffentlichten Texte Max Frischs, die hier betrachtet werden sollen, sind jedoch die journalistischen Arbeiten, die mit großer Regelmässigkeit ab April 1932 in zumeist Schweizer Tageszeitungen erschienen sind, sowie die Briefe an die Mutter von seiner für den weiteren Lebensweg so wichtigen Reise in den Balkan, die der junge Dichter im Februar 1933 antrat. Von Fernweh getrieben kurz nach dem Tod des Vaters, und in un-freudiger Erwartung, dass der Ernst des Lebens nun sehr bald für ihn beginnen würde, entschloss sich der 21-jährige nach Prag zu fahren, um von dort für die *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* von der Eishockey-Weltmeisterschaft zu berichten. Der Sport wurde dort aber sehr bald zur Nebensache, und die Beschreibungen von Land und Leuten machten dem Journalisten ganz offensichtlich mehr Freude. Die Sprache in diesen Reiseeindrücken und Feuilletons ist oft lyrisch und bildreich, und Sprichwörter verwendet Frisch nur spärlich. In einem Brief an die Mutter in Zürich entdecken wir jedoch traditionelle Sprachformeln, die als wichtige und frühe Hinweise auf sein späteres Schaffen und auf seine großen Themen verstanden werden können. Am 7.4.1933 schreibt er aus Budapest:

schon am ersten tag, da ich in budapest war, habe ich mich an den hafен begeben und auskunft geholt: leider fährt das schiff nicht bis ende april, solange bleibe ich nicht in budapest. denn die welt ist groß und unser leben ist kurz. (Bw, 52)¹¹

Durch die zwei aneinandergereihten Sprichwörter zeigt sich deutlich die Rast- und Ruhelosigkeit des jungen Mannes: die Weite der Welt, die in seinem reiselustigen Leben eine große Rolle spielen würde, ist ihm ebenso bewusst und als Aufforderung zum Erkunden zu verstehen, wie das Wissen um die Kürze des Daseins, das schon alleine aus diesem Grund sinnvoll gelebt sein will. Suche und Seh-

sucht nach einem „tätigen Leben“ hatten mit der Reise in den Balkan begonnen, und der junge Frisch erfuhr in der Fremde, dass es in der Welt viel zu sehen und zu erleben gibt, und dass er nirgendwo untätig stehen bleiben dürfe, weil es immer ein Anderswo gäbe, das er noch zu erfahren – und zu beschreiben – habe.

In den Briefen an seine Mutter und in den Reisefeuilletons, die in diesen etwa acht Monaten der Wanderschaft entstehen, gibt es allerdings relativ wenig Sprichwörter. Der junge Dichter beobachtet Menschen und Landschaften mit großer Genauigkeit und Einfühlungsvermögen und beschreibt seine Eindrücke oft in einer sehr persönlichen und emotionsgeladenen Sprache, in der vorgefertigte Formulierungen nicht so gut unterzubringen sind. Das gelingt ihm allerdings recht gut in einem nicht ganz ernst gemeinten Bericht vom 10.12.33 über das Kaufhaus Batà in Prag; dort beschreibt Frisch die Fahrstuhlfahrt von Etage zu Etage und dann das üppige und vor allem preisgünstige Büffet ganz oben, wohin die Kunden nur gelangen können, wenn sie alle anderen Etagen vorher gesehen haben. In Anspielung auf die sprichwörtliche Weisheit *Mit Speck fängt man Mäuse* nennt Frisch das Kaufhaus eine „Vertikalstellung des alten Systems: Mäusefallen mit Speckbrocken.“ (Bw, 205) Diese unternehmerische Raffinesse beurteilt der Journalist, der selber meistens knapp bei Kasse und oft hungrig war, dann im darauffolgenden Satzsatz ganz lapidar:

Richtig zum essen. Aber so eine Schlaraffenetage ist natürlich nicht der Rendite, sondern dem Motto gewidmet: Die Reklame geht durch den Magen. (Bw, 205)

Das Sprichwort mit der allgemein bekannten Weisheit steht hier, wie wir es bei Frisch noch oft sehen werden, als zusammenfassende Pointe am Ende einer längeren Beschreibung. Man beachte, wie er den traditionellen Wortlaut *Die Liebe geht durch den Magen* in humorvoller Weise in ein Antispruchwort verändert, was ebenfalls an vielen anderen Beispielen noch zu sehen sein wird. In diesem Fall passt er die überlieferte Sprachformel der vorliegenden Situation an und verbindet damit das Oftgesagte mit der Eigenformulierung.

Besonders oft wird die Liebe, auf die sich das vorgenannte Sprichwort im Original bezieht, in den frühen Texten des jungen Dichters angesprochen. Deutlich wird in solchen Passagen seine Sehnsucht nach einer wahren Liebe, die allerdings häufig verbunden wird mit dem nagenden Zweifel, ob eine solche überhaupt

möglich sei. Zum Schutz des eigenen Herzens und zur Vermeidung von Enttäuschungen, ist bei Frisch deshalb nicht unbedingt die Erfüllung das Ziel der Wünsche. In vielen seiner romantischen Texte aus dieser Zeit wird die Ansicht deutlich „daß alles, was sich erfüllt hat, uns nur ärmer macht; daß Sehnsucht alles war und daß jede Erfüllung, leichtsinnig ergriffen oder zäh errungen, jedesmal ein Stücklein unseres Todes ist“ (JA, 269). Diese Einstellung wird deutlich in einem Reisebericht aus Ragusa, einem Aufenthalt, der später viele Vorlagen zu Frischs erstem Roman *Jürg Reinhart* (1934) geben sollte. Der Berichterstatter fragt sich, ob er eine nur von der anderen Seite der Meeresbucht angehimmelte Unbekannte nicht doch näher kennenzulernen versuchen sollte. Da dies aber die Möglichkeit einer Enttäuschung einschließen würde, fällt ihm die Entscheidung sehr schwer:

Wohl aus Angst, daß auch diese Frau schon wieder verheiratet sein könnte. Oder daß sie häßlich wäre, wenn man sie näher besah. [...] Und so dachte man sich vorsichtshalber: Lieber den Traum übers Meer, als den Korb in der Hand. (Bw, 230)

Wie im vorigen Beispiel ändert Frisch das traditionelle Sprichwort – hier ist es *Lieber den Spatz in der Hand als die Taube auf dem Dach* – kreativ und genau auf den Textzusammenhang bezogen ab, und verbindet es in diesem Fall sogar zusätzlich mit der bekannten Redensart „jmd. einen Korb geben.“ Wie gut er es versteht mit gerade diesem Sprichwort zu spielen zeigt sich daran, dass er eine ähnliche Situation genau ein Jahr zuvor in einem Zeitungsartikel vom 14.7.32 mit derselben Formel beschrieben hatte, als nämlich der in die große Greta Garbo verliebte „Herr Klein“ sich zu überlegen hat, ob er nicht die weite Reise zu ihr nach Amerika antreten solle. Auch damals erklärte der Autor, nach Entschuldigungen für die Untätigkeit des Verliebten suchend, verständnisvoll: „weil er lieber den Traum in der Hand hat, als die Pleite in Amerika.“ (WaI/1, 21) Sprachlich ist dies aus parömiologischer Sicht schon sehr gekonnt, und auch inhaltlich passt es genau. Mit Hilfe des Sprichworts kann Frisch das, was er an beiden Stellen ausdrücken will, gut verständlich und augenzwinkernd-ironisch sagen: die Sehnsucht ist dem heimlich Verliebten nicht zu nehmen, aber die Erfüllung ist fraglich.

In einem Artikel vom 1.9.33, der nach der Weiterreise nach Sarajewo entsteht, ist eine solche Zurückhaltung des Verliebten aus Angst vor Bloßstellung oder Enttäuschung nicht ganz so einfach, weil die Dame in der Situation jetzt direkt vor ihm steht. Sie bittet ihn etwas auf dem Klavier zu spielen, das dann allerdings auch die beiden jungen Mädchen hören würden, denen zur Zeit die Tagträume des Berichtenden gelten. Unerklärlicherweise ist man in diesem Kaffeehaus der Meinung, dass der junge Mann ein bekannter Pianist sei, und für diesen stellt sich nun die Frage, ob er die Verwechslung zugeben, oder aber die ihm nicht so ganz unangenehme Aufmerksamkeit an seiner Person ausnutzen soll. Die Entscheidung fällt in dieser Situation dann zugunsten einer Fortsetzung der bereits begonnenen Lüge:

Nach dem ersten Schrecken über die nicht zu ändernde Tatsache, daß ich als Musiker bereits so populär bin, stellte ich fest, daß ich mich wieder einmal verliebt hatte. Und Liebe ist aller Lüge Anfang, so daß ich mich plötzlich vor diesen zwei Fratzen schämte, weil ich nicht Klavier spielen konnte. Und so eine kleine und zarte Lüge mochte ich nicht entbehren, um die Neigung und Achtung dieser Weiblichkeit nicht zu verlieren. / „Schauen Sie: ich kann wirklich nichts auswendig.“ (Bw, 274)

Dass diese humorvoll beschriebene Begegnung – man fragt sich, ob es eine ähnliche Situation auf Frischs Reise wirklich gegeben hat – ohne ein Sprichwort in der Beschreibung nicht auskommt, zeigt der Autor, als er dieselbe Szene, diesmal auf ein Schiff verlegt, kurz darauf in seinem Erstlingsroman *Jürg Reinhart* verwendet, und dort ein anderes bekanntes Sprichwort einsetzt, mit dem er das Dilemma des vermeintlichen Pianisten beschreibt: „Jürgs scheues Zurückhalten aber verriet, daß er etwas bewahrte, was man nicht vor die Schweine wirft“ (WaI/1, 314).

Nicht nur in Texten von der für die persönliche und literarische Entwicklung des jungen Dichters so wichtigen Reise in den Osten Europas, sondern ebenso in den frühen Zeitungsartikeln, in denen seine Heimatstadt Zürich oft den Schauplatz bildet, verwendet Frisch Sprichwörter in kreativer Art und Weise. Auch in diesen journalistischen Arbeiten gibt es auffallend viele Texte zum Thema Liebe. Neben Sehnsucht und Schmerz, gemäß des sprichwörtlichen Glaubens *Keine Liebe ohne Leid* – oder wie Frisch selber dies in

einem Artikel vom 24.2.36 als Aufforderung ausdrückt: „Leide für deine Liebe“ (JA, 236) –, finden sich Sprichwörter meist in humorvollerer Manier. In einem Text vom 24.7.32 über eine Bootsfahrt mit weiblicher Begleitung, der man vor allem mit Ruhe und seefahrerischem Können imponieren möchte, berichtet er z.B. davon, dass man wegen der Leihgebühr für das Boot allerdings auch auf die Zeit achten muss: „Da heißt es immer: dem Glücklichen schlägt keine Stunde. Und wenn es ans Zahlen geht, hat es gleich ihrer zwei geschlagen.“ (JA, 46) Während sich in dieser Situation das bekannte Sprichwort also nicht unbedingt auf die Realität beziehen lässt, ist dies in einem etwas später erschienenen Artikel vom 3.12.33 sehr wohl der Fall: das Sprichwort *Das Glück findet in der kleinsten Hütte Raum*, dessen Formulierung Frisch sicherlich auch aus Schillers Gedicht „Der Jüngling am Bache“ kannte („Raum ist in der kleinsten Hütte / Für ein glücklich liebend Paar“), trifft auf die vorliegende Situation genau zu, und der Autor beginnt den Text selbstironisch anspielend darauf, dass er hier wieder einmal bei einem seiner Lieblingsthemen ist folgendermassen: „Raum ist in der kleinsten Hütte. Also handelt es, um einmal etwas ganz Neuartiges aufzugreifen, von einem Liebespaar.“ (JA, 111)

Bereits an diesen wenigen Beispielen ist zu sehen, dass Frisch sich mit Sprichwörtern nicht nur gut auskannte, sondern dass er darüber hinaus in der Lage war, passende Formulierungen an geeigneter Stelle und oft sogar mit kreativen Umformungen einzusetzen. Dies erkennt man ebenfalls in seinem ersten Roman *Jürg Reinhart*, wo er viele Eindrücke seiner Balkanreise wiederkehren lässt, wie wir oben bereits an einem Beispiel gesehen haben. Frisch hatte seine Wanderungen als Lebensprobe betrachtet, als ersten Versuch auf eigenen Beinen zu stehen, aus eigener Kraft das Leben zu meistern und Wege zu finden, auf denen das weitere Dasein dann möglich und sinnvoll lebbar wäre. Das Schreiben wurde ihm dabei ein Mittel zur Dokumentation (und zur Einkommensquelle), aber wohl ebenso zum Selbstgespräch. Dies wird besonders deutlich bei der Beschreibung zwischenmenschlicher Beziehungen. Wie für den Reisebeschreiber Frisch gibt es auch für die Romanfigur Jürg viele offene Fragen, die das andere Geschlecht betreffen, und beiden scheint dieses in mancherlei Hinsicht durchaus fremd zu sein. Die quälende Unsicherheit, wann und was und wieviel man wagen dürfe

– oder müsse – ergibt sich für den Dichter und für seinen Helden im Roman immer wieder:

Offen gestanden: noch habe ich keine ferne Ahnung, wie dieser ersehnte Tag aussehen mag. Aber Bereitsein ist alles, und das Leben wird nicht auf sich warten lassen mit Forderungen, die uns auf die Probe stellen. Darum bin ich der Hoffnung, voll Sehnsucht nach der Stunde, wo das Leben herantritt und mir ins Ohr sagt: Sei Mensch! Bis dahin gibt es bloß eine Übung: wach sein, ehrlich sein! (WaI/1, 305)

Liebe, Leben, Sehnsucht, Warten – dies sind wichtige Themen im literarischen Werk des jungen Autors und ebenso in seinem eigenen Leben. Mit dem Sprichwort *Bereitsein ist alles* wird die Strategie zusammengefasst, mit der den vielfältigen Anforderungen und Möglichkeiten entgegengetreten werden soll. Diese Floskel schließt allerdings nicht automatisch wirkliche Handlungen ein, und ganz so einfach ist das mit dem ewigen „Bereitsein“ auch nicht immer, wie Jürg bei einem Segelausflug erfahren muss. Dieser endet damit, dass die anfangs schnelle Fahrt mit der jungen Begleiterin Hilde in Flaute und Stillstand auf dem Meer endet. Hilde schläft irgendwann erschöpft an seinem Arm ein, und über fast eine Seite Text hinweg beschäftigt sich Jürg mit der Frage, was die körperlich plötzlich so Nahe für ihn bedeutet und wohin nun seine Hand zu legen wäre, um sowohl die Schlafende, als auch den Augenblick festzuhalten. Es wird deutlich, dass er nicht „bereit“ ist, und dieselbe Unsicherheit lässt der Autor dann Hilde spüren, der die unerwartete Körpernähe ebenfalls wie eine Aufforderung zur Tat vorkommt. Auch bei ihr endet es beim untätigen Warten darauf, was noch kommen könnte, und dies wird im Roman mit dem abgewandelten, aber eindeutig erkennbaren Sprichwort *Man muss den Tag nicht vor dem Abend loben*, ausgedrückt: „Aber Hilde schlief nicht, sondern wartete hinter geschlossenen Augen, auch wenn sie es selber nicht wußte: worauf? Jedenfalls wollte sie die Nacht nicht vor dem Morgen tadeln“ (WaI/1, 287). Die hier deutlich werdende Unsicherheit bezüglich des anderen Geschlechts, dies heimliche Verliebtsein mit Ahnung aber ohne Erfahrung, und dann die erste Nacht mit einer Frau, „die allen Dingen dieser Welt endlich einen sinnvollen Inhalt gibt“ (WaI/1, 295), wie Jürg seiner Freundin Inge wenige Seiten später erklärt, das Mannwerden ganz allgemein: dies sind quälende Dinge im Denken des jungen Romanhelden, und wie wir aus anderen

Schriften Frischs wissen, für seinen Erfinder ebenfalls. Mit einem in Sprichwortform formulierten „Man wird nicht Mann durch die Frau“ (WaI/1, 305) versucht sich Jürg in seiner gefühlsverwirrten Mischung aus Ungeduld und Tatenlosigkeit zu trösten. Erst später, kurz vor der Weiterreise, lässt Frisch dann seinen Protagonisten ein kraftstrotzendes Sprichwort verwenden, mit dem er zu Inge sagt: „Aber natürlich helfe ich Ihnen Trauben pflücken. Ein Mann, ein Wort. Und morgen verlasse ich Istanbul, gnädiges Fräulein: immer weiterreisen, vorübergehen und immer weiterreisen, als wüßte man ein Ziel“ (WaI/1, 335). Das Sprichwort *Ein Mann, ein Wort*, das Frisch später in seinen Werken noch öfter verwenden wird, lässt an dieser Stelle im Roman zwar Reife vermuten, aber der Konjunktiv am Ende zeigt dann doch wieder deutlich, dass das ungewisse Suchen weitergehen wird, und dass zum Suchen – wie auch zum Mannwerden – die Wanderschaft gehört, so meint der Autor, selbst wenn das Ziel (noch) unklar ist.

Schon bis hierher ist deutlich geworden, dass Frisch im allgemeinen solche Sprichwörter im Originalton bevorzugt, die in Form und Inhalt relativ einfach gehalten sind. *Das Leben ist kurz, Bereitsein ist alles* oder *Ein Mann, ein Wort* sind Formulierungen ohne große Verschnörkelung, viele Worte, oder gar bildhafte Analogien. Diese Tendenz setzt sich in Frischs zweitem grösseren Roman *J'adore ce qui me brûle* oder *Die Schwierigen* (1942) fort,¹² in dem der auch dort auftretende Jürg dann tatsächlich zum Mann wird. Seine Reise ist beendet. Er hat sich wieder verliebt und steht nun sogar vor der Eheschließung. Die Unsicherheit in der Beziehung zu Frauen hat ihn allerdings nicht völlig verlassen. Wie Frisch selber, der in eben diesem Jahr 1942 zum ersten Mal heiratet, ist der jetzt Reinhart Genannte sich nicht sicher, ob eine Ehe das Richtige ist. Die gemachten Vorbereitungen werden jedenfalls als „unversehens“ bezeichnet und scheinen kein Zurück mehr zuzulassen:

Insgeheim, ohne ihr Wissen, lebte er bereits in der Ehe mit ihr, und eines Abends eben, als er auf dem Heimweg in einen Laden trat, hatte er auch unversehens schon die Ringe gekauft. Besorgt war besorgt. (WaI/2, 523)

Hier findet sich Sprichwörtliches in einer noch einfacheren Form, wie sie Frisch in späteren Texten sehr häufig verwenden wird. Erklärungsnot, Endgültigkeit oder Situationen, die keine Varianten

brauchen oder zulassen, beschreibt er oft mit Tautologien nach der simplen Struktur *A ist A*. Nach diesem Sprichwortmuster gebildete Formulierungen – einige überliefert, andere selber gebaut – hat Frisch in seinem gesamten Werk an die 40mal verwendet, und viele von diesen werden an anderen Stellen in dieser Studie noch genannt werden. Im vorliegenden Beispiel wird mit der lapidaren Feststellung „Besorgt war besorgt“ jede weitere Diskussion über die Richtigkeit der Handlung hinfällig. „Das Ding“ war nun einmal gekauft, also wird geheiratet.

Nach demselben sprachlichen Muster *A ist A* hat Frisch in einem anderen Text aus dieser Zeit das manchmal schwer Erklärbare begreiflich zu machen versucht. 1939 wurde er als Kanonier zum Grenzdienst eingezogen, um der drohenden deutschen Invasion die Stirn zu bieten. Nachdem der junge Autor kurz zuvor den Entschluss gefasst hatte, das Schreiben aufzugeben und alles Geschriebene im Wald verbrannt hatte, begann er während des Militärdienstes ein neues Tagebuch. Mit dem Titel *Blätter aus dem Brot-sack* (1940) wurden die zum Teil vorher in Zeitungen veröffentlichten Texte als Buch herausgegeben. Der schreibende Kanonier betrachtet das Geschehen an der Grenze zum aggressiven Nachbarn mit sehr gemischten Gefühlen und glaubt nicht, dass es im Ernstfall eine Hoffnung für die kleine Schweizer Heimat gibt. Frisch beschreibt, wie man dennoch alles versuchte, um vorbereitet zu sein:

Wir haben eben, sozusagen als Bauvorstand, die Stellungen der andern Batterie gemustert. Die zahllosen Rundhölzer, die sie für ihre Faschinen haben, sind allerdings prächtig! Ohne Anfrage haben sie eine nahe Holzhandlung geplündert. Krieg ist Krieg. (WaI/1, 141)

Erneut wird hier, wo eine Erklärung schwierig ist, oder wenn im Gegenteil etwas so offensichtlich ist, dass eine detaillierte Begründung nicht notwendig zu sein scheint, eine Tautologie eingesetzt. Im Krieg gelten eben andere Regeln. Damit ist alles gesagt. Und ganz ähnlich verwendet Frisch einige Seiten später ein Sprichwort, um eine Situation mit Hilfe eines bekannten Denkmusters zu erklären. Sprachliche Formeln wie das nachfolgend genannte *Gewöhnung ist alles* finden sich häufig im Werk des Autors, und zwar oft mit negativem Unterton, weil für Frisch Wiederholung, Langeweile und Anpassung zu den kritikwürdigen Dingen im menschlichen

Leben zählten. Der junge Kanonier findet allerdings mit Hilfe genau dieses Sprichworts noch den Ausdruck für eine positive Denkweise:

Jeder bangt um seinen Platz im Stroh! Er will nicht andere Nebenleute haben, und man fühlt sich nun einmal daheim. Es ist komisch, aber wahr. Man fühlt sich daheim und mag sich nicht vertreiben lassen... / Gewöhnung ist alles. (WaI/1, 167-168)

Genau dasselbe, aber nun schon mit Andeutung einer Kritik, sagt die Hauptfigur in Frischs nächstem Werk, der Erzählung *Bin oder die Reise nach Peking* (1944). Als der Reisende von der Einteilung der Woche nach Tagen in seiner Welt berichtet, und dabei gefragt wird, ob es den Menschen bei der ewigen Wiederholung der sieben Tage nicht schwindlig würde, macht seine Antwort von demselben Denkmuster Gebrauch: „Schwindlig?“ sagte ich, „Gewöhnung ist alles. Wir können uns ein Dasein ohne Wochentage gar nicht vorstellen“ (WaI/2, 640). Das Sprichwort wird hier jedoch nicht ohne sarkastischen Unterton verwendet. Und auch als sich Frisch dann nach den bis hierher genannten frühen Prosatexten dem Theater zuwendet – und damit endet wohl das Frühwerk des Autors – und sein erstes zur Aufführung kommendes Stück *Nun singen sie wieder* (1945) erscheint, findet man denselben sprichwörtlichen Gedanken. Jetzt ist der Unterton allerdings bereits in Zynismus übergegangen, wie er zur vorliegenden Kriegssituation und zu den vom Soldaten erwarteten Greueln besser passt:

HAUPTMANN Es ist ein Alltag wie irgendeiner. [...] Heute ist dein erster Einsatz?
 BENJAMIN Ja.
 HAUPTMANN Ich sage das nicht zum Trost, das mit dem Alltag. Man gewöhnt sich an alles. (WaII/1, 96)

Lapidare Feststellungen in Sprichwortform, die zwar keine besondere bildliche Qualität haben, aber ein bekanntes Denk- oder Handlungsmuster in leicht verständlicher Form propagieren, sind also bei Frisch sehr häufig zu finden. Das oft Gesagte und immer wieder Gehörte scheint einen geradezu traditionell verbrieften Anspruch auf Richtigkeit zu haben, und dies will sich der Autor an bestimmten Stellen in seinen Texten zu Nutze machen. Bereits in seinem allerersten Theaterstück, der Romanze *Santa Cruz* (1944),

nimmt ein solches Sprichwort – hier ist es *Ordnung muss sein* – einen leitmotivischen Charakter an. Die Person des Rittmeisters entlässt beim ersten Auftritt den Pferdeburshen, weil dieser über viele Jahre hinweg kleine Mengen Tabak gestohlen hat. Der Grund für die Entlassung ist allerdings nicht der fehlende Tabak oder die begangene Untreue, er ergibt sich vielmehr aus dem althergebrachten Denkmuster. Als der Bursche überrascht fragt „Euer Gnaden wollen mich entlassen?“ hat der Rittmeister die kurze Antwort sofort parat: „Ordnung muß sein“ (WaII/1, 16). Kurz darauf diktiert er wie zur nochmaligen Rechtfertigung seinem Sekretär ins Tagebuch:

RITTMEISTER [...] Sonntag, am soundsovielten, Geburtstag meiner Frau, wir haben eine Gans gegessen, wunderbar... ferner: Habe meinen Pferdeburshen entlassen... ferner: Ordnung muß sein...
 SCHREIBER „Ordnung muß sein.“
 RITTMEISTER Mensch! Du schreibst??
 SCHREIBER „Was erlebt ein Rittmeister in einer Woche.“
 (WaII/1, 18)

In diesem Stück Frischs geht es um die Möglichkeiten, sein Leben an bestimmten Punkten in eine andere Richtung zu lenken – das tägliche Diktat zu Unwichtigkeiten ist Ausdruck des langweiligen und eintönigen Lebens des Rittmeisters – und in diesem Zusammenhang hat das vorliegende Sprichwort natürlich eine besondere Bedeutung. Für den Rittmeister ist es Lebensauffassung und Trost zugleich, und es wird von Frisch in *Santa Cruz* gleich fünfmal verwendet. Im gesamten Werk des Autors findet man es mehr als zehnmal und damit häufiger als jedes andere Sprichwort. Man darf es deshalb als eines der wichtigsten sprachlichen Motive des Autors bezeichnen. In *Santa Cruz* wird mit dessen Hilfe eine ganz bestimmte und unmissverständlich kritische Einstellung zum Ablauf des menschlichen Lebens ausgedrückt. Zuviel „Ordnung“ steht nämlich der freien Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit entgegen, und sie ist damit der Gegner dessen, was Frisch so viele seiner Figuren suchen lässt: das „wirkliche Leben“.¹³ Wie das Leben hätte anders verlaufen können, zeigt im vorliegenden Stück der Vagant Pelegrin als Gegenfigur zum Rittmeister. Auch dem Pelegrin, der einstmals mit dem Rittmeister befreundet war, dann jedoch die Welt bereist hat und nun nirgends zu Hause ist, legt Frisch ein bestimmtes

Sprichwort mehrmals in den Mund. Bereits im Vorspiel vor dem Schloss des Rittmeisters hören wir es von ihm:

VAGANT Schau einer diese Leute an!

DOKTOR Ich sehe sie.

VAGANT Warum leben sie nicht?

DOKTOR Wie meinen sie das?

VAGANT Das Leben ist kurz. Wissen Sie es nicht? Warum singen sie nicht? / Warum leben sie nicht?... leben – – (WaII/1, 10)

Mit dem Sprichwort *Das Leben ist kurz* gibt Frisch uns das Gegenstück zum *Ordnung muss sein* des Rittmeisters: das Dasein will nicht geordnet und eintönig dahingelebt werden, sondern es will besonders wegen seiner Kürze bestens ausgenutzt sein, so wie es Frisch selber der Mutter bereits als 21-jähriger im Brief einmal geschrieben hatte, und wie er es später noch viele seiner Figuren sagen lassen wird. Der Vagant Pelegrin verwendet das Sprichwort kurz darauf noch ein zweites Mal im Gespräch mit seiner Tochter über deren Mutter, die vor vielen Jahren den Rittmeister geheiratet hatte, anstatt mit ihm um die Welt zu fahren: „ich habe sie an Dinge erinnert, die du nicht wissen sollst, man bleibt ein Narr, und das Leben ist kurz, das vor allem“ (WaII/1, 27-28). Die kontrastierenden Lebensauffassungen von Rittmeister und Vagant, und das von ihnen so verschiedentlich gewählte Dasein – sozusagen das gelebte und das falschgelebte Leben – werden in *Santa Cruz* durch diese zwei Sprichwörter bestens charakterisiert. An diesem Beispiel wird erneut deutlich, dass Frisch sich sehr bewusst war, welche traditionellen Formulierungen er welchen Figuren in den Mund zu legen hatte.

Um dasselbe große Thema Frischs – das Ausbrechen aus einem Dasein, in dem man gefangen zu sein scheint, wie es Pelegrin im Gegensatz zum Rittmeister getan hat – geht es ebenfalls in einem seiner nächsten Stücke, dem 1949 erschienenen *Graf Öderland*. Hier erfolgt der Ausbruch zwar mit einer Gewalt, die in der „Romanze“ fehl am Platz gewesen wäre, aber der sprachliche Ausgangspunkt für die Tat ist wiederum dasselbe Sprichwort: auch der Staatsanwalt benutzt die Formel vom „kurzen Leben“, bevor er als „Graf Öderland“ beginnt mit der Axt in der Hand das Land in Angst und Schrecken zu versetzen:

STAATSANWALT Hoch lebe der Köhler im Wald!

Alle jubeln.

Lang ist die Nacht, kurz ist das Leben, verflucht ist die
Hoffnung, heilig der Tag, und es lebe ein jeder, wie er will,
herrlich sind wir und frei.

Alle jubeln. (WaIII/1, 40-41)

Fast wörtlich wiederholt der Staatsanwalt dann kurz darauf im Stück als Graf diesen Ausruf noch einmal und verwendet dort dasselbe Sprichwort. Dass mit genau dieser Sprachformel ein wichtiges Antriebselement für den Handlungsablauf genannt wird – das Sprichwort ist hier Motiv and Motivation zugleich – zeigt Frisch damit, dass er den Grafen dasselbe in einer früher entstandenen Skizze sagen lässt (WaII/2, 438), die er in sein *Tagebuch 1946-1949* (1950) aufgenommen hat, das dann kurz nach dem Theaterstück zur Veröffentlichung kommt. Hieran wird noch einmal deutlich, wie ausgesuchte Sprachformeln eine wichtige Funktion in Frischs Texten einnehmen können, und dass traditionelle Denkmuster zu bestimmten Handlungen bei Menschen führen, auch wenn diese, wie im Falle des Grafen, wahrhaft terroristischer Natur sind. Der Autor will in seinem Stück natürlich nicht die Gewalt verherrlichen, sondern lediglich eine überspitzte Möglichkeit für den Ausbruch aus dem Alltag durchprobieren. Die Ergebnisse von Revolten gegen das Allzu-Bekannte, oder gegen das dem Menschen von seinen Mitmenschen Auferlegte, fallen bei den Figuren Frischs zwar unterschiedlich aus, aber der Ursprung wird an mehreren Stellen im Werk mit der sprichwörtlichen Überzeugung in Verbindung gebracht, dass das Leben kurz sei und deshalb zu eindeutigen und wirklich verändernden Taten auffordere.

Dass der Graf mit Axt und Sprichwort bewaffnet aus dem *Tagebuch* auf die Bühne gelangt, ist keine Ausnahme für eine Figur Frischs. Neben persönlichen Reflektionen und meist kritischen Blicken auf das Weltgeschehen der Zeit enthält das *Tagebuch 1946-1949* Skizzen und Ideen, die zu einem beachtlichen Teil später vom Autor in Einzelwerken weiter ausgeführt worden sind. Dazu kam es jedoch nicht im Fall von *Der Harlekin, Entwurf zu einem Film*, den wir nur im *Tagebuch* finden. Diese Ausnahmestellung gilt allerdings nicht für die Verwendung von Sprichwörtern, denn solche finden wir hier in gehäufter Masse. Wieder sind dies vor allem Tautologien wie *Gesetz ist Gesetz* (WaII/2, 657), *Unterschrift ist*

Unterschrift (WaII/2, 660), *Versprechen ist Versprechen* (WaII/2, 670) und die gleich mehrmals verwendete Formulierung *Vertrag ist Vertrag* (WaII/2, 650 und 654). Der Handlungsgang in diesen kuriosen Szenen ist von einem gewissen Chaos geprägt, und durch Tautologien in ihrer so einfachen und einleuchtenden aber gleichzeitig nichtssagenden Didaktik lässt sich dies gut „erklären“. Zum sprichwörtlichen Hauptmotiv wird dann in der Skizze aber das, um was es hier wirklich geht, nämlich *Geld ist Macht*:

keiner weiß einen Rat. Nur Gottlieb könnte helfen. Mit einer einzigen Unterschrift! Geld ist Macht./ „Gib sie!“ sagen sie: „Gib sie!“ / Etwas muß geschehen, denkt Gottlieb, auch er spürt den Wein, und ob es stimmt oder ein Jux ist, was der Geschminkte schwatzt, Geld ist Macht, das stimmt – (WaII/2, 657)

Das im gesamten Werk Max Frischs aber fraglos am meisten beachtete Motiv, das sich sowohl inhaltlich als auch sprachlich wie ein roter Faden durch seine Arbeiten zieht, geht ebenfalls auf eine erste prominente Nennung im *Tagebuch* zurück: das zweite Gebot *Du sollst dir kein Bildnis machen* (2. Mose 19,4). Es ist dies das wohl wichtigste sprachliche Motiv des Autors überhaupt, und er hat sich damit sein schriftstellerisches Leben lang beschäftigt. Über dieses eine Sprachmuster im Werk Frischs könnte man eine eigenständige Studie erstellen, und tatsächlich gibt es in der Sekundärliteratur mehr Hinweise auf die große Bedeutung dieses Bibelzitats – allerdings immer bezogen auf die inhaltliche Bedeutung und nicht ausgehend von einer parömiologischen Betrachtungsweise als eine traditionelle Sprachformel unter vielen, wie es Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit ist – als auf irgendeine andere vorgefertigte Formulierung.¹⁴ Gleich zu Beginn des *Tagebuchs* steht eine knapp dreiseitige Skizze mit dem biblischen Gebot als Titel:

Du sollst dir kein Bildnis machen

Es ist bemerkenswert, daß wir gerade von dem Menschen, den wir lieben, am mindesten sagen können, wie er sei. Wir lieben ihn einfach. Eben darin besteht ja die Liebe, das Wunderbare an der Liebe, daß sie uns in der Schwebe des Lebendigen hält, in der Bereitschaft, einem Menschen zu

folgen in allen seinen möglichen Entfaltungen. (WaII/2, 369)

Es geht Frisch in dieser Skizze darum – und dann immer wieder in seinem späteren Werk – dass sich ein Mensch von einem anderen Menschen ein fertiges Bild mache, oder dass sich die Umwelt ein Bild davon mache, wie ein bestimmter Mensch sein sollte. Nur der wahrhaft Liebende tut dies nicht: er lebt im Einverständnis mit der Individualität des anderen und lässt ihn ein Rätsel bleiben; sobald er aber dessen müde wird, und sich ein Bildnis davon macht, wie der andere in seinen Augen sein soll, ist das Ende der Liebe erreicht. Der eine macht sich dann ein Bild vom anderen und jener wird in eine Rolle gezwängt, die zu diesem Bildnis passt. Was dies für den Einzelnen sowie für seine Beziehung zum anderen bedeutet, und dann der Versuch aus einem solchen Bilde entlassen zu werden – das heißt der Ausbruch aus einer in den Augen der anderen oder des anderen vorgefertigten Meinung – das ist der große Themenkreis, mit dem sich Frisch in vielen seiner Werke auseinandersetzt. Besonders seine Romanfiguren Stiller und Gantenbein, die jetzt bald in seinem Werk auftauchen werden, aber ebenso etliche Personen in den Theaterstücken, kämpfen mit genau diesem Vorhaben. Als „Grundsatzklärung Max Frischs“¹⁵ bezeichnet Eduard Stäubli dementsprechend die oben genannte Stelle. Mit nochmaliger Nennung desselben Bibelgebots endet im ersten Tagebuch dann wenige Seiten später die kurze Skizze „Der andorranische Jude“, die dann etwa ein Jahrzehnt später ausgebaut zum Theaterstück *Andorra* (1957/61) als Welterfolg auf die Bühne kam:

Du sollst dir kein Bildnis machen, heißt es, von Gott. Es dürfte auch in diesem Sinne gelten: Gott als das Lebendige in jedem Menschen, das, was nicht erfaßbar ist. Es ist eine Versündigung, die wir, so wie sie an uns begangen wird, fast ohne Unterlaß wieder begehen – / Ausgenommen wenn wir lieben. (WaII/2, 374)

Die Nennung dieser Sprachformel im ersten Tagebuch geht zurück auf das von Frisch bereits drei Jahre zuvor veröffentlichte *Tagebuch mit Marion* (1947), aus dem Teile in das spätere Werk aufgenommen wurden; aber noch viel früher, nämlich schon 1934 im *Jürg Reinhart*, finden wir eine Andeutung auf dieses Bibelzitat.¹⁶ Als Jürg zum ersten Mal Ragusa verlässt und seine bis dahin auf der

Reise gemachten Erfahrungen zu Papier zu bringen versucht, heißt es:

ich sehe abermals das untrügliche Zeichen der Unreife, daß die Umgebung immer stärker ist. Weil ich in meiner weichen Seele noch kein großes und grundlegendes Erlebnis besitze, das ein Gerüst abgäbe, keine tiefere Erinnerung, woraus sich mein Denken und Fühlen formt. Sehen Sie: wenn ich ringsum von fertigen Menschen gestoßen werde, wenn ich sozusagen von Hand zu Hand gereicht werde und mich jedermann formen kann nach seinem Bilde, so zerbröckelt man schließlich. (WaI/1, 303)

An dieser Stelle wird die Angst Jürgs, von der wir annehmen können, dass sie wohl ebenfalls die des Autors war, sehr deutlich. Das „Bild“, einmal erstellt, wird zum Massstab der Dinge, und der Mensch muss nach dem Bilde leben, und sich entweder den an ihn gestellten Erwartungen anpassen oder irgendwie aus diesen ausbrechen versuchen.

Während Jürg als Jüngling noch mit dem Mannwerden kämpfte und in großer Ungeduld Erfahrungen sammeln wollte, die ihm endlich zeigen sollten, was „Leben“ bedeutet – ob das Bild also lebbar ist oder zu verlassen – verwendet Frisch genau 20 Jahre später dasselbe Bibelwort in einem stark veränderten Umfeld. In seinem ersten großen Welterfolg, dem Roman *Stiller* (1954), mit dem für Frisch die Höhepunktphase seines Schaffens beginnt, sind es nun Erwachsene, die einen bedeutenden Teil ihres Daseins bereits hinter sich haben, und die jetzt mit den Auswirkungen des einmal gemachten Bildes leben müssen. Julika verwendet die sprachliche Formel mehrmals in ihrer Anklage gegen den verschollenen Ehemann, der nicht Stiller sein will:

„So also siehst du mich!“ sagte Julika. „Du hast dir nun einmal ein Bildnis von mir gemacht, das merke ich schon, ein fertiges und endgültiges Bildnis, und damit Schluß. Anders als so, ich spüre es ja, willst du mich einfach nicht mehr sehen. Nicht wahr?“ (WaIII/2, 499)

Und einige Absätze später:

„– nicht umsonst heißt es in den Geboten: du sollst dir kein Bildnis machen! Jedes Bildnis ist eine Sünde. Es ist genau das Gegenteil von Liebe, siehst du, was du jetzt machst mit solchen Reden [...] – du sollst dir kein Bildnis machen von mir! das ist alles, was ich dir darauf sagen kann.“ (WaIII/2, 500)

Gleich dreimal benutzt Julika das sprachliche Motiv an dieser Stelle im Roman, und auf die auffällige Häufung ist in der Sekundärliteratur zu diesem Werk dementsprechend öfters hingewiesen worden.¹⁷ Der Roman *Stiller* ist aber auch sonst als relativ sprichwortreich einzustufen. Man entdeckt hier mehr als 20 Sprichwörter und damit häufiger als in jedem anderen Einzelwerk Frischs. Ebenfalls dreimal findet sich z.B. das vom Autor oft verwendete Sprichwort „Ordnung muss sein.“ Mit diesem Denkmuster, das ja gerade etwas von dem ausdrückt, dem Stiller entfliehen wollte, und das ihm nun bei seiner Rückkehr in die Schweiz immer wieder begegnet, muss er sich an vielen Stellen auseinandersetzen. Ganz am Anfang des Romans, kurz nach der Festnahme, kann der Protagonist bei der staatlich verordneten Bewegung im Gefängnishof noch humorvoll-sarkastisch reagieren: „Man ist nicht unmenschlich. Nur, versteht sich, Ordnung muß sein, auch ein gewisser Ernst. Schließlich sind wir in einem Untersuchungsgefängnis...“ (WaIII/2, 373). In dieser frühen Szene scheint es noch so, als ob die „Ordnung“ nicht für ihn gelte, und dass sie ihm nichts anhaben könne. Auch später, als der vermeintliche Stiller die soldatische Ausrüstung des Verschollenen besichtigen soll, kann er Verständnis für die behördlichen Auflagen aufbringen, obwohl er nun bereits mit seinem Namen gegenzeichnen soll. Dazu weigert er sich allerdings zuerst: „Und dann, ganz zum Schluß, werden sie auch noch wütend. Nämlich ich sollte meine Unterschrift geben, um den Empfang eines Gewehres und der neuen Marschschuhe zu bestätigen. Ordnung muß sein, das verstehe ich“ (WaIII/2, 505). In den wohl sprichwortreichsten drei Seiten im gesamten Werk Frischs, das gegen Ende des Romans ein wahres Feuerwerk sprichwörtlicher (und redensartlicher) Formulierungen abbrennt, fügt sich der zu diesem Zeitpunkt immer mehr tatsächlich als Stiller erkannte – auch Selbsterkannte – dann deutlicher in die „Ordnung“ hinein, und scheint besser verstehen zu können, was die anderen von ihm verlangen:

also Hand auf Herz und keine dummen Geschichten machen, der gute Kern auch in Stiller, mein Verteidiger von diesem Kern überzeugt, alles andere ist Schall und Rauch, der Name zum Beispiel, aber Ordnung muß sein, einen Namen muß jeder tragen (WaIII/2, 718)

Die „Ordnung“ ist für ihn nun wohl ebenso eine Konstante, die er leichter anzunehmen in der Lage ist, weil er – ohne in dieser Arbeit näher darauf eingehen zu können – mit vielen Aspekten seines Lebens unzufrieden ist und Fehler einzugestehen hat. Er, der mit der „Ordnung“ groß geworden war, bevor er versuchte, durch Flucht diese und vieles andere hinter sich zu lassen, kann sich ihr schließlich nicht mehr entziehen. Die abgestrittene Identität und der verleugnete Name stehen im Gegensatz zur „Ordnung“, die er letztendlich immer mehr anerkennen muss. Am Beispiel dieses wichtigen Motivs im Roman lässt sich Frischs wohlüberlegte Verwendung von Sprichwörtern gut erkennen.

Während es im *Stiller* schon alleine wegen der zwei Motive „Bildnis“ und „Ordnung“ verhältnismässig viele Sprichwörter gibt, ist dies in der darauf folgenden Veröffentlichung, dem beim breiten Publikum noch erfolgreicheren *Homo faber* (1957), nicht der Fall. Das liegt zum einen am geringeren Umfang, aber ebenso an der andersartigen Sprache, die der Autor hier verwendet. Die als „Bericht“ betitelte Erzählung zeigt eine relativ kurze Periode im Leben des Protagonisten, die von vielen überraschenden Wendungen gekennzeichnet ist. Dialoge stehen hier oft anstelle der inneren Monologe und Situationsbeschreibungen im *Stiller*, und in der zynisch-kühlen und unemotionaleren Sprache des Technikers Walter Faber finden Sprichwörter schwerer einen geeigneten Platz. Seine Lebenseinstellung ist vollständig auf die fassbare Gegenwart fokussiert und traditionelle Weisheitsmetaphern haben darin nichts zu suchen. Eine Vielzahl unerwarteter Ereignisse und schicksalhafter Begegnung mit Menschen, die im Leben des rational denkenden und handelnden Fabers wie Bomben einschlagen, bringen sein bis dahin fest verankertes Weltbild allerdings schnell zum Wanken. Gleich auf den ersten Seiten finden wir eine Andeutung auf das bereits vom jungen Frisch verwendete Sprichwort von der „großen Welt“, die erkannt und erkundet werden will. Als eines der wenigen formelhaften Denkmuster steht es nun allerdings in einem umge-

kehrten Sinn: die Welt, die sowohl der Autor als auch sein Held Faber bereits wortwörtlich „er-fahren“ haben, ist jetzt nicht mehr groß, sondern nun geradezu klein. Das zeigt sich gleich zu Beginn der Erzählung bei einer dieser überraschenden Begegnungen nach einer Flugzeug-Notlandung in der Wüste:

„Übrigens“, sagte ich, „sind Sie irgendwie verwandt mit einem Joachim Henke, der einmal in Zürich studiert hat?“
[...] / „Joachim?“, sagte er, „das ist mein Bruder.“ / „Nein!“, sagte ich – / „Ja“, sagte er, „natürlich – ich erzählte Ihnen doch, daß ich meinen Bruder in Guatemala besuche.“ / Wir mußten lachen. / „Wie klein die Welt ist!“ (WaIV/1, 25)

Die sprichwörtlich „kleine Welt“ hat jedoch große Auswirkungen, als dann plötzlich Dinge passieren, die man aufgrund ihrer geographischen Ausdehnung nicht erwarten würde. Faber trifft nun innerhalb kürzester Zeit unvermutet auf Menschen aus seiner Vergangenheit, die sein Leben in ganz neue Bahnen und Richtungen lenken, und die sein Denken über die Berechenbarkeit der Welt und über die Bestimmbarkeit des eigenen Schicksals stark beeinflussen. Es wird deutlich, dass der Mensch eben nicht anonym durch die Welt gehen kann, und dass seine Handlungen nicht ohne Einfluss auf Mitmenschen bleiben, mit denen einmal ein Kontakt bestanden hat. Faber muss lernen, dass auf der Welt zu sein nicht alleine zu sein bedeutet – dass diese „Welt“ eben nicht unendlich groß und eine beliebig nutzbare Ausflucht ist, die Schutz vor Verantwortung bietet, sondern auf das Leben des Einzelnen bezogen tatsächlich geradezu „klein“ ist. In dieser Wechselbeziehung zwischen Leben und Welt kommt Faber am Ende, nachdem die vielen „zufälligen“ Begegnungen mit anderen Menschen seine anfängliches Weltbild verändert haben, zu neuen Erkenntnissen, und er hofft nun darauf, sein Leben mit anderen Menschen und verbesserten Einsichten neu beginnen zu können:

„Hanna“, fragte ich, „warum lachst du?“ / Irgendeine Zukunft, fand ich, gibt es immer, die Welt ist noch niemals einfach stehengeblieben, das Leben geht weiter! / „Ja“, sagte sie, „Aber vielleicht ohne uns.“ (WaIV/1, 159)

Mit dem sprichwörtlichen Denkmuster *Das Leben geht weiter* zeigt Faber seine Hoffnung für die Zukunft, aber die Ironie seiner Existenz will es, dass das Leben für ihn eben *nicht* weitergehen wird:

seine Aufzeichnungen brechen ab, als erneut eine unerwartete Situation eintritt, und er plötzlich an einer schweren Krankheit operiert werden muss. Es ist also am Ende nicht so, wie es sprichwörtlich zu Beginn der Erzählung noch hieß, dass immer "alles wieder beim alten" (WaIV/1, 60) bleibe, dem Faber allerdings schon damals nicht hatte zustimmen können. Nichts endet so, wie man erwarten konnte, und das gilt ebenso für eine der frühesten und wichtigsten Szenen im *Homo faber*, in der Frisch eine von ihm bevorzugte Sprachformel verwendet. Aufgrund der Sprachvermischung des Weltbürgers Faber heißt es dort allerdings „Order war Order“ (WaIV/1, 18) als lapidare Erklärung dafür, warum bei einem Überlandsflug in Nordamerika von der Stewardess der Gebrauch der Schwimmwesten erklärt werden muss. Der Sarkasmus in dieser Bemerkung des Protagonisten aus einer Zeit im Bericht, in der er sich der Bestimmbarkeit seines Lebens und der Berechenbarkeit der Welt völlig sicher war, wird jedoch ebenfalls schnell auf den Kopf gestellt, als nämlich das Flugzeug nur zwei Seiten später mit Maschinenschaden in einer Wüste notlanden muss. Dort nehmen dann die schicksalhaften Begebenheiten im Leben des Walter Faber ihren Anfang, wie oben gesehen, und die „kleine Welt“ wird ihm zum ersten Mal vor Augen geführt. Im Vergleich zu Frischs anderen Romanen sind im *Homo faber* zwar deutlich weniger Sprichwörter zu finden, aber in Bezug auf die beabsichtigte Aussage – dass nämlich nicht immer alles so kommt, wie man es sich ausgemalt hat – sind selbst diese wenigen durchaus bemerkenswert und wichtig.

Deutlich häufiger finden wir Sprichwörter dann wieder in der nächsten Veröffentlichung, dem Theaterstück *Biedermann und die Brandstifter* (1957), das ebenfalls schnell zum Welterfolg wurde. Wieder sind es vor allem Tautologien, die Frisch hier verwendet. Biedermann, der nicht erkennen will, dass die Männer auf seinem Dachboden tatsächlich die gesuchten Brandstifter sind, versucht mit Doppelnennungen zusätzliches Gewicht auf seine sehr verhalten vorgetragenen Einwände gegen die Aktivitäten der Dachgäste zu legen:

Ganz unter uns, meine Herren: genug ist genug. Im Ernst, scherzen wir nicht länger über die Brandstifterei. Sie haben die Sirenen gehört. Spaß beiseite –. (WaIV/2, 320)

Heute nacht, meinen Sie denn, ich habe ein einziges Auge geschlossen? Ich bin ja nicht blöd. Benzin ist Benzin. Ich habe mir die allerschwersten Gedanken gemacht – (WaIV/2, 359)

Aber ebenso leicht, wie sie dahingesagt sind, gehen derartige Sprachfloskeln in der Kommunikation schnell unter und fordern die Angesprochenen nicht zu einer eindeutigen Reaktion heraus. Sprachlich bleibt das, was Biedermann zu bieten hat, damit ebenso unverbindlich wie seine Handlungen. Die leeren Worthülsen und Selbstbelügungen gehen dann bis zum Ende weiter, das heißt bis auch das eigene Haus in Flammen steht. Mit dem Glauben an die sprichwörtliche Idee, dass es Unterschiede zwischen den Menschen gibt, die man eben einfach akzeptieren müsse, will Biedermann das kommende Unheil zum Schluss noch einmal verleugnen, indem er zu seiner Frau sagt:

Laß dich nicht foppen, Babette, ich hab's dir gesagt, unsere Freunde haben eine Art zu scherzen – andere Kreise, andere Witze! Sag ich immer... Es fehlt jetzt nur noch, daß sie mich um Streichhölzer bitten! (WaIV/2, 375)

Mit diesen Worten wird allerdings auf die letzte große Hilfe hingewiesen, die Biedermann den Brandstiftern gibt, denn sie hatten ironischerweise tatsächlich nicht an Streichhölzer gedacht. Während Biedermanns tautologische Floskeln also keinerlei Wirkung auf die Gegenspieler hatten, kann in Verbindung mit dem abgewandelten Sprichwort *Andere Kreise, andere Sitten* doch noch einmal die Handlung in entscheidender Weise vorangetrieben und zum Abschluss gebracht werden, wenn er ihnen dann tatsächlich Streichhölzer gibt. Wie schon am Ende von Frischs vorhergehender Arbeit *Homo faber* ist es auch im *Biedermann* nicht klar, wie die Geschichte für den Protagonisten ausgehen wird. Beiden Figuren gemein ist allerdings die sprichwörtliche Hoffnung, dass das Leben weiter gehe. Genau wie derjenige Fabers ist der Ausruf Biedermanns im später hinzugefügten *Nachspiel* (1958) allerdings ebenfalls eher ein Stoßseufzer:

CHOR Schöner denn je / Wiedererstanden aus Trümmern
und Asche / Ist unsere Stadt [...]
BIEDERMANN Das Leben geht weiter.
[...]

BABETTE Glaubst Du, wir sind gerettet?
 BIEDERMANN – ich glaub schon... (WaIV/2, 414-415)

Noch häufiger als dies im *Biedermann* geschieht, werden Sprichwörter nach der Struktur *A ist A* in Frischs nächstem Theaterstück *Andorra* (1957/61) verwendet. Nichts scheint besser geeignet zu sein als mit einer derartigen Doppelnennung das eigene Gewissen zu beruhigen und den unbequemen Frager schnell zu überzeugen. Hierfür seien einige Beispiele aus dem Text genannt:

TISCHLER [...] Ein Stuhl von Prader bricht nicht zusammen, das weiß jedes Kind. Ein Stuhl von Prader ist ein Stuhl von Prader. Und überhaupt: bezahlt ist bezahlt. Mit einem Wort: Ich feilsche nicht. (WaIV/2, 483)

SOLDAT [...] Aber ich hab ihn nicht getötet. Ich habe nur meinen Dienst getan. Order ist Order. Wo kämen wir hin, wenn Befehle nicht ausgeführt werden! Ich war Soldat. (WaIV/2, 503)

GESELLE [...] Jetzt geht's los. / *Sie ziehen die Tücher über den Kopf.* / WIRT Ich zieh kein schwarzes Tuch über den Kopf! / JEMAND Wieso nicht? / WIRT Das tu ich nicht! / GESELLE Befehl ist Befehl. (WaIV/2, 546)

Neben diesen sprachlichen Phrasen, deren didaktische Qualität lediglich auf Wortwiederholung und Oft-Gehörtem beruht – also nicht wirkliche Argumente sind, sondern inhaltlose Hülsen – sind es aber in *Andorra*, in dem es eine Vielzahl religiöser Motive gibt,¹⁸ vor allem die biblischen Sprichwörter, die Frisch mit großem Bedeutungsgehalt einsetzt. Das Bildnismotiv spielt dabei in diesem Werk wieder eine übergeordnete Rolle. Während sich einige der Beteiligten am Tod Andris kurzerhand mit sprichwörtlichen Phrasen herauszureden versuchen, nennt der Pater das, wodurch er schuldig geworden ist – nämlich sein Vergehen gegen das zweite biblische Gebot – direkt beim Namen:

PATER Du sollst dir kein Bildnis machen von Gott, deinem Herrn [...]. Auch ich bin schuldig geworden damals. Ich wollte ihm mit Liebe begegnen, als ich gesprochen habe mit ihm. Auch ich habe mir ein Bildnis gemacht von

ihm, auch ich habe ihn gefesselt, auch ich habe ihn an den Pfahl gebracht. (WaIV/2, 509)

Mit dem Pater zeigt Frisch ganz bewusst eine zweite Gruppe von Andorranern, die, ebenfalls schuldig geworden, mit ihren Aussagen über die lapidaren Floskeln von Tischler, Soldat und Geselle weit hinausgehen. Dazu legt er ihnen ganz bestimmte Sprichwörter mit biblischer Herkunft in den Mund. Hierzu ebenfalls einige Beispiele:

PATER [...] Du sagst es selbst. Wie sollen die andern uns lieben können, wenn wir uns selbst nicht lieben? Unser Herr sagt: Liebe deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst. Er sagt: wie dich selbst. Wir müssen uns selbst annehmen, und das ist es, Andri, was du nicht tust. (WaIV/2, 507)

JEMAND Wer kämpft bis zum letzten Mann? / SOLDAT Ich. / JEMAND In der Bibel heißt's, die Letzten werden die Ersten sein, oder umgekehrt, ich weiß nicht, die Ersten werden die Letzten sein. (WaIV/2, 510)

WIRT Ich bin kein Verräter. Nicht wahr, Professor, nicht wahr? Das ist nicht wahr. Ich bin Wirt. Ich wäre der erste, der einen Stein wirft. Jawohl! (WaIV/2, 512)

Die Didaktik, die in diesen sprachlichen Formeln liegt, ist natürlich deutlich stärker als die leicht dahingesagten Wortpaare, die wir zuvor gehört haben. Zusätzlich dazu ist die Platzierung dieser Sprichwörter im Stück und die Entscheidung welche Personen sie verwenden, offensichtlich nicht zufällig gewählt. Es wird an diesen Beispielen deutlich, dass sich Frisch der unterschiedlichen Aussagekraft von Sprichwörtern – ob didaktisch hochwertig, oder weitgehend aussageleer – sehr wohl bewusst war, und dass er derartige Belege zweckdienlich in seine Texte einzusetzen wusste.

Sprichwörtliche Formulierungen verwendet Frisch nach den jeweils zwei Welterfolgen auf der Bühne und auf dem Gebiet der Prosa dann ebenfalls in seinem dritten großen Roman *Mein Name sei Gantenbein* (1964), den er zum Abschluss dieser für ihn als Schriftsteller so überaus erfolgreichen zehn Jahre schreibt. Das sprachliche Leitmotiv in diesem Werk, in dem der Protagonist sich blind stellt und aus dieser Verstellung heraus die unterschiedlichsten Identitäten und Lebensentwürfe durchprobiert, ist fraglos sein häufiges „Ich stelle mir vor“, das dann an vielen Stellen prüfend und

wie zur Selbstbestätigung durch die Sprachformel *so weit, so gut* unterbrochen wird. In dem wohl bekanntesten Zitat des Romans „ich probiere Geschichten an wie Kleider!“ (Wa, V/1, 22) lässt sich ausserdem eine gewisse Verbindung zu einem der bekanntesten Sprichwörter der deutschen Sprache erkennen: *Kleider machen Leute*. Nachdem bereits Walter Faber und Gottlieb Biedermann mit dem sprichwörtlichen *Das Leben geht weiter* auf eine Zukunft gehofft hatten, ist es wieder dasselbe Denkmuster, das auch für Gantenbein zum wichtigen Motiv wird. Bei seinen Versuchen, verschiedene Wirklichkeiten mit Hilfe von Geschichten und Phantasien auszuprobieren, sagt er:

Ich stelle mir vor: / Das Leben geht weiter, aber nicht vorwärts, und es stellt sich, wenn auch verschwiegen, die Frage, wer daran Schuld ist (WaV/1, 242)

An dieser Stelle wird von Frisch jedoch bereits eine deutliche Einschränkung des traditionellen Denkmusters mitgenannt: die Richtung des Lebens ist unklar geworden, weil Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft nicht mehr eindeutig voneinander zu trennen sind. Der Handlungsgang wird ungewiss, die Zeitebenen verschieben sich, und der Einfluss anderer Menschen auf das eigene Dasein wird hinterfragt. Im *Gantenbein* werden nun Identitäten und Realitäten mit Alternativen konfrontiert. Es ist nicht mehr klar, wo das, was „weiter“ geht, tatsächlich hingeht, und es kann sich also ebenso irgendwohin verirren und dort dann verloren gehen. Dasselbe Sprichwort verwendet Gantenbein etwas später ein zweites Mal, als er nämlich in einer seiner vielen Geschichten von einem Mann erzählt, der für tot gehalten wird und der dann heimlich zu seiner eigenen Trauerfeier geht. Der Totgeglaubte beobachtet aus seinen Verstecken heraus die um ihn Trauernden, wagt es aber nicht, sich als Lebender zu zeigen. Beim sogenannten Leichenschmaus gibt es noch einmal eine solche Gelegenheit:

Jetzt hätte er in den Saal treten können: Das Leben geht weiter. Im Saal wäre die richtige Stimmung dafür gewesen. (WaV/1, 253)

Hier könnte nun wirklich Zukunft gemeint sein – alles geht so weiter wie bisher – doch wieder einmal, wie schon in den zwei vorherigen Werken Frischs, ist das eben nicht der Fall. In der Geschichte,

die Gantenbein erzählt, hat der Mensch allerdings zumindest die Wahl, und er entscheidet sich dann nicht so, wie man es „normalerweise“ erwarten würde. Die Versuchung ist einfach zu groß, und das bedeutet im Denken Frischs die Versuchung sich eben *nicht* zu erkennen geben, sondern unerkant abzureisen und irgendwo ein neues Leben zu beginnen. Welch einzigartige Chance dies ist für eine Frisch-Figur! Als „Toter“ hat er keine Verantwortungen mehr, und die ihn kannten erwarten nichts mehr von ihm. Sein Leben geht also tatsächlich irgendwie weiter, aber eben an anderer Stelle, wo niemand ihn kennt, und also mit völlig neuen Möglichkeiten, wie es Frisch in vielen seiner Werke durchprobiert hat. Dieselbe Geschichte, die zur Zukunft hin so vieles offen zu lassen vermag, wird dann vom Autor im Jahr darauf in *Zürich Transit* (1965) nochmals erzählt und als „Skizze eines Films“ veröffentlicht. Auch dort stellt sich der für tot Gehaltene eine Wiederbegegnung mit seiner Frau vor, und sagt ihr wie zur Warnung: „Achte das Geheimnis deines Nächsten, auf daß du lange lebest mit ihm!“ (WaV/2, 432) Dieser Formulierung gibt Frisch nicht nur einen sprichwortähnlichen Charakter sowie eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit zum vierten Gebot, er deutet damit ausserdem wieder auf das Bildnis-Motiv hin: das Geheimnis des anderen zu respektieren, sich also kein Bild von ihm machen, ist Voraussetzung für das Überleben der Beziehung. Ohne das Wissen um die große Bedeutung gerade dieses Motivs bei Frisch, und um seine häufige Anlehnung an Sprichwörter biblischen Ursprungs, mögen solche sprachlichen und inhaltlichen Verbindungen leicht zu übersehen sein.

Das Bildnismotiv ist auch im *Gantenbein* ein überaus wichtiges Thema, ohne dass das Gebot im Text direkt genannt wird. Stärker als dies in Frischs früheren Werken der Fall war, werden in diesem Roman die Auswirkungen deutlicher dargestellt, die sich aus der Nichtbeachtung des Gebots auf die Beziehung von Mann und Frau ergeben.¹⁹ Auf den diversen Handlungsebenen kommt es immer wieder zu Kontroversen zwischen den verschiedenen Paaren, und in den Dialogen finden sich nun weitaus häufiger belanglose Sprichwörter nach dem bekannten Muster *A ist A*. Derartige Floskeln eignen sich besonders gut für die zwischenmenschliche Kommunikation, wo sich die Partner nicht viel zu sagen haben. Bereits in früheren Texten hatte Frisch Beziehungsprobleme hin und wieder mit einem solchem Nicht-Argument veranschaulicht. Schon Gottlieb im *Harlekin* benutzt „Versprechen ist Versprechen“ (WaII/2,670) als

Rechtfertigung dafür, dass er gegen den Willen seiner Freundin Leute eingeladen hat, und Stiller musste in einem Streit hilflos feststellen: „Gesprochen war gesprochen, und ich konnte die unsinnige Bemerkung [...] nicht mehr zurücknehmen“ (WaIII/2, 774). Im *Gantenbein* treten derartige Tautologien nun in verstärktem Masse auf; das im Streit Gesagte oder Getane ist nicht mehr rückgängig zu machen, so sehr es sich der Mann, der sich nun schuldig fühlt, auch wünscht. Die Variante zu einer Handlung, jetzt, wo man es anders machen würde, ist einfach nicht möglich, und mit der lapidaren Feststellung nach dem Muster *A ist A* erübrigt sich jede weitere Erörterung. So kann Philemon an einer Stelle im Roman nur lakonisch feststellen „Offen ist Offen“ (WaV/1, 189), nachdem er die Schublade voller Briefe in rasender Eifersucht gewaltsam geöffnet hat, und Gantenbein, nachdem er im Streit mit Lila sein Whiskey-Glas an die Wand geschmettert hat „weiß bloß, daß er besser schweigen würde, aber Scherben sind Scherben, das ist nicht mehr zu ändern, auch wenn er schweigt“ (WaV/1, 165). Was passiert ist, ist passiert, und so kann man weder Möbelstücke noch Worte, die unbedacht geflogen sind, wieder herrichten, als wäre nichts geschehen: „die Sessel am Boden, ja, er sieht es selbst, und es hilft nichts, daß Gantenbein selbst sie wieder aufstellt, gesagt ist gesagt, Lila schluchzt, als habe er sie betrogen“ (WaV/1, 166).²⁰

Da *Gantenbein* im Vergleich mit den beiden Vorgängerromanen jedoch eine optimistischere Ausschau hat – man lese nur die so wichtigen Schlusssätze der drei in mancherlei Hinsicht zusammenhängenden Werke und beachte das „Leben gefällt mir“ (WaV/1, 320) im letzten – bietet es sich an, ein paar der humorvolleren Sprichwörter zu nennen, die Frisch hier verwendet. Dies kann der Autor nämlich ebenfalls in sehr kreativer Art und Weise. So lässt er zum Beispiel den einen Blinden spielenden Gantenbein in einer frühen Szene doppeldeutig sagen: „Lila sollte sich Ferien gönnen. Unbedingt. Sie hat es nötig, das sieht ein Blinder“ (WaV/1, 90) und später, als er voller Eifersucht Lila über einen ihrer Verehrer zur Rechenschaft zieht, der mit ihr nach Uruguay fliegen will, sagt er irgendwann resignierend: „Ich frage ja nicht, ob er Geld habe; ich trinke und schweige; alles was mir einfällt, ist banal. Wo eine Liebe ist, da ist auch ein Flugzeug nach Uruguay“ (WaV/1, 168). Derartig humorvoll eingesetzte Sprichwörter ohne Veränderung ihres traditionellen Wortlauts oder kreativ verdrehte Belege – und hieran er-

kennt man eben auch die „Sprichwörtlichkeit“ eines Autors – gibt es bei Frisch auch an anderen Stellen in seinem Werk, und einige davon sollen später noch kurz betrachtet werden.

Das nächste große Werk Frischs nach dem Roman *Gantenbein* ist das *Tagebuch 1966-1971* (1972), das man wohl bereits zum Spätwerk des mittlerweile sechzigjährigen Autors zählen darf. Hier werden nun neue Themen angegangen, und die Sprache Frischs, sowie die Darstellungsweise der Texte, werden immer mehr zur Montage von Einzelteilen, zu (allerdings nur) scheinbar willkürlichen Aneinanderreihungen, und sogar zu Fragebögen, die den Leser zur Suche nach eigenen Antworten auffordern. Man findet hier erneut traditionelle Sprachformeln aus der Bibel, aber ebenso zu Sprichwörtern gewordene Zitate. Shakespeare ist wieder vertreten, aus dessen Schriften Frisch bereits in früheren Werken viele bekannte Formulierungen verwendet hatte, wie z.B. *Sein oder Nichtsein* (WaI/1, 98), *Viel Lärm um nichts* (WaII/1, 53), *Wenn man jeden nach seinem Verdienst behandelte, so wäre niemand vor Prügelein sicher* (WaII/2, 635) oder *Der Geist ist willig, aber das Fleisch ist schwach* (WaIII/1, 122). Aus Goethes *Tasso* übernimmt Frisch im *Tagebuch* bei der Wiedergabe eines Gesprächs über Kunst und Künstler abgewandelt das sprichwörtlich gewordene Zitat „Erlaubt ist, was gefällt“:

„War Chaplin, meinen Sie, ein gelernter Marxist oder Marxist par génie?“ fragt einer, der bisher geschwiegen hat.
 „Wie meinst du das?“ fragt seine Gefährtin. „Erlaubt ist, was gelingt“, sagt einer, „es ist wenig genug.“ (WaVI/1, 106)

Auf Cicero zurück geht wohl das Sprichwort *Wenn zwei dasselbe thun, so ist es nicht dasselbe*, das Frisch im *Tagebuch* einsetzt, wenn er in einem Portrait von „Kabus“ sagt: „Kabus sitzt schweigsam dabei; er braucht sich nicht zu erwähnen, tut es auch nicht mit einer Miene. Es ist nie dasselbe, wenn Kabus dasselbe tut“ (WaVI/1, 270). Ebenfalls interessant ist ein englisches Zitat mit großer sprichwörtlicher Qualität, das Frisch bei der Beschreibung eines Treffens mit Henry Kissingers verwendet, und es dort als Formulierung des Gesprächspartners kennzeichnet: „Cynicals have never built a cathedral“ (WaVI/1, 276).

Es lässt sich mit der Natur eines „Tagebuchs“ erklären – obwohl dasjenige Frischs mit vielen neuartigen Formen und Darstel-

lungsweisen aufwartet –, und ebenfalls mit der Arbeitsweise des Autors, dass Skizzen und Fragmente immer mehr zu seiner bevorzugten Textart werden. Er nutzt nun öfters den Bekanntheitsgrad und die Tradition von Sprichwörtern aus, um in aller Kürze seine Aussage machen oder verdeutlichen zu können. Dabei kommt es vor, dass Frisch die Sprachformel nicht nur hier und da verändert, wie bereits zuvor gesehen, sondern sie sogar abrupt in der Mitte beendet, weil das oft Gesagte und das Jedermann Bekannte nicht mehr der Vollständigkeit bedarf, um verstanden zu werden:

Schon auf Fotos oder in der Tagesschau entsetzt mich jeder Akt der Gewalttätigkeit. Daher liebe ich die These, Gewalttätigkeit verändere nichts. Wer zum Schwert greift usw. (WaVI/1, 72)

Das biblische Sprichwort *Wer das Schwert nimmt, wird durchs Schwert umkommen* (Matth. 26,52) wird in der Mitte abgebrochen, weil jeder den zweiten Teil kennt. Aber es geht sogar noch kürzer, nämlich mit einem einzigen Wort, als Frisch im *Tagebuch* von einem gemütlichen Abend mit Kollegen aus der DDR berichtet, die auf die antiautoritäre, weil vermeintlich fortschrittliche Erziehung ihres Kindes stolz sind und es darum machen lassen, was es will. Als dem Kind das Gespräch der Erwachsenen und das Spiel mit der Eisenbahn – es „erkennt schon an den Häusern, daß Faschisten drin wohnen“ (WaVI/1, 293) – irgendwann zu langweilig wird, und es sofort nach Hause will, gibt es einen nur kurzen Machtkampf mit dem Vater, der noch länger bleiben möchte:

Das Kind will sofort, nicht in zwei Minuten, sondern jetzt; es sagt: Sonst lasse ich dich verhaften! Man lacht. Kindermund. (WaVI/1, 293)

Es genügt ein einziges Wort an der richtigen Stelle, um mit der Anspielung auf das bekannte Sprichwort *Kindermund tut Wahrheit kund* eine umfassende Stellungnahme zur Lebenssituation der Menschen in der DDR abzugeben. Frisch, der sich oft zur politischen und gesellschaftlichen Situation in Ost und West geäußert hat, kann hier zynisch veranschaulichen, wie das Kind, das seine Eltern unter Druck setzt, vom Alltag im Überwachungsstaat geprägt ist und darum eine Warnung in den Mund nimmt, zu dem ein Kind im Westen keinen Zugang hätte. Dass die Skizze im *Tagebuch* mit diesem

einen Wort endet, ist ein weiteres Beispiel dafür, wie Frisch Sprichwörter bevorzugt an das Ende eines Textes setzt, um die von ihm beabsichtigte Aussage auf einen ganz konkreten Punkt zu bringen, mit dem dann alles gesagt ist. Ob Zusammenfassung einer Ausführung oder überraschende Pointe wie hier, er kann an vielen Stellen in seinem Werk traditionelle Denk- oder Handlungsmuster, ohne den Fluss seiner eigenen Sprache zu unterbrechen, wirksam und eindrucksvoll einbauen.

Überlegungen zu Generationsunterschieden, wie im eben beschriebenen Beispiel, sind nun häufiger im Werk Frischs anzutreffen. Mit dem sogenannten 2. Tagebuch beginnt der Autor, Themen wie Alter und Tod einen breiteren Raum zu geben. Er macht sich nun vermehrt Gedanken über die Stellung älterer Menschen in der Gesellschaft, zu denen auch er selber nun gehört, und zu Generationsfragen ganz allgemein. Diese Erörterungen führen ihn dann zu Sprichwörtern wie *Man soll das Alter ehren*, was er allerdings in der Gegenwart weniger häufig anzutreffen scheint:

Das Gebot, das Alter zu ehren, stammt aus Epochen, als hohes Alter eine Ausnahme darstellte. (Siehe Statistik) Wird heute ein alter Mensch gepriesen, so immer durch Attest, daß er verhältnismäßig noch jung sei, geradezu noch jugendlich. Unser Respekt beruht immer auf einem NOCH. [...] Unser Respekt gilt in Wahrheit nie dem Alter, sondern ausdrücklich dem Gegenteil: daß jemand trotz seiner Jahre noch nicht senil sei. (WaVI/1, 107)

Sprichwörter findet man im 2. Tagebuch bei Texten zum Alter und über das Älterwerden sogar in den oft zitierten Fragebögen, wie hier das *Alles ist eitel*:

5.
Haben Sie schon einmal gemeint, daß Sie sterben, und was ist Ihnen dabei eingefallen:
- a. was Sie hinterlassen?
 - b. die Weltlage?
 - c. eine Landschaft?
 - d. daß alles eitel war?
 - e. was ohne Sie nie zustandekommen wird?
 - f. die Unordnung in den Schubladen?
- [...] (WaVI/1, 395)

Noch deutlicher mit Blick auf den Tod sind dann aber die kurz darauf erscheinenden „szenischen Bilder“ in *Triptychon* (1976) geschrieben, in dem das Sterben und die Toten eine große Rolle spielen. Hier wird nun von Frisch das Sprichwort *Wir müssen alle sterben* wiederholt verwendet:

TRAUERGAST Er hat einen schönen Tod gehabt. [...] und siebzig ist ein schönes Alter, meine ich. / WITWE Ja – / TRAUERGAST Sterben müssen wir alle. / WITWE Ja – (GW7, 97)

WITWE [...] Einmal sterbe ich auch. / *Man hört die Hausklingel.* / WITWE Sterben müssen wir alle. / *Man hört nochmals die Hausklingel.* (GW7, 106)

Nach den vielen Nennungen des sprichwörtlichen Denkmusters *Das Leben ist kurz* in Frischs früheren Schriften wird nun die Kehrseite dieser Tatsache dargestellt: der Tod kommt bestimmt, und das „kurze Leben“ ist eben nicht nur eine Floskel, die den Menschen zu einem im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes „sinn-vollen“ Leben auffordern soll. Eine Sprachformel wie *Das Leben geht weiter* – oft erwähnt in früheren Texten – ist nun in der späten Phase Frischs, in der auch seine eigene Zukunft kürzer geworden ist, nicht mehr im Werk zu finden.

Ebenfalls um das Älterwerden und den schleichenden Verlust von Denkkraft, Unabhängigkeit und körperlichen Fähigkeiten geht es in der darauffolgenden Erzählung *Der Mensch erscheint im Holozän* (1979), dessen Herr Geiser bereits im 2. Tagebuch kurz aufgetreten war. Als Leitmotiv verwendet Frisch hier das ebenfalls von Shakespeare abgeleitete Sprichwort *Bereitsein ist alles* (GW7, 225 und GW7, 251), das sich der alte Mann auf Zettel schreibt und an die Zimmerwand heftet.²¹ Fast ein halbes Jahrhundert zuvor hatte Frischs erste Romanfigur, der jugendliche Jürg Reinhart, mit demselben Sprichwort noch in einer Mischung aus Zweifel und Hoffnung auf seine Zukunft geschaut. Am Ende des Lebens stehend bemerkt Herr Geiser nun die Veränderungen in sich selber und in der Welt um sich herum und klammert sich an Daten und Fakten, die ihm einen Halt geben sollen, und die ihn daran erinnern sollen, was er einmal gewusst und gekonnt hat. Passend hierzu verwendet Frisch ausserdem Bemerkungen wie „Man muß auf alles gefaßt

sein“ (GW7, 232) und „Irgendwas vergißt man immer“ (GW7, 252), die er sicherlich nicht zufällig in einer sprichwortähnlichen Form verfasst. Neben dem Erinnerungsvermögen – das weiß Frisch aus eigener Erfahrung – gehen auch andere Fähigkeiten im Alter langsam verloren. In einer auf den ersten Blick humorvollen Szene baut sich Herr Geiser zum Beispiel eine Konstruktion aus dem Handlauf einer Treppe, um Spinnweben über eben dieser Treppe zu beseitigen, für die kein Besen im Haus lang genug zu sein scheint. Voller Erfindungsgeist und Stolz stellt Herr Geiser das Werkzeug her

indem man den Handlauf des Geländers abschraubt (was bei den verrosteten Schrauben nicht leicht ist, aber nach zwei Stunden vollbracht) und dann (Ideen muß man haben) einen kleinen Besen an den langen Handlauf befestigt mit Draht – (WaVI/2, 529)

Es gibt viele Beispiele im Werk, wo Frisch bestimmte Bemerkungen, die ihm besonders wichtig waren, in Klammern gesetzt hat. Für ihn war dies kein Verstecken, sondern im Gegenteil ein Hervorheben, und hier wird das Sprichwort *Ideen muß man haben* auf genau diese Weise herausgestellt. Es wirkt in der Textstelle durchaus humorvoll, weil eine Treppe ohne festes Geländer natürlich keine Idee ist, auf die man stolz sein sollte – deshalb darf man wohl auch die Bemerkung über die „verrosteten Schrauben“ als Hinweis auf Schwachstellen im Kopf des alten Mannes verstehen. Interessant ist, dass diese Szene nur im *Tagebuch* mit dem Sprichwort beschrieben wird und in der später veröffentlichten Erzählung dann ohne diese Ausschmückung. Allerdings erfolgt der vorauszusehende Sturz wegen des demontierten Geländers dann nicht in der kurzen Skizze im *Tagebuch*, aber sehr wohl später in der ausführlicheren Erzählung. Das anfangs vermutete Humorvolle in dieser Passage entpuppt sich am Ende also nicht nur als Witz über eine Treppe, sondern sogar als „Treppenwitz“, wenn man nämlich beim genaueren Lesen die Auswirkungen von Geisers Bastelaktion und die Ursache bedenkt, die im verwirrten Denkprozess des alten Mannes begründet liegen. Aus der sprichwörtlich guten „Idee“ wird damit am Ende ein ironischer und vielleicht sogar zynischer Kommentar über das Älterwerden.

Sprichwörter sind im Spätwerk von Max Frisch allerdings deutlich weniger zu finden, was bereits in der einleitenden Zahlentabelle

zu erkennen war. Diese Tendenz setzt sich in den postumen *Entwürfe[n] zu einem dritten Tagebuch* (2010) fort.²² Hier handelt es sich um Aufzeichnungen, die Frisch bereits 1982 gemacht hatte, und Themen wie Alter und Tod finden sich in diesen oft sehr kurzen Eintragungen wieder sehr häufig. Es liegt sicherlich eine allgemeine Illusionslosigkeit in vielen dieser späten Texte, die nicht nur in sprachlichen Ausbrüchen wie dem Folgenden deutlich wird:

Der Traum des armen B.B.:
 dass der Mensch dem Menschen ein Helfer sei –
 FUCK YOU!
 Der Stärkere ist eben stärker. Das ist die Natur. Man kann
 die Menschen nicht ändern, Bergpredigt in Ehren, aber
 Darwin hatte recht – (3T, 132)

Es ist nicht überraschend, dass Frisch hier eine Hoffnung Brechts in Erinnerung ruft, die dieser in Umkehrung des Sprichworts *Ein Mensch ist des andern Wolf* in seinem berühmten Gedicht „An die Nachgeborenen“ formuliert hatte. Das Werk Frischs, der das Brechtsche Zitat bereits im 2. Tagebuch einmal verwendet hatte (WaVI/1, 171), war spätestens nach der Begegnung der beiden in Zürich vor Brechts Umzug nach Ost-Berlin ohne Zweifel stark von dem bekannteren (und sprichwortreicheren²³) Dichter geprägt worden.²⁴ Dessen „Traum“ ist mit Blick auf die gegenwärtige Situation in der Welt jedoch nicht wahr geworden, so meint hier der offensichtlich enttäuschte, wenn nicht sogar verbitterte Frisch, denn die Menschen sind nicht gleicher oder hilfsbereiter geworden, sondern immer noch deutlich nach den verschiedensten Kriterien voneinander getrennt. Der „Stärkere“ behält nicht nur in vielen Sprichwörtern die Oberhand, sondern eben auch in der Wirklichkeit der Gegenwart. Die Kämpfe zwischen den Menschen, die Kriege überall, die Bedrohung durch Atomwaffen, und die Möglichkeit einer Auslöschung der gesamten Menschheit auf Knopfdruck sind Realitäten, bei denen sich Frisch – zum Zeitpunkt der Aufzeichnungen darüber hinaus stark geprägt vom langsamen Tod eines schwerkranken Freundes – nicht durch eine bekannte Sprachfloskel wie *Nach uns die Sintflut* trösten lassen will:

Man möchte annehmen, dass einer, der infolge eines medizinischen Befundes oder infolge hohen Alters weiss, dass

er bald gehen wird, sich von der Holocaust-Prognose nicht betroffen sieht, APRÈS NOUS LE DÉLUGE – das Gegenteil ist der Fall; die Vorstellung, dass es nach uns keine Menschen mehr gebe, vernichtet rückläufig unsere Vergangenheit. (3T, 57)

Es wäre aber schade, wenn unser Blick auf das Gesamtwerk von Max Frisch aus der Sicht seiner Sprichwörter mit Formulierungen enden würde, die in den späten Texten seiner Ernüchterung oder gar Bitterkeit Ausdruck geben. Der Autor hat im Laufe seines Schaffens nämlich wesentlich häufiger traditionelle Sprachmuster in humorvoller und kreativer Art und Weise eingesetzt. Wenn das Spielen mit überlieferten Sprachformeln ein Zeichen ist für die „Sprichwörtlichkeit“ eines Schriftstellers, dann darf man Frisch ein solches Prädikat sehr wohl geben. Aus diesen zwei Gründen sollen zum Schluss unserer Betrachtungen zusätzlich zu den bis hierhin bereits genannten Sprichwörtern jetzt noch einige weitere intertextuelle Beispiele chronologisch und unkommentiert genannt werden:

Finsternis und Kühle war es, was er uns erschloß mit jenem Zweikiloschlüssel [...]. Im Anfang war der Geruch. Von vergangenem Weihrauch und von siebenhundertjährigen Dingen. (JA, 99)

Jakob Burckhardt und der Barock; seine Entrüstung ist so begreiflich: er mißt den Barock nicht an den Schaffenszielen des Barock, sondern der Renaissance. Ich gestatte mir die Randglosse: Jakob, auch du? (WaII/2, 509)

Ein Blick von Gottlieb, und der Harlekin versteht. Die Dame hat sich offensichtlich noch nicht an ihren Stand gewöhnt, kommt aus kleinen Verhältnissen. Kommt Zeit, kommt Zynismus! (WaII/2, 684)

„Ich bin die Frau / Und der Teich mit dem Mond dieser Nacht, / Du bist der Mann / Und der Mond in dem Teich dieser Nacht, / Nacht macht uns eins, / Gesicht gibt es keins, / Liebe macht blind, / Die da nicht Braut und Bräutigam sind.“ (WaIII/1, 100)

In jedem Bus hängt ein buntes Heiligenbildchen, verblichen, umkränzt von verwelkten Blumen, hin und wieder mit dem Spruch: Gott wird für mich lenken! Und der Len-

ker scheint so gläubig zu sein, daß er unterdessen eine Tortilla ißt. (WaIII/1, 203)

Wir kennen das Herzblut des Dilettanten; es genügt nicht, um Kunst zu machen. Und abgesehen davon, daß nicht alles Blut ist, was trieft, es bleibt immer noch die Frage, was wir von der Kunst erhoffen: Ersatz des Lebens oder Durchsicht des Lebens? (WaIII/1, 357)

Ich erinnere mich an Landschaften (mit Wirtschaften) nur, wo ich mir die Mühe der Fußgängerei genommen habe, und ich weiß, das tönt beinahe moralisch. Im Schweiß deines Angesichts usw.! (WaIV/1, 211)

Erfahrung macht dumm... Diese Parole, die oft von Studenten zu hören ist, hat eine gewisse Richtigkeit; sie beruht auf Erfahrung. (WaVI/1, 177)

Wieder einmal geträumt: die Lösung für ein Stück. Erwacht vor Glück (Ei des Kolumbus, Gott gibt's den Seinen im Schlaf!) könnte ich die Sätze einfach hinschreiben (WaVI/1, 285)

Verbindlicher für ihr künftiges Verhalten, wenn sie den weißen Kittel tragen, ist das Ärztegelöbnis von Genf, 1948, da heißt es: [...] „Meine Kollegen sollen meine Brüder sein.“ (Wie ein Sprichwort sagt: Eine Krähe hackt der andern kein Auge aus.) (GW7, 87)

Mit diesem Schlussfeuerwerk von Sprichwörtern aus vielen Phasen im Wirken Max Frischs können hoffentlich auch die letzten Zweifel darüber beseitigt werden, dass der Autor solche traditionelle Formeln oft und vielseitig verwendet hat. Gleichzeitig mag der Leser Appetit bekommen haben auf das, was es in Frischs Werk an sprichwörtlichen Belegen noch zu entdecken und dann auch zu kommentieren gibt. Die Sprichwörter, die in der vorstehenden Arbeit genannt wurden, stellen nur einen kleinen Teil der etwa 300 Belege dar, die im Gesamtwerk zu finden sind. Basierend auf den reinen Zahlen sowie den vorgenannten Bemerkungen – und die deutlich häufiger verwendeten Redensarten, die in derartigen Studien oft mit berücksichtigt werden, sind in der vorliegenden Arbeit ja ausdrücklich ausgespart – sollte Max Frisch neben allen beein-

druckenden schriftstellerischen Qualitäten, die ihn zu einem Autor mit Weltgeltung gemacht haben, nun auch als das bekannt sein, was wir zu Beginn der vorliegenden Arbeit noch vermisst hatten: nämlich als ein sprichwortreicher Autor.

Anmerkungen

¹ Die Suche nach Redensarten im Werk Max Frischs ist durchaus ergiebig! Neben den etwa 300 Sprichwörtern in seinem Werk lassen sich mehr als 2.000 Redensartenbelege finden; diese sollen jedoch in einer separaten Studie genauer untersucht werden.

² Hans Bänzinger. „Leben im Zitat. Zu *Montauk*: Ein Formulierungsproblem und dessen Vorgeschichte“. In: Gerhard P. Knapp (Hrsg.), *Max Frisch. Aspekte des Prosawerks*, Bern: Peter Lang, 1978. S. 283.

³ Zitate aus dem Werk von Max Frisch werden jeweils mit dem Buch und der Seitenzahl darin angegeben. Eine Auflistung der in dieser Studie betrachteten Veröffentlichungen mit den verwendeten Abkürzungen findet sich in Anmerkung Nr. 7.

⁴ Lediglich bezüglich phraseologischer Wortpaarungen und zur Übersetzung von Idiomen gibt es zwei Forschungsarbeiten, die auf Beispiele formelhafter Sprache in Frischs Werk hinweisen: Melanie Higi-Wydler. *Zur Übersetzung von Idiomen. Eine Beschreibung und Klassifizierung deutscher Idiome und ihrer französischen Übersetzungen*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1989; und Markku Kantola. „Zum phraseologischen Wortpaar in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache.“ In: Jarmo Korhonen (Hrsg.). *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und germanistischen Phraseologieforschung: Internationales Symposium in Oulu 13.-15. Juni 1986*. Oulu: Oulu Yliopisto, 1987. S. 111-128. Hans Bänzinger hebt einige literarische Zitate im Werk Frischs hervor und spricht in diesem Zusammenhang immerhin allgemein von „geflügelten Worten“. Vgl. Hans Bänzinger, „Leben im Zitat“, S. 269. Außerdem hat Bänzinger in einer anderen Arbeit zur Sprache Frischs das lateinische (nicht-sprichwörtliche) Zitat „Ab posse ad esse valet, ab esse ad posse non valet“ besprochen, das der Autor zweimal in *Biografie* verwendet (WaV/2, 522 und 524). Vgl. Hans Bänzinger. „Ab posse ad esse valet [...] Zu einem Zitat im Spiel ‚Biografie‘“. In: Manfred Jurgensen (Hrsg.). *Frisch. Kritik – Thesen – Analysen*. Bern und München: Francke, 1977. S. 11-25.

⁵ Walter Schenk. *Die Sprache Max Frischs in der Spannung zwischen Mundart und Schriftsprache*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969. In dieser Studie geht es allerdings in erster Linie, wie der Titel sagt, um das Mundartliche in der Sprache des Schweizer Frisch.

⁶ Man mag an dieser Häufung einfachster Floskeln auch das erkennen, was S.P. Hoefert – allerdings ohne Bezug zu nehmen auf sprichwörtliche Formulierungen – ganz allgemein als Frischs „Zweifel an den Leistungen der Sprache“ bezeichnet, denn Tautologien stehen oft ganz bewusst als leere Texthülsen in Frischs Texten. Vgl. S.P. Hoefert. „Zur Sprachauffassung Max Frischs“. In: *Muttersprache* 73, 1963. S. 257-259.

⁷ Das Werk, das für diese Studie betrachtet worden ist, umfasst die folgenden Veröffentlichungen: a) Max Frisch. „*Im übrigen bin ich immer völlig allein*“ *Briefwechsel mit der Mutter 1933*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2000 (hier abgekürzt Bw); b) Max Frisch. *Journalistische Arbeiten 1931-1939*, hrsg. von Carsten Niemann. Hannover: Niedersächsisches Staatstheater Hannover, 2001 (JA); c) Max Frisch. *Gesammelte Wer-*

ke in zeitlicher Folge. Werkausgabe edition suhrkamp, 12 Bde. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1976 (WaI/1 - WaVI/2); d) Max Frisch. *Gesammelte Werke in zeitlicher Folge*. Jubiläumsausgabe in 7 Bänden. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1986 (GW7); e) Max Frisch. *Entwürfe zu einem dritten Tagebuch*. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2010 (3T).

⁸ Fussnoten werden üblicherweise aufgrund inhaltlicher Erwägungen eingesetzt. Mit dieser Fussnote verhält es sich jedoch anders: sie wurde am 1. Dezember 2011 nachträglich in das fast fertige Manuskript aufgenommen, als nämlich die Nachricht vom Tod der weltbekannten Schriftstellerin durch die Presse ging. Der Hinweis auf Christa Wolf an dieser Stelle ist allerdings mehr als gerechtfertigt, denn zum einen gibt es mehrere parömiologische Untersuchungen zu ihrem Werk (s. Fussnote 9), in dem sich eine Vielzahl von Sprichwörtern und Redensarten nachweisen lassen, und zum anderen haben sie und Max Frisch sich persönlich gekannt und über einander geschrieben. Die klugen Bemerkungen der Autorin zum Werk Frischs beinhalten unter anderem den Hinweis auf sein so wichtiges Bildnismotiv. Vgl. Christa Wolf. „Max Frisch, beim Wiederlesen oder: Vom Schreiben in der Ich-Form“. In: Christa Wolf, *Lesen und Schreiben. Neue Sammlung*. Darmstadt: Luchterhand Verlag, 1984. S. 200-208.

⁹ Vgl. Wolfgang Mieder und George B. Bryan. *Proverbs in World Literature. A Bibliography*. New York: Peter Lang, 1996. Hier finden sich bibliographische Angaben zu parömiologischen Arbeiten, die es zum Werk bestimmter Autoren bereits gibt.

¹⁰ Der vorliegende Text soll Vorstufe sein für eine grössere Studie über die im Werk Frischs zu findenden Sprichwörter und Redensarten. Diese Arbeit wird dann ein Register aller parömiologischen Belege enthalten, und dann eben auch die hier ausgearbeiteten Redensarten berücksichtigen, die Frisch in großem Umfang und mit beachtenswerter Kreativität verwendet.

¹¹ Alle Texte aus dem Werk von Max Frisch werden in der vorliegenden Arbeit zeichentreu wiedergegeben. Die Kleinschreibung, wie in diesem Zitat, wurde von Frisch in den Briefen an seine Mutter tatsächlich so angewendet. Vom Kampf mit der Schreibmaschine als Erklärung für das ungewöhnliche Schriftbild berichtet Frisch selbst-ironisch unter Zuhilfenahme eines bekannten Bibelspruchworts: „Im Scheweisse meines Angesichts spannte ich den fünften Bogen ein und biß auf die Unterlippe. Aber schon das erste Hauptwort blieb wieder klein und bescheiden. Und wie gesagt: ich bin ein fauler Kerl. Als ich unten bei der Hochachtung ankam, war der Unterzeichnete ein begeisterter Kleinschriftler.“ (JA, 14)

¹² Nicht betrachtet wird hier die 124-seitige Erzählung *Antwort aus der Stille* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1937), die Frisch nicht in seine Werkausgaben aufnehmen ließ. Das einzige dort zu findende Sprichwort ist „Befehl ist Befehl“ (S. 34), das der Autor in seinen folgenden Schriften dann noch weitere fünfmal verwendet (davon zweimal als „Order ist Order“).

¹³ Vgl. Derrick Barlow. „„Ordnung“ und ‚das wirkliche Leben‘ in the Works of Max Frisch.“ In: *German Life and Letters*. 19, 1965/66. S. 52-60. Barlow weist das Motiv der „Ordnung“ in vielen Werken nach, wo Frisch es als „restrictive and artfical pattern of behaviour“ (S. 52) einsetze. In Bezug auf *Santa Cruz* spricht Barlow auch die uns hier interessierende Formulierung an, ohne sie allerdings als Sprichwort zu kennzeich-

nen: „The Rittmeister himself has acquired the reputation of a ‚Mann der Ordnung‘ and his favorite expression, it seems, is ‚Ordnung muss sein.‘“ (S. 54)

¹⁴ Vgl. Hinweise und Erörterungen u.a. bei Gerhard F. Probst. „Du sollst dir kein Bildnis machen“. Überlegungen zu Max Frischs Roman *Mein Name sei Gantenbein*.“ In: *Colloquia Germanica*. 1978. S. 317-329; Eduard Stäuble. *Max Frisch. Gesamtdarstellung seines Werkes*. St. Gallen: Erker-Verlag, 1967. S. 22-26; Theo Elm. „Schreiben im Zitat. Max Frischs Poetik des Vorurteils“. In: *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*. 1984. S. 225-243; Hans Jürg Luethi. *Max Frisch. „Du sollst dir kein Bildnis machen.“* München: Francke, 1981.

¹⁵ Eduard Stäuble. *Max Frisch*, S. 24.

¹⁶ Bei genauem Lesen ist das Bildnismotiv bereits in einem Artikel Frischs vom 1.6.1934 zu erkennen, damals jedoch noch ganz offensichtlich ohne die erst später im Denken (und vmtl. in der Erfahrung) des Autors hinzukommende Erkenntnis über die möglichen Auswirkungen solchen Handelns. Dort schreibt der Dreiundzwanzigjährige: „Wenn ich offen bin: diese Gespräche, die ich jemals auf nächtlichen Bänken geführt habe, sind letztlich verzweifelt ähnlich! Und warum? Herrliches Männergefühl: da sitze ich und forme Mädchen nach meinem Bilde.“ (JA, 159)

¹⁷ Vgl. u.a. Eduard Stäuble. *Max Frisch*, S. 22ff; Theo Elm. „Schreiben im Zitat. Max Frischs Poetik des Vorurteils“. In: *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, Bd. 103, 1984. S. 225-243; Jürgen H. Petersen. *Max Frisch*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002. S. 102ff.; Kurt Marti. "Das zweite Gebot im ‚Stiller‘ von Max Frisch". In: *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz*, Nr. 113, 1957. S. 371-374.

¹⁸ Vgl. u.a. meine Arbeit „Was kommt, das ist ja alles schon geschehen“. Die Verwendung von Motiven aus der Christus Passion in Max Frischs *Andorra*.“ In: *New German Review*. Vol. 15/16, 1999/2000. S. 36-52.

¹⁹ Vgl. Gerhard F. Probst, S. 320. Dass Gantenbein sich aus Liebe zu Lila blind stellt, wie Probst meint, um das Gebot befolgen zu können – sich also im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes kein Bildnis machen zu können – ist eine einleuchtende These. Da Gantenbein selber bei seinem Vorhaben jedoch nicht immer erfolgreich agiert, und ausserdem in einigen seiner „Geschichten“ die Verfehlungen gezeigt werden, ergeben sich dennoch Situationen in der Beziehung zum Partner, die sich aus der Nichtbeachtung des Gebots ableiten lassen.

²⁰ Ähnlich werden von Frisch derartige Sprachformeln in der Beziehung zwischen Mann und Frau später in *Biografie* (1966/67) verwendet; als sich z.B. der Mann die Frage stellt, ob die so unerwartete wie vieles komplizierende Liebesnacht zu einer gemeinsamen Zukunft führen könnte, wird derartigen Gedanken mit der Floskel „vorbei ist vorbei, sie beharrt nicht einmal auf die Vertraulichkeit der nächtlichen Anrede“ (WaV/2, 535) ein schnelles Ende gesetzt.

²¹ Vgl. Noel L. Thomas. „Readiness is all – Max Frisch’s *Der Mensch erscheint im Holozän*“. In: *New German Studies*. Vol. 13, 1985. S. 115-129. Thomas untersucht in seiner Arbeit, welche Texte sich Geiser herausucht und bemerkt bezüglich der uns hier interessierenden Formulierung *Bereitsein ist alles*, die Thomas im allgemeinen Zusammenhang zur Textstelle im Hamlet (5. Akt, 2. Sz.) bespricht: „The context in which the sentence ‚the readiness is all‘ is set is clearly not without significance.“ (S. 127)

²² Dasselbe gilt für die in dieser Studie nicht näher besprochenen späten Texte Frischs wie *Montauk* (1974), *Blaubart* (1981) und *Schweiz ohne Armee? Ein Palaver* (1989), in denen es nur vereinzelte Sprichwörter gibt.

²³ Zur Sprichwörtlichkeit Brechts vgl. Wolfgang Mieder, „*Der Mensch denkt: Gott lenkt – keine Red davon!*“ *Sprichwörtliche Verfremdungen im Werk Bertolt Brechts*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1988. Der Hinweis auf die von Frisch genannte Stelle im Werk Brechts auf S. 61.

²⁴ Sogar das Bildnismotiv, das im Werk Frischs eine so überaus wichtige Rolle spielt, finden wir bei Brecht ebenfalls – wenn auch in anderer Weise – dargestellt. Vgl. Bertolt Brecht. „Über das Anfertigen von Bildnissen“. In: *Gesammelte Werke*, Bd. 20. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1987. S. 168-170.

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THE AFRICAN PROVERB AND THE LIVING PRESENT:
A PARADIGM FROM RECENT IGBO PAREMIOLOGY

Abstract: Modernity, the triptych upon which a corpus of Igbo sayings has been created, arose *pari passu* with the larger incidence of post-colonialism. As a phenomenon with a pervasive grip on the life and imagination of the African, post-colonialism has had its imprint on Igbo paremiology. Thus where the events out of which the Igbo paremiographer forged his/her sayings had taken place in the colonial era, it is safe to state that the coinage proper was likely to have been a post-colonial engagement since proverb formulation takes place long after the experience(s). It is then easy to observe a set of emergent saws which evidently show they are recent, and therefore 'modernist.' Such sayings are the outcome of the contact between Africa and the West as well as the power of the prevailing air of modern globalization sweeping across the continents. In this paper, we identify two subgenres of the Igbo proverb tradition, each of which evokes newness. The first category bears proverb terms which are unambiguously alien to the Igbo language vocabulary while the second is couched in a code-switch of Igbo and English, and which again readily flaunts its modernist credentials. Ordinarily, the proverb is associated with ancientness, with established custom and tradition, but the aphorisms in question are new, vibrant and audacious in rendition, and prove rather decisively that in Africa proverb-minting and usage remain an ongoing folkloric agenda.

Keywords: modernity, triptych, post-colonialism, imprint, paremiology, paremiographer, coinage, modernist, globalization, subgenres, formulation, code-switch, sayings, proverbs, newness, ancientness, aphorisms, proverb-minting

Preamble

Post-colonialism is a concept which is associated with events in colonized regions of the world post-dating colonialism. Yet as well it is part of the larger incidence of a modern movement, at least from the point of view of the colonizer. Oftentimes, to call up the proverb evokes the product of the dim past, of ancientness and of tradition rooted in a time not always linked to both modernity and

post-colonialism. Thus almost always an engagement in post-colonial discourse is an acknowledgement of the centrality of a certain level of power relations in the context of a lopsided cultural exchange out of “which the colonizer imposes a language, a culture and a set of attitudes, and the degree to which the colonized peoples are able to resist, adapt to or subvert that imposition” (Innes 2).

As it is easy to observe, there has emerged in the Igbo gnomic category a set of new proverbial constructions which are evidently the products of the introduction of the English language and the ‘modern’ culture it inaugurated in Igboland. The proverbial utterances emanating from the contact with English as well as those derived from Western cultural items, beliefs and institutions spring from the desire to ‘adopt’ and ‘adapt’ while being ‘adept’ at presenting the African viewpoint without a sense of inferiority (Barry 196). Rather than appear inferiorized, the user of the new sayings exhibits an air of discovery, an interiority of his/her African stance by appropriating a mode of foreign cultural power and making it serve his/her aims. From the formulation of the more recent Igbo sayings, one observes in the antics of their coiners an awareness of what is in vogue, what is modern, an exhibition of “a form of knowledge that circumscribes and delimits” (Castle 157) between that which is familiar and that which is new, even if strange on some occasions. An effort is made by the user of these new sayings, in preference to the older forms, to show that he/she thinks *à la mode* and knows what suits the social climate. He/she may derive humor, regaling self and others who hear these saws since the latter are for the most part jocular in texture.

Modernity and the African Proverb

As has been the recent experience of the African in all the spheres of life to which he has been exposed or which has affected or concerned him, ‘modernity’ resulting from the unequal contact with the West has also reached the doorsteps of African folklore. Not only are many of our folklore forms propagated by the modern media like the radio and the television, there are now, for example, ostensibly African folktales narrated on radio in which ‘television’, ‘telephone’, ‘motor car’ or even ‘airplane’ are mentioned! As in the other areas of life, what is now regarded as modern in those spheres is no more than the European and American way of doing things,

while modernization is nearly always taken to mean Europeanization. Thus even the so-called African episteme is almost always justified *a priori* either on Western precepts, canvassed as equivalents or converted as saleable ideas in their interbred or deodorized formulations. Femi Shaka observes that “these hybridized modern African philosophic and artistic expressions are often reflected in the ambivalent relationship, which is continually constructed out of the colonial experience, between the desire for African authenticity and traditions and the demands of European modernity” (39). What Shaka has had to say about the nature of the African ideas in the African cinematic tradition is easily reflected in a genre of African proverb which we have qualified in this paper with the adjective ‘modern’.

Otherwise the proverb as a gnomic form ought not to have had anything to do with modernity since all known definitions of the proverb seem to associate it with the past, with traditionality, with antiquity. Almost all the definitions of the proverb noted by Wolfgang Mieder in his 1985 essay are either associated with ‘folksy’ wisdom, condensed version of basic opinions, aspects of life universally familiar to mankind, generally accepted thought, a piece of folklore (111-116) etc. While some of the definitions seem to recognize the place of currency, none gives the hint that the production of proverbs is an on-going event. It is probably because of the difficulty of reconciling the various contradictions in and about the proverb that led Archer Taylor to say early in his classic book on the proverb that “the definition of a proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking” and for him as well to insist that “should we fortunately combine in a single definition all the essential elements and give each the proper emphasis, we should not even then have a touchstone.” Sounding reconciliatory, Taylor could only say: “Let us be content with recognizing that a proverb is a saying current among the folk” (3). Although Taylor’s stance is unhelpful, we are fortunate that in this paper proverb definition is not an emphasis. Moreover, we all are endowed with that “incommunicable quality” which warns us in advance that “this sentence is proverbial and that one is not” (Taylor 3). Thus all ‘modern’ sayings of the Igbo we shall refer to in this presentation are either outright proverbs or proverbial utterances which would one day assume the toga of proverbs.

The 'modern' Igbo proverb seems to have taken life out of what could be considered as 'proverb-sloughing' or what Raji-Oyelade calls 'postproverbials' ("Postproverbials in Yoruba Culture" 74-82). By this one means that the forms of these Igbo sayings exist in the Igbo corpus even if their content may have changed as a result of the introduction of Western ideas, artifacts, institutions, ways of life etc. It refers to the recent phenomenon by which the Igbo proverb tradition probably in its desire to keep afloat adopts a modernist content while performing the additional function of humor, particularly uttered before audiences to which such a saying is probably being rendered for the first time. We describe the new Igbo proverbial corpus as 'modernist' since the content borne by this proverb genre is often related to Africa's new existential paradigms. Although this proverb type is new in ideational character, its form, as already noted, is recognizably African and indigenous, which is why it is acceptable. It is to be equally observed that the human contexts which require their use in speech and discourse may not have drastically changed since basic human needs have remained quite immutable and importunate all through the ages.

It needs to be mentioned that the sloughing survival strategy of the African proverb already touched upon is quite extensive. Because of their extensive use in very many spheres of life, it seems to me that the African proverb is not in any danger of annihilation, considering the onslaught modernity has unleashed on many original African thoughts and ideas, cultural institutions, skills, folklore, traditions, norms, mores and customs (see also Raji-Oyelade, "Posting the African Proverb" 299-314). In recent times the African proverb has sought residency in advertisements, in the literary works of African writers, Highlife and traditional music, essays by notable African newspaper and magazine columnists, video films, political rhetoric and religious preachments.

Code-mixes in 'Engligbo': One Source of New Igbo Sayings

Many but not all Igbo proverbs described as 'modern' are couched in the bizarre linguistic intermedium of *Engligbo*, proverbs formulated in it are quite ample, and can no longer be ignored. Engligbo is a recent linguistic composition involving the code-mixing of Igbo and English. It is a speech phenomenon which may have started with illiterate Igbo folks in their desire to prove that

they too know some English words. However, these days, both the not-so learned and the learned are engaged in its use. A popular Igbo musician – Oliver de Coque – has lashed out at his fellow Igbo men and women who speak *Engligbo*, insisting that “onye cho isu Igbo ya suru gaba; onye cho isu oyibo ya suru gaba” (he who wants to speak Igbo let him do so; he who wants to speak English let him go ahead). De Coque goes on to say that “asukota Igbo na oyibo o buru ogbara Igbo gharii” (when Igbo and English are code-mixed, it leaves the Igbo further confused).

P.A. Anyanwu, writing on the dynamics of the English-Igbo contact situation which often results in the production of ‘Engligbo’, renders an analogy of this linguistic phenomenon as “the proverbial leper who wants an embrace from the condescending person who vouchsafes him a handshake.” According to him, *Engligbo* may have “attracted unsavoury criticism even among the Igbo,” yet it has not stopped becoming “a persistent feature of language use among the people” (38). He further states that “a mixture of English and Igbo derogatorily referred to as Engligbo by the Igbo themselves, has ceased to be a language of the uneducated and has almost completely become the exclusive preserve of the educated elite” (39).

Thus it is safe to say that a prominent feature of the so-called modern Igbo proverb is its straddling of the two worlds of Igbo and English. Oftentimes in its morphological composition, this proverb type has within it the component Igbo words and one or two English lexical items. Although in most cases the English words which inhabit the proverb utterance may not easily be replaced by Igbo equivalents, in some others rendering the English words in Igbo will deny the saying its shock, drama and excitement. In some cases, *Igbonizing* such English words, may rob the ensuing proverb of its potential humor and piquancy.

Recent Igbo Paremiography

The word ‘paremiography’ means the coining and formulating of proverbs or the art of collecting them or indeed both. In this paper, we are interested in the formulation of proverbs rather than who collects them. It should be pointed out that the paremiographer or proverb-coiner need not be a sophisticated fellow who flaunts a deep knowledge of the socio-cultural environment in which these proverbs are being produced. Rather it is the product of a fertile mind which may have contemplated the world and its antics from

its small spot in the universe. Because of the convolutions of time and time-distance it is tempting to agree with Bartlett Jere Whiting who although he makes a strong case for the theory of individual coinage, still insists that “none of the sayings we call proverbs can be proved to be the work of a conscious literary artist” (55). Whiting’s position here sounds absolute. Yet there are people in Igbo settings who revel in producing proverbial utterances, and are in fact known for that. For such people proverb formulation cannot be a happenstance. We shall say a little more about this shortly. For now, it is pertinent to state that Alexander H. Krappe who wrote a little before Whiting, had insisted that “a proverb can no more than a tale be considered a mass product. On the contrary, each proverb was coined just once, in a given locality, at a given time, by one mind with some gnomic talent” (143).

The fact remains that in Igbo life, “one mind with some gnomic talent” need not be an educated person or even a sane person (see Ezenwa-Ohaeto, “Poetic Eloquence” 209). It is in fact common to hear proverb users begin their introduction of the proverb into their speech act with such rhetorical matrixes as ‘Was it not Jadum, the madman who said that...?’ Or ‘Was it not the madman at Afo Ogbé market who once remarked that...?’ Although madness is as old as the Igbo society, the madman whose utterances become proverbs or proverbial expressions uses currency, uses latest and recent events and sociopolitical phenomena which is why these proverbial formulations by him tend to stick quite easily. For instance, it was said that a madman who had passed a building site on a number of occasions had seen only storey-building blocks and bricks heaped all over the place and had had to tell the workers to advise the owner of the building project to mould some blocks and also go find out the price of iron rods in the market (“Gwanu onye a si ya kputu kwani block, ya kwetukwani rod onu”). This was of course a way of saying that to construct a storey-building is much more than assembling just blocks when iron rods are yet to be reckoned with.

Having said this, although we are aware that no madman consciously sets out to make proverbs, he being destined to “want to say one thing and another entering his mouth”, there exist in the Igbo world conscious formulators of proverbs. However, these coiners of the proverb are only known in a restricted area of Igboland where the paremiographer knows the audience and the audi-

ences know him. As N.F. Inyama's study of Nwachukwu Nweke shows, his subject was known only in a small clan of Igboland – Ezinihitte Central – while his sayings “are mostly used in a small part of Igboland” (48). Nweke who lived in the first half of the 20th century was a conscious coiner of Igbo sayings. He had not been insane; rather he was insolvent. According to Inyama, he “did not live a materially successful life. The only wife he ever had was an inheritance, for he could not generate enough money on his own to marry for himself” (49). Inyama equally refers to Awuja, a one-time warrant chief and customary court judge. Awuja was said to have had an outsize pair of coarse lips over which his age-mates, and or those whose bitterness he may have incurred as a result of his varied judgments, made a jest of. At one point he was quick to remind his antagonists that “otu-na-otu onu m n’adila, o wu m gana aragbu ya” (However my lips are, it is I who will continue to lick them).

Even if proverb-coinage in the Igbo past may have been ‘un-consciously’ done as Whiting seems to suggest, in recent times, specific proverbs or proverbial utterances are attributable to certain people. These people are today known beyond their clans because of the impact of the mass media. There is, for instance, Stephen Osita Osadebe, a Highlife maestro (now late) who is well-known for using his music to make very profound statements which are now used in proverbial contexts. Such popular sayings as Proverb 1. “Oso ndi o we ndi” (It pleases some, it offends some); 2. “Agbaraka na-azo ani, onye ji ji anaakonye” (If one who struggles over a piece of land is empty-handed, he who has yams continues to sow them); 3. “A gbacha oso aguo milee” (After racing, the distance covered in miles is evaluated); and 4. “O diri nwalogbo mma pussy, o laba tea” (If things go in favor of the pussy cat, it drinks tea) etc. are some of his original formulations. There are other Igbo musicians too. We have Celestine Okwu (now late), Celestine Obiako, Helen Nkume, Mike Ejiagha, Nelly Uchendu (now late), Doctor Sir Warrior (now late), Aloy Anyanwu (now late), Paulson Kalu, Godwin Ezike, and more recently, Sir Foreigner, Sunny Bobo, Saro-Wiwa and a long line of their inheritors and imitators too numerous to mention. Their musical hits are recorded in albums and cassettes and marketed around the country, and even beyond. There are also in the video film medium Igbo entertainers, actors and comedians such as Zebrudaya, and Gringory, Lomaji Ugorji (now late), Nze Orji Imo (now late), Osuofia, Chidebelu Agu, Patience Ozorkwo, Ngozi

Nwosu, Nnamdi Olebara, Donald Ekenta, Godspower Nwagbara, Uche Ogbuagu etc. These men and women have through the media of the radio, television and phonodisc and the home videos made enduring remarks that are full of wisdom and proverbiality, whose remarks are now widely referred to in the context of modern Igbo social communication ethos.

New Igbo Sayings and the Sources of their Content
The White man ('bekee', 'oyibo' or 'onye-ocha')

The high point of modernity and civilization in Igbo estimation is the white man (see Nwachukwu-Agbada 137-8). When one is haughty, another may ask if the arrogant fellow is a white man! It was after the white man's arrival in Igbo land that new items of culture, some glittering, hitherto unknown to the Igbo, began to be noticed or their impact felt. What baffled the Igbo about the white man was that he came not only with a new administration but also with a new religion, manned by white priests and pastors. Although he sounded benign, innocuous and calm, he had with him as well lethal weapons and destructive tools. He preached a new God, but his methods of securing acquiescence were occasionally ungodly. His skin color was not only strange, his language was spoken through the nose while his reaction to things, even when they were unfavorable events to them was stately, unhurried and deliberate.

5. Ozu nwabekee, e bulie ya elu 'no no no'; e buda ya ala 'no no no' (The white man's corpse if it is raised, 'no no no', if it is lowered 'no no no').

This saying may have been coined to emphasize the white man's bizarreness; he is someone difficult to please, he being a perfectionist. When one cannot be easily pleased, this proverb is cited to depict just that scenario. His 'corpse' refers to his body which able-bodied Igbo men were compelled to convey from one place to another in a hammock.

6. Anyali: e so kwu buru bekee? (The albino: are you also a white man?)

It is akin to the Biblical line: 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' The proverb is used to question the authenticity of someone who claims arbitrary superiority. A new saying

close to the one under focus is: (7) “Ndi anyali ekwero anyi malu ndi bu bekee” (Albinos hardly allow us know those who are white men).

8. *Father* ghara nwa bekee, ya na onye awuru kwani nwanne? (If the white{Catholic} priest avoids the white man, who then becomes his brother?)

This saying is instructive: it is the recognition by the Igbo of the link between colonialism and Christianity. The Igbo also say: (9) “Akalanti akuru Father, o wu nwa bekee kaaku ya” (A slap given to the white {Catholic} priest is as good as having been given to the white man). They also say: (10) “Father awughi nwata na bekee” (The white {Catholic} priest is not a small boy in the things of the white man).

11. A kuo kotima nwa bekee akalanti, ya kwuo ebe o si (If the white man’s court messenger is given a slap, he quickly announces the name of his village).

The ‘kotima’ (the Igbo corruption of ‘court messenger’) was a very dreaded agent of the white man. He was usually a fellow Igbo who enjoyed easy proximity to the white man and could complicate things for the local people. He was usually proud and stand-offish, but a direct confrontation with him usually made him sober. The proverb is cited when a task which appears difficult is confronted headlong; it may then be discovered that it is not as difficult as it seems.

12. Onye golu inyinya-igwe akpaazi oyibo amu (Awka saying) (One who has bought a bicycle can no longer be looked down upon by the white man).

The bicycle (inyinya-igwe) is one of those Western items brought into Igboland by the colonizer. The saying proclaims that if there is a task to be accomplished, and one quickly descends on it, one is then likely to be taken seriously as being desirous of getting it done.

13. Ihe o soro gi meere onye igwe, tupu o na-ala o ga ekpere gi ike. (However kind you are to a bicycle-riding visitor, he must turn his buttocks at you as he wants to go)

The bicycle-rider will necessarily turn his back at his host as he mounts his vehicle. This is what the proverb-coiner regards as turning of the buttocks. As a saying, it is used to underline the fact that an ingrate remains one no matter the amount of kindness shown to him or her.

14. Wetuo aka n'oru oleala; nwa-oleala awughi oru (Stay off the job of the sanitary inspector; sanitary inspection is no job)

The saying may be quaint to someone who may not have known what the prevalent social climate then was among the Igbo in the 1940s and 1950s when sanitary inspection was introduced to check unhygienic behavior in the area. These sanitary inspectors could inspect anywhere, including communal latrines! For the Igbo of the time, it was de-meaning for a man to be paid because he was looking into filthy places.

The Church

The church is a recent and modern institution, now very much embraced by the Igbo. It has been responsible for many 'modern' Igbo proverbs because of the pervasive grip of Christianity on the Igbo people's consciousness in recent times.

15. Onye biara uka ka Father na-abara mba (It is the one who attends a church service that the Rev. Father scolds).

Here the notion is that the priest's stern remarks about God's wrath and such things amount to scolding those who are listening to him in the church whereas those who are absent hardly hear those stentorian admonitions. The proverb is used to underscore the irony of the unpleasant fate which may face those who strive to be of assistance in daring circumstances. Sometimes a person may be blamed for a situation that he is in fact trying to ameliorate; rather than be praised for making some effort he/she is wrongly castigated.

16. Ikuku kuo a mara na *Father* na-eyi kwa *trousers* (When the wind blows, we know that a white (Catholic) priest also wears trousers).

When one faces hardship one gets to know one's real friends. Oftentimes people cannot know all the behavior of those who claim to love them until an event takes place which becomes quite revelatory.

17. Ala enyere *Church*, mkpabiri-mkpabiri (Give a piece of land to a church, it expands by eating slowly into adjoining lands).

The saying is used to condemn the expansionist and colonizing tendencies of certain people or when beneficiaries of the goodwill of others abuse it by going out to take or demand more on their own.

18. Onye *Faith* gburu, o nwekwere azu-ulo? (Doesn't the Faith Tabernacle member who allows himself to die from obeying the injunctions of the sect have a backyard?)

The church in, Faith Tabernacle -shortened here as *Faith* - is known for asking its members to shun the use of drugs during ailments. The 'backyard' enables one to take medications without being noticed by fellow members of the sect. The saying is used when one is being urged to devise an escape route for short-circuiting an established procedure or custom which may not be convenient to keep. At this point, a grunt, a postponement or a feigning of ailment may be required to avert an impending explosive or incriminating moment.

19. Onye yiiri *slippers* gaa *church*, e kwele Chineke nkwa *shoe* (A person who wears a pair of slippers to church has promised God that he will one day wear a pair of shoes).

From one doing little things, a big thing is expected. All big ventures started from small attempts. A little done or realized today evinces that more could be achieved in the future.

20. Otutu okwu adighi n'uka mgbede (Too much talking is not necessary in benediction).

The Catholic benediction is not for sermonizing or preaching. It is usually short and precise. The Igbo use this saying when what needs to be done does not require a long discourse. What is to be done has to be done quickly rather than delays action with too much dialogue.

21. 'Kwuru oto, ka-anyi kelee Jesus,' agbasaghi onye ngworo' ('Stand up, let us thank Jesus' does not concern a cripple)

This is certainly a proverb of the last fifty years or thereabout. Although Christianity is more than a century old in Igboland, the remark of 'Stand up, let us thank Jesus' is associated with pentecostalism which is quite recent in African Christianity. The next proverb, Proverb 21, is quite close to this one.

22. Ana-ekwe '*It shall be permanent*', onye ngworo o ga e so ekwe? (If the hymn '*It shall be permanent*' is being sung, will the lame person join?)

One participates in a project which promises to be beneficial to one. Most of the time life is about utility. No cripple or rather a physically challenged person will sing a song which appears to be endorsing his/her state of disability.

23. Okokporo na-abamba na umuaka abiaghi *church*, umu ya biaranu ha di ole? (A bachelor who loses his temper because too few children have arrived for church service, how many of his are there?)

The context of use is when people are being urged to limit what they have to say or do to their own means; they should not rely on what others could do.

24. Ano m na-ekele Maria, ibe m ejufutachaa na graciaya (I have all the time been here hailing Maria while others are already full of grace).

The saying is drawn "Hail Mary", a Catholic prayer whose first line reads: 'Hail Mary, full of grace...' The English words in the proverb are 'Maria' and 'grace'. People use this 'modern' saying to upbraid themselves for not being as smart as others to realize when an advantage presents itself

or when their insistence on the correct thing being done denies them of benefiting from an opportunity, even if an immoral one.

25. Onye ogbu agala *church*, o gawu anyi nu olu abu ya (A deaf man has gone to church, what is left is for us to hear him sing)

With this saying, people are urged not to try the impossible or to rush into doing things they are least prepared for. A deaf person that goes to church can only observe what is going on, he/she is not in a position to enjoy any song or prayer being rendered as the worship service progresses.

Prostitution

While the act of prostitution and concubinage may not be said to be new in Igbo social life, prostitution as a money-making venture is quite recent. In the past, Igbo prostitutes who largely operated within the locality, often times from their matrimonial homes broke off from their trade from time to time to give birth to the pregnancy occasioned by their sexual escapades. However, these days, modern prostitutes hardly get caught by unwanted pregnancies as a result of the introduction of safety methods. As a consequence, often times they end up in old age without children of their own, almost always visited by such age-old mishaps as disease, lack of care and penury.

26. Akwuna kawa nka akpataghi aku, ya si na owumiri kuru ya (When a prostitute is ageing without much to fall back on materially, she claims the sea goddess [mammy-water] had taken control of her).

The saying is used when people give false reasons for not doing well in life or for not doing what they ought to have done at an earlier stage in life. By referring to the sea goddess such people now want to heap the blames for their poor performance in life on the powerful grip of the supernatural whereas they had gone into prostitution with their eyes wide open.

27. Akwunakwuna ga ama ihe o mere onweya mgbe nka biara (The prostitute will realize what she has done to herself when old age sets in).

Like the proverb before this one, this saying is used to remind someone to 'seize the day' and do what he/she ought to do today while he/she is still healthy or else face an uncertain future.

28. Nwoke na-aga n'akwuna anaghi acho nwa (A man who patronizes prostitutes is not looking for a child).

People should search for the solution to an identified problem where it ought to be. Thus a man who visits a prostitute must have known that she is not the best person to give him a child.

29. Akowachaa ihe akwuna riara nwuo agaghi e li ya e li (If the entire story of all the diseases a prostitute suffered from before she died is told, she will not be buried).

The context of the use of this saying is when one is urging others seeking where to lay blames for a fault to go for the substance and leave out the shadow.

30. Nwa akwuna hu karia ndi nwoke na-eche nne ya, ya e bunye ha oche (If a prostitute's child continuously sees men looking for his/her mother, he/she offers them seats).

When a situation overwhelms one, one succumbs to it or accepts the circumstance without challenging it.

31. Akwuna anaghi aza 'Virginia' (A prostitute does not go by the name 'Virginia')

'Virginia' suggests that one is a virgin! A prostitute has already lost her virginity and could not answer Virginia again which, as we have said, gives the impression that one is a virgin. One cannot claim proficiency in an area of life one has no training or skill.

Madness

The question of madness and proverbial constructs arising from it are quite substantial in Igbo discourse. However, the ‘modern’ proverbial sayings attributable to the madman are rather few since madness is not one of those phenomena traceable to the arrival of colonialism or Western modernization. However, there are few outstanding ones worthy of mention, particularly attributed to specific madmen like Jadum of Awka and environ or a madman or woman of a specific market place.

32. Ndi *mechanic* ekweghi anyi mara ndi ara (Motor mechanics have not allowed us to know those who are really mad).

The context of use of this new saying is when it is becoming apparent that many people are claiming what they are not or when it is becoming difficult to know what is genuine and what is faked. In Nigeria, roadside auto mechanics dress just as shabbily as market square madmen such that it is not often easy to distinguish between the two.

33. Jadum onye-ara no n’Awka si na egbubie nne ya abuo, ya eburu ebe elu ya (Jadum, the madman at Awka said that if his mother was cut into two, he would carry the upper part).

The saying is used to indicate that there is still sense and reasoning in madness, that a mad person could be thoughtful sometimes. Rather than go for the lower part as one would have expected a mentally deranged person to do, Jadum chose the upper part, where according to him he would suckle his mother’s breasts. It is probably for this reason that the Igbo say that a madman - not Jadum this time – had been quoted as saying: 34. “Amamihe na-abia na *hour na hour*” (Sense comes hour by hour).

35. Onye ara mere ‘n’afa nna’ n’ihu si umu ya mee ya n’azu maka-na onweghi onye maa ebe chukwu muonso ga-esi abia (The mad fellow made the sign of the cross on his forehead and asked his children to do the same at his back because no one knows the direction from which the Holy Spirit may be coming).

The two concepts of ‘sign of the cross’ and ‘Holy Spirit’ are Christian. This recent saw is used to admonish self or

someone else to take all possible measure to ensure that a project is realized by plugging up all loopholes.

36. Onye ara no n'ahia Afo Ogbe si na ya rie otu udele nwughi, ndi-ozo gaa *transfer* (The madman at Afo Ogbe market says that if he eats one vulture and survives it, others should proceed on transfer).

Notice the use of 'transfer.' This is a modern existential term used in civil service circles. It is well known that a vulture's meat is not edible because of a suspicion that it is poisonous. Hence the madman's warning to the scavenging birds that should he survive after the consumption of one of them, he would then finish the rest.

Igbo Code-switch and Very Recent Miscellaneous Events

Proverbs in this segment have no single pigeon-hole into which they could be put. They are products of very recent events, occasioned by currency in the Igbo social environment. As I have tried to argue, even if some of the proverbs do not involve a mixing of codes, the proverb terms are recent because they are composed of some items which are new in the culture. For instance, the idiom, 'Ndi oru uzo agbagharala ibe ha!' (Road menders have left their mates behind!) which may not be more than forty years old is made up of entirely Igbo words. Road-mending by paid men was introduced during the colonial era in the old Eastern Nigeria, probably in the early 20th century. However, the saying emanating from that event in the life of the Igbo was popularized by an Owerri musician, Ederi Olariche, in the 1970s at a time when road-mending activities by salaried public servants had in fact stopped. The saying is an exclamation used to indicate that there is a breakdown of order or procedure or when things have fallen apart. *Ndi oru uzo* (road menders) being paid equally for that particular work of road-mending were supposed to work together in unison. However, occasionally one or two of them could break off and work quite ahead of the others to the consternation of the local observers. It was thought to be strange by the local people who had always seen road menders work and progress together.

37. Ma *is* agaghi, *was* a gaa! (If 'is' does not fit, 'was' will).

The above saying means that in many circumstances, if a particular expected outcome does not come to pass, another will. Thus one is encouraging oneself to venture out since one way or the other, the attempt would yield one benefit or the other. Proverb 38 is a variant of the above.

38. Ma *eleven* akughi, *twelve* akuo (If eleven does not strike, twelve will).

The saying considers life events in clockwork terms. If what should happen at a particular fails to happen, another would result. Ordinarily, in a sibling order of males, they are supposed to marry according to their ages. However, a younger person can marry over an older brother if the latter is financially ready to take a wife. This is because 'If eleven fails to strike, twelve will.'

39. Kedu nke gbasara udele na *Barber*? (What connects the vulture and a barber?)

The vulture (udele) has no hair on its head. A barber cuts the hair. What then could connect the two of them? The proverb is applied to a context when one wants to emphasize that nothing connects two unrelated phenomena, persons, events or objects. In the case of human beings, they could belong to different social classes or educational strata or professions. In other words, both of them have no meeting point.

40. Udele emeena *late* n'odu anu! (The vulture is late to the butcher's shed!).

The vulture is easily a butcher's 'customer' any day! It is thus an anomaly if the former arrives late to the meat-seller's stall. Thus one is not expected to arrive late to the spot of one's known interest or even not to be seen at all at such a place. Should such a fellow arrive late, one knows him/her well enough and may then exclaim: 'Udele emeena late n'odu anu!'

41. Nkita gbunere onye nwee ya n'odu, asi na o na ekwu-okwu, o gaakwa asi ya *Goodmorning, Sir* (Were the dog that wagged its

tail for the owner to be a speaking animal, it would have greeted him, 'Goodmornig, Sir!')

This is no doubt a saying influenced by the Igbo contact with Europe, particularly with the reference to 'Goodmornig, Sir'. For sure, a proverb like this one is marked by humor. It is a saying which often accompanies the donation of one's widow's mite or one given according to one's extent of material possession. In other words, the donor would have given more if he/she had more.

42. 'Ojukwu-nwe-mmeri', o wu n'ime *bunker*? ('Ojukwu-will-win', is it inside the bunker?)

Gen. Ojukwu led the Biafrans who attempted to pull out of Nigeria in the late 1960s. The saying is a mockery of some prominent Igbo men and women who voiced loudly the rightness of the Biafran cause only to pay lip-service to the idea of an independent Biafra. It is a call to action rather than long talk or the wearing of a façade. During that war, some Igbo elite would shout their support for Ojukwu's effort but avoid joining the army where their support was most needed. Instead they dug bunkers behind their houses in order to protect themselves from air raids.

43. Nwanyi chei *Chief*, di ya aburula lolo (If a woman is conferred with a chieftaincy title, her husband becomes a *lolo*)

Until a few years ago, only men could be made chief in Igboland while their wives are conferred with the *lolo* title. But today all that has changed, a development which gave rise to the above innocuous but satirical dart. The saying is now used to indicate an abnormality or the upturning of events. Recently, I have heard an *abigbo* song in which the lead singer asks if women can be made traditional rulers since they now take chieftaincy titles (Nwanyi echiri *chief*, a ga echikwa ya eze?). The question is appropriate since there is as of this moment no known community in Igboland in which a woman is an *eze*.

44. Ngwere were *speed* baanye n'onu agwo di, ya were *reverse* futa (If a lizard enters a hole in which a snake resides with speed, it comes out in reverse gear)

The two English words in the saying are automobile registers. The lizard now wears the toga of a motor vehicle. The saying evokes a quick humor since it is quite imagistic and appeals to the imagination. The point the proverb is making is that every living creature avoids harm. This is because life is sweet as it is said in popular parlance. No one senses danger without doing anything to scamper off from it.

45. *Let us go* awughi ije otu onye ('Let us go' entails that it is a journey of more than one person)

'Let us go' means that at least two people are involved in the movement. The saying means that what concerns a group must be decided by the group; it is not to be decided by one person alone. By the same token, if a responsibility falls on a group, the financial burden must be borne by all.

46. Onye zara *Abel*, o beele? (He who answers 'Abel', are the hard times now over for him?)

The Igbo expression, *o beele* is close in meaning to the English 'It is well' or the worst is over. Thus *o beele* in the saw is placed side by side with 'Abel', not only in recognition of the closeness in the articulation of *o beele* and *Abel*, but also because in the Christian Bible, Abel had a rough experience in the hands of Cain, his elder brother.

47. E mee onye ara *conductor*, ya efegbua onwe ya n'aka (Make a madman a bus conductor, he exhausts himself waving at people)

The Igbo now use the proverb to warn against the imposition of half-witted individuals in serious businesses. These days, the saying is called up when the Igbo discuss some of their half-performing sons and daughters occupying political offices. In most cases, such fellows got into such elevated positions through election-rigging. Unfortunately, such impostors make the loudest noise in political circles, and will at a price easily do the bidding of those who may not wish his electors well.

48. Ogologo *chaplet* abughi ogologo okwukwe (The possession of a long chaplet is not the possession of a deep faith)

The point the proverb-coiner is making is that appearance could be deceitful. A rosary implies a life of piety but it is not always so. Those who talk loudest over an issue may not act most when the time for action comes.

49. *Monkey* gaachakwa Alabeke, o kawukwa *monkey* (If a monkey goes to England and comes back, it is still a monkey)

If one is a fool, one remains a fool. Going to England is thought by the Igbo to be an opportunity to brush up oneself in knowledge, manners and comportment since it is the land of the civilized. But because a monkey remains a monkey, the English environment will not likely change it for the better. The Igbo use it for their fellows who although they were not polished but having found themselves in positions of fame or authority, they still could not seize on that opportunity to get refined.

50. Anaghi ano oteanya agwa onye-ozo *Get away!* (One does not stay far away to tell another 'Get away!')

The Igbo also say 'Anaghi ano oteanya ata aru' (You don't stay far off and hope to bite at another). There are certain actions or decisions which require coming together, coming nearer or some level of close consultation before one could fully appreciate what is at stake or what the matter actually is. For instance, these days unlike in the past, no matter how busy or far away a mature man is from home, if he has the desire to marry from home, he cannot do so except he comes home to make his choice or see the choice made for him.

51. 'Who goes there?' ya na-eje na-ewe ndi nche iwe (Asked 'Who goes there?' and the beckoned fails to halt angers security men)

This is a coinage of the late 'Sir Doctor Warrior', a popular Highlife musician. All security people like to be obeyed when they give orders. One is an authority in the area of knowledge or activity for which he/she is well known. The

saying advocates appropriate respect for the appropriate authority.

52. *Headmaster* kugbue naelu, a juwa 'o wu umu *school* anoghi ya?' Nwa *school* akugbe naelu a juwa '*Headmaster*, o meghe gini nwa *school* etegoro naelu?' (If a Headmaster falls down from a tree, the question is asked if school children were not there to do the climbing; if a school child falls down from a tree, the headmaster is asked why he had allowed his pupil to climb a tree)

The saying paints the picture of one who is faced with a dilemma. In a world in which blames are the order of the day, one could not be careful enough.

53. N'ezi onye uba, nde wu ami, nde wu soja (In the household of a wealthy person, some members husband the resources, some others dissipate them)

The two modernist terms in the proverb are *ami*(army) and *soja*(soldier). Although a soldier is a member of an army, the Igbo virtually use the two words as diametrically opposed. This is because in the Igbo language, *ami* could mean sucking or drawing in while *soja* suggests wastage, a frivolous dissipation of resources. The proverb is used to advance the view that in the compound of the materially-blessed, both good and bad reside in it.

54. Mkpì si na itu-ahia adighi mma: oyokoyo ya turu-atu na-atunyere ya ukwu, ma ahuonu ya jiri aka ya zuru mere ya ya dika 'Bobo' (The he-goat says that asking another to buy a commodity for oneself in the market is not a good idea: the large scrotum which was bought for him interrupts his movement while the goatee which he bought for himself makes him look dandy.

The term 'Bobo' in recent times in Nigeria means fit and trendy. The word may have come from 'Bob', a fond abbreviation of 'Robert'. The sound of Bob/Bobo may have suggested trendiness to the Igbo coiner of the new saying. The saying is deployed in a speech to show that to rely on oneself rather than on others is always better.

55. Onwere ihe di icha na B na ukwu ehi zoro n'ala (There is a difference between the letter B and the one made on the ground by a cow's foot)

The Igbo also say that what is learnt (by a scrupulous education) is better than that learnt by the art of magic or by occult practice (Ihe amuru-amu ka ihe agworo-agwo mma). Try to apply yourself to diligence rather than hope for short-cuts.

56. Onye rere ala nna ya zuo *motor*, o ga-agba ya n'ala nna onye? (He who sells his father's land in order to purchase a car, on whose father's land will he ride it?)

The saying targets selfishness or insularity which some people practice in the community even when a part of their interest is as well involved. The kin group, village, town, clan and the entire society can only develop and progress if all hands are on deck.

Conclusion

No effort exerted in a paper like this can really exhaust *all* the Igbo 'modern' sayings because daily they leave the forge of their coinage. Nor could we boast of having captured all their character and significance in just an essay. Nor had we set out to achieve such a feat. But what we have said, utilizing over fifty of the new sayings of the Igbo – and by extension Africa – is that the proverb in Africa is a living project. Some other folklore forms may have exhausted their life-cycles, but not the proverb. The truth is that as we talk or write, new ones are being churned out, not by great philosophers or philosopher-kings, but by common people who are endowed with "some gnomic talent", to quote A.H. Krappe.

It may have been noticed that not all proverbs fit into the *Engligbo* schema, by which we mean the code-mixed sayings whose contents are a combination of Igbo expressions and English linguistic items. It is easy to observe that in each of these sayings, a word or an idea in it would suggest that they are new; they are not like some proverbs whose origin would usually reside in antiquity. For instance, a proverb like Proverb 57 – 'Onye liiri onye ekpenta nwee akpukpo ukwu ya' (He who buries a leper is entitled to his

shoes) is – surely recent, every term in the saying being Igbo. The fact is that the Igbo wore no shoes until Westernization caught up with them.

It needs to be underscored that virtually every one of these ‘modern’ proverbs has a counterpart or two in some older Igbo proverb corpus. A few examples will help drive home the point.

58. Ofeke muta igwo-ogwu, umunna ya agwula (If a fool learns the art of medical practice, his kinsmen are finished)

For sure this is an older proverb than Proverb 47, namely ‘Make a madman a bus conductor, he exhausts himself waving to people.’ Both of them harp on sudden fortune visiting someone who does not deserve it, and the risk of such new power residing with him. It is likely that the coin-er of the newer saying knew about the older one before he/she set to work. Proverb 58 is not as attractive to use as Proverb 47 which is laden with an imagery that is both clear and imaginatively reachable.

59. Ma nwa dibia akpataghi aku, ya nwee odobara afo (If a medicine man cannot be materially wealthy, let him have a bulging tummy).

The preceding saying evokes Proverb 37 (Ma ‘is’ agaghi, ‘was’ a gaa). The Igbo also say, ‘Ihe abuo anaghi ako dimkpa’ (Two things never miss a man). Osita Osadebe, a Highlife musician based in Onitsha (now late), used to ask in Igbo: ‘if you are taller than me, are you also shorter than me?’ The one in which ‘is’ and ‘was’ are used is funnier, and could be handier. The *dibia* (medicine men) of old were itinerant, and were all over the place marching bare foot, bearing their bulging bellies, while they solicited for patients. Now they are no longer seen visiting patients; patients who are interested in their type of medicare now look for them. Proverb 58 which talks about learning the art of herbal medicine – whether by a fool or a sensible fellow - is not likely to strike the current imagination quite easily since the idea of the ‘travelling doctor’ in herbal medical practice is no longer in vogue in Igboland.

60. Ikuku kuo, a hu ike okuko (When the wind blows, the romp of a chicken is observed)

The proverb enjoys the same form as Proverb 16 (Ikuku kuo, a hu na Father na eyi kwa trousers). Proverb 60, bearing an 'obscene' proverb term (the romp of a chicken), is the older saying which was probably meant to be replaced by Proverb 16. It is thought more civil to use the latter proverb.

61. Elewecha ihe no na mmiri, agaghi anu ya anu (If all the things in the stream are reckoned with, its water will not be drunk)

The above saw is close in use to Proverb 29, and is also close to Proverb 62: "E sowecha ihe nkita riri, anu ya ga-adoro e righa eri" (If what the dog ate were to be reckoned with, its meat would remain unconsumed). However, setting will determine which one to be used and where. Proverb 61, for instance, is advisable where decorum is of essence. On the other hand, in an airy social setting in which jokes and ribaldry are encouraged or even solicited, Proverb 29 would go.

63. Ngwere ghara ukwu osisi, aka akpara ya (If a lizard abandons a tree stem, it will soon be caught)

The above saying enjoys proximity in meaning with Proverb 8. In other words, convenience counts in the attempt to navigate through life. We relate with objects or beings which assure us of some advantage or afford us a headstart. The white Catholic priest of old, finding himself in a strange place would do well to stay close with fellow whites who were colonial administrators just as the lizard escapes once it gets hold of a tree stem.

64. Nnunu hapuru aja-ala gaa bere na elu nkpu ka bere n'aja (A bird that leaves the ground and perches on an anthill is still on the sand)

Both the ground and the anthill are made of sand. Leaving one and perching on the other has not changed anything. The Igbo also say: (65) "Onye rere nkita ya zuo enwe, ihe ntukwu ka no n'ulo ya" (He who sells his dog and buys a

monkey that stoops is still in his house). However a recent saying which is meant to stand in for Proverbs 64 and 65 is Proverb 66 : “Onye *police* chupuru nkita n’ogbo oha, achupula *colleague* ya” (A police who drives away a dog from a public arena has driven away a colleague). The newer saying elicits a guffaw each time I have heard it used in public places.

In other words, what has largely changed in the relevant proverb modulations cited in this conclusion segment is their proverb-image, rather than their form. If this is true, what we may then need to ask is why the recent version of an older proverb should subsist side by side. We have along the line attempted to adduce reasons for the subsistence of the old and the new. We may re-cap by saying that the two variants survive in juxtaposition because the older one may have in its content items that which no longer exist or appeal to current imagination. It may also be that the older one is ‘obscene’ which may not be appropriate in certain oral discourse settings, considering today’s notion of decorum and morality. Oftentimes the newer one easily elicits laughter or forces a smile as it is heard used, notwithstanding the quaintness of combining two languages in one utterance. Finally, the newer proverb may possess a current view of the social history of the modern society which may be of utmost interest to the present user.

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FIELDING'S *PROVERBS*: A CAUTIONARY TALE

Abstract: The attribution of Thomas Fielding's *Select Proverbs of all Nations* (1824) to John Wade, the English social activist, is explored in some detail. Two persistent bibliographic errors concerning this collection are exposed along the way.

Keywords: Thomas Fielding, John Wade, William Henry Ireland, George Berger, proverb collection, paremiography.

Thomas Fielding's *Select Proverbs of all Nations* (1824) is an unassuming collection for which the author himself claimed no originality save for its arrangement and is little cited today. This belies, however, the impact the book seems to have had in the middle half of the nineteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic. Generally well received and frequently used as a source of proverbs, this volume went through two London publishers and three editions between 1824 and 1847 and, as late as 1859, was still being advertised. If not the very first, it was certainly one of the earliest proverb collections published in America, picked up by no fewer than six publishers from 1825 to 1854, following the settlement of the continent from New York to Maryland to Ohio to Utah. Unlike most popular collections of this ilk, Fielding's *Proverbs* might have been more than just a fun browse. The entries are all European, with some unlikely to resonate or even make much sense outside a narrowly defined cultural or historical context. But there are plenty of others of more universal appeal, and it would be interesting to know to what extent the book was actually responsible for the transmission and adoption of proverbial wisdom, especially in the New World. The issues pursued here will be of a more modest nature, though one hopes the far trickier question of influence is someday taken up by paremiologists.

My involvement with the book began innocently enough. I purchased a small, leather-bound copy issued by W. B. Cram of

Baltimore in 1831 as a future Christmas gift for Wolfgang Mieder, attracted by the nicely patinated cover and hoping only that this obscure-looking volume was one he didn't already own. He didn't, as it would turn out, though of course he was quite familiar with the book and did have other editions. In the meantime, I got to wondering who Fielding might have been. Queries directed to booksellers proved singularly unhelpful, and initial on-line searches, though yielding some relevant information, left me more puzzled than enlightened.

Three names emerge for the identity of Thomas Fielding. It has been alleged that, early on, some writers cited the book thinking it was compiled by Henry Fielding, the author of *Tom Jones*, an attribution that is surely mistaken. (He died in 1754, for one thing.) In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, William Henry Ireland (1775/7-1835), the notorious forger of Shakespeare documents and writer of the pseudo-Shakespearean play *Vortigern*, was claimed to have produced the book. Today, the settled opinion is that the true author was John Wade (1788-1875), the English social activist best known for the infamous *Black Book* (1820), his scathing indictment of British religious, industrial and political practices. What I did not find, however, was any basis for the attribution to Wade or explanation as to what happened to the alleged Ireland connection.

And what of the original publisher? The received wisdom is that there are two 1824 editions—one published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green and the other by G. Berger, two firms with no known connection and unlikely ever have to done business together. It is not unusual in the early nineteenth century to find a book brought out by one publisher and then, a short while later, issued by another. Neither is it unheard of for two publishers today to release the same book simultaneously, say, a London firm an English edition and a Boston firm an American one. But here we have two unaffiliated London publishers offering Fielding's *Proverbs*, with copies of both versions not infrequently described by booksellers as First Editions. That makes no sense, not even in the madcap world of nineteenth century publishing. One of these companies had to have gotten the book from the other.

What follows is my subsequent attempt to flush out the truth of the matter. The bibliographic tradition attributing authorship to Wade got it right but more by luck than design. It will also be argued that, in all likelihood, there was only one 1824 edition.

1. Henry Fielding's *Proverbs*, 1822(?)

The case for Wade's authorship appears rock solid. For one thing, we have his word on it. In his correspondence and published works, Wade makes occasional reference to having compiled the collection. For example, in the final section of the Appendix on maxims of conduct to his *History of the Middle and Working Classes* (1833), he makes casual reference to "a little work of mine, published under the title of Fielding's *Select Proverbs of all Nations*" (p. 587). There is no reason to think that he was delusional or that there was anything to be gained by his lying about this. Indeed, why would Wade, a fervent would-be reformer, risk undermining his credibility by making up such a story? He might have been a radical, but he was no fool. The book itself also supports the attribution. The sentence and paragraph structure, as well as the tone, is quite consistent with that found in Wade's less incendiary writings. In the course of the Introduction, an otherwise straightforward touting of proverbs as an insight into time, place and national character, the author breaks into a two-page slow burn over the negative depiction of women in proverbial expressions. This looks suspiciously like a foreshadowing of Wade's later book-length treatment of the plight of women in *Woman, Past and Present* (1859). And then there is the curious *apologia* at the outset of the section on "Wisdom of the Ancients," which reads as if the author felt a need to justify the title's inclusion—at least to Jeremy Bentham, who would have found it a near oxymoron. It is perhaps no coincidence that Wade was an acquaintance and great admirer of the philosopher, a loan from whom financed Wade's trade union newspaper *The Gorgon* published from 1818 to 1819. Case closed.

Or is it? The claim for Ireland's authorship was first made by Stephan Jackson in a squib in *Notes and Queries* for Sept. 22, 1866.

“FIELDING’S PROVERBS”—The author of this very poor book was the late William Henry Ireland, of Shakespeare notoriety. The book was got up hastily, when Ireland, so far as finances were concerned, was *in extremis*. As Mr. Denham and other proverbialists have quoted Fielding, it may be as well to say that *Fielding’s Proverbs* has as much to do with the author of *Tom Jones* as *Vortigern* has with Shakespeare. Ireland was a man of very poor abilities; his ballads are rubbish, his romances plagiarism, his *Vortigern* a tissue of bombast. He had not even the skill of an imitator. (p. 228)

The claim was repeated in a second squib for Sept. 12, 1872, with Jackson adding:

The proverbs came out about the same time as Ireland’s translation of Voltaire’s *Pucelle d’Orleans*. The late M. A. Denham of Piersbridge, [*sic*] produced a very superior work on Proverbs. He quotes Fielding, not being aware that Ireland was the author, but supposing that the book was by the author of *Tom Jones* and *Jonathan Wild*. (p. 209)

Finally, in a third squib for Feb. 27, 1875, Jackson recorded the following.

The original publisher of *Select Proverbs of all Nations* was the late Mr. Fairburn, of Broadway, Ludgate Hill. I took an interest in the *Universal Songster*, and Moncrieff’s *Brilliant Songster*, which Mr. Fairburn was publishing at the same time, and so I formed a gossiping acquaintance with W. H. Ireland. I state as a positive fact, therefore, that Henry Fielding was a *nom de plume* assumed by Ireland, and at Mr. Fairburn’s suggestion, because Mr. Fairburn knew that the name of Ireland was not in good odour either with the Row or with the public at large. M. A. Denham’s book was originally a Percy Society publication . . . I do not think anything of his confounding the real Fielding with the sham one! (p. 170)

Jackson was no crank. His true identity was Dr. James Henry Dixon, L.L.D. (1803-1875) from Lausanne, a London solicitor whose real passion was for things literary, and who, when adopting his literary *persona*, frequently passed himself off as “Stephen Jackson, Esq., of the Flatts, Malham Moor.” He contributed much prose and poetry to Hone’s *Table Book*, wrote a long series of articles published posthumously as *Stories of the Craven Dales*, issued books on French songs and the English peasantry, and published *Voices of the Forest*, a translation from the German original, amongst other things. So we have the testimony here of a serious, intelligent, respected figure. And we have no reason to think he was either delusional or a liar.

Moreover, much of what he said is right.

- There was a John Fairburn (d. 1854) publishing books from various addresses on Broadway, Ludgate Hill, from 1813 until at least 1829 and probably well after that.
- Fairburn published *Universal Songster* and *Brilliant Songster* in 1827.
- Both Dixon and Ireland were in London at the time of their alleged acquaintance (1827 or later), Ireland having returned to England in 1823 after a nine-year self-imposed exile in France.
- Though Dixon’s assessment of Ireland is perhaps a bit harsh, he was undeniably a literary hack.
- Ireland was in dire financial straits for much of his life, including from the time of his return until his death.
- Fielding’s *Proverbs* does smack of something slapped together for commercial gain, “the scissors,” as another contributor to *Notes and Queries* put it on Dec. 3, 1898, “evidently [having] a larger share in it than the pen.”
- There was a Mr. Denham from Piersbridge (actually, Piersebridge or Pierse Bridge, depending upon which of Denham’s publications one consults)—Michael Aislabie Denham—whose *Collection of Proverbs and Popular Sayings related to the Seasons, the Weather, and Agricultural Pursuits* was published in 1846 by the Percy Society.
- Ireland was not averse to using a pseudonym, as he published under many of them.

- Ireland published a translation of *La Pucelle d'Orleans* in 1822.
- Ireland's *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* was originally printed and issued by Fairburn in sixty-four parts between 1823 and 1827, and Fairburn also published Ireland's translations of two minor French memoirs in 1823, which means that there was a working relationship between the two individuals by the early 1820s.
- Fairburn's purported advice to Ireland is exactly what one would expect, given how reviled Ireland was in England.

Then there are details that, though unverified, are plausible enough.

- Dixon and Ireland did indeed meet. One can understand how Dixon might have gotten bollixed up on certain kinds of details. But it is unlikely that he would just imagine having met the infamous William Ireland, if he hadn't.
- Dixon did have an interest in the two songbooks (given his interest in music) and thus had at least some familiarity with Fairburn's offerings.

That having been said, there are several points that might appear to call Dixon's account into question. First, there is an apparent discrepancy in dates. On the one hand, Dixon recounts that the Fielding book was published "about the same time as" Ireland's translation of Voltaire, which would mean c. 1822. On the other hand, it's claimed that Fairburn was publishing the book along with the two songbooks at the same time, which would be 1827. But, of course, all Dixon might have meant is that, in 1827 or so, Fairburn's edition of *Select Proverbs* was still available, not that it was brought out that year.

Dixon's reference in the third squib to 'Henry Fielding' being a *nom de plume* is quite mystifying. It's *Thomas* Fielding's *Proverbs*, not *Henry's*. Is Dixon suggesting that Ireland published the book under the name 'Henry'? That would nicely explain Denham's alleged confusion. But the author's name would have to have been changed for later editions, which is hardly

plausible. Neither does this reading square with the occasion for the squib's publication. The note is a reply to a query of Nov. 21, 1874 in which Ophar Hamst points out the correct first name and asks for the basis of Dixon's attribution to Ireland. So Dixon, when writing this piece, knew perfectly well what name was on the book—or, at least, what Hamst believed it to be. Had Dixon thought otherwise, surely he would have expressed puzzlement and challenged the claim explicitly. Besides, given the grief visited upon Ireland by his appropriation of Shakespeare's name years earlier, it's most unlikely that Fairburn would have proposed using Henry Fielding's or that Ireland would have acquiesced in doing so.¹ I suggest that Dixon's reference to 'Henry Fielding' is a mere slip. Substitute 'Thomas' for 'Henry' and the squib makes complete sense.

But then what is one to make of Denham's confusion? How could he "quote" Fielding thinking this was a book by the novelist Henry Fielding? I suspect all Dixon meant is that Denham made reference to Fielding's *Proverbs*, not that he cited material from it. And this he could have done merely having seen mention of "Fielding's *Proverbs*" and jumping—gazelle-like—to the wrong conclusion. Denham was no academic but rather a shopkeeper and antiquarian who took an interest in local history, culture and lore. In the preface to his proverbs book, he makes a point of never having laid eyes on well known proverb collections of the day (specifically, Howell, Ray, Kelly, Fuller and Henderson). Denham knew these things were around, but he was evidently more interested in doing original fieldwork than in consulting his predecessors. Fielding could probably have been added to his list.

There's something more vexing, though. I have been unable to find a reference to Fielding anywhere in Denham's writings. There is none in his Percy Society publication, contrary to Dixon's implication, and neither is there any in *The Denham Tracts*, the collected works published by the Folklore Society in 1892. So where is this error Denham is supposed to have made?

My inability to trace it is not as damning, I think, as it might seem. Denham's proposed book would have been submitted to the Council of the Percy Society for consideration, and it is entirely conceivable that the reference was in *that* draft but omitted from the published version. Dixon, being on the Council at that

time, as he was, must have seen the original document. It's likely he would have informed Denham of his error, occasioning the removal of the reference if the only reason for it was the presumed connection between Henry Fielding and our book.

What we have, then, with just a dollop of charity, is a detailed, internally consistent story. Ireland compiled the book, publishing it under Fairburn's *imprimatur* c. 1822, the volume remaining on offer (though perhaps with low sales) until at least 1827 or so, when Dixon made Ireland's acquaintance. Dixon learned of Ireland's authorship directly from him or possibly from Fairburn. Then, having noticed a number of authors citing "Fielding's *Proverbs*" with the inclusion of no first name, Dixon penned his initial squib warning readers of *Notes and Queries* not to make Denham's mistake. To be sure, Dixon's account was published decades after the fact, and memories can play tricks. But too many details check out and the story hangs together too well for this to be an account that can be dismissed out of hand.

So where does this leave us?

In Wade's corner, we have a credible source well positioned to know whereof he speaks, and his testimony has a ring of truth. In Ireland's, we have the same thing—a credible source who was likewise well positioned to know whereof *he* speaks, and his testimony also rings true. That doesn't mean the two accounts are entirely on a par. Dixon's is hearsay, while Wade's is not. And Wade's testimony is much closer to the events at issue. The point is rather that, in light of Dixon's testimony, Wade's word alone is insufficient to warrant a confident attribution to him.

Even the brief for Wade's honesty in this matter is not *quite* as solid as I made it out to be. The risk to his reputation by lying would actually have been minimal had he known that Ireland was the author. (And we know Wade was acquainted with Fairburn, from whom such information could have been gleaned, since—in a twist too good to go unremarked—he was the original publisher of the *Black Book*.) For neither Ireland nor Fairburn is likely to have blown the whistle. By the early 1830s, when Wade first staked his claim, Fielding's *Proverbs* would have been well into Fairburn's past, and Ireland was now quietly living out the final years of his life. About the last thing either needed was to become embroiled in a new public dust-up over

William Ireland and the issue of authorship! Better to remain quiet and let sleeping dogs lie. Or Wades lie.

Of course, it's unclear what Wade's motivation would have been. His finances were often also *in extremis*, but there would be no financial gain in taking unearned credit. Nor any other advantage that one can see. His testimony, welcome though it might be, is not essential in any case. The other evidence in his favor is quite compelling on its own. His fingerprints, as it were, are all over this book.

Not so with Ireland's. William Ireland's interests ran almost exclusively to the literary—poetry, drama, fiction, memoirs, and the like. Authors such as David Hume, Thomas Reid and certain others referenced by Fielding in the Introduction are not those likely to have found their way onto Ireland's summer reading list. His writing style is quite unlike that found in the Fielding book, which is penned in short clauses and peppered with commas, colons and semi-colons. Ireland, by contrast, wrote with much less economy of style. As far as is known, he never exhibited any particular interest in justice apart from a perceived underappreciation of Napoleon Bonaparte and concern to clear his father's name from accusations of complicity in his son's Shakespearean frauds. And I am aware of no connection between Ireland and Bentham that would explain Fielding's solicitous attitude toward the latter. Except for its cut-and-paste nature, there is nothing between the covers of this book to support Dixon's account.

Also missing is any sign of a pre-1824 edition published by Fairburn. There is none in any major British public library, nor (as far as I know) is there a copy currently in the hands of any bookseller. Even a Google search comes up zilch—except for a listing under 'Ireland' of "Henry Fielding's Proverbs, 1822(?)" in the *Dictionary of National Biographies* (1897), and that one doesn't count. The entry was almost certainly composed by taking at face value three claims of Dixon's—that Ireland was the author, was using 'Henry Fielding' as a pseudonym, and that the book was published roughly at the same time as Ireland's translation of Voltaire. Fairburn's offerings seem to have run heavily to prints, music and radical tracts, and a collection of proverbs might have been a slow mover in his establishment. Moreover, if the book was issued in paper wrappers, it could have proven

quite ephemeral—"Read to death," as my friend Eric Johnson would put it. Still, the apparent lack of any surviving copies *is* troublesome, and it's hard to understand why one finds no contemporary references to this supposed edition. There were a number of publications at this date, such as the *London Literary Gazette* and *The British Catalogue of Books*, that routinely recorded and ran advertisements for new London releases. But not a word do we find linking Fairburn and Fielding's *Proverbs*.

The smart money would have to remain on Wade. How Dixon could have gotten it so wrong, as apparently he did, is a mystery likely to go unsolved. Perhaps his memory did fail. Or he never had it right in the first place, possibly due to some mistaken inference. Or maybe Ireland just told a whopper.

This is all in retrospect, however, and has nothing to do with how things went down historically. The bibliographic tradition assigning authorship to Wade would appear to rest upon a single piece of (hearsay) testimony. In Sir William Stirling-Maxwell's privately printed *An Essay Towards a Collection of Books Relating to Proverbs, Emblems, Apothegms, Epitaphs, and Ana, Being a Catalogue of Those at Keir* (1860), the entry for the Fielding book includes an "MS note" attributed to Isaac D'Israeli (1766-1848), the father of Benjamin Disraeli:

John Wade, author of the 'British History,' as he writes to me, June 1843, is the compiler of this volume.²

The quotation was picked up and repeated (with minor wording discrepancies) by a number of later bibliographers. The note appears, for example, in both J. Bartlett, *Catalogue of a Choice and Valuable Collection of Rare Books of Proverbs and Emblems, Dance of Death, Etc.* (1888) and S. Halkett and J. Laing, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* (1926), in the first case with the clause identifying Wade left out and in the second embellished with '&c. &c.'. For his part, I. Bernstein, *Catalogue des Livres Parémiologiques* (1900) reports D'Israeli's attribution but without the quote, citing Stirling-Maxwell as the source. By the time one gets to W. Bonser, ed., *Proverb Literature. A Bibliography of Works relating to Proverbs* (1930) and O. E. Moll, *Sprichwörterbibliographie* (1958), the attribution is sufficiently well entrenched that the listing of

our book is now under Wade's name rather than 'Fielding', with 'Thomas Fielding' given as a pseudonym without explanation. More recent bibliographers follow suit, treating the Fielding-Wade connection as "common knowledge." Sometimes cataloguing is under one name, sometimes the other, the involvement of a pseudonym merely mentioned in passing. No other evidence of Wade's authorship is ever cited, though at some point his own published claims must have become known. In all fairness, of course, prior to the appearance of the first Ireland biography in 1938 and rise of the internet, it would have been difficult to do the forensic work lending credence to Wade's story and discrediting Dixon's. In any event, for whatever reason, the latter's account never received the critical scrutiny it deserved—and needed for a sound attribution—or played any role whatever in the identification of Fielding. The case for Ireland lost out, not on its merits but by simple neglect.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Dixon's account seems to have been forgotten, leaving in its wake only that unfortunate entry in the *Dictionary of National Biographies*. But never count out a bad idea. The myth of Henry Fielding's *Proverbs*, 1822(?) has been resurrected in the latest Ireland biography and from there leached into cyberspace.³

2. Berger 1824

If not Fairburn, then who was the original publisher?

Relatively little is known of the Longman edition, apart from the fact that it was issued by the venerable publishing house in early 1824 at a cost of 5s and was aggressively advertised throughout 1824 and 1825. There is no mention of the book in the Longman Archive (now housed at the University of Reading), suggesting perhaps that the volume was not a commercial success. Alternatively, having recouped its initial outlay, Longman might have sold the stereographic plates, quite possibly to an American publisher.⁴ However, there can be no serious doubt that this was the true First Edition. Longman was not in the business of picking up other's offerings. Furthermore, at the end of Wade's book *Woman, Past and Present*, under the heading "Other Works by the Author," the Fielding book is listed with a note that it was first published by Longman *et al.* Whether this information was compiled by the publisher, Charles Skeet, or by

Wade is unclear. In either case, we have here credible testimony. Skeet certainly had no reason to lie, and Wade, even if he could have fibbed with impunity about being the author (had Ireland actually assembled the collection), he could not have lied about the original publisher without risking being called out by anyone possessing a copy of the Fairburn edition.

A fair amount is recorded about George Berger (1796?-1868). He was a journeyman printer, publisher and bookseller operating out of Holywell Street near the Strand, a dicey corner of town known for prostitution and pornography. An enterprising sort, he published and widely distributed a plethora of “cheap literature”—radical tracts, unstamped periodicals, crime tabloids, books for mass consumption, the occasional pornographic novel, and the like—and was for a while the largest newsagent in London. He also had an unscrupulous side, trading freely on the labors of others. In 1844, he and some other London booksellers were sued by Charles Dickens for selling a pirated edition of *A Christmas Carol*. (Dickens eventually prevailed but collected little money and was hit with ruinous legal expenses.)

There is no publication date printed in the Berger edition, an indication that he might not have been a copyright holder. That edition has a unity and clarity of purpose not found in the Longman version, though clearly is derived from it. In addition to a few trivial improvements, the new edition omits the laborious four-page Table of Contents, as well as the idiosyncratic *apologia* to Bentham and complaint about the treatment of women. An indulgent Longman edition has been cleaned up for Berger’s mass market, shorn of what would most interest a Wade biographer and—apart from the occasional quirky take on certain proverbs—given a more generic look. These changes could have been made and the new edition released still in 1824. And Berger was certainly old enough to have been in business by that date, even though he worked for a handful of other publishers before launching his own operation. There are reasons to think, however, that the Fielding book was a later production.

Exactly when Berger set up shop in Holywell Street is uncertain. But I can find no evidence that he was there already in the 1820s. Standard histories of the nineteenth century London publishing trade and other publications record only that he was there

in the 1830s, and I have been able to track down no dated literature attributable to him before 1831. Once established in Holywell Street, it would make no sense to omit either his name or address from publications. And dates, though they might not appear on pirated books, would surely be included on such things as newspapers, periodicals, magazines, commissioned volumes, and so forth. Why, then, if he was there as early as 1824, do we find none of this from that decade?

The earliest reference to the Berger edition I have been able to trace is an advertisement found in *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* for July 2, 1834, on p. 112, which begins:

Only half the price of former Editions. A New Edition bound in clean Cloth. 2s.6d.

Clearly *something* new is on offer, though there's an ambiguity here due to the loose way in which 'edition' was employed at this time (and still is today in common parlance). There are three possibilities. If the word is being used in the strict sense of the term, then (1) the advertisement is announcing the initial release of the Berger edition. In that case, the correct publication date is 1834. On the other hand, if the word means something like printing or offering or version, Berger might be announcing only that his edition is being sold henceforth at half price. That could mean either (2) a simple price reduction (same item, 50% off) or (3) the edition is now available in a less expensive version, perhaps in a plainer binding. Of these, (2) is easily the least charitable. If all one were doing is announcing a simple price reduction, why not just say so? An unambiguous declaration that one could have a 5s book for a mere 2s.6d would surely have been more effective than an ambiguous one potentially leaving the impression that one can now buy a cheaper version for that amount. Moreover, the phrasing and capitalization of this advertisement is boilerplate, the language routinely used by publishers of the day when introducing a new edition. Such advertising copy would simply invite misinterpretation and thus fail to convey the intended message—that there's a bargain to be had. (3) is a more natural construal, though, like (2), it entails that the Berger edition was initially released at 5s. Such a price for a modest 216-page book might work for a publisher such as Longman, which catered to an upscale market. But for Berger, who focused

on inexpensive literature largely marketed to the working classes, that price would make no sense and is quite out of line with his pricing of other publications.⁵ For him, cheaper editions were the name of the game. The odds are seriously in favor (1) as the correct reading.

What we have here, I suggest, is a pirated edition that only appeared ten years after its commonly accepted publication date. This hypothesis offers an easy explanation for the mistaken idea—if mistake it is—that there was an 1824 Berger edition. The ‘2’ is merely a slip, either a printer’s error or possibly a transcription error on the part of some author. Of course, the mistake could also have arisen from nothing more than a careless conflating of the Longman and Berger editions.

Who first assigned the earlier date is hard to pin down. What matters is that the idea of an 1824 Berger edition is now embedded in the paremiological literature, widely accepted amongst booksellers, and lodged in cyberspace.⁶ That edition is more frequently cited, in fact, than is the Longman, no doubt due to greater availability. (At the end of *Woman, Past and Present*, even as one’s being told of the original publisher and despite the alterations, it’s the Berger edition that’s listed.) The myth of Berger 1824 could also be with us for a good while to come.⁷

Notes:

¹I owe this point to Ryan Jordan.

²The purported letter from Wade to D’Israeli survives amongst the Benjamin Disraeli Papers at the Bodleian Library (Dep.Hughenden 245/5, fols. 1-2) and is dated June 23. Wade mentions having seen the footnote in *Curiosities of Literature*, 12th revised ed. (Edward Moxon, 1841) in which D’Israeli praises *Select Proverbs* as “an excellent book for popular reading” (p. 396). Upon finishing the letter, he likely placed the note in the margin of his copy next to that footnote or perhaps next to the same footnote in some other edition, such as the 9th revised ed. of 1834. Sir William was well acquainted with both father and son and presumably ran across the note during a visit either to D’Israeli’s rented house in Brandenham or to nearby Hughenden Manor, the country home of Benjamin, to which Isaac’s books were removed after his death. Unfortunately, this must remain a conjecture, as no edition of *Curiosities of Literature* containing the footnote or other reference to the Fielding book remains today at Hughenden.

Having revealed himself to be Thomas Fielding, Wade adds with the obligatory false modesty of his day:

The reason this nom de guerre was adopted I do not recollect, unless it arose from an impression on my part, or that of the booksellers that any name was preferable to that of one so obscure & unknown as the author.

(Obscure, perhaps, but unknown only by choice. His anonymously published Black Book, issued just four years earlier, was wildly popular, selling an astonishing 50,000 copies.)

³ See P. Pierce, *The Great Shakespeare Fraud* (Sutton Publishing, 2004), p. 242 and the Wikipedia entry for Samuel Ireland (William's father).

⁴ This intriguing suggestion I owe to Eric Johnson. I have not had the opportunity to do a close comparison between the Longman edition and that issued by P. Covert of New York in 1825 to see if they were printed off the same plates. The Covert edition is a reprinting of the Longman and appeared just as the latter drops off the radar screen.

⁵ In Berger's *Tales of chivalry; or, Perils by flood and field* (1840), one finds a couple dozen of his books advertised. *Buffon's Natural History* "embellished with One Hundred Copper-plate Engravings" comes in at 6s.6d, while each of the three volumes of *Stapleton's Tales of War*, with "upwards of 150 superb Engravings, and Three beautifully executed Steel Portraits," is tagged at 5s. There are a few offerings at 2s.6d or 3s, with Berger's edition of Ireland's *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, illustrated with engravings by George Cruikshank, costing a mere 2s, and they go down from there. This pricing structure is the same as one finds in Berger's many other advertisements. Fielding's *Proverbs* at 2s.6d would seem just about right.

⁶ See, e.g., W. Mieder, *Encyclopedia of World Proverbs* (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1986), p. 569 and W. Mieder, R. A. Kingsley and K. B. Harder, eds., *A Dictionary of American Proverbs* (Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 696. See also the on-line reprint offering of Fielding on amazon.com, where one reads "Original Published by: G. Berger of Holywell Street in 1824."

⁷ Verity Andrews, Hilary Clare, Amanpal Garcha, Colin Harris and Eric Johnson each helped fill in some piece of the puzzle. Ryan Jordan, my bowling buddy, cheerfully endured the evolution of this paper and offered useful comments on earlier drafts. Special thanks to Wolfgang Mieder for his warm encouragement, several references and spot-on advice.

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THE EARLIEST PRINTED COLLECTION OF PERSIAN PROVERBS

Abstract: Some proverb bibliographies mention *Proverbiorum Et Sententiarum Persicarum Centuria, A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorism*, compiled by Levin Warner and published in 1644 in Leiden. No special review or almost no mention of this collection can be traced in scholarly literature concerning the recording of Persian proverbs. In my opinion, even though Warner's collection is of more historical than paremiological value, it has unfortunately been largely forgotten. Levin Warner's work should be considered as the first collection of translated Persian proverbs, rather than that of Thomas Roebuck published in Calcutta in 1824. It is worth noting that *A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms* is the oldest printed collection of Persian proverbs.

Keywords: aphorism, earliest, "Golestan", Latin, paremiography, Persian, printed collection, proverb, Sa'adi, Warner.

Introduction

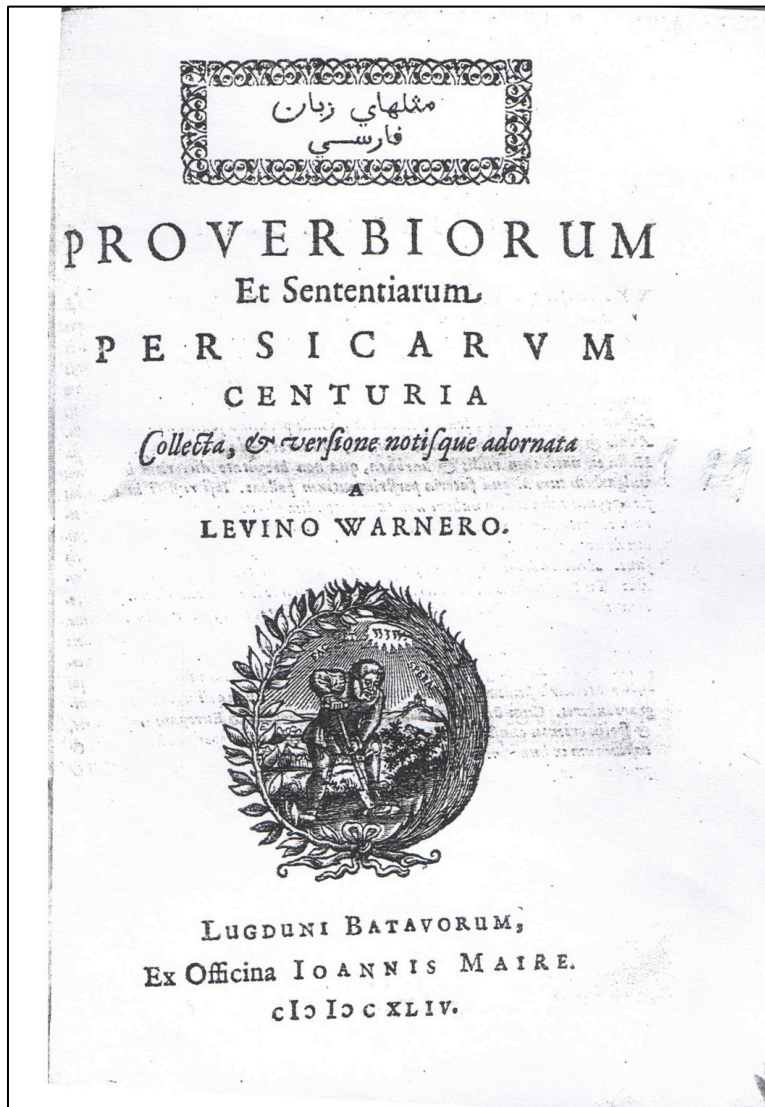
According to the view of both Iranian and world paremiology, *Majma' Al-anthāl* (Collection of Proverbs), compiled by Mohammad Ali Hablerudi in 1049 AH (1639/40) in India, is considered to be the most ancient collection of Persian proverbs, and Thomas Roebuck's *A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases in the Persian and Hindustanee Languages*, edited by H.H. Wilson and published in Calcutta in 1824, is believed to be the most ancient collection of Persian proverbs translated into a foreign language.

In the scholarly literature concerning the recording of Persian proverbs, no mention was made of *A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms*, compiled by Levinus Warner and published in Leiden in 1644¹ by the Ioannis Maire Publishing House. Since then the collection has not been published² and no special investigation into the subject has been made by researchers. Moreover it also remains unknown to Iranian specialists. No copy can be found in the library-

ies of Iran.³ To the best of my knowledge, L. Warner's collection has only once been mentioned in Persian scholarly literature, viz in Hamid Nayyer Nouri's work *Iran's Contribution to World Civilization*. The author restricted himself to three sentences, one of which is a quotation from Levinus Warner's work. It seems that H. Nayyer Nouri was not familiar with the collection itself and used some other source, as proved by the fact that: 1. the place of publication is stated incorrectly, i.e. London instead of Leiden; 2. only the translation of the Latin title of the collection is given, while the Persian title Warner gave is not indicated and therefore it differs from Warner's one; 3. more importantly, it is not clear what were the services rendered by Levinus Warner to Persian language and literature, as H. Nayyer Nouri limits himself to the statements only and fails to indicate the reasons. He writes: "One of those who rendered great services to the Persian language and literature is a Dutch scholar by the name of Levinus Warner, who published in 1644 the book *A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms in London* (here and the following italics are mine – T.S.)" (Nayyer Nouri 1976: 518). This is followed by a quotation from Warner's work regarding the sweetness of the Persian language. Later I will return to this statement of Warner. It should be noted that in the chapter "*The commencement of Publication of Iranian literature in Europe and America*" in the work of Nayyer Nouri, some other inaccuracies can be found.

The primary goal of the present paper is to estimate the paremiographical and paremiological value of the most ancient bilingual collection of Persian proverbs that was compiled by Levin Warner, a man with a very interesting biography and fate. His outstanding service for the development of Western Oriental Studies is well known and universally recognized; unfortunately his contribution, particularly to Persian paremiography, remains largely unknown.

If we read the collection carefully, it turns out that the work makes it partially possible to reveal a portrait of Levin Warner both as a person and a scholar, as well as the tendencies and traditions of Oriental Studies of the 17th century Dutch in particular, and of the Europeans in general. With this reasoning, I think this



small collection goes far beyond the realm of interest in paremiography or paremiology and deserves more attention from some other branches of the humanities.

Prior to a discussion of *A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms*, I consider it necessary to peruse Levin Warner's biography, so as not to fail to notice any detail when estimating the value of his collection.

*Levin Warner*⁴

German by birth, Levin Warner was born in Lippe in 1619.⁵ In 1638 he was registered as a student at Leiden University. He graduated in 1642. By the end of 1644, he left for Constantinople where he spent the rest of his life and died there on the 22nd of June, 1665.⁶ Before going to Turkey he had already published four works: 1. *Dissertatio, Qva De Vitæ Termino, utrùmfixus sit, an mobilis, disquiritur ex Arabum & Perfarum scriptis* (Amsterdam, 1642); 2. *Compendium Historicum Muhammedani de Cristo Ex pracipuis aliquot religionis Cristiana capitibus tradiderunt* (Leiden, 1643); 3. *Proverbiorum Et Sententiarum Persicarvm Centuria* (Leiden, 1644); and 4. *Epistole Valedictoria In qua inter Alia De Stylo Hisstoria Timuri* (Leiden, 1644).

From these publications alone, we can already conclude that the beginning of Warner's academic career was impressive and that he must have achieved much success at the University of Leiden. In 1648, the Board of Governors of the University invited him to return to Holland and offered him the position of professor of Hebrew but Warner requested permission to leave for Syria and obtained it, together with 300 florins for his travel expenses. Finally Warner stayed in Istanbul and chose a diplomatic career.

There have been many speculations regarding the reasons for Warner's decision. G. W. J. Drewes strongly objects to the suggestion made by Du Rieu in the course of editing Levin Warner's letters ("the desire for wealth and possessions had induced him to go over to the side of the merchants") and concludes: "It seems more probable that Warner, who had preferred an uncertain future in Turkey to the security of a Leiden professorship, desired this function so as to gain greater security" (Drewes 1970: 8-9).

With regard to the problem, it is hard to fully agree with any kind of suggestion but certain views can be given on the subject.

The rejection of the position of Leiden professor, or even the temporary delay of his consent, already indicates that professorship and a university career did not seem to be without an alternative for Warner. In this context I would like to recall that, before starting university activities, the distinguished orientalist Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) and Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624), for whom Warner had a profound respect, travelled to the East where they succeeded in finding valuable manuscripts and acquired great knowledge and experience. It is not improbable that the experience and achievements of these two respected orientalist should have become a subject for emulation by Warner.⁷

Taking into account the situation in Turkey, it is unlikely that he would have had a dream to be there or to have a diplomatic career; neither could he have had a financial incentive. Observing the everlasting political and economic problems in Turkey, when even having the status of an official representative of the Netherlands he would be paid irregularly or with delay, not to mention other problems and expenses, he could not have decided on a diplomatic career as a desirable objective. However he deliberately chose this path. The latter supposition is supported by the following facts:

In 1647, on the death of Hendric Cops, acting Resident of the Netherlands, Warner appealed in writing to the Prince of Orange and the States General offering them, on his own initiative, to provide information on current events in Istanbul. In 1648 Warner sent a report on the unfavourable activities of the Grand Vizir while still waiting for a response from Holland. Warner had to wait and to suffer difficult times over a long period before he was finally appointed as Resident of the Netherlands in Istanbul in 1654.

The rich legacy of Levin Warner: unique manuscripts and books, correspondence, records, remarks, translations etc. implies that Warner remained devoted to scholarly research to the end of his life. Warner's own explanation was that religious interest encouraged him to begin the study of oriental languages, as in his opinion proficiency in oriental languages was one of the means of popularizing Christianity in the Muslim world. He was confident of the necessity for the translation of the Bible and Christian dogma into oriental languages. His role in the translation of the Bible into Turkish is generally recognized.

It is also evident from L. Warner's collection *A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms* that he was proficient not only in classic, but in western and Oriental languages as he knew Latin, Greek, German, Italian, Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish and Persian. Warner's autographs are available not only in these languages but in Armenian too. His legacy includes the documents indicating that Warner had a certain relationship and some religious and academic interest in the Armenian Diaspora in Turkey; there are also available Armenian texts in his fund. In scholarly literature, particular emphases has been placed on Karaite manuscripts and on Warner's special interest in Karaite Judaism.

Warner had to stay in Turkey during the hard times and difficult political situation. There are several direct or indirect pieces of evidence of occurrences of malevolent intentions towards him.

In the archives of John Thurloe (1616-1668), secretary to the council of state in Protectorate England and spymaster for Oliver Cromwell, I found two letters sent by Levin Warner to the States General. This fact shows that the English government kept a close watch on Warner's activities.⁸

Here, a passage from a letter of the consul in Smyrna, Michel du Mortier, to the States General dated June 27, 1661 may be of interest: "He [Warner] has already spent many thousands on Turkish, Arabic and Persian books and other curiosities, to which he seems to devote most of his energies and which will apparently be of little use to anyone but himself and Professor Golius of Leiden..." (Drewes 1970: 15).

True enough, Du Mortier failed in his attempt to harm L. Warner, partly thanks to the written appeal of the Dutch Diaspora in Istanbul to the States General in support of Warner but one thing is obvious - many people envied Warner and were prejudiced against him. The same document is evidence for his scholarly interest and devotion to Oriental Studies.

Levin Warner was a scholar by vocation and obviously remained so to the end of his life. Warner's name has gone down in history as a collector of an extremely rich collection, still of great interest to this day rather than as a Resident of the Netherlands in Turkey.

In some sense Levin Warner was a tragic personality: scholar and researcher by vocation, he made an attempt to be a diplomat

which at that time primarily meant defending the commercial interests of the Netherlands, but he could not abandon his intellectual ambitions; he did not succeed in developing into a true diplomat and did not become a distinguished missionary, though he tried his best in both of these fields.⁹ The comments made by Warner on the margins of his numerous records and documents show that he was a very gifted researcher and talented scholar. One of the services Warner rendered to Oriental Studies is that “he probably was the first European who ventured to translate *ghazals* by Hafez into Latin, with the help of the Turkish commentary of Sudi” (de Bruijn 1987: 170). To him belongs as well the translation from Arabic of Mu’allaqat, old Arabic odes, by Imru’ al-Qais. It should be mentioned that “...he [Warner] left a detailed description of Asia of over 1,200 pages in manuscript form and collected a great deal of material for this from Arabic and Persian sources.” (Drewes 1970: 22). It is a pity that a man of such wide scholarly interests should have wasted his time on his diplomatic career; he died rather young and therefore could not achieve more.

A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms

The full title of the book under consideration is *Proverbiorum Et Sententiarum Persicarvm Centuria, Collecta & versione notisque adornata A Levino Warnero, Lugduni Batavorum, Ex Officina Ioannis Maire, 1644.*

The collection represents a slim, 44 page book, furnished with Warner’s 3 page letter to Christophoros Thysius,¹⁰ counselor to His Excellency Brederodius, and a 3 page address to the readers. There is also a short address of Claudius Salmasius¹¹ to Levin Warner dated August, 1644.

The first letter, full of Warner’s compliments and verbal courtesies, may be of interest for those investigating the oratory and epistolary ethics of the epoch; it does not give any information on the collection itself.

In the letter addressed to the reader, the author complains and explains the poor organisation of his book by the lack of time: “*If I had had more time I would have offered you a more well organized book notable for the abundance and elegance of proverbs and aphorisms; it would have been written more diligently furnished with many extensive comments.*” (Warner 1644).

What was the reason for Warner's haste or why did he decide to publish his work hastily? Nothing can be said for sure; but taking into account the 1644 date of the publication of the collection, it may be suggested that by that time the prospects of Warner's travel to Turkey had materialised; he tried to publish the work that he had already begun before leaving. This suggestion can be supported by one more argument: C. Salmasius in his short address to Warner notes: "*You are preparing for us, now, models of Persian speech which exceed similar Arabic sayings by their elegance and refinement. Proceed with elucidating Persian literary activities unknown to our world and by introducing of Persidis to Batavia. Together with Persian you will bring Arabic goods to Europe too and loaded up with oriental trophy you will return to us. I hope you will come back as soon as possible.*" (Warner 1644).

Coming back "*loaded up with oriental trophy*" may be a hint about Warner's forthcoming travel. Thus by the time the collection was published, everybody knew that Warner was leaving the Netherlands. The fact can also serve as an indirect corroboration of the suggestion that Warner hurried to publish the works he began before going on his lengthy travels.¹²

Why did Warner decide in favour of proverbs and specifically of Persian ones?

I think he had several reasons. One of the reasons was the example of the older generation of orientalists. Erpenius had already published his Arabic proverbs. By that time the Turkish proverbs had already been recorded¹³, and L. Warner may have known that fact. Publishing of Persian proverbs in the form of a collection undoubtedly would be considered a novelty and to be a continuation of T. Erpenius's undertaking.

If we look at the legacy left by Levin Warner, we will see that in the Legatum Warnerianum list of manuscripts, 18 entries are given for proverbs and idioms, out of which 16 are Arabic, 1 Persian and 1 Turkish and this implies that Warner was interested in the issue. The following information supports the case: "*About the year 1650 the Dutch scholar Levinus Warner who served as a diplomat in Constantinople, gathered, through his association with the educated Greeks living there, more than 750 modern Greek proverbs. These were edited by D.C. Hesseling and appeared in the monumental four-volume work on the proverbs of the Greek*

people, published by Politis in Athens in 1899-1902” (Karagiorgos 1999).

It should also be taken into consideration that Warner particularly notes his fascination with Persian idioms and proverbs in comparison with other oriental paremias and the latter may have provoked his wish to compile a collection. He declares: “*Different kinds of conversations had I with those speaking Hebrew, Arabic, Persian or Turkish but not one of them had flown into your soul and no words have such elegance and beauty as do the Persian.*” (Warner 1644).

Such evaluation given by a man who, apart from Persian knows Arabic, Turkish and Hebrew as foreign languages of course is worthy of attention. As is seen, many other scholars shared Warner’s opinion on the subject: the previously cited passage from C.Salmasius’s notes on the Warner collection substantiates the suggestion¹⁴.

In Warner’s letter addressed to the readers, one statement attracts attention; “*Nothing has been translated into Latin from the Persian original writings up to the present day*” (Warner 1644).

Obviously, Warner does not lie. In this regard one fact is worthy of mention, viz five years before the appearance of Levin Warner’s collection, in 1639 in Leiden, there had been published “*The History of Christ Written in Persian And Awfully Misrepresented by Father Hieronymus Xavier*” (*Istoria Christi Persice, Conscripto, simulque multis modis contaminata P. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jesu.; Latine Reddita & Amimadversionibus notata A Ludovico de Dieu*). It was translated into Latin and commented upon by Ludovico De Dieu.¹⁵

Ludovico De Dieu was also a student of Thomas Erpenius and Jacob Golius. In the explanation to the work, it is said that by the order of the Moghul Emperor Jalal Al-Din Akbar, “the King of Kings, Sovereign of the Epoch, the Ruler of the country, Sovereign of Paradise, the King and the Sultan, I, Padre Hieronymus Xavier from Europe, one of the followers of Holy Jesus, prepared this valuable book and blessed preface to it from the Holy Gospel and other books of the Apostles here in the Caliphate of Agra, and Moulana Abd-ol-Sanarayn Qasem Lahuri, together with your most humble servant, translated and completed it in the same Caliphate of Agra in the year 1602 A.D., on the 47th year after the enthronement of the Kings of Kings. Written on Wednesday, the eighth

day of the Blessed Month of Ramadan, in the year 1027” (Xavier 1639: 136).

It follows from the information that here we are not dealing with the original Persian work and that it was translated from Persian. As the researcher into this work, Noorollah Moradi,¹⁶ elucidates the work is written in poor Persian and the non-Iranian origin of the author is obvious. Information about “*The History of Christ*” is very contradictory. According to some sources it was written in Portuguese and then translated into Persian. Some authors however are of the opinion that the original was made in Latin. From the information given in the passage I have cited by Xavier himself, it is not clear in which language he had written the work before it was translated into Persian. But this is not of decisive importance for the subject under consideration. An important point is that the Latin translation was not made from the original Persian writing; thus, Levin Warner’s assertion is true, that before his own collection appeared, nothing had been translated from the original Persian into Latin and there is no doubt that he was the first to do so.

Warner would surely have been aware of the existence of Xavier’s work published only five years earlier than his. This suggestion can be supported by Warner’s comments on the 27th proverb of his collection where he mentions *The History of Christ* and criticizes Xavier for irrelevant usage and misinterpretation of idioms. He writes: “...I wish Father Hieronimus had taken into consideration this [rule] in his Persian translation of “The History of Christ”. In this translation he does not display due attention to the peculiarities of the language; in some places, he evaluates the soul and nature of Persian language on the basis of the Latin language. It happens thus when, for example, he writes that Christ can be identified by his deeds, and adds: ‘exactly in the same way as an elephant can be identified by his trunk and a lion by his claws’. It was known that the Greeks and the Latins had a saying: ‘The lion can be identified by his claws’ but for the Persians this saying is unknown”¹⁷ (Warner 1644: 15).

One more fact is worthy of note with regard to both the work of Warner and of Xavier. The 1639 edition of *The History of Christ* is the most ancient book in which the Persian printed text is given.¹⁸ In the same year “*The History of Saint Peter*” was published, translated and commented by the same De Dieu. In the

book published in 1639, three works are united into one volume: the two already mentioned and *Grammar of the Persian language*, the Persian title being: *Elements of the Persian Language* produced by L. De Dieu himself.

Levin Warner's collection is a subsequent work to the edition of these three works combined into a single volume where the Persian printed text is presented. Therefore *A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms* is one of the most ancient editions and this fact is significant in the history of the printing of Persian books. It should also be mentioned that because of the usage of at least 4 scripts - Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic - the publishing of the book must have been technically complicated.

There are 100 texts of Persian proverbs and aphorisms in Levin Warner's collection and they are randomly arranged, i.e. neither in alphabetical nor in thematical order nor in any other classification applied in paremiographical collections.

At first the proverb is given in the original language in Arabic script. Then it is followed by a Latin translation and notes. Texts without notes are of infrequent occurrence.

Proofreading mistakes in the Persian text given in the Arabic script are not uncommon. What is more, the letters specific to Persian پ، چ، ژ، گ which differ from the Arabic alphabet are not always reproduced but are replaced by Arabic letters having similar shapes. I should note here that this was almost a normal situation in the early years of printing of Persian texts.

The vast majority of the proverbs and aphorisms represented in the collection are of literary origin. Besides, for the most part these proverbs and maxims comprise 13th century Sa'adi's expressions mainly from his *Golestan*. Proverbs of folklore origin are less common. Some proverbs or aphorisms given in this collection are not recorded in Persian paremiographical collections of the later period; neither can their literary sources be precisely defined.

In the notes on the proverbs Warner often adduced other proverbs and sayings which are sometimes named as synonyms and sometimes are used to illustrate the reasoning given in the notes. It is worthy of note that as "supplementary material" they appear again in *Golestan*; in some cases Warner cites Arabic and Turkish expressions as well [See table. Numbers in the table correspond to entry proverb].

Entry Proverbs from <i>Golestan</i>	Proverbs, sayings and stories from <i>Golestan</i> used in the notes		Arabic examples given in the notes		Turkish examples given in the notes	Entry proverbs that are not from <i>Golestan</i>
	Saying (N)	Story (N)	Saying (N)	Fable (N)		
2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 44, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 60, 61, 64, 67, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 83, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 98	4, 12, 17, 20, 21X2, 22, 23, 51, 60,	2, 11, 36, 52, 61, 75, 91	4X2, 10X2, 24, 31, 54, 62, 65, 84 (Koran)	3*, 19, 23, 61X3,	6, 41, 47, 50, 57	1, 24, 29, 30, 33, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 88, 94, 97, 99, 100
59						41

Greek proverbs and maxims are also often cited in the notes. There are examples from the Torah, the Gospels and the Koran. Warner also adduces Aristotle, Cicerone, Homeros; references to Erpenius's collection of Arabic proverbs, to Dutch scholar G. Ioanne Vossio (1577-1649). It should be mentioned that in the note to the 80th proverb of the collection, Warner points out one beyt (two hemistiches) of Hafez though, in fact, this saying does not come from the poet.¹⁹ From the note to proverb #59, we can see that Warner is acquainted with the Persian poem *Yusef and*

Zoleikha; he quotes Nezami's *Khosrow and Shirin* (#79) in the note. One of Nezami's well-known proverbs, included in the collection under number 30, is incorrectly recorded. And what is more, Warner changes the order of the misras or hemistiches in the beyt. The proverb should be:

kabutar ba kabutar, bāz – bā bāz / konad hamjens bā hamjens parvāz

Pigeon with pigeon, falcon with – falcon / identical species fly together

(Eng.: Birds of a feather flock together)

Whereas in Warner's collection it is as follows:

konad har jens ba hame jens parvāz / kabutar bā kabutar, bāz – bā bāz.

Each species flies with any species – pigeon with pigeon, falcon with falcon.²⁰

Differences can be found in some other cases, e.g.: *bihemat/bimoravvat* (in the note to #17); *goftan/khandan, nakhad had kard/nagardanad* (#21); *mitarsad/betarsad, negah nemidarad/negah nadarad* (#45); thus, from this point of view, the collection may be of some interest for those textual critics dealing with texts of classic Persian poetry. The collection assumes importance when issuing a critical text of Sa'adi's *Golestan*, as the greater part of Warner's proverbs and aphorisms was taken from this monumental work.

Golestan was one of the first masterpieces of Persian literature with which Europeans became acquainted and which they translated. This work became popular in Europe. It is known, that J. Golius made his students read this great work during his lectures. *Golestan* still remains one of the main readers in the departments of Iranian Studies in universities worldwide. It is not improbable that Warner might have been one of such students. It is known also that in his four works published before travelling to Turkey Warner used two sources: *kitāb al-kashshāf* and the Persian *Golestan*. (van Koningsveld 1970: 47). At the time, the original of this work of Sa'adi did not exist in printed form; consequently Warner used a manuscript. If we remember that the Latin translation made by G. Gentius was published in 1651, once again we can conclude

that the first steps towards the translation of this work into Latin was taken by L. Warner.

As already mentioned, *A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms* contains inaccuracies. In some cases, it is difficult to elucidate whether the fault lies with a proofreader or with Warner. As a case in point we refer to the instances where “ی” given at the end of a word in a proverb is superfluous. For example, this suffix is used in the function of indefinite article in pattern #22 - *khasi /khas* where it is not needed; or used as a second person singular, which is unnecessary for the imperative form of a Persian verb, as happens in proverb #64 etc.; it is usually added to a word at the end and sometimes it is difficult to distinguish visually from a root letter, though it is possible grammatically.

No doubt, Levin Warner’s notes on proverbs and aphorisms are worthy of attention. However, it should also be mentioned that these notes are not always directly related to paremias; for Warner a proverb or saying is rather an occasion to present his own linguistic observations. In the notes once again Warner reveals himself as a scholar who tries to make linguistic analyses, to present scholarly observations on one or another grammatical problem. If we glance over the notes and comments made in *A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms* we can single out several groups:

1. Explanation of the content of a proverb or aphorism that may be followed by synonymous paremia from other languages or a fable as illustrative material;
2. Notes on the following Persian grammar categories: superlative degree formation; derivation and composition, suffix formation, imperative forms of a verb, enclitic, contracted forms of verbs and conjunctions;
3. Lexicological and etymological analyses in search of common European roots, attempts at comparative studies that was one of the trends unique to the European Oriental Studies of the times and to Dutch orientalistics in particular.

When inspecting his notes, an impression is gained that Levin Warner made attempts not to set aside any problem confronting the humanities. However, these suggestions and attempts lack systematization; Warner in his notes to the various entry proverbs reverts to the same problem several times. An example of this re-

gards the formation of composites, fused forms of pronouns and conjunctives. Obviously a paremiographical collection is not a form where a full or even a partial reasoning of the author on grammatical categories is required; however, this remark naturally arises due to the fact that sometimes Warner's linguistic findings are not connected directly with a responding proverb or aphorism and the word given in the paremia is used to illustrate the author's suggestions. And the latter can be partly explained by Warner's haste while working on the collection and, furthermore, that he was eager to share his findings with others. Here it should also be mentioned that some proverbs and aphorisms given in Levin Warner's collection are unknown to the Persian paremiological fund or are somewhat unclear:

#54: **dorooghgooi rooy-e siāh, rāstgooi rooy-e sefid**
A liar [has] a black face, a true teller a white face.

No collection of Persian proverbs records this saying. It may be associated with the Arabic proverb given in Warner's note: *A liar always has a black face*. The source used by Warner in this case is obscure.

#71: **emrooz donyā ast fardā qyāmat**
Today this world exists, tomorrow the Day of Judgment [will arrive].

This saying is not familiar to the Persian paremiographic collections. However Shokurzādeh cites one of similar meaning:

emrooz injā fardā bāzār-e qyāmat (Shokurzādeh 1993: 113)
Today here, tomorrow at the Judgment Day market.

#82: **to dar khāney-e khod, man dar khāney-e khod**
You at your own place, I at my own.

The saying is not familiar to any Persian paremiographic collection either. It is not clear where Warner took it from.

In some cases it is uncertain whether we are dealing with a proverb or a simple saying. For example:

#59: **choon āghāi mast nashavad boz nakoshad**
The goat will not be slaughtered until the master is drunk.

#69: to mardi va sabr nadari

You are a man and have no patience.

To provide a reader with a more vivid and better idea of the structure, content and character of the notes of the *A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms* I shall include some other texts:

1. In the collection a well-known Persian proverb was cited as the first text:

jāi ke namak khori namakdān mash(e)kan.

Where you eat salt don't break the salt cellar.

In the note to the proverb Levin Warner focuses attention on the derivational suffix *dān* in the word *namakdān* (salt cellar) used for the formation of the names of dishes; he shows another example akin to the previously mentioned suffix *dān*: *sham'dān* (candlestick) developed from *sham'* (candle). At the end of the note Warner indicates that Arabs introduce a similar idea in the proverb *Don't throw a stone into a well from which you drink water.*

2. In Warner's collection there are some more proverbs and aphorisms that are in use nowadays and are recorded in modern collections of Persian proverbs. For example:

#38: bā yek gol bahār nemishavad

One flower doesn't make a spring.

#56: tā nadehi, nasetāni

You won't receive until you have given.

85: har che kāri bederovi

You reap what you sow.

Various versions of the last aphorism are recorded in Persian paremiographic collections. Warner almost faithfully, though in shorthand form, reproduces the version of the aphorism occurring in the poetry of the 11-12th Persian poet *Sana'i*. In *Sana'i* it reads as follows:

har che kāri bedorovi va har che gooi beshenovi ('Afi-fi 1992: 798)

You reap what you sow, you hear what you say.

#58: **āb dar yek jāi istād migandad**

[If] water stays in one spot it will stink. This proverb is rendered differently by Iranian paremiographers (Dehkhodā 2537:13; Shokurzādeh 1993: 5):

āb ke yekjā māndeh mi gandad.

When water remains in one place it will stink.

In versions of this proverb familiar to me I have never met the verb *istādan* (to stand) used by Warner.

#29: **khari zād, khari zid, khari mord**

An ass was born, an ass lived, an ass died.

Iranian paremiographers give this proverb exactly in this form in their collections (Dehkhodā 2537: 738; Shokurzādeh 1993: 333; Bahmaniār 1982: 231). In the note Warner indicates that in Persian exists the expression *khari ba tashdid* 'an ass with *tashdid*' that is 'doubly stupid'. From this remark it is obvious that Warner was familiar with spoken Persian and its idioms too. He points to the fact that *tashdid* is an Arabic sign meaning the doubling of a consonant.

#65: **choo nām-e sag bari choobi be dast gir ke choon hoo-hoo konad dey bar dahānash**

When you say "a dog", take a stick in your hand, in case it growls, to drive it into its mouth.

In Persian paremiographic collections a definite version of this proverb is recorded:

choo nām-e sag bari choobi be kaf gir (/choobi be dast ār) (Dehkhodā 2537: 656; / Shokurzādeh 1993: 280)

When you say "a dog", take a stick in your hand.

This proverb is widely used by Iranians nowadays. The source of the version which possibly is literary, and was recorded by Warner, is unclear²¹.

#57: **faryād-e sag be sāel noqsān nadārad**

A dog's bark causes no harm to a beggar.

I have not met this proverb in this form either in Persian proverb collections nor in the spoken language. Iranian paremiographers give other wordings to the same idea:

faryād-e sagān kam nakonad razaq-e geda rā
(Dehkhodā 2537: 70)

āvāz sagān kam nakonad razaq-e geda rā (Shokur-
zādeh 1993:533)

A dog's bark (<cry /voice) doesn't reduce a beggar's daily meal.

By observing the structure of the sentence, both versions seem to be derived from a literary source. As to the proverb recorded by Warner, it is more likely to be a translation or it may be a wrongly remembered proverb. Moreover, I think Warner uses the compound verb *noqsān nadārad* loosely, especially when the prefix *be* is present. Here the copula *dāshtan* was selected incorrectly. Iranians use other copulas: *kardan*, *āmadan*, *paziroftan*, *yāftan*, *gereftan* or *keshidan* with *noqsān* (*harm*). The latter allows us to surmise that Warner employed oral sources too. It is also interesting that in the note to the proverb, Warner claims that Turks say it more elegantly: *A dog is barking, the caravan is going on its way*. He recorded this proverb in the original language and in the Arabic script. It is accompanied by a Latin translation. It seems that Warner did not know that this proverb also exists in the Persian paremiological fund: *sag lāyad va kar(a)vān migozarad*. In this proverb the archaic Persian verb with an Indo-European root *lāyi-dan* (*barking*) is retained. The Arabs have a similar proverb.

3. #81: **shamshir ke seiqal nazanand zang barārad**

A sword which is not polished becomes rusty.

This proverb is among those rare occurrences when Warner presents a pattern without any note. It is only accompanied by a Latin translation. Warner makes a mistake typical for a foreigner: he leaves the direct object *shamshir* (*sword*) without the *rā* postposition which is essential here. In Persian paremiographic collections this proverb reads as follows:

shamshir rā ke seiqal nazanand zang girad (Dehkhodā
2537: 1031 / Shokurzādeh 1993:484).

4. As has been mentioned a great portion of *A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms* Levin Warner took from Sa'adi's *Golestan*. Warner himself nowhere drew attention to that fact.

However, while citing a story or a proverb from *Golestan*, he sometimes, but not invariably, points to the source.

Under #52 Warner quotes Sa'adi's statement used as the ending of the Story 37 from Chapter I of the *Golestan*:

**agar bemord 'adu jāy-e shādmāni nist
ke zendegāni-e mā niz jāvdāni nist**

There is no occasion for our rejoicing at a foe's death,
Because our own life will also not last for ever. (trans. by
Richard Francis Burton)

The story related to this aphorism is very short and Warner presents it in the note fully (Warner 1644: 26), but he does not indicate that it was taken from the *Golestan*.

#91: **dah darvish dar gelimi bekhasband va do pāde-
shāh dar eqlimi naganjand**

Ten dervishes may sleep under the same blanket but
that one country cannot hold padshahs. (trans. by
Richard Francis Burton)

This aphorism is from the *Golestan* (Chapter I, Story 3). To explain the sense of the expression in the note, Warner takes an extract from the *Golestan*, which directly follows this aphorism and indicates the source.²²

Conclusion

Such in brief is the collection *A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms* compiled by Levin Warner. True enough, as a collection of Persian proverbs it is more of historical than of paremiological value. It is my belief that the collection has been wrongly forgotten; even though at least 59% of the texts given in the collection were taken from Sa'adi's *Golestan*. This particular work of Levin Warner should be considered as the beginning of the history of collections of translated Persian proverbs rather than Thomas Roebuck's collection published in Calcutta in 1824. Also important is the fact that *A Hundred Persian Proverbs and Aphorisms* is the oldest printed collection of Persian proverbs.²³

Notes:

¹ A simple but interesting coincidence is that in the same year of 1644 (1054 AH) in India there were compiled ancient collections where Persian proverbs were recorded: Mohammad Ali Hablerudi's *Jāme' At-tamthil* and Mirzā Sādeq Sādeqī Esfahāni's *Shāhed-e Sādeq*. The only earlier collection than these two is *Majma' Al-amthāl*.

² Prof. Wolfgang Mieder kindly informed me that three scholars mentioned L. Warner's collection printed in 1648 in their bibliographies: Gratet-Duplessis, Pierre-Alexandre. *Bibliographie paremiologique*, Paris: Potuer, 1847; rpt. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1969, p. 51 (no. 64); Bonser, Wilfrid. *Proverb Literature. A Bibliography of Works Relating to Proverbs*. London: William Glaisher, 1930; rpt. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1967, p.365, (no. 3180); Moll, Otto. *Sprichwoerterbibliographie*, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1958, p. 41 (no. 6924). As there is no other evidence to prove the fact we do not know whether they really saw the 1648 edition, maybe we deal with a misreading of the date on the volume. In any case, it seems, no world famous library has a copy of the 1648 edition.

³ Regarding other copies of the edition, apart from the one in the Leiden University Library, there exists a copy in Cambridge University Library, which I was able to examine for the first time, another at the Bodleian Library in Oxford and several copies in libraries in Germany, viz: Südwestdeutscher Bibliotheksverbund (1); Bibliotheksverbund Bayern (2); Gemeinsamer Bibliotheksverbund (1); Thüringer Universitäts und Landesbibliothek (ThULB) Jena (1). As Prof. W. Mieder kindly informed me, no copy exists in the USA. According to him, 5 copies are in the Netherlands: Amsterdam, Institute of Social History, Groningen, Leiden and Utrecht. There may exist more copies in other world libraries and private collections.

⁴ Levin Warner's name also occurs in different forms in different sources: Levinus Warnerus, Levinus Warner or Levino Warner.

⁵ For me the main sources of information concerning Levin Warner are as follows: *Levinus Warner and His legacy*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1970 and also information obtained from internet sources, especially *Researches Carried Out Into Oriental Studies In the Early Period (17th -18th cc.) in the Netherlands*, carried out by Ismail Hakki Kadi of Leiden University, (in Turkish).

⁶ Two days before his death Levin Warner made his will bequeathing his great library, approximately of a thousand items to Leiden University. Amongst the latter are several unique manuscripts. This collection, known as *Legatum Warnerianum*, aroused enormous interest among orientalist from his time to the present day and contributes to the reputation of Leiden University Library as being one of the richest centres of oriental manuscripts. The reasons and circumstances of Warner's death are unknown. Information provided in a letter of Ali Bey (Albert Bobovius), a translator of the Bible into Turkish, is worthy of attention though seems suspicious: "he was killed... by unknown criminals using poison" (Neudecker 2005:183). There exists another version of Warner's death but it has been rejected by researchers. In line with L. Warner's will he was buried "in the Protestant cemetery in the Feriköy quarter of Istanbul". Within the place there was found the grave of his brother Frederik, the former Dutch consul in Athens; the

inscription on the gravestone indicates that Frederik was buried next to his brother but no trace of Levinus has been found there (Neudecker 2005:183-184).

⁷ The kind of attitude Warner bore towards the older generation of orientalists can well be seen in his collection of Persian proverbs. Commenting on proverb #23 (p. 13) Warner points out T. Erpenius's book of proverbs, meaning his collection of Arabic proverbs; With great respect he mentions Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) whose works are familiar to him (see pp. 13 and 24). Although L. Warner's teacher Jacobus Golius is not mentioned in the collection, it is almost safe to say that the biography of the latter, which included travelling to the East in order to collect manuscripts, activities in Turkey and returning to a university career must surely have been the object of emulation for his student.

⁸ It is well-known that the ambassador of Great Britain in Constantinople was one of Warner's assistants and patrons. In the letter dated 6th of May, 1647, Warner wrote: "when presently the British ambassador will have died, I shall have no one to turn to for help" (Drewes 1970:7). A comparison of these two facts is open to interpretation. Someone can ask: "how disinterested would be any assistance given by the ambassador of Great Britain to Warner?"

⁹ Of interest in this regard is de Bruijn's suggestion: "...the scholars who, at the close of the sixteenth century, began to study Persian were otherwise motivated than the entrepreneurs of the [Dutch East India] Company. Even at the height of commercial activity, the two spheres remained separate from each other although their interests did go together occasionally. Jacob Golius, especially, was eager to profit from any facility which the Company could offer him, either by enabling him to travel to the Middle East or by helping him to acquire the materials needed for his studies. Some of his students found employment in the service of the Company, but the careers of men like Warner and De Jager show that this was not beneficial to their futures as scholars" (de Bruijn 1987: 173-174).

¹⁰ As it follows from the letter, L. Warner was also in close relations with the well-known representative of this family, Joannes Thysius (1622-1653). Thanks to the legacy of the latter, the Bibliotheca Thysianna had been built. L. Warnerus was also familiar with Antonius Thysius, a lawyer, who died before 1644.

¹¹ On page 18 of his collection, in his note to proverb #31, Warner mentions him as one of his great patrons: "magnus patronus meus Claudius Salmasius".

¹² Here attention must be drawn to C. Salmasius's wish for Warner to return as soon as possible. By that time Warner had not yet made a decision to stay in Turkey, or at least he did not reveal his plans.

¹³ According to Najat Muallimoglu, "Turkish proverbs are among the earliest in the world to appear in a book. Mahmoud Kashgari, an 11th century Turkish scholar who is thought by some to have been the author of the world's first dictionary published the first and most important Turkish dictionary, *Diwan-i Lugat-i Turk*, in Baghdad in 1074. Mahmoud Kashgari, who wrote this monumental work to teach Arabs Turkish, included in it 290 proverbs which are very much alive in today's Turkish language." (Muallimoglu 1988).

¹⁴ It is likely that this kind of attitude of Warner towards Persian phraseology was considered by Nayyer Nuri to be the service rendered by Levinus Warner to the Persian

language and literature, as precisely this suggestion he cites in his work without comment.

¹⁵ A theologian of the Reformed Church, De Dieu, met with criticism: his “intention in publishing... was to discredit Catholicism. It is a skilful falsification of the life of Jesus in which the omissions, and the additions taken from the Apocrypha, are inspired by the sole purpose of presenting to the open-minded ruler a glorious Jesus, in whom there should be nothing to offend him.” ([http://en.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=Page_Quest_of_the_Historical_Jesus_\(1911\).djvu/24](http://en.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=Page_Quest_of_the_Historical_Jesus_(1911).djvu/24))

¹⁶ The Iranian National Library acquired *The History of Christ* at the end of 2009. A special lecture on the fact was delivered (11.03.2010) by an expert of the Library, Noorollah Moradi, whom I personally met. I am grateful to Mr Moradi for the interesting information concerning the research carried out by him into the problem and for showing me the original of the book. However, Iranians must have been aware of the existence of this edition as in 1958 the Iranian scholar Iraj Afshar had already indicated that *The History of Christ* was the first book printed in Persian (Afshar 1958: 13-14). Later I. Afshar in another article on the problem wrote: “the most ancient books printed in Persian are two: *The History of Christ* and *The History of St. Peter*; Both of them, in Latin translation, were published in Leiden in 1639 by the enlightened man Ludovico De Dieu” (Afshar 1966:26). In addition, a photo of the cover of *The History of Christ* is included.

¹⁷ I would like to take this opportunity to thank the young researcher, Nika Shaugia, for his translation from Latin into Georgian of the introductory passages from Warner’s collection quoted in this paper.

After this point the question arises: on what ground does Warner reason that these kinds of sayings are unknown to the Persians? What source did he have to verify the fact? Maybe he considered that he knew Persian better than Xavier and Qāsem Lahuri? The fact is that by that time there did not exist any collection of Persian proverbs and idioms and Warner had not before the year 1644 been to the East. Only one reliable probability is left. Warner had the possibility to verify them via language carriers with whom he came into contact. The latter can be supported by a passage from his introduction to the collection, where his fascination with Persian is discussed.

¹⁸ According to *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, the first Persian language book printed in the Near East was a Torah in Hebrew characters published in Istanbul in 943/1546. The first books in Persian characters were *Dāstān-e Masīh ammā ālūda* (*Historia Christio Persica*), a Persian translation from a Latin original by Hieronymo Xavier with the collaboration of Abd-al-Sonārayn Qāsem Lāhūrī and *Dāstān-e San Pidrū*, (*Historia S. Petri Persica*), published in Leiden in 1639 (Floor 1990).

¹⁹ Over the centuries lines and even whole poems were gradually added to the poetic collection of 14th century Hafez and it is not improbable that Warner quoted from one of such profane manuscripts.

²⁰ Interestingly, if we consider the fact based on Warner’s Latin translation, he comprehends the content of this saying of Nezami rightly, and the mistake made in the collection can be easily explained from the graphical standpoint and it may be the result of an incorrect reading of the manuscript. This mistake can be attributed to the typesetter but the rearrangement of misras in the beyt cannot be initiated by the latter.

²¹ In Georgian there also exists a similar proverb: Mention a dog and have a stick in your hand.

²² It should also be mentioned that Warner distributes the aphorisms taken from the large stories of Golestan into several entries. In this way the volume of the collection was enlarged. Favourable critics will explain this fact as being due to Warner's haste and pressure of work; the more severe will blame him for a lack of conscientiousness.

²³ I would like to thank Mr Ahmad Abrishami for his kind assistance in identifying the aphorisms from Golestan.

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JOHN B. SMITH

TRADITIONAL SAYINGS AS REFLEXES OF HOUSEHOLD, BARN, AND BYRE

Abstract: on of which can in turn add to our knowledge and understanding of the sayings. This seems to be borne out by scrutiny of the saying *to stick one's spoon in the wall* for "to die", the literal meaning of which emerges from an examination of traditional eating habits and implements. Along with proverbialisms originating in the household, others that have grown out of the wider rural environment are discussed. Although we proceed from English sayings, many of them dialectal, not a few of these have Continental counterparts, the study of which can cast further light, but also raise questions as to origin, development, and transmission.

Keywords: proverbialisms, folk speech, folk life, historical background, literal meaning, sense development, transmission, comparative approach

Among the many fascinating expressions to be found in Partridge's *Dictionary of Slang* is *to stick one's spoon in the wall*, a now apparently obsolete colloquialism for 'to die'. Having cited the earliest occurrence known to him, from a source dated 1814, Partridge laconically asks: Why? Before trying to answer this very pertinent question as to the relationship between image and sense, we shall need to consider relevant examples, starting with Partridge's own, which is from the journal of a certain Matthew Todd, a gentleman's gentleman who accompanied his master on a tour of Europe from 1814 to 1820, and wrote down his impressions throughout the years in question (Partridge 1984, 1154).

On Sunday 11 December 1814, Todd arrived with his master in Valence on the Rhone. He comments: "This town is famed by Pope Pius the 6th having stuck his spoon in the wall", the reference being to the pontiff's death there in 1799. In his entry for Sunday 15th January 1815, Todd in fact varies the expression slightly, writing as follows of Monaco: "This place is a very

strong fort and famed (as report says) by the Duke of York having put his spoon in the wall on his way to Genoa" (Trease 1968, 71 and 83).

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a slight variation on this second version of the saying, namely *to put one's spoon into* [rather than *in*] *the wall*, was current in the dialects of south Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, while Norfolk (W. G. P. 1885, 49) and south-east Worcestershire had *to stick one's spoon in the wall*, likewise meaning "to die". A Lancashire variant was *to give up one's spoon*. Thus a text published in 1865 has, of a person who had shortly before left this world for the next: "Johnny gan ['gave'] up his spoon one day beawt ['without'] havin' any mooar warnin' nor other folk." Further dialect examples are not to hand, and according to Partridge the saying had passed out of colloquial usage by the early twentieth century (Wright 1970, 5:681 and 757, and 2:627; Partridge 1984, 1154).

In search of parallels on the Continent, we encounter first of all a set of apparently now obsolete colloquial French expressions for 'to die', namely *avalier* or *verser sa cuiller*, alias *rendre sa cuiller (au magasin)* (Robert 1992, 3:92), the gist being that dying is tantamount to swallowing or tipping out one's spoon, or handing it back (to the shop). Dutch for its part has *Hij heeft de lepel neergelegt* (ter Laan 1950, 178), 'He has put down his spoon', which matches such widespread German expressions as *Da hat einer den Löffel hingelegt* or *...weggeworfen* or *...fallen lassen*, in which a person who has paid his debt to nature is likewise said to have put down his spoon, or thrown it away or dropped it. "To drop one's spoon", which, like all the parallels cited, means "to die", has an early forerunner in a text of the second half of the sixteenth century by the German author Johann Fischart, who says of a deceased character: *Es entfiel ihm der Löffel*, "The spoon slipped out of his hand" (Röhrich 1991-1992, 2:973-74). Modern dialectal equivalents are along the lines of the Mecklenburg "He won't be licking his spoon again", the Silesian "She's left a spoon to spare", the Rhenish "He's licked his last spoon", and the Swabian "to wipe/put up one's spoon" (Röhrich 1991-92, 2:973-74). Modern slang and colloquial usage similarly

express the idea of dying with “to put down one’s spoon”, “to throw away one’s spoon” and so on (Küpper 1987, 502).

The synonymous Holstein expression *sin Lepel upstēken* (Wander 1977, 3:227), “to put up one’s spoon”, which matches one of the Swabian ones just quoted, might be seen as a word-for-word counterpart of the above-cited Lancastrian *to give up one’s spoon*. This, however, like the French *rendre sa cuiller*, means something like “to hand in one’s spoon”, whereas the Holstein saying has as its nearest equivalent the Mecklenburg *De het den Lāpel an de Wand stāken* (Röhrich 1991-92, 2:974). This means “He’s stuck his spoon in the wall”, thus exactly matching in imagery and sense the English sayings with which we began, and for which an explanation is still outstanding.

What we have to visualize in order to grasp the full import of sayings about putting up one’s spoon alias putting/sticking it in the wall is the old-fashioned farmhouse where the workers, both male and female, were as often as not served broth, potage or gruel, which were originally eaten with spoons of wood, or maybe horn, before these were replaced by metal. Any pieces of meat or fish were held in the hand and attacked with the teeth or cut with a knife. No forks were used. At the end of a meal, after each spoon had been wiped, it would be placed in the hole provided for it in a rack on the wall. So closely were such spoons identified with their owners that a Swiss saying from Solothurn meaning “from the humblest to the greatest member of a household” ran *vom Löffel im Rigel bis uehe zum vierspännigen Fuerwerch* (Wander 1977, 3:227), “from the spoon in the rack to the four-in-hand”. An alternative to the wooden rack was a leather strap fastened to the wall as a receptacle for small items. Dürer’s engraving “St Jerome in His Study” of 1514 shows such a strap supporting scissors, pen-case and the like (Strauss 1973, 162-63, plate 77). Old prints of interiors show such straps with spoons in them (R. R. 1885, 238).

What is not entirely clear is whether the English expression *to stick/put one’s spoon in(to) the wall* is a mere calque on its closest Continental counterparts, or whether it independently reflects similar circumstances, in which an individual actually placed his spoon in a wall-rack after a meal. Certainly spoon racks as such were known in England (Pinto 1969, 144 and plate 147).¹ In Wales spoons were in fact kept in wooden racks on the

wall, although there seems to be no record of an expression matching the English one in question (Tibbott 1991). In Ulster, cutlery, presumably along with spoons, was usually kept in drawers in the dresser or kitchen table, but larger items could be kept in open kitchen wall boxes. In the south-east of Ireland, dressers were often constructed in such a way as to have several spoon holes in the moulding or plate-guard rail on the upper shelf front (Carragher 1991).

The common denominator of the totality of sayings listed is of course the spoon rather than the spoon rack on the wall. The sense is that we are what we eat and, by implication, what we eat with. If we have licked our last spoon or handed it in, that is indeed the end. Essentially similar expressions for “to die” are *to hand in one’s dinner pail* or *to lay down one’s knife and fork* (Green 1988, 29). Compare also *He’s supt* (“supped”) *all his porridge*, said of one deceased (R. R. 1885, 238). Rather than end on such a lugubrious note, however, we should perhaps mention that spoons are also a symbol of burgeoning life, whence the custom, common in many parts of Europe, of presenting a newly born or newly christened child, in the hope that it will “do well”, with a spoon, often of silver (Hoffmann-Krayer and Bächtold-Stäubli 1927-42, 5:1317-18).² Indeed, of someone who was clearly favoured by fortune from the moment he came into the world, and for whom the gift of a christening spoon would thus have been superfluous, we say *He was born with a silver spoon in his mouth*. Of course not everyone starts out in such propitious circumstances. As Oliver Goldsmith put it: “One man is born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and another with a wooden ladle” (Wilson 1970, 76).

If there is any general conclusion to be drawn from all this, it is that, while the study of proverbial sayings is worth while for its own sake, it can also cast light on obscure aspects of folk life, the investigation of which can in turn add to what we know of the sayings. A popular saying never grows out of nothing. It always grows from what is perfectly familiar in a particular place at a particular time. Exotic and recondite though it may seem today, our example *to put one’s spoon in the wall* can only have come about in circumstances where, as part of a particular social and economic context, the keeping of spoons in wall racks was

taken for granted. The elucidation of those circumstances is as important for the student of folk life as it is for the paroemiologist.

While we are on the subject of food and its consumption, it will perhaps be appropriate to consider a set of apparently inter-related sayings, the first of which, applied to some endless task, is the Devonshire *lik aitin' whitpot wi' a stockin'-niddle*, in which *whitpot* stands for a once popular kind of custard, while a *stockin'-niddle* is a darning-needle. A Shropshire and Herefordshire equivalent of *whitpot* alias *whitepot* was *stir-pudding*, a dish similarly made from the basic ingredients of flour, milk and treacle. Here the expression, probably referring again to some endless task, was *to eat stir-pudding with an awl*. Now the northern term for an awl is *elsin*, and a version of our saying from Northumberland, Ayrshire, and northern parts of Ireland was *to sup sowens with an elsin*, glossed as “to attempt an impossibility”. From Lancashire northwards, north-eastwards, and westwards into northern Ireland, *sowens* was a word of Irish origin for a dish made from oatmeal husks and siftings steeped in water until the infusion became sour. After further procedures a light pudding resulted that was eaten with milk or other liquids, even beer or fish liquor in some localities.

Despite the range of dishes mentioned in this set of sayings, and of implements referred to, the underlying idea is much the same throughout: trying to perform a difficult, endless, or impossible task is like trying to eat semi-liquid food with a sharp implement. Here, then, we have presumably cognate variations on a theme. What has yet to be identified is the prototype from which these ecotypes arose (Smith 2009, 351-355).

We now move to a different set of sayings, starting with the Dutch *in duigen vallen*, literally “to fall into staves”, used for instance of plans that miscarry or come to nought (ter Laan 1950, 79). Rhenish German has the word-for-word equivalent *in de Daue falen*, meaning “to collapse”, of a person debilitated by hunger or illness (Müller 1928-71, 1:1278). Entirely analogous is the Scottish saying *to fall into staves*, used metaphorically of a person “going to pieces” and no longer in control of events (Wright 1970, 5:738). The image is clear enough for anyone still familiar with that traditional product of the cooper's craft, the barrel made of tongue-and-groove staves held in place by metal

hoops. Once past its best and falling to pieces, such a barrel made a sorry sight, inviting comparison with various other kinds of collapse or decrepitude. Likewise drawing its inspiration from a wooden barrel or cask, the saying *to go to staves* was similarly transferable to processes and conditions beyond the cooper's sphere of action. It meant "to break up", "to go to ruin".

What, though, of another Scottish saying, *to take a staff/stave out of one's cog*, meaning "to diminish a person's allowance of food", and hence "to reduce his/her expenditure" (Wright 1970, 1:693 and 5:738)? The word *stave* - an alternative form was *staff* - for one of the upright sections of a barrel has already been discussed. Principally in Scotland and Ireland, however, there was the art, possibly going back to prehistoric times, of making smaller vessels from staves, often with a longer one projecting upwards to form a lateral handle (Evans 1988, 74-75).³ There can be no doubt that some such vessels are relatively ancient, since, when in the seventeenth century some of the type known as *quaichs* began to be worked in silver, they were often engraved with lines to represent staves and feathering (Grant 1995, 180-82; Pinto 1969, 54). Now superseded by items mass-produced from clay, metal, glass or plastic, stave-built vessels survive only as museum exhibits or collectors' pieces. They range from the above-mentioned small drinking bowls known as *quaichs* alias *quaighs*, through *bickers* ("beakers") of various sizes, suitable for whisky, ale or broth, to *cogs* or *coggies*, used as porridge bowls or even as ale reservoirs for refilling individual bickers (Pinto 1969, 53-55). There was also the *nog* or *noggin*, generally about the size of a mug, and used for porridge, milk or spirits. In this, too, one of the uprights protruded to form a handle, which helps us understand why, in Galloway, a house with only one chimney was jokingly referred to as a *nog*. Similar to the *noggin*, but sometimes larger, was the *piggin*, well known in parts of England as well as Scotland and Ireland. Thus a Shropshire version of the nursery rhyme "Hey diddle diddle" contained the lines: "The cow jumped o'er the moon, The little dog laughed to see such sport; And the piggin ran after the spoon." A writer reminiscing in 1841 about his schooldays in Hertford tells us: "We had no mugs to drink from, but wooden bowls in the

shape of small tubs, with wooden handles. These were called piggens” (Wright 1970, 4:288-89 and 497).

Since *to take a staff/stave out of one’s cog* would be to reduce the vessel’s size, it is now easy to see how the saying came to suggest diminishing a person’s food allowance and hence reducing the expenditure he or she incurred. Note also *stap*, a north British synonym for *stave*,⁴ whence *to take a stap out of one’s cog*, which in Scotland meant “to put someone on a shorter allowance”. In northern England, *to take a stap out of one’s bicker* meant “to humble someone, to take him down a peg” (Wright 1970, 5:731). Such sayings seem not to have been known in Wales, where the idea of cutting down a person’s food allowance was rather *codi’r rhastal*, literally “to raise the rack”, the reference being to the one above a horse’s manger (Tibbott 1991).

At this point, then, we leave the household and enter stable, barn and byre, but also the open fields beyond. A couple of images provided by the second of these are easy enough to understand. The West Somerset *Mid* [“You might”] *zo well put a brass knocker on a barn’s door* is “a very common saying expressive of inconsistency” (Wright, 1970, 1 169),⁵ while the Dorset *It’s blowing enough to wim* [“winnow”] *taters* which I recorded at Kingston near Corfe Castle about 1970, is a self-explanatory hyperbole matched, incidentally, by the Antrim *to blow the horns off the kye* [“cows”], “said of a cold and stormy day” (Wright 1970, 1:309).

Perhaps more in need of elucidation are some of the sayings associated with the northern word *boose*, which signifies a stall for a horse or cow, or the upper part of the stall, where fodder is placed. This gives us for instance the Craven *He braads o’ th’ dog i’ t’boose*, “He is like the dog in the manger”, and the Derbyshire *He has put Browney into Cherry’s boose*, used where a widower has wedded a second wife, “older than and perhaps not so handsome as the first”. *Browney* was of course a name for a brown cow, while *Cherry* was a favourite name for a red cow that was a good milker. In Cheshire, *to get into Cherry’s boose* was “to get into ‘a warm berth’ or good quarters”. In the northernmost counties of England it used to be jestingly said, when a child was born into a large family, that the next youngest must *now stand in Hawkie*⁶ *boose*, *Hawkie* being a pet-name for a white-faced cow, one that was presumably, though much loved,

not the overall favourite. Returning to Cheshire, we find *Oo* ["she"] *likes the boose, but not the ring-stake* ["tethering-post"], said of a woman who, presumably, enjoyed the comforts of matrimony, but not its restrictions (Wright 1970, 1:342-43). What elsewhere would be a *ring-stake* or *redstake* was in north Yorkshire a *rudstake*, whence a saying of similar import: *If it hadn't been for t'standing, I wad nivver hae been tied to t'rudsteeak*, translated as "If it had not been for the property, I would never have married him" (Wright 1970, 5:176).

A related northern word for *boose* was *boost*. In west Yorkshire a father playing with his children and inviting one to come between his knees would say: "*Come into t'boost*" Less reassuring is a once common Lancashire proverb from Goosnargh in the Fylde: *A famine begins at the cow boost* (Wright 1970, 1:343). Compare Ray's version of 1678: *After a famine in the stall, comes a famine in the hall* and Camden's of 1636: *No dearth but breeds in the horse-manger* (Wilson 1970, 5 and 244). In the first of these, *famine in the stall* has been taken to mean a bad hay crop, and *famine in the hall* a bad corn crop (Apperson 1993, 203 and 183).

The well-being of cattle is touched on in the Cheshire proverb *Roast meat does cattle*, in which the verb may be presumed to rhyme with *goes* or *mows*. As for the noun *meat*, this is used in the older sense of "food in general". In the present context, *roast meat* refers to grass that in a hot, dry season has been exposed to much sun and little rain. Returning now to the verb, we identify it as belonging to the northern *to dow*, meaning "to be able, to thrive", and used in the latter sense of cattle doing well. In our proverb the verb is used transitively, so that it means "to cause to do well". Thus we arrive at the interpretation: "Parched grass causes cattle to do well", or, to quote a commentator: "In dry seasons cattle, if they can only get at plenty of water, often milk better than in cold wet seasons, when there is more grass." Compare another Cheshire saying on a related theme: *Hanged hay never does cattle*, which refers to bought hay that has been hung or weighed on the steel-yard (Wright 1970, 2:141; Apperson 1993, 533 and 282). The more common intransitive use of *to dow* is illustrated by our final proverb, provided by Wright's Cumbrian correspondent E. W. P[revost]: *A nanny pet lam' maks*

a dwinin' ["ailing"] *yowe, Not yen out o' ten ever dis dow* (Wright 1970, 2:141).

Notes

¹ Plate 147 shows a Welsh and a Friesland spoon rack as well as an English one.

² Some time after my birth in 1933, my mother was presented with such a spoon on my behalf by her colleagues at the Kingsley Women's Institute, North Staffs. It would be interesting to know how common the custom was, and whether it survives.

³ Since that handle was the *lug* (literally "ear") and the bottom of the vessel was the *laggin*, the saying *from lug to laggin* meant "from top to bottom". The hoop securing the *laggin* was the *laggin-gird*; *to cast a laggin-gird* was "to bear an illegitimate child" (Wright 1970, 3:503 and 687). And so one might continue.

⁴ Compare the Scottish *to fa' a' staps* and the northern English *to go to staps*, both meaning "to become insolvent, to go to pieces as a spendthrift, drunkard etc." (Wright 1970, 5:731), with the above-discussed sayings that are similar, but contain *staves* rather than *staps*.

⁵ I have adapted and simplified the spelling of the original. The *-s* suffix on *barn* in *barn's door* is entirely typical of south-western usage. See Wakelin 1977, 111-12.

⁶ On the omission of the possessive inflection, see for instance Wakelin 1977, 111.

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CARSTEN WOLLIN

DIE SPRICHWÖRTER UND EPIGRAMME DES ULGERIUS VON ANGERS

Abstract: Among the Latin *Carmina* of bishop Ulgerius of Angers (pont. 1125-1148) has been preserved a small group of 17 proverbs and epigrams, some imitating the Roman classics, some translating Old-French proverbs, some referring to contemporary events. The present article provides the first critical edition of these poems, including a German translation and commentary.

Keywords: Chrétien de Troyes (*Yvain*), Martial (*Epigrams*), Medieval Latin Literature, Old-French Literature, *Proverbes au vilain*, Ulgerius of Angers (*Carmina*).

1. Der Dichter Ulgerius von Angers

Auch wenn die lateinischen Dichter des Mittelalters in der Regel versuchten, den erhabenen Stil ihrer antiken Vorbilder zu imitieren und sich damit von der Dichtung in der Volkssprache zu distanzieren, so besaßen doch nicht wenige eine besondere Vorliebe für die Sprichwörter des gemeinen Mannes. Diese hatten sie schon in ihrer Kindheit kennen gelernt, als sie im Unterricht volkssprachliche Sprichwörter ins Lateinische übersetzen und in metrische Verse umwandeln mussten. Später gaben sie diese als Lehrer an ihre eigenen Schüler weiter. Auf diese Weise ist eine große Zahl von volkssprachlichen Sprichwörtern in der mittellateinischen Literatur schon sehr früh, oft in anderer Form und anderem Kontext oder überhaupt nur als Übersetzung erhalten geblieben.¹

Zu diesen Dichtern gehörte in Frankreich der Bischof Ulgerius von Angers († 16. Oktober 1148).² Dieser war vermutlich ein Schüler Marbods von Rennes, wurde dann Scholasticus und Archidiakon in Angers und schließlich dortselbst Bischof (pont. 1125-1148). Seine letzten Lebensjahre wurden von dem erbitterten Streit mit der Äbtissin Petronilla von Fontevraud um die Mühlenrechte an den großen Loirebrücken (Ponts-de-Cé) im

Westen von Angers überschattet, der ihn sogar dazu zwang, zweimal nach Rom zu reisen, um dort seine Rechte an der Kurie zu verteidigen.³ Auf diesen Streit beziehen sich die meisten seiner erhaltenen Gedichte, welche sich entweder gegen Papst Innozenz II. (pont. 1130-1143), dessen Legaten, den Bischof Gottfried von Chartres (pont. 1116-1149), oder gegen die Äbtissin selbst richten. Noch als Archidiakon hatte Ulgerius für das Grab seines Lehrers Marbod († 11. September 1123) im Kloster Saint-Aubin in Angers ein elegantes Epitaphium verfasst, das dort bis zur Zerstörung in der Revolution zu lesen war. Für die Paroimologie bedeutsam sind 17 kleinere Gedichte (in insgesamt 35 Versen), in denen der Dichter seine Freude an Epigramm und Sprichwort bekundet. Da diese bis heute keine ausreichende Erklärung gefunden haben und außerdem im *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi* fehlen, habe ich mir vorgenommen, sie im Folgenden kritisch zu edieren, zu übersetzen und, soweit mir dies möglich ist, in die mittelalterliche Sprichworttradition einzuordnen.

2. Die Handschriften

B Die größte zusammenhängende Sammlung von 24 Gedichten des Ulgerius ist in einer Handschrift des 16. Jahrhunderts erhalten: Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Lat. fol. 118,⁴ auf fol. 96v-97r unter der Überschrift *Versus magistri Vlgerij Andegauensis episcopi de Innocentio papa et multis alijs materiebus*. Aus B wurden diese Gedichte zuerst von dem deutschen Historiker und Bibliothekar Johann Georg Eckard (1664-1730) im Jahr 1723 ediert,⁵ allerdings unter der ebenso phantasievollen wie irreführenden Überschrift *Magistri Vulgerii versus in Bonifacium VIII. papam et mores cleri*. Eine Neuausgabe dieser und anderer Gedichte des Ulgerius durch Thomas Haye ist erst vor kurzem erschienen.⁶ Während Haye besonderen Wert auf die zeitgeschichtliche Einordnung der papstkritischen Gedichte legt, lässt er die Sprichwörter unkommentiert.

Haye erwägt sogar die Möglichkeit, dass die 17 Sprichwörter und Epigramme am Schluss der kleinen Sammlung (Carm. B 8-24 = Haye Carm. X-XI) gar nicht von Ulgerius stammen könnten.⁷ Dem ist entgegenzuhalten, dass B eine Autorsammlung mit ausdrücklicher Zuweisung an Ulgerius überliefert. Zwar lassen sich innerhalb dieser Sammlung inhaltliche Unterschiede (satirische

Epigramme - Sprichwörter) feststellen, doch keine in Stil und Versbau. Vielmehr verbindet die literarische Verwendung der *Proverbes au vilain* beide Gruppen. Vor allem aber gibt es keinen Fall, in dem die Parallelüberlieferung der Zuweisung von B widerspräche, indem sie ein Gedicht einem anderen Verfasser zuschreibt oder in einem für Ulgerius unmöglichen Kontext bewahrt. Vielmehr stellt die Handschrift T (s. u.) das Carm. B 23 mit einem Epigramm (R 2) zusammen, welches von Radulfus de Diceto dem Ulgerius zugewiesen wird. Sicherlich wird man an der Authentizität eines einzelnen Gedichts zweifeln können, doch ist die Hoffnung, mit Hilfe der Stiluntersuchung hier zu einer endgültigen Entscheidung zu gelangen, angesichts der Kürze der Texte und der wenigen erhaltenen Texte des Ulgerius, aussichtslos. Somit wird es vorerst bei der Zuweisung an Ulgerius bleiben dürfen. Da die Herkunft vieler Stücke aus der altfranzösischen Sprichwortliteratur bis heute nicht nachgewiesen wurde, erscheint eine erneute Beschäftigung mit diesen kleinen Gedichten für die Paroimiologie durchaus sinnvoll und gewinnbringend, selbst wenn sich die Autorschaft des Ulgerius nicht in jedem Fall wird nachweisen lassen.

Ansonsten enthält die Handschrift B Texte zur Geschichte Frankreichs, unter anderem die *Historia ecclesiastica* des Hugo von Fleury. In der Mitte des Codex befindet sich auf fol. 93v-96v ein Abschnitt mit vier Briefen des 12. Jahrhunderts (Philipp von Harvenge an Papst Alexander III., Bernhard von Clairvaux an Ulgerius, Arnulf von Lisieux an Alexander III., Abt Laurentius von Westminster an Königin Eleonore)⁸ und auf fol. 96v-99v die kleine Gedichtsammlung. Die Handschrift ist die humanistische Kopie einer älteren, vermutlich aus dem 12. oder 13. Jahrhundert stammenden Vorlage, denn der jüngste Text der Gedichtsammlung ist Carm. B 25, die sogenannte *Apokalypse des Goliath* (fol. 97r-99v), welche von Walter von Châtillon (ca. 1130/40-1200) oder aus seiner Schule stammt.⁹ Diese wird aber durch den Beginn in einer neuen Spalte und durch eine große Initiale von den vorausgehenden Gedichten des Ulgerius deutlich getrennt.

Da Hays die Gedichte in seiner Neuausgabe nach anderen Kriterien geordnet hat, lässt sich ihre ursprüngliche Abfolge in B nicht immer leicht erkennen. Deshalb sei hier eine Übersicht über den Inhalt von B vorausgeschickt, nach der sich die Zählung Carm. B 1 etc. im Folgenden richten wird. Die Konkordanzen mit der Edition

Hayes und den seltenen Nachweisen in Hans Walthers *Initia carminum* (WIC) ergeben sich aus der folgenden Tabelle:

Berlin Incipit / WIC

B 1	<i>Papa per antifrasm Pius Innocuusque uocatur</i> WIC 13646	Carm. IV
B 2	<i>Pape nuper erat michi soli ianua clausa</i>	Carm. V
B 3	<i>Papa fit inflatus, fugiens fugit ad medicinam</i>	Carm. VI
B 4	<i>Non plangit [plorat] papam Gerbertus, quod moriatur</i> WIC 12137	Carm. III
B 5	<i>Pape [Parue ?] supponi paruo bene sedet luoni</i>	Carm. VII
B 6	<i>Nomine Gentilis iacet hic et consul honore</i>	Carm. VIII
B 7	<i>Hic iacet Ulgerius, qui presul nomine solo</i> WIC 7986	Carm. IX
B 8	<i>Illo, quo Dominus Gatianum traxit ad astra</i>	Carm. X a-b
B 9-24	<i>Si geminos patres habuisti, quod michi dicis</i>	Carm. XI a-r

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B 25	<i>A tavro torrida lampade Cinthij</i> WIC 91 (von Walter von Châtillon oder aus seiner Schule ?)	-
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T Die Handschrift Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 890 (s. 12) wurde im Jahr 1940 durch den Angriff deutscher Truppen vernichtet. Zum Glück existiert aber eine genaue Beschreibung des Inhalts mit Abdruck der meisten unveröffentlichten Stücke von André Wilmart.¹⁰ Das bedeutende Florilegium entstand in der 2. Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts im Kloster Saint-Gatien in Tours und bewahrt in großer Vollständigkeit das dichterische Oeuvre Marbods von Rennes und Hildeberts von Lavardin auf. Von den jüngeren Autoren kennt der Sammler Letald von Micy (T 245) und Galo Leonensis (T 154, 248). Aus dem 2. Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts stammen die Gedichte des Hugo Primas (T 162, 217, 335) und des Ulgerius (T 38, 159, 160). Die jüngsten Stücke sind die Nachträge T

345 und 346 am Ende des Codex. T 345 ist das Epitaphium eines *Matheus* für den Grafen von Anjou, Geoffroi IV. le Bel († 7. September 1151), den Vater König Heinrichs II. von England. Ob dieser *Matheus* jedoch mit Matthäus von Vendôme gleichzusetzen ist, wie Wilmart vermutet, ist noch ungeklärt.¹¹ Erschwert wird die Beantwortung dieser Frage durch den Umstand, dass der Text verloren ist und bis heute keine vollständige Abschrift des Epitaphiums aufgefunden wurden. T überliefert drei authentische Epigramme des Ulgerius, von denen zwei direkt aufeinander folgen:

T 38 fol. 25v *Quatuor ede mea sunt admiranda:*
gal B 18
 Haye Carm. XI j 1-2

T 159 fol. 41v *Dum michi Maurinus superest et baiula*
pinus R 2
 Radulfus de Diceto¹²

T 160 fol. 41v *A terra sterili fugias, carissime fili* B 23
 Haye Carm. XI n-o

Dieser kleinen Gruppe schließt sich direkt das Epigramm T 161 an, welches eine lateinische Übersetzung desselben altfranzösischen Sprichworts darstellt wie Carm. B 15 (s. u. Kommentar):

T 161 fol. 41v *Fert pira nostra pirus, sine uino sunt pira uirus.*
 WIC 6445, WPS 9374

An späterer Stelle steht das Streitgedicht zwischen Papst Innocenz II. und Ulgerius:

T 295 fol. 79v *Nescit amore regi, neque iustitie neque legi*
 WIC 11748; PL 171, 1411-1412; Haye Carm. 3

Es ist durchaus möglich, dass T noch weitere unidentifizierte Gedichte des Ulgerius überliefert. So denkt Haye z. B. an die Epigramme auf Gerbert von Reims, den späteren Papst Silvester II. (T 164),¹³ oder auf einen ungenannten Papst (T 175). Das Zeugnis des Radulfus de Diceto hat in der Zwischenzeit das anonyme Gedicht T 159 *Dum michi Maurinus* als Werk des Ulgerius bestätigt. Weitere Zuschreibungen werden sich jedoch ohne neue Handschriftenfunde oder Testimonien nicht vornehmen lassen, da die Kürze der Texte einen Stilvergleich unmöglich macht.

L Die Handschrift London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Vespasianus B.XIII¹⁴ wurde in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts geschrieben. Bis heute noch kaum ausgewertet ist die umfangreiche Sammlung kleinerer Gedichte und Exzerpte auf fol. 115va-127va. Hier lassen sich zwischen Hunderten von anonymen Epigrammen und Sentenzen auch die großen Dichter des Hochmittelalters wiederfinden: Fulbert von Chartres, Marbod von Rennes, Hildebert von Lavardin, Petrus Abaelardus, Ulgerius von Angers, Bernhard von Chartres, Bernardus Silvestris, Hugo Primas, Serlo von Wilton, Alanus de Insulis, Petrus Riga, Arnulf von Orléans und Peter von Blois. Auf fol. 116va steht ohne Überschrift oder Angabe des Autors das Carm. B 18 (*Quatuor ede mea*), welches auch als T 38 überliefert ist.

3. Edition

Die Edition folgt in Textgestalt und Orthographie der Handschrift B, die in den meisten Fällen Codex unicus ist. Hinzugefügt wurden die Interpunktion und die ebenfalls editoriale Großschreibung von Eigennamen. Eine Besonderheit stellen das vergrößerte R und V dar, welche der Schreiber von B bisweilen am Wortbeginn setzt (z. B. Carm. B 24, 2 *Rudis*; B 13, 2 *Veterem*; B 14 b, 2 *Vinum* etc.). Da sich hierbei eine besondere Absicht nicht erkennen lässt, habe ich diese Stellen normalisiert. Wirkliche textkritische Probleme waren selten und ließen sich, wie ich hoffe, abschließend lösen.

Größere Probleme jedoch bereitet das gänzliche Fehlen von Signalen der Textgliederung, wie Überschriften, Initialen und Paragraphen. Der Editor muss nämlich versuchen, die 35 Verse mit Hilfe von inhaltlichen, syntaktischen und formalen Kriterien in sinnvolle Einzelgedichte zu trennen. Dass dabei im Einzelfall auch unterschiedliche Möglichkeiten der Gedichttrennung erwogen werden können, liegt in der Natur der Sache. Weil eine sichere Entscheidung nicht möglich war, habe ich zweimal ein Gedicht in a und b untergliedert (Carm. B 8, B 14). Auch wenn ich mir durchaus meine eigene Meinung gebildet und diese vertreten habe, soll doch der Leser die Freiheit behalten, selbst zu entscheiden. Viele Entscheidungen konnten erst in der Auseinandersetzung mit der Edition Hayes getroffen werden, die mir dabei in vielfältiger Weise geholfen hat.

Der Kommentar nennt zunächst die Repertorien und die Konkordanzen mit der Edition Hayes und den Parallelhandschriften,

dann die direkte Vorlage eines Stückes und abschließend Gedichte ähnlichen Inhalts. Dabei ging es mir weniger darum, literarische Abhängigkeiten zu implizieren, als vielmehr dem Leser die Verbreitung und vielgestaltige Ausformung eines Gedankens vor Augen zu führen. Die Epigramme des Ulgerius habe ich selbst übersetzt, während die Übersetzungen der *Proverbes au vilain* und einzelner nordischer oder mittlenglischer Belege aus dem TPMA übernommen wurden.

Ulgerius verwendet in seinen bis heute bekannten Gedichten nur zwei aus der Antike stammende Versmaße: den Hexameter (Carm. B 3, B 4, B 9-24) und das elegische Distichon (Carm. B 1, 2, 5-8). Rhythmische Dichtungen aus seiner Feder besitzen wird nicht. Seine Verse schmückt Ulgerius mit dem reinen zweisilbigen Reim, wie er sich seit Marbod von Rennes und Hildebert von Lavardin in Frankreich durchgesetzt hatte.¹⁵ Auf den Reim verzichten von den 24 Gedichten der Handschrift B nur vier (Carm. B 2, B 6-8). Die überwiegende Zahl der Epigramme verwendet den *Leoninus*, bei dem die beiden Silben vor der Zäsur im dritten Versfuß mit dem sechsten Versfuß reimen (Carm. B 1 [V. 7-12], B 5, B 10, B 11, B 13-24). Bei den *Caudati* werden zwei aufeinander folgende Verse durch Endreim verbunden (Carm. B 1 [V. 1-6], B 3, B 4, B 9, B 12).¹⁶

EDITION

Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Lat. fol. 118, fol. 96vb-97ra

B 8

- a Illo, quo Dominus Gatianum traxit ad astra,
Ildebertus homo desinit esse die.
- b Quo nascente die Deus est ingressus in orbem,
Hoc Matheus eum deseruit moriens.

1 Gatianum *B Haye*] Gratianum *corr. Eckard* **2** desinit *coni. Eckard*] defuit *B*

B 9

Si geminos patres habuisti, quod michi dicis,
Hoc, Ferrande, probas, quod filius es meretricis.

B 10

Pauperibus Christi si cetera distribuisti,
Da <de> thesauro : Deus est preciosior auro.

2 de] *add. Eckard*

B 11

Quatuor herentes habuit male Delia dentes.
Vna duos, totidem tulit altera tussis eidem.
Quatuor excussis, non est, quod tertia tussis
Excutiat misere, quam nullum constat habere.

B 12

Si quis amat, quod amare nocet, deponat amorem :
Importunus amor dampnum parat atque dolorem !

2 Importunus *coni. Haye*] It ~~preti~~ inportunus *B*, It inportunus *Eckard*
amor *B Haye*] *om. Eckard*

B 13

Qui nequit ad uelle flammam transferre puella,
Ad propriam veterem conuertat se mulierem.

1 ad uelle *coni. Hans Walther*] ad celle *B edd.*

B 14

- a Ingluuiem dentis pes comparat esurientis.
- b Manducate satis : per portus asperitatis
Et cibus et vinum transportabunt peregrinum !

B 15

Manducata pira fletus comitantur et ira,
Optima ni vina presto sint pro medicina.

B 16

In cursore dato non annos dente notato !

B 17

Sompnia porcorum glans est et pastus eorum.

B 18

Quatuor ede mea sunt admiranda : galea
Et nani cursus, lupus insons et pius vrsus.

*B (fol. 97ra), C (fol. 116va), T (fol. 24v, T 38) 1 galea B C T] supra
litteram ultimam aut e aut compendium 9 (= us) add. B
2 nani C T] nauis s. l. add. B, navis coni. Eckard lupus insons B T]
mitis lupus C*

B 19

Quodque tenet vellus densum tenuis vngue catellus.

Quodque coni. Haye] Quemque B Eckard

B 20

Plus fantur pleni calices quam sarcina feni.

B 21

Lingua locum tangit, patientem quo dolor angit.

B 22

Non in momento, qui non habet ex documento
Aut ex natura, poterit dimittere rura.

B 23

A terra sterili fugias, carissime fili,
Non dominum durum fortassis cras moriturum !

*B (fol. 97ra), T (fol. 41v, T 160) 1 carissime T] ~~ka~~ carissime B
2 dominum (dm B) B T] deum Haye, dum Eckard cras T] oes B,
omnes Eckard Haye fortassis cras B] cras fortassis T*

B 24

Si sit facundus, comes est auriga secundus.
Si rudis est, animum nequeunt depellere primum

Antiquosque status modo sumpti pontificatus.

1 secundus *B*] iucundus *coni. Eckardt Haye*

KOMMENTAR

B 8

- a *Illo, quo Dominus Gatianum traxit ad astra,
 Ildebertus homo desinit esse die.*
- b *Quo nascente die Deus est ingressus in orbem,
 Hoc Matheus eum deseruit moriens.*

1 Gatianum *B Haye*] Gratianum *corr. Eckard* **2** desinit *coni. Eckard*] defuit *B*

- a An jenem Tag, an dem der Herr Gatianus zu den Sternen emporgehoben hat, hat Hildebert aufgehört, ein Mensch zu sein.
- b An dem Tag, an dem Gott auf die Erde gekommen ist, hat Matthäus sie sterbend verlassen.

WPS deest; Haye Carm. X a-b. - Der in Carm. 8 a genannte *Ildebertus* ist mit großer Sicherheit der berühmte Dichter Hildebert von Lavardin. Dieser starb nämlich am 18. Dezember 1133 als Erzbischof von Tours, dessen Kathedrale dem hl. Gatianus (Gratianus), dem ersten Bischof von Tours († um 300), geweiht ist. Demhingegen ist der in Carm. 8 b erwähnte *Matheus* unbekannt. Für die von Haye vorgeschlagene Identifizierung mit Matthäus von Vendôme, dem einflussreichen Lehrer der Dichtkunst, der in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts wirkte und erst nach dem 3. Kreuzzug gestorben ist, gibt es keinen Grund. Daher entbehren auch alle darauf aufbauenden Hypothesen zur Authentizität der folgenden Epigramme jeglichen Halts.

Beide Epigramme spielen mit der Denkfigur des Synchronismus zwischen einem Datum der Heilsgeschichte und dem Todestag eines berühmten Menschen. Der Zusammenhang bleibt aber äußerlich und erschöpft sich im sprachlichen Parallelismus. Der Synchronismus und die syntaktische Zuordnung (*Illo, quo ...; Quo ...*

Hoc ...) lassen es als sehr wahrscheinlich erscheinen, dass es sich bei Carm. 8 a und b nicht nur um die nachträgliche Zusammenstellung zweier ähnlicher Stücke, sondern um ein einziges zweigeteiltes Epigramm handelt. Wegen der nicht zu behebbenden Unsicherheiten jedoch habe ich es bei der Unterteilung Hayes belassen.

B 9

*Si geminos patres habuisti, quod michi dicis,
Hoc, Ferrande, probas, quod filius es meretricis.*

Wenn du zwei Väter gehabt hast, wie du mir erzählst,
Ferrandus, so beweist du damit nur, dass du der Sohn einer
Hure bist.

WPS deest; Haye Carm. XI a. - Das Gedicht warnt den schwatzhaften Prahlhans vor unbesonnenen Indiskretionen, mit denen er nur sich selbst Schaden zufüge. Ferrandus lasse nämlich berechnete Zweifel an der Ehrbarkeit seiner Mutter aufkommen, wenn er sich damit brüste, zwei Väter gehabt zu haben.

Ferrandus ist als sprechender Eigenname ("der mit eisengrauem Haar") in Frankreich gut belegt, vgl. Adolf Tobler / Erhard Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* 3 (1954) 1754-1756, s. v. ferrant, hier 1755, Z. 28-33.

B 10

*Pauperibus Christi si cetera distribuisti,
Da <de> thesauro : Deus est preciosior auro.*

2 de] *add. Eckard*

Wenn du alles Übrige an die Armen Christi verteilt hast,
gib aus deinem Schatz: denn Gott ist wertvoller als Gold.

WPS deest; Haye Carm. XI b. - Die Anweisung, den Armen nicht nur das zu schenken, was man erübrigen kann, sondern auch das, was einem besonders am Herzen liegt und dessen Verlust schmerzt, beruht auf dem Herrenwort Matth. 19, 21 (Marc. 10, 21, Luc. 18, 22; vgl. TPMA geben 7.2) *Si uis perfectus esse, uade, uende, quae habes, et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in coelo*. Der Verschluss *preciosior auro* in V. 2 ist ovidisch (vgl. Ov. ars 2, 299 *Au-*

rata est : ipso tibi sit pretiosior auro; ähnlich Ov. am. 3, 8, 3; vgl. LHL 4, 350).

B 11

*Quatuor herentes habuit male Delia dentes.
Vna duos, totidem tulit altera tussis eidem.
Quatuor excussis, non est, quod tertia tussis
Excutiat misere, quam nullum constat habere.*

Vier wackelige Zähne hatte Delia.
Ein Husten nahm ihr zwei, ein zweiter Husten genauso viele.
Da vier Zähne ausgefallen sind, gibt es nichts,
was ein dritter Husten der Zahnlosen noch wegnehmen könnte.

WPS deest; Haye Carm. XI c. - Das Gedicht ist eine Imitation, richtiger eine Kontrafaktur (vgl. Theodor Verweyen / Gunther Witting, Die Kontrafaktur [Konstanz 1987] 54-74), von Martials Epigramm 1, 19. Dieses wurde im Mittelalter auch häufig einzeln überliefert (vgl. ICL 15058, WIC 17787), wobei man es mit Hilfe der erklärenden Überschrift *Versus Virgilii de nutrice sua* sogar Vergil zuschrieb (vgl. Wolfgang Maaz, Lateinische Epigrammatik im hohen Mittelalter [Spolia Berolinensia 2; Hildesheim 1992] 180-181). Ulgerius verändert das Versmaß, den Namen der Zahnlosen und die Wortwahl, während er Gedankengang und Umfang des antiken Vorbildes bewahrt:

*Si memini, fuerant tibi quattuor, Aelia, dentes :
Expulit una duos tussis et una duos.
Iam securo potes totis tussire diebus :
Nil istic, quod agat, tertia tussis habet. (Mart. 1, 19)*

Weiterhin existiert eine kaum bekannte Diaskeue von Martials Epigramm, die sich auf Wortumstellungen, wenige Wortsubstitutionen und die Änderung des Namens in Delia (wie bei Ulgerius !) beschränkt. Diese wird erst in mittelalterlichen Handschriften überliefert (ICL 13142, WIC 15333). Ich zitiere den Text nach London, BL, Ms. Harley 978, fol. 86vb (WIC nennt noch: London, BL, Ms. Royal 15.B.XIX, fol. 99v; Oxford, All Souls College, Ms. 82, Nr. 3e; Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ms. Vat. Pal. lat. 598, fol. 120r):

Quatuor, ut memini, fuerant tibi, Delya, dentes :
Abstulit una duos tussis et una duos.
Nunc tussire potes cunctis securo diebus :
Nil tibi quid tollat, tertia tussis habet.

B 12

Si quis amat, quod amare nocet, deponat amorem :
Importunus amor dampnum parat atque dolorem !

2 Importunus *coni. Haye*] It ~~preti~~ inportunus *B*, It inportunus *Eckard*
 amor *B Haye*] *om. Eckard*

Wenn jemand liebt, was zu lieben schadet, soll er seine
 Liebe ablegen:
 Denn eine unpassende Liebe bereitet nur Schaden und
 Schmerz.

WPS 28966 (demhingegen ist WIC 17912 = Ov. rem. 13); Haye
 Carm. XI d. - Das Epigramm richtet sich gegen die schadenbrin-
 gende Liebe (TPMA Furcht 2.2.3; Liebe 1.6.6-8), wobei der Dichter
 durch ein Zitat ganz passend auf Ovids *Remedia amoris* anspielt.
 Allerdings verändert Ulgerius das Prädikat des Relativsatzes *iuuat*
 in *nocet*. Er spricht also von der unglücklichen Liebe, während Ovid
 noch die glückliche Liebe beschreibt, welche der Liebhaber ausnut-
 zen solle, so wie der Seemann einen günstigen Wind, solange er
 weht:

Si quis amat, quod amare iuuat, feliciter ardens
Gaudeat, et uento nauiget ille suo. (Ov. rem. 13-14)

In ähnlicher Weise äußert sich ein anonymes Dichter aus der Schule
 des Bernardus Silvestris über die Gefahren einer schädlichen Liebe.
 Überliefert ist das Gedicht *De amore* (WIC 5549) in zwei Hand-
 schriften: Auxerre, Bm, Ms. 243, fol. 17v; Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 6415,
 fol. 91v. Zuerst ediert hat es André Vernet, dessen Ausgabe ich hier
 folge (André Vernet, *Poésies latines des XIIe et XIIIe siècles*
 (Auxerre 243), in: Fs. Félix Grat [Paris 1949] Bd. 2, 251-276, hier
 255-256, Nr. 3; wieder in: id., *Études médiévales* [Paris 1981] 197-
 221, Nachträge 668-670, hier 201-202, Nr. 3):

Esse quidem dicam rem prosperitatis amorem,
Si non ex aliqua peperisset parte dolorem.

- Sed quia perdendi timor est in rebus amatis,
Concludam melius : amor est genus anxietatis.*
- 5 *Et scelus et timor est uetitas attingere nuptas :
Quod scelus et timor est, non est perfecta uoluptas.
Cum soleat furtiua Venus quandoque placere,
Infaustum tamen esse reor nocitura timere.
Ergo uoluptatis non sunt ibi gaudia plena,*
- 10 *Quo formidatur iudex et debita pena.*

Die Gefahren der ehebrecherischen Liebe sind immer wieder Gegenstand der Dichtung geworden. Alanus de Insulis beschreibt sie ausführlich in seinem Streitgedicht *Vix nodosum ualeo* (Nikolaus M. Häring, *The Poem Vix nodosum by Alan of Lille*, in: *Medioevo* 3 [1977] 165-185). Da er das Risiko entdeckt und kastriert, wenn nicht sogar getötet zu werden, für zu hoch hält, rät er zum *amor uirginum*.

Ein anonymer Conductus des Notre-Dame-Repertoires benutzt das Ovidzitat *Si quis amat, quod amare iuuat* als einleitendes Proverbium (abgedruckt bei Joseph Szövérfy, *Secular Latin Lyrics and Minor Poetic Forms of the Middle Ages*, Bd. 3 [Concord N. H. 1994] 268-269).

B 13

*Qui nequit ad uelle flammis transferre puelle,
Ad propriam veterem conuertat se mulierem.*

1 ad uelle *coni.* Hans Walther] ad celle B *edd.*

Wer seine flammenden Begierden nicht nach Herzenslust bei der jungen Magd stillen kann, soll sich seiner alten Frau zuwenden.

WPS 24325; Haye Carm. XI e. - Die sinnlose Lesart der Handschrift *ad celle* wurde schon von Hans Walther (zu WPS 24325) überzeugend in *ad uelle* verbessert. Die Bestätigung dieser Konjekturen liefern Parallelen in der zeitgenössischen Dichtung. So verwendet das Sprichwort WPS 33189 (Werner v 24) die Formulierung *ad uelle* an derselben Reimstelle: *Vertitur ad uelle seruantis cauda patelle*. Ähnlich heißt es in CB 109, 1, 7-10 *Nam ad uelle meum, / quod speraui melius, / uotum Dioneum / cedit in contrarium*. Zur

Verbindung eines substantivierten Infinitivs mit einer Präposition (*de, pro, super* etc.) vgl. Peter Stotz, Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters, Bd. 4 (München 1998) 409-410, IX § 111.23, wo jedoch *ad uelle* fehlt.

Als Vorlage hat sich Ulgerius ein altfranzösisches Sprichwort gewählt, welches in den Sammlungen der *Proverbes au vilain* weitverbreitet ist (TPMA schlafen 2.10, Coitus 4; Singer 2, 65; Morawski 1995):

Qui mieulz ne puet, a sa vieille se dort.

Wer nicht besser kann, schläft bei seiner Alten.

In der lateinischen Literatur findet sich eine ganze Reihe von Übersetzungen dieses Sprichworts. Gerne gelesen und kopiert wurden die Verse des Engländers Serlo von Wilton (Friend Nr. 4; Öberg Nr. 47):

Ki meuz ne pot a sa veille se dort.

Pars anus una thori, cum posse caret meliori.

Cui non posse datur melius, uetule sociatur.

Qui meliora nequid, uetule dat basia que quit.

(Serlo Wilt. carm. 47)

<*Gaudia danda thori, cum posse carent meliori.*

Baucidis in gremio dormit, qui non habet Yo.>

Aus den anonymen Versionen seien noch zwei Beispiele zitiert: *Prouerbia rusticorum* (WPS 29028; Zacher Nr. 159):

Qui mieiz ne put, o sa ueille se dort.

Si quis habet uetulam turpem, cuius cutis aret,

Cum uetula dormit, dum meliore caret.

Liber Pictaleon 285 (WPS 4569):

Cum uetula stertat, se, cui non est, ubi uertat.

B 14

a *Ingluuiem dentis pes comparat esurientis.*

b *Manducate satis : per portus asperitatis
Et cibus et vinum transportabunt peregrinum !*

- a Der Fuß des Hungernden sorgt für die Gefräßigkeit des Zahns.
- b Esst genug: Speise und Wein werden den Pilger sicher durch die Häfen der Not geleiten !

WPS 12395 (*Ingluuiem dentis*); WPS 14392 (*Manducate satis*); Haye Carm. XI f. - Wenn der Mensch Hunger hat, dann wird er alles tun, um sich Nahrung zu verschaffen. Der Fuß steht also nur als Pars pro toto für die verschiedenen Handlungen, die der Mensch zu diesem Zweck unternimmt. Das ist der Sinn des rein feststellenden Sprichworts B 14 a. Im Altfranzösischen lässt sich dieses Sprichwort hingegen bislang nicht belegen. Der TPMA (Fuß 1.3.2) kennt nur eine nordische und eine mittelenglische Fassung: *Pes gradiens crescit, cornix resedendo famescit*. - *Ee groor ganghende foodh oc swælther siddhenne kraghe* ("Der schreitende Fuss wird reich, (aber) die Krähe, die sitzen bleibt, bekommt Hunger. - Immer gedeiht der gehende Fuss und hungert die sitzende Krähe"; Peder Låle 778); *Gangand fote ay getes fode* ("Gehender Fuss erlangt immer Nahrung"; *Cursor mundi* 28939). Hierhin gehört auch die deutsche Version bei Sebastian Franck I, 23 v (TPMA Gewinn 15): *Gewinn will fueß haben*. Bei all diesen Sprichwörtern handelt es sich um spezielle Fälle des allgemeinen Gedankens "Mühe und Arbeit bringen moralischen und materiellen Gewinn" (TPMA Arbeit 2.3). Das Carm. B 14 a des Ulgerius bestätigt also die Existenz dieses Sprichworts auch für die altfranzösische Literatur (vgl. auch Hassell P 165).

Ganz anders hingegen ist das Carm. B 14 b als Verhaltensregel formuliert. Es rät den Pilgern, so viel wie möglich zu essen, da ein wohlgenährter Körper den Reisenden sicher durch Strapazen und Fährnisse geleiten werde. Die Tatsache, dass beide Epigramme inhaltlich in sich abgeschlossen sind und zudem eine unterschiedliche Absicht verfolgen, macht es wahrscheinlich, dass hier zwei Einzelstücke allein wegen der thematischen Ähnlichkeit vom Autor oder Sammler zusammengestellt wurden. Da allerdings auch hier eine sichere Entscheidung nicht möglich ist, deute ich die Trennung nur durch a und b an.

B 15

*Manducata pira fletus comitantur et ira,
Optima ni vina presto sint pro medicina.*

Die Begleiter einer Birnenmahlzeit sind Weinen und
Bauchgrimmen,
wenn nicht die besten Weine als Heilmittel bereit
stehen.

WPS 14391; Haye Carm. XI g. - Des Ulgerius Gedicht ist die lateinische Version eines altfranzösischen Sprichworts (TPMA Birne 6; Morawski 115):

Aprés la poire le vin.

Nach der Birne den Wein.

Entgegen den Angaben des TPMA, der von diesem Sprichwort gar keine lateinischen Versionen kennt, existieren diese doch in großer Zahl. Aus dem anonymen Gut (z. B. WPS 22040-22043) zitiere ich zwei. Der erste Vers folgt in der Handschrift T (fol. 41v, T 161) direkt auf zwei andere Gedichte des Ulgerius. Auf seine Verbreitung wird später noch einzugehen sein (WIC 6445; WPS 9374):

Fert pira nostra pirus, sine uino sunt pira uirus.

Der andere lautet (WIC 7569, 8059 [*Hic pira*]; WPS 10585):

*Hec pira presento ; sed post pira sumpta memento,
Quod cibus in stomacho non est sanus sine Bacho !*

Ein großes Gefallen an diesem Sprichwort hatte offensichtlich der englische Dichter Alexander Neckam (1157-1217) gefunden, der es immer wieder in seine Werke einflucht. In seinen kleineren Gedichten verwendet er es nicht weniger als dreimal. Die Zitate entnehme ich der prächtigen Ausgabe von Peter Hochgürtel (Hrsg.), *Alexandri Neckam Suppletio defectuum, Carmina minora* (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 221; Turnhout 2008). Der Birnbaum wird im Kapitel *De piro* der *Suppletio defectuum* 1, 239-242 beschrieben:

De piro

*At pirus exurgens superas petit ignea partes,
Fructus precipui nobilitate potens.
Ni Bachus desit, pira sunt gratissima cene ;
Leticie potus subsidium dat eis.*

In *De commendatione uini*, einem Preisgedicht auf den Wein, nennt Alexander als einen der Vorzüge, dass der Wein zur besseren Verdauung der Birne beitrage (Carm. min. 3, 105-106):

*Et conferre solent pira, set presente Lieo :
Sumpto non audent ista nocere mero.*

Unter den kleineren Gedichten zweifelhafter Authentizität ist ein Vers gedruckt, der eine neue Variante des Gedankens bietet (Carm. min. dub. 12; entspricht weitgehend WPS 22042):

Post pira presbiterum quere, uel adde merum !

Auf einen ganz anderen Traditionszweig unseres Sprichworts verweist Alexander in seiner Enzyklopädie *De naturis rerum* 2, 78 (Rolls Series 34, London 1863, 174-175). Hier liefert er nämlich die medizinische Erklärung für die Essensvorschrift:

*Solet queri, quare nociua sint pira, nisi uino conficiantur.
Pira quidem sunt dure substantie, et digestioni repugnancia, et frigide complexionis. Si itaque post esum pirorum aqua frigida sumatur, augmentabitur eorum frigiditas, que repugnat uirtuti digestiue, unde crudi et grossi generantur humores, ex quibus multe nascuntur egritudines. Ideo accipi debent cum uino, ut caliditate uini temperetur eorum frigiditas. ...*

Dieselbe Erklärung (mit nur geringfügigen stilistischen Abweichungen) geben die *Questiones sollempnes Salernitane* (Brian Lawn, *The Prose Salernitan Questions* [Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 5; London 1979] 248, quest. 111). Interessant in unserem Zusammenhang ist, dass der Verfasser als *Questio* zwei Hexameter zitiert (WPS 28822):

*Si pira sumantur, nisi uino conficiantur,
Est Ypocras testis, quoniam sequitur mala pestis.*

Für die enorme Verbreitung des Sprichworts hat sicherlich das *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* gesorgt, eine Sammlung diätetischer Vorschriften in leoninischen Hexametern, welche an einen *Anglorum rex* gerichtet ist (Rolf Schott, *Die Kunst sich gesund zu erhalten, Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*, Zürich 1964; Konrad Goehl, *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum, Mittelalterliche Gesundheitsregeln aus Salerno*, Baden-Baden 2009; vgl. Gundolf Keil, *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*, in: ²VL 7 [1989] 1105-1111). In dem Kapitel *De nuce, de piro, de pomo* (Schott 18, Kap. 35; Goehl 15-16, Kap. 37) treffen wir den schon oben zitierten Vers *Fert pira nostra pirus, sine uino sunt pira uirus* wieder, der in der Handschrift T nach zwei Gedichten des Ulgerius steht (T 161):

*Post pisces nux sit, post carnes caseus adsit.
Unica nux prodest, nocet altera, tertia mors est.
Adde potum piro, nux est medicina ueneno.
Fert pira nostra pirus, sine uino sunt pira uirus.
Si pira sunt uirus, sit maledicta pirus.
Si coquas, antidotum pira sunt, sed cruda uenenum.
Cruda grauant stomachum, releuant pira cocta
grauatum.
Post pira da potum, post pomum uade fecatum.*

B 16

In cursore dato non annos dente notato !

Bei einem geschenkten Gaul zähle nicht die Jahre an den Zähnen ab !

WPS 11719; Haye Carm. XI h. - Das noch heute lebendige Sprichwort "Einem geschenkten Gaul schaut man nicht ins Maul" ist seit der Spätantike in der Romania und später auch in Deutschland weitverbreitet (Otto 607; TPMA Pferd 18; Seiler, *Mittellateinische Sprichwörter* [Anm. 1] 303; Singer 1, 134). Den frühesten literarischen Beleg bietet der Kirchenvater Hieronymus, der es im Prolog zu seinem Epheserkommentar bereits als volksläufig bezeichnet (PL 26, 439 B):

Parum eloquens sum : quid ad te ? Disertiolem lege ! Non digne Graeca in Latinum transfero : aut Graecos lege (si eiusdem linguae habes scientiam), aut si tantum Latinus es, noli de gratuito munere iudicare, et, ut uulgare prouerbium est, equi dentes inspicere donati !

Die reiche mittellateinische Tradition (aus welcher der TPMA allein 12 Belege verzeichnet) beginnt mit Egbert von Lüttich (* um 972), der in seiner *Fecunda ratis* zwei unterschiedliche Fassungen überliefert:

Gratis equo oblato non debes pandere buccas !
(1, 128)

*Gratis equo oblato ne contempleris in ore,
Vt numeres dentes, matris quibus ubera suxit !*
(1, 845-846)

Oder im *Liber Pictaleon* 239 (WPS 29245):

Si tibi donatur quis equus, non dens uideatur.

Zweisprachig ist die Fassung der *Prouerbia rusticorum* (WPS 17485; Zacher Nr. 121):

*A chawal done dent ne gardet.
Non dentes cernas, si detur equus, neque spernas !*

Unter den altfranzösischen Versionen (vgl. den TPMA mit 7 Belegen; Hassell C 122) findet sich auch die noch heute im Deutschen weitverbreitet Variante (Morawski 375 und die Fassung P im kritischen Apparat, auch mit dem Anfang *A cheval ...* überliefert):

Cheval donné ne doit on en bouche garder.

Einem geschenkten Gaul soll man nicht ins Maul schauen.

B 17

Sompnia porcorum glans est et pastus eorum.

Die Eichel ist der Schweine Traum und Speise.

WPS 30030; Haye Carm. XI i. - Auf eine Verbreitung des Sprichworts in Frankreich deuten die Belege im Altfranzösischen (TPMA

Schwein 4.1) und im Florilegium von Saint-Omer. In den *Proverbes au vilain* begegnen wir folgender Version (Morawski 2432):

True ne songe se bren non.

Das Schwein träumt nur von Kleie.

Im Florilegium von Saint-Omer 168 (WPS 17069 = *Liber Pictaleon* 84) heißt es:

Nocte sua macra uidet esce sus simulacra.

Zahlreich sind die Belege im Mittellateinischen (z. B. WPS 22506, 30022, 30031, 30612, 30914), aus denen ich nur noch die *Prouerbia Henrici* 5 (WPS 566) zitieren möchte:

Adueniunt macre de pastu somnia scrofe.

B 18

*Quatuor ede mea sunt admiranda : galea
Et nani cursus, lupus insons et pius vrsus.*

B (fol. 97ra), *C* (fol. 116va), *T* (fol. 24v, T 38) **1** galea *B C T*
supra litteram ultimam aut e aut compendium 9 (= us) add. B 2
nani C T] *nauis s. l. add. B, navis coni. Eckard* lupus insons *B T*
mitis lupus *C*

Vier Dinge sind in meinem Haus zu bewundern: eine Galere
und der Lauf eines Zwerges, ein friedlicher Wolf und ein
frommer Bär.

WPS 23671; Haye carm. XI j 1-2. - Der Sinn dieses Zahlenspruchs
(vgl. Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches
Mittelalter* [Tübingen ¹¹1993] 499-502) ist dunkel. Eine direkte Vor-
lage oder Parallele hat sich nicht finden lassen. Ich möchte wenig-
stens einige Überlegungen zur Diskussion stellen:

(1) Die genannten Dinge, mit deren Besitz der Hausherr offen-
sichtlich zu prahlen versucht, sind zumindest in einem Haus so un-
wahrscheinlich, dass sie in die Gruppe der *Adynata* gehören. Aller-
dings wäre es denkbar, dass sie sich als Bild oder Skulptur im Haus
befinden, so dass der Witz in der Doppeldeutigkeit und der nur
scheinbaren Unmöglichkeit läge.

(2) Herr Prof. Dr. Thomas Klein (Universität Halle-Wittenberg) gibt zu bedenken, ob das Epigramm nicht ein frühes lateinisches Zeugnis der in Frankreich so beliebten Unsinnspoesie sein könnte (vgl. Giovanna Angeli, s. v. Unsinnsdichtung, I. Romanische Literaturen, in: Lexikon des Mittelalters 8 [1997] 1262-1264).

(3) Wenn es eine Verbindung zu den Sprichwörtern geben sollte, die davor warnen, ein wildes Tier oder schädliche Menschen in sein Haus aufzunehmen (TPMA Pfaffe 2.3.2.3, Wolf 1.1), so bleibt mir diese unklar. Immerhin stimmen diese Sprichwörter insoweit mit Ulgerius überein, dass wilde Bären schlechte Hausgenossen sind. So heißt es bei Heinrich Bebel in den *Prouerbia Germanica* 87:

Dicitur item, Non recipiendos in domum : iuniorum sacerdotem, vetulas simias, et feras immansuetasque ursas.

Die deutsche Fassung bietet Sebastian Franck 1, 79 r:

Alt affen / Jung Pfaffen / Vngezempte bern / Sol niemandt in sein hauß begern.

Jakob Wimpfeling überliefert ein Schülergedicht des früh verstorbenen Straßburger Humanisten Peter Schott (1460-1490), welches dieser nach der Anweisung seines Lehrers Ludwig Dringenberg in Schlettstadt verfasst hatte (A. Murray / Marian L. Cowie [Hrsg.], *The Works of Peter Schott* [Chapel Hill N.C. 1963], Bd. 1, 266, Nr. 234). Wir sehen hier, dass die Übersetzung und Versifizierung von Sprichwörtern, wie man sie zuerst bei Egbert von Lüttich findet, noch zur Zeit des Humanismus im Schulunterricht nicht an Beliebtheit verloren hatten:

Primicie carminum Petri Schotti nondum decennis :

*Inueterata peti non Simea debet in aedes :
Vrsus siluestris : Presbiter et iuuenis.*

Prouerbium desuper Ludouici Ludimagistri Sletstatini :

Alt aff / Iung pfaff / Dar zu vuild Beren / Sol nieman in syn hus begeren.

B 19

Quodque tenet vellus densum tenuis vngue catellus.

 Quodque *coni. Haye*] Quemque *B Eckard*

Der junge Hund hält jedes dichte Fell mit seinen Zähnen fest.

WPS deest; Haye Carm. XI j 3. - Ein direktes Vorbild ließ sich nicht ermitteln. Gemeint ist vermutlich, dass der junge Hund im Spiel versucht, alles zu beißen und mit seinen Zähnen festzuhalten (nur ähnlich sind die Sprichwörter TPMA Hund 14.1-4).

Mit großer Sicherheit gehört der Vers des Ulgerius nicht zu dem weitverbreiteten Sprichwort, dass man dem Hund, dem man schaden will, vorwirft, Leder zu fressen (vgl. Friedrich Seiler, Der Leder fressende Hund, in: Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum 22 [1919] 435-440; Singer 1, 42-43; 3, 99; Rörich, s. v. Hund).

B 20

Plus fantur pleni calices quam sarcina feni.

Mehr sprechen volle (Wein-)Becher als ein Bündel Heu.

WPS 21704; Haye Carm. XI k. - Auch hier übersetzt Ulgerius ein altfranzösisches Sprichwort (TPMA Wein 1.8.1, Bier 9; Morawski 1647; Adolf Tobler, Plus a paroles an plain pot De vin qu'an un mui de cervoise, in: Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 4 [1880] 80-85), welches schon frühzeitig im altfranzösischen Roman auftritt. So wird es im *Yvain* (V. 592-593) des Chrétien de Troyes von dem Seneschall Keie in einer Scheltrede benutzt (Wendelin Foerster [Hrsg.], Der Löwenritter (Yvain) von Christian von Troyes [Romanische Bibliothek 5; Halle ⁴1912]; mit dt. Übersetzung wieder abgedruckt in: Ilse Nolting-Hauff [Hrsg.], Chrestien de Troyes, Yvain [München ²1983] 42-43; vgl. Wollin, Nec fallit sermo [Anm. 1] 389-390):

*Plus a paroles an plain pot
 De vin, qu'an un mui de cervoise.*

Ein voller Becher Wein faßt mehr Worte als ein Eimer Bier.

Die Fassung Morawski 1647 weicht davon ab, indem sie nicht Trinkgefäße oder Maßeinheiten, sondern Quantitätsbegriffe (*petit, mult*) gegenüberstellt:

Plus a paroles en un petit de vin que en mult de fein.

Mehr Worte stecken in wenig Wein als in einer Menge Heu.

Eine andere lateinische Übersetzung überliefern die *Prouerbia rusticorum* (WPS 11860; Zacher Nr. 75):

*Plus a paroles en un petit de uin, que en mult de fein.
In modico forti uino plura uerba mouentur,
Quam toto feno [ceno WPS], quo plurima
prata mouentur.*

Die unterschiedlichen Eigenschaften von Wein und Bier werden in der Literatur des Mittelalters gerne einander gegenübergestellt, so z. B. in den zahlreichen Streitgedichten zwischen diesen Getränken. Ihr Genuss dient aber auch als Charakteristikum nationaler Eigenheiten, so trinken die Franzosen Wein, die Engländer und Deutschen Bier. Vgl. aus der reichen Literatur: James Holly Hanford, *The Mediaeval Debate between Wine and Water*, in: *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 28 (1913) 315-367; id., *Wine, Beer, Ale, and Tobacco: a seventeenth century Interlude*, in: *Studies in Philology* 12 (1915) 3-54; Carsten Wollin (Hrsg.), *Petri Blesensis Carmina* (*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 128; Turnhout 1998) 275-289 (carm. 1, 6-7a); Sybille Schröder, *Macht und Gabe. Materielle Kultur am Hof Heinrichs II. von England* (*Historische Studien* 481; Husum 2004) 174-204; Carsten Wollin, *Kein Wein für die Normannen: Marginalien zu Baudri de Bourguenils carm. 202*, in: *Sacris Erudiri* 44 (2005) 275-283, hier 280, Anm. 11.

B 21

Lingua locum tangit, patientem quo dolor angit.

Die Zunge berührt die Stelle, an welcher der Schmerz quält.

WPS 13797; Haye Carm. XI l. - Das Sprichwort des Ulgerius ist im Altfranzösischen gut belegt (Singer 1, 28-29; Hassell L 10; TPMA Zahn 2.4; Morawski 1039):

La vet la lange, ou la denz duet.

Dort geht die Zunge hin, wo der Zahn weh tut.

Ich zitiere wieder die zweisprachige Fassung der *Prouerbia rusticorum* (Zacher Nr. 201; WPS 25625 mit zahlreichen Verweisen; der lateinische Vers findet sich auch in den versifizierten *Regimina sanitatis*, vgl. TPMA Zahn 2.4, Nr. 10):

La uet la lange, ou la denz deut.

Quo dolor est dentis, uersatur lingua dolentis.

Unter den Sprichwörtern der *Compilatio singularis exemplorum* (Hilka Nr. 121) steht eine Fassung, deren erster lateinischer Vers den eben zitierten *Prouerbia rusticorum* entspricht, während der andere (WPS 13796 *Lingua locum tangit*), vielleicht nur zufällig, weitgehend mit der Formulierung des Ulgerius übereinstimmt:

La es <la> langue, ou la dent deut.

Quo dolor est dentis, uersatur lingua dolentis.

Lingua locum [totum Hilka] tangit, in quo dentem dolor angit.

Eine stilistisch anspruchsvollere Version bietet das folgende anonyme Distichon (WPS 11242):

Huc, ubi dens sensit lesuram, lingua frequens it ;

Parte dolet qua dens, est cito lingua cadens.

B 22

Non in momento, qui non habet ex documento

Aut ex natura, poterit dimittere rura.

Wer nicht durch einen Vertrag (?) oder naturgegebene Umstände (?) gezwungen ist, wird sein Land nicht in einem Augenblick verlieren können.

WPS 17895; Haye Carm. XI m. - Vermutlich handelt es sich um ein Rechtsspruchwort. Gemeint ist wohl, dass der Verlust des Eigentumsrechtes an Grundbesitz nur durch Vertrag oder Tod geschehen

kann. Unklar aber bleibt, auf welche Form der zahlreichen im Mittelalter konkurrierenden Rechte sich der Dichter bezieht.

B 23

*A terra sterili fugias, carissime fili,
Non dominum durum fortassis cras moriturum !*

B (fol. 97ra), *T* (fol. 41v, T 160) **1** carissime *T*] ~~ka~~ carissime *B* **2**
 dominum (dm *B*) *B* *T*] deum *Haye*, dum *Eckard* cras *T*] oes *B*,
 omnes *Eckard Haye* fortassis cras *B*] cras fortassis *T*

Verlasse den unfruchtbaren Acker, liebster Sohn, aber
 nicht den harten Herrn, der vielleicht bald sterben wird!

WPS 110; *Haye Carm.* XI n-o. - Dass die beiden Verse nicht etwa in zwei Gedichte zu trennen sind, sondern zusammengehören, beweist zunächst die Syntax, denn *dominum durum* (V. 2) gehört als Akkusativobjekt zum Prädikat *fugias* (V. 1). Die Einheit des Epigramms wird auch durch die Überlieferung im Florilegium von Saint-Gatien (*T*, fol. 41v, T 160) bestätigt, in welchem die beiden Verse nämlich durch ein Paragraphenzeichen zusammengefasst werden. Schließlich lässt sich das Sprichwort in der hier vorliegenden zweiteiligen Form auch in der altfranzösischen Literatur nachweisen (TPMA Herr 7.4.2).

Diesen, allerdings singulären, Beleg bietet im 13. Jahrhundert der Schriftsteller Philippe de Navarre, der um 1195-1200 im piemontesischen Novara geboren, schon in jungen Jahren ins Heilige Land kam und dort zu einem mächtigen Vasallen der Familie Ibelin aufstieg, der auf Zypern und in Syrien belehnt war. Neben historischen, juristischen und poetischen Schriften verfasste Philipp in hohem Alter den Traktat *Les quatre ages de l'homme* (Marcel de Fréville [Hrsg.], *Les quatre ages de l'homme, traité moral de Philippe de Navarre* [SATF 27; Paris 1888; Reprint New York 1968] 26). Obwohl Philipp das Französische nicht als Muttersprache erlernt hatte, darf er nach Ansicht von Gaston Paris, dem Altmeister der französischen Romanistik, als einer der besten Prosaschriftsteller seiner Zeit gelten. Unser Sprichwort wird von Philipp ausdrücklich als *proverbe* bezeichnet (*Les quatre ages de l'homme* 2, 43; vgl.

Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker, Philippe de Novare, *Les quatre âges de l'homme*, in: *Romania* 127 [2009] 104-146, hier 117):

Un autre proverbe i a, qui dit : "Mal seignor ne doit on mie foïr, car il ne durra mie toz jors ; mais on doit foïr mauveis païs, qui est toz jors mauveis."

Es gibt ein anderes Sprichwort, das sagt: "Vor einem schlechten Herrn soll man nie fliehen; denn er wird nicht ewig leben; aber man soll aus einem schlechten Land fliehen, das immer schlecht ist."

Das Epigramm des Ulgerius belegt das Sprichwort, das Philipp überall im Mittelmeerraum hätte kennenlernen können, geographisch für Frankreich. Es muss also bereits im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert in den *Proverbes au vilain* existiert haben, auch wenn es in den erhaltenen Sammlungen fehlt. Auch die zweiteilige Form, die man für eine literarische Kontamination des Ulgerius hätte ansehen können, erweist sich durch die Übereinstimmung als volksläufig.

B 24

*Si sit facundus, comes est auriga secundus.
Si rudis est, animum nequeunt depellere primum
Antiquosque status modo sumpti pontificatus.*

1 secundus B] iucundus coni. Eckardt Haye

Wenn er beredt ist, dann ist ein Gefährte ein zweiter Wagenlenker.

Wenn er roh ist, dann können nicht einmal soeben empfangene Bischofsweihen sein ursprüngliches Wesen und seinen alten Stand vertreiben.

WPS 29178 (*Si sit facundus*); WPS 29115 (*Si rudis est*); Haye Carm. XI p-r. - Auch in diesem Fall ist eine Trennung der drei Verse in drei unterschiedliche Gedichte nicht angebracht. Dafür sprechen mehrere Argumente: Zum einen der inhaltliche Parallelismus zwischen den gegensätzlichen Alternativen beredter und roher Gefährte, zum anderen die Ellipse des Subjekts in V. 2 (*Si rudis est*), welche erst dann verständlich wird, wenn man aus V. 1 *comes* ergänzt, schließlich erhält das Prädikat *nequeunt* (V. 2) einen befriedigenden Sinn erst durch das Subjekt *pontificatus* in V. 3.

Der Ausgangspunkt für das Epigramm ist ein oft und gerne zitiertes Sprichwort des Publilius Syrus (Meyer) c 17 (Otto 416; TPMA Geselle 6.4.2.3; ähnlich ist TPMA Freund 4.2.2.2; WPS 2961 mit weiteren Nachweisen):

Comes facundus in uia pro uehiculo est.

Das Epigramm des Ulgerius erweist sich als antithetische Erweiterung des antiken Sprichworts durch die kirchenkritische Bemerkung über einen ungehobelten und unwürdigen Prälaten. Sicherlich hat Haye (S. 33) Recht, wenn er in dem zweiten Teil einen Reflex der schlechten Erfahrungen des Dichters vermutet, aber auf seine Absetzung werden sich diese nicht beziehen können.

Verzeichnis der Textanfänge

B	Initium	WPS
23	<i>A terra sterili fugias, carissime fili</i>	110
8 a	<i>Illo, quo Dominus Gatianum traxit ad astra</i>	-
16	<i>In cursore dato non annos dente notato</i>	11719
14 a	<i>Ingluuiem dentis pes comparat esurientis</i>	12395
21	<i>Lingua locum tangit, patientem quo dolor angit</i>	13797
15	<i>Manducata pira fletus comitantur et ira</i>	14391
14 b	<i>Manducate satis : per portus asperitatis</i>	14392
22	<i>Non in momento, qui non habet ex documento</i>	17895
10	<i>Pauperibus Christi si cetera distribuisti</i>	-
20	<i>Plus fantur pleni calices quam sarcina feni</i>	21704
18	<i>Quatuor ede mea sunt admiranda : galea</i>	23671
11	<i>Quatuor herentes habuit male Delia dentes</i>	-
13	<i>Qui nequit ad uelle flammam transferre puella</i>	24325
8 b	<i>Quo nascente die Deus est ingressus in orbem</i>	-
19	<i>Quodque tenet vellus densum tenuis vngue catellus</i>	-
9	<i>Si geminos patres habuisti, quod michi dicis</i>	-
12	<i>Si quis amat, quod amare nocet, deponat amorem</i>	28966
24, 2	<i>Si rudis est, animum nequeunt depellere primum</i>	29115
24, 1	<i>Si sit facundus, comes est auriga secundus</i>	29178
17	<i>Sompnia porcorum glans est et pastus eorum</i>	30030

Verzeichnis der benutzten Abkürzungen

CB Carmina Burana (B 13)

- Hassell James W. Hassell, *Middle French Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases* (Subsidia Mediaevalia 12; Toronto 1982). (**B 14 a, 16, 21**)
- ICL Dieter Schaller / Ewald Könsgen, *Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum* (Göttingen 1977).
- LHL Otto Schumann, *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon*, Bde. 1-6 (MGH Hilfsmittel 4, 1-6; München 1979-1983).
- Morawski Joseph Morawski, *Proverbes français antérieurs au XVe siècle* (Les classiques français du moyen âge 47; Paris 1925/2007). (**B 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21**)
- Otto August Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig 1890; Reprint Hildesheim 1964). (**B 16, 24**)
- PL Jacques-Paul Migne (Hrsg.), *Patrologiae cursus completus ... series Latina* (Paris 1844-1864).
- Röhrich Lutz Röhrich, *Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*, Bde. 1-5 (Freiburg im Breisgau ⁴1991). (**B 19**)
- Singer Samuel Singer, *Sprichwörter des Mittelalters*, Bde. 1-3 (Bern 1944, 1946, 1947). (**B 13, 16, 19, 21**)
- TPMA *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi*, Bde. 1-13 (Berlin/New York 1995-2003).
- Werner Johann Jakob Werner, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters* (Darmstadt ²1966). (**B 13**)
- WIC Hans Walther, *Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina I/1. Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen ²1969).
- WPS Hans Walther, *Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina II/1-5. Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi*, Bde. 1-5 (Göttingen 1963-1967).

Verzeichnis der mittellateinischen Sprichwortsammlungen

- Compilatio singularis exemplorum* Alfons Hilka, *Altfranzösische Sprichwörter*, in: *Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur, Jahresbericht* 91, IVc (1913) 21-38. (**B 21**)
- Florilegium von Saint-Omer Ernst Voigt, *Das Florileg von S. Omer*, in: *Romanische Forschungen* 6 (1891) 557-574. (**B 17**)

- Liber Pictaleon* Thomas A.-P. Klein, Der Liber Pictaleon in der Tradition mittelalterlicher Sprichwortsammlungen, in: *Studi Medievali* III 40 (1999) 333-355. (**B 13, 16, 17**)
- Prouerbia Henrici* Karl Müllenhoff / Wilhelm Scherer, Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa (Berlin / Zürich ⁴1964) Bd. 1, 59-66, Bd. 2, 135-152 Kommentar. (**B 17**)
- Prouerbia rusticorum* Julius Zacher, Altfranzösische Sprichwörter, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 11 (1859) 114-144. (**B 13, 16, 20, 21**)
- Serlo von Wilton Albert C. Friend, The Proverbs of Serlo of Wilton, in: *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954) 179-218; Jan Öberg, *Serlon de Wilton. Poèmes latins* (*Studia Latina a Stockholmiensia* 14; Stockholm 1965). (**B 13**)

Konkordanz mit dem Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi

Arbeit 2.3	B 14 a
Bier 9	B 20
Birne 6	B 15
Coitus 4	B 13
Freund 4.2.2.2	B 24
Furcht 2.2.3	B 12
Fuß 1.3.2	B 14 a
geben 7.2	B 10
Geselle 6.4.2.3	B 24
Gewinn 15	B 14 a
Herr 7.4.2	B 23
Hund 14.1.4	B 19
Liebe 1.6.6-8	B 12
Pfaffe 2.3.2.3	B 18
Pferd 18	B 16
schlafen 2.10	B 13
Schwein 4,1	B 17
Wein 1.8.1	B 20
Wolf 1.1	B 18
Zahn 2.4	B 21

Anmerkungen:

¹Vgl. Friedrich Seiler, Deutsche Sprichwörter in mittelalterlicher Fassung, in: Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 45 (1913) 236-291; id., Mittellateinische Sprichwörter, die in deutscher Fassung nicht nachweisbar sind, in: Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde 35 (1921) 299-308, 463-469; id., Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde (München 1922; Reprint 1967) 71-131; Barry Taylor, Medieval Proverb Collections: The West European Tradition, in: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 55 (1992) 19-35. - Zum Sprichwort in der lateinischen Dichtung des Hochmittelalters vgl. Carsten Wollin, Neue Textzeugen des Carmen ad Astralabium des Petrus Abaelardus, in: Sacris Erudiri 46 (2007) 187-240, hier 217-220; id., Nec fallit sermo vulgari tritus in ore: Altfranzösische Sprichwörter im Floridus Aspectus des Petrus Riga, in: Proverbium 26 (2009) 387-412; id., Eine moralische Tierdichtung des 12. Jahrhunderts, in: Sacris Erudiri 48 (2009) 191-233. - Zu den altfranzösischen *Proverbes au vilain* vgl. Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker, Proverbes et expressions proverbiales dans la littérature narrative du moyen âge français (Paris 1985) mit reicher Bibliographie; stellvertretend für eine Reihe von bedeutenden Beiträgen stehe: ead., The Paremiological Tradition in Medieval Culture, in: Proverbium 17 (2000) 349-368.

²Vgl. Max Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, Bd. 3 (München 1931) 898-900; Frederic James Edward Raby, A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages (Oxford 1934, ²1957) Bd. 2, 42-43; Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi 11 (Roma 2007) 259; Jean-Hervé Foulon, Église et réforme au Moyen Âge (Bruxelles 2008) passim.

³Die beste Darstellung des Rechtsstreits gibt Jean-Marc Bienvenu, Le conflit entre Ulger, Évêque d'Angers, et Pétronille de Chemillé, abbesse de Fontevrault (vers 1140-1149), in: Revue Mabillon 58 (1970) 113-132.

⁴Vgl. Valentin Rose, Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Bd. II. 3 (Berlin 1905; Reprint Hildesheim 1976) 1004-1007, Nr. 859.

⁵Johannes Georgius Eccardus, Corpus Historicum Medii Aevi (Leipzig 1723) Bd. 2, 1849-1851 (nach der Hs. B).

⁶Thomas Haye, Bischof Ulger von Angers (1125-1148) und seine poetischen Invektiven gegen Papst Innocenz II., in: Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 45/1 (2010) 1-35. - Fünf unbekannte Epigramme des Ulgerius überliefert der englische Historiker Radulfus de Diceto in seinen *Abbreviationes chronicorum* (Rolls Series 68, London 1876, Bd. 1, 252-255), vgl. Carsten Wollin, Neue Gedichte des Ulgerius von Angers, in: Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 47 (2012) im Druck.

⁷Haye (Anm. 6) 33: "Im Hinblick auf den Dichter Ulger könnte man die Sammlung vielleicht ignorieren, wenn nicht der letzte Vers (r) offenbar einem Gedicht entnommen wäre, das auf die kurz zuvor erfolgte Amtsenthebung eines Bischofs Bezug nimmt. Angesichts des Überlieferungskontextes dürfte hiermit Ulger gemeint sein. Somit ist es zumindest denkbar, dass alle Verse XIa-r auf Ulger zurückgehen."

⁸Die bibliographischen Nachweise werden manchem Leser nicht unwillkommen sein: Philipp von Harvengt: PL 200, 1359 D - 1361 D. - Bernhard von Clairvaux epist. 524: Philippe Schmitz, Lettre inédite de S. Bernard à Ulger, évêque d'Angers, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 45 (1933) 351-353; Jean Leclercq / Henri-Marie Rochais (Hrsg.), *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, Bd. 8 (Rom 1977) 490-491. - Arnulf von Lisieux epist. 24: PL 201, 34 C - 36 D (epist. 21); Frank Barlow (Hrsg.), *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux* (London 1939) 30-33. - Laurentius von Westminster: *Luc d'Achery, Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum*, Bd. 3 (Paris 1723) 528.

⁹Karl Strecker (Hrsg.), *Die Apokalypse des Goliath* (Rom 1928).

¹⁰Vgl. André Wilmart, *Le florilège de Saint-Gatien*, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 48 (1936) 3-40, 147-181, 235-258.

¹¹Vgl. Wilmart (Anm. 10) 39-40; gegen ein Zuschreibung wendet sich Franco Munari (Hrsg.), *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera*, Bd. 3 (*Storia e letteratura* 171; Roma 1988) 225-226.

¹²Vgl. Wollin (Anm. 6).

¹³Haye (Anm. 6) 34. - Allerdings kann zumindest der erste Vers des Epigramms T 164 nicht von Ulgerius stammen, denn er wird schon von Helgaud von Fleury in seiner *Vita regis Rotberti pii* als Verspielerei Gerberts zitiert (PL 141, 911 B: *Scandit ab R. Girbertus in R., post papa uiget R.*). - Auch das von Haye in die Diskussion gebrachte anonyme Schmahgedicht auf Papst Lucius II. (*WIC* 10431; *Lucius est piscis, rex atque tyrannus aquarum*) wird von dem italienischen Historiker Francesco Pipino (ca. 1270 - nach 1328) dem Hugo Primas zugewiesen, vgl. Wilhelm Meyer, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas (des Magisters Hugo von Orleans)* (Berlin 1907; Reprint Darmstadt 1970) 4-5 [original 78-79].

¹⁴Beschrieben in: John Planta, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library* (London 1802; Reprint Hildesheim 1974) 440-441; Arthur George Rigg, *Goliath and other Pseudonyms*, in: *Studi Medievali* III 18 (1977) 65-109, hier 90-91; id., *A history of Anglo-Latin literature 1066-1422* (Cambridge 1992) 151 und 237; Carsten Wollin, *Die Primas-Epigramme in der Handschrift London BL Cotton Vespasian. B.XIII*, in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 39/1 (2004) 45-70, hier 47-48.

¹⁵Zur Terminologie der gereimten Hexameter grundlegend ist noch immer Wilhelm Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, Bd. 1 (Berlin 1905; Reprint Hildesheim 1970) 59-135 "Radewins Gedicht über Theophilus und die Arten der gereimten Hexameter".

¹⁶Mein besonderer Dank gilt, wie so oft, Herrn Prof. Dr. Thomas Klein (Universität Halle-Wittenberg) für die kritische Lektüre des Manuskripts.

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VIDA JESENŠEK

Sprichwörter multilingual. Sprachliche Muster – kommunikative Einheiten – kulturelle Symbole (Mannheim, 27.–28. 9. 2010)

Bericht zur Tagung im Rahmen des internationalen Projekts SprichWort

In dem EU-geförderten Projekt namens SprichWort¹ (2008-2010) ging es darum, die Sprichwörter auf eine interessante und moderne Art zu vermitteln. Das Hauptziel war, die ausgewählten Sprichwörter aus den fünf jeweils benachbarten Sprachen (Deutsch, Slowenisch, Slowakisch, Tschechisch, Ungarisch) in ihrem heutigen Gebrauch zu dokumentieren, didaktisch aufzubereiten und zu popularisieren. Das Hauptergebnis der Projektaktivitäten ist eine interaktive Lernplattform (<http://www.spruchwort-plattform.org>), die drei wesentliche Komponenten enthält: (1) eine fünfsprachige SprichWort-Datenbank mit 300 aktuellen Sprichwörtern samt Äquivalenten in den beteiligten Sprachen, die ausführlich und einheitlich nach einem mehrdimensionalen Beschreibungsmodell linguistisch aufbereitet sind; (2) eine umfangreiche Sammlung von speziellen sprichwortbezogenen Aufgaben, Übungen, Tests und Selbstevaluationsbögen für Lerner wie eine Sammlung von Übungsmaterialien für Lehrer und (3) eine Lern- und Expertencommunity, die sowohl Laien bzw. Lernern als auch Experten aus dem Bereich der Linguistik, Sprichwortforschung und Fremdsprachendidaktik eine Kommentier-, Äußerungs- und Evaluationsmöglichkeit gibt.

Im Rahmen dieses EU-Projekts wurde am Institut für Deutsche Sprache in Mannheim vom 27. bis 28. September 2010 die internationale Tagung mit dem Titel *Sprichwörter multilingual. Sprachliche Muster – kommunikative Einheiten – kulturelle Symbole* veranstaltet. Die Tagung diente primär zur Diskussion verschiedenster Aspekte der aktuellen parömiologischen Forschung. Die Themen, die von den Projektmitarbeitern und elf eingeladenen Vortragenden angesprochen wurden, reichten daher von le-

xikographischen und kontrastiven Perspektiven der Sprichwortforschung über methodische und theoretische Fragestellungen bis hin zu didaktischen Aspekten der Sprichwortvermittlung. Im Folgenden werden einzelne Beiträge kurz dargestellt.

Wolfgang Mieder, der unermüdliche Sprichwortforscher aus Burlington, berichtete über die Art und Weise, wie Sprichwörter in den Büchern, Reden und Interviews des aktuellen amerikanischen Präsidenten Barack Obama Verwendung finden (*»The World's a Place« Zur (inter)nationalen Sprichwortpraxis Barack Obamas*). Dass Politiker ihre Aussagen mithilfe der metaphorischen Ausdrucksweise bekräftigen und somit sehr oft und sehr gerne durch Sprache (positiv oder negativ) manipulieren, ist an sich nichts Neues. Dessen bewusst sind sich auch alle Übersetzer, die einmal vor der Aufgabe gestanden haben, politische Reden eines einflussreichen Politikers übersetzen zu müssen. Besondere Schwierigkeiten bereiten Sprichwörter, die nur partielle oder gar keine Äquivalenz in anderen Sprachen kennen. Für die Texte Obamas wurde dies an Hand deutscher Übersetzungen seiner beiden Bücher *Dreams from My Father. A Story of Race and Inheritance* (1995) und *The Audacity of Hope. Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream* (2006) sowie einiger seiner bedeutendsten (inter)nationalen Reden gezeigt. Mieder versuchte nachzuweisen, dass es Barack Obama in seiner Sprichwortverwendung meist darum geht, to make the world a better place – die Welt zu einem besseren Platz zu machen, unabhängig davon, wofür er sich in seinen Reden engagiert. Die Auswahl Obamas Volkssprichwörter sowie Bibelsprichwörter zeugt davon, dass er dadurch »sozusagen den moralischen Kompass auf seinem hoffnungsvollen Weg als Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten und als Weltbürger« vermittelt, den die Welt heutzutage leider wieder einmal verloren hat. Man würde sich wünschen, dass die Sprichwörter wie All men are ceated equal / Alle Menschen sind gleich geschaffen, A house divided against itself cannot stand / Ein in sich gespaltenes Haus hat keinen Bestand, E pluribus unum / Aus vielen eins, Do unto others as you would have them do unto you / Was du nicht willst, dass man dir tu', das fug auch keinem andern zu und auch das moderne Sprichwort The world is a place / Die Welt ist ein Platz in der Tat zu einer besseren

Welt und zu einem freundlicheren Miteinandersein beitragen könnten.

Valerij M. Mokienko (Sankt Petersburg) stellte das Problem des parömiologischen Minimums in Diskussion (*Russisches parömiologisches Minimum: Theorie oder Praxis?*). Es geht um die Idee Permjakovs, die unter den Erforschern der Parömiologie ein großes Interesse erweckte, da sie die Auswahl der gebräuchlichsten konkreten Sprichwörter in einer bestimmten Sprache wissenschaftlich zu begründen und zu minimieren versprach. Der Minimum-Begriff ist zugleich vom sprachdidaktischen Wert, da dadurch derjenige Teil der bildlichen und expressiven Ressourcen einer Sprache repräsentiert wird, der den Geist eines Volkes und seiner Kultur widerspiegelt und daher zum Lerninhalt werden soll.

Allerdings weisen Ergebnisse der mehr als vierzigjährigen Minimum-Erforschung auf nicht wenige Schwierigkeiten hin, die die Grundidee Permjakovs, d. h. die prinzipielle Möglichkeit der Erstellung eines parömiologischen Minimums für alle Sprecher sogar in Frage stellen. Als problematisch haben sich mehrere Aspekte erwiesen, u. A. gravierende quantitative und qualitative Unterschiede zwischen den Minima und der tatsächlichen lexikographischen Praxis, sprachlichen Situation und textuellen Realisierung, methodologische Schwächen hinsichtlich der Informanten-Struktur, Schwierigkeiten hinsichtlich der universellen logisch-semantischen Klassifikation der Sprichwörter. Mokienco vertritt die Meinung, das parömiologische Minimum sei von seinem Wesen her mit dem lexikalischen Minimum nach dem Häufigkeitsmerkmal nicht vergleichbar. Im Unterschied zur Lexik tragen die Originalität, die Individualität und die Nicht-Stereotypität von Sprichwörtern zu ihrem pragmatischen Wert bei, was zur Folge hat, dass bei der Ermittlung eines parömiologischen Minimums nicht die absolute Vorkommensfrequenz sondern die parömiologische Modellhaftigkeit die wichtigste Rolle spielt. Die Produktivität der Sprichwort-Modelle bestimmt nicht die Frequenz, sondern die Aktualität jener Konzeptbereiche, die dieses Modell widerspiegeln.

Harry Walter (Greifswald) diskutierte die zwei- und mehrsprachige Sprichwort-Lexikographie, die eine lange Tradition nachweisen und folglich zahlreiche (und mitunter recht umfangreiche) Sprichwörterbücher vorzeigen kann. Man würde meinen,

dass hier »die Wörterbucharbeit relativ abgeschlossen sein könnte, zumal der Bestand an wirklich neuen Sprichwörtern in den modernen Sprachen recht gering ist«. Im Beitrag mit dem Titel *Probleme der Erstellung von zwei- und mehrsprachigen Sprichwörter-Büchern (Erfahrungen der Greifswalder Parömiographie)* wurde allerdings gezeigt, dass die mehrsprachige Parömiographie besonders in Äquivalenzfragen noch vieles zu wünschen übrig lässt. Neben den semantisch unpassenden Sprichwortäquivalenten, die in manchen beobachteten Wörterbüchern aufzufinden sind, ist besonders akut die Nichtbeachtung der Äquivalenz auf der Ebene der Frequenz, des Bekanntheitsgrades und der stilistisch-pragmatischen Werte verzeichneter Sprichwortäquivalente. Mangelhaft erscheint ebenso die Dokumentation von mehrhafter Äquivalenz, die in einer der Wörterbuchsprachen potentiell möglich wäre. Die Problematik der Äquivalenzdarstellung in einem zweisprachigen parömiologischen Wörterbuch wurde daraufhin anhand des russisch-deutschen Sprichwort-Wörterbuchs von H. Walter und V. Mokienko diskutiert. Bezüglich der Äquivalenz differenziert dieses Wörterbuch nach zwei Kriterien: (1) nach der Verwendungshäufigkeit (bzw. Bekanntheit) und (2) nach der Äquivalenz mit dem Ausgangssprichwort, d.h. mit dem russischen Sprichwort. Während die auf den Frequenzdaten basierende Unterscheidung relativ unproblematisch erscheint, erweist sich die zwischensprachliche Gegenüberstellung nach dem zweiten Kriterium als überwiegend subjektiv und folgerichtig diskutabel.

Carmen Mellado Blanco (Santiago de Compostela) berichtete über einige Ergebnisse des zwischenuniversitären spanischen Forschungsprojekts FRASESPAL zu deutsch-spanischer Phraseographie, die unter ihrer Leitung an der Universität Santiago de Compostela durchgeführt wird (*»In einen zugehaltenen Mund gehen keine Fliegen rein!« Zu den pragmatischen Werten der SCHWEIGEN-Sprichwörter im Deutschen und Spanischen*). Anhand der Beispiele aus dem semantischen Feld SCHWEIGEN/CALLAR wurden (1) die pragmatischen Werte von besonders repräsentativen Sprichwörtern in ausgewählten Kontexten besprochen und (2) die Implikaturen und Sprechereinstellungen ausgewählter Phraseme aus dem kognitiven Unterfeld LANGE SCHWEIGEN kontrastiv verglichen.

Der erste Konferenztag endete mit einer ausführlichen Präsentation des Projekts SprichWort. Nach der Darstellung allgemeiner Projektdaten (**Vida Jesenšek**, Maribor) wurden einige Problembereiche ausführlich besprochen, die sich während der Projektaktivitäten als besonders relevant erwiesen haben. So referierte **Kathrin Steyer** (Mannheim) zu den Methoden der korpusbasierten Sprichwortbeschreibung, die Aspekte der Sprichwortäquivalenz in den beteiligten Sprachen waren das Thema des Beitrags von **Peter Ďurčo** (Trnava), über den möglichen Einsatz von Sprichwörtern im (Fremd)sprachenlernen berichtete **Brigita Kacjan** (Maribor). Von **Melanija Fabčič** (Maribor) wurde schließlich das Konzept der Interaktivität der projekteigenen Sprichwort-Plattform besprochen, während die Germanistik-Studenten aus Maribor, die an den Projektaktivitäten aktiv teilgenommen haben, über ihre persönlichen Erfahrungen berichteten.

Der zweite Konferenztag begann mit dem Beitrag von Harald Burger (*Sprichwort und Redensart: Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede – theoretisch und textuell, synchron und diachron betrachtet*). Ausgehend von der Thematisierung einiger terminologisch-definitorischer Fragen (Sprichwort vs. Redensart vs. sprichwörtliche Redensart vs. Idiom vs. Phrasem) diskutierte er fachlichtheoretische Hintergründe, die zur Differenz der Auffassungen führen. Daraufhin wurde das Verhältnis von Sprichwörtern und Idiomen in verschiedenen Aspekten des Sprachgebrauchs aus synchroner und diachroner Sicht beleuchtet. Fragen, die sich hier stellen, betreffen die quantitativ-typologische Dominanz bei bestimmten Autoren und in bestimmten Zeiten, die Verwendbarkeit beider Typen zur Charakterisierung von Idiolekten und Soziolekten, die Existenz von Kritik an Idiomen, wie es Kritik an Sprichwörtern gibt, die eventuellen differenten Textfunktionen, Konversationsüblichkeiten, Modifikationstypen u. A.

Peter Grzybek (Graz) diskutierte ausgewählte Methoden der empirischen Sprichwortforschung (*Empirisch-experimentelle Erhebungen zu Sprichwort-Dummies*). Ausgehend von den gegenwärtig aktuellen empirischen und experimentellen Forschungen zur Vorkommenshäufigkeit und Bekanntheit von Sprichwörtern betrachtete er die folgende Fragestellung als relevant: «Wer in einer gegebenen Kultur kennt welche Sprichwörter in welcher Form, und wovon hängt dies ab?» Diese Fragestellung umfasst

die Erforschung von persönlichen, soziologischen und sprachlichen Faktoren, vor allem wichtig erscheint jedoch die Frage nach adäquaten Verfahren zur Erhebung von Bekanntheit der Sprichwörter unter den Sprechern. Im Vortrag wurde die Leistungsfähigkeit des von G.L. Permjakov vorgeschlagenen Verfahrens der Teiltex-Präsentation geprüft. Als eine der Möglichkeiten eignen sich dazu u.a. bereits experimentell eingesetzte Tests mit sog. Dummie-Sprichwörtern, die tiefgreifende Einblicke in Prozeduren der Sprichwortkenntnis und ihrer experimentellen Erhebung erlauben.

Methodologisch orientiert war auch der Beitrag von **Britta Juska-Bacher** aus Basel (*Empirische Methoden in der kontrastiven Sprichwortforschung*), in dem sie die Möglichkeiten und Begrenzungen der Methode der Informantenbefragung im Vergleich zur gegenwärtig bevorzugten Korpusanalyse konfrontierte. Am Beispiel eines Datensatzes von 2000 Probanden aus dem niederländischen, deutschen und schwedischen Sprachraum zur Bekanntheit von Bruegels Niederländischen Sprichwörtern wurde vorgeführt, welche neuen Möglichkeiten der statistischen Auswertung sich mit einer großen Stichprobe ergeben.

Drei weitere Beiträge befassten sich mit der Kontrastierung ausgewählter Sprachenpaare. **Jean-Philippe Zouogbo** (Paris) setzte sich mit parömiologischen Bildern in drei Sprachen auseinander (*Universalität des sprichwörtlichen Bildes mit Beispielen aus Bété-Deutsch-Französisch*). Im Unterschied zu vielen kontrastiven parömiologischen Studien, die auf zwischensprachliche Unterschiede fokussiert sind, interessieren ihn vorrangig zwischensprachliche parömiologische Gemeinsamkeiten. Dieser Zugang erbringt nach Zouogbo wertvolle Hinweise auf sprachübergreifende Universalien und trägt zu einer interkulturellen Parömiologie bedeutend bei.

Im Beitrag von **Željka Matulina** (Zadar) wurden Ergebnisse einer empirischen Untersuchung des Sprichwortgebrauchs in ausgewählten kroatischen, bosnischen, serbischen und deutschen Wochenzeitungen präsentiert (*Die Verwendung von Sprichwörtern in kroatischen, bosnischen, serbischen und deutschen Printmedien*). Beobachtet wurden formale Aspekte der Verwendung, d.h. das Profil des Produzenten und die Art der textuellen Verwendung von Sprichwörtern. Es wurden Unterschiede in der

Verwendung von Sprichwörtern innerhalb der verschiedenen geographischen, kulturellen und sprachlichen Regionen des süd-slawischen Areals festgestellt. Diese resultierten jedoch nicht aus kulturellen, sprachlichen oder politischen Eigenheiten einzelner Regionen, sondern sie basierten ausschließlich in der individuellen Kreativität des Produzenten.

Mona Noueshi (Kairo) versuchte einen Einblick in die deutschen und arabischen Sprichwörter zu geben (*»Wie das Land, so das Sprichwort«*. *Interkulturelle und sprach-stilistische Aspekte deutscher und arabischer Sprichwörter. Eine kontrastive Untersuchung*). Thematisiert wurden insbesondere die zwischen-sprachlichen Äquivalenzbeziehungen beim beobachteten Sprachenpaar sowie einzelsprachliche Besonderheiten ausgewählter Sprichwörter.

Der Beitrag, mit dem die Tagung endete, war dem Sprachgebrauch in den neuen online Medien gewidmet. Ulla Kleinberger (Zürich) stellte ihre Beobachtungen zum Sprichwortgebrauch in Social Networking Systemen, (Micro-)Blogs, Chats und Foren vor (*Variation und Modifikation in dialogischen online-Texten*). Als auffällig wurde die Tatsache bezeichnet, dass sie nicht nur punktuell eingesetzt werden, sondern funktional in Texte und Textcluster eingebettet sind. Anhand der Texte von nicht-professionellen Schreibern wurde exemplarisch skizziert, welches Wirkungspotential Sprichwortvariationen und – modifikationen im Text entfalten und welche Herausforderungen sich hierbei aus didaktischer Sicht stellen können.

Insgesamt kann man die SprichtWort-Tagung in Mannheim als eine arbeitsintensive und aufschlussreiche Veranstaltung verstehen, die den Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmern neue Einsichten in die aktuelle Sprichwortforschung und gewiss auch neue Impulse für die weitere Arbeit mit den Sprichwörtern gegeben hat. Die Publikation der Beiträge ist für das Jahr 2011 geplant. Nicht zuletzt war die Tagung ein Anlass zum produktiven Ideenaustausch im Kreis der Gleichgesinnten, der durch eine äußerst freundliche und motivierende Arbeitsatmosphäre und die perfekte Organisation der Veranstaltung ermöglicht wurde.

Anmerkungen

¹ Das Forschungsprojekt SprichWort (143376-2008-LLP-SI-KA2-KA2MP) wurde von der Europäischen Kommission im Rahmen des Programms Lebenslanges Lernen (Longlife Learning Programme) für den Zeitraum 2008-2010 mitfinanziert. Das Projekt koordinierte die Philosophische Fakultät der Universität Maribor (Slowenien, Projektleiterin Vida Jesenšek); mitbeteiligt waren die Universitäten in Graz (Österreich, TU Graz), Trnava (Slowakei), Szeged (Ungarn), Zlin (Tschechien) und das Institut für deutsche Sprache Mannheim (Deutschland).

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WOLFGANG MIEDER

Entipa mesa epikoinonias kai laikos politismos. Neoterika laografika. By Minas Al. Alexiadis. Athena: Instituto toiu Bibliou – A. Kardamitsa, 2011. Pp. 246.

The study of folklore in general but also the research on proverbs in particular have during the past decades become ever more interested in the appearance, use, and function of folkloric and paremiological references in the modern age. Hermann Bausinger's ground-breaking study *Volkskultur in der technischen Welt* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1961) set the general tone for such investigations, Lutz Röhrich followed with his invaluable investigation of *Gebärde–Metapher–Parodie. Studien zur Sprache und Volksdichtung* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1967; rpt. ed. Wolfgang Mieder. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2006), and my own book on *Tradition and Innovation in Folk Literature* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1987) also looked at this phenomenon with a special emphasis on fairy tales, legends, and proverbs. In the meantime similar studies have been published for various cultures and languages, including in particular the modern survival of proverbs as I had begun to show in my analysis of *Proverbs Are Never Out of Season. Popular Wisdom in the Modern Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). Now, it is with much excitement for the scholarly world that the internationally recognized Greek folklorist Minas Al. Alexiadis of the University of Athens has stepped forth with a truly outstanding book on *Entipa mesa epikoinonias kai laikos politismos. Neoterika laografika* (Athena: Instituto toiu Bibliou – A. Kardamitsa, 2011) whose title in English translation reads as *Printed Media and Popular Culture. Studies in Contemporary Folklore*. Fortunately for those readers who are not familiar with the Greek language, the author has provided a detailed English summary (pp. 195-197) of his study.

The book is comprised of five studies of which four had been published previously between 2008 and 2010 and with the third and central chapter being an original contribution. They all deal with

folkloric elements as they appear in the Greek mass media of books, newspapers, magazines, postcards, photographs, etc. The book is richly illustrated by fifty-four fascinating pictures indexed on pp. 217-219, and there is, of course, also an extensive international bibliography (pp. 199-214), indicating in particular what has been done in Greece on the multifaceted appearance of folklore in modern times. A giant index of names, subjects and terms (pp. 223-238) reveals the comprehensive nature of this book written by a distinguished folklorist of whom a bio-bibliographical sketch is presented on pp. 239-243.

Following a short but erudite introduction (pp. 9-15), the first chapter (pp. 17-51) is an intriguing study of the appearance of traditional folktales in nine Athenian daily newspapers from 1986 until the present time. By way of textual examples and fifteen welcome illustrations Minas Alexiadis is able to show that such well-known tales and their motifs play a significant role in communicating various types of information. Folktale elements appear in full-length articles, in advertisements, as headlines of reports, as caricatures and cartoons, etc. The many journalistic references clearly show that folktales or at least allusions to them are part and parcel of the language of the mass media. Obviously these traditional folktales continue to be part of the cultural literacy of the Greek readers, and their innovative integration into the mass media adds much emotive expressiveness to the various reports, messages, and illustrations.

The second chapter (pp. 53-81) deals with the proverbial speech of Greek politicians as it is reported in the Athens press. The plethora of references comes from speeches, pronouncements, interviews, and other types of comments by various politicians reported in the newspapers. By way of his many contextualized examples Minas Alexiadis is able to show that the political discourse is not at all dry or stereotypically stylized but rather quite natural and full of proverbial expressiveness. It is argued that proverbs and proverbial expressions add much metaphorical prowess to political discourse, that such proverbial or gnomic language supplies political speech with a popular tone, and that this type of traditional preformulated language is of great communicative value as politicians relate to the people. Of course, some politicians are by nature more proverbial than others. In Great Britain, for example, Winston S. Churchill was a masterful proverb user, and in the United States at the present

moment it is President Barack Obama who employs proverbial language with considerable frequency and impressive effectiveness, as I have shown in my book *Yes We Can. Barack Obama's Proverbial Rhetoric* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009).

With the third and new chapter (pp. 83-124) on anti-proverbs in Athenian newspapers, Minas Alexiadis advances Greek paremiology by leaps and bounds. As he explains on the first few pages of his analysis, the term anti-proverb was coined by me in the early 1980s and it has created much interest in the scholarly community of paremiologists. The term has been translated into many languages, and we now have the Greek equivalent as “anti-paremia” to refer to the intentional variation of traditional proverbs in order to create innovative and often playful, humorous or satirical statements. Such parodied, manipulated, altered or amended texts have become quite popular in the mass media, including their appearance in newspaper headlines, advertising slogans, captions to cartoons, graffiti, posters, T-shirts, bumper stickers, etc. Alexiadis explains all of this for fifty-nine standard Greek proverbs and their anti-proverbs, and he also includes twelve important illustrations. There is no doubt that this chapter is of extreme importance not only for the life of proverbs in modern Greek society and media, but also as a proof that the linguistic, cultural, and folkloric phenomenon of anti-proverbs is indeed an international phenomenon. While proverbs clearly are still used in their traditional way as expressions of folk wisdom, they also survive by constantly being adapted to new situations. It is, to be sure, the juxtaposition of the traditional proverb text with the altered anti-proverb that results in truly effective communication.

With the fourth chapter (pp. 125-149) Minas Alexiadis moves on to an intriguing analysis of the depiction of folk professions on old postcards and photographs. The chapter includes eighteen valuable pictures and illustrates the importance of such pictorial sources for a better understanding of folk culture. Folklorists have started to pay much more attention to this type of archival material, and it is good to see that this is also the case in Greece. If I may, let me add a small account of what happened to me with my seventy-five folklore students in a recent lecture course on proverbs. I told them that the old Greek proverb “Cobbler, stick to your last” was translated into Latin and into most European languages hundreds of years ago and that we also have it in English in the form just cited. My stu-

dents told me that they had never heard of this proverb. Why? In the United States, the professional designation “cobbler” has been replaced by “shoe repairman” and, of course, the students also did not know any longer that a “last” is a tool used by a cobbler. The proverb is basically lost to American English by now, but I did show my students a postcard and a photograph illustrating the old proverb. There is no doubt that iconography of all types is extremely helpful in understanding proverbs of former times.

Finally, in the fifth chapter (pp. 151-189) Minas Alexiadis studies something very close to his heart, namely the rich folk culture of the island of Karpathos. He looks at how the folklore and culture of this small community has been maintained as people have left to move to other parts of Greece and the world. He presents various views of the Karpathian folk culture in the Greek and international diaspora, once again including ten illustrations from newspapers and magazines. On p. 188 I even learned that there exists a Federation of Karpathian Societies in the United States! Clearly the Greek immigrants that came to America have maintained many elements of their folk culture, thus enriching the multiethnic American society while maintaining wonderful old traditions from Karpathos.

In conclusion it can be said enthusiastically and emphatically that Professor Minas Alexiadis has presented us with an extremely important book on contemporary folklore with a special emphasis on how Greek folktales, proverbs, and folk culture survive in the oral traditions but also in the printed words of the mass media. Traditional proverbs and innovative anti-proverbs in particular continue to play a significant communicative role in the print media, and as such they deserve to be studied in the exemplary fashion as has been presented in the book under review. Minas Alexiadis' newest book *Entipa mesa epikoinonias kai laikos politismos. Neoterika laografika* will doubtlessly be of great influence on modern folklore studies in Greece and far beyond.

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JOSÉ MARÍA DE JAIME LORÉN

Refranero de la Música. Temático. By José Ramón Carbonell Beviá. Alicante: Gráficas Pe.com, 2011. Pp. 460.

Acostumbrados desde hace ya muchos años a adquirir y coleccionar todo tipo de refraneros o de publicaciones relacionadas con el mundo de los dichos y las sentencias populares, siempre con vistas a formar una biblioteca especializada en el asunto, no prestamos mucha atención a la constante invasión de colecciones que se presentan en el mercado editorial, hechas de prisa y corriendo, vendimiando en las grandes colecciones tradicionales, a menudo con el soporte de algún mecenas bancario o comercial. Siempre quedan bien para un regalo institucional y para salir del paso en un compromiso, Son obras que se difunden bien y relativamente fáciles de adquirir, pero cuya aportación original es muchas veces nula.

En el extremo opuesto tenemos el caso de proyectos bien elaborados, con encuestas y trabajo de campo, además de un profundo estudio sobre la paremiología precedente, que ofrecen un resultado original que completa o llena un hueco en los estudios sobre el tema. Ocurre en muchos de estos casos que el autor tiene dificultades para encontrar un editor privado o institucional que corra al menos con los gastos de impresión, el estudio queda inédito y, lo que es peor, rápidamente pierde actualidad y queda obsoleto. No hay nada más falso que aquel viejo aserto castellano de “El buen paño en el arca se vende”.

Dentro de esta última modalidad hay autores que, finalmente, optan por la autoedición de su propio estudio. Nosotros lo hemos hecho en alguna ocasión. Se editan así obras que suelen tener una difusión excesivamente limitada al entorno del autor, y que con dificultad trascienden a los posibles interesados en el tema. Es entonces cuando más importancia tiene, estimamos nosotros, una adecuada reseña en las revistas especializadas. Es lo que intentaremos con esta reseña, mostrar que “Cada esquilón tiene su son”.

PROVERBIUM 29 (2012)

José Ramón Carbonell Beviá es un profesor tempranamente especializado en educación musical. Hijo y nieto de músicos, “De casta le viene al galgo”, la colección de refranes y de dichos populares que presenta es una forma de extender hasta la literatura popular su interés hacia el fenómeno musical, que, como muy bien sabe, es algo que va mucho más lejos de las notas de los pentagramas. Es consciente que, para saber y entender plenamente todo lo relacionado con la música, hay que conocer también todas sus facetas, incluida tanto la científica como la literaria. Como profesores de Historia de la Ciencia, nos ha encantado el rescate de la definición pitagórica de música, tan matemática, tan científica.

Para empezar conviene advertir que bajo el nombre de “Refranero” se presenta una colección amplia de refranes, sentencias, apotegmas y de dichos populares de todos lugares de España, así como de muchos del extranjero. Para evitar equívocos prefiere referirse a lo que nosotros llamamos la *Gran paremiología*, sin detenerse a distinguir entre la gran variedad de formas proverbiales que recoge mezcladas. Así, bajo el título de Refranero en este caso se cobijan toda suerte de dichos populares, pues “El que a buen árbol se arrima ...”

Cuando abordamos la lectura de un texto paremiológico nuevo, tratamos de buscar las fuentes informativas más importantes que ha manejado. Al tratarse de un Refranero de la Música, lógicamente enseguida pensamos en el de J. Ricart Matas, un clásico bien difundido al estar editado por el CSIC en 1950. Sin embargo J.R. Carbonell es consciente que se trata de una obra que ya empieza a ser antigua, y también que el mundo musical ha evolucionado enormemente desde entonces. Por otra parte Ricart había dejado sin tratar aspectos importantes relacionados con el tema. En eso nuestro autor, otra vez, hace trascender el tema y, por elevación, se interesa por todo lo que tiene que ver con la música, como arte y como ciencia, desde el ruido, a la voz o a los acontecimientos musicales en general. Si es que está acuñado el término, deberemos hablar de nuevo de la *Gran música*. No se olvide que nos hallamos ante un auténtico experto en la disciplina sonora. No seremos nosotros quienes le mejoremos la plana en esto, que “Doctores tiene la iglesia ...”

Siguiendo con la bibliografía, y a pesar de la generosa cita que hace de trabajos paremiológicos nuestros, notamos la falta de un

par de artículos que en su día dedicamos a los refraneros de la Gaita y de las Campanas, también difíciles de encontrar. Y conste que somos nosotros los principales responsables del lapsus pues, sabedores del estudio que venía realizando Carbonell, tuvimos oportunidad de informarle a tiempo de los mismos. Ya se sabe, “Si el que sabe se calla ...”

La metodología seguida es claramente la del coleccionista que busca y rebusca, indaga y pregunta hasta formar una muestra considerable de dichos más o menos arrefranados, de toda suerte de procedencias, que luego clasifica, ordena y comenta. Así, la obra constituye una exhaustiva recopilación de toda suerte de dichos proverbiales y sentenciosos relacionados con la música, la danza o el arte, eso sí, en cualquier de las casi infinitas facetas que presentan. De esta forma se reúnen más de tres mil quinientos dichos populares, muchos de ellos con comentarios explicativos cuando su sentido oscuro precisa alguna aclaración.

Una objeción debemos plantear. Tras un trabajo concienzudo de documentación y también de encuesta, es una lástima que no hubiese acompañado a cada refrán o apotegma de la fuente de origen, sea colección impresa o se recoja por primera vez. Es el método que hemos seguido siempre en nuestros estudios paremiales, pues permite conocer de cada refrán o sentencia su procedencia y, esto es lo verdaderamente importante, tener alguna referencia sobre su posible origen histórico y geográfico. Cuando se ha desarrollado un trabajo como el que ha hecho Carbonell, esta tarea no supone un esfuerzo suplementario importante. “Por el mismo precio ... alpargatas de hombre”.

Obra de gran originalidad con una cuidadosa clasificación temática, el autor se permite estructurarla al modo de una ópera, en honor a la “grandiosidad y belleza” de esta manifestación musical y escénica. En efecto, en lugar de proponer los habituales prólogo, capítulos, apartados y conclusiones finales de los textos convencionales, presenta éstos tras una obertura que va seguida de los correspondientes actos, preludio, concertante y final. Ya se sabe, “Cada maestrero ...”

Tampoco se limita a refranes españoles, de los que no duda en recoger muchos en las diferentes lenguas peninsulares, los hay también de numerosos países y regiones del orbe, lo que sin duda incrementa todavía más el mérito de la obra. Obra que resulta extensa, exactamente 430 páginas tamaño folio. Larga, no hay duda.

Tal vez hubiera podido abreviarse si la presentación de los refranes hubiese sido más sencilla. Uno por renglón, sin separaciones entre líneas, no se olvide que “La buena esencia se vende en frascos pequeños”.

Resumiendo. Nos encontramos con una obra importante, fruto de un trabajo serio e intenso, presentada con originalidad. Lástima el malditismo que acompaña a este tipo de ediciones personales, lo sabemos por experiencia propia, pues merma sin duda la necesaria proyección que merece el esfuerzo generoso de José Ramón Carbonell Beviá. Obra muy útil para los aficionados a la música que no se quieren limitar a conciertos y pentagramas, para aquellos que gustan buscar también la inspiración en las composiciones del pueblo, al final el autor último de refranes y de coplas. Pero también obra imprescindible para los estudiosos del refranero y de la literatura popular en cualquiera de sus múltiples facetas, pues, como bien señala la cita que inserta al inicio de su obra, “De refranes y cantares, tiene el pueblo mil millares”.

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PETER UNSETH

The Function of Proverbs in Discourse: The Case of a Mexican Transnational Social Network. By Elías Domínguez Barajas. (Contributions to the Sociology of language 98). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2010. Pp. 189.

This review is written primarily for proverb scholars, not primarily for those who study the sociology of language, (critical) discourse analysis, or educational policies for immigrant communities, though these are all topics that the author addresses at some length. A review of this same book for a different audience would be significantly different. The author is properly referred to as “Dominguez Barajas” rather than merely “Barajas”, but will here be abbreviated to his initials, EDB.

The book consists of seven chapters and an Epilogue; proverb scholars will most want to read the first five chapters. The first, Introduction, is important, introducing or reviewing a number of points about proverbs and theory. Two points are particularly important: the book describes the use of Spanish proverbs in a mostly bilingual (Spanish & English) context and the proverbs cited were all used by adults, not children.

The second chapter describes “The López social network and its proverbs,” the subjects of the study. They are an extended family, with a branch in Chicago but still connected to their roots in Mexico. EDB describes the social network and stresses that their use of proverbs can only be comprehended by understanding the settings in which they are used.

“Proverbs mean more than they say”, chapter 3, contains only one example of proverb use, but examines a very wide variety of complementary insights and theoretical perspectives, citing such authors as Bauman, Briggs, Brown & Levinson, Dundes, Honeck, Hymes, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Ohtsuki, Pepicello & Green, Pérez Martínez, Seitel, Silverman-Weinreich, and Whorf. Interestingly, considering that he spends much time discussing how proverbs are understood, he did not include Norrick's book

How Proverbs Mean. His study of “discourse” shows a restricted scope, neglecting conversational analysis and text linguistics, approaches to discourse that are eminently suited for studying “the function of proverbs in discourse.” The fourth chapter, “Proverbs do more than they mean”, contains 12 of the 15 proverbs cited in context, explaining their contexts and how they are to be interpreted. The fifth chapter, “Toward praxis: Linking the saying with the thinking”, discusses further how proverbs are interpreted and begins to develop another theme of the book: orality should not be interpreted as an indication of lesser cognitive skills, since the appropriate use and interpretation of proverbs in context requires sophisticated cognitive functions.

The next two chapters, “The academic stakes of language use” and “Beyond school halls”, launch a separate topic, though in EDB's mind the logical and appropriate next steps. He calls for broader American society to recognize the difficulties faced by people from Spanish-speaking contexts and for a recognition of their cognitive abilities regardless of their English skills. The word “proverb” only appears on 10 in these 34 pages. The Epilogue contains three points: Socialization practices; Identity formation; and Maintenance, loss, or transformation of oral traditions in U.S. contexts. In the Socialization section, there are at least 12 uses of “proverb(s)”, but this section and chapters 6 and 7 would have been much stronger if his corpus of proverb usage had included conversations that included children. The last two sections of the Epilogue are useful in better understanding the social context of *mexicanos* (his term) in America, but have only one reference to “proverbs”.

Research methodology

As he did his research, the author was living in Chicago, part of a social network largely composed of immigrants from Mexico in Chicago and also the extended family that still remained in Mexico. (He defines “social network” on p. 23, but a reader does not need to understand “multiplexity” and “density” to profit from his description of the interactions of the network's members.) As a member of the social network, he was able to hear the use of proverbs in natural conversational contexts. Also, he knew the people and the family dynamics well, so he was able to inter-

pret their use in deeper ways. For example, he knew that a mother had objected to her son courting a certain young lady, yet he understood that a proverb used in a discussion about this was not merely blaming the son, but was a warning specifically aimed at another young man in the room. In another case, EDB explains how a younger man uses a proverb to show his older relatives that he agrees with their opinion. In this situation where an elder criticized younger members of the family who had not taken advantage of an opportunity, another younger member of the family used a proverb to agree with an older member, but at the same time not criticize those who were absent. In yet another case, EDB knew the long history of two ladies, how they had grown up together. When one irritated the other, he is able to understand and explain the proverb that is used in their conversation.

However, being an intimate member of the social network, he admits that sometimes in the midst of conversation he also found himself “genuinely resentful” at being an analyst instead of being a participant (p. 5).

EDB stresses the social context in understanding proverbs, something richer and more revealing than studying only lists of proverbs. Yet he still finds it useful to examine lists of proverbs out of context when discussing proverbs about cultural beliefs regarding predestination (p. 35) and the poetic artistry of Spanish and English proverbs (p. 53). Clearly both approaches are useful, each in their proper sphere.

The title may suggest that this is a study of a large corpus of proverbs used in context. In actual fact, it contains a discussion of only 15 proverbs in their conversational contexts, and three of those 15 occur together in a single short stretch of conversation (p. 68). One of the proverbs was described not from EDB's observation, but from the memory of a person who had heard it. In contrast to this small corpus, in only two pages he discusses seven proverbs and their contexts from the 1952 film *Viva Zapata!* (p. 66,67.)

Analysis of proverbs in conversations

EDB points out that in this social network, it is not just the use of a particular proverb in a conversation that helps affirm relationships, but the fact that a person used a proverb at all is

seen as affirming one of the network's values. Additionally, using a proverb well is overtly appreciated (p. 103).

EDB's discussion of the emic/etic distinction, especially for those not already acquainted with it, is too linguistic to be helpful to some readers (I speak as a linguist). It is adequate to think of the distinction as the viewpoint of the insider vs. the outsider. The emic view is the insider's, knowing what is a significant difference, a different category by the community's view, not just different surface variants. But the outsider's etic view, noticing surface variants, is also important. EDB has been able to see using both viewpoints, giving a richer and deeper analysis. Knowing that he has both lenses, I do not quickly dismiss his analysis of a proverb's use as "an appeal to the reconfiguration of existing [gender related] social behavior and roles" (p. 77). To this outsider, the surface form seems to deal only with one situation, but I must take seriously his insider's understanding that the woman who used the proverb was aiming at larger issues. Similarly, when the family is accused of eating before a latecomer arrived, he gives an excellent explanation of the use of a proverb in reply, both defending the family's actions and also defusing hard feelings (p. 39-41).

In one of his more delightful conversational analyses, EDB tells how an older man, on first meeting a young lady, twisted a proverb to joke about her injured foot (p. 33-35). As an insider, EDB explains how what could be interpreted as an insult was affirmed as positive by the young lady, who later related the conversation. The explanation includes the fact that she had a conspicuously bandaged foot, the age differences between the two, the usual form of the proverb, the significance of the vocabulary substitutions, and the worldview assumptions behind the original.

It is often said that proverbs are used to invoke the tradition and wisdom of the community, deflecting responsibility away from the speaker. Instead of merely repeating this claim, EDB documents an actual example of this (p. 76). A woman sought to defend herself against an accusation of impropriety by using a traditional proverb. EDB shows how her proverb use makes "an allusion to a collective and traditional sense of proper behavior... deflect[ing] personal fault in her handling of the situation by dis-

avowing authorship and judgment and imputing them to the social collective.”

Repeatedly, EDB reminds readers that proverbs are culturally interpreted, not just the usage of proverbs in a context, but also their forms. As an example, he cites a proverb about a rooster from one of his examples. The speaker, by referring to himself as the rooster in a proverb “relies on the Mexican culture's common association of the rooster, or cock, with bravery, pride, and confidence” (p. 100, 101).

Having analyzed proverbs in conversations, EDB divided their functions in three categories: (1) support a claim concerning behavior, (2) give advice, (3) establish rapport. He notes an additional function which can be used in addition to any of the above: using proverbs to add variety to conversation (p. 70). Building on Jakobson, EDB points out that though proverbs are usually artistic in form, their use in conversations is rarely about the poetry of the form; “They always carry out another social function in addition to foregrounding their poetic features” (p. 72).

EDB demonstrates his skill at understanding the nuances of proverb use in conversation by analyzing the use of those seven proverbs in the film *Viva Zapata!* His analysis deals not only with the interaction of the film's characters, but also with the way the film translates some Spanish proverbs into English, such as “A monkey in silk is still a monkey.” One is even a combination of two Spanish proverbs spliced together. His two page discussion of the use of proverbs in this film (p. 66, 67) is a welcome addition to the small number of publications examining the use of proverbs in film.

Analysis of cognitive processes related to proverbs

A distinct contribution of this book is his discussion of sociolinguistics and cognitive science (note that it is published in the series *Contributions to the Sociology of Language*). The “two disciplines have been considered diametrically opposed by virtue of their philosophical positioning in regard to their object of study. The first is concerned with the examination of human behavior as it is grounded in particular language use and its context; whereas the latter looks to examine human thought processes and behavior by basing itself on the premise of universal brain functions” (p. 42). He argues repeatedly that

proverbs can only be understood in their social context (both conversational and cultural contexts), but they must also be processed cognitively. He believes that such “examination of proverbs allows the articulation of a synthesis between these two positions” (p. 43). “Much of the complexity surrounding proverbs is based not only on the reasoning skills that are involved in their processing but also on the complex chains of socio-historical knowledge trailing the referents in culturally-specific associations” (p. 109).

Proverb interpretation is culturally determined (p. 116, 117), so people may cognitively process a proverb correctly but may misinterpret its contextual meaning for cultural reasons, lacking important assumptions. It is interesting to apply this to his analysis of the English proverb “Fair in the cradle, foul in the saddle,” which he interprets as from American cowboy imagery. However, the proverb is documented from as far back as 1639, so its origin lies far earlier, in Britain. It may be that some modern Americans now interpret it in light of cowboy imagery, but in this my first exposure to the proverb, this modern American (living in Texas) never thought of cowboys in interpreting it. But proverbs are interpreted according to the hearer's context, not the proverb's origin, so different hearers may have different, though legitimate, interpretations.

He also argues that the skillful use of proverbs requires significant cognitive skills, so that formally uneducated people do not merely engage in rote memorization, but can be seen to use some kinds of abstract and analogical reasoning that are too often thought to be only the product of formal education. He rejects the notion that in the absence of literacy, the oral medium of communication limits people's capacity for complex abstract thought and metalinguistic expression (p. 109).

It is interesting to compare this conclusion, based on studies of actual proverb use, with one analysis of the use of proverbs in literature. In describing the use of proverbs in Schiller's play *Wilhelm Tell*, Lamport (1981:857) concludes that Tell often uses set phrases, conveying the impression that he does not think independently, that he is guided by traditional thinking. His uses of proverbs “have the appearance of being tips of vast icebergs of accumulated rustic wisdom. But in their insistence that to

every problem there is a ready-made and simple answer, they mark him as a man of limited insight." I prefer to follow EDB's conclusion about the actual use of proverbs among those who are not formally educated, rather than have my opinion limited by the analysis of proverb use by a fiction writer.

There is one painfully politically correct passage in the book, when EDB explains that by using an animal-based proverb in regard to a woman he was not trying "to associate women with animalistic traits" (p. 92). Among proverb scholars, it is understood that the specific images mentioned in proverbs are not taken as imputing "animalistic traits" onto people, as in "The early bird gets the word" or "When the cat is away, the mice will play."

Having taught composition, EDB has thought creatively about how to use proverbs in teaching students analytical thinking. He points out that it is not enough to get students to know the meaning of a proverb, but important that they be able to think about how they got there, a process more challenging and engaging (for both students and teachers), than drills and memorization.

Mexicano presence in USA

Much of the book is about the differences, many of them difficult, between the López social network and English-speaking American culture. He calls for the broader society to accommodate the large Spanish-speaking population. It is not clear, then, how to understand what he means by the network's use of proverbs "reaffirm[s] cultural and interpersonal bonds... that underscores their foreignness" (p. 27, see also p. 129ff.). Does he mean that this social network is trying *not* to fit into the host culture? His emphasis appears to be that their use of proverbs affirms their unity, both with those in Chicago and those back in Mexico. As immigrants, they are striving to maintain their identity of origin, and asking that their host society accommodate them (he even mentions bilingual education in college composition classes); such large scale accommodations to immigrants are not likely to happen. In this linguistic and cultural contact zone, the López network uses proverbs as a tool to maintain their balance, their identity, their bonds.

He complains that “one must speak English ... in order to be empowered in the U.S.” I do not find that so surprising: to be empowered in France one must speak French; to be empowered in Japan one must speak Japanese; to be empowered in Mexico one must speak Spanish (ask the minorities who speak Zapotec, Otomi, Mixtec, Nahuatl, etc.).

Overall evaluation

I was very pleased with EDB's analysis of proverbs in conversational contexts, but disappointed at his small corpus of analyzed proverbs. His study of the cognitive and social interpretation of proverbs is stimulating. These parts of this book deserve to be read, studied, and quoted. However, his calls for educational policy changes based on his work will not change people's minds since he has made no study of proverb use and comprehension among children and youth. He offers some intriguing proposals related to education, but his study of proverbs does not provide the specific evidence to convince readers of the value of his ideas.

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WOLFGANG MIEDER

Figures of Speech. Picturing Proverbs in Renaissance Netherlands. By Walter S. Gibson. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2010. Pp. 236. With 81 illustrations.

It has been my scholarly pleasure to have read this exciting book twice, once as an outside reviewer of the manuscript and now as the delighted owner of this magisterial study by one of the world's experts on the art of the Netherlands with a special emphasis on proverbial iconography. Among his many publications I might mention his earlier volumes on *Hieronymus Bosch* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973; rpt. New York: Praeger, 2005), *Bruegel* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977; rpt. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), and *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter* (Berkeley, California: University Press of California, 2006). Of course, there are numerous articles as well, and all of the knowledge contained in them plus much more have now resulted in this comprehensive study. The impressive "Selected Bibliography" (pp. 215-228) and the most useful "Index" (pp. 229-236) bear witness to the author's expertise, but it must be stressed that his voluminous "Notes" (pp. 157-214) include incredibly important bibliographical references and much additional material. In fact, this supplementary information easily represents another whole third of the actual study with its mere but dense 156 pages that include 81 unique illustrations. I would argue then that readers should not ignore the 67 pages of notes (small print!). As it is, this book is a compact and eloquently written study by an iconographical expert who clearly masters his subject matter with great scholarly prowess and a delightful twinkle in his eyes when it comes to the fun and folly of the proverb illustrations under discussion.

It is, of course, an established fact that much attention has been paid to Pieter Bruegel's large oil painting *The Netherlandish Proverbs* (1559). Book-length studies of it abound, among them Wilhelm Fraenger, *Der Bauern-Bruegel und das*

deutsche Sprichwort (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch, 1923; shortened rpt. edited by Michael Philipp as *Das Bild der "Niederländischen Sprichwörter"*. *Pieter Bruegels Verkehrte Welt*. Amsterdam: Castrum Peregrini Presse, 1999), Jan Grauls, *Volks-taal en volksleven in het werk van Pieter Bruegel* (Antwerpen: N.V. Standaard-Boekhandel, 1957), Alan Dundes and Claudia A. Stibbe, *The Art of Mixing Metaphor. A Folkloristic Interpretation of the "Netherlandish Proverbs" by Pieter Bruegel the Elder* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1981), Yoko Mori, *Byugeru no Kotowaza no Sekai [The Proverb World of Bruegel]* (Tokyo: Hakuosha, 1992), Mark A. Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's "Netherlandish Proverbs" and the Practice of Rhetoric* (Zwolle: Wanders Publishers, 2002), Rainald Grosshans, *Pieter Bruegel d. Ä. "Die niederländischen Sprichwörter"* (Berlin: Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2003), and Wolfgang Mieder (ed.), *"The Netherlandish Proverbs"*. *An International Symposium on the Pieter Bruegel(h)els* (Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2004). Dozens of articles have also dealt with particular proverbial scenes in this fascinating picture, and this scholarship by art historians, cultural historians, folklorists, linguists, philologists and others has been registered in Wolfgang Mieder and Janet Sobieski, *Proverb Iconography. An International Bibliography* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999) and Wolfgang Mieder, *International Bibliography of Parremiology and Phraseology*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 2009). There was no need for Walter Gibson to include yet another chapter on *The Netherlandish Proverbs* in the book under review, but it should be mentioned that he obviously refers to this important proverb picture on many pages. After all, Bruegel's painting as the center-piece of Dutch proverb iconography relates back to proverb illustrations before him and has had plenty of influence on proverb illustrators during his own time and beyond to the present day. In this regard it is laudable that Walter Gibson mentions the large *Proverbidioms* paintings (see p. 145) by Thom Breitenbach from Altermont, New York, which are modeled on Bruegel's masterpiece.

Walter Gibson's new book is exactly what the iconographic doctor prescribed! The field of proverb iconography needed a comprehensive overview of what actually took place in the Re-

naissance Netherlands (roughly the late 15th through the early 17th centuries). An understanding of this “proverb-rich” time will in turn lead to a better understanding of how this proverbial art influenced the folkloric art of other European countries. Gibson obviously includes references to English, French, German, and other European proverb art, but his emphasis is naturally on the scene in the Netherlands. It also needs to be stressed that as the Andrew W. Mellon Professor of the Humanities Emeritus at Case Western Reserve University at Cleveland, Ohio, Walter Gibson (now living in Pownal, Vermont) does not only speak about the world of art but constantly brings in literary references from poems, plays, and novels that include the very proverbs and proverbial expressions that are depicted in etchings, engravings, emblems, paintings, etc. His book is indeed a most impressive interdisciplinary accomplishment by combining the study of art, folklore, history, language, and literature into an amazingly rich survey of proverb illustrations.

Walter Gibson begins his investigation with an introductory chapter on “A Passion for Proverbs” (pp. 1-17) in which he mentions the central figures of Erasmus of Rotterdam and Pieter Bruegel (with 2 illustrations) for the interest in proverbs. He also refers to the problem of defining proverbs (mentioning Archer Taylor in particular), he talks about proverbs in the literary works of Geoffrey Chaucer, William Shakespeare, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, and he mentions some of the major proverb collections of the time. Clearly the time was ripe for proverbial matters on all fronts, and it is no wonder that the 16th century in particular has been called the golden age of proverbs. For the Netherlands it should be stressed that “the Netherlanders were beginning to take a serious interest in their native language” (p. 13), with “the Netherlandish *rederijkers*, or rhetoricians, fervently working to improve their common language and whose infatuation with proverbs embraced not only the written word but images as well” (p. 17). In the Netherlands, this linguistic struggle was not only with the scholarly *lingua franca* of Latin but also with the emerging vernacular of French. Similar emphasis on the mother tongue took place in other countries as well, notably England, France, and Germany (Martin Luther!), and Gibson is doubtlessly correct in interpreting this preoccupation with ver-

nacular languages as one of the major reasons for the appearance of proverbs in all types of oral and written communication.

The second chapter on “The Proverb Portrayed” (pp. 18-38) takes a closer look at this fascination with proverbial language. Mentioning its appearance in the German chapbook *Till Eulenspiegel* and François Rabelais’ *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Gibson observes that metaphorical proverbs are especially “amenable to visualization” (p. 19) and that “Artists have long turned to proverbs for subject matter precisely because of this often striking and sometimes hilarious dichotomy between form and meaning” (p. 20). He then describes some of the early proverb illustrations in the form of misericords (the book is dedicated to the memory of the misericord-scholar Elaine C. Block), woodcuts (*Proverbes en rimes*), book illustrations (Sebastian Brant’s *Narrenschiff* and Thomas Murner’s *Schelmzunft*), a proverb tapestry from the 15th century (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston), etc. (with 12 great illustrations). The remainder of the chapter takes a closer look at the importance of the *rederijkers*, notably Reyer Gheurtz. The chapter thus contains a lucid overview of the linguistic, folkloric, literary, and cultural background for early proverb illustrations, including Frans Hogenberg’s multi-proverb scene engraving *Die Blau Huicke* (1558) that doubtlessly influenced Bruegel’s painting of one year later.

Having thus shown the background to this Dutch proverb world, Gibson can turn to his first case study in his third chapter “From Hay to Turnips. The Curious Career of a Bosch Invention” (pp. 39-79). It represents an intriguing study of Hieronymus Bosch’s *Haywain* triptych kept in the Prado in Madrid. The central panel of the painting is dominated by a large hay cart alluding to two proverbial passages from the Old Testament: “All flesh is grass, and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field” (Isaiah 40:6); and “Man’s days are as grass, as the flower of the field so shall he flourish” (Psalm 102:15). But while “hay” in Bosch’s painting is a “most fitting symbol of the intrinsic worthlessness of all temporal possessions, honors, and pleasures, especially when measured against the spiritual ‘goods’ that the blessed souls will enjoy after death” (p. 43), the “hay” motif underwent an interesting switch in meaning after Bosch in that it

became a metaphor for greed and avarice. Gibson traces this development of the haywain motif from Bosch to tapestries, to Frans Hogenberg's etching *Al Hoy* (1559) and on to Remigius Hogenberg's etching *The Turnip Wagon* where the hay is changed to turnips: "Most striking, however, is his transformation of the proverbial hay into turnips. Like hay, of course, the humble turnip is common, small in worth – 'Not worth a turnip,' as an old proverb has it – and thus could easily signify the basic worthlessness of temporal goods" (p. 59). In later reworkings of the proverbial hay and turnip motifs in tapestries, drawings, and etchings, "the greed and folly of all humanity [are] castigate[d]" (p. 67). The turnip metaphor also appears in Sebastian Vrancx's (attributed) ambitious proverb painting *Netherlandish Proverbs* that depicts at least 200 proverbs and proverbial expressions. All of this is enriched by 25 illustrations of which some take up an entire page, giving the viewer the ability to study them in the detail with which Gibson analyzes them in his erudite interpretations.

The second case study is dedicated to "Loquacious Pictures: Twelve Emblematic Proverb Engravings" (pp. 80-117), and with its 23 illustrations represents the most comprehensive study of these round engravings with inscriptions called *Twelve Proverbs* (seven engraved by Jan Wierix and the other five most likely by Pieter van der Heyden). As Gibson shows, Pieter Bruegel created his own round *Twelve Proverbs* (early 1560s) paintings that depict four of the same proverbs as those of the engraved *Twelve Proverbs*, and it thus becomes clear once again what central role Bruegel has played in the historical development of Dutch proverb illustrations. Of special interest are Gibson's discussions of *The Misanthrope*, *The Blind Leading the Blind*, *The Hay Chasing the Horse*, *The Henpecked Husband*, *Peddler Seated by the Bride*, and *Begging at the Deaf Man's Door*. Not only does he give detailed explanations of the engravings themselves, he also provides intriguing references from contemporaneous proverb collections and literary works to explain the meaning of the depicted proverbs. In doing so, he definitely proves himself as quite the etymological scholar in explaining the meaning of archaic Dutch words as they relate to the meaning of the depicted proverbs. Towards the end of the chapter, Gibson also shows how such engravings with proverbial verses have much in com-

mon with the emblem books of Andrea Alciati, Johannes Sambucus, and others that were becoming popular at the time. And he correctly states that the appearance of proverbs in both texts and illustrations in the emblem books “reached its height in the emblem books of Jacob Cats and other Dutch writers of the seventeenth century” (p. 112).

This brings me to the third case study of the book, this time dealing with “The Battle of the Breeches. A Proverb in the Making” (pp.118-141) with its 15 illustrations. Here it is important from the outset that Walter Gibson is not dealing with the modern proverbial expression “to wear the breeches (pants)” but rather with another proverb that once again goes back to Isaiah (4:1): “And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man, saying: We will eat our bread, and wear our own apparel: only let us be called by thy name, take away our reproach.” The marital struggle over the breeches (pants) is one thing, with people to this day speaking about who is wearing them in a relationship. But the seven women going after the breeches of a man are quite another motif. In fact, it refers to “the common belief in woman’s sexual insatiability” (p. 122). While this motif has been lost in the modern age, it once was quite popular, appearing for the first time in an engraving by Frans Hogenberg from about 1558. As Gibson shows by engravings of Johannes Galle, Adriaen van der Venne, and others, the seven battling ladies had become proverbial in the Netherlands, and obviously the sexual implications of numerous unmarried women or more grotesquely of frustrated old maids going after the breeches (symbolizing the penis) of a man must have been quite titillating to the viewers of the time. In any case, “the erotic and satirical possibilities of Isaiah 4:1 were exploited for centuries elsewhere in Europe” (p. 139). But here is Walter Gibson’s delightful final comment on this now extinct proverbial motif: “Social historians may be best equipped to explain the longevity of this theme in its various guises, but I venture to suggest that while the women of each generation may have responded to the Battle for the Breeches much like Adriaen van der Venne’s Soetje (‘silly maidens, man-crazy and silly and frisky, trashy and insatiable, wild and careless!’), many of their menfolk, especially the younger ones, would not have objected had this part of Isaiah’s prophecy come

to pass in their own time” (p. 141). A Freudian folklorist like Alan Dundes would certainly have had a heyday with this sexual/phallic motif feeding both women’s and men’s erotic desires and fantasies.

As the subtitle “Figures of Fun and Folly” of the “Conclusion” (pp. 142-156) with its four final illustrations – two from Pieter Bruegel! – suggests, Walter Gibson is quite willing to see plenty of humor and irony in the apparent foolishness of human-kind. As he looks shortly at the preoccupation with the fools of this world (Thomas More’s *Utopia*), he is quick to point out that the obsession with proverbial matters has not really waned even though there have been those, for example Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield, Elizabeth Gaskell, Jonathan Swift (pp. 143-144), who have vehemently argued against or satirically ridiculed the use of folk proverbs. The author also presents a summary interpretation of the various proverbial themes of this book with the observation that they, and notably Bruegel’s *The Netherlandish Proverbs*, depict folly in satirical but also humorous fashion in the hope that viewers might become aware of their own foolishness. Without doubt proverbs still serve this purpose to this day, and so it should not surprise us that they continue to be part of all modes of modern communication, from literature, newspapers, magazines, advertisements, and political rhetoric on to cartoons, caricatures, comic strips, graffiti, T-shirts, and even new proverb paintings as those by Thom Breitenbach. Proverbs are never out of season, and as Walter S. Gibson has shown so convincingly in this superbly researched, presented, and illustrated book, the picturing of proverbs was indeed of special importance in the early Netherlands.

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Dictionary of American Regional English. Volume V, SI-Z. Ed. by Joan Houston Hall. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012. Pp. 1244 (with 2 columns).

It took fifty years from start to finish to complete the unsurpassed *Dictionary of American Regional English* or *DARE*, with the renowned philologist Frederic G. Cassidy (1907-2000) as the Chief Editor and Joan Houston Hall as the Associate Editor for the first three volumes (I, A-C, 903 pages, 1985; II, D-H, 1175 pages, 1991; III, I-O, 927 pages, 1996). After the death of the untiringly working Cassidy at the age of ninety-three, Hall naturally became the Chief Editor for the final two volumes (IV, P-Sk, 1014 pages, 2002; V, SI-Z, 1244 pages, 2012). Now that the *magnum opus* of 5263 pages printed in two columns is finished, the five massive volumes represent a unique compendium of the amazingly rich treasure trove of American regional English. The volumes appeared in sequences of about six years, with the last and largest volume having taken about ten years to produce. As Hall explains, this was primarily due to the fact that she and her co-workers decided to make extensive use of electronic sources for historical references of individual words, word pairs, and entire phrases. Be that as it may, it took not quite thirty years to make this dictionary available to the scholarly world, and during this time it has become a classic in the lexicographical registration of American regional English. The study of the American language is simply unthinkable without this invaluable resource, and scholars and students of many disciplines owe much gratitude to all the diligent and dedicated people who were involved in the creation of this unique dictionary.

As one would expect, the fifth and final volume under review contains a most impressive list of hundreds of “*DARE* Staff, Students, and Volunteers, 1965-2011” (pp. xii-xxx). Of interest is also the list of “Financial Contributors to *DARE*, 1965-2011” (xxxix-xxxix), and there is also a “Bibliography” (pp. 1147-1244) of about 13000 references, making this the volume with the largest page

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count. As can be imagined, users of the dictionary had very much looked forward to this comprehensive bibliography that includes all abbreviated references throughout the five volumes! It represents the incredibly extensive research on all aspects of the American language, and I am certain that I will not be the only scholar who intends to read it from beginning to end. It should be noted here as well that persons interested in the history of the entire project can inform themselves by way of Cassidy's fascinating "Introduction" (pp. xi-xxii) to the first volume. Speaking of all five volumes, permit me as someone who purchased the first four volumes for my personal library over the years to register two small quibbles. It is my feeling that while Joan Houston Hall without any doubt deserves to be listed as the Chief Editor for the last two volumes, I wish that the name of Frederic G. Cassidy would not have been dropped from the title page. He could and should have been referenced as Founding Editor or something similar to this without in any way infringing on the magisterial work of Joan Houston Hall who was his equal co-worker throughout the project. In any case, whoever cites this exemplary dictionary will most certainly cite both Cassidy and Hall as its pair of chief editors. Finally, as I look at the fifth volume standing next to the four previously published volumes, I can't but wonder why the production managers at Harvard University Press completely changed the design of the dust cover of the fifth volume. That simply makes no sense, but I hasten to add that the appearance of the actual binding with US map on the front and the attractive gold lettering on the spine has remained the same for all volumes.

Having spent many hours or actually several days with the pure scholarly pleasure of reading hundreds of entries of this fifth volume, I am inclined to write many pages of praise regarding the work of the many people involved in bringing *DARE* to its much anticipated conclusion. There is no space allotted for such a laudation, and consequently I shall restrict myself to just a few observations from the point of view of a linguistically interested folklorist in general and a paremiologist in particular. Let it be said at the outset that *DARE* with all of its merits certainly also includes a multitude of textual materials that are of great interest and special value to folklore and proverb scholars and students. It is utterly amazing what one finds under such inclusive lemmas as "Spanish" (pp. 150-

154), “stink” (pp. 288-294), “sugar” (pp. 367-379), “swamp” (pp. 407-435), “Texas” (pp. 546-551), “three” (pp. 576-581), “turkey” (pp. 745-751), “water” (pp. 866-885), “white” (pp. 933-966), and “wild” (pp. 987-1019). Dozens of single words, two-word compounds, and various phrasal units are covered in much detail, including the geographical distribution (often with a map), the meaning, numerous historical and contextual references, and at times bibliographical information. As I read individual entries under these keywords, I noted in particular such words and terms as “Spanish hamburger” (p. 152) as a regional alternate for “sloppy joe” (pp. 33-34), “slushburger” (p. 42), and “spoonburger” (p. 195), of which I knew only the more generic term “sloppy joe” for “a dish consisting of crumbled ground beef in a sauce, often served on a bun” (p. 33). Folklorists interested in foodways would do well to read through these volumes. In the fifth volume they would, of course, come across the term “submarine” (pp. 359-360) with cross-references to such variant terminologies as “Cuban sandwich, grinder, hero, hoagie, Italian sandwich, muffaletta, poor boy, spucky, torpedo sandwich, wedge, zep” for “a large sandwich made with Italian or French bread or a long bun, and a variety of meats, cheeses, and vegetables” (p. 359). As a Vermonter, I was pleased to find the terms “sugar bush”, “sugar camp”, and “sugar grove” (pp. 370-372) with two distributive maps and references showing their relationship to the maple syrup production in this state and elsewhere. Among the many terms relating to “syrup” (pp. 472-474) – how could it be otherwise – is an entry for “syrup on snow” (p. 474) referring to the delicious winter treat of pouring hot maple syrup on snow. But while I know about syrup matters, I certainly had never come across “supper on the ground” (p. 397) for having a picnic!

From foodways we could go on to innumerable entries dealing with names of fauna and flora that are current in folk speech in various regions of the country. References like “snake peter [*sic*]” (dragonfly, p. 68), “Swedish clover” (white clover, p. 443), and “telegraph weed” (golden aster, p. 533) must suffice as examples of intriguing names for certain plants. As expected, references to animals abound throughout these volumes as well, among them “stink turtle” (mud turtle, p. 293), “tiger frog” (pickerel frog, p. 606), and “turkey gull” (great black-backed gull, p. 748), the latter bringing to mind the phrasal unit “turkey trot” (pp. 750-751, with map) to designate a rapid walk or trot, used ironically for a rather slow walk

after a filling Thanksgiving Day meal. While one might have expected a large yield of words and phrases referring to plants and animals, I was indeed happily surprised to find quite a few terms to various children's games, among them "squat where you may be" (p. 226), "swing Josie" (p. 465), "hide the switch" (p. 467, with map), "tap the icebox (rabbit)" (pp. 506-507), and "throw the stick" (p. 589). Not having grown up in the United States, all of this was utterly unknown to me. So again, for folklorists interested in games, there is a goldmine of material in them hills!

Let me take the children's game "get one's tag (to tag someone)" (p. 482) as a name and a proverbial phrase to turn to the numerous proverbial references in all five volumes of *DARE*. It should be noted that *bona fide* proverbs are not included in the dictionary, especially since the thousands of texts that were collected by the American Dialect Society between 1945 and 1985 have been published as *A Dictionary of American Proverbs* (Mieder et al. 1992). There is, however, a most welcome and valuable plethora of proverbial expressions and proverbial comparisons to be found in *DARE* that goes far beyond *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles* (Mathews 1951), the two-volume *Random House Historical Dictionary of American Slang* (Lighter 1994-1997), and *The Facts on File Dictionary of American Regionalisms. Local Expressions from Coast to Coast* (Hendrickson 2000), to name but three large compilations with at least similar goals as *DARE*. As someone who has tilled this proverbial field for more than four decades, I made discoveries in this fifth volume (previously in the other four volumes, of course), that I would never have dreamt off. And, due to the truly regional orientation of *DARE*, I discovered many proverbial phrases that I had never come across before. There is no space here to go into great detail, but let me at least present this small florilegium of proverbial references, intentionally leaving out any explanatory comments so not to spoil the element of discovery for users of *DARE* as a large compendium of proverbial materials:

poor (skinny, thin) as a snake (pp. 59-60, with map)
 meaner than a snake (p. 60, with map)
 throw up one's socks (p. 107)
 something dead up the creek (p. 121)
 south end of a horse going north (p. 142)

spit image, spitting image (pp. 182-183, with map)
 split the blanket (p. 188)
 step off the carpet (p. 272)
 stew the dishrag (p. 274)
 look like a storm hit it (pp. 313-314)
 make a straight wake (p. 322)
 stretch the blanket (p. 335)
 stuck in the cork (p. 349)
 forty ways till Sunday (p. 390)
 tall hog at the trough (p. 496)
 not to take tea for the fever (p. 521)
 Texas time (p. 550)
 thick as three in a bed (pp. 561-562, with map)
 have another thought coming (p. 573, with map)
 throw a brick and hide one's hand(s) (p. 587)
 tie one's mouth (p. 604)
 vomit up one's toenails (p. 643)
 from truck to keelson (p. 724)
 twice out of sight (p. 765)
 walk and hide (p. 842)
 where it doesn't snow (p. 915)
 who laid the chunk (rail) (pp. 968-969)
 word with the bark on (it) (p. 1073)
 X-Y-Z (eXamine Your Zipper) (p. 1088)
 Yankee dime (nickel) (p. 1092, with map)

For an explanation of the proverbial phrase "to give someone a Yankee dime" with the meaning of offering a kiss as a reward, i.e., something of little or no value, I might draw attention to Helen Johnson's 1968 note in the *Journal of American Folklore*. But this is a rather insignificant oversight by the bibliographically extremely well informed staff of *DARE*. From a paremiologist's point of view, I have a heartfelt wish at this point. Realizing that the five volumes of *DARE* include such a wealth of regional proverbial materials unregistered in proverb dictionaries, might it not be possible to publish those texts with their semantic explanations, variants, and contextualized references as a separate volume to add to those major reference works on proverbial phrases mentioned above? I would most certainly encourage such an undertaking, being certain that there

would be much interest in such a volume here in the United States and elsewhere.

It is indeed mind-boggling what Frederic G. Cassidy, Joan Houston Hall, and their staff and volunteers have achieved during five decades of relentless work and admirable dedication. Their five massive volumes are proof positive of what lexicographical work is possible when scholars, staff, field research volunteers, students, sponsors, and a superb publisher work together to accomplish a Gargantuan and Herculean lexicographical task. The now completed *Dictionary of American Regional English* deserves the highest accolades worldwide, and it is to be hoped that Joan Houston Hall and her super-team will receive a number of prizes recognizing their dictionary of the century as a unique and lasting scholarly achievement.

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Sitting in My House Dreaming of Nepal. Nepal Through the Eyes of Its Proverbs. By Valerie M. Inchley. Kathmandu, Nepal: Ekta Books, 2010. Pp. 521.

Outside of the fascinating country of Nepal in the Himalayas between northern India and Tibet very little has hitherto been known about the rich treasure trove of Nepali proverbs. In fact, my two-volume *International Bibliography of Paremiology and Phraseology* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009) with its over 10,000 scholarly publications on proverbs does not have a single entry on Nepal, Nepalese or Nepali in its subject index! However, my recently published *International Bibliography of Paremiography. Collections of Proverbs, Proverbial Expressions and Comparisons, Quotations, Graffiti, Slang, and Wellerisms* (Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont, 2011) with its 3,615 entries reflecting the holdings of my International Proverb Archives lists at least a small collection of Nepali proverbs that appeared in Kesar Lall's *Nepalese Customs and Manners* (Kathmandu, Nepal: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1990), pp. 62-72. But most significantly, it also references Valerie M. Inchley's truly unique and most welcome massive volume *Sitting in My House Dreaming of Nepal. Nepal Through the Eyes of Its Proverbs* (Kathmandu, Nepal: Ekta Books, 2010) that is the topic of my present review. I will never forget my scholarly pleasure and excitement when Dr. Inchley, a retired medical doctor from the United Kingdom, who lived and worked in Nepal for many years, sent me her invaluable book between the publication of my two bibliographies just mentioned. Let it be said right at the beginning of my review that Valerie Inchley's book is a definite *magnum opus* on the little known Nepali proverbs, and what is more, it represents a perfect model for the combined paremiographical and paremiological approach to the study of proverbs. While it is an expertly organized and annotated proverb collection with English translations and equivalents, it is also a most informative scholarly investigation of Nepali proverbs. As such, this voluminous book is indeed

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a milestone for the collection and study of Nepali proverbs that belongs into all major libraries of the world.

The book is divided into thirteen chapters with many Nepali proverbs with English translations and equivalents being presented and analyzed. Following a page of acknowledgements and a foreword (pp. v-viii) where the authors describes her fascination with the Nepali language, culture, and folklore in general and traditional Nepali proverbs in particular, she begins her book with an introductory chapter (pp. 1-13) outlining her motivation, aims, strategy, significance, problems (primarily of a linguistic nature), and results of her comprehensive work that in its manuscript form was considerably longer than what is presented in the final publication of her wealth of materials. This is followed by the second chapter (pp. 14-45) that presents a complete literature review (annotated bibliography!) of her primary and secondary sources of Nepali proverbs together with numerous references to English and international proverb scholarship. The thirty-six primary sources of previously published Nepali proverb collections of various scopes yielded her major paremiographical corpus, that is the Nepali proverbs were not collected by way of anthropological or folkloric field research. It should also be mentioned that Inchley, who has a masterful command of the standard Nepali language, stayed away from including proverbial texts from the various dialects spoken in Nepal. As it is, she researched, assembled, and studied about 11,000 Nepali proverbs of which she has included the most common and representative 450 texts (counting variants actually 1,200 proverbs) in her intriguing analysis.

The third chapter (pp. 46-61) looks at proverbs as part of folklore, indicating that they not only reflect generalized views of human life but that they are also related to myths, legends, fables, allegories, and parables. They also contain symbols, metaphors, and various linguistic matters such as colloquialisms, idioms, slang, and at times vulgar language. In the fourth chapter (pp. 62-84) this is developed further by looking at the various figures of speech employed in Nepali proverbs, as for example simile, metaphor, parallelism, personification, anthropomorphism, metonymy, synecdoche, euphemism, hyperbole, antithesis, paradox, oxymoron, alliteration, anaphora, onomatopoeia, pun, etc. By once again citing ample Nepali and English proverbs, it is made clear that the proverbs of Ne-

pal follow linguistic and poetic forms that are part and parcel of proverbial language throughout the world. The fifth chapter (pp. 85-119) continues in this vein by the attempt of an inclusive proverb definition, stressing such aspects as shortness, pithiness, simplicity, traditionality, popularity, wisdom, truth, contradiction, (apparent) universality, (unknown) origin, and memorability. The author also deals with various related terms for proverb (saying, dictum, mot, gnome, saw, adage, apothegm, maxim, byword, etc.) and a number of connected genres (aphorism, epigram, riddle, idiom, etc.). The sixth chapter (pp. 120-130) zeroes in on how idioms and riddles in particular are related to proverbs, something that has been of interest to paremiologists for quite some time. The interrelationship of proverbs and riddles in particular deserves more attention by paremiologists, but this is also true for jokes that employ proverbs. All of the points raised throughout these four chapters are underscored by numerous Nepali proverbs cited in their original language with English translations and including similar English proverbs.

Next Valerie Inchley presents a detailed analysis on proverb structures in the seventh chapter (pp. 131-180), including the classical bi-partite structure of proverbs commonly referred to as parallelism, but there are, of course, also many short and long proverbs that do not follow this classical structure. The difference that exists between Nepali and English proverbs is primarily due to the different syntactical rules, but in general things are quite similar between these two so unrelated languages. This is also true for the proverb style that is discussed in the eighth chapter (pp. 181-198). Proverbs of both languages can have various lengths, they may be literal or metaphorical, and they might exhibit prosaic or poetic language, with parallelism, rhyme, alliteration, onomatopoeia being most prevalent. Nepali proverbs are, however, more often presented as questions, a stylistic feature that is rather rare in English. The ninth chapter (pp. 199-219) is one more primarily paremiological section of this massive book before its author turns to a systemized paremiographical presentation of her vast corpus of Nepali proverbs. Here she deals with the vexing problem of the appropriate classification of proverbs, mentioning such classificatory schemes as by structure, purpose (didactic, humorous), age, origin, distribution, and subject. It should be noted that Inchley does include a short statement on "Modern or New Proverbs" (pp. 210-212), clearly indicating that new proverb continue to be formulated and accepted

by Nepali speakers. In yet another small section on “Foreign Language Proverbs” (pp. 215-216) the point is made that English as the *lingua franca* of the world is having at least some influence by Anglo-American proverbs being loan translated into Nepali. Regarding her preferred classification by subject, the author argues that “it is important that within the category of subject, both the obvious and hidden subject sub-headings are kept in mind and that any classification includes adequate cross-referencing. Thus animal proverbs will often be cross-referenced with family and social relationship proverbs and both can be identified by key words like love, anger, selfishness, laziness etc. I therefore present a dual topic / key-word classification” (p. 218).

Consequently, the tenth chapter (pp. 220-328) presents numerous selected Nepali proverbs with English translations and English examples according to sixteen main subject headings and multiple sub-headings, always indicating how many proverbs of the 11,000 texts fall under each of the (sub)sections: 1. Historical Proverbs, 2. Religious Proverbs (Scriptures, Gods, Heroes, Saints, Festivals, Beliefs, Religious Places), 3. Political Proverbs, 4. Philosophical Proverbs, 5. Moral & Ethical Proverbs, 6. Proverbs about People, 7. Proverbs about the Body (Head & Body, Face, Eyes, Ears, Nose & Mouth, Arms & Legs, Internal Organs including Heart, External Organs – Skin & Hair), 8. Proverbs about Family Life (Husband & Wife, Parents & Children, Siblings, Youth & Age, Grandparents & Grandchildren, In-Laws, Other Relationships), 9. Proverbs about Food (Rice & Bread, Dairy Products, Vegetables & Curry, Meat & Fish, Sugar, Honey & Sweets, Puddings & Pies, Fruit & Nuts, Drinks, Salt & Spices, Cooking, Meals & Guests), 10. Proverbs about Tribes & Castes (Caste Hierarchy, Caste & Craft, National & International Relations, Village Living & Leadership), 11. Proverbs about Village Life (Friends & Neighbours, Village Living and Leadership), 12. Proverbs about Farming & Agriculture, 13. Proverbs about Fauna (Animals, Birds, Fish & Reptiles, Insects), 14. Proverbs about Flora, 15. Proverbs about Natural Features & Seasons (Elements, Natural Features & Places, Agricultural Places, Times of Day, Days & Months, Seasons & Weather), and 16. Geographical Proverbs (National Places, International Places). As Inchley explains so convincingly: “The apparent or immediately obvious subject usually relates to the cultural context and origin of

the proverbs, and so tells us a lot about the country – its history, religion and traditions and the people – their lifestyle and relationships. However, it still does not necessarily indicate the meaning of the proverbs. This may be hidden in metaphorical allusions, which is one reason why we need to search for key words to explain proverbs” (p. 328).

It is the eleventh chapter (pp. 329-371) in which the author presents at least some of her many texts according to proverb key words: Values & Virtues (God/s & Human, Righteousness & Unrighteousness, Fortunate & Unfortunate, Truth & Lies, Good & Bad, Joy & Trouble, Love & Hate, Peace & Quarreling, Patience & Wrath, Wise & Foolish, Learning & Ignorance, Obedience & Disobedience, Forethought & Carelessness, Civilized & Uncivilized, Strength & Weakness, Rich & Poor, Giving & Receiving, Contentment & Jealousy, Generosity & Meanness, Hard-Work & Laziness, Success & Failure, Bravery & Cowardice, Humility & Pride, Altruism & Selfishness, Hope & Despair, Light & Darkness, Young & Old, Man & Woman), and Other Key Words (Blindness / Disability, Experience, Discipline, Fear, Faith, Shame). This classification attempt, again with but a small portion of her many texts in their original language, English translation, and some English examples, is summarized as follows: “Key word categorisation is helpful because it has the potential to show what is the real or deeper meaning behind each proverb. However, if the key word is not actually included in the vocabulary of the proverb, it can only be deduced by taking into account the structure, style, purpose, age/origin and cultural context of a proverb. Even then, as several scholars have pointed out, the meaning of a proverb can change depending on the circumstances under which it is employed. It is also important to remember that the use of irony can reverse what seems to be the literal meaning of a proverb” (p. 371). Indeed, as is well known among paremiologists, proverbs can only properly be understood and studied by considering the polysemanticity, polysituativity, and polyfunctionality.

The following twelfth chapter (pp. 372-382) is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the ubiquitous problem of misogynous proverbs and the other with the issue that proverbs can contradict each other. Much has been written on proverbs against women or on contradictory proverb pairs, and it comes as no surprise that these matters also appear in the Nepali proverb corpus. The even short-

er thirteenth and concluding chapter (pp. 383-388) stresses that proverbs continue to be in frequent use among the Nepali population today. The author also summarizes her entire book in a few paragraphs, and as one would expect from such a magisterial study, she concludes with a comprehensive bibliography (pp. 491-521) that is of greatest value to international proverb studies. But there is one more incredibly important section that deserves special mention and sincere praise, name the invaluable “List of Common Nepali Proverbs” (pp. 389-490). It is on these one hundred pages (!) where Valerie Inchley presents the paremiological minimum of 452 proverbs of the Nepali language in the form of a table that lists the following information in seven columns for each proverb: 1. consecutive proverb number (from 1 to 452), 2. the Nepali proverb in its original language, 3. the frequency with which these proverbs occurred in the master list of thirty-six printed sources, 4. literal English translation of the proverb, 5. the meaning/context of the proverb, 6. English equivalents, and 7. Nepali variants. From this we can see that the following proverbs belong to the best known and most popular stock of Nepali proverbs (cited here only in English translation):

Genuine gold doesn't need testing.
 A dog stricken by a firebrand is frightened of the lightning.
 The chopping block knows the pain of the chopping block.
 Lazy in the thighs, gourmet in the tongue.
 If no mango falls, all that will be lost is a stick.
 Keep gazing into the sky for fruit until you die.
 Without dying yourself you cannot see heaven.
 To him who is good, the world is good.
 Not seeing the buffalo [walking] on his own back but seeing the lice
 [walking] on another's back.
 Close the mouth of your purse well, don't blame your friend.
 Having eaten (only) potatoes but bragging about sweetmeat.
 Describing heaven to Indra (King of heaven)
 The fish that escaped was big.
 One ear, two ears and the wide field (world).
 One drop dries up; 100 drops make a brook.
 A guest for a day may eat the best; the guest for two days had better
 go elsewhere.

One path, two jobs.
One hand cannot clap.
A run-down tiger is chased even by a calf.
Give him a finger and he will swallow your fist.
Sometimes it is the turn of the mother-in-law; sometimes that of the daughter-in-law.
The crow goes on cawing, grains go on drying.
The crow is neither happy nor unhappy at the ripening of the wood-apple.
It makes no difference to a one-eyed ox whether it is the full moon or the new moon.
Black letters look like buffaloes.
Like lending meat to the dog.
What do you seek, blind man? Eyes, of course!
He who wants to eat is not stopped by his moustache.
If the house is burnt there is no trouble about ashes.
He who rides a horse, falls.
While I have grain, everyone is for me. As soon as I have none, they are all gone.
Beat the daughter, scare the daughter-in-law.
He who extracts the honey licks his hand.
He who is down has a stake thrust in his mouth.
The curse of a fly doesn't kill an ox.
The partridge's enemy is its mouth.
One should tolerate the kick of a milch cow.
Ask not the way to the village where you do not intend to go.
An insignificant stream can carry away.
A one-eyed uncle is better than no uncle.
A bad dancer blames the courtyard.
After killing the mongoose, regret.
To go to the temple of Pashupati and sell dried fishes.
Sin shouts from the housetop.
The monkey's tail is neither a stick nor a weapon.
Coconut in the hands of a monkey.
An old tiger and a young jackal (are never a match).
How would the Brahman know the taste of mushroom since he never eats it?
In the rush for the wedding, they forgot to ask for the girl's hand.
A gourd in a goat's mouth.
A glib tongue can sell corn flour; a dumb man cannot even sell rice.

Even the devil slaves for the fortunate.
 A barking dog does not bite.
 The sheep will go with the sheep and the goat with the goat.
 How can the horn be a burden to the buffalo?
 I (myself) aim at the log but the axe hits the knee.
 Pulling a creeper may precipitate a landslide.
 When the bulls fight, the calves get trampled upon.
 You cannot get ghee out with a straight finger.
 Waste is the work of haste.
 The elephant got through but its tail got stuck.
 A plant with smooth leaves has promise, one with rough ones has
 not.
 Save your life from a mob; save the seed during a famine.

As can be seen from this small florilegium of Nepali proverbs in English translation, some of them are basically identical to well-known European proverbs. But as expected, most of them are quite different and at times their metaphorical messages are hard or impossible to understand without knowledge of the culture, folklore, history, language, religion, worldview, etc. of Nepal. But now, due to Valerie Inchley's paremiological and paremiographical masterpiece *Sitting in My House Dreaming of Nepal. Nepal Through the Eyes of Its Proverbs*, a new knowledge of the Nepali society is available to people interested in this great country. Proverbs, to be sure, play a major role in making this possible, and Valerie M. Inchley is to be congratulated on her much needed and appreciated study and collection of the proverbs of Nepal.

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Analogous Proverbs in Ten Languages [English, Romanian, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, Portuguese, Latin]. By E.B. Mawr. London: Elliot Stock, 1885. Pp. 113. Rpt. ed. by C.G. Săndulescu and Lidia Vianu. București: Contemporary Literature Press, 2011. Pp. 152.

Analogous Proverbs in Ten Languages, a book published in 1885 by E.B. Mawr, has been brought back to the readers' attention in 2011 by C.G. Săndulescu and Lidia Vianu. The two Romanian editors, C.G. Săndulescu and Lidia Vianu, are not only distinguished academics and book writers themselves, but they also play the guides' role for younger readers, fond of literature, in general, and of more detailed knowledge in linguistics, semiotics, paremiology, orthography and axiology. The 2011 edition is an electronic product, issued at Contemporary Literature Press, an electronic publishing house of the University of Bucharest, Romania.

The reader is warned of the fact that Mrs. E.B. Mawr had an extraordinary language prevision, announcing ever since 1885 the status of English as a global, international language. The book reveals itself as a multilingual paremic collection where Romanian proverbs are inserted among proverbs in 9 other European languages, and, in a certain way, compared to these European proverbs.

The contents of the book opens with Professor Săndulescu's professional opinions about paremiology, orthography, axiology and spirituality. This introductory message underlines Mrs. Mawr's particular gift in searching "interlanguage propositional equivalence of stable cliché-types with high moral incidence." This Foreword written by Professor Săndulescu is rather an invitation to read the collection and "taste" it as a proverbs' "gourmet" does. In fact, here, Professor Săndulescu intermingles personal memories with a general technical evaluation on paremiology and axiology (the latter being considered to be the "values" science).

After this opening, there is the European languages' list in which the proverbs are displayed and the 1885 index of the proverb collection.

Mrs. Mawr's Preface is not only the very best image of what we can call editor/author –book relationship, but it also gives us information about her previous collection, issued in 1882 and the authoress' personal opinions about Romanian folklore and proverbs. More than that, it is for the first time (and this syntagm is used long before the structuralists' dichotomy between *expression* and *content* within the linguistic sign) when an author/editor of a proverb collection (at least within Romanian paremiology) affirms the undeniable relationship among different languages. She made such a statement bringing “under one heading the same *expression of thought* in different countries” (meaning European countries). Proverbs are considered to be by E. B. Mawr “the veritable Folk-Lore of the Peoples”. English is for E.B. Mawr, the starting point for all the other languages the collection displays. E.B. Mawr admits that she did not try to translate the proverbs and she realized that in certain cases “a proverb will be met with bearing a directly contrary sense to that expressed in English”.

E. B. Mawr acknowledges that Romania is “particularly rich in folk-lore” and at the same time she states that representatives of the Romanian Academy of that time helped her in her task (the editors of the 2011 edition include a list of the members of the Romanian Academy, as an appendix, taken from the Encyclopedic Illustrated Dictionary “Cartea Românească”, issued at Cartea Românească Publishing House, in 1933 and having I. Aurel Candrea as its author.

The volume issued in 2011 at Contemporary Literature Press, that is an electronic publishing house, includes the original index of the 1885 edition, the content of the 1885 volume, to which the editors added the new index of the 2011 edition, modernized and completed. The 2011 edition also contains the original cover of 1885 edition.

The 1885 edition, published at London Elliot Stock is the second analogous edition published by E.B. Mawr. The authoress mentions in the Preface to the 1885 edition the fact that she had been encouraged by the success the 1882 edition had. In the 1882

edition there were only four analogous languages to English, among them being Romanian.

There are examples of English proverbs for which E. B. Mawr did not discover a Romanian equivalent:

Useless to spur the willing horse.

What helps the Romanian reader, in such a situation, is definitely the French version:

A bon cheval, point d'éperon.

("a willing horse" can be or not a "bon cheval"; for the French/Romanian/Italian/ or German reader "a willing horse" is a horse that does what the master imposes, while "un bon cheval" can be "a willing horse" but even more than that.)

In E.B. Mawr's 1885 edition, there are proverbs that are not so much used nowadays. They are still the expression of the folk's wisdom:

When the blind leads the blind both fall into the ditch.

Orb pe orb povătuind, cad amândoi în mormânt.

And also:

Crows will not pick out crows eyes.

Corb la corb nu-și scoate ochii.

All these examples send a message, be it a positive or a negative one. It is the idea of belonging to a certain category or class which leads to common decisions and results (the *blind* making *the other blind* fall in the grave or the people of the same kind, doing the same things).

For today's reader, E.B. Mawr's 1885 edition brings a standard Romanian that is no more used, being retained only in the Romanian literature of that particular period of time.

This collection is not the only multilingual proverb collection where Romanian (which is still a language not widely used, spread or even known) is launched together with languages internationally spoken and used. Gabriel Gheorghe's book *Proverbele Românilor și proverbele lumii romanice. Studiu comparativ*, published in 1986, at Albatros publishing house, is a successful example of multilingual proverb collections. There are more than one hundred years between the publication of the two multilingual

proverb collections and each of them is the image of the particular period of time the editors/authors lived and carried out their activity, or their hobby targeting proverbs.

All the proverbs collections (be they monolingual or multilingual) prove the richness and the complexity of the Romanian proverbs (counted as more than 4000 paremic units in the Romanian country of that time).

Even if the proverbs were not selected according to the *ethofields* criterion (a concept discussed and analyzed by Professor C. Negreanu in his book *Structura proverbelor românești*), they display common themes and similar structures.

That is why E.B. Mawr's collection, as a leading example, should be valued and treasured as the sparkle of a permanent flame which continues burning in various contributions like articles, studies, dictionaries of proverbs, sayings, idioms.

We have to be thankful to the editors C.G.Sandulescu and Lidia Vianu for their dedicated work and contribution to the paremic international world.

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Жизнь русской фразеологии в художественной речи/The Life of Russian Phraseology in Artistic Speech. Ed. by A. M. Melerovich, V. M. Mokienko, et.al. Kostroma, Russia: N. A. Nekrasov Kostroma State University, 2010. Pp. 729.

Professor Mokienko and his team of research colleagues have achieved an impressive level of productivity this past decade with the publication of a number of proverb and phraseological dictionaries, culminating with the long-awaited appearance of the *Большой словарь русских пословиц* (2010), reviewed in last year's issue of *Proverbium*. The present volume under review lends yet another major contribution to the field of proverb and phraseology scholarship.

As the editors observe in the opening note to their readers, modern phraseological practice has paralleled the development of modern linguistic theory. Indeed, intensive study of the semantic structure of phraseological units (PUs) is inextricably associated with increased experience with the lexicographic development of phraseological materials and research covering a number of the world's languages. The compilers of this valuable volume render lexicographers and paremiologists as well as students and scholars of Russian literature an important service in their convincing demonstration of the dynamic nature of phraseology in the form it takes in the body of artistic fiction and publicistic writing. As they note in their opening address, Melerovich and Mokienko were the first scholars to study the use of phraseologisms by individual Russian authors in their 1997 book *Фразеологизмы в русской речи/Phraseologisms in Russian Speech* (second and third editions appeared in 2000 and 2005, respectively). The current follow-up volume, *The Life of Russian Phraseology in Artistic Speech (LRP)*, represents the first attempt in Russian scholarly literature to describe idioms, proverbs, and winged expressions in their multiple variants in imaginative fiction, publicistic writing as well as the dynamics of daily speech. While describing itself as a "dic-

tionary for school students,” the vast range of readership interest for *RLP* will extend from undergraduate and graduate students to established scholars in the fields of Russian phraseology, paremiology, and literature.

The *Introduction to LRP* presents a clear and concise formulation of its instructional objectives: “to develop in pre-college students a broad and sufficiently active phraseological store of expressions, as well as the abilities and skills to determine semantic content, and to evaluate the stylistic use of phraseologisms in literary fiction and publicistic writing, and to use (PUs) in various genres of oral and written speech,” (p. 7). In addition, this phraseology dictionary presents proverbs and idioms in their multiple variants as well as their historical-etymological development.

In organizing their dictionary, the editorial team has applied a broadly defined use of phrases, including “phraseologisms” (phraseological units), winged expressions, and proverbs. By phraseological units they mean the relatively stable, reproducible, and expressive combination of words which, as a rule, have an integrated and complete meaning: e.g. водить за нос/to lead [someone] by the nose; своя рубашка ближе к телу/charity begins at home [lit.: one’s own shirt is closer to the body]. They define winged expressions as various kinds of figurative-expressive phraseological and aphoristic units, which have entered into the language from a defined literary, historical, or cultural source: “apt sayings from an historic figure in precise situations; citations from fictional literary works, films, publicistic writing, or movie trailers.” Finally, by proverbs the compilers mean “complete expressive or general sayings in which the folk experience of the people and their assessments of life events have been assigned,” (p. 8). The editors have included only PUs, which have been widely disseminated in the modern literary language and fixed in a number of applications by individual authors.

The *Жизнь русской фразеологии в художественной речи* is based on materials of nearly 3,000 applications of PUs taken from the most varied fictional and publicistic works being studied in high school literature classes as well as readings from outside of the classroom. In keeping with the educational purpose of their Dictionary, the editors seek to arrange each entry in a manner to reflect distinct aspects of “life” experience. They also feel that

occurrences of PUs should help the reader to obtain an idea about the semantic, emotional-expressive, and grammatical properties of PUs and the peculiarities of their stylistic use. The authors consider their Dictionary's distinctive feature to be its presentation of PUs which have transformed individual authorial applications, accompanied by a definition of their basic types of transformations and stylistic devices, followed by an explanatory commentary on the content meaning of the PUs in specific contexts.

To illustrate the structure of their Dictionary, the compilers select the PU *мастер на все руки*/*jack of all trades*, which they then follow with various popular transformations: *новар/cook* (*новар/doctor, etc.*) *на все руки* in representative contexts, e.g. «Я от скуки—на все руки/Out of boredom I am a jack/master of all trades from A. T. Tvardovsky's (1910-1971) epic poem *Vasily Tvyorkin*. In addition, this entry includes linguistic-historical and cultural information, presented with a historical-etymological commentary, which explains the sources of the various transformations as well as historical and cultural background information and a socio-linguistic discussion of its appearance.

The Dictionary is organized by a key word principle, usually according to the first noun, adjective, or verb appearing in the expression. Following this key word heading, variants of the PU appear along with examples from individual authors; which, in turn, are followed by expressive-stylistic features of the PU; semantic definitions of the PU and its uses; a section with examples; and, finally, historical-etymological information. To help readers use various phraseologisms correctly, the editors understand the importance of knowing in which typical situations they may be used properly. For this reason the *LRP* provides helpful situational commentaries about appropriate settings to use a given phrase unit. For example, the famous and customary greeting to those seated around a dinner table, *хлеб-соль*/*bread and salt* (*i.e. good appetite, enjoy your meal*) is followed in the *LRP* by several popular transformations over time, concluding with the following commentary:

***Bread and salt**—is the traditional symbol for hospitality and cordiality in ancient Rus'. Therefore a sincere, warm and hospitable host is called a *хлебосолом* or *хлебосольным человеком*/*the bread-and-salt person*. From days of

old as a sign of respect for honored guests on festive occasions, a loaf of bread and salt were presented on a red tablecloth. This ancient Slavic custom has been preserved down to the present day. The custom of bringing bread and salt shows the important significance of these foods for Slavs. This deferential regard for bread and salt reflects the large amount of labor that went into attaining them. [translation from the original Russian text.]

In addition to the Note from the Authors (pp. 5-6), the Table of Contents includes an Introduction (pp. 7-20); a section on How to Use the Dictionary (pp. 21-28); the Dictionary entries (pp. 29-713); an Index of phraseologisms (pp. 714-727); and a List of References (p. 728-729). Originally intended for Russian pre-college students, the *LRP* will find a welcome audience for English-language students and scholars of the Russian language. Its rich and exhaustive treatment of key Russian phraseological units will increase the knowledge and comfort level for all hoping to master the intricacies of the Russian spoken and written language.

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Russian Anti-Proverbs of the 21st Century: A Sociolinguistic Dictionary. By Andrey Reznikov. Burlington, Vermont: “Proverbium” in cooperation with the Department of German and Russian, University of Vermont, 2012. Pp. 337.

One expects a proverb to be cited in its traditional form; indeed, its authority derives in large part from its fixed, “handed-down” nature. Nonetheless, the structure and phrasing of a given proverb is by no means inviolable; these expressions are more fluid than once assumed, and intentional variation has always been a part of their use and function, in both written and oral speech. Particularly in this age of the Internet and information overload, with its accompanying pursuit of ever more attention-grabbing headlines, the retrieval and repurposing of familiar proverbs has become a regular feature of the digital landscape. Playing with traditional proverbs—deliberately manipulating the formulaic phrases for satirical, political, or commercial purposes—allows the user to twist the generalized wisdom contained in a proverb to fit a unique modern situation. In the three decades since Wolfgang Mieder and Lutz Röhrich applied the term *Antisprichtwort* to these parodies and perversions of proverbs (1977), modern anti-proverbs have presented paremiologists with a fertile field of investigation. Lists of recent anti-proverbs have been compiled in language traditions ranging from the Anglo-American to the Yoruban, with collections in various languages appearing every few years. The Russian language, which is particularly rich in proverbial lore, has alone produced two such collections in the last decade, compiled by the team of Harry Walter and Valerii Mokienco (2002, 2005). Andrey Reznikov’s new collection, *Russian Anti-Proverbs of the 21st Century: A Sociolinguistic Dictionary*, offers a small but significant contribution to this emerging pool of anti-proverbial scholarship. But in the face of such a surge of interest in this field, what can a new dictionary add to what is already known about the state of Russian proverbial wisdom?

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As Reznikov points out, the older collections of Russian anti-proverbs presented lists of amusing new coinages, culled from websites that solicited users' versions of traditional proverbs. These updatings, while often witty, were artificially created for the sole sake of wordplay, and never used in authentic speech and writing. As such, they did not illuminate "the real state of proverbial wisdom in modern-day Russian language and culture" (Reznikov vii). In contrast to those earlier compendia, Reznikov's presents modern manipulations of Russian proverbs actually used in real language. His examples were collected from the contemporary mass media (web-based newspaper and magazine articles), and are all based on proverbs actively used in contemporary Russian speech. In addition, Reznikov provides analysis, interpreting the use and function of each family of phrases he includes, commenting particularly on the anti-proverbs' semantic connection to the message of the original proverb, and clarifying some of the cultural context or linguistic features of the Russian coinages (internal rhymes or verbal associations) for a non-native audience. Finally, the collection provides English translations and analysis of its proverbs, making the material accessible to an international arena of scholars, educators, and students of Russian.

Each of the nearly two-hundred entries begins with a common Russian proverb (with literal English translation) and a brief summary of its meaning (along with an English equivalent, if available). This is followed by a list of anti-proverbs, each accompanied by an English translation, contextualizing information, information on any language mechanisms used in creating the anti-proverb (such as hidden rhyme, antonymy, or extension), and a URL address for the source. Each entry concludes with a brief section of commentary, presenting a broad analysis of the entire group of anti-proverbs. Finally, the entire collection is capped by an appendix, presenting a concise and lucid discussion of the typical phonetic, morphological, and lexical mechanisms used to create anti-proverbs; this section is intended to make the preceding entries more accessible to readers without formal language training.

An examination of several entries will illustrate Mr. Reznikov's methodology, as well as some of the range he encountered in terms of creativity, productivity and fidelity to the source proverb's message. Some traditional proverbs yield exceptionally clever or politi-

cally pointed coinages in the contemporary press: “Волки боятся – в лес не ходить” (“If you are afraid of wolves, don’t go into the forest”) leads to “Путина боятся – в сортир не ходить” (“If you are afraid of Putin, don’t go into the outhouse,” an allusion to Putin’s famous 1999 promise to “whack terrorists everywhere, including outhouses”) and “Взрыва боятся – в метро не ходить” (“If you are afraid of bombs, don’t go into the metro”), a reference to the 2010 explosions in the Moscow metro (41-43). Many of the proverbs presented here appear to be alive and well, generating crowds of recognizable offspring in today’s press. For instance, “Баба с возу – кобыле легче” (“It’s easier for the mare when the woman gets off the cart,” used when someone declines an offer of help) yields seventeen modern-day iterations, all of which preserve both the syntax and the basic moral of the original, with new lexical content linking it to situations as diverse as Vladimir Putin’s political future (“Премьер с возу – режиму легче,” or “It is easier for the regime with the Prime-minister off the cart”) and cutting literature requirements in Russian secondary schools (“Наташа Ростова с возу – выпускнику легче?” or “Is it easier for high school graduates with Natasha Rostova [from War and Peace] off the cart?”) (5-9). Another venerable Russian proverb, “Первый блин комом” (“The first pancake is a flop,” or the first attempt is usually unsuccessful), leads to a syntactically uniform list of headlines with new lexical content applying to topics as diverse as college-entrance exams, rockets, mushroom poisoning, and soccer anthems (“Первый гимн комом,” or “The first hymn [near-rhyme with pancake] is a flop”) (23-25). Other anti-proverbs appear to have lost any meaningful association with the original proverb. For instance, “На ловца и зверь бежит” (“Wild animals run into the hunter”) produces anti-proverbs that employ hidden rhyme to create an acoustic association with the original proverb (“hunter” is replaced variously by “plaintiff,” “swimmer,” and “fighter”), without retaining the original meaning of a chance encounter (175-178). Likewise, “Работа дураков любит” (“Work loves a fool”) seems to have lost the original association with unnecessary busy-work in headlines like “Work loves a general manager,” for an article on the workload of CEOs. Reznikov suggests that the fundamental message of such proverbs may be lost in contemporary Russian speech (240-241).

Overall, Mr. Reznikov’s collection presents a welcome and important addition to the growing field of (anti-)paremiology. It offers

a variety of potential uses, both pedagogical and scholarly, and deserves to find an audience among specialists and non-specialists alike. There are only two minor suggestions I would offer: first, because these entries are so contingent upon their historical and cultural context, and given the impermanent nature of URLs, it might have been useful to include dates and sources (in addition to URL) for each entry. Secondly, I would have appreciated a summarizing analysis of the phenomenon of anti-proverbs in contemporary Russia, as it illuminates and comments on the current state of proverbial language and wisdom. Perhaps such analysis does not belong in a dictionary; still, the serious paremiologist might be rewarded by reading the present volume alongside Mr. Reznikov's 2009 publication *Old Wine in New Bottles: Modern Russian Anti-Proverbs*, in which the author undertakes a fuller discussion of language mechanisms at work in the formation of contemporary proverbs, as well as a broad analysis of the genre. In general, this fresh collection of anti-proverbs makes available to both native- and non-native audiences alike a snapshot of both the incredible creative possibilities of the contemporary Russian language, as well as the status of the vigorous and adaptable Russian proverb in current usage.

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Zwei Finnen brauchen keinen Dolmetscher. Finnische Sprichwörter. By Ingrid Schellbach-Kopra. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011. Pp. 285.

Proverbs in Europe form part of a widespread common spiritual tradition. Yet they are tightly bound to the language in which the thoughts they contain are expressed. Hence a non-native speaker may find it difficult to understand proverbs he or she hears or reads, especially given that they usually express their meanings metaphorically. Prof. Ingrid Schellbach-Kopra, the composer of the present work, has decades of research experience in proverbs, and as a Finno-Ugrist acquainted with the Finnish language and culture she has good credentials for composing Finnish-German works on proverbs. The first appeared in the early 1980s [*Finnisch-Deutsches Sprichwörterbuch*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1980], and the second is now to hand. It is not an updated version of the earlier work, but an entirely new contribution, in which the author has gathered materials not only from archives and publications, but also from new sources, and has also included as far as possible proverbs such as have so far not made it to traditional source collections.

The work contains 1268 original (according to the author) Finnish proverbs, and fairly literal German translations of them. Thus it is not a comparative Finnish-German collection, wherein each Finnish proverb would be paralleled by a German equivalent, but one in which the content of the Finnish proverbs is communicated as accurately as possible to a German-speaking reader. Schellbach-Kopra does not clarify the bases of her choices for inclusion of these particular proverbs in the collection. She has been able to rely on her wide knowledge of the Finnish material to choose such texts as form a representative sample of Finnish traditional and modern proverbs. It should nonetheless be borne in mind that the collection of samples is chosen subjectively from the whole Finnish corpus.

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The work begins with a fairly extensive introduction, in which the author briefly presents the basis of her material and the structure of the work. In addition, she summarises the subtypes of the proverb corpus: the terminology is not entirely common between Finnish and German, since *Sprichwort* may indicate both true proverbs (Finnish: *sananlasku*) and a wider category of proverbial expressions (Finnish: *sananparsi*, to which henceforth in this review the term “proverb” applies). Schellbach-Kopra also presents Finnish research on proverbs, ideas about the age of Finnish proverbs, the typical features of style and structure and to an extent also Finnish mentality as revealed by proverbs. On the latter, she clearly relies on Matti Kuusi’s classic writing, *Esivanhempiemme kymmenen käskyä* [Our ancestors’ ten commandments], published in 1952.

The freshest contribution and perhaps the most interesting is Schellbach-Kopra’s depiction of the *Antisprichwort* category, or new, usually humorous variants of traditional proverbs, and the use of both old and new proverbs in popular culture, such as advertisements. An example is the sort of oral-written tradition born out of an advertisement slogan of its time (Rexona was a deodorant advertised in this way in the 1960s in Finland), “There’s always still room for one who uses Rexona”, which becomes “There’s always still room for one who bears responsibility” or “There’s always still room for one who uses his elbows” or “There’s always still room for one more bingo/plant/beer/pocket”. Schellbach-Kopra has obtained her material from, among other places, the humorous and often satirical repartee of the *Alivaltiosihteeri* [‘Undersecretary’] radio programme.

The author has sometimes generalised the language of the proverb texts. Although part of their charm and impact from a Finnish perspective is thus lost, the procedure is well grounded from the point of view of a German readership interested in Finland and Finnish proverbs. A generalised language text is easier for a non-native speaker to understand and appropriate. At times the author has, in addition to the German translation, sought out a German equivalent to the proverb, when the parallel is particularly interesting or is important for the comprehension of the Finnish text.

The author has also to an extent investigated the semantics and problems of translation of the proverbs. The most difficult are the metaphorical proverbs, whose obvious meanings do not necessarily reveal their real significance, despite the assistance of a precise translation into German, since a literal translation communicates the semantics only superficially. This causes problems for the reader: these are solved at times by adding an explanation to the proverb text; such explanations, however, are very rare. A Finnish reader is sometimes left with the suspicion that the exact German translation will not enable the reader to grasp the proverb's meaning and use in Finland. Proverbs using the puzzling semantics of metaphor are, however, fairly sparsely represented within the collection, so their interpretation does not form a huge problem.

On the other hand, such a literal translation as appears for proverb 356, "Hyvä paha joksikin" (lit. "good bad for something"), is problematic to interpret. Schellbach-Kopra translates it "Gut ist für manches schlecht", which corresponds literally to the Finnish as a normal-language sentence. If the first word is interpreted not as subject but as predicate, which is emphatically more likely, we arrive at a meaning which would be rendered in German as "Schlecht ist gut für etwas" ("[What's] bad is good for something"). This may be the common usage of this proverb. Matti Kuusi mentions this proverb, among others, as an example of folk paradox; additionally, this collection includes proverb 134, with similar content: "Ei niin paha, ettei jotain hyvääkin" (approx. "Nothing's so bad that there's no good in it"). In any case, this is a good example of how tricky a mere text can be to understand and how the semantics of proverbs may depend on just a few facts.

The material is arranged in a mechanical alphabetical order. Other possibilities would have been to arrange according to subject, or an alphabetic ordering based on the main word of the proverb in terms of its meaning. Every alternative has good and bad sides to it. As it is, the reader must know or guess the precise way any sought-after proverb is expressed in order to find both it and the German translation. Assistance in searching is, however, afforded by the German word index at the back of the volume. The chosen solution has consequences, in that one proverb's variants differing little from each other are scattered in different

corners of the book. On the other hand, the reader may be interested to note how texts cluster on the basis of their structures, for example, “Better x than y” in: “Parempi pyy pivossa kuin kaski/kymmenen oksalla” (900: “Better a hazelhen in the palm of the hand than two/ten on a branch”, i.e. English “A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush”), “Parempi pää pipossa kuin ilman” (902, “Better a head in a cap than [to be] without”), “Parempi pää pipossa kuin kymmenen oksalla” (903, “Better a head in a cap than ten on a branch”). The two last texts receive the comment “Antispruchwort”, or anti-proverb, indicating that they are humorous novelties formed on the basis of old proverbs.

Zwei Finnen brauchen keinen Dolmetscher is by nature a popular work intended for a broad German-speaking readership. Because of its briefness it gives merely a sample of Finnish proverbs, but yet it is multifaceted in including, apart from the main Finnish proverbs, also examples from other proverb corpora and new parodic proverbs. The introduction gives a lay reader some opportunity to educate himself or herself in research into Finnish proverbs, and the concluding word index and bibliography are of benefit when using the work or seeking further information.

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Dictionary of Japanese Illustrated Proverbs. By Masamizu Tokita. Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki Publ. Co., 2008. Pp. 845. With 4127 illustrations.

The book contains 2177 proverbs and 4127 illustrations from the Nara period (8th century) to the present day. The author explains various meanings of each proverb in the past and the present and reproduces several illustrations for most of the proverbs. He also gives the transcriptions of the old texts inscribed in the illustrations and he translates them into modern Japanese. All these extra efforts help readers understand the original meanings of the proverb. Therefore Tokita's *Dictionary of Japanese Illustrated Proverbs* is evaluated as the first large scale illustrated Japanese proverb book. The following proverb materials in the appendix are very valuable for proverb studies: 1. The chronological list of illustrated proverbs in the various genres from the Tumulus Period (2000 BC) until the present time (pp. 835-840). 2. The alphabetical list of illustrated proverb books with short comments and the cited proverbs (pp. 821-834). 3. The alphabetical list of the printed single pages related to the proverbs (pp.798-820). 4. 136 kinds of visualized proverb items from everyday life such as clothes, mirrors, combs, boxes, ink stones, plates for food, signboards, helmets, swords, tea ceremony tools, cigarette boxes and pipes, doll talismans, doors, gardens, procession chariots and so forth.

Tokita has spent thirty years amassing his extensive collection of proverb emblazoned artifacts. His collection is dated from before the Edo period (1600-1867) until the present time. It consists not only of paintings, sculptures, woodcut block prints, books, playing cards (Japanese alphabetical proverb cards called "Iroha karuta"), but also the above mentioned ordinary items of different genres. It demonstrates how Japanese artists and craftsmen through history have depicted proverbs in various ways and how Japanese society loves to visualize proverbs used

in their daily life items. Most of his collection, about 3500 items, were donated to Meiji University, Tokyo, in 2007. Meiji University published the complete catalogue of his collection in 2009.¹

His first book on proverbs was *Illustrated Proverbs of Japan* (*Zusetsu: Nihon no Kotowaza*) in 1999 by Kawade Shobo Shinsha Ltd. Publishers, 135 pages with 292 illustrations. The book became so well-known that he was afterwards offered to publish several Japanese proverb books with many illustrations of proverbs like *Pleasant Proverb Pictures from the Edo Period* (*E de tanoshimu Edo no Kotowaza*) by Tokyo Shoseki, Publ. Co., 2005.

Even many art historians of Japanese art are very often unaware that there are so many proverbs depicted in the visual arts. Japanese curator of The Omiya Bonsai Art Museum in Saitama city wondered why flowers on a dead tree were expressed as a bonsai in *Kyosai's 100 Illustrations* (end of Edo period, 1860s). Then he found out from Tokita's book that "Flowers on a Dead Tree" ("kareki ni hana") was a common proverb from the Heian period (10th century) and was very current in the Edo period. The proverb has two meanings, 1. Resurrection from death, 2. Against all odds, an impossible thing is realized. Kyosai's woodcut adapts the first meaning of this proverb and he depicts an astonished doctor witnessing the sudden recovery of his patient near a bonsai which was also thought to be dead yet is shown with blossoms. The wife of the patient happily points both to the bonsai and her husband.

A Japanese proverb, "Even though rotting, it is still a tai (sea bream) ("kusattemo tai," **Fig. 1**) has an equivalent English one, "A diamond on a dunghill is still a diamond". For Japanese sea bream is considered a very valuable and expensive fish, and it is served at all celebratory occasions even today. In former times people used to put it in the home gallery corner as a New Year's decoration. After a few days people roasted it even though it smelled bad. Therefore, it means if a thing is very valuable and expensive, its worth will not be changed even if it gets relatively damaged. For this proverb Tokita gives six illustrations from a playing card deck dated around 1700 to a painting by Ishihara Bangaku (1905). In Fig. 1 by Kuwagata Keisai a samurai-soldier is about to cut a giant sea bream and he must hold his nose with

his fingers in order to avoid inhaling the rotten smell. Placing a giant sea bream on the cutting board, Keisai apparently caricatures the exaggerated appreciation of the fish by the folk. The illustration originated from Keisai's *Illustrated Proverbs* (*Gengaen*), privately published in 1808 and is considered to be one of the most important albums for Japanese proverb iconography.

There are numerous episodes or Buddhist scripts from which proverbs are cited, although Japanese people don't often recognize the origins. "A tiger crosses the river with her cubs" ("Toranoko watashi") is one of them which comes from the story of a Chinese hermit in the Tang period, Zhang Guo Lao. The literal meaning of the proverb is how a mother tiger safely brings her three offspring including a leopard to the other bank. Its allegorical meaning is finding a solution to manage the limited family budget. This is one of the most famous visualized proverbs and is seen in the Zen stone garden in Ryoan-Ji (Temple) in Kyoto according to the position of stones. Yet it is less known even among Japanese visitors. The proverb displayed in this garden was mentioned in a book of the Edo period. It was also designed as an ornament in *tuba* or brims, *kozuka* or a small knife attached to a sword sheath in the Edo period.

Another proverb from a Chinese legend is, "A foal comes out of a gourd" ("Hyōtan kara koma ga deru"), that is, unexpected things will happen. Tokita presents 19 illustrations of the proverb and explains how the proverb from China has been transformed in the various ways in Japanese art. Instead of a foal jumping out of a gourd, most Japanese artists express it as a horse emerging with a few exceptions mentioned below. A Japanese painter, Shikibu Terutada in the Muromachi period (**Fig. 2**), following the Chinese legend, depicts a hermit overturning a gourd and a tiny foal-like ant coming out of it. The hermit usually rides a white foal several thousand kilometers a day, but he puts his animal in the gourd while he is resting. In an ink painting by Ikeno Taiga a Daruma monk holding a gourd enjoys looking at a horse jumping through smoke from it (**Fig. 3**). Hakuin, a famous Zen Buddhist painter expresses many acrobats riding horses coming out of a gourd (**Fig. 4**). It is very interesting to remark that the same proverbial image appears on *Senjya fuda*, a pilgrim's card which is brought to a shrine for one's good luck.

Yet in this card chess pieces instead of horses appear, because the word for a chess piece, namely “koma” and a horse are homonyms in Japanese (**Fig. 5**), and chess players apparently enjoy the proverb together with a pun.

“Called stones turn to sheep” (“Ishi wo shishitte hitsuji to nasu”, **Fig. 6**). According to the Chinese classic *Shenxiantai*, the hermit’s elder brother appeared and asked him about the sheep. Wong Tai Sin called the stones and commanded “wake up !”. About ten thousand stones turned into sheep. Many famous Japanese artists like Sesshu, Hasegawa Tohaku, Maruyama Ōkyo painted this proverb in their works. In Fig. 6 *Shenxiantai* and his companion pleasantly observe two sheep and two lambs half changed from stones. The others represented this legend during the Edo period, however, the subject has been less discussed among Japanese art historians from the aspect of proverb iconography.

“An old man’s cold water” (“Toshiyori no hiyamizu”, **Fig. 7**). It is an ironical proverb of an old man overestimating his physical strength. An equivalent English proverb is: “It is an old man’s indiscretion.” Many Japanese will imagine today the literal meaning of this proverb as “an old man swims in cold water.” Tokita reproduces six illustrations of the proverb in which five depict the old man drinking cold water. The earliest figure from the 17th century is an image composed by letters of the proverb. An old man drinks cold water accompanying the inscription of this proverb. People definitely enjoy seeing the image and reading the proverb delineated by the letters. However, Jun Hashimoto mistakenly illustrated in *Even Monkeys Fall From Trees and Other Japanese Proverbs*, 1987² an old man bathing in a wooden tub with a huge ice cube. The proverb reads “An old man dips into cold water.” Thus an English proverb, “there’s no fool like an old fool” has a slightly different meaning than this Japanese proverb.

“Cake rather than flowers” (“Hana yori dango” (**Fig. 8**) is equivalent to “pudding rather than praise” or “substance rather than trappings”. Many present-day Japanese consider “the flowers” referred to as being cherry blossoms, because they are appreciated as the national flowers in Japan. However, Tokita points out that the flowers of this proverb have been regarded as

plum blossoms since the Heian period (the 9th century). Kawana-be Kyosai depicts a soldier eating a dango (cake) and carrying a branch of a plum blossom on his back around the late 18th century. In front of him a woman of the tea house roasts dango over a charcoal fire. The Fig. 8 represents an illustration by Utagawa Kuniyasu for Jippensha Ikku's *Ukiyo Kotowazagusa (Proverbs of the Earthly World)*, namely, a court lady wearing a ceremonial dress moves her fan in order to roast dangos over burned charcoals, but there are no cherry blossom trees in the illustration. Tokita posits that the viewers might liken the elegant woman to the flower, so that they prefer her to the dangos she roasted. Yet Tokita does not pay attention to the cherry blossom motifs on her dress or kimono and viewers might have been amused to notice the double meaning that she herself personifies cherry blossoms by her dress and she cooks dangos.

Tokita's *Dictionary* extends to the Western world and tries to find how European proverbs were accepted and visualized by Japanese cartoonists after the Meiji period (1868-1913). Those imported proverbs demonstrate how they become so popular among Japanese that Japanese use them without realizing their Western origins. "A drowning man will catch at a straw" ("Obo-reru mono ha wara omo tsukamu") was translated into Japanese, but the Japanese phrase has become so familiar that its Western origins are often not realized.

When I researched the iconographical comparisons between the sixteenth-century Netherlandish proverbs in art including paintings, engravings, carvings, tapestries and so forth, and their corresponding old Japanese proverbs in art,³ Tokita's publications and his own collection served as a very useful reference for analyzing the similarities of proverbs between both countries and their cultures.

A Japanese proverb, "To use two tongues" ("Nimaijita o tsukau") by Utagawa Utashige (**Fig. 9**) is very similar both in the meaning and the expression of Bruegel's, "To speak with two mouths" (**Fig. 10**). While the merchant by Utashige flatters customers with his two tongues in order to sell as much merchandise as possible, Bruegel depicts a male face with double mouths implying the passage from I. Timothy of the New Testament (3:8). It is very interesting that the keyword of the proverb is almost the same both in Japan and in Flanders.⁴

“A monkey tries to get the moon” (“Enko ga tsuki“, **Fig. 11**) originated from the Chinese Buddhist script and is meant as someone trying to obtain the impossible things at the cost of one’s life. It depicts a monkey (often a gibbon) stretching down his long arm in an attempt to foolishly catch the moon on the water of a pond or a well only to fall to his demise from the branch of the tree. There is a decorated sword with this proverb from the Heian period (the 10th century), but Fig. 11 from the 16th century-painting by Toki Douga looks more familiar. The painting reminds me of a Flemish proverb from Bruegel’s *Twelve Flemish Proverbs* in Antwerp, “He urinates toward the moon” (**Fig. 12**), that is, the ridiculously bold attempt which easily fails. In his painting a man urinates toward the moon’s reflection on the water.⁵

A Japanese proverb, “To change from a cow to a horse” (“Ushi o uma ni norikaeru”) is explained by Tokita as the fall from the superior thing to the inferior one and from a good situation to a bad one. However, in Isamu Maeda’s *Dictionary of Edo Language* (2003), he cites an interesting quotation of this proverb from *Rice Wine, Seiro, Five Kariganes* in the Edo period: “You married far above your poor family background, as the proverb says, ‘to change from a horse to a cow.’” From this example it is commonly used to mean attainment of a superior situation, by leaving an inferior one, or to jump from the inferior position to a superior one. Therefore there is no difference between the value of the cow and the horse in either proverb. In Kawanabe Kyosai’s album of painted proverbs, *Kyousai’s Hundred Illustrations* (before 1868), the painter depicts an unfaithful husband riding a swift horse with his young lover saying goodbye to his old wife. A young packhorse driver angrily points his finger to the couple on his stolen horse. A similar Flemish proverb also using two different species of livestock distinguishes the value order of two animals. “He falls from the ox onto the ass” (Hij valt van de os op de ezel”) from Pieter Bruegel’s *Netherlandish Proverbs* in Berlin (1559) can be interpreted according to Erasmus’ *Adages* : “From a horse to an ass, as if he turns away from honorable studies to less honorable ones, from a philosopher to a chorister, from a theologian to a grammarian, from a merchant to an inn-keeper, from a steward to a cook, from a

craftsman to an actor.”⁶ Bruegel very clearly visualized the meaning of this proverb to express a man falling headlong from an ox to an ass.

A Japanese proverb, “One believes in a sardine’s head” (“Iwashi no atamamo sinjin kara”, **Fig. 13**) has two meanings according to Tokita. The first one is: a fanatic. One believes a worthless thing like a sardine’s head will effectuate miracles. The second interpretation is: irony to the person who stubbornly believes in a trifling thing. The illustration by Toba school carries the inscription and it says, “What a precious one, a thankful one!” and “the aureola is shining!” The Japanese proverb is to be compared with Bruegel’s “a pillar biter”, depicting a man biting the church pillar which means the hypocrite or fanatical prayers.

“When kaki –persimmons become red, the doctor becomes pale” (“Kaki ga akakunaru to isha ga aokunaru”). Tokita explains as sick people recovering during the good fall weather when the persimmon become ripened. However, Tokita does not pay attention to the nutritious effect of the kaki for the human body. Kaki contains rich vitamins and calcium, the leaves of kaki are especially popular to stop the serious hiccups in present day hospitals. The proverb is almost equivalent to the English, “An apple a day keeps the doctor away”. A fresh apple contains rich nutrition, dietary fiber and vitamin C.

We may compare his book with Lutz Röhrich’s, *Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*, 1973,⁷ however, Röhrich’s main concerns are not the illustrated proverbs. As I mentioned above, Tokita edits the proverbs in alphabetical order, reproducing for each proverb at least one and at the maximum twenty figures. As Röhrich gives alphabetical keywords of proverbs as an index, it is easier to find unknown proverbs under an article. Yet Tokita’s *Dictionary* has no index so it is not easy for readers to find proverbs from keywords or images. We would look forward to seeing them in the second edition.

In short I observe four remarkably characteristic features in Japanese illustrated proverbs, especially in the Edo period whose essential structure for both subjects and style are as follows: 1. playful and burlesque, 2. comical like a farce, 3. vivid and sketchy. 4. quickly understandable by light touches.⁸ “Playful” would be the most important character trait for the men of letters in the Edo period who execute the proverb images rather for fun

or entertainment for their intellectual friends, clients or viewers, and they also enjoy themselves in the humorous world of proverb portrayal. In addition, Japanese visualized proverbs are represented in numerous fields not only in art, but also craft arts, book illustrations, ordinary items, architecture as mentioned before. On the contrary European visualized proverbs seem to appear in more limited fields, mainly in paintings, prints, sculptures (mainly as misericords) or tapestries.

It was not so popular for them to appear in everyday items like in Japan. Proverb art in general serves the European public as more serious and deductive messages as seen Bruegel's images discussed above.

Finally I would like to stress Tokita's *Dictionary* is a remarkable publication because of his more than 4000 rich illustrations of the proverbs from all kinds of genres. His collection really portrays the distinctive aspects of Japanese culture and tradition. It should not be overlooked well-known painters such as Seshu, Tanyu, Korin as well as Ukiyoe artists such as Utamaro, Hokusai, Hiroshige, Kyosai etc. also incorporated proverbs in their works. Sometimes Japanese historians pay less attention to proverbial motifs or they neglect the proverbial art as a minor world, because many proverbs are not used anymore and they don't notice them. The iconographic study of proverbs is not yet established in Japanese art history as an independent research field. Thus this book will provide a stimulus to Japanese as well as foreign historians of such fields as art, folklore, social science, religion and others to find the pictorial sources of their studies and to analyze Japanese culture and the structure of its moral concepts.

Tokita was one of the founders of the first Proverb Knowledge Certificate Examination held in two Japanese cities during August 2011. There are three levels which are open to all age groups, namely, Beginner, Intermediate and Advanced. Many school children participated in the examination enjoying the proverbial culture through illustrated proverbs. Japanese people will pay more attention to the background of visualized proverbs in the future.

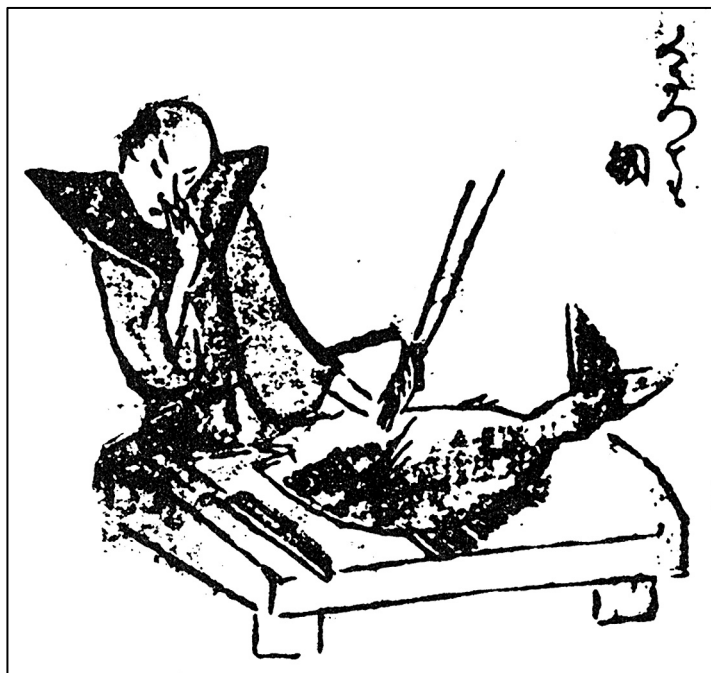


Fig. 1

Kuwagata Keisai, "Even though rotting, it is still a sea bream",
1808, *Gengaen*, woodblock print.



Fig. 2

Shikibu Terutada, "A foal comes out of a gourd", the first half of the 16th century, ink painting, Osaka, Masaki Museum.



Fig. 3

Ikeno Taiga(1723-76), "A horse comes out of a gourd", ink painting, private collection.

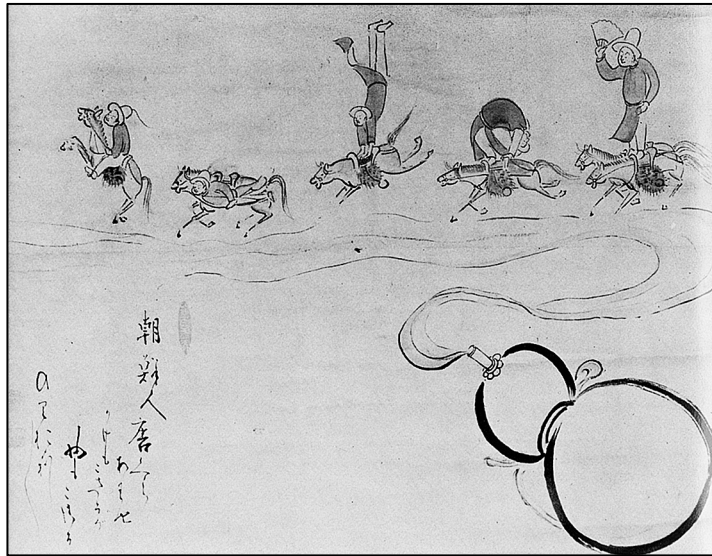


Fig. 4

Hakuin (1685-1768), “Acrobats riding horses come out of a gourd”, ink painting, present location is unknown.



Fig. 5

Senja Fuda, “Chess pieces come out of a gourd”, around 18th century, woodblock print.



Fig. 6

Maruyama Ōkyo, “Called stones turn to sheep”, 1777, painting, Saitama, Toyama Memorial Museum of Art.



Fig. 7

Okumura Masanobu (1686-1764), "An old man's cold water", playing card, *Mojie Zukushi*, woodblock print.



Fig. 9

Utagawa Utashige, "To use two tongues", 1867, *Hitokokoro Ukiyo no Tatoe*, woodblock print.

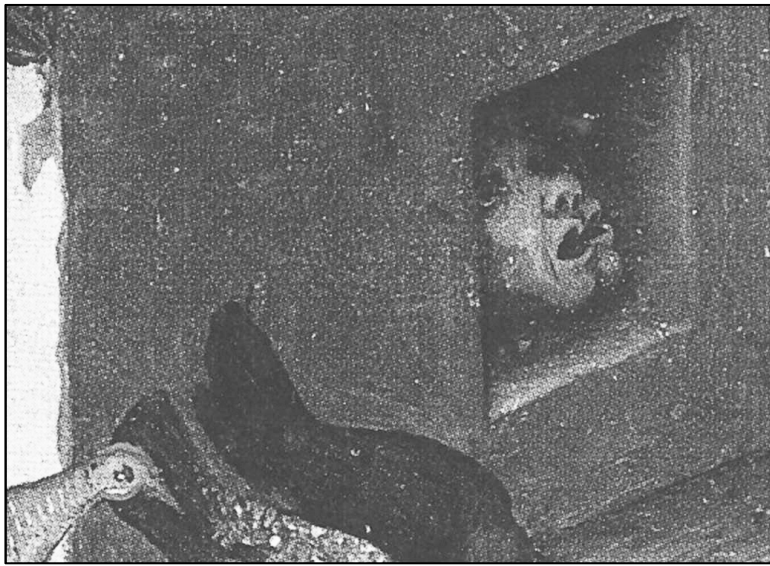


Fig. 10

Pieter Bruegel the Elder, "To speak with two mouths", 1559, oil, detail, *Netherlandish Proverbs*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

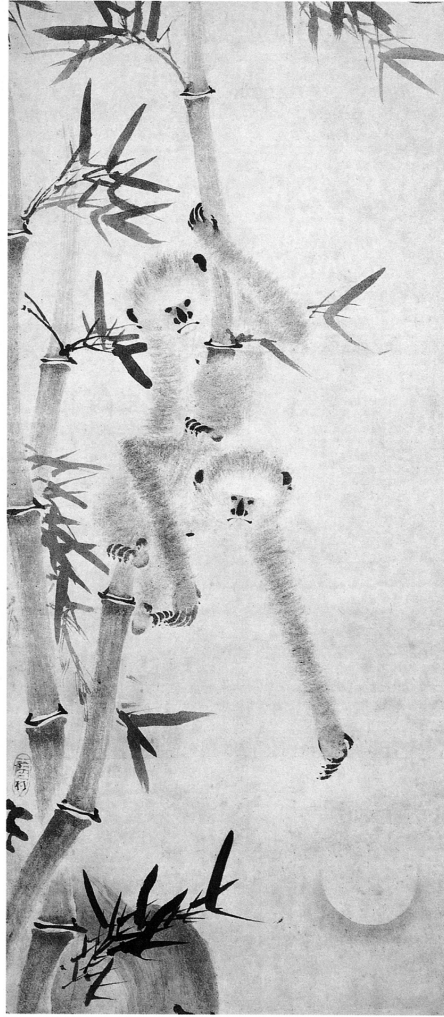


Fig. 11

Sesson Shukei, "A monkey tries to get the moon." It looks like the second half of the 16th century, ink painting, private collection.



Fig. 12

Pieter Bruegel the Elder, "He urinates toward the moon", c.1558, oil, detail, *Twelve Flemish Proverbs*, Antwerp, Museum of Mayer van den Bergh.

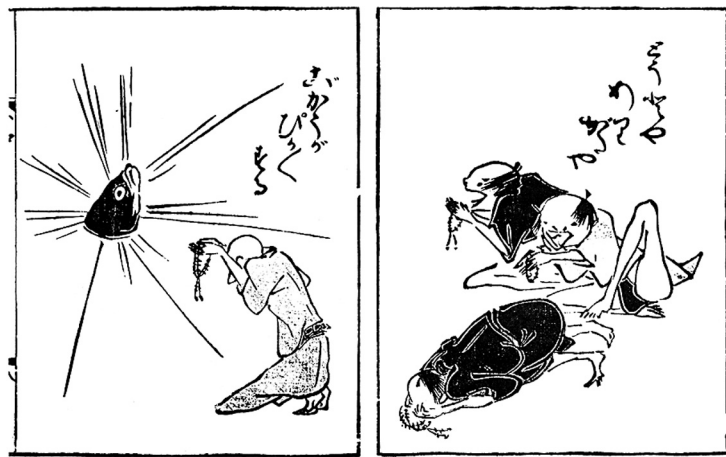


Fig. 13

Anonymous, "One believes in a sardine's head," 1720, *Keihitsu Tobaguruma*, woodblock print.

Notes

¹ *Tokita Masamizu's Proverb Collection*(in Japanese), Meiji University Museum, Tokyo 2010.

² David Galef, comp. and trans. Jun Hashimoto, illust. *Even Monkeys Fall From Trees and Other Japanese Proverbs*, Tokyo 1987.

³ Yoko Mori, "Bruegel's Netherlandish Proverbs and Corresponding Images in old Japanese Art," *Acta Historiae Artium*, vol. 44, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 2003, pp. 191-205.

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⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.278-279.

⁶ Desiderius Erasmus, *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia*, Hildesheim 1961, t.II, p.274.

⁷ Lutz Röhrich, *Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*, Freiburg 1973 (paperback 1988).

⁸ Shoko Ota and Hiroshi Onishi, "Illustrated Pattern Books as New Media Introduction for the Symposium", *Image Revolution since the Publication Culture in the Early Edo Period*, ed. Shoko Ota, Institute of Art and Aesthetics, Kanazawa College of Art, Kanazawa 2007, pp. 24-28.

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WOLFGANG MIEDER

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEW AND
REPRINTED PROVERB COLLECTIONS

For Barbara and William Busker

Another year has passed, and it is with much excitement that I can report the impressive addition of 95 collections of proverbs, quotations, and other phraseologisms to my International Proverb Archives here at the University of Vermont in Burlington, Vermont, and in my private library at our country home outside of the village of Williston. As has always been the case, the books and articles contain textual materials from many different cultures and languages, and obviously they vary greatly in scope and in scholarly documentation. Some are clearly meant for the popular market, while others represent the finest possible scholarship. Together they are clear indications that the interest in preformulated language is very high by scholars and the general population. Most of the items of this bibliography are recent publications, but there are also some books that are valuable reprints or items that I simply had not come across before. The plethora of paremiographical and phraseographical publications is truly amazing, and it surprises me again and again to discover ever more collections.

Please do remember to inform me of your newest published collections. As I have mentioned previously, I am more than happy to purchase them from you and also pay for the postage that is unfortunately getting more expensive every year. In any case, it is hard to find out about the collections that appear in distant lands, and often it is even more difficult to obtain them from abroad. That is where your help can make all the difference.

Speaking of kind and appreciated assistance, I would like to dedicate this annual bibliography of new and reprinted proverb collections to my sister-in-law and brother-in-law Barbara and William Busker from Dallas, Texas. My wife Barbara and I spend about every second Christmas with them, and while we are there enjoying their hospitality far away from cold Vermont, it has be-

come a family tradition to visit two giant (everything in Texas is large) second-hand bookstores together. This was once again the case this Christmas, and I was able to find eight exciting collections to add to my rich holdings. The four of us enjoy the time together in these stores, and I would like to thank Barbara and William for driving us there and for putting up with my bibliophile obsession of hunting for proverb collections.

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WOLFGANG MIEDER

INTERNATIONAL PROVERB SCHOLARSHIP:
AN UPDATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

For Elisabeth and Ilpo Piirainen

What a rich harvest of paremiological and phraseological publications the past year has once again brought forth! It is indeed with much pleasure that I am presenting 541 bibliographical references of books, dissertations, essay volumes, and articles that have appeared throughout the world, once again attesting to the fact that the interest in proverbs and other phraseologisms is an international phenomenon. Scholars and students from a multitude of academic disciplines are studying this formulaic language, and it is truly amazing to add hard copies of their publications to my International Proverb Archives at the University of Vermont and in my library at home. I obviously do not succeed in locating all publications worldwide, but I do my level best to collect as much of this scholarship as possible. As I have repeatedly mentioned in my short introductions to this annual bibliography, I only include those publications that I have in my possession and that I have read with much interest. As it is, it is a never-ending task to keep up with this plethora of scholarly work, and there is hardly a day that a new publication is not added to the archive.

As always, I have received much help from my many friends and colleagues from numerous countries, cultures, and languages. I cannot possibly mention all of them here, but let me acknowledge for this past year in particular Dan Ben-Amos (Philadelphia), Hugo O. Bizzarri (Fribourg), Maria Conca and Josep Guia (València), Rosemarie Gläser (Dresden), Christian Grandl (Würzburg), Jarmo Korhonen (Helsinki), Mariia A. Kul'kova (Kazan'), Anna T. Litovkina (Szekszard), Valerii M. Mokienko (Sankt-Peterburg), Yoko Mori (Tokyo), Antonio Pamies Bertrán (Granada), Dietmar Peil (München), Roumyana Petrova (Rousse), Richard Glyn Roberts (Gwynedd), Julia Sevilla Muñoz (Madrid), Marinela and Rui J.B. Soares (Tavira), Diana Stantcheva (Berlin), Joanna Szerszunowicz (Białystok), and Peter Unseth (Dallas). In

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special recognition of their assistance with my labors I would like to dedicate this year's bibliography to my two friends Elisabeth and Ilpo Piirainen from Steinfurt, Germany. If everything will go according to plans, Elisabeth Piirainen's unique and massive study on *Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond. Phraseology in a Eurolinguistic Framework* will be published in 2012 with Peter Lang Publishing in New York.

Please do continue informing me about your newest publications and if at all possible, please send copies along with all of the pertinent bibliographical information. Electronic attachments of articles are perfectly fine. For books and dissertations I will be glad to reimburse you for the cost of both the publication and the expensive postage. As you all know, I would like to continue building my international archive and to inform you about new (and old) publications as best as is humanly possible. Your help is much appreciated with this daunting but also very rewarding bibliographical work on behalf of paremiologists and phraseologists everywhere.

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